Twelfth-century scribes inherited a script which had been developed by scribes on the Continent during the ninth and tenth centuries, and imported into England in the mid-tenth century.¹ This script, known as ‘Caroline Minuscule’, eventually became the basis for modern type faces. Scribes on the Continent had gradually eliminated variant letter shapes inherited from Antiquity, so that by the tenth century each letter had its own constant shape. Scribes constructed these shapes with a minimum of distinctive characteristics which appear at the level corresponding to the upper segment of the letter x. These characteristics, the ‘cues for legibility’, became the essential elements which enabled readers to identify letter shapes quickly.²

The cues for legibility can be observed on this page by covering the tops of the ascenders of b, h, k and l and the bottom of all letters below the upper segment of x. At this level the reader distinguishes between different letter shapes formed with the same repetitive stroke: bp, dq, ceo and hkl. The arches of m and n, which distinguish them from i and u (for example, in the word ‘minimum’), and the essential elements which identify a, g, r, t and x itself, are all located at the same level.³ These cues for legibility have been invariable in all traditions of handwriting in the Latin West since the ninth century, but the shapes of letters – especially above and below minim-height – could be changed. Because handwriting is not a mechanical artefact like printing, different generations of scribes modified the ways in which they traced the component strokes when constructing letter shapes.

In handwriting, letter shapes are determined by the ductus. This comprises a basic ductus (the repetitive traces of the pen required to construct the letter shapes of a particular script or variety of script) and the personal ductus which

1 Bischoff 1990; ECM.
3 g can be identified from the top of the lobe and the connecting stroke to the following letter.
Handwriting in English books reflects the way in which each scribe executed these traces. Over time the general assimilation of changes in the personal duc
tus of different generations of scribes – especially those who sought to introduce features of style appropriate to contemporary taste – led to modifications in the basic duc
tus of script, and ultimately to the development of what we would now recognize as new scripts.

The impact of Norman reforms after the Conquest stimulated spiritual and intellectual energy in English monasteries, creating a demand for copies of patristic as well as new texts imported by Norman monks. These demands were met by organized copying within the monasteries, especially in the new communities like Rochester at the beginning of the twelfth century, and later in Cirencester. Some communities hired scribes (laymen or secular clergy) to supplement the efforts of the monks, as at St Albans, and, later, at Abingdon where hired scribes produced copies of patristic texts whilst the monks copied books for the opus Dei. Monks also compiled and maintained the records required for running a monastery and protecting its privileges. Organized copying by members of a community usually lasted only for short periods: once a community had built up its collection of texts, organized copying was abandoned, and with it some of the distinctive features in local handwriting.

By the beginning of the twelfth century the appearance of handwriting in books had been affected by two major developments in the techniques of handwriting: changes in the nature of the pen and in the way it was handled. Both changes appeared first in Europe in the handwriting of scribes in England and Normandy. They preferred the more flexible quill pen (instead of the reed pen), and, at the same time, adopted a constant pen-angle of 45° (instead of the 25°–30° employed by earlier scribes). These changes altered the distribution of thin strokes traced with the leading edge of the nib and thick strokes traced with its full width. Scribes were able to construct letters with more frequent short strokes, and by breaking curved strokes at junctures with other strokes, thus altering the profiles of the letter shapes. The letter o became a narrow

4 Parkes, CLS, ch. 4.
5 Ker 1960a, Gullick 1998b (on Christ Church Canterbury), Webber 1995 and 1998 (on Christ Church and Bury St Edmunds), Thomson 1985 (on St Albans), Parkes, CLS, ch. 4 (on individual scribes at Canterbury, Rochester, Exeter and Cirencester).
6 Hired scribes: Ker 1960a, Gullick 1998a, Parkes, CLS, ch. 2.
7 Parkes, CLS, ch. 2 and references.
8 Changes in the technique: Petrucci 1989, p. 125; Boussard 1951, pp. 259–64; Parkes, CLS, chs. 4 and 6.
9 The overall effect of these changes may be seen by contrasting DMBL, pls. 30 (1012–13) (BL, Arundel, ms. 155) and 42 (1046–72) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius A.VII) with pl. 63b (1119–40) (BL, Egerton ms. 3721). The Bury Bible (DMCL, pls. 45–6, 1121–38 and Thomson 2001b), was copied with a reed pen.
diagonal ellipse instead of the almost circular, more horizontal ellipse of the previous centuries (figs. 4.12, 6.1).10

Twelfth-century scribes had also inherited the convention of separating the different parts of speech according to the morphological criteria discussed by the grammarians of Late Antiquity.11 Scribes compressed the letter shapes laterally to reduce the amount of space occupied by words, and to leave spaces (usually the width of \textit{m} or \textit{n}) between them. In order to assimilate the letters within the larger patterns of individual words, scribes traced the serifs at the tops of the ascenders, and at the feet of the minims and the stems of other letters, with symmetrical strokes to bind the letters together within a word.12

For the same reason they sought to trace the repetitive strokes in the lobes of \textit{b}, \textit{p} and \textit{d}, \textit{q} and the stems of \textit{c}, \textit{e} and \textit{o} so that the thickest parts of the strokes were symmetrical.

A scribe had to make certain decisions before writing, which influenced the graphic impact of the handwriting on the page. The module of the handwriting (the distance between the feet of the minim strokes on one line and the feet of those on the next) determined the height and size of the letters. The relationship between the width of the nib and the height of the minim strokes determined the character of the traces. When the height of the minims was equivalent to twice that of the nib-width, the traces produced bold strokes; but when the minim height was equivalent to four nib-widths, the traces produced narrow strokes. These decisions would determine the density of the chiaroscuro patterns produced by the text on the page (figs. 4.12, 6.1, 6.2).13

10 In some hands the first stroke of \textit{o} was traced as a vertical stroke turned over at the foot.
11 On the development of word-separation by insular scribes, see Parkes 1991, pp. 1–17. Although word-separation was well advanced by the beginning of the twelfth century, it was not always consistent. In the first half of the century, some scribes continued to employ bound morphemes. They treated a preposition as a prefix of the following noun: \textit{DMOL}, pl. 37, line 3 \textit{inspe}'(1108–26); \textit{DMBL}, pl. 61, line 17 (1108–14) \textit{ineadem} (but \textit{inter icta} in line 22 (1108–14); \textit{DMOL}, pls. 45, line 12 \textit{adsimilitudinem} (before 1125), 48 col. a line 8 \textit{aburbe}, col. b line 17 \textit{aditaliam}, corrected by a reader (1129), 49, line 10 \textit{aboriente} (before 1169?). Some scribes treated a negative as a prefix of the following verb: \textit{DMBL}, pls. 60, lines 19 \textit{nonesse} and 25 \textit{nonis} (before 1107), 61, line 7 \textit{nonpotuit} (1108–14), and with the \textit{nota for ‘est’}: \textit{DMOL}, pl. 63, col. a (gloss) line 13 \textit{non-\textit{e}} (before 1157), and by analogy \textit{‘id+\textit{e}’: \textit{DMCL}, pls. 57 col. b lines 26, 32, 35 (1130–45) and 69, interlinear gloss line 3 \textit{idest} (1164–70, English scribe) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll. ms. b. 3.11) (fig. 4.6). Some scribes also treated a conjunction as a preface of the following word: \textit{DMOL}, pl. 37, lines 6 \textit{siquis} and 11 \textit{sihoc} (1108–26); \textit{DMBL}, pl. 61, line 3 \textit{&armatos} (1108–14); \textit{DMOL}, pl. 49, line 22 \textit{&ipse} (before 1131?); \textit{DMCL}, pl. 60, line 6 \textit{&cotidie} and \textit{&pascha} (before 1138), whereas the scribe of \textit{DMBL}, pl. 92 (1169?) is less consistent. Isolated examples of inappropriate word-separation appear in the thirteenth century (Survey, iv/2, pl. 146 ‘inasya’ [\textit{in asia}], s. xiii 3/4).
12 The principal function of serifs since Late Antiquity has been to prevent (or discourage) the eye of the reader from slipping inadvertently from one line of text to another.
13 See Parkes, \textit{CLS}, ch. 4, for discussion of examples, and the glossary for the terminology used here to describe features of handwriting.

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Handwriting in English books

Twelfth-century scribes also inherited three sizes of script: large for Bibles and Psalters, medium for most texts and small for ‘school’ texts. During the course of the century the proportions of the letters in the large and medium sizes of handwriting changed. In the first half of the century the ascenders of \( b, d, h, k \) and \( l \) were twice the height of the minim strokes (fig. 6.1), but during the second half of the century the height was reduced to one and a half times the minim height.\(^{14}\)

The other principal developments in the construction and distribution of letter shapes in the large and medium sizes of handwriting were as follows:

At the beginning of a word the letter \( a \) was often taller than minim height; scribes traced it with a long curving headstroke beginning alongside the lobe of the letter. Within words, where the size of the letter was confined by the available space, the headstroke was traced close to the top of the lobe, and occasionally touched it (fig. 6.2).\(^{15}\)

At the beginning of the century the letter \( g \) formed with a lobe and a ‘3’-shaped stroke for the stem and tail was replaced by a two-compartment form.\(^{16}\) From the middle of the century scribes traced this form with a lobe stroke and a stem descending a short distance below the level of the lobe. The lower compartment was closed by a diagonal stroke traced from right to left starting from the point where the lobe joined the stem, and was completed by breaking it into an anti-clockwise curve which joined the base of the stem (fig. 6.2).\(^{17}\)

Scribes traced the sequence of minims and the arches of \( m \) and \( n \) with sweeping clockwise curves reversed at the feet into short, compressed anti-clockwise curves to complete the minims with diagonal serifs (fig. 6.1). It was difficult to compress these letters with a pen-angle of 45° and to maintain

\(^{14}\) For the change in the height of ascenders, \( DMOL, \) pl. 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88).

\(^{15}\) Taller \( a \) at the beginning of a word: \( DMCL, \) pls. 59, col. a, last line (before 1137), 74 (1164–75) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 139); as \textit{littera notabilior} (more noticeable letter): Ker 1960a, pls. 10a, 11 (verso), \( DMCL, \) pl. 86 (after 1173). Length of headstroke: contrast \( DMBL, \) pl. 53 (c.1096) (BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius A.xiii) with \( DMOL, \) pl. 49 (not before 1131?); and for a sequence of further development \( DMBL, \) pl. 78 (after 1146) (BL, Add. ms. 46487), \( DMCL, \) pls. 67 (c.1155) and 90 (after 1179), \( DMOL, \) pl. 90 (1194). Lower headstroke within words: \( DMBL, \) pl. 58 (1100–10) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius C.XII); \( DMCL, \) pl. 81 (1167–83) (Cambridge, Trinity Hall, ms. 2).

\(^{16}\) ‘3’-shaped \( g \): \( DMBL, \) pl. 60 (before 1107) (BL, Royal ms. 5 D.1); \( DMCL, \) pl. 37 (1096–1112) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 146). ‘8’-shaped \( g \): \( DMOL, \) pls. 37 (1108–26) (Bodleian, ms. c Mus. 112), 45 (c. 1125) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll. ms. lat. 100).

\(^{17}\) Construction of ‘8’-shaped \( g \): \( DMCL, \) pl. 49b (before 1124) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 332), \( DMOL, \) pls. 56–59 (Cirencester) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., mss. 52, 53, 63), \( DMCL, \) pl. 63 (‘Eadwine Psalter’); \( DMOL, \) pl. 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88).
a consistent height for the arches, as well as the appropriate space between the minims. Therefore, during the second half of the century scribes found it more convenient to break the final strokes of m and n,\textsuperscript{18} tracing the final arch with a blunt point, and to complete the minim and serif with a single, shallow anti-clockwise curve (fig. 6.2).\textsuperscript{19} From the third quarter of the century scribes approached the tops of the letter i and first minims of m and n with a short diagonal stroke traced with the full width of the pen (a ‘lozenge’ shape), before breaking it into the vertical downward stroke.\textsuperscript{20}

From the beginning of the century scribes began to employ ‘2’-shaped r after o within words as well as at the ends of words.\textsuperscript{21}

Small capital forms of R and S were occasionally used in names in any position,\textsuperscript{22} but from the 1170s S appears more often at the end of words,\textsuperscript{23} and by the end of the century both R and S, reduced to minim height, became features of style in large, formal handwriting (fig. 6.2).\textsuperscript{24}

By the middle of the century scribes traced the second stroke of x as a shallow, clockwise curve which extends beyond the preceding letter (fig. 6.1). By the end of the century it was extended further into a reversed curve (fig. 6.2).\textsuperscript{25}

When two letters appeared together in ligature, the shape of the second letter was altered. Although ninth-century scribes eliminated many ligatures, some survived into the twelfth century.

\textsuperscript{18} Problems with the height of the arches of m and n: Parkes 1991, pls. 12a–b (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 50); DMOL, pl. 50b (1131–34) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 297); with the spaces between minims DMBL, pl. 66 (1124–9/1165) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C.IV); arches formed with almost broken strokes DMCL, pl. 49d (before 1124) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 332).

\textsuperscript{19} Anticlockwise curve: supply leaves to the Winchester Bible: Ker 1960a, pl. 22c.

\textsuperscript{20} Approach stroke to first minims: Ker 1960a, pl. 19b (1176); DMBL, pl. 104 (1176) (BL, Harley ms. 3038); DMOL, pl. 86 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 423); DMBL, pls. 111 (1192–1202) (BL, Harley ms. 1239) and 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007).

\textsuperscript{21} ‘2’-shaped r after o within words: DMBL, pls. 58 (c. 1100–10) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius c.xii), 61 (before 1114) (BL, Royal ms. 6 C.VI), 65(a) (1119–46) (BL, Egerton ms. 3721); DMOL, pls. 40 (before 1124) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 134) and, pl. 52 (1135–43) (Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 157); thereafter common practice.

\textsuperscript{22} R and S in names, R at ends of names: Mynors, DCM, pl. 44 (c.1166) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. ms. b.11 35); S in sacred names: DMCL, pl. 67 (c.1155) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b. 15.10); DMBL, pls. 79 (Cirencester) (BL, Royal ms. 3 a.xii), 88 (1161), line 9 ‘angelis’ (BL, Royal ms. 2 A.X).

\textsuperscript{23} Small S at ends of words: DMCL, pls. 58 (c.1132) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., ms. A. 22), 61 (c.1140) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., ms. B. 20), 88 (after 1174) (CUL, Add. ms. 4079); DMBL, pl. 99 (1173–92) (BL, Add. ms. 46203); Mynors, DCM, pl. 47 (in text) (Durham, Cathedral Lib., ms. c.I.1).

\textsuperscript{24} R and S as features of style within words: DMBL, pls. 112, 113 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007); BL, Cotton ms. Claudius E. III; DMCL, pl. 99 (before 1201) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 76), all produced in London.

\textsuperscript{25} DMOL, pl. 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88); DMBL, pl. 99 (1173–92) (BL, Add. ms. 46203).
et. Tall e with the tongue extended downwards to form the stem of t, lying almost on its back, and completed with a diagonal headstroke (&), persisted as a convenient way of indicating the conjunction (fig. 6.1). (Subsequently it has been called the ‘ampersand’ – a corruption of the phrase ‘et and per se “and”’.)

c t, st. The headstroke of the first letter was traced directly into an extended stem of t. In the case of ct the linking stroke was often extended into a loop above both letters.

The ninth-century ligatures ri, rp, rr and ru appear sporadically in twelfth-century handwriting. The second letter lost its approach stroke; the shoulder of r was extended upwards and broken into the vertical stroke forming the stem of the following letter, but with a spur at the point of breaking which often protruded above minim height.

NS, NT, survivals from Old Roman Cursive in which the letter S or the stem of T form the final stroke of Capital N, were occasionally used by scribes as a space-saver at the end of a line.

Since the late eleventh century the small variety of Caroline Minuscule had been used mainly by students and scholars. It appears most frequently in books of small format, or in separate booklets bound in collections that contain texts or commentaries associated with the schools. These copies were often written on poor-quality or unbleached parchment, and lack decoration (although some were provided with coloured initials). This variety of the script was also used for annotations and glosses in other texts.

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26 st (passim). ct: DMOL, pls. 48 col. a, line 12 (1121) (Bodleian, ms. Arch. Selden b. 16), 49, line 23 (after 1131) (Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 157); DMCL, pl. 61 col. b, line 1 (c. 1140) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., ms. b. 20); DMBL pl. 80, line 12 (BL, Royal ms. 7 E VI) and DMOL, pls. 58 col. a, line 8 (1149–76) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 52); DMOL, pls. 66b, line 3 (before 1161) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 63), 75, line 4 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88), 76, line 8 (before 1171) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. E. inf. 1); DMCL, pl. 88, col. a, line 4 (after 1174) (CUL, Add. ms. 4079); DMCL, pl. 95 second entry (1192–8, Winchester) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 339).

27 ri in Delisle 1909 (1122–3), tituli nos. 83 (Gloucester), 168 (Winchester, Nunnamister), 204 (London, St Paul’s); DMCL, pl. 39, line 7 ‘necessaria’ (1112–26) (Cambridge St John’s Coll., ms. d. 10); ri, rp, rr and ru in DMOL, pl. 59 (1149–76) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 63). These ligatures became less frequent as ‘s’-shaped r was used after o in all contexts, but the ligature persisted into the following century: DMLB, pl. 116, col. b, lines 1, 8, 12 (1205–7) (BL, Cotton ms. Faustina A.VIII). ri, rri and ru appear in the gloss of De Hamel 1984, pl. 10 (Parkes 1991, pl. 4) (Bodleian, Auct. ms. d. 2.8), s. xii 2. On these Caroline ligatures, see Parkes, CLS, chs. 5 and 6, pl. 24.

28 NS and NT: Ker 1960a, pl. 11 (verso p., s. xii 1/4), where they appear at the ends of words, DMCL, pl. 64 (last gloss; 1145–70) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. r. 17.1). Later NT appears in small hands: DMOL, pl. 77, final word (1171–7) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. q.f. 8).


30 Additions, glosses and annotations in margins: Webber 1992, pl. 15 (s. xi ex.); Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 40–1 (s. xii 1/4) (St Albans Psalter); Mynors, DCM, pl. 33a (last addn on page, s.
Book production

Small, often minute handwriting (figs. 6.3, 4.13) is usually informal, reflecting the rapid personal dactylos of individual scribes. Apart from its size it is also characterized by the appearance of variant letter shapes:

A headless form of a appears within words and was sometimes employed at the beginning of a word (figs. 6.3, 4.13).

A round-backed form of d appears alongside upright d in the first half of the century, but gradually predominates and was used consistently from the middle of the century (fig. 6.2).

From the beginning of the century scribes employed the ‘2’-shaped r after o in all contexts. Later in the century it occasionally appears also after b and p.

Scribes often employed a variant form of S at the ends of words. They traced the letter with a single stroke: a tall, prominent curve completed with a shallower and shorter reversed curve which sometimes descended below the level of the other letters (fig. 4.10, line 7).

The ancient ‘Tironian’ nota, or shorthand symbol, shaped like a figure ‘7’ was used for the conjunction et. In the first half of the century it often appears alongside the et ligature, but superseded it by the middle of the century.

31 Such handwriting, described as ‘écriture microscopique’ by Omont and Molinier 1889, p. 108, is poorly represented in published facsimiles.
32 Two forms of a: Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 166 (Bardney) headless a predominant; Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 36–7, 40–1 (s. xii 1/4). Headless a only: Mynors, DCM, pls. 36–7 (s. xii 1/4) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. ms. Hunter 100); CRIMSS, pls. 73b–c (s. xii 1/4) (BL, Royal ms. 12 E.XX); Thomson 1985, ii, pl. 236 (s. xii med.) (Bodleian, Laud. ms. lat. 67).
33 Round-backed d as variant: Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26), Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 166; Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 36–7, 40–1 (s. xii 1/4); DMCL, pl. 57 (c. 1130–45; John of Worcester) (CUL, ms. Kk. 4.6); Parkes 1991, pl. 15b (before 1166) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 36); DMCL, pl. 80 (1167–82) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll. ms. g. 15), and DMBL, pl. 109 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 f.iii). Round-backed d appears consistently in DMOL, pls. 64 (1158–64) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. d. 4. 6) gloss, 81 (after 1176) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 287).
34 ‘2’-shaped r after o in all contexts: Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 40–1 (s. xii 1/4, variant); DMOL, pls. 55 (after 1147) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40), 60 (before 1157) (Bodleian, Bodleian ms. 862) gloss, 74 and Parkes 1991, pl. 15b (Oxford, Balliol Coll. ms. 36); DMOL, pl. 83 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40).
35 ‘2’-shaped r after b: DMBL, pl. 93 col. a line 3 (1171) (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius c.13); after p: DMOL, pl. 83, line 3 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Bigby ms. 40); after both b and p: DMOL, pl. 86 lines 17, 18 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodleian ms. 432).
36 Final S variant: DMOL, pl. 43 line 2 (1124–33) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 561); Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 40–1 (s. xii 1/4); DMOL, pl. 55 final word (after 1147) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40); DMBL, pl. 109 col. b line 8 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F. III).
Towards the end of the century it was furnished with a cross bar.38

From the beginning of the century one of the most characteristic features of texts copied in small handwriting is the frequency of simplified spellings indicated by abbreviation symbols (fig. 6.3).39 Twelfth-century scribes used the same symbols as earlier scribes, but they used them more often. They inherited a system of abbreviation based on suspension (where a scribe wrote the first letter of a word or syllable and omitted the rest) and contraction (where a scribe wrote the first and last letters of a word, omitting the others between them). Twelfth-century scribes combined the two methods, producing simplified forms of common words (and occasionally formulaic terms) which appeared frequently in a text.40 The number of words abbreviated by two or more syllables is much greater in small hands than in medium-sized ones.41

The principal developments in the use of abbreviation-symbols in the twelfth century were as follows:

The curved common mark of abbreviation, which had appeared at the end of the previous century, persisted, but some scribes replaced it with a horizontal stroke in the later years of the century.42

*commn-* was frequently written out in full, but during the course of the century the first *m* was omitted and indicated by the common mark of abbreviation.43

37 Tironian nota as variant with ampersand: *DMOL*, pl. 38 and Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 166. Tironian nota instead of ampersand: *DMOL*, pl. 55 (after 1147) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 46), 64 (1158–64) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. d. 4, 6) and all subsequent datable manuscripts (except for *DMOL*, pl. 74 and Parkes 1991, pl. 15b (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 36), where the *terminus ante quem*, 1166, is the date of the owner’s death).

38 The Tironian nota with cross-bar appears in *DMOL*, pl. 80, line 2 (after 1173 or 1176) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 509); (after 1188) *DMBL*, pl. 109 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.III).

39 See Parkes 1991, pp. 19–33, with further references.

40 For example, Parkes 1991, pls. 12c line 1 ‘*tantummodo*’; 14 line 3 ‘*post hoc modo*’, penultimate line ‘*transgressionem*’ (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26).

41 For example, contrast the abbreviation symbols in *DMOL*, pls. 38 (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26) and 40 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 134), manuscripts of comparable date. The amount of abbreviation also depends on the nature of the text, and on the size of the page or length of the column, which would impose restrictions of space.

42 Common mark, curved: *DMCL*, pl. 37 (1096–1112) (BL, Royal ms. 5 d.1); *DMBL*, pl. 60 (before 1107); *DMOL*, pl. 37 (1108–26). Both curved and horizontal strokes appear in *DMBL*, pl. 93 (c. 1171), and *DMOL*, pl. 82 (a) (c.1177), whereas the horizontal mark alone appears in *DMOL*, pls. 73 (1164–8) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 56), 80 (after 1173 or c.1176), 81 (after 1176), 83 (1177–82), 86 (after 1185) and in subsequent datable manuscripts. The horizontal mark also appears earlier in the Cartulary of Ely, *DMCL*, pl. 62 (after 1144) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. o. 2.41), perhaps influenced by the practice in documents.

43 *DMCL*, pl. 67 col. b line 15 ‘*commendatur*’ (c.1155) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b. 15.10); *DMBL*, pl. 93 col. b line 6 ‘*communi*’ (1171) (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius C. IX).
During the first half of the twelfth century, scribes continued to use the common mark of abbreviation appear during the first half of the century. In the second half of the century scribes frequently employed the ancient nota for con, traced like a figure ‘9’ (fig. 4.4, line 3).

\textit{enim:} the earlier nota (resembling a modern capital H, but with a diagonal instead of a horizontal cross bar) appears during the first half of the century (fig. 6.3, line 23).

\textit{est:} scribes continued to employ the earlier nota ÷ (fig. 4.5, after mcxli), but in more formal handwriting \(\epsilon\) surmounted by the common mark of abbreviation, and separated from surrounding letters by the punctus, became common during the course of the century (fig. 6.3, penultimate line).

The ‘Tironian’ nota and the et ligature (\&) were used to indicate the syllable et, especially at the ends of words, but the nota superseded the ligature in this context during the course of the century.\(\textit{etiam} \) was represented by the ‘Tironian’ nota for et surmounted by a common mark of abbreviation.\(\textit{con-}\) was usually written out in full, but abbreviated forms ‘con’ and ‘c’ with the common mark of abbreviation appear during the first half of the century.\(\textit{enim:}\) the earlier nota (resembling a modern capital H, but with a diagonal instead of a horizontal cross bar) appears during the first half of the century (fig. 6.3, line 23).

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(44)] con: \textit{DMOL}, pl. 45 line 15 ‘confligitur’ (c.1125; William of Malmesbury) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 100); \textit{DMBL}, pl. 59 col. a line 8 ‘coniugem’ (c.1105) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C.V); con: \textit{DMBL}, pl. 59 col. b line 5 ‘constantin’; \textit{DMCL}, pl. 53 col. b line 15 ‘consulendos’ (before 1127) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 19), 60 line 3 ‘conuersario’ (before 1135) (Cambridge, Emmanuel Coll., ms. 1.2.17), 59 col. b line 22 ‘conscientie’ (before 1137) (CUL, ms. li. 2.20).
\item[(45)] Nota: \textit{DMBL}, pl. 70 line 5 ‘concurrentes’ (1131) (BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian A.IX); \textit{DMCL}, pl. 86 line 11 ‘confessore’ (after 1173) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. o. 2.1), \textit{DMBL}, pl. 106 line 6 ‘consectus’ (1181–2) (BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius E.IV), 109 col. a line 16 ‘confugat’ (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7. F.III); \textit{DMCL}, pl. 95 line 24 ‘consecuta’ (1192–8) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 339).
\item[(46)] Nota for \textit{enim:} \textit{DMBL}, pl. 70 line 14 (1131?) (BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian A.IX); \textit{DMCL}, pl. 59, col. b, line 7 (before 1137) (CUL, ms. li. 3.20), 61, col. b, line 10 (c.1140) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll. ms. b. 20).
\item[(47)] Nota for \textit{et (÷):} \textit{DMOL}, pl. 37 (1108–26) (Bodleian, ms. e Mus. 112), 38 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); \textit{DMCL}, pl. 57 (1130–45; John of Worcester) (CUL, ms. Kk. 4.6); \textit{DMOL}, pl. 83 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40). Some scribes writing formal hands employed both ÷ and e: \textit{DMCL}, pl. 44 line 16 (1120–40) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll. ms. R. 7.28), \textit{DMCL}, pl. 74 (before 1166) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 36); \textit{DMCL}, pl. 82, line 18 (1167–83) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. o. 7.13).
\item[(48)] est: \(\epsilon\) with common mark of abbreviation only: \textit{DMCL}, pl. 58, line 3 (1132) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll. ms. a. 22), in more formal hands with common mark of abbreviation, and separated by points: \textit{DMOL}, pl. 57 (1147–76) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 68), 66a (before 1161) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 63), with and without points, 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88) (1171–7) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. o, f. 8).
\item[(49)] During the first half of the twelfth century, scribes continued to use the et ligature (\&) to indicate the syllable et within words: \textit{DMCL}, pl. 37, line 5 (1096–1112) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 146); \textit{DMBL}, pl. 61 (1108–24) (BL, Royal ms. 6 c.vi). The ligature was gradually replaced by the Tironian nota: Parkes 1991, pl. 14, ‘quamlibet’ (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Thomson 1985, 11, pl. 236 (s. xii med.), \textit{DMCL}, pl. 86 (after 1173)(Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. o. 2.1), 90 (after 1179) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., McLean ms. 134); Thomson 1985, 11, pl. 237 (s. xii 4/4) (Bodleian, ms. Selden supra 24).
\item[(50)] \textit{etiam:} \textit{DMOL}, pl. 74 line 21 and Parkes 1991, pl. 15b col. a line 15 (before 1166) (Oxford, Balliol Coll. ms. 36); \textit{DMOL}, pl. 86 line 9 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 423).
\end{enumerate}
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praede: during the first quarter of the century some scribes who wrote formal hands represented the prefix with a common mark of abbreviation above the p and surmounted by suprascript a (fig. 4.10, line 8).51

In small, informal handwriting other ligatures appear alongside ct, st and r with a following minim. These were:

de in which the curved ascender of round-backed d also formed the stem of e at the top of the ascender (fig. 4.5, line 2).52

ar in which the stems of both a and a following r (reduced in size to minim height) were formed with a single stroke. This ligature first appears in datable manuscripts during the third quarter of the century.53 At about the same time a diagonal stroke through the limb of R was employed to indicate the abbreviation of -arum.54

Scribes often resorted to space-saving devices such as conjoint letters and ‘biting’. In conjoint letters – pp and bb – the vertical stroke of the second letter touches the lobe stroke of the first. Conjoint pp appears at the beginnings of words, where the juxtaposition of the letters arises from the omission of a syllable indicated by an abbreviation symbol accompanying the first letter.55 Conjoint bb is much rarer, since Latin vocabulary rarely offers opportunities for this juxtaposition, but occasionally appears within words.56 By contrast, ‘biting’ is the coalescence of contrary curves in juxtaposed letters. The biting of round-backed d with a following e or a appears in the mid-twelfth century.

51 prae: Thomson 1985, ii, pl. 6 lines 2 and 6 (s. xii in./s. xii 1/4) (BL, Royal ms. 13 B.V); CRMSS, pl. 73a line 14 (s. xii 1/4) (BL, Royal ms. 12 D.IV); Thomson 1985, ii, pl. 80 line 8 (s. xii 2/4) (BL, Royal ms. 12 G.XIV). For a possible explanation of this orthography, see Parkes 1994, esp. pp. 27–8.

52 de ligature: Parkes 1991, pp. 72–3 and pls. 13a–b (s. xii 2/4) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 23); DMOL, pl. 77 lines 5–7 (1171–7) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. Q. F. 8); DMCL, pls. 93 (1185–91) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. r. 14. 9), 95 (1192–8) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 95). The ligature persisted and appears in manuscripts at the end of the thirteenth century: see Owl and Nightingale, verso pages (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 29).

53 aR ligature: DMOL, pl. 81 line 5 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40); Mynors, DCM, pl. 47 (s. xii 4/4) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. ms. c. i. 1), in text.

54 -arum: DMOL, pl. 86 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 423); CRMSS, pls. 70 line 1 (s. xii ex.) (BL, Royal ms. 12 C.XIX), 36 col. a line 5 (s. xii/xiii) (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.III).

55 Conjoint pp: DMOL, pl. 38, line 5 (1119–24); DMBL, pl. 93 (1150–3) (BL, Cotton Book Vitellius A.XVII); DMOL, pl. 73, line 2 (1164–8) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 56); DMCL, pl. 80, line 12 (1167–83) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., ms. g. 15); DMCL, pl. 81 (after 1170) (Bodleian, Douce Ms. 287), 83 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40); DMBL, pl. 109 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.III); and adopted in larger hands: DMBL, pl. 93, col. a, line 14 (1171) (BL, Cotton Ms. Claudius C. IX), pp within words in DMOL, pl. 73, line 2 (1164–68). In DMCL, pl. 87 (after 1173) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. o. 4.5) the scribe used it as a space saver (col. a, line 2) but not in the same word when it appeared elsewhere on the same page.

56 Conjoint bb: Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 184 (Nunnaminster, Winchester); DMCL, pl. 94, col. a, line 22 (after 1188) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5. 30).
By the last quarter biting had been extended to \textbf{p} with a following \textbf{o}, and eventually \textbf{p} with a following \textbf{c} (fig. 6.4) and \textbf{b} with a following \textbf{o} (col. b line 5, fig. 6.4).\textsuperscript{57}

During the course of the century scribes copying new academic texts had adopted a size for this category of handwriting that was intermediate between the small, often rapidly written version used by students and scholars, and the medium-sized handwriting used for most other texts.\textsuperscript{58} The small version had been used in the eleventh century for adding glosses to Bible texts,\textsuperscript{59} and scribes in France and England adopted the more stable intermediate-sized version for copying the recognized gloss which accompanied the text in glossed books.\textsuperscript{60}

The characteristic letter shapes (especially round-backed \textbf{d} and the \textit{nota}e) as well as the space-saving devices (conjoint letters, biting, and the frequent use of abbreviated forms of words) enabled scribes to accommodate both gloss and text on the same page. The handwriting of the gloss had to be executed to a standard which would be appropriate to accompany the large formal handwriting employed for the text. The standard and status thus acquired allowed and encouraged scribes, who copied other texts in medium- and large-sized handwriting, to adopt some of the features (especially the round-backed \textbf{d}, the \textit{nota} for \textit{et}, and the practice of biting) characteristic of the intermediate-sized hands (fig. 6.4, col. b).\textsuperscript{61}

By the end of the twelfth century the circumstances in which books were produced had changed.\textsuperscript{62} The monasteries had ceased to be significant centres of book production. A few monks copied their own works (especially annals and chronicles), or collections and miscellanies. Others continued to update books for the \textit{opus Dei}, cartularies, narrative accounts of their communities, as well as maintaining the records required for running the monastery and its estates. Most accessions to a monastery’s collections of books were gifts or purchases. From the late twelfth century onwards most books were produced by scribes working in different environments. Some books were produced by itinerant craftsmen, others by commercial scribes (including part-timers,

\textsuperscript{57} Biting: \textit{De do DMOL}, pls. 55, lines 3, 6 (after 1144) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40), 81 (after 1176) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 287); \textit{po DMOL}, pl. 82 b (c.1177) (Bodleian, ms. e Mus. 249); \textit{oc DMCL}, pl. 91, line 1 (after 1183) (Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., ms. 119); \textit{bo DMCL}, pl. 94, col. b, line 12 (after 1188) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5.30).


\textsuperscript{59} Webber 1992, pl. 15 (Oxford, Keble Coll., ms. 22) (see also above, n. 31).

\textsuperscript{60} De Hamel 1984, esp. pl. 10 (Bodleian, ms. Auct. d. 2. 8) and p. 30; Mynors, \textit{DCM}, pls. 43, 47 (Gratian) and 48 (Durham, Cathedral Lib., mss. \textit{a.i.iii} 4, \textit{c.i.ii} 1, \textit{a.i.ii} 17); \textit{CRMSS}, pl. 36 (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.III).

\textsuperscript{61} For example, \textit{DMCL}, pl. 94 (after 1188; Gerald of Wales) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5.30); \textit{DMBL}, pl. 112 (c.1195; Ralph of Diss) (BL, Add. ms. 40007), with \textbf{da}, \textbf{ba}, \textbf{be}, \textbf{pp} and the \textit{nota} for \textit{et}.

\textsuperscript{62} Discussed in Parkes, CLS, ch. 2.
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like lay clerks and secular clergy – especially chaplains) who worked in major
centres, such as London, Oxford, Cambridge and Salisbury, and produced
books to order. During the course of the thirteenth century other scribes, like
parish priests, scholars and laymen who were accustomed to write in the course
of pursuing their professions (‘professional’ scribes), produced books for their
own use – a practice that expanded rapidly during the following centuries.

During the course of the thirteenth century the pages of de-luxe copies
of texts – especially Psalters and Books of Hours – were often embellished
with illuminated initials, illustrations, and eventually with extensive border
decoration. Scribes sought to restore the visual impact of the text to balance
these dominant decorative features. The large, formal handwriting developed
during the period 1200–1500 is often referred to as ‘Gothic’, but the term
should refer to an attitude as to what constituted elegance in handwriting.
Likewise, the term ‘calligraphy’ should refer to the manifestation of an atti-
tude to handwriting reflected in those features of penmanship which were
chosen, exploited and executed for conspicuous effect. Like all attitudes, what
constituted elegance, and the calligraphy required to achieve it, were subject
to changes of fashion. These changes produced innovations in the handwriting
employed for de-luxe books, which subsequently became conventions when
they were imitated by other scribes working in a competitive market.63 The
impact of this new environment of competitive craftsmanship is reflected in the
developments in the varieties of Textura during the thirteenth and fourteenth
centuries.

These developments emerge in the last decades of the twelfth century, when
scribes producing de-luxe copies introduced features from the large handwrit-
ing used for Bibles or the biblical text in glossed books (like the pointed arches of m and n) and characteristic letter forms and biting from the intermediate-
sized handwriting used for the gloss.64 In the thirteenth century commer-
cial scribes replaced the medium-sized handwriting previously used for patris-
tic and other texts with the intermediate-sized version, although they often
reduced the size and the space between the lines of writing to accommodate
longer texts in a single volume. The small and large-sized hands employed in

63 Discussed in Parkes, CLS, ch. 7.
64 Arches of m and n: DMBL, pls. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007), 113 (1198?) (BL, Cotton ms.,
Claudius E. III); Survey IV/1, pl. 21 (Psalter, s. xii/xiii) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b. 10. 9);
DMBL, pl. 103 + CRMSS, pl. 19a + Survey, iv/1, pls. 10–12 (Westminster Psalter, s. xii/xiii). (These
scribes appear to have been working in the London metropolitan area: Parkes, CLS, ch. 8.) For
earlier examples of treatment of arches of m and n, see Ker 1960a, pl. 22c (supply leaves to the
Winchester Bible). For the introduction of features from intermediate-sized handwriting, see the
examples in n. 61 above.

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high-quality books had more features in common than in the previous century. Apart from the size, the most obvious difference between them was that scribes who produced large, de-luxe copies avoided the frequent abbreviation of words, whereas those who produced copies in smaller handwriting developed further, even more drastic abbreviations of technical terms in academic texts.65

The principal changes shared by both sizes of handwriting were as follows:

Scribes reduced the ratio of the nib-width to minim height, thus producing bolder strokes which often reduced the spaces within letter shapes (figs. 6.4, 6.5).66

In the late twelfth century the centre of the headstroke of a was broken with a blunt point by analogy with the treatment of the arches of m and n (fig. 6.2).67 By the second quarter of the thirteenth century scribes began to close the gap between the headstroke and the lobe,68 and by the middle of the century they had produced a two-compartment form appearing first as a variant,69 subsequently as a constant feature which replaced the earlier form.70 In formal handwriting of the second half of the century the stroke forming the upper compartment was broken twice: once at the highest point of the trace, and again to form the stem of the letter.71 Towards the end of the century scribes traced this stroke with spurs at the points of breaking (fig. 6.4).72

66 Bolder letters: the ratios between nib-width and minim height ranged from between 1:3 and 1:4 in the thirteenth century. Contrast spaces within letters in DMBL, pl. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007) with ibid., pls. 126 (BL, Arundel ms. 157) and 127 (BL, Royal ms. 1 D.X) (both before c.1220); and DMCL, pl. 94 (after 1188) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5.30) with DMBL, pl. 139 (c.1244) (BL, Egerton ms. 3088).
67 Broken headstroke of a: DMBL, pls. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007) and 113 (c.1198) (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius E.III).
68 Low headstroke of a: DMBL, pls. 121 (before 1215) (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.vii), 139 (c.1244) (BL, Egerton ms. 3088); ‘closed’ a as variant: DMBL, pl. 142 (Psalter, 1246–60) (BL, Royal ms. 2. B.VI); Survey, iv/1, pl. 240 (Psalter, s. xiii 2/4) (Oxford, New Coll., ms. 322), Survey, iv/2, pl. 18 (Psalter, s. xiii med.) (London, Royal Coll. of Physicians, ms. 409).
69 Two-compartment a as variant: Survey, iv/2, pl. 24 (Amesbury Psalter, s. xiii med.); DMCL, pl. 112 (c.1255, where it appears as a variant in the text of a glossed Bible) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b. 11 extra); as variant in a smaller hand: DMBL, pl. 146, lines 20 ‘captus’, 23 ‘mandatis’ (c.1251) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero D.V).
70 Two-compartment a appearing consistently in smaller hands: Survey, iv/1, pls. 186–9 (bestiary, s. xiii 2/4 med.) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. 254); DMOL, pl. 104 (Comptus metricus, 1240–8) (Bodleian, Savile ms. 2.1); DMBL, pl. 141 (chronicle, 1246–59) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius A.XX); DMOL, pl. 111 (Franciscan Missal, 1255–60) (Bodleian, ms. lat. liturg. f. 26).
71 a breaking: Survey, iv/2, pl. 305 (Book of Hours) (BL, Egerton ms. 1151), 313 (Cuerden Psalter), both s. xiii 3/4; pls. 407–11 (Psalter, s. xiii 4/4) (Cambridge, Queens’ Coll., ms. 17).
72 Spurs: Survey, iv/2, pl. 244 (Oscott Psalter), 293 (s. xiii 3/4); DMBL, pls. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300) and 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c.1284).
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During the course of the thirteenth century the height of the ascenders was reduced; that of b was often shorter than those of h, k, and l. Ascenders were wedge-shaped, but the way in which they were formed sometimes produced forked ascenders, or a shallow depression visible in the top of the wedge. Other scribes completed ascenders with a horizontal (or almost horizontal) serif (fig. 6.4). The practice of linking the tops of ll with a single elongated horizontal stroke became more common during the course of the century (fig. 4.4).

Round-backed d became the predominant form of the letter in all categories of handwriting during the course of the century. Upright d persisted until the third quarter of the century – especially in some de-luxe copies of Psalters and Books of Hours. Thereafter, upright d was often retained before a minim stroke, and in the sacred names.

Most scribes employed the ‘Tironian’ nota with the cross-bar for et, but the form without the cross-bar persisted in formal hands until the middle of the century. The et ligature (&) also appears in some formal hands throughout the century.

73 Height of ascenders: contrast DMBL, pl. 103 + CRMSS, pl. 19a (Westminster Psalter, s. xii/xiii) and DMBL, pl. 127 + CRMSS, pl. 13 (Psalter) (BL, Royal ms. 1 D.X), both produced before 1220, with DMBL, pl. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1284–1300) and 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c.1284).

74 Ascenders: forked as stroke added from left at the top of the ascender (especially in smaller hands): DMBL, pls. 119 (1212) (BL, Harley ms. 447), 128 (1221–2), 146 (c.1251). Later scribes merely approaching ascender from the left without fork: DMBL, pl. 161 (c.1269), 165 (1274–92 but probably s. xii/xiv) (BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra A.XII). With a shallow depression in the top of the ascender in formal hands: Survey, iv/2, pls. 18–19, 24 (s. xiii med.), DMBL, pl. 142 (1246–60); Survey, iv/2, pl. 69 (s. xiii 3/4) (Evesham Psalter), DMBL, pl. 169 (1283–1300) (BL, Royal ms. 3 D.VI). Horizontal serifs: DMBL, pls. 126, 127 (both before 1220), 142 (1246–60); Survey, iv/2, pls. 193–4, 283, 284 (all s. xiii 3/4). Diagonal serifs (resembling those in hands of s. xii) as well as horizontal serifs: DMBL, pl. 103 + CRMSS, pl. 19a (before 1220). For a mixture of forked, ‘depressed’ and horizontal serifs: DMBL, pl. 103 + CRMSS, pl. 19a (s. xiii 3/4) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., McLean ms. 44).


76 Upright d as predominant form: Survey, iv/2, pls. 193–4 (Psalter, s. xiii 3/4) (BL, Add. ms. 54179); with round-backed d as variant: CRMSS, pl. 8 + DMBL, pl. 150 (1254: William of Hales Bible), where upright d appears before e and o, and round-backed d appears occasionally before e and o without biting.

77 Retention of upright d in nomina sacra, and before minims: Survey, iv/2, pls. 146 (Abingdon Apocalypse), 196 (Princeton UL, Garrett ms. 34), (both s. xiii 3/4); DMOL, pl. 110 (before 1272) (Douce Apocalypse).

78 ‘Tironian’ nota without cross-bar: Survey, iv/1, pls. 112 alongside & (s. xiii 1/4) (New York, PML, ms. M. 791), 216 (CUL, ms. Ec. 2.23), 229 (s. xiii 2/4) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 350/567); Survey iv/2, pl. 21 (Amesbury Psalter) (s. xiii med.).

79 et ligature in DMBL, pls. 126, line 10 (BL, Arundel ms. 157), 127, line 2 (BL, Royal ms. 1 D.X) (before 1220) and Survey, v, pl. 9 (Windmill Psalter, s. xiii ex.).
From the middle of the century the ‘2’-shaped r was used after other letters completed with a clockwise curve – b, round-backed d, h and p – and appears also in de-luxe copies (figs. 4.1, 4.4). 80

The reduced forms of capital r and s appear more frequently in words throughout the text, in both formal and less formal handwriting (fig. 6.4, s only). 81

From the middle of the century, variant forms of the letter x appear in books, and reappear in later centuries. The first was constructed with three strokes: two forming a shape like r with a short shoulder-stroke, and the third added to the left near the bottom of the first stroke. 82 In another variant of this form scribes traced the first stroke with a long vertical movement in the middle, 83 and the third was traced in the same way, but with a horizontal cross-bar across the vertical movement. 84

Scribes continued to use the earlier space-saving devices, but the conjoint letters pp became standard practice in all positions within a word (fig. 4.13, line 31); biting became a feature of style. Scribes extended the range of letters combined in biting to include b with a following a or e; d with a following a; h with a following a, e or o; o with a following c, d, e, g, o, q or small capital S; and p with a following a or e. All except o and q appear in a well-written small hand before 1255. 85 From the middle of

80 ‘2’-shaped r after b: CRMSS, pl. 33 (French Bible, in both text and gloss, s. xiii 2) (Royal ms. 3 E.1); Survey, iv/2, pl. 188 (small Bible, s. xiii 3/4) (BL, Add. ms. 52778). ‘2’-shaped r after round-headed d: Survey, iv/1, pl. 259 (Chirurgia in French, s. xiii 2/4); CRMSS, pl. 8 + DMBL, pl. 150 (William of Hales Bible, 1254). ‘2’-shaped r after h: Survey, iv, 2, pls. 146 line 15 (Abingdon Apocalypse) and 317 (small Bible) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. D. 1.17), both s. xiii 3/4. ‘2’-shaped r after p in small hands: DMBL, pl. 106 line 12 (1244); in a larger hand DMBL, pl. 142, BL, Royal ms. 2 B. VI (Psalter, 1246–60). Thereafter the form was used more frequently in various categories of handwriting.

81 R (reduced to minuscule height) appears within words: CRMSS, pl. 19a (Westminster Psalter, before 1220); Survey, IV/1, pl. 247 (De Brailes Hours, s. xiii 3/4); at the end of a word: DMBL, pl. 142 (Psalter, 1246–60); Survey, iv/2, pl. 14 (Bestiary, s. xiii med.) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 764); CRMSS, pl. 8 col. a line 3 (William of Hales Bible, 1254); CRMSS, iv, 2, pls. 222–3 (Averroes, s. xiii 3/4) (Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 269), and at the beginnings, middle and ends of words, DMBL, pl. 163 (account of Becket, 1277–8). S (reduced to minuscule height) appears frequently (and often consistently) at the ends of words throughout the text: DMBL, pl. 121 and CRMSS, pl. 37 (Comestor, before 1215); DMBL, pl. 104 (Computus metricus, 1240–8), DMBL, pl. 146 (chronicle, c.1251). In CRMSS, pl. 27 (s. xiii med.) (BL, Royal ms. 2 E. IV), it appears consistently in the text, but less so in the gloss. Survey, iv/2, pls. 108–12 (psalter), 146 line 6 (Abingdon Apocalypse), 244 (Ossian Psalter) and 284 (Salvin Hours), all s. xiii 3/4.

82 x: DMBL, pl. 139, lines 2–4 (c.1244) (BL, Egerton ms. 3088): DMC, pl. 112, line 11 (c.1255) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b.11. extra 1) text.

83 x (vertical movement): Survey, iv/2, pls. 146 line 6 (Abingdon Apocalypse), 284, 289 (BL, Add. ms. 41955) (both s. xiii 3/4).

84 x (cross-bar): ibid., pl. 196 (s. xiii 3/4) (Princeton UL, Garrett ms. 334); DMBL, pl. 163, col. b, line 9 (1272–8) (BL, Cotton ms. Galba e.iii). Cf. Survey, v, pl. 83 (s. xiv 1/4) (Maresfield Court, Coll. Earl Beauchamp, ms. 36).

85 Parkes 1992a, pl. 67 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 198). (For twelfth-century examples see above, notes 57 and 61.) he in DMBL, pl. 131 (1228–34) (BL, Arundel ms. 303); ho in DMBL, pl. 111 (c.1255)
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the century scribes copying de-luxe books employed biting on an eclectic basis,86 but by the end of the century most sequences appear in de-luxe copies of Psalters and other texts.87

In the thirteenth century scribes paid careful attention to features of style, especially at the feet of minim strokes (figs. 6.4, 6.5). Some twelfth-century scribes had completed the minims with a horizontal serif to the right, others by turning the feet of the minims into a curve culminating in a diagonal serif.88 Thirteenth-century scribes developed these features to produce different varieties of the Textura script.

In the large handwriting employed for copies of Psalters and Books of Hours scribes adopted horizontal serifs, but traced the final minims of m and n in a different way. They created a perceptible swelling in the lower half of the stroke by slowly pivoting the pen on the leading edge of the nib (at the left edge of the stroke) sometimes leaving a hollow in the base of the minim before terminating the stroke with a short serif (horizontal, or almost horizontal to the right.).89 This variety of the script was subsequently referred to as ‘littera prescissa’. This development culminated in the calligraphy manifest in the handwriting of, for example, the East Anglian Psalters during the first half of the fourteenth century.90

In the smaller handwriting of the thirteenth century, scribes adopted the other twelfth-century practice of completing the minims by turning the strokes

(Bodleian, ms. lat. liturg. f. 26, col. b, line 6); oe in DMCL, pl. 102, col. b, line 22 (1200–23) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 425); oc and oq in DMBL, pl. 142, line 4 (Psalter, 1246–60) (BL, Royal ms. 2 B.VI).

86 For example, ha, he in Survey, iv/2, pl. 146 (Abingdon Apocalypse, s. xiii 3/4).

87 At the end of the century da, ha, he, ho appear in DMBL, pl. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300), and Survey, v, pl. 3, from the same manuscript adds oc and oo, ba, da and pe appear in DMBL, pl. 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c.1284), Survey, v, pls. 1 and 4 add ha, ho, he and oo.

88 Treatment of minims s. xii. Horizontal serifs: DMOL, pls. 66a (1161) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 63), 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88) and 76 (before 1171) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. e. inf. 1); DMBL, pl. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007); curved at the foot culminating in a diagonal serif: DMOL, pls. 40–1 (Bodleian, Bodley mss. 134, 387), 42 (Oxford, Worcester Coll., ms. 273) (all s. xii 1/4), 50 (1131–34) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 297); DMBL, pl. 75 (1140) (BL, Add. ms. 14250); DMOL, pls. 82 (c.1177) (Bodleian, ms. e. mus. 249), 90 (1194) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 672).

89 Swelling: Survey, iv/1, pl. 247 (De Brailes Hours, s. xiii 2/4), Survey iv, 2, pl. 20 (Missal of Henry of Chichester, s. xiii med.), DMBL, pl. 142 (Psalter, 1246–60). Later the serifs become more prominent: DMBL, pl. 163 (Becket material, 1272–8) (BL, Cotton Ms. Galba E. III); Survey, iv/2, pl. 283 (psalter) (Bodleian, Laud. ms. lat. 114), 284 (Salvin Hours), both s. xiii 3/4; Survey, v, pl. 9 (Windmill Psalter, s. xiii ex.). Some scribes traced the stems of c, e, t and the first stroke of o with diagonal broken strokes at the feet: DMBL, pl. 142 (1246–60) (BL, Royal ms. 2 B.VI); Survey, iv/2, pls. 18–19 (s. xiii med.) (London, Royal Coll. of Physicians, ms. 459) and 284 (Salvin Hours, s. xiii 3/4).

90 For example the Ormesby and Bromholm Psalters: Survey, v, frontispiece and pls. 97–9. On the varieties of Textura see Van Dijk 1956, pp. 55–9.
to the right into a diagonal serif.\textsuperscript{91} The high quality of some of the handwriting brought this treatment of the minims into the contemporary canon of features of style, and such small handwriting appears in the small Bibles characteristic of the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{92} This variety of Textura came to be referred to as ‘littera semi-quadrata’.

From the middle of the century scribes who copied de-luxe copies of books in larger handwriting transformed the minims of Textura semi-quadrata, by breaking the strokes into broad, straight, diagonal feet, traced with the full width of the nib before completing them with inconspicuous straight serifs, traced with the edge of the nib in the opposite diagonal.\textsuperscript{93} Later scribes introduced spurs at the points of breaking (figs. 6.4, 6.5).\textsuperscript{94} In this variety of Textura, subsequently referred to as ‘littera quadrata’, the same elements of style were distributed throughout the different letter shapes. The treatment of the feet of the stems of $b$, $c$, $e$, $l$, $r$ and the first stroke of $c$, were traced in the same way as the feet of the minims. These traces also corresponded with those of the arches of $m$ and $n$, and the shoulder of $r$, all at minim height.\textsuperscript{95} The symmetry in the chiaroscuro patterns on the page produced a conspicuous graphic image which, perhaps with the repetition of the same traces in so many letters, ensured that this variety of Textura replaced ‘littera prescissa’ during the the fourteenth century, and survived into the age of the printed book as the principal archetype of ‘Black Letter Text’.

In a smaller version of Textura semi-quadrata, written with a more rapid ductus, scribes often traced the arches of $m$ and $n$ not with a curve, but with a thin straight diagonal stroke broken at an acute angle directly into the stem of the following minim. The foot of the minim was broken, again abruptly,
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into a longer serif parallel to the diagonal forming the arch. Another feature of this less formal version was the increasing use of headless a (fig. 4.13). Textura semi-quadrata was employed for academic texts for much of the fourteenth century, but the increasing number of longer texts, as each generation of scholars commented on the work of their predecessors, led to the deterioration of this variety of the script. A rapid ductus led to simplification of the letter forms, and in many cases the separation of component strokes of individual letter shapes. At the end of the fourteenth century this variety appears in copies of Wycliffite texts, but in some copies of the translations of biblical texts discipline was restored in executing the script.

In the twelfth century the small book hand had appeared in copies of contemporary vernacular texts. The earliest examples in England are copies of French texts: the Vie de Saint Alexis and the Chanson de Roland. Later it appears in contemporary texts in English, where scribes continued to use the Insular letters, ð, þ and ð (but only for the velar spirant, alongside the Carolingian form of the letter for the velar stop).

96 Rapid Textura semi-quadrata: DMOL, pl. 102 (Theologica, 1234) (Bodleian, Hatton ms. 26); DMBL, pl. 161 (Lombard on the Psalter, 1269) (BL, Royal ms. 2 F.VIII). Minims: for scribes who frequently lapse into a more cursive treatment, see MO, fig. 33 (Avicenna, 1230–40); DMOL, pls. 106 (1244) (Oxford, St Edmund’s Hall, ms. KK.60), 108 (Arzachel, c.1250–52) (Bodleian, Savile ms. 22); DMBL, pl. 146 (chronicle, c.1251) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero A.V).

97 Headless a: DMBL, pls. 115 (Rochester, list of books, 1202) (BL, Royal ms. 5 B.XII), 135 (1231) (Royal ms. 9 B.V); DMOL, pl. 108 (Arzachel, Tabula, 1250–2) (Bodleian, Savile 22). As variant: DMOL, pl. 143 (Gerard de Nogent on Porphyry’s Isagoge, 1294) (Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 261).

98 The handwriting of commercial scribes who copied academic texts in university towns is not yet well represented in published facsimiles. For some idea of the kinds of deterioration in Textura semi-quadrata caused by rapid writing (notably the resolution of vertical strokes into uneven curved ones which produce irregularities in the proportions and sizes of individual letters), see the treatment of ascenders and descenders in the text of Parkes 1991, pl. 2 (s. xiii ex.); Destrez 1935a, pls. 26–7 (Guy d’Evreux, Oxford, 1320s); contrast the handwriting on fol. 1 (pl. 26) with that on fol. 181 col. b (pl. 27); Parkes 1992a, pl. 27 (Worcester Cathedral Lib., ms. f. 103, with careless tracing of strokes especially at junctures; Parkes, ECBH, pl. 16ii (Oxford, Merton Coll. ms. 235), well-written, but round letter shapes.

99 For a well-written copy of the later Wycliffite version of the New Testament, see Kenyon 1900, pl. xxi (BL, Egerton ms. 1171), and contrast with CRMSS, pl. 1 (BL, Royal ms. 1 A.X).

100 Alexis: Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 35–7; the same scribe was responsible for the commentary in the margins of pls. 40–41 (s. xii 1/4). On the copy of the Chanson de Roland, see the discussion in Parkes 1991, pp. 71–89 with pls.; Facsimile Digby 23.

101 English texts: Poema morale, homilies (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b. 14. 52, s. xii ex.); homilies etc. During the twelfth century and into the thirteenth scribes continued to copy OE texts (see Ker 1990, p. xviii, for a list). The handwriting used for the earliest copies of ME texts (Peterborough Chronicle continuations and Ormulum) are idiosyncratic in different ways.

102 The Insular g appears in some unusual configurations, e.g. English Ancrene riwle 1972, frontispiece, verso page; main scribe (Scribe A); or he could have mistaken a form in his exemplar as an s. A form of g with a vague resemblance to a capital S, which sits on the line of writing, appears in the hand of the first scribe of Lambeth, ms. 487 (fol. vi, s. xiii in.). Insular g reappears and ascends above minim height in two manuscripts of s. xiii 2/4 with related texts: Bodleian, Bodley ms. 34 (Facsimile Bodley 34); BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. XIV (English Ancrene riwle 1952, frontisp.). A later
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the thirteenth century scribes introduced features of style from Textura semi-quadrata (notably forked ascenders, bold strokes and the treatment of minims); closed a appears as a variant in copies of French texts, but two-compartment a is rare in texts of either language before the last quarter of the century (fig. 6.5).103

The ‘aspect’ of the handwriting in English texts differs from those in Latin and French, because English orthography does not require a long sequence of minims found in forms of Latin words (and, to a lesser extent, in French). In twelfth-century copies of French texts, abbreviated forms (apart from the Tironian nota for et towards the end of the century) are rare;104 but in English texts scribes continued to use the Anglo-Saxon abbreviation þ (with a stroke to the right of the ascender for the various spellings of ‘that’) and the Tironian nota for the conjunction. In the thirteenth century scribes of English texts used the common mark of abbreviation to indicate the omission of m and n, and the small, superscript, ‘7’-shaped stroke for omitted ‘-er’ or ‘-re’. Superscript vowels appear only sporadically until the fourteenth century (fig. 6.8, lines 3 and 4).105 This restraint may well have been a concession to readers who were less familiar with Latin, and with the significance of abbreviation symbols.

Throughout the history of handwriting in the West there has been a tendency to use the everyday ‘business’ handwriting for copying books.106 In England from the twelfth century onwards the momentum of rapid writing in documents (and especially in records) contributed to a constant process of cursive development, generating fluent, rotatory movements which led to modifications in the construction of letter shapes.107 Scribes lifted the pen less version of Insular g appears in Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 402 (Ancrene wisse, s. xiii 4/4; English Ancrene rivele 1962, frontisp.).

103 Bodleian, Bodley ms. 34, s. xii 2/4 (probably in the 1240s); BL, Cotton ms. Titus D. XVIII, s. xiii 2/4 (English Ancrene rivele 1963), in the late 1240s; BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. XIV (English Ancrene rivele 1952), similar date to Titus D. XVIII; DMCL, pl. 112 (gloss, c.1255), and DMCL, pl. 111 (1255–60); (closed a in a French text: Survey, iv/1, pls. 256–61; Wright 1960, pl. 7 + Owl and Nightingale (facs. edn of BL, Cotton ms. Caligula A. IX, s. xiii 4/4); compare the first 9 lines with DMBL, pl. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300); Wright 1960, pl. 8 (bestiary, s. xiii/xiv). Other scribes preferred narrow strokes, leaving more spaces within the letters: Bodleian, Bodley ms. 42, fol. 250r (lyrics, s. xiii 3/4, with two-compartment a); Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. c. 22, fol. 298r (lyric, s. xiii 3/4; two-compartment a as a lone variant in a short text, forked ascenders, f and s with descenders): Owl and Nightingale (s. xiii ex.).

104 Abbreviations appear in Bodleian, Digby ms. 23 (Parkes 1991, pls. 134 and b; Fassimile Digby 23, p. 71); s. xii 2/4) and Bodleian, Douce ms. 381 (Adam de Ros, Visio S. Paolo in French verse, s. xii 4/4; Dean and Bolton 1999, no. 553).

105 Abbreviated forms appear in the manuscripts cited in n. 104. Superscript vowels appear in Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 29 (s. xiii ex., Owl and Nightingale, fols. 156–9v; also abbreviation for –ur which appears at ends of comparative adjectives, probably reflecting dialect spelling).

106 At the end of the twelfth century, Alexander Nequam distinguished between the kinds of handwriting used for books, for glosses and marginalia, and for documents (Wright 1857, p. 117).

107 On cursive resolution and development, see Parkes, CLS, ch. 5, with plates and further references.
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often and recorded on the writing surface traces of auxiliary movements in the transitions from one stroke to another and from one letter to the next. For example, twelfth-century scribes traced the stems of f, r and tall s with long descenders curving to the left before raising the pen, thus anticipating the upward, clockwise, rotatory movement to reach the position required to trace the headstrokes of f and s, and the shoulder of r. Scribes approached the tops of ascenders with a broad anticlockwise loop movement from the final stroke of the preceding letter. Many scribes recorded only the end of this movement, as a short curve from the right into the top of the ascender.108 The curved ascender of d was approached in the same way. Such modified letter shapes appear as variants in rapidly written book hands, as in the only surviving copy of the English text Vices and virtues, produced around the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.109

During the first half of the thirteenth century the rapid ductus became the basis of the structure of the handwriting used for documents: the transitional movements between strokes were deliberately recorded on the surface, and were accepted as part of the morphology of the script.110 Some scribes when writing original documents continued to lift the pen more often, but enhanced the quality of their set hands by treating details of cursive forms as features of style.111 During the second quarter of the century the kinds of set hands found in documents also appear in books.112 The proportions, size, and basic ductus of the handwriting of the main scribe of the earliest surviving copy of the Ancrene Riwe closely resemble those in the handwriting of a roll listing the tradesmen at Wallingford in 1229–30.113

108 See Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, frontispiece.
109 Vices and virtues: BL, Stowe ms. 34 (Wright 1960, pl. 3). The cursive features appear in variant forms: long descenders of f, s and r all curving to the left at the foot, and (more frequently) d with ascender traced with an anticlockwise curve from the top.
110 Brown 1990, pl. 33 (?1208–10); DMCL, pl. 104 (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., ms 271) (Clerkenwell entry on Amphelsa mortuary roll, before 1214); Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. xii a and b (also Jenkinson 1915, pls. xii and xiii, Lincolnshire Subsidy Roll (assessment of fifteenth) 1225, where f and s do not have descenders).
111 Hector 1966, pl. Va (1229–30) (PRO, DL 36/1/247); contrast treatment of minims with the carefully formed long descenders of f, r and s, and forked ascenders with loops, as features of style; Cartulary St John 1914, pls. vii, viii (hand of Town Clerk of Oxford, 1233 and 1235).
112 Document hands in books: CRMSS, pls. 59b (BL, Royal ms. 8 D, XXII, 47 (list of chapters)) (BL, Royal ms. 6 C.VIII). Cf. the large display version on heading of the Amphelsa roll (DMCL, pl. 103, before 1214); also (at the opposite end of the scale) DMCL, pl. 109 (1249–51) (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., Muniments c. 7.1).
113 English Ancrene riwe 1972, frontispiece (BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra C. VI, Dobson’s ‘Scribe A’); compare with Glanvyl 1993, pl. x (Wallingford Roll, 1226–7). Note also the forms of g which are identical. The Cotton scribe also traced the occasional ascender with a small loop at the right. Compare also the handwriting of William of Middlescumbe in Cartulary St John, pls. vii and viii (1233 and 1235), who also used the same form of g. This form also appears in Bodleian, Bodley ms. 34 (Facsimile Bodley 34). The manuscript of the Ancrene wisse (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms.
Further developments in cursive handwriting appear in documents from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. These include the appearance of: headless a, and a very tall a in which the headstroke terminates in a long (often descending) stem; d with a looped ascender completed by a thick, diagonal, reverse curve; forked ascenders with a prominent loop on the right; m and n traced with clockwise curves producing attenuated strokes culminating in a point; and r with a long vertical descender (fig. 6.7). Some of these forms appear as variants in book hands written in a dominant personal idiom, suggesting that the scribes were copying texts for themselves. For example, a copy of extracts from the Ancrene Riwle bound with other material that would have been useful to a parish priest, and the handwriting of a scribe who added texts in two manuscripts. Cursive features dominate the handwriting of a layman, Arnald Thedmar, alderman of the city of London, which he used for his continuation of the Annals of London (1265–74).

The process of cursive development led to the emergence of a distinctive cursive script (Anglicana) during the last thirty years of the century. The script was small, and scribes wrote it with a fine nib, producing very thin strokes, and incorporated some of the features already mentioned. The characteristic letter shapes are: two-compartment a traced in various configurations which rises well above minim height; small, ‘8’-shaped g; long-tailed r, but with a diagonal stroke rising from the base of the descender to minim height where it is frequently assumed to be an early copy because of its orthography, but the scribe employed an abbreviation symbol for ‘est’ (English Ancrene riwle 1962, frontispiece, recto line 19) which first appears in recorded English datable manuscripts in 1308 (DMOL, pl. 150, Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 244). It is more likely that the copy was produced s. xiii 4/4 for presentation to Wigmore Abbey, as the inscription testifies.

Further cursive developments: Clanchy 1993, pl. xi (Eleanor de Montfort’s household roll, 1265); letter written for Llywelyn ap Gruffud (‘in castro iuxta Pyperton’, 1265) Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. xiii b; Brown 1990, pl. 34; Merton muniments, pls. ii (founder’s statutes, 1264), v a–c (1266–8); DMOL, pl. 127 (Amaury de Montfort in jail, 1276).

Scribe of Ancrene riwle: Cambridge, Caius 234/120, frontispiece (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 234/120, s. xiii 3/4). The practice of adding descenders to s and r also appears in English manuscripts produced earlier in the century (CRMSS, pl. 59b, BL, Royal ms. 8 D.XXI).

The scribe of Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b. 1. 45 (Facsimiles Trinity College, pl. iv, ‘Atte Wrastling’), who fills up spaces left by earlier scribes with short English texts. He also corrects and supplements the text in BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra C. VI (Ancrene riwle, Dobson’s ‘Scribe V’), illustrated in English Ancrene riwle 1972, pl. opposite p. 110. His handwriting is also s. xiii 3/4 rather than late s. xiii (as suggested by Dobson). The Trinity manuscript has a number of Augustinian texts, and the Cleopatra manuscript was subsequently given to the Augustinian canonesse at Canonsleigh in Devon. His language has been assigned to NW Norfolk by Angus McIntosh (quoted by Laing 1993, p. 34), where there were numerous houses of Augustinian Canons. This scribe worked on the manuscript before it was acquired by the foundress of the convent for nuns.

Thedmar: DMLL, pl. 27 (where it can be contrasted with the cursive hand of his assistant in the later years) (London, Corporation of London Record Office, ms. Cust. 1).

On Anglicana, see Parkes, ECBH, introduction and plates.
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was broken into a shoulder stroke; a cursive form of short s often rising above minim height, employed at the beginnings and ends of words.

Anglicana became the dominant script in reference books compiled and copied by clerks in local administrations, and practitioners in the new professions of common law and estate management, or in commercial activities (fig. 6.7, 6.9). For example, between 1261 and 1268 Robert Carpenter II of Hareslade, a bailiff on the Isle of Wight, copied formulae and memoranda;119 and in 1305 Richard of Sheffield compiled his own register of writs when he became a chancery cursitor.120 From the 1280s a distinctive version of Anglicana was employed by scholars at Oxford, who collected and copied for themselves treatises and fair copies of reportationes of lectures or Quesstiones.121 The script was also adopted by others (probably commercial scribes) when copying a broader range of texts in the early years of the fourteenth century.122

Scribes also sought to develop a new book hand from cursive origins, that would meet contemporary criteria for the decorum required of handwriting in books.123 Some scribes experimented;124 others incorporated cursive forms in handwriting based on the proportions of Textura semi-quadrata.125 Some employed the engrossing hand used for original documents, tracing strokes with meticulous care, and introducing features of style. For example, they completed the minims of i, m and n with feet, traced ascenders with elaborate forks, and the headstrokes of f and long s below a short curved approach stroke from the right, in a way which has suggested to some a 'double headstroke'.126 The earliest datable example of Anglicana formata in a book is illustrated in fig. 6.6 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 465).

120 Richard of Sheffield: Brown 1990, pl. 35; Parkes, CLS, ch. 7.
121 Scholars: Parkes, ECBH, pl. 161 (1282); DMOL, Pl. 129, probably originating among the Franciscans at Oxford (Bodleian, Digby ms. 2); DMCL, pl. 130 (1301–6) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 668*645). On these manuscripts, see Parkes, CLS, ch. 7. Pl. 129 (CUL, ms. Hb. 3.11) facing pl. 130 in DMCL provides an excellent opportunity to contrast the ‘academic’ version of Anglicana with that used by ‘professional’ scribes in other texts.
122 In other texts (probably copied by commercial scribes): DMLL, pl. 32 (1285–90) (London, Lincoln’s Inn, Hale ms. 135); Gilbert of Thornton’s Summa de legibus; CRMSS, pl. 29 (BL, Royal ms. 2 A.xiii) (given by Walter of Hemingburgh to the Augustinian priory at Guisborough (Gisburn)).
123 On decorum, see Parkes, CLS, chs. 6, 7 and glossary.
124 Facsimile Digby 86, fol. 62, where the experimental handwriting (with bolder strokes) appears in the text at the top of the page, and the scribe’s usual handwriting appears in the addition below. See also the handwriting of William Tatlock in fig. 4.14; Scribe 3 of the Auchinleck ms. (Auchinleck manuscript), fol. 70–107 (s. xiv 13).
125 Cf. grant by Henry III (1271, Merton muniments 1928, pl. IVb).
126 Parkes, ECBH, pl. 41 + DMOL, pl. 137 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 406) (1291; sermons); compare with Pilkington Charter of the same date (Survey, v, pl. 43) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. ms. 46–1980), also with charter of Henry III (Chaplais 1971, pl. 4b, 1265).
During the first decade of the fourteenth century scribes who produced documents in the royal administration developed a new style. In particular they replaced forked ascenders with curved hooks traced from the tops of the ascenders. The scribe in fig. 6.8 adopted this feature in larger handwriting when copying a book. Other scribes, influenced by this new engrossing hand, produced a ‘display’ script for copies of books with illustrations and prominent decorated borders. They abandoned the cursive form of short s, and replaced it with long s at the beginnings of words and a small capital s at the ends. Some scribes replaced long-tailed r with a shortened version, or with the short r of Textura semi-quadrata.

The emergence of Anglicana formata was one of the most important developments in the history of handwriting in England. At the beginning of the fourteenth century scribes recognized the existence of a hierarchy of scripts to be used in books. At the top of the hierarchy the two display scripts, Textura prescissa and (increasingly) Textura quadrata were employed in de-luxe copies of texts, whereas Anglicana was at the bottom of the hierarchy, with Textura semi-quadrata in between. When scribes employed Anglicana formata based on the engrossing hand as a less expensive script in de-luxe copies, this new variety of cursive origin began to encroach on the hierarchy, and to replace Textura semi-quadrata in the estimation of scribes. Whereas in the late 1350s a scribe copying a text accompanied by a gloss in the margins would employ a variety of Textura for the text, and Anglicana formata for the gloss (fig. 4.8), a scribe in the late 1380s would use Anglicana formata for the text and Anglicana for the commentary, acknowledging the existence of a hierarchy of varieties in the same

127 Scribes in royal administration: Chaplais 1971, pls. 7b (1301), 9a (1305), 8b (1307; written by a clerk of the Wardrobe).
128 DMLL, pl. 44 (1321–8) (London, Corporation of London Record Office, ms. Cust. 6) + Ker, BCL, pl. 19 + Moximenta Gildhallae, ii, frontispiece; Survey, v, no. 72, pl. 187–8 (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 16, fols. 139–81: Commentary (in French) on the Apocalypse, s. xiv 2/4, probably third decade); two manuscripts by the same scribe (s. xiv 2/4) produced for Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich (1344–52); DMCL, pl. 142 (Liber itinerarium, after 1331) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 407) and Parkes, ECBH, pl. 4ii (Marco Polo etc.) (BL, Royal ms. 14 C.xiii) (Ker, BCL, p. 260, nos. 47 and 42). See also below, n. 132.
129 The scribe of the Lincoln Coll. manuscript observed the new convention for s and employed short r. Long-tailed r was retained in most later manuscripts: e.g. DMOL, pls. 198 (1361–89) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 216), 215 (1381) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257) text.
130 For examples which illustrate the pressure for changes in the hierarchy, see the two manuscripts produced (s. xiv med.) at Salisbury by the same scribe for Bishop Robert Wivill (1330–75). The first (Hunt 1962, p. 23 pl. iva) was written in ambitious but inferior Textura quadrata, the second in a ‘mixed’ hand with features of Textura quadrata deployed in Anglicana formata (Bastard Anglicana). Another, more unusual example is the handwriting which James le Palmere employed for books. He served as Clerk of the Great Rolls (the Pipe Rolls) of the royal Exchequer from 1368 until just before his death in 1375, and introduced the size and proportions of Textura into an elaborate version of Bastard Anglicana used for display script in the books. On these two scribes, see Parkes, CLS, ch. 8 and pls. 60 and 61.
Another manifestation of this change is that some fourteenth-century scribes created artificial versions of Anglicana for headings and colophons by exaggerating the size – especially the height of the letters – to exploit their own choices of features of style. By the end of the century some scribes also used such artificial versions for the lemmata (usually quotations from the Bible) within the text, as well as for headings.

In the mid-fourteenth century the rapid handwriting of scribes who employed the basic variety of Anglicana began to incorporate the features of further cursive development (figs. 6.7, 6.9). The principal change was an increase in the number of anti-clockwise loop movements of the pen in the basic ductus. Scribes traced the letters d, cursive e (and, later, b and v) with different configurations of the same anti-clockwise loop. They also traced a sequence of minims (apparently sloping from top left to bottom right) with a single multiple stroke traced with repeated anti-clockwise movements. Scribes simplified the letter r by omitting the shoulder stroke, and tracing the upward diagonal stroke from the base of the descender at an oblique angle which became wider over time. Cursive e appears within words as well as in final positions (fig. 6.12). These features often appear in books copied in small (sometimes minute) handwriting, in which the more complex letters – like a, cursive short s, and, sometimes g – protrude more noticeably above minim height. Some scribes also employed frequent (often drastic) abbreviations of words.

During the second half of the fourteenth century a new script was imported from the continent, where it had been developed from the version of Italian

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134 Rapidly written Anglicana: Merton muniments, pls. xiii-xiv (College scrutiny, 1338-9, discussed in Parkes, CLS, ch. 2 and pl. 12); Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. xxixb (1391; record of inquisition). An early stage in the development of cursive e (where it lies on its back with the tongue traced vertically) is in DMOL, pl. 154 line 3 'de' (after 1310) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 940), 161 first word (c.1321) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. c.292); a more rapidly written version becomes common in documents of s. xiv 2. For multiple strokes forming sequences of minims, see DMOL, pl. 215 line 24 'simul' (1381; in commentary) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257). 

135 Developments in the treatment of long-tailed r took place in both Anglicana and Anglicana for- mata. Elimination of the shoulder stroke: DMOL, pls. 174, line 3 'imperat' (after 1313) (Bodleian, Rawl. ms. c. 666), 197 last line 'guerra' (1361-76) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 89). Changes in the angle of the upward diagonal stroke: DMOL, pl. 215 line 20 (1381) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257). 

136 Size of complex letter forms: DMOL, pls. 177 (1334-49) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 91), 197 (1361-76) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 89), 215 (1381) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257).
‘littera cancelleresca’ adopted by scribes in the papal chancery at Avignon.\(^{137}\)

The earliest datable English example is the handwriting of John de Branktre, a scribe in the royal Chancery, who had learned the script (probably from a French scribe) whilst in Avignon on the king’s business in 1355–6.\(^ {138}\) This script (Secretary) was adopted c.1372 by clerks in the offices of the royal Privy Seal and the Signet, where the predominant language of the documents produced was French.\(^ {139}\)

The Secretary script introduced a new style of penmanship.\(^{140}\) The principal features were: the basic *ductus* which replaced curved strokes with broken strokes traced in different diagonals according to the constant pen angle; letter shapes constructed with this *ductus*, which had no counterparts in Anglicana: ‘diamond’-shaped headless a; g with a single lobe traced like a, and a tail stroke; short r with a diagonal stem, a thin stroke rising from the foot of the stem in the opposite diagonal, and a shoulder stroke traced from the top of the stem; a two-compartment ‘kidney’-shaped short s used in final positions (fig. 6.1). The basic *ductus* also appeared in the formation of the broken lobes of d and q, the letter o, and the stems of c and e. Isolated Secretary forms began to appear in the indigenous cursive script, and the influence of the basic *ductus* in other letter shapes.\(^ {141}\)

Thus, between c.1380 and c.1425 the new graphic environment, created by the co-existence of different styles of penmanship at the same levels of the hierarchy, encouraged scribes to exploit the diversity of style in handwriting of cursive origin used for books. Two scribes who produced deluxe copies of the Statutes of the Realm (c.1389 and c.1407)\(^ {142}\) employed the

\(^{137}\) On ‘littera cancelleresca’, see Petrucci 1989, pp. 151–5, with pls. and references (cf. *DMBL*, pl. 216, BL, Royal ms. 6 E.9; (1335–40), a very formal hand from Prato). The earliest datable examples of the new script in France are two copies of Statutes for the Benedictine Order (1337): *DMBL*, pl. 219 (BL, Add. ms. 15339) and Samaran and Marichal 1974, pl. CIV (BNF, ms. lat. 13809).

\(^ {138}\) On the introduction of the script into England, see Parkes, *CLS*, chs. 5, 7.

\(^ {139}\) Chaplais 1971, pp. 27–8 and 52 (and pl. 16c). On the appearance of the script in ecclesiastical registers, see Parkes, *ECBH*, Introd. and pls. 9 and 10. The earliest dated example of Secretary in an English book is *DMBL*, pl. 273 (1384; Rolle, *Emendatio vitae*) (BL, Add. ms. 34763). An early example of the ‘academic’ version of Secretary, written more rapidly, appears in *DMBL*, pl. 284 (BL, Harley ms. 3524) (copied by a continental scribe ‘in aula Brizznas’ (Brasenose Hall), Oxford, in 1390: excerpts from patristic texts). The letter shapes of Secretary, but with little influence on the basic *ductus*, appear in *DMCL*, pl. 170 (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., ms. 1.19) (Oxford, c.1382, but before 1394; formula for writing letters, by Thomas Sampson, who ran a business school in Oxford).

\(^ {140}\) See Parkes, *ECBH*, Introduction and plates.

\(^ {141}\) Isolated forms in Anglicana: e.g. *DMCL*, pl. 162 col. a g in line 9, s in line 10 (1376–1400). In Anglicana formata: *DMBL*, pl. 2712 (1381) (BL, Royal ms. 4 E.2), second scribe, r and s line 8, a line 18, d end of line 10; *DMCL*, pl. 163 col. a line 14, d, o, r, s in ‘ideo de liberis’ (1377–96) (CUL, Add. ms. 3578).

\(^ {142}\) *DMCL*, pl. 174 (Cambridge, St John’s Coll., ms. a. 7) (c. 1380; detail in Rickert 1952, pl. xvib); *Survey*, vi, pls. 83 (c.1399) and 82 (c.1408) (San Marino CA Huntington Lib., ms. HM 19920) copied.
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engrossing hand, elaborating on developments introduced in the Chancery of Richard II.143 Some scribes began to apply the modes of handwriting, each with its own conventions, such as lateral compression of the letters (and the spaces between them), or patterns of symmetrical broken strokes.144 Others preferred a traditional version of Anglicana formata (fig. 6.10), that had emerged in the large handwriting of books in the 1320s.145 In the last quarter of the fourteenth century the Secretary script rapidly came into fashion. Some scribes incorporated features of Textura quadrata (notably broken strokes at the feet of letters), thus developing an early version of English Bastard Secretary.

Subsequently the prevalence of polymorphism created by the coexistence of two cursive scripts encouraged scribes to borrow letter forms and graphic ideas from a range of scripts on a pick-and-mix basis as features of style. Style in book hands began to reflect the initiative of individual scribes, and the personal idiom in their handwriting gradually became more prominent.146 The number of scribes who employed the Secretary script increased, until it eventually replaced Anglicana as the principal medium for manuscript books for much of the sixteenth century.147

143 Engrossing hand: Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. xxx a (1381); Chaplais 1971, pl. 20 c (1397).
144 The modi scribendi in English manuscripts are discussed in Parkes, CLS, ch. 7, and illustrated in pls. 32–4.
145 Compare the handwriting of “Scribe o” in MSML, pls. 49–52, with the handwriting of the scribe in DMLL, pl. 44 (London, Corporation of London Record Office, ms. cust. 6). For other examples, see Thompson 1912, facs. 211 and Cynurgie, frontisp.; and the lines of English text in St John’s L. 1, pl. 14.
146 Personal idiom: Parkes, CLS, ch. 7 and pls. 44–50.
147 For developments in English handwriting in the fifteenth century, see Parkes, ECBH, and Parkes, CLS, chs. 7 and 8.