The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek

William H. Ingram

SCHOLAR working with sixteenth-century printed texts—if he is not trained in Classics-will be more often dismayed than enlightened when he encounters, in his Elizabethan quarto, an embedded Greek word or expression. The Greek may be simply a part of the running text, a happy devising of the author's to add authority to his prose; or it may be an extended quotation from a classical source. For one like myself, whose training is in English literature, the difficulty is not mitigated in the latter case; for even when an Elizabethan author identified his Greek I often had to accept on faith that it was a fragment of "Theogn" or "Arist" or "Herm Trism," the quotation as printed seeming no more than a series of alien convolutions to my perplexed eye. I saw little relevance between the Greek I had learned in school and this peculiar, cramped typeface which I could not read and which often contained only an occasional letter I could recognize. After much frustration of this sort I finally decided to attempt a resolution of the problem and to teach myself to read Renaissance Greek. I was ultimately successful, and in the course of my agon I came upon a number of interesting facts about the printing of Greek in the sixteenth century which, though hardly new, are perhaps inaccessible to many. Therefore, though my chief purpose in this article is to illustrate the forms which Greek ligatures took in the sixteenth century, and hopefully thereby to provide some aid for fellow sufferers, some preliminary comments about printing in general may not be out of place.

My first rude awakening came with the realization that the Greek alphabet did not have the twenty-four simple letters which my schooling had led me to believe were inherent in the language. How Greek was written or printed was, as I found, merely a matter of convention at any given time. The special letter-forms and letter-combinations which were popular during the Renaissance existed in sufficient number to startle one's imagination. The Parisian printer Robert Estienne, for example, recorded in the middle of the sixteenth century that his case of Double Pica Greek, the largest of the three

Greek type sizes in his shop, comprised four hundred and thirty different kinds of characters, or 'sorts'. (A 'sort' is the technical name for all the pieces of type which contain any one specific character—a letter, a combination of letters, a symbol—and which would therefore all be 'sorted' into one specific compartment in the type case when the type was removed from the press and put away.) Had we been able to look into Estienne's type case we would have found not twentyfour but thirty-eight different varieties, or 'sorts', of lowercase single letters. We would find that three hundred sixty-seven of the characters in this fount were letter-combinations, or ligatures, of one kind or another, combinations with sigma alone accounting for eighty-two of them.1 If we go back to the earliest days of printing we find the matter no simpler. Robert Proctor describes a fount designed in Venice in 1486 in which the appearance of script was consciously imitated "by an elaborate system of ligatures, two, three, and four letters being commonly cast in one piece, and in an immense variety of forms and combinations, so that the number of sorts . . . exceeds twelve hundred, and even this is probably far from representing the fount in its completed state as projected."2

The term 'ligature' is a broad label, which we might profitably divide into subheadings. In its general sense a ligature is a series of two or more letters so designed that they are connected in varying degrees with one another. Being so connected, they must be cast on a single piece of type, which in turn necessitates a new compartment in the type case into which they can be sorted and stored. Each new ligature thus becomes an additional 'sort.' Ligatures are of two basic kinds, ties and contractions. In present-day printing one encounters almost exclusively the former: ligatures like #, for example, where the letters are so designed that they touch one another, or \mathcal{A} , where they do not touch but are connected by a loop, are ties; they constitute individual 'sorts' for the modern printer, additional to the single letters f, l, c and t. In all these cases the characters are joined without distortion. A large percentage of the many ligatures in early Greek founts were simply tied sorts, like 24, μ 6, κ 7, κ 9, or σ 60, in which the component letters are readily distinguishable. For the present-day reader it is the contractions, much more than the ties, which cause

¹ Victor Scholderer, Greek Printing Types, 1465–1927 (London 1927) 11; Robert Proctor, The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford 1900) 145.

² Proctor, Printing of Greek, pp.12-3.

373

difficulty in reading. A contraction is a ligature in which two or more letters have been distorted, often drastically, to produce a composite symbol. Such figures as $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{$

We can better understand the profusion of ligatures in the Renaissance by seeing the printed Greek of our own day as merely a typographical convention which has commanded general assent. We must accept that the type face which we call "Greek" would not necessarily be recognized as his own by an inhabitant of Periclean Athens. A Greek type face is, after all, designed primarily to be easily readable by persons, contemporaries of the printer and type designer, who read Greek; assuming that they publish the same works, a publisher whose Greek books are difficult to read will not sell so many books as one whose type is familiar and easily legible. All other considerations, even aesthetic ones, must eventually yield to such a basic economic fact.

This principle was successfully understood by the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius, as he showed in 1490 when he decided to design and cast his own Greek type. Some of his contemporaries, truly pioneers in the field of type designing, had produced Greek founts based on the uncial letter form found in vellum manuscripts of the period, or on the somewhat freer letter style found in liturgical tracts and prayer books. Aldus chose to ignore all styles of the older, more formal book hand: his bid for commercial success led him to adopt as the model for his type the ordinary business and correspondence Greek handwriting of his day. The scattered and undisciplined appearance of his finished type face, with its extravagantly contorted abbreviations and contractions, is simply the result of his determination to imitate the most common freehand features of everyday script. His judgement here, as elsewhere in his business dealings, was sound; but Robert Proctor, a partisan of the older letter forms, deplores Aldus' success:

With a lesser man the choice would have signified less; with

³ Alphabetum Graecum. [Lutetiae,] Oliua Roberti Stephani, MDLIIII.

Aldus it was disastrous. The enormous vogue of his publications and the great number of them exercised an overwhelming influence, affected the whole future history of Greek printing, and inflicted on its aesthetic side a blow from which it has never recovered.⁴

Had such a disparagement been uttered to his face Aldus might, like the commercial successes of our own day, have cried all the way to the bank. His type face carried the field precisely because of its easy readability; and instructed by his success, other early printers of Greek gradually abandoned their experiments with type faces of a more formal nature.

Aldus' triumph had by the beginning of the sixteenth century laid the foundation for a cursive Greek type; he made the popular style resemble, as it does even today, an italic rather than a roman face. To our modern eyes the older book-hand style may seem clearer than Aldus' cursive type, and we may privately wonder at the exotic literary skills of a public which preferred the Aldine fount to its competitors on the grounds of ease in reading; but such was indeed the case, and Aldus became further emboldened with each new success. Individual letters were made for him in increasing varieties of forms, and contractions were devised for newer and larger combinations of letters. Aldus' 1495 Grammar of Theodoros of Gaza is an example of the extreme to which this practice was carried: words like ἐνεστώς, παρατατικός and ἀόριστος were each represented by a single, carefully devised, intricately compacted scribal abbreviation, like the ones shown above for ὑπερσυντελικὸς and παρακείμενος.

Greek printed texts, as Victor Scholderer observes, were "in a fair way of breaking up into a collection of ideograms." Though the making of ingenious ligatures might indeed have been exhilarating to the type designer, it no doubt wore thin the patience of the type-setter, who was obliged to use, and use rapidly and correctly, the multitudes of new sorts with which his type cases were being increased. A point of diminishing returns seems to have been reached at the end of the century, and the cutting of ligatures stabilized at a point somewhat below compositorial chaos.

Aldus' great commercial success in the printing of Greek encour-

⁵ Scholderer p.7.

⁴ Proctor, Printing of Greek, p.15.

375

aged other printers to try their hand. Thierry Martens somehow acquired Greek type at Louvain as early as 1501, with which he printed occasional words; Gilles de Gourmont had cut his own punches and struck his own matrices in Paris by 1507, and the first wholly Greek work published in France was done at his press that year—it was a reprint of Aldus' *Theocritus*, further testimony to the Venetian printer's influence. Johannes Siberch was the first printer in England to use movable Greek type, in a number of books which he printed at Cambridge in 1521; four years earlier, however, the urge to print in Greek had impelled Wynkyn de Worde, who had no type, to cut Greek characters in wood.⁶ Within a few years efforts were being made to cast Greek type in England. Richard Pynson possessed a locally-made fount of Greek in 1524, which he used in printing Linacre's *De emendata structura*. The difficulties under which he labored, however, are suggested in his address to the reader:

Of your goodness, reader, excuse it if any of the letters in the Greek citations lack either accents, breathings, or proper marks. The printer was not sufficiently equipped with them, since Greek types have only recently been cast by him, and he had not prepared the quantity necessary for the completion of this work.⁷

We may recognize here a problem which was not confined to Pynson's founder; accents and breathings were from the first a source of difficulty, in the printing house as well as the foundry. One early solution was for the printer simply to ignore them, though this seems not to have been a widespread practice. The early type founders generally chose to include accents and breathings, but had to decide whether to cast them separate from the letters (as Pynson's founder chose to do) or to cast them on the same piece of type with the letter they covered. If accents and breathings were cast separately, smaller and more fragile than the letters, they increased the difficulty

6*

⁶ Siberch's publications that year include an Erasmus (STC 10496), a Galen (STC 11536) and a Lucan (STC 16896), all of which contain words or phrases in Greek. An example of de Worde's "wooden" Greek may be found in his 1517 edition of Whittington's Syntaxis (STC 25543), sig. D⁵v. He later acquired a standard fount. Samples of the work of Siberch and others may be seen in Frank Isaac's two-volume work, English & Scottish Printing Types (Oxford 1930 and 1932), which surveys printers before 1558.

⁷ Lectori. S. Pro tuo candore optime lector æquo animo feras, si quæ litteræ in exemplis Hellenismi vel tonis, vel spiritibus, vel affectionibus careant. Iis enim non satis erat instructus typographus videlicet recens ab eo fusis characteribus græcis, nec parata ea copia, qua ad hoc agendum opus est.

of composing, increased the chance of error, and made more difficult the problem of getting an even impression on the paper. If they were cast together with the letter, then a great many more punches had to be engraved and matrices made, a time-consuming and expensive matter. Punches for vowels, and for diphthongs cast as ligatures, would have increased twelvefold. Consider the following permuta-by Nicolas Jenson, a Venetian contemporary of Aldus, was to cast only the letters which contained both accents and breathings, i.e., the last six of the twelve examples just listed. Then the compositor could cut away with a knife whatever portion he did not want. A breathing mark could be cut away so that only a letter with an accent remained; or an accent could be removed to leave only a letter with a breathing; or both marks could be cut off to leave a plain letter. Robert Proctor, who explains this process in greater detail,8 points out that such typesetting practice is generally detectable in two ways. First, the type resulting from such surgery is misproportioned; the remaining accents or breathings are too far to one side or the other, or the circumflex is too high. Second, the cutting-out was rarely done well; the mark to be removed was often imperfectly cut away, or the mark which was to remain may be accidentally cut into. Sometimes a hasty typesetter would simply ignore the need for cutting-out; Proctor offers ทับเด็งตั้ง as an extreme example of what might, through compositorial carelessness, be found in an early printed text from a printing house using Jensonian type.

The separate casting of accents and breathings gradually took precedence on the continent, and their effective use was demonstrated by Reyner Wolfe, a London printer who held a royal patent as printer in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and who was the first English printer to possess Greek types in any quantity. Wolfe was a native of Gelderland and apparently made regular visits to the Frankfort Fair, where matrices as well as books could be purchased. With type acquired from a foundry in Basle he printed the first entire Greek text in England, two homilies of John Chrysostom edited by John Cheke, in 1543.

At about this time, a half-century or so after the economic success

⁸ Proctor, Printing of Greek, pp.18-9.

377

of the Aldine press had determined the general form of printed Greek, the type faces were given a virtually definitive shape by Francis I of France. In 1539 Francis had commissioned a new fount of type to be used by his Printer in Greek, Conrad Neobar, in printing editions from the vast royal collection of Greek manuscripts. With Neobar's death in 1540 Robert Estienne inherited the printing commission and the new types, thereby becoming presumably the new King's Printer in Greek, though no official patent to that effect exists. The type was designed by Claude Garamond, by all accounts the finest typographical artist of the age, who engraved the punches and made the matrices between 1541 and 1544. The capitals were derived from earlier models based on Lascaris, but the lowercase letters and abbreviations were modelled on the elegant calligraphy of Angelos Vergetios, of Candia in Crete, the cataloguer and copyist of the king's Greek manuscripts in the library at Fontainebleau, to whom Francis referred as his "escripvain expert in lettres grecques."9 The French Royal Greek types, or "characteres regii" as they came to be known, were used in some of Estienne's finest works in the years after 1544. They were received with universal applause and immediately became the preferred model for all European founders. Type cast from the Royal Greek matrices, or from matrices made in frank imitation of them, became prime desiderata in most large printing houses in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The success of these types paralleled, even surpassed, the earlier success of the Aldine founts in setting a European pattern. So popular were they that "the development of Greek printing was virtually arrested for quite two hundred years," with the result that "a Greek book printed in 1750 presents to all intents and purposes the same appearance as a Greek book printed in 1550."10 Fournier, the eighteenth century type founder, believed that the French Royal Greek founts were the only ones to possess practically all the known ligatures.¹¹

This brief review of the early history of the printing of Greek must serve as a necessary prologue to my main concern, the presentation

⁹ See Robert Proctor, Bibliographical Essays (London 1905) 95; Scholderer p.10; and Elizabeth Armstrong, Robert Estienne, Royal Printer (Cambridge 1954) 127–8. Miss Armstrong offers a sample of Vergetios' hand in a plate facing p.128.

¹⁰ Scholderer p.11. For a survey of these types, see Aug. Bernard, Les Estienne, et les Types Grecs de François I^{er} (Paris 1856).

¹¹ Daniel B. Updike, *Printing Types*, their History, Forms, and Use² I (Cambridge [Mass.] 1951) 236.

378

THE LIGATURES OF EARLY PRINTED GREEK

of a fairly comprehensive table of these early ligatures which were so popular during the Renaissance, but which now merely confuse and sometimes alienate the reader. Lacking such a table, the student whose needs require him to translate, or to transcribe, a bit of early printed Greek will generally be at a loss where to turn. His colleagues in his own department will merely commiserate. His colleagues in Classics will probably direct him to the standard handbooks of Greek palaeography, but on examination they will be found to be of limited usefulness. Bibliographers will direct him to books on early printing or type founding, which, while generally including examples of ligatures in their illustrative specimens, rarely include discussions of them, their main concerns lying elsewhere.

As it happens, the best source of information about sixteenth century Greek ligatures is to be found at the source of the confusion, in a certain class of sixteenth century books called alphabet books which printers who printed Greek issued at regular intervals. These books constituted a short introduction to Greek for students who needed to learn the elements of the language. The books were invariably of the same format and were often copied from one another. With few exceptions, they are uniformly titled Alphabetum Graecum; they are unpretentious, written in easy Latin, and content themselves with naming the letters of the Greek alphabet, explaining vowel quantities and classifying consonants, explaining proper and improper diphthongs, discussing accents and breathings, declining the articles as sample paradigms, offering a table of Greek numerals, and translating the ligatures into single-letter equivalents. They generally concluded with a few short samples of Greek for practice, most commonly the Paternoster or the Credo.

These books are not to be confused with the more lengthy and detailed Greek grammars or syntax books of the day, which had a larger and more scholarly audience. The features of the Greek alphabet books, including ligature tables, were usually incorporated into the first chapter or two of a grammar. T. W. Baldwin notes that the *Institutiones Linguæ Græcæ* of Clenardus was "the most frequently

¹² The most useful of these will probably be B. A. van Groningen's Short Manual of Greek Palaeography³ (Leiden 1963), for its section on abbreviations and symbols, pp.43-7, and its selective tables of MS contractions on pp.44, 45 and 46. T. W. Allen's Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts (Oxford 1889) is also of interest. Edward Maunde Thompson's Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography (London 1893), a standard item in most Classics seminars, is of little use.

used in England of the Greek grammars,"¹³ and records that eleven-year-old King James VI of Scotland had a Clenardus in 1576, and that he had a copy of Beza's Greek alphabet book as well, both probably sent from France. This Beza may well have been the one printed by Estienne from which some examples have already been drawn. Clenardus was indeed popular as a text: the *Short Title Catalogue* lists editions in 1587, 1590, 1594 and 1612, but the British Museum also has copies printed in London in 1582 and 1600 and eighteen other editions printed between 1543 and 1590 at such places as Paris, Antwerp, Venice, Cologne, Frankfort and Lyon.

Alternatively, the STC does not list, and the British Museum does not have, a single sixteenth century Alphabetum Graecum printed in London. John Brinsley, in his Ludus Literarius, a compendium of schoolroom practices first published in 1612, said nothing about Greek alphabet books, but urged that a child should begin his Greek studies with the "Strasburge Greeke Grammar." The Greek alphabet books may have been largely a continental habit. They were much more a product of the printing house than the scholar's study; their pedagogical attractiveness is minimal by our standards, and most of us would shudder at having to learn Greek from them. But their value to us lies precisely in this home-made quality. In the days when these books were most popular, no "standardized" table of ligatures had yet been established, so the ligature tables in the alphabet books were often ad hoc productions. They represent a sort of compositorial free-hand exercise, each printer simply setting forth systematically the contents of his type case to establish a ligature list as best he could. For the more fully-equipped printing houses, the ligature lists would be copious, and attractive testimony of the quality of the house's other publications. Aldus had stressed the attractiveness of his ligatures by calling his table "Abbreviationes Perpulchrae scitu"; Robert Estienne, who used his alphabet books after 1554 to publicize the French Royal Greek types, headed his list "Short-forms and ligatures devised for elegance as well as brevity" (Compendia literarum et nexus partim breuitatis, partim elegantiae causa reperti). The ligature tables can therefore offer a clue to the size and distribution of types in the

Copyright (c) 2003 ProQuest Information and Learning Company Copyright (c) Duke University, Department of Classical Studies 379

¹³ T. W. Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke I (Urbana 1944) 535, 539, 540.

¹⁴ John Brinsley, Ludus Literarius, or the Grammar Schoole, ed. E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool 1917) 226.

380

THE LIGATURES OF EARLY PRINTED GREEK

cases of various printing houses. Estienne's alphabet books list three times as many ligatures as, for instance, a London edition of Clenardus' grammar. By collating enough of the alphabet books, we may arrive at a usable table of our own which will prepare us for most eventualities.

In the table which accompanies this article I have attempted to reproduce all those ligatures which might normally be expected to cause some difficulty for the modern reader. I have omitted the simple tied sorts, where two or more letters are connected without violence to their familiar shapes, for these are of interest only to the student of typography; and I have added variant forms of single letters when they are reasonably different from accepted modern forms. Sometimes a piece of type will contain a ligature formed by tying a single letter to a contraction, producing thereby a halfreadable and half-confusing figure. At first I had thought to eliminate the clear first letter in such cases, and to list only the contraction, thereby avoiding a certain amount of duplication; but often the contraction requires the presence of a preceding letter for its own form, so I have decided to include them in their full form when I have so found them. The ligatures in the table were made by photographing the originals, which exist in a variety of type sizes, and enlarging the photographs to a more or less uniform size, then collating and transferring them to the table, and reducing the whole for printing. Slight variations in the sizes of the ligatures are the result of a failure to be mathematically exact in the original enlargements. Slight variations in thickness of line are the result of making different type sizes appear uniform.

The following alphabet books were collated to produce the table.

De literis graecis. Venice, Aldus Manutius Romanus, 1501. B.M. G.7581 Alphabetum Hebraicum et Graecum. Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, ?1508. B.M. 621.g.40(1)

De literis graecis. Tübingen, Thomas Anshelmus, 1512. B.M. 12923.b.2

Alphabetum Hebraicum et Graecum. Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, ?1516. B.M. 624.c.7(1)

Ex Aldo Manutio de literis Graecis. Cologne, Eucharius Cervicornus, 1517. B.M. T.2236(2)

Theodori Gazae de linguae graecae. Louvain, Theodoricus Martinus, 1518. B.M. 624.c.7(5)

Alphabetum Graecum. Paris, Christian Wechel, 1530. B.M. 1476.a.32(2)

381

Alphabetum graecum. Paris, Robertus Stephanus typographus Regius, 1539. B.M. 58.a.12

Alphabetum Graecum. Lyon, Mathias Bonhomme, 1542. B.M. 12923.bbb.39(1) Alphabetum graecum. Paris, Robertus Stephanus typographus Regius, 1548. B.M. 236.g.38(1)

Alphabetum Graecum. Paris, Robertus Stephanus typographus Regius, 1550. B.M. 617.c.29

Alphabetum Graecum. Cologne, haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1553. B.M. 843.c.21(1)

Alphabetum Graecum. Paris, Robertus Stephanus, 1554. B.M. 622.c.38 Elementa Graecae Linguae in usum puerorum collecta. Nuremberg, Gabriel Hayn, 1556. B.M. 12924.cc.35

Alphabetum graecum. Paris, Guillaume Morel, 1560. B.M. 236.g.38(3)

Alphabetum Graecum. Paris, Thomas Richardus, 1560. B.M. 624.c.21(1)

Alphabetum Graecum. Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1566. B.M. 12923.aa.4(1)

Alphabetum graecum. Antwerp, Johannes Loeus, 1567. B.M. 4516.a.32(3)

Alphabetum Graecum. Paris, Joannes Benenatus, 1569. B.M. 236.g.38(2)

Alphabetum Graecum. Paris, Robertus Stephanus, 1580. B.M. 622.d.35

Alphabetum Graecum & Hebraicum. Paris, Paulus Stephanus, 1600. B.M. 12904.b.11

In the preparation of the tables which follow I was assisted by a grant from the Faculty Research Fund of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, the University of Michigan.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN September, 1966

αὐτώ αὐτῷ ay αις as in **Ν΄χ** δίκαις Jay rou yas αῖς as in τ ^{τι} ταῖς व्यानवीं वारावराभने dy ax φλ αγγ du au av av as in ημέρο ημέραν άντὶ γει άντι τοῦ γελ γίη γελλ IN THE YEV YEV do ao γενική JETH YEVINA άορίστου ασ απ 26(46 YEVIXÃS ≥πο άπο ἀπὸ ap ap ap \$ ळें ॐ वंव ας as in ημέρο ήμέρας γίνεται ೦ ãs $a\dot{u}$ $a\dot{v}$ αύς αύτὸ aux aurs aurou

383

δίφθογγον δον δον δίφθογγος δ δίφθόγγου 25 25 XP YP γράμμα διφθόγγω 80 00 Jes ypi $\mathcal{S}_{\zeta_{0}}^{2^{n}}$ δοτική 209 400 do op γυ < δραχμή 24 YUI SCL opi yuy yuy 80 opo yw rw yw θα δα တို့တ္ စစ္တယ Say sai du su Solv sav dy our δαν δαυ Sw our 5 5 h Ses ous 8 DE1 ύλω έγω SE SE 5EE d 64 E1 δευ εĩ SUP DEUP ειν as in λέγ λέγειν Sh on EIV She one HV εiv 7. 81) Elvai Si Di 2/g /g 81a 2] के ग्रंथ भी हाते εῖς as in γονεῖς **519** 510 CN EN 7-G.R.B.S.

ξ ελ	9αν θαυ
g ex g exx	% θε
FU FU OV EV	H 0 E 1
ϵ ev as in μ^{ϵ} pev	אי שו שו פח
cu év	Hew Onv
ेद्र १६ १६ हेह	9, 0,
έζας" έξαγιον	Ðr θv
η έπειδη	9 0 00
Ήδ επευ	A 0p
<i>6π.</i> τω έπι	Deg 600
S' iwì ἐπὶ	λε φ θρω
43 & 60 to	9υ ου
ω ες	θω θω
ες as in όγτ^ë ὄντες	ζ ιν as in φύσζ φύσιν
61 é071	ε ις as in φύσε φύσις
À '63	κο κα
Go ETO	x v) w на 0 w
€ ευ	لاً بن برعا لا الله
' & ' εὐθεῖα	C x xa C W nai
ds eus	ndu nav
S' ήμισυ	χας κας
W & nv	х ў ната
${f \hat{\eta}}$ ${f \hat{\eta}}$ as in ${m au}^{f \hat{i}}$ ${m au}_{f \hat{i}}$	Κέ κεράτιον
Ja oa	χεζ μεφάλαιον
Jay Bai	τρης κλητική

385

my névos X9 NО μες μέσον κοτύλη μέσος μέσου κρα μζ μιςά μετά XU หบ 贬 κύαθος ulu phr XY HUI μνᾶ xXv nov μο λφ λα $\mu\nu$ 💥 λίτρα μц μυι 4 λλ $\mu u u$ μυν 20 ma no 290 λω μῶν μα μα v as in men nev May has ξεστή udu par 01 my hab olov μίχ μα μάτων as in ois as in Tois σραγμά πραγμάτων \tilde{o} as in $\theta V K \tilde{\tau}$ $\theta v \eta \tau \tilde{o}$ \tilde{c} μου μαυ όλκὴ Bau oly lin s ov as in λόγς λόγον my hey μων μελλ óν μέλλων òv as in $\ddot{\tau}$ op (see pos)

Θ - ος	που πευ
• oς as in	771 πι
άνθρωπος άνθρωπος	या रा अ πο
ο òς as in ge θεòς	πωε ππε
ος οτι .	πωδίς ππευς
४ ου	<i>77ω</i> 1 ππι
ι οὐγγία	<i>π</i> πο
જો ούδε	πωω ππω
CÓN OỦN	कि मी मि
Conce ούκα	σες πρα
อัน ซี ซี อบึง	πει πρι
ους as in λόγους	<i>σ</i> υ προ
" οὺς as in Τ" τοὺς	<i>τ</i> ου πρω
र्लेड रिवें ००४ वर्ष रिवेंट रिवें ००४ वर्ष	गी की मर
πα πα	πυ πυ
που παι	πη πυι
που παν	πιω πυν
π παρ	πω πω
αθε π' παρα	εσ ρα
παρακείμενος	er bi
ωθος ος παρατατικός	6 60
παυ παυ	ρ ρος
ωρ πορ πορ πορ πορ	G Cα σα
ως που που π' περι	ory Gu oar
ως ωσι που π περι π περὶ	of odu GUI Gav

WILLIAM H. INGRAM 387 **Θ** σαρ adσπει σαῦτα σση σπη σβ ασι σπι QG. σσλ σπλ न् न्स σει σσο σπο as a σθ avσπυ θα σθα σσω σπω ी अय कर W oear a σσ θε σθε απ σσα ου σθη way ooai **θω** σθην ardy oday D1 001 ωας σσας δλ σθλ at σσε alo σθο WH σση 200 000 ar σσι OKH OKT ar $\sigma\sigma o$ σχο σκο ww σσω σμι σμι στ (0 σα στα σου 504 orai **a** gols otas σσε σπα σταυ σται σπαι GE OTE σπαν στει

SH OTH

σσε σπε

द्रा उरा	ζω ταυ
50 oto	ζών ταῦτα
στρ	? τε
ςυ στυ	τορ τερ
ςω στω	The the
<i>σ</i> υ συ	\mathcal{S} $\tau \widetilde{\eta}_{\varsigma}$
σεω (ω συν	u + T1
σφ αβ σφ	3° 6 70 10
9α σχα	T ròv
γ ε σχε	τοῦ καν κοῦ
αχει	लें τοὺς
9 η σχη	ίδιο τοῦτο
glu oxnv	वर के इंड्र प
% σχι	TEL TPI
gu oxv	E & TPO
90 σχο	नी रर
25 OXP	דעט דטע
ου σχυ	α ω τω
<i>στ</i> ω σχυν	र्क मर्ज रेक स्क
Θ σω	$\widetilde{\tau}$ $\widetilde{\tau}$ $\tau_{\omega v}$
Ca τ τα	ل ن
ray) Coy of ras	J v
ταῖς	γ υι
τοψ ταν	w v uv
Ές τας	ັພ ປັv as in ວັພ ວ ັບ

389

ASU XOU Jew XOUN ύπερσυντελικός ره بود ۱۹۲ xeo روج ύπο روي مرك Look Mens **25** US Alex XOUS 201 (0) UO I ADW XOW QL qi xo y xo φρ χόα 204 Xai χ χοῖνιξ Zdu xav Lab Lab Xab HS XP ger XPI Facr Xabi χας χας zw xuv Jan Xan α ψαι XE 1 du var zhu xnv ک⁹ x⁹ ων as in λόγ λόγων χθα χθα ω̃v as in T τω̃ν Hay Xear ως as in ὅπς ὅπως Has xeas 30x x0E ῶς

Index to Volume 7

Compiled by Dorothy Rounds

Articles, Listed by Author

Austin, Norman The Function of Digressions in the Iliad. 295-312 Beck, Curt W. Analysis and Provenience of Minoan and Mycenaean Amber, I. 191–211, figs.

Burkert, Walter Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual. 87-121, 4 pls.

Calder, William M. III A Reconstruction of Sophocles' Polyxena. 31-56

De Lacy, Philip Galen and the Greek Poets. 259–266

Fales, DeCoursey, Jr. An Unpublished Fragment of Kleitias. 23-24, pl.

Geanakoplos, Deno J. Church Building and "Caesaropapism". 167-186

Huxley, George A Boar in Stesichorus. 319-320

Numbers in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships. 313–318

Ingram, William H. The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek. 371-389

Knox, Bernard M. W. Second Thoughts in Greek Tragedy. 213-232

Lloyd-Jones, Hugh Menander's Sikyonios. 131–157

Milns, R. D. Alexander's Seventh Phalanx Battalion. 159-166

Oliver, James H. Herodotus 4.153 and SEG IX 3. 25-29

Podlecki, Anthony J. The Power of the Word in Sophocles' Philoctetes. 233-250

Pritchett, W. Kendrick The Top of the Lapis Primus. 123-129, 4 pls.

Rosenmeyer, Thomas G. Alcman's Parthenion I Reconsidered. 321-359

Sherk, Robert K. C. Asinius Gallus and his Governorship of Asia. 57-62

– The Text of the Senatus Consultum De Agro Pergameno. 361–369

Swift, Louis J. The Anonymous Encomium of Philip the Arab. 267–289

Thomson, Ian Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance. 63-82

Young, Douglas Notes on the Text of Pindar. 5–22

- On the Alleged Three Metagrammatisms. 5
- II Word-division at Verse-end in Pindar. 9

III Emendations and Defences of Readings in Pindar. 16

Youtie, Herbert C. Text and Context in Transcribing Papyri. 251–258

Subject Index

Achilles, ghost of 43–45 Adramyttium, inscription; fragment

of letter from 361-369

Aeschylus Agamemnon, language of sacrificial ritual 119

Aeschylus, change of mind in 213f

391

, , , , ,	Autotides Actions someon of E?
άγχιστεῖς 29	Aristides, Aelius, corpus of: Els
Agido 323ff; 337f	<i>Βασιλέα</i> (XXXV Keil) 267–289
Agonistic and amoebean structure	Aristophanes, Acharnenses (557ff);
335f, 346	Lysistrata (614–628 et al.); Ranae
Agora Museum P. 16325 23f, pl.	(324–340ff) 355ff
Ainesimbrota, house of 347	Aristotle Poetics (1454a26) 229
Alcman, in his own poetry 358	Arrian (3.16.11; 3.19ff; 4.18.3; 7.23.1)
, Partheneion I 321-359	159ff
————— divisions of 321–359	Arians 174, 175, 176, 179
selective commentary,	Artemis 335
indicating dichoria 339-353	Asia: see Gallus
——— situation of perfor-	Athenaeus (3.95D) 319–320
mance 332–339	Athens: see Agora Mus.
Aldus Manutius 373f; 376; 379	Attic drama: see Dichoria
Alexander, seventh phalanx battalion	Augustus 57ff
of 159–166	——, letter to Cnidians 58–60
Alphabet books 378–380	Bacchylides, dichoria in 358
——, list of 380f	Barker, Sir Ernest, Εἰς Βασιλέα
Alphabetic numerals 26	identity of subject 270f
Amber: see also Helm; Jonas; Rössler	Basilica type church, adoption of 173
, analysis of, by infrared spec-	Battalion: see Alexander
troscopy 203-308, figs.	Bird simile 338, 350, 352
——— Baltic 197f, 201, 210	Böckh, August, text of Pindar 9-12
, from Crete 201f	Boeotia 317
, from Kakovatos 197-201	Bruni, Leonardo 64
, from Mycenae 197f, 201, 210	Bull-sacrifice 98, 115, 117, 120
, post-Mycenaean 203	Caesaropapism and church building
routes to Mycenaean Greece	(A.D. 312–565) 167–186
208–211, figs.	Calchas 304
, Rumanian 194–197	Cammelli, G. 63
——, properties of 194–197	Capellini, G., provenience of amber
Amicus principis; see Gallus	191f
Amplificatio 306	Catalogue of ships: see Homer
άμύνεσθαι 346	Celsus: see Constantine
Amyclae: see Rooftile	Change of mind, means of desig-
Amyntas, son of Andromedes 159	nating, in Greek tragedy 215-219
Anodos-scenes 91	Chrysippus, use of quotations from
Apollodorus Atheniensis Περ τῶν	poets 264
θεῶν (FGrHist 244 F 102 a [2]) 40	Chrysoloras, Manuel 63–82
Arcadius, policy towards pagans	Church building see also Caesaro-
179f	papism
Arion, developer of dithyramb 90	motivation for 185f
, ,	·

Citizenship: see Cyrene Estienne, Robert 371f; 379 Cnidos 58, 61 **Euboulus 59** Colonists, selection of 28f Eudoxia, church benefactor 179 "Comedy of innocence" 106, 109, 114 Euripides, change of mind in 220-Communication: see λόγος 232 Consilium principis 57, 62 Hecuba 1; 41, scholiasts 38f, 41f Constantine the Great, church con-Eusebius, theory of imperial control struction of 167, 169ff over church 167f, 172 ----, Pontifex Maximus 170 Ferri, S. 25 —, letter to Celsus 170 Florence 68, 75, 77f Curved brackets, editorial sign 256f Galen of Pergamum, $\Pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ' I \pi \pi o$ Cyrene, inscription from (SEG IX 3) κράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων granting of citizenship 25-29 (De Placitis), allusions to poetry δαφνηφορικόν 329 and attitude towards 259-266 De agro Pergameno: see Senatus soul, parts and function accor-Consultum ding to 262 Dichoria: see also Alcman, Parthenion Gallus, C. Asinius, governorship of Ι Asia 57-62 - in Attic drama 354–359 — amicus principis 57f, 62 Digression(s): see also Homer Garamond, Claude 377 ---- defined 299f Gaugamela 160f ----- characteristic of oral style 296f Goat-play 90 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, parthe-Goat-sacrifice 98, 100, 102, 113, 121 Gorgoneion 23f, pl. neia (De Demosthene 39) 328 Greek, interest in 64 Domaszewski, A. von, commentary, anonymous encomium 268f Groag, E., commentary, anonymous Donatists 171, 174 encomium 267, 269 Editorial signs, in papyri 251, 255ff Guarino da Verona 63f, 68-73 Education: see Plutarch Hagesichora 324, 336 Half-choruses: see Alcman; Dichoria EisBασιλέα, corpus of Aelius Aristides (XXXV Keil) 267-289 Helm, O., elemental analysis of -: see also Philip the Arab; Keil, amber 192-195 B.; Domaszewski, A. von; Groag, Heracles, $\mu \dot{\nu} \theta_{os}$ of 244f E.; Mazzarino, S.; Barker, Sir Heraea, team groupings 352 **Ernest** Herodotus 4.153 25-29 ---- numerals in 26 - translation and commentary 272-289 Homer, Iliad, function of digressions Enetic horses 341 in 295-312 Epictetus, illustrations of philosophy -, Iliad II, numbers in catalogue from poetry of 261f of ships 313-318 Epigraphy: see Lapis primus -, paradigms: hortatory and/or Ergotimos, potter 23f apologetic 300-304

, style of: paratactic 295-312 passim	Ligatures, early printed Greek 371-389
, narrative 297f	——— tables of 382–389
, externalization 296,	——— ties and contraction 372f
299	source of information: see
, ritualization 308	Alphabet books
——, —— retardation 311	Liturgical privileges of emperor 182
Horses: see Enetic	λόγος: see Sophocles, Philocetes
How, W. W., and J. Wells 26, 28	Longinus, Pseudo- de Sublimitate (15.7)
Hyacinthia 33f	41f
Hypaspists: see Phalanx	Louvre, C 10246 23f, pl.
Imperial authority: see Caesaropapism	Macedonian infantry, losses in battle
Inheritance 29	or garrison duty 162–164
I(nscriptiones) G(raecae) XII 3 58-60	Mask, actor's 219
I(nscriptiones) L(atinae) S(electae)	Mazzarino, S. 270
(97) 58	Medea 261, 266
Inscription(s): see Adramyttium;	—, and ritual at temple of Hera
Lapis primus; Rooftile; SEG;	Aktraia 118
Smyrna	Menander, Sikyonios (reconstruction
Irigoin, J., Histoire du texte de Pindare	from fragments) 131–157
5–8 passim	μεταβάλλω, use and meaning 222f
Italian Renaissance, early 63-82	Metagrammatism: see Pindar
Jeffery, L. H. 25, 27	Metaphor, pejorative 215f, 222
Jenson, Nicolas 376	— of "enchantment, bewitch-
Jonas, R., Mycenaean amber analysis	ment" 217f
by quantitative cleavage 197-201	——— military 216f
Julian the Apostate, church construc-	μιν 340
tion of 177	μύθος: see Heracles
Justinian, church construction of 167,	Nautaca 160f
181ff	Neoptolemus, use and misuse of
κασίγνητοι 29	λόγος 236–245
Keil, B., commentary on anonymous	Nestor 301–303
encomium 268	Numbers in catalogue of ships: see
Kleitias, unpublished vase fragment,	Homer
Agora Mus. P 16324; Louvre C	Numerals: see Herodotus
10246 23f, pl.	Odysseus, use and misuse of λόγος
κόρος 345	237ff
Land dispute: de agro Pergameno 361-	Olivero, G. 25, 27
369, 2 pls.	Oral style 296f
Lapis primus (fragments 1, 2, 3, First	Owl 350
Stele, Tribute Quota Lists) 123-	Pact of the First Settlers (Herodotus
129, 6 pls.	4.153) 25–29

Page, D., numbers in catalogue of Plutarch, Πως δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιships: see Homer ημάτων ἀκούειν (How a Young Palaeography, iota adscriptum, beta, Man Should Study Poetry) 260f attitude towards poetry 264 upsilon 364 —— theory of education 261 Palaeologus, Manuel 79f Poetry: see Chrysippus; Epictetus; Paleographic method of transcription Galen: Plutarch 252 Praeterito 347 Pan 330f Pratinas, Hyporchema (fr.1 D) 357 Papyri: see also Editorial signs — inventor of Satyr play 89f ----, fragments (Menander) 131-Printers: see Aldus; Estienne; Gara-134 mond; Jenson; Pynson; Siberch -, text and context in trans-Prosopography, consilium members, cribing 251-258 inscription from Smyrna 361-369 Partheneion: see also Dionysius Pynson, Richard 375 – as a literary type 327, 332, Renaissance: see Italian 358 Retrospection, device of oral poet Pastoral, Hellenistic 331 305 ——, origin of 327, 353 Ritual, sacrificial, 87-121 Peliades 344 Rössler, O., analysis of amber 196 Perdiccas 159f Rooftile, catalogue of names, Amy-Pausanias (3.15) 326 clae 331 Pergamum: see agro Pergameno Rossi, Roberto 65 Phalanx: see also Alexander Sacrificial ritual 87-121 ---- strength of 164 St Sophia 183ff ----- hypaspists included 165f Satyr-play 89 Philinus 59 Senatus Consultum de Agro Pergameno Philip the Arab, anonymous en-361-369, 2 pls. comium of 267-289 — text and notes 365–369 Philotas (not son of Parmian) 159 Ships: see also Catalogue Physis 220f, 232 ——, size of 316 Pindar, emendations and defenses of Siberch, Johannes 375 readings (I 8.44; O 1.87, 10.46, Singing-goats 91f 13.114; N 4.62, 4.68, 6.13b and 50b, Sirens 361 6.35; P 2.11) 16-22 Sirius 343 ---- enjambment 10f Smyrna, inscription from agora 361three medieval metagram-369 matisms 5-8 Sophocles, change of mind in 214f word-division at verse-end —, Philoctetes, analysis of vocab-(N 10.41f; I 8.42f; O 2.92–95, 8.10f, ulary 246–250 8.37ff) 9-15 - power of the word Platanistas 326f (λόγος) in 233–245

- Polyxena, reconstruction of 31 - 56- compared with Antigone 51–53 Soul: see Galen Stele: see Lapis primus Stesichorus, Syotherai, a boar in (Athenaeus 3.95D) 319-320 Stobaeus (1.418.8ff Wachsmuth) 40f Strabo 470 (10.3.14) 39f S(upplementum) E(pigraphicum) G(raecum) IX 3 25-29 Swan 352 Tarn, discussion of phalanx 159-Teacher's salary 67, 78 Theocritus 325, 327 —, and Alcman 326 —, use of Doric dialect 325 Theodosius the Great, church construction of 178f

Thera, Cyrenaean citizenship to emigrants from 25-29 Thetis, visit to Hephaistos 309 Tiberius 57 Tragedy, Greek, and sacrificial ritual 87-121 --- second thoughts in (change of mind) 213-232 τραγωδία, meaning and background of 88-90; 115f Transcription: see also Papyri; Pindar – problems of 7–8; 252–257 Tribute quota list: see Lapis primus Trivium and quadrivium 66 Trojan War, background of, in Iliad 298f, 305 Tryphera 59f Type faces, accents and breathings in Greek 375f - French Royal Greek 377 Vase fragment: see Agora Museum Vergiero Pier Paolo 65f, 68

Errata

VOLUME 6

Page
250 line 1: for ἄιρος read ἄισος
258 line 8: for 'Ρείας read 'Ρείας line 11: for ἄλλοι τ' ἄλλοι τ' Β read ἄλλοι τ' Β
293 note 6, line 2: for φείων read θείων
303 add Isis, sanctuary of 291–294
s.v. Pindar: add Pyth. 8, 187–200

VOLUME 7

- 50 line 17: for (probably Hecuba) perhaps Andromache, read (probably Hecuba, perhaps Andromache)
- 118 note 71, last line: for Wst read WSt
- 155 line 5: for ols read ols
- 202 next to last line: for LMI read LM I
- 281 second paragraph, margin: lower 36 from line 2 to line 3