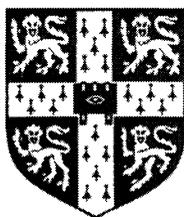


Abbreviations used in Insular Script  
before A.D. 850:  
Tabulation based on the  
Work of W.M. Lindsay

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DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE, AND CELTIC  
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic offers programmes of study, at both undergraduate and graduate level, on the post-Roman, pre-Norman culture of Britain, Brittany, Ireland, and the Scandinavian world in their various aspects — historical, literary, linguistic, and palaeographical. The principal courses offered cover the following subjects:

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ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE & CELTIC MANUSCRIPT-STUDIES

2

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Abbreviations used in *Insular Script before A.D. 850*:  
Tabulation based on the Work of W.M. Lindsay

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## PREFACE

This series of pamphlets has been created to complement the teaching of palaeography and codicology in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic of the University of Cambridge. It is hoped that these materials will also be of use and interest to colleagues elsewhere. Suggestions for additions to the series will be warmly welcomed.

David N. Dumville  
Summer 2004

## INTRODUCTION

Scribal use of marks of abbreviation (whether of letters, syllables, or words) when writing Latin had a long history before the Middle Ages. The origins of abbreviation in Latin writing have been argued to go back to the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. and to be associated with the development of a secretarial shorthand writing (tachygraphy).<sup>1</sup> In the early Middle Ages it was asserted that the originator of such shorthand was M. Tullius Tiro, a former slave who was the secretary of the Roman orator Cicero: as a result, shorthand-symbols came to be known as *notae tironianae*, ‘Tironian *notae*’;<sup>2</sup> the system eventually expanded to some 13,000 signs, recorded in a tract known as *Commentarii notarum tironianarum*.<sup>3</sup> This system may have inspired the practice of developing abbreviations for use in ordinary (in the sense of non-shorthand) writing, but no doubt the tradition of abbreviation in publicly displayed inscriptions also played its part:<sup>4</sup> the first-century (A.D.) grammarian M. Valerius Probus gathered the abbreviations known to him and explained them in a tract *De litteris singularibus*.<sup>5</sup> *Nota* is the word used for any abbreviated form (*compendium* is commonly used in scholarly Neo-Latin).

Part of scribal training was (we may be sure) the learning of abbreviations. The history of the ancient development of Latin abbreviations has become controversial. It is a question whether there were separate professional traditions of abbreviation-practice — bureaucratic, legal, and literary/grammatical, for example — and to what extent these shared a common stock of forms.<sup>6</sup> The Latin terms used by modern scholars reflect something of these varying perspectives: we read of *notae* (abbreviations/signs) of various particular sorts — *notae iuris* (those used in legal writing)<sup>7</sup> and *notae tironianae* (those derived from that shorthand-system), for example — or of *notae antiquae* or *notae communes*,<sup>8</sup> those not held to be professionally specialist in character, the abbreviations deemed to be ‘used in everyday writing’ but ‘excluded from’ formal majuscule script.<sup>9</sup> A great deal of systematic and precise research still requires to be conducted into the early history of Latin scribal abbreviation.

<sup>1</sup> Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80. The information comes from the late sixth- and early seventh-century author Isidore of Seville: Bischoff described it as ‘credible’ but did not say why; Isidore is hardly a straightforward witness to the first century B.C..

<sup>3</sup> *Commentarii*, ed. Schmitz.

<sup>4</sup> Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Theodor Mommsen, in *Grammatici Latini*, edd. Keil et al., IV.267-76.

<sup>6</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 1-6, 413-17; Schiaparelli, *Avviamento*, and *Note*, pp. 189-312 (with two plates); Battelli, *Lezioni*, pp. 101-14; Cencetti, *Lineamenti*, pp. 353-475, and *Compendio*, pp. 89-94; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 150-2.

<sup>7</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 2, 413-43; *Gaii Institutionum Commentarii*, ed. Studemund, pp. 253-312; Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, p. xxxiv (pp. xxx-xl on abbreviations generally); Lindsay, ‘The *notae iuris*’; Steffens, ‘Ueber die Abkürzungsmethoden’; Lindsay, ‘The abbreviation-symbols’; Girard, *Textes*, pp. 214-20; Wenger, *Die Quellen*, pp. 111-20 (§40); Bischoff & Nörr, ‘Ein unbekanntes Konstitution’.

<sup>8</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 1-394 (especially 1-6), for *notae communes*; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 150-1, for *notae antiquae*. Cf. Brown, *A Palaeographer’s View*, pp. 230-2, 186-8.

<sup>9</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 2.

In Classical Antiquity, professional scribes were usually laypersons, sometimes indeed slaves. It is a matter of some uncertainty how early in christian history copying of texts became a function of the clergy; in the Latin West, monks (and nuns) are highly unlikely to have been engaged in such work before the later fourth century, and progress towards this norm of the earlier Middle Ages would have been patchy into the seventh century. Lay literacy was relatively unusual in the earlier mediaeval West, and lay scribal activity even more so. In imperial Roman times, literacy had a wider social base in the Latin-speaking world than would again be the case in the same regions until the very late Middle Ages or indeed the Protestant reformation; it is clear that the use of received abbreviations in the Latin handwriting of the Roman empire was in some measure diffused beyond the ranks of professional scribes.<sup>10</sup>

One might ask why so much effort went into the devising of abbreviations in the Classical world — and, no doubt, into teaching them to scribes (and others). The simplest answer is that such abbreviations were invented as an aid to writing: they saved the informed writer time because fewer letters had to be written, and in the copying of longer texts less papyrus or parchment (and therefore less expense and storage-space) would be needed. The reader was in principle disadvantaged, but we should perhaps deduce that most readers of abbreviated writing were themselves privy to the system used. Furthermore, already in Antiquity, free-standing lists of abbreviations had begun to be kept and circulated; whether or not these were scholarly compilations, they were presumably thought to be useful.<sup>11</sup> Some of these lists have survived in mediaeval manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, in late Antiquity we find legal prohibitions — presumably arising from complaints and unfortunate misunderstandings — on the use of abbreviations in law-books.<sup>13</sup> One might choose to deduce from this that the use (and misreading or misconstruing) of abbreviations was also widespread in areas of writing where misconstruction would have less dangerous effects.

Formal Latin abbreviations have been classified into three types according to their structure. The first is called 'suspension', since the scribe wrote the first part of a syllable or word and then suspended his writing:<sup>14</sup> examples are (syllables) **b**: (-*bus*) and **q**: (-*que*); (words) **etī** (*etiam*), **n̄** (*non*), **p̄** (*prae*), **q̄** (*quae*), **s̄** (*sed*), **uñ** (*unde*). Note, however, that all carry a sign indicating that some letters have been omitted: the commonest is a macron (a horizontal stroke), sometimes a tilde (ã), above the last letter written. The simplest

<sup>10</sup> For a very cautious assessment of Latin literacy in Antiquity, see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*. On the role of bookshops in the multiplication of texts, see Reynolds & Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 23-5, 81; cf. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, p. 225. On the book-trade in general in Latin Antiquity, see Kleberg, *Bokhandel or Buchhandel*, chapter II.

<sup>11</sup> For a general account, see Lehmann, 'Sammlungen', and 'Mitteilungen', pp. 17-27. These *laterculi notarum* ('lists of abbreviations') were mostly edited by Theodor Mommsen, in *Grammatici Latini*, edd. Keil et al., IV.265-352, 611-14. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 4, n. 1, drew attention to another list in Madrid, El Escorial, MS. T.ii.24; yet another (Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 151, n. 5) is in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. A.iv.19, folios 85r-86rb9 (facsimile in *The Durham Ritual*, edd. Brown et al., and comment by Brown in the Introduction, p. 51), a Northumbrian addition of the second half of the tenth century.

<sup>12</sup> The earliest is in a manuscript of about A.D. 700: Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 194 (Lowe, *Codices*, VII, no. 918).

<sup>13</sup> Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 151.

<sup>14</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 1.

suspension of all is of a single letter, almost invariably a nasal (*m*, *n*): the phrase ‘nasal suspension’ is unattractive but very memorable. Some scribes sought to differentiate between suspended *m* and suspended *n*.<sup>15</sup> Many scribes, throughout the history of abbreviated Latin writing, used ‘capricious suspensions’, abbreviations created at the moment of writing, deemed (not always credibly) transparent, and not intended to set a precedent which would formalise that abbreviation.

Scholars have allowed the category of ‘suspension’ to expand analogically.<sup>16</sup> Double syllabic suspensions are the most obvious extension —  $\overline{q\bar{q}}$  (*quoque*) —, even though *quo* by itself would never have been abbreviated  $\overline{q}$  (= *quae* / later *que*). Suspensions with final syllables added are a second such sub-category:  $\overline{h\bar{d}e}$  for *herede*, for example. In a third subtype, the final letter of the full word may replace the macron or tilde as a suprascript:  $\overline{m}$  (*modo*),  $\overline{n}$  (*nisi*),  $\overline{p}$  (*post*),  $\overline{q}$  (*qua*); a bizarre Celtic development of this type is  $\overline{u}$  (*ut*)!<sup>17</sup> A fourth subtype has a crossbar (rather than suprascript) providing the mark of abbreviation:  $\overline{\text{†}}$  (*inter*),  $\overline{\text{r}}$  (*per*),  $\overline{\text{f}}$  (*secundum*), and the syllable  $\overline{\text{†}^+}$  (*tur*);  $\overline{q}$  for *quia* (Insular) or *qui* (Italian) should also be noted here. Finally, we find suspensions created by the use of tachygraphic (shorthand) signs:  $\overline{c\tau}$  (*cum*),  $\overline{p}$  (*pro*),  $\overline{q}$  (*quod*).

The second of the three principal types of Latin abbreviation has been called ‘contraction’. The principle here is that the first and last letter of the word are given in the abbreviation. A simple example is  $\overline{D\bar{S}}$  (*Deus*, ‘God’). This had the further advantage that inflected forms could be retained in abbreviation:  $\overline{D\bar{M}}$  (*Deum*);  $\overline{D\bar{I}}$  (*Dei*);  $\overline{D\bar{O}}$  (*Deo*).<sup>18</sup> A more complex version of contraction retains one (or sometimes more than one) medial letter in the abbreviation:  $\overline{D\bar{N}S}$  (*Dominus*, ‘Lord [God]’), with the inflected forms  $\overline{D\bar{N}E}$  (*Domine*),  $\overline{D\bar{N}M}$  (*Dominum*),  $\overline{D\bar{N}I}$  (*Domini*),  $\overline{D\bar{N}O}$  (*Domino*).  $\overline{O\bar{M}P\bar{S}}$  (*omnipotens*, ‘omnipotent’/ ‘all-powerful’) is a longer and later (sixth-century) example.<sup>19</sup> It will be noted that these are religious or potentially religious terms. In fact, they are christian in origin. They are fully attested in majuscule scripts.<sup>20</sup> The practice was borrowed into Latin from Greek usage (which, in its turn, was borrowed from scribal practice in the Hebrew scriptures).<sup>21</sup> This is made very clear by the examples  $\overline{I\bar{H}S}$  (*Jesus*, ‘Jesus’) — declined  $\overline{I\bar{H}M}$  (*Iesum*),  $\overline{I\bar{H}U}$  (*Iesu*) — and  $\overline{X\bar{P}S}$  (*Christus*, ‘Christ’) — declined  $\overline{X\bar{P}E}$  (*Christe*),  $\overline{X\bar{P}M}$  (*Christum*),  $\overline{X\bar{P}I}$  (*Christi*),  $\overline{X\bar{P}O}$  (*Christo*) —, where the letters *H*, *P*, and *X* are not Latin but Greek, standing for Latin *e* (long), *r*, and *ch*. (Around 800, Gaelic scribes, in a state of hellenising enthusiasm, extended such usage by writing  $\overline{X\bar{P}C}$ ,  $\overline{I\bar{H}C}$ , and even  $\overline{S\bar{P}C}$ , where *C* is a Greek Uncial sigma, for the usual  $\overline{X\bar{P}S}$ ,  $\overline{I\bar{H}S}$ ,  $\overline{S\bar{P}S}$ .)<sup>22</sup> The practice originated ‘to shroud in reverent obscurity the holiest

<sup>15</sup> For early manifestations, see Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 151 and n. 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>17</sup> For the earliest recorded instance of this form, see Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, p. 31 (a tenth-century Cornish manuscript: cf. n. 29, below). For the early abbreviation of *ut*, see Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 320-1 (§409); for the beginnings of Late Celtic practice, see *ibid.*, p. 321, and Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, pp. 9, 11, 15, 17, 21, 25, 31.

<sup>18</sup> See Table II, below (p. 10), for ‘declinable’ abbreviations.

<sup>19</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 433 (§86); Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> Hence my use of majuscules in this paragraph.

<sup>21</sup> This history was deduced by Traube, *Nomina Sacra*; cf. Turner, ‘The *nomina sacra*’, and Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 152.

<sup>22</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 402-3, 407, 411. It was extended to  $\overline{t\bar{p}c}$ ,  $\overline{e\bar{p}c}$ ,  $\overline{om\bar{p}c}$ : Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 154.

words' of the religion.<sup>23</sup> At its full extent in Latin usage, the group comprises a wide range of words — names of persons and places, words for the christian godhead, and (at its edges) broader theological concepts: *Christus*, *Dauid* (**DD**), *Deus*, *Dominus*, the very variously abbreviated *Hierusalem* ('Jerusalem'),<sup>24</sup> *Jesus*, *Israel* (also very variously abbreviated),<sup>25</sup> *misericordia* ('mercy', 'pity'), *saeculum* (**SCLM**, **SECLM**, **SLM**) ('the world'), *sanctus* (**SCS**) ('holy'), *Spiritus* (**SPS**) ('The Holy Ghost'). There are also analogical extensions: *christianus*, *deitas*, *dominicus* (and others), *Israelita*, *sanctifico* / *sanctissimus* / *sanctuarium*, *spiritalis*. From *Dauid*, the idea of contracting personal names of crucial holy individuals extended to *Jesus* and then to the Evangelists (principally, *Iohannes*, 'John': **IOH**, etc.) and major apostles (*Petrus*, *Paulus*).<sup>26</sup> *Filius* ('Son') (**FLS**) and *Pater* ('Father') (**PR**) are obvious extensions, given Trinitarian theology. It is arguable where the boundaries of these *nomina sacra* ('holy names/nouns/words') — as the group has come to be known<sup>27</sup> — in Latin christian usage should be drawn.<sup>28</sup> *Caelum* ('Heaven') is a very late (and Celtic) addition to the repertoire.<sup>29</sup>

In any event, it has been argued that it was from these *nomina sacra* that the habit of contraction as a method of abbreviation in Latin took hold.<sup>30</sup> Examples are numerous: **c̄s** (*cuius*), **d̄rē** (*dicere*, 'to say', and numerous conjugated forms), **ēe** (*esse*), **m̄r** (*mater* and *martyr*), **m̄s** (*meus*), **n̄n** (*nomen*), **q̄nō** (*quando*). Ambiguous examples (which might be suspensions, that is) are **f̄r** (*frater*), **h̄ō** (*homo*), and **q̄mō** (*quomodo*).

The last of the three principal types into which Latin abbreviations are conventionally divided is single symbols. These seem to have their roots in ancient tachygraphy (shorthand): in the Insular system *autem*, *contra*, *eius*, *enim*, *est*, *et*, and the syllable *con* can be represented by such signs. In some cases a letter has been proposed as the ultimate underlying form,<sup>31</sup> but these would probably not have been deducible by early mediaeval scribes.

Abbreviations not satisfactorily explained by the three aforementioned categories remain: **ḡ** (*ergo*) and **ḡ** / **ḡ** (*igitur*) are no doubt related.<sup>32</sup> A fuller and finer study of abbreviation-strokes themselves would probably yield further complexities.

A frequent difficulty encountered by those coming to Insular manuscripts for the first time is provided by accents and apices. Acute accents over vowels (**á**, **é**, **í**, **ó**, **ú**) usually indicate length and are very commonly written over monosyllables (notably pronouns: **hí**,

<sup>23</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406 (§10).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 407-9 (§12).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 404-5 (§7).

<sup>27</sup> Traube, *Nomina Sacra*; Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 395-412.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395; Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, p. 29, for the earliest recorded instance (a tenth-century Cornish manuscript; cf. n. 17, above); Bains, *A Supplement*, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 152, expressed this succinctly.

<sup>31</sup> For *autem*, see *ibid.*, p. 86, and the suggestion that the Insular suspension for *per* was based on the analogy of that for *autem*.

<sup>32</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 66-9 (§§67-8); cf. Lindsay, 'The abbreviation-symbols'.

mé, tú, uós) and especially those consisting only of a vowel (the prepositions á and é, the exclamation ó).<sup>33</sup> These accents are distinguishable from abbreviation-strokes by their angle (commonly about 45° to the line of writing), fineness of stroke, and sometimes their greater length. Apices (plural of apex) is the term given to vertical or (more usually) acute strokes distributed apparently randomly above text: these were used by early Insular scribes to denote vernacular words occurring within a Latin context.<sup>34</sup> It has been a matter of controversy how long this usage continued.<sup>35</sup>

Abbreviations which occur frequently on early mediaeval manuscript-pages but are not part of the text itself are omission-signs. E.A. Lowe wrote a classic paper on these, elucidating their usage and meaning and showing that they can have great significance for the palaeographer.<sup>36</sup> There was a distinctive early Insular system (whose gradual dissolution also provides important evidence for the palaeographer). At the point where text was deemed wanting, the symbol ð (for *deest*, 'it is missing') was written; this was answered (usually in a margin) by the symbol h̄ (probably for an earlier h̄) (*hic est*, 'here it is') which introduced the supply of recovered text. These are what palaeographers call *signes de renvoi*, marks (in this case abbreviations) which draw attention to one another and indicate pieces of text which stand in a necessary and functional relationship to one another. That relationship can be much more varied than the supply of words to fill a lacuna in a badly transmitted text: new matter to be interpolated or commentary to be read alongside the text might equally be signalled by a *signe de renvoi* (which can be an abbreviation meaningful in context or simply a distinctive mark) which finds its often identical *point de repère* within the text. All this is a reminder that a manuscript-page may bear assorted marks of a non-verbal kind but which were essential for the benefit of readers: marginal citation-marks, deletion-marks (usually underpointing of letters, but sometimes underlining, and sometimes additional overpointing), paragraph-marks (commonly, these were enlarged or elaborated letters, sometimes protruding into the margin or set back on the line), line-dividers (which in the Insular tradition separate text carried over from a *following* line, a principle which later scribes sometimes did not grasp, and whose appearance could be either like dog-bones in cartoons or very elaborate pieces of decoration), and so on. These are beyond the scope of a discussion of abbreviation but need to be learnt by all readers of ancient and mediaeval manuscripts.

When Insular script (the term was coined by Ludwig Traube, prince of palaeographers, in 1900)<sup>37</sup> was being created in Celtic Britain and/or Ireland in the fifth or

<sup>33</sup> Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 171.

<sup>34</sup> Lindsay, 'Collectanea', p. 19; Bieler, 'The *Notulae*', pp. 90-1. For early examples see: (1) *Adomnán's Life*, edd. & transl. Anderson & Anderson, p. lxx, on a manuscript written at Iona in 697×713; (2) Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, p. 67 and plate XII (line 8), a manuscript (Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Pal. lat. 68) perhaps written at Echternach in the first half of the eighth century.

<sup>35</sup> They certainly occur in the context of Late Celtic script (A.D. 850×1000) in additions to Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.iv.42 (1285): see *The Cambridge Juvenius*, ed. McKee, p. 72 and n. 333, where they were not understood by the editor (see also *Juvenius*, facs. ed. McKee). The discussion has centred largely on twelfth-century Gaelic additions (made in northeastern Scotland) to Cambridge, University Library, MS. li.vi.32 (1911), 'The Book of Deer' (for facsimiles, see *The Book*, ed. Stuart). See Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes*, pp. 17-18, and the reviews of that work.

<sup>36</sup> *Palaeographical Papers*, II.349-80 (first published in 1946) and plates 61-70.

<sup>37</sup> Traube, *Vorlesungen*, III.95-100; cf. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review*, I.57-9.

sixth century A.D.,<sup>38</sup> the tradition of scribal abbreviation was still very much alive, and indeed lists may have been in circulation in these islands. What seems to have happened, however, is that the various traditions were collapsed into one another (if that had not happened earlier), with the result that a large but undifferentiated body of scribal abbreviations became available for deployment by those writing Insular script. An excessively positivistic approach has permitted the suggestion that Gaelic scribes reinvented Latin abbreviation.<sup>39</sup> In the earliest extant specimens of Insular script (none has been dated with any degree of credibility before the later sixth century),<sup>40</sup> the Insular abbreviation-system is already on view.<sup>41</sup> Insular script was polymorphous, being written in five grades of hierarchical formality:<sup>42</sup> this full range can first be seen in manuscripts of the second half of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth.<sup>43</sup> As in the Latin script-system of late Antiquity, the most formal Insular writing (Insular Half-uncial) shows the fewest signs of scribal abbreviation, while the least formal (Insular Current minuscule) displays numerous abbreviations. Among the peoples who practised Insular script — and at the height of its popularity, in the eighth century, it was written in Ireland, Britain, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and northern Italy — Celtic-speaking scribes showed the greatest enthusiasm for making full use of the repertoire of abbreviations and exploited the system's potential for further growth.<sup>44</sup> Once writing in vernacular languages became established, Gaelic scribes developed an extraordinary repertoire of usage for their own language and eventually began to create lists of scribal abbreviations, which in the seventeenth century were carried into printing.<sup>45</sup>

In this pamphlet, we are concerned only with the earliest phases of the Insular scribal tradition. The years around 850 marked the end of the older Insular system of scripts and its widespread use in western Europe, both Insular and Continental.<sup>46</sup> As a result of the broad diffusion of practitioners of and manuscripts written in Insular script, its abbreviation-system affected various other script-systems of western Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries:<sup>47</sup> most importantly, that influence was carried into Caroline minuscule script, whose immense popularity in almost every part of Latin Europe made some Insular abbreviations part of universal usage.<sup>48</sup> After 850, the Insular scripts of Britain and Ireland were affected in varying degrees by abbreviations of non-Insular origin or provenance which were now used in Caroline script: this influence began in Late Celtic script (written from about 850 to about 1000 in Ireland and Celtic Britain, though being replaced in Cornwall by English script from

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.9-16.

<sup>39</sup> Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 150-3. Controversy on this point began early: Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 3 and n. 1; cf. Rand, 'A nest', p. 176.

<sup>40</sup> Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review*, 1.17-40.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.23-4.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.5-8.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.26-9, on the evidence from Bobbio: the three highest grades are attested in certainly seventh-century manuscripts from there. On abbreviations, see Lindsay, 'The Bobbio scriptorium'. Insular Cursive and Current minuscule are attested in manuscripts of the first half of the eighth century.

<sup>44</sup> See Table 4, below (pp. 13-16).

<sup>45</sup> For an example, see O'Donovan, *A Grammar*, pp. 429-35.

<sup>46</sup> Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review*, 1.115-27.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Lindsay, 'The Laon az-type' and 'The old script of Corbie'; cf. McKitterick, 'The diffusion'.

<sup>48</sup> For a modern manual of Latin abbreviations, see Cappelli, *Lexicon*.

the mid-tenth century)<sup>49</sup> but was more extensive in the scripts of tenth-century England, both the reformed Insular script known as English Square minuscule (from soon after 900) and in the versions of Caroline minuscule adopted there from the mid-tenth century.<sup>50</sup>

Within the period of the heyday of Insular script — from its unseen beginnings in the era before A.D. 600 to the end of its geographically widespread use in the earlier ninth century — we can also see change and variety in Insular abbreviation-practice. Although the English received Insular script from the Gaels as part of the process of conversion to christianity beginning in the 630s, English scribal usage in the period from the late seventh century (the time of the earliest datable English manuscripts in Insular script)<sup>51</sup> to the mid-ninth shows a much narrower range of abbreviations than do its Celtic counterparts.<sup>52</sup> In that period there are essentially two streams or traditions of abbreviation in Insular-script usage.

This was recognised by W.M. Lindsay in the pioneering studies which he undertook following the death of Ludwig Traube in 1907 and which bore fruit in his great reference-work on early mediaeval Latin abbreviations, *Notae Latinae*, published in 1915.<sup>53</sup> His work was summed up in two tables which (I) situated Insular practice within the broader usage of Latin Europe and (II) compared the shared and discrepant practices of Celtic and English scribes.<sup>54</sup> (These are reproduced at the end of the present pamphlet.) Celtic usage was much more abundant than its English counterpart, in terms both of the number of words able to be abbreviated and of the choice of abbreviations for a word or syllable. This means, of course, that there are more abbreviations diagnostic of Celtic practice. The English tradition of Insular script also had abbreviations which its Celtic counterpart did not share and which are therefore diagnostic of Englishness: however, most of these derive from the mainstream of late Antique practice (represented for the early Middle Ages by the agreement of the columns labelled 'Italy' and '[The] Rest' in Lindsay's Table I) and entered English usage at the time of transition between Phase-I and Phase-II Insular script around 750.<sup>55</sup>

In general, English scribes and scriptoria remained thereafter more open to influence from mainstream-usage. Celtic scribes, when writing Latin in Insular script (which was the usual practice in Brittany until the first half of the ninth century, in Cornwall until the mid-tenth, in Wales until about 1100, and in Ireland until about 1200), showed an occasional inclination to accept mainstream-usage (notably in 'Late Celtic script', written *ca* 850–*ca*

<sup>49</sup> Dumville, 'Late Celtic script'.

<sup>50</sup> Bishop, 'An early example of the Square minuscule', 'An early example of Insular-Caroline', and *English Caroline Minuscule*; Dumville, 'English Square minuscule' and *English Caroline Script*.

<sup>51</sup> Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review*, I.103-8.

<sup>52</sup> See Table 3, below (pp. 11-12).

<sup>53</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. vii-xii.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 495-500. Cf. Brown, *A Palaeographer's View*, p. 283, n. (H).

<sup>55</sup> The first such point of entry to be recognised to date is in Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.v.16 (2058), written probably in the third quarter of the eighth century: for a facsimile, see *The Moore Bede*, edd. Hunter Blair & Mynors. The manuscript was written probably in northern Northumbria (but just possibly by an English scribe working in Francia).

1000) but on the whole preferred to rejoice in their own continuing creativity in extending the bounds of the Insular system of abbreviations.<sup>56</sup>

W.M. Lindsay made some efforts to distinguish between different streams of Celtic abbreviation-practice in the Insular system. On the whole, he was unsuccessful, not least for lack of identifiably Breton, Cornish, and Welsh manuscripts written before 800. His definition of specifically Welsh abbreviations has been overturned by subsequent research.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, his account of Latin abbreviation-practice in Breton manuscripts<sup>58</sup> (whose number was greatly augmented by the researches of Léon Fleuriot)<sup>59</sup> has provided evidence which might allow characteristically Breton usages to be identified. In general, Lindsay's work needs revision both to take account of improved dating and localisation of the manuscripts which he used and to extend the range of witnesses.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, his *Notae Latinae* has for ninety years provided a substantial body of objective evidence which can always assist the palaeographer in localising and dating manuscripts and which can sometimes provide evidence about the exemplar(s) used by the scribe(s) of an extant manuscript.<sup>61</sup> Very little work has been done on this subject since Lindsay's death in 1937, and since then scholars have sometimes thought that the study of orthography or other aspects of latinity was a more convincing Holy Grail to pursue;<sup>62</sup> this has on occasion even led to denigration of Lindsay's achievement.<sup>63</sup> However, E.A. Lowe knew what early mediaeval palaeography, and in particular Insular palaeography, owed to Lindsay, and it was fitting that he dedicated to him volume II of *Codices Latini Antiquiores*.<sup>64</sup> This aspect of palaeographical study needs new Lindsays, to place our knowledge of the history of Latin abbreviation on a yet firmer footing: there is much work to do.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>56</sup> For all this, see Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* and *Notae Latinae*, passim; Bains, *A Supplement*; Dumville, 'Late Celtic script', and *A Palaeographer's Review*, I.119-27. The Scottish situation is too complex to convey here in just a few words.

<sup>57</sup> Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, especially p. 40; cf. Dumville, 'Late Celtic script'.

<sup>58</sup> Lindsay, 'Breton scriptoria'.

<sup>59</sup> Fleuriot, 'La découverte', and *Dictionnaire*; cf. Deuffic, 'La production'.

<sup>60</sup> Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, pp. 444-94, and Bains, *A Supplement*, pp. 68-72, for the manuscripts used.

<sup>61</sup> The classic early expositions are by Lindsay, *Contractions*, and Clark, *The Descent*. For the background to Lindsay's interest in the subject, see Lindsay, *An Introduction: The Ancient Editions of Martial*; and *The Ancient Editions of Plautus*. For a recent assessment, see Dumville, 'The early mediaeval Insular Churches'.

<sup>62</sup> Brown, *A Palaeographer's View*, pp. 168-9, 283 (n. [H]). Cf. Dumville, 'The early mediaeval Insular Churches', pp. 201, 204.

<sup>63</sup> Brown, 'E.A. Lowe', pp. 194-5.

<sup>64</sup> *Codices*, II (2nd edn), pp. v, xxi.

<sup>65</sup> It is worth drawing attention to four spectacular examples of eighth- or ninth-century copies of late Antique texts containing nests of ancient *notae*: cf. Brown, *A Palaeographer's View*, pp. 187-8, 231. (1) Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS. 63-64 (58), containing Letters of St Augustine (Lowe, *Codices*, VI, no. 737): Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, pp. 70-4 (§17). (2) Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. C.301 inf., containing Theodore of Mopsuestia, Commentary on the Psalms (Lowe, *Codices*, III, no. 326, where the date given is too early): Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, pp. 70-4 (§17), and 'The Bobbio scriptorium', pp. 302-6; *The Commentary*, ed. Best (complete facsimile); Dumville, *Three Men in a Boat*, especially pp. 21-3, 30-2, 33-4, 39-48. (3) Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Pal. lat. 1753, containing the Grammar of Marius Victorinus (Lowe, *Codices*, S, no. 1776): Lindsay, 'A new clue', and *Notae Latinae*, pp. xiv-xv. (4) Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 286 (not 268, as Brown, *A Palaeographer's View*, pp. 187, 231, 357), containing Augustine, *De musica*: Rand, 'A nest'.

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## NOTE TO THE USER OF THE TABLES

Six tables follow, the first four being abstracts from W.M. Lindsay's tables of abbreviations and the last two being Lindsay's tables themselves. If you are studying these tables as part of the Cambridge ASNC Tripos course in Palaeography and Codicology, your instructor will want you to commit their information to memory. Tables 3 and 4 contain information extracted from Table 1 in order to enable you to focus on it separately. Generally speaking, it is better to focus first on learning the abbreviation and its resolution (and the reverse: the word/syllable/letter liable to be abbreviated and the abbreviations used for the purpose) and then go on to learn the distribution of usage of each abbreviation — specifically English (Anglo-Saxon); specifically Celtic; pan-Insular. In the ASNC course, you will usually do the first (and heavier) task in your first Term of study, progressing to the second task in your second Term. If, instead, you are teaching yourself with the aid of this booklet, you will have (or will need to develop) your own learning-strategy: in the Cambridge-context, many students have found the time-honoured method of using flash-cards to be highly effective.

One crucial point remains. These tables contain 'abbreviations used in Insular script before A.D. 850'. The wording is carefully chosen. The abbreviations are by no means all 'Insular abbreviations'. Some were more widely used, with Insular scribes being the heirs to centuries-long Latin usage: the *nomina sacra* are a case in point. Others were indeed invented by Insular scribes in the early Middle Ages: they are called 'Insular abbreviations' because they originated (and were long used) in Insular script, not because they belong exclusively to Britain and Ireland. (It should be noted that there is no such thing as a 'Continental abbreviation', a vague and misleading phrase which should not be used.) The detailed histories of abbreviation of particular words/syllables/letters can be found in the body of Lindsay's *Notae Latinae*, which provides fascinating reading.



TABLE 1

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INSULAR SCRIPT BEFORE A.D. 850

<u>no.</u>	<u>word</u>	<u>abbreviation</u>	<u>Celtic</u>	<u>Anglo-Saxon</u>	<u>pan-Insular</u>
1	ante	an̄	√		
2	apud	ap̄	√		
3	aut	ā		rare	√
4	(a) autem	lr̄			√
	(b)	ac̄		√	
5	bene	b		rare	√
6	(a) Christus	xps̄			√
	(b)	xpc̄	√		√
7	(a) contra	⊖			√
	(b)	⊘			√
	(c)	⊘c̄		√	
	(d)	⊘c		√	
8	cuius	cs̄	√		
9	(a) cum	c̄			√
	(b)	c7	√		
10	Deus	ds̄			√
11 A	(a) dicens	dcs̄			√
	(b)	dic̄s		√	
11 B	dicere	dfe	√		
11 C	dicimus	dms̄		rare	√
11 D	dicit	dē			√
11 E	dicitur	dī			√
11 F	dictum	dic̄	√		
11 G	dicunt	dñt̄			√
11 H	dicuntur	dñr̄			√

Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.		word	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
11 I	(a)	dixit	dīx			√
	(b)		dīx̄			rare
12		Dominus	dñs			√
13		eius	ē			√
14		enim	†			√
15	(a)	ergo	eḡ		rare	
	(b)		eḡ	√		
	(c)		ḡ	√		
16 A		esse	ēe			√
16 B		est	+			√
17		et	7			√
18	(a)	etiam	eḡ		√	
	(b)		eḡ	√		
19		filius	fīs	√		
20 A		frater	fī			√
20 B	(a)	fratres	fī		√	
	(b)		fīs			√
21 A	(a)	habet	hḡ	√		
	(b)		hḡt	√		
21 B		habemus	hñs	√		
21 C		habent	hñt	√		
21D		habentur	hñr	√		
21 E		habens	hñs	√		
21F		habere	hñe	√		
22A		haec	hī	√		

Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.	word	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
22 B	hoc	h'			√
22 C	(a) huius	h̄	√		
	(b)	h̄s	√		
22 D	hunc	h̄c	√		
23	Hierusalem	[many symbols]			
24	(a) homo	h°	√		
	(b)	hō	√		
25	(a) id est	i+			√
	(b)	.i.			√
26	(a) Iesus	ihs			√
	(b)	ihc	√		
27	(a) igitur	iḡ		rare	
	(b)	iḡ'	√		
	(c)	ḡ'	√		
28	inter	†	√		
29	Israel	isrl			√
30	loquitur	loqr	√		
31 A	mater	m̄r	rare		
31 B	matris	m̄rs	rare		
32 A	meus	m̄s	√		
32 B	meum	m̄m	√		
32 C	meam	m̄m	√		
33	mihi	īm			√
34	nihil	n̄l	√		
35	nisi	īn	√		

## Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.	word	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
36	nobis	nb			√
37 A	(a) nomen	nñ		√	
	(b)	nō	√		
37 B	nominis	nōis	√		
38	non	n̄			√
39 A	noster	nṛ			√
39 B	(a) nostri	nī			early
	(a)	nṛī			√
40 A	numerus	nūs	√		
40 B	numeri	nūi	√		
41	(a) nunc	nḅ			√
	(b)	n̄			rare
42 A	(a) omnis	ōis	√		
	(b)	ōms	√		
	(c)	ōmis	√		
42 B	(a) omne	ōe	√		
	(b)	ōme	√		
42 C	(a) omnes	ōes	√		
	(b)	ōms	√		
42 D	(a) omnia	ōa	√		
	(b)	ōma	√		
43 A	pater	pṛ	rare		
43 B	patris	pṛis	rare		
44	(a) per	pṛ			√
	(b)	p			√

Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.		word	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
45	(a)	populus	p̄ls			√
	(b)		pop̄			rare
	(c)		popls			√
	(d)		pop̄s			√
	(e)		ppls			√
	(f)		p̄ps			√
46	(a)	post	p̄			√
	(b)		p̄̄			√
	(c)		p̄τ		√	
47		prae	p̄			√
48		pro	p̄			√
49		proprius	p̄ <sup>i</sup> us	√		
50	(a)	propter	p̄ <sup>r</sup>			√
	(b)		pp̄			√
51 A		qui	q̄ <sup>i</sup>			√
51 B	(a)	quae	q̄:			√
	(b)		q̄			√
51 C	(a)	quod	q̄			√
	(b)		q̄d		√	
51 D	(a)	quem	q̄m		√	
	(b)		q̄	√		
51 E	(a)	quam	q̄			√
	(b)		q̄m		√	
51 F		quo	q̄			√
51 G		qua	q̄			√

## Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.		word	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
52	(a)	quando	q̄n	√		
	(b)		qnd		√	
	(c)		qndo		√	
	(d)		q̄no	√		
53		quantum	q̄m	rare		
54		quare	q̄e	√		
55		quasi	q̄sī			√
56	(a)	-que	q·			√
	(b)		qʒ			√
57		quia	q			√
58	(a)	quippe	q̄p			rare
	(b)		q̄pe	rare		
59		quomodo	q̄mo	√		
60	(a)	quoniam	q̄m			√
	(b)		q̄n		early	
	(c)		quō		√	
61		quoque	q̄q			√
62		quot	q̄t	√		
63	(a)	saeculum	sc̄lm		√	
	(b)		st̄m		early	
64		sanctus	sc̄s			√
65		secundum	ƒ	√		
66		sed	ḡ			√
67	(a)	sicut	ḡ	√		
	(b)		ḡ	rare		

## Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.	word	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
68	sine	s̄n	✓		
69	siue	sū	rare		
70	spiritalis	sp̄italis			✓
71	(a) spiritus	sp̄s			✓
	(b)	sp̄c	from 800		
72	sunt	s̄c			✓
73	super	s̄r			✓
74	tamen	t̄m			✓
75	(a) tantum	t̄m			✓
	(b)	t̄nm			rare
	(c)	t̄c			early
76	(a) tempore	temp̄		✓	
	(b)	temp̄r		✓	
77	tibi	t̄	✓		
78	(a) trans	t̄rs	✓		
	(b)	t̄s	✓		
79	(a) tunc	t̄c			✓
	(b)	t̄			rare
80	uel	l̄			✓
81	(a) uero	ū			✓
	(b)	ūo			rare

Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.	word	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
82 A	uester	ur̄			√
82 B (a)	uestri	ur̄			early
(b)		ur̄i			√
83	unde	un̄	√		
84	uobis	ub			√
85 (a)	ut	ū	early Bobbio		
(b)		↘	√		
no.	syllable	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
86	con	ɔ			√
87 A	ber	b	√		
87 B	ter	τ			√
87 C	uer	ū	√		
88	gre	ḡ	√		
89	ra	suprascript a		[with p- only]	√
90	re	suprascript e	√		
91	ri	suprascript i		[with p- only]	√
92	ro	suprascript o	√		
93	ru	suprascript u	√		
94	runt	r̄t			√
95 A	gur	ḡ	√		
95 B	mur	m'	√		
95 C (a)	tur	τ'			√
(b)		τ†		√	

### Abbreviations used in Insular Script before A.D. 850

no.		syllable	abbreviation	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
96 A	(a)	bus	b:			√
	(b)		b <sub>3</sub>			√
96 B	(a)	ius	i:	√		
	(b)		i <sub>3</sub>			√
	(c)		i'		√	
96 C	(a)	mus	m:	√		
	(b)		m <sub>3</sub>			√
	(c)		m'		√	
96 D	(a)	nus	n:	√		
	(b)		n <sub>3</sub>			√
	(c)		n'		√	
96 E	(a)	pus	p:	√		
	(b)		p <sub>3</sub>			√
	(c)		p'		√	
no.		letter	abbreviation superscript stroke	Celtic	Anglo-Saxon	pan-Insular
97		m				√

TABLE 2

**WORDS WHICH CAN BE ABBREVIATED THROUGHOUT THEIR  
DECLENSION IN INSULAR SCRIPT BEFORE A.D. 850**

<u>no.</u>	<u>word</u>
6	Christus
8, 51	qui, quae, quod (partially)
10	Deus
11 A	dicens
12	Dominus
19	filius
20 A, 20 B (b)	frater
21 E	habens
22	hic, haec, hoc (partially)
24 (b)	homo
26	iesus
29	Israel
31	mater
32	meus
37 A (b)	nomen
39	noster
40	numerus
42	omnis
43	pater
45	populus
49	proprius
63	saeculum
70	spiritalis
71	spiritus
82	uester

TABLE 3

PURELY ANGLO-SAXON ABBREVIATIONS  
IN THE PRE-850 INSULAR SCRIPT-SYSTEM

abbreviation	no.	word	
at̄	4 (b)	autem	
{ c̄	7 (c)	contra	
	7 (d)	contra	
diċs	11 A (b)	dicens	
eġ	15 (a)	ergo	[rare]
eċ	18 (a)	etiam	
ff̄	20 B (a)	fratres	
iġ	27 (a)	igitur	[rare]
nñ	37 A (a)	nomen	[rare]
pċ	46 (c)	post	
qm̄	51 E (b)	quam	
{ qnd	52 (b)	quando	
	qndo	52 (c)	quando
qm̄	51 D (a)	quem	
qd	51 C (b)	quod	
{ qñ	60 (b)	quoniam	[early]
	quō	60 (c)	quoniam
			'and other symbols'
{ sc̄m	63 (a)	saeculum	
	st̄ m	63 (b)	saeculum [early]
{ temp̄	76 (a)	tempore	
	temp̄r	76 (b)	tempore

## Purely Anglo-Saxon abbreviations in the pre-850 Insular script-system

<u>abbreviation</u>	<u>no.</u>	<u>word</u>
ꝛ†	95 C (b)	tur
i'	96 B (c)	ius
m'	96 C (c)	mus
n'	96 D (c)	nus
p'	96 E (c)	pus

TABLE 4

## PURELY CELTIC ABBREVIATIONS IN THE PRE-850 INSULAR SCRIPT-SYSTEM

abbreviation	no.	word
an̄	1	ante
ap̄	2	apud
xpc̄	6 (b)	Christus
c̄s	8	cuius
c7	9 (b)	cum
d̄re	11 B	dicere
dīc̄	11 F	dictum
} ē	15 (b)	ergo
	15 (c)	ergo
ec̄i	18 (b)	etiam
f̄s	19	filius
} h̄c̄	21 A (a)	habet
	21 A (b)	habet
h̄ms	21 B	habemus
h̄nc̄	21 C	habent
h̄nr	21 D	habentur
h̄ns	21 E	habens
h̄re	21 F	habere
h̄	22 A	haec
} h̄	22 C (a)	huius
	22 C (b)	huius
h̄c̄	22 D	hunc
} h̄o	24 (a)	homo
	24 (b)	homo
h̄c̄	26 (b)	Iesus

Purely Celtic abbreviations in the pre-850 Insular script-system

abbreviation	no.	word
{ ḡ'	27 (a)	igitur
	27 (b)	igitur
†	28	inter
loq̄r	30	loquitur
m̄r	31 A	mater [rare]
m̄fis	31 B	matris (etc.)
m̄s	32 A	meus
m̄m	32 B	meum
m̄m	32 C	meam
n̄l	34	nihil
n̄	35	nisi
nō	37 A (b)	nomen
nōis	37 B	nominis (etc.)
nūs	40 A	numerus
nūi	40 B	numeri (etc.)
{ ois	42 A (a)	omnis
	ōe	omne (etc.)
	ōes	omnes
	ōa	omnia
{ om̄s	42 A (b)	omnis
	om̄is	omnis
	om̄e	ome (etc.)
	om̄s	omnes
om̄a	42 D (b)	omnia

Purely Celtic abbreviations in the pre-850 Insular script-system

abbreviation	no.	word	
p̄r	43 A	pater	} (etc.) [rare]
p̄r̄s	43 B	patris	
ᵀpus	49	proprius	
{ q̄n	52 (a)	quando	
{ q̄no	52 (d)	quando	
q̄nm	53	quantum	[rare]
q̄re	54	quare	
q̄	51 D (b)	quem	
q̄pe	58 (b)	quippe	[rare]
q̄mo	59	quomodo	
q̄t	62	quot	
ƒ	65	secundum	
{ ᵀs	67 (a)	sicut	[rare]
{ ᵀs	67 (b)	sicut	
s̄n	68	sine	
s̄u	69	siue	[rare]
s̄pc	71 (b)	spiritus [from 800]	
ᵀt	77	tibi	
{ t̄s	78 (a)	trans	
{ t̄s	78 (b)	trans	
ūn	83	unde	
{ ū	85 (a)	ut	[early Bobbio]
{ ŵ	85 (b)	ut	

Purely Celtic abbreviations in the pre-850 Insular script-system

abbreviation	no.	syllable	
b	87 A	ber	
ū	87 C	uer	
𐌆	88	gre	
𐌆ꝛ	(cf. 89)	gra	
} 𐌆ꝛ	(cf. 89)	tra	[rare]
	(cf. 89)	tra	
	(cf. 89)	tra	
𐌆'	95 A	gur	} (etc.)
m'	95 B	mur	
i:	96 B	ius	
m:	96 C	mus	
n:	96 D	nus	
p:	96 E	pus	

## FIRST TABLE OF SYMBOLS

IRELAND AND BRITAIN	SPAIN	ITALY (especially S. Italy)	REST OF CON- TINENT
<i>ante</i> añ	—	—	—
<i>apud</i> ap̄	—	—	—
<i>aut</i> ā	—	ā (rare)	—
<i>autem</i> hr at̄	aūm	aū	aū aut̄
<i>bene</i> b̄	—	—	—
<i>Christus</i> xp̄s xp̄c	xp̄s	xp̄s	xp̄s
<i>contra</i> ɜ ɔɔ ɔċ ɔ-c	—	—	—
<i>cuius</i> c̄s	cuI (with cross- strokethrough I)	—	—
<i>cum</i> c̄	c (with down- ward cross- stroke)	—	—
<i>Deus</i> d̄s	d̄s	d̄s	d̄s
<i>dicens</i> d̄c̄s	—	—	—
<i>dicere</i> d̄r̄e	—	—	—
<i>dicimus</i> d̄m̄s	—	—	—
<i>dicit</i> d̄t̄	—	diċ d̄t̄ (rare)	diċ d̄t̄ (rare)
<i>dicitur</i> d̄r̄	—	d̄r̄	d̄r̄ (rare)
<i>dictum</i> diċ	—	—	—
<i>dicunt</i> d̄nt̄	—	—	—
<i>dicuntur</i> d̄nr̄	—	—	—
<i>dixit</i> d̄x̄ dix̄ (rare)	—	diḡ d̄x̄ (rare)	diḡ d̄x̄ (rare)
<i>Dominus</i> d̄ns	d̄ns (also for 'domnus')	d̄ns	d̄ns
<i>eius</i> ɛ	eI (with cross- strokethrough I)	ej (with cross- strokethrough J)	ei
<i>enim</i> H̄	—	H̄ (cursive)	—
<i>ergo</i> eḡ eḡ̄ ḡ	—	—	—
<i>est</i> ÷	—	÷ (with the line often vertical or sloping)	ɛ
<i>esse</i> ēe	—	ēe	ēe
<i>et</i> 7	—	7 (cursive)	—
<i>etiam</i> et̄ eti	—	—	—
<i>famulus</i> —	fam̄s (rare)	—	—
<i>filius</i> fl̄s	—	—	—
<i>flagellum</i> —	flm̄ flm̄	—	—
<i>frater</i> fr̄, etc., f̄f̄ and fr̄s 'fratres'	fr̄r̄, etc., f̄f̄ and fr̄s 'fratres'	fr̄r̄, etc., f̄f̄ and fr̄s 'fratres'	f̄f̄ and fr̄s 'fratres'

IRELAND AND BRITAIN		SPAIN	ITALY	REST
<i>gloria</i> —		glā	glā	—
<i>gratia</i> —		grā	grā	—
<i>habere</i> , etc. hře, etc.		—	—	—
<i>haec</i> h (with stroke above shoulder)		—	—	—
<i>Hierusalem</i> many symbols		iħrslm, etc.	many symbols	many symbols
<i>hoc</i> h'		—	ħ (rare)	—
<i>homo</i> h° or hō		—	—	—
<i>huius</i> ħ hš		hul (with cross- strokethrough I)	—	—
<i>hunc</i> hč		—	—	—
<i>id est</i> i ÷ or i.		iđt iđst iđs	iđ	iđ
<i>ideo</i> —		iđo	—	—
<i>Iesus</i> iħs, iħc		iħs	iħs	iħs
<i>igitur</i> ig' ig' g'		—	—	—
<i>inter</i> †		—	—	—
<i>Israel</i> isrī, etc.		srħl, srī	iħl, isrī	isrī, etc.
<i>item</i> —		it	it	it
<i>loquitur</i> loqr		—	loqr (rare)	—
<i>mater</i> mř, mřis, etc. (rare)		—	—	—
<i>meus</i> mš 'meus,' mġ 'meum,' 'meam'		mš 'meus,' mġ 'meum,' mā 'mea,' etc.	mš 'meus,' mġ 'meum'	mš 'meus,' mġ 'meum'
<i>mihi</i> ĩ		—	mħ (Verona)	—
<i>miser cordia</i> —		msrđa and simi- lar symbols	mřa mř (Verona)	miš (N. France)
<i>nihil</i> nĭ		—	—	niħ (Corbie ab- type)
<i>nisi</i> ĩ		—	—	—
{ <i>nobis</i> nġ		—	noġ nġ (Verona)	noġ
{ <i>uobis</i> uġ		—	uoġ uġ (Verona)	uoġ
<i>nomen</i> nġ (rare), nō, nōis, etc.		nġn, nġnis (or nġis), etc.	noġ 'nomine' (or 'nomen')	noġ 'nomine' (or 'nomen')
<i>non</i> n		—	n	n
{ <i>noster</i> nř, nĭ, etc., or nři, etc.		nř, nři, etc., or nři, etc.	nř or nř, nĭ, etc., or nři, etc.	nř or nř or nřt, nōi, etc., nĭ, etc., nři, etc.
{ <i>uester</i> uř, uĭ, etc., or uři, etc.		uř, uři, etc., or uři, etc.	uř or uř, uĭ, etc., or uři, etc.	uř or ũt or uřt, uōi, etc., uĭ, etc., uři, etc.
<i>numerus</i> nš, nŭi, etc.		—	—	—
<i>nunc</i> nč ĩ (rare)		—	nč ĩ (rare)	—
<i>tunc</i> tč t (rare)		—	tč t (rare)	—
<i>omnis</i> ois, oe, oes, oā, etc. oġs (oġis), oġe, oġs, oġa, etc.		oġis, oġe, oġs, oġa, etc.	oġ and oġs, oġa	oġ and oġs, oġa
<i>pater</i> př, přis, etc. (rare)		—	—	—
<i>per</i> p' p		p	p	p

IRELAND AND BRITAIN	SPAIN	ITALY	REST
<i>populus</i> pls pp̄ls	pp̄ls	pp̄ls pop̄ls	pp̄ls pop̄ls
pop̄ls pop̄ (rare)			
pop̄s pp̄s			
<i>post</i> p̄ p̄ pt	—	—	p̄'
<i>prae</i> p̄	—	p̄	p̄
<i>pro</i> p̄	—	p̄	p̄
<i>proprius</i> p̄us	—	—	—
<i>propter</i> p̄ pp̄ and other symbols	pp̄tr	pp̄ and other symbols	pp̄ and other symbols
{ <i>qua</i> q̄	—	q̄	—
{ <i>quo</i> q̄	—	—	—
<i>quae</i> q̄: q̄	—	q̄ (rare)	q̄
<i>quam</i> q̄	—	q̄ (rare)	—
<i>quando</i> q̄n q̄no q̄nd̄ q̄ndo	—	—	—
<i>quantum</i> q̄nm	—	—	—
<i>quare</i> q̄re	—	—	—
<i>quasi</i> q̄si	—	—	—
<i>que</i> q̄: q̄ (and the like)	q̄ q̄' q̄ (and the like)	q̄ (and the like) q̄ (rare)	q̄ q̄ (and the like)
<i>quem</i> q̄m q̄	—	—	—
<i>qui</i> q̄	q̄	q̄	q̄ q̄
<i>quia</i> q̄	—	—	q̄²
<i>quippe</i> q̄p̄ q̄p̄e	—	—	—
<i>quod</i> q̄	—	q̄d̄	q̄d̄
<i>quomodo</i> q̄mo	—	—	—
<i>quoniam</i> q̄m̄ q̄n̄ quō	q̄m̄ q̄m̄	q̄m̄	q̄n̄ quō q̄m̄ q̄m̄ and other symbols
and other symbols	—	—	—
<i>quoque</i> q̄q̄	—	q̄q̄ (rare)	—
<i>quot</i> q̄t	—	—	—
<i>saeculum</i> s̄lm̄ (early) s̄lm̄	s̄lm̄	s̄lm̄	s̄lm̄ sēlm̄
<i>sanctus</i> s̄cs	s̄cs	s̄cs	s̄cs
<i>secundum</i> s̄	s̄cdm̄	sēcd̄ sēcdm̄	s̄cd̄ s̄cdm̄ sēcd̄ sēcdm̄
<i>sed</i> s̄	—	s̄ (rare)	s̄ (Switzerland, from Italy ?)
<i>sicut</i> s̄ s̄ (rare)	—	sīc̄	sīc̄
<i>sine</i> s̄n̄	—	—	—
<i>sive</i> s̄ū (rare)	—	—	s̄ (rare)
<i>Spiritus</i> (-talis) s̄ps s̄pc (from 800), sp̄italis	s̄ps sp̄alis	sp̄ss̄p̄alis sp̄italis	s̄ps sp̄italis
<i>sunt</i> s̄t	—	s̄t	s̄
<i>super</i> s̄r̄	—	—	—
<i>supra</i> —	—	sūp̄ (rare)	sūp̄ (rare)
<i>tamen</i> t̄n̄	—	—	t̄m̄ (early)
<i>tantum</i> t̄m̄ t̄t̄ (early) t̄m̄ (rare)	—	—	—
<i>tempore</i> temp̄ temp̄r	—	temp̄ temp̄r	temp̄ temp̄r
<i>tibi</i> t̄	—	—	—
<i>trans</i> t̄rs t̄s	—	—	—

IRELAND AND BRITAIN	SPAIN	ITALY	REST
<i>uel</i> ĩ	uĭ	uĭ	ĭ uĭ
<i>uero</i> ũ ũo (rare)	—	ũ ũo	ũ ũo
<i>unde</i> uñ	—	—	—
<i>ut</i> ũ ŵ	—	—	—
<b>SYLLABLE SYMBOLS :</b>			
<i>con</i> ɔ	—	ɔ	ċ
<i>e</i> —	đ 'de'	đ 'de' ñ 'ne'	đ 'de' ñ 'ne'
		ť 'te' (all rare)	ť 'te'
<i>en</i> —	—	m̄ 'men'	m̄ 'men'
<i>er</i> ̄t 'ter' ũ 'ver'	—	ť 'ter'	ť 'ter' ̄b 'ber'
̄b 'ber'			
<i>is</i> —	—	̄b 'bis' ĩ 'lis'	̄b 'bis' ĩ 'lis'
		đ 'dis'	đ 'dis'
<i>it</i> —	—	ċ ̄x ũ đ, etc.	ċ ̄x ũ đ, etc.
<i>m</i> suprascript	suprascript	suprascript	suprascript
stroke	stroke	stroke	stroke
<i>n</i> —	suprascript	—	—
	stroke		
<i>ra, re, ri, ro, ru</i> supra-	—	̄p 'pri' ̄p 'pro'	̄p 'pri' ̄p 'pro'
script a, e, i, o, u		(rare)	(rare)
(the <i>a</i> is usually re-			
placed by two dots			
or commas)			
̄g 'gre'			
<i>runt</i> ̄r̄t	—	̄r̄	̄r̄
<i>ur</i> ̄t' ̄t'	—	̄t	̄t' (latert <sup>2</sup> ) ̄t' (rare)
m' g', etc.			m <sup>2</sup> (later)
<i>us</i> b; m <sub>3</sub> n <sub>3</sub> p <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> , etc.	b <sup>3</sup> l <sup>3</sup> m <sup>3</sup> n <sup>3</sup> p <sup>3</sup> , etc.	b f m n p l , etc.	b: m' n' p' i'
b: m: n: p: i:, etc.	l' l' m' n' p', etc.	b: m: n: p: i:, etc.	m <sub>4</sub> n <sub>4</sub> m <sub>g</sub> n <sub>g</sub>

## SECOND TABLE OF SYMBOLS

CELTIC	ANGLOSAXON
<i>ante</i> añ	—
<i>apud</i> aṗ	—
<i>aut</i> ā	ā (rare)
<i>autem</i> lr	lr at
<i>bene</i> ̄b	̄b (rare)
<i>Christus</i> xṗs xṗc	xṗs
<i>contra</i> ɛ ɔɔ	ɛ ɔɔ ɔċ ɔc
<i>cuius</i> c̄s	—
<i>cum</i> c̄ c7	c̄
<i>Deus</i> d̄s	d̄s
<i>dicens</i> d̄cs	d̄ics d̄cs
<i>dicere</i> d̄rē	—
<i>dicimus</i> d̄m̄s	d̄m̄s (rare)

CELTIC	ANGLOSAXON
<i>dicit</i> dī	dī
<i>dicitur</i> dīr	dīr
<i>dictum</i> diċ	—
<i>dicunt</i> dīnt	dīnt
<i>dicuntur</i> dīnr	dīnr
<i>dixit</i> dīx dīx̄ (rare)	dīx̄ dīx̄ (rare)
<i>Dominus</i> dīns	dīns
<i>eius</i> ē	ē
<i>enim</i> ē	ē
<i>ergo</i> g̅ eār	eġ (rare)
<i>est, esse</i> ÷ ēe	÷ ēe
<i>et</i> 7	7
<i>etiam</i> eti	et
<i>filius</i> fls	—
<i>frater</i> fr̄, etc., fr̄s 'fratres'	fr̄, etc., fr̄ and fr̄s 'fratres'
<i>habeo, etc.</i> ht̄ and hēt, h̄ms, h̄nt, h̄nr, h̄ns, h̄re	—
<i>hic, etc.</i> h (with stroke above shoulder) 'haec' h̄ and h̄s 'huius' h' 'hoc' h̄c 'hunc'	h' 'hoc'
<i>Hierusalem</i> many symbols	many symbols
<i>homo</i> h° or hō, etc.	—
<i>id est</i> i ÷ or ·i.	i ÷ or ·i.
<i>Iesus</i> ihs̄ ihc	ihs̄
<i>igitur</i> ig' g'	iġ (rare)
<i>inter</i> ƿ	—
<i>Israel</i> isrl̄, etc.	isrl̄, etc.
<i>loquitur</i> loqr̄	—
<i>mater</i> mār, etc.	—
<i>meus</i> m̄s̄ 'meus,' m̄m̄ 'meum,' 'meam'	—
<i>mihi</i> m̄	m̄
<i>nihil</i> nī	—
<i>nisi</i> n̄	—
{ <i>nobis</i> n̄b	n̄b
{ <i>vobis</i> ūb	ūb
<i>nomen</i> nō, nōis, etc.	nō (rare)
{ <i>noſter</i> n̄r, nī, etc. (early) or n̄rī, etc.	n̄r, nī, etc. (early) or n̄rī, etc.
{ <i>ueſter</i> ūr, ul, etc. (early) or ūrī, etc.	ūr, ul, etc. (early) or ūrī, etc.
<i>numerus</i> nūs, nūi, etc.	—
{ <i>nunc</i> n̄c̄ n̄ (rare)	n̄c̄ n̄ (rare)
{ <i>tunc</i> t̄c̄ t̄ (rare)	t̄c̄ t̄ (rare)
<i>omnis</i> ōis, ōe, ōes, ōa, etc. ōms̄ (ōmis), ōm̄e, ōm̄s, ōm̄a, etc.	—
<i>pater</i> p̄r, p̄rīs, etc. (rare)	—
<i>per</i> p̄ p̄ (rare)	p̄ p̄
<i>post</i> p̄ p̄	p̄ p̄ p̄
<i>pras</i> p̄	p̄
<i>pro</i> p̄	p̄
<i>proprius</i> p̄us	—
{ <i>qua</i> q̄ q̄	q̄ q̄
{ <i>quo</i> q̄	q̄
<i>quas</i> q̄ q̄:	q̄: q̄
<i>quam</i> q̄	q̄ q̄m̄
<i>quando</i> q̄n̄ q̄nō	q̄n̄ q̄nō

CELTIC	ANGLOSAXON
<i>quantum</i> q̄m (rare)	—
<i>quare</i> q̄e	—
<i>quasi</i> q̄si	q̄si
<i>que</i> q <sub>3</sub> q̄ (and the like)	q <sub>3</sub> q̄ (and the like)
<i>quem</i> q̄ (with the 'm' stroke)	q̄m
<i>qui</i> q̄	q̄
<i>quia</i> q̄	q̄
<i>quippe</i> q̄p̄ q̄p̄e (both rare)	q̄p̄ (rare)
<i>quod</i> q̄	q̄d̄ q̄
<i>quomodo</i> q̄m̄o	—
<i>quoniam</i> q̄m̄	q̄m̄ (early) quō q̄m̄ and other symbols
<i>quoque</i> q̄q̄	q̄q̄
<i>quot</i> q̄t	—
<i>saeculum</i> —	scl̄m sl̄m (early)
<i>sanctus</i> sc̄s	sc̄s
<i>secundum</i> ſ	—
<i>sed</i> s̄	s̄ (rare)
<i>sicut</i> s̄ s̄ (rare)	—
<i>sine</i> sn̄	—
<i>sive</i> sū	—
<i>Spiritus</i> , etc. sp̄s sp̄c (from 800), sp̄talis	sp̄s sp̄talis
<i>sunt</i> st̄	st̄
<i>super</i> sr̄	sr̄ (rare)
<i>tamen</i> tn̄	tn̄
<i>tantum</i> tm̄ t̄i (early Bobbio)	tm̄ t̄i (early)
<i>tempore</i> —	temp̄ temp̄r
<i>tibi</i> t̄	—
<i>trans</i> tr̄s t̄s	—
<i>uel</i> l̄	l̄
<i>vero</i> ū ūo (rare)	ū ūo (rare)
<i>unde</i> un̄	—
<i>ut</i> ū (early Bobbio)	—
<i>con</i> o	o
<i>er</i> t̄ 'ter' ū 'ver' b̄ 'ber'	t̄ 'ter'
<i>m</i> suprascript stroke	suprascript stroke
<i>ra, re, ri, ro, ru</i> suprascript a, e, i, o, u, especially p̄ 'pri,' ḡ 'gra,' p̄ 'pra,' t̄ 'tra' (usually with two dots or commas in- stead of a)	p̄ 'pri' p̄ 'pra'
ḡ 'gre'	
<i>runt</i> r̄t	r̄t
<i>ur</i> t̄	t̄ t̄t
<i>us</i> m' g', etc.	
<i>us</i> b <sub>3</sub> m <sub>3</sub> n <sub>3</sub> p <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> , etc. b: m: n: p: i:, etc.	b <sub>3</sub> m <sub>3</sub> n <sub>3</sub> p <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> , etc. b: m' n' p' i'



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