Dry-point marks in Codex Sangallensis 904: a preliminary list

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DRY-POINT MARKS IN CODEX SANGALLENSIS 904: A PRELIMINARY LIST

Abstract

Approximately 250 marginal entries in dry point occur in Codex Sangallensis 904, the well-known copy of Priscian's grammar made in Ireland in the mid-ninth century. These entries consist of marks that range from the abstract and indeterminate to letters, words and a variety of drawings. In contrast to the marginalia in ink, the dry-point marks have received little attention to date. A preliminary listing of these marks is presented in this paper, together with brief background notes and analysis.

Since brought to general attention in Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*,[1] the copy of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* in the St Gallen Stiftsbibliothek that is designated Codex Sangallensis 904 has attracted the attention of scholars, as much for its glosses and marginalia as for the text itself. In the years preceding the foundational work of Stokes and Strachan in *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*,[2] Zeuss's work drew the attention of Irish scholars and historians such as Charles Graves, John O'Donovan, Eugene O'Curry, and John Gilbert.[3] It also prompted in-depth analysis by the Italian scholars Constantino Nigra[4] and Graziadio Ascoli.[5] Since the *Thesaurus*, scholarly attention has been primarily and understandably directed to the glosses[6] and also to the well-known marginal poems.[7] Other important matters have also been the subject of scholarship: the date of the manuscript (October 850 to August 851)

[1] J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica e monumentis vetustis tam Hibernicae linguae*, 2 vols (Lipsiae, 1853), i, pp. xiii–xx; ii, 1010–37.

[2] Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901, 1903) (henceforth *Thes*), ii, pp. xix–xxiii, 49–224, 290.

[3] Charles Graves, 'On certain notes in the Ogham character on the margin of an ancient MS of Priscian', *PRIA* 6 (1853–7), 209–16; John O'Donovan, 'Zeuss's "Grammatica Celtica" ', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1859), 11–32, at 19–21; Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), 27; John T. Gilbert, *Account of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* (London, 1879), 27.

[4] *Reliquie Celtiche raccolte da Costantino Nigra I: Il Manoscritto Irlandese di S. Gallo* (Firenze, 1872).

[5] *Il codice irlandese dell'Ambrosiana edito e illustrato da G.I. Ascoli volume secundo: Appendici e illustrazioni* (Firenze, 1879).

[6] Maartje Draak, 'The higher teaching of Latin grammar in Ireland during the ninth century', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde* 30 (1967), 107–44; Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Notes on Saint Gall glosses', *Celtica* 18 (1986), 77–86; Rijcklof Hofman, *The Sankt Gall Priscian Commentary Part 1*, 2 vols (Münster, 1996).

[7] Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics: Eighth to Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1956), 4–5; James Carney, *Medieval Irish Lyrics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 22–3; Anders Ahlqvist, 'Deux poèmes vieil-irlandais du Codex Sangallensis 904 de Saint-Gall', in Marc Baratin, Bernard Colombat

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has been established ingeniously by Pádraig P. Ó Néill;[8] and, following the ground-breaking work of Maartje Draak, attention has also been paid to the marginal and interlinear reading- and interpretative-marks that abound in the manuscript.[9]

The history of lithographic and photographic reproductions from the manuscript is of relevance to the scholarship of Codex Sangallensis 904. One of the earliest was the montage of letters and words from the codex that appeared in Ferdinand Keller's *Bilder und Schriftzüge* of 1851, and which was subsequently reproduced by William Reeves in 1860.[10] Other scholars such as Nigra provided sample illustrations as lithographs, and in the twentieth century they were followed by W. M. Lindsay, who reproduced a partial photograph of p. 182.1–18.[11] Later publications, including those of Draak, Lambert and Hofman, were also accompanied by sample reproductions in greyscale, arguably the most successful being the images from nine pages published in *Irish Miniatures* in 1954.[12] None of these samples and illustrations gave any impression of the extent and form of the manuscript, however, details essential for obtaining as complete a view of the book as is possible without seeing it in person, and an understanding of the nature of the annotations and commentary present in this extraordinary manuscript. In latter times, however, studies of the manuscript have been revolutionized by its digitization and display in 2006 by Professor Christoph Flüeler and the e-Codices project.[13] One outstanding result of this can be seen in how digitization has facilitated the work of Dr Pádraic Moran and colleagues on the excellent online St Gall Priscian Glosses project.[14] Likewise, though based in the first place on in-person examination of the manuscript, the present paper is very much indebted to the availability of the digital images.

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and Louis Holtz (eds), *Priscien: transmission et refondation de la grammaire de l'antiquité aux modernes*, Studia Artistarum 21 (Turnhout, 2009), 57–64; idem, 'Miondán Sean-Ghaeilge', in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh and Jürgen Uhlich (eds), *Féilscríbhinn do Chathal Ó Háinle* (Indreabhán, 2012), 1–10.

[8]Pádraig P. Ó Néill, 'Irish observance of the Three Lents and the date of the St Gall Priscian (MS 904)', *Ériu* 51 (2000), 159–80.

[9]Maartje Draak, 'Construe marks in Hiberno-Latin manuscripts', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde* 20 (1957), 261–82; Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Les signes de renvois dans le Priscien de Saint-Gall', *EC* 24 (1987), 217–38; Hofman, *The Sankt Gall Priscian commentary*, i, 88–91; Evina Steinová, 'Technical signs in early medieval manuscripts copied in Irish minuscule', in M. J. Teeuwen and I. van Renswoude (eds), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 38 (Turnhout, 2017), 37–85.

[10]Ferdinand Keller, 'Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der schweizerischen Bibliotheken', *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 7/3 (1851), 58–96; William Reeves, 'Early Irish caligraphy', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 8 (1860), 210–30, 291–308, Plate IV.

[11]W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Oxford, 1910), Plate X.

[12]Johannes Duft and Peter Meyer, *The Irish Miniatures in the Abbey Library of St. Gall* (Olten, Berne and Lausanne, 1954), Plates XXXIX, XL and XLI; a bibliography of publications containing reproductions up to that date is on p. 74; a list of reproductions is also in Hofman, *The Sankt Gall Priscian*, i, 13–14.

[13]www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0904 (accessed February 2025).

[14]www.stgallpriscian.ie (accessed February 2025).

Anyone viewing Codex Sangallensis 904 today will appreciate how it may be regarded, perhaps more than any other Irish manuscript from the medieval period, as a prototype of vellum manuscripts from both the Irish ecclesiastical and secular traditions. Apart from being among the biggest of the large-format manuscripts created in Ireland,[15] the features displayed by this manuscript are recognizable from their re-appearance in manuscripts of much later date, even, in the case of some – such as the informal and well-documented personal marginalia[16] – extending into the paper era. While the primary importance of its text and glosses cannot be overstated, features ranging from vellum defects and pre-writing scribal repairs to the ubiquitous pen-tests or stint-markers (frequently in the form of personal names, invocations to saints[17] and comments on ink and vellum) and matters of ruling, layout and decoration[18] will be instantly recognizable from other manuscripts by readers familiar with the long tradition of the Irish hand-made book. These features, combined with the excellence and clarity of the script, mean that Codex Sangallensis 904 is a ready-made teaching aid for an introduction to the history of the Irish manuscript.

One feature that sets the manuscript apart, however, and that has received little attention to date, is that of the dry-point marks in which it abounds. These constitute a stratum of evidence of user-interaction with the book that is distinct from all other marginal matter therein – the commentary, glosses, technical notes and personal marginalia noted above. Dry-point notes and glosses are a familiar feature of medieval scholastic manuscripts,[19] and are present in one of the earliest manuscripts to which an Irish provenance has been attributed, 'Usserianus Primus' (TCD MS 55).[20] Few if any of the dry-point marks in Codex Sangallensis 904 could be classified as glossarial in purpose, however. Most, if not all, might be categorized as doodles, a feature of medieval

[15] Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Continuity and change in bindings and book-size from vellum to paper in the Gaelic manuscript', in Silvia Hufnagel, Þórunn Sigurðardóttir and Davíð Ólafsson (eds), *Paper Stories: Paper and Book History in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin, 2023), 145–70, at 154.

[16] *Thes* ii, pp. xx–xxii.

[17] Including seventeen invocations to Brighid, to which number should probably be added the comments on pp. 158, upper margin ('sen anoibingen'), and 211, lower margin ('uch mochliab anóib ingen').

[18] Discussed by the present authors in 'Material and decorative features of Codex Sang. 904', in Griffin Murray (ed.), *Routeways and Reflections in Insular Art* (forthcoming).

[19] Bernhard Bischoff, 'Über Einritzungen in Handschriften des frühen Mittelalters', in idem, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1966, 1967, 1981), i, 88–92. For further examples see Herbert Dean Meritt, 'Old High German scratched glosses', *American Journal of Philology* 55/3 (1934), 227–35; idem, 'Old English glosses, mostly dry point', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 60/3 (1961), 441–50; Philip Rusche, 'Dry-point glosses to Aldhelm's "De Laudibus Virginitatis" in Beinecke 401', *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994), 195–213; Christine Wallis, 'Unpublished dry-point annotations in a manuscript of the Old-English "Bede": Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279b', *Medium Ævum* 85/1 (2016), 15–32.

[20] Pádraig P. Ó Néill, 'The earliest dry-point glosses in Codex Usserianus Primus', in Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katharine Simms (eds), *'A Miracle of Learning': Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in honour of William O'Sullivan* (Aldershot, 1998), 1–28 (MS 904 mentioned p. 2); idem, 'Dry-point glosses in Codex Usserianus Primus: addenda and corrigenda', *Peritia* 14 (2000), 430–1.

manuscripts that has yet to be subjected to a comprehensive study. That such markings are present in manuscripts from other traditions – Anglo-Saxon for example – is well known.[21]

The most recent scholar to draw attention to these marks in Codex Sangallensis 904 is Dr Dagmar Bronner, who has characterized them as

> drawings, sketches, or mere scribblings on the margins or between the columns. There are human faces, heads of animals, some kind of interlace ornamentation, but also initials or capital letters (some of which are letters in rustic capital, i.e. in continental script).[22]

In preparation for the exhibition of some of the St Gallen manuscripts in the National Museum of Ireland in 2025, the present writers had an opportunity to examine the dry-point markings in Codex Sangallensis 904 under raking light, and we have drawn attention to their presence in the manuscript in our contribution to the exhibition catalogue.[23] This analysis was followed up with close inspection of the digital images on the e-Codices site. This confirmed what was reported by Dr Bronner, that these marks fall into loose categories of letters and/or initials, figures-of-eight and simple interlace patterns, representational figures (mainly heads and faces), and miscellaneous markings of an indeterminate nature.

Many of the markings have no discernible function or relation to the text. These include quasi-geometric patterns such as triangles, parallel lines, quatrefoils, solar crosses and gridded circles and squares with dots added. Other markings are not entirely unconnected. The most prevalent is the marginal or intercolumnar 'X', which may have been used to indicate points of significance in the text.[24] These marks may correspond to the use of the obelus or cross in ink that occurs throughout the manuscript. In size, the x-marks are generally small, with letter-height averaging 5–10 mm. Samples also occur that are much larger, however, and whether these might have a similar function, or are just random scoring, has yet to be established.

[21] Dieter Studer-Joho, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain Old English Dry-Point Glosses* (Tübingen, 2017), 37–8.

[22] Dagmar Bronner, 'Dry-point glosses in Irish manuscripts' (Gloses bibliques et para-bibliques du haut Moyen Âge – Gloses à l'encre et gloses à la pointe sèche, Oct. 2014, Université Paris Sorbonne, France), p. 5 (online publication: https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01137740v1, accessed February 2025).

[23] Pádraig Ó Macháin, Fenella France, Meghan Hill and Anna Hoffmann, 'Writing and colouring the Irish manuscripts in the Abbey Library of St Gall', in Matthew Seaver, Diarmuid Ó Riain and Maeve Sikora (eds), *Words on the Wave: Ireland and St. Gallen in Early Medieval Europe* (Dublin, 2025), 93–100, at 96.

[24] Cf. 'Selbst zu einfachen Merkzeichen in Büchern, wie sie während der Lektüre gemacht werden, hat der Griffel oft gedient; stehen doch in vielen Codices eingeritzte schräge Kreuze oder ähnliche wiederkehrende Zeichen am Rande' ['Even for simple marks in books, such as are made during reading, the stylus has often been used; after all, in many codices there are incised oblique crosses or similar recurring signs in the margin']: Bischoff, 'Über Einritzungen in Handschriften', 88. For dry-point x-marks in a sixteenth-century English paper manuscript see Jason Powell, 'Secret writing or a technology of discretion? Dry point in Tudor books and manuscripts', *The Review of English Studies* 70/293 (2019), 37–53, at 48–9.

Another frequent marking is the simple 'interlace' patterns generally created from figures-of-eight or interlocking ellipses ('Celtic knots'). Such figures occur in isolation and in combinations side by side or in a vertical sequence. The combination of three interlocking figures-of-eight between the columns on p. 134 is exemplary. We might also note two other examples on p. 187 located to the left and right of the initial 'Q' that begins Book XI of the *Institutiones*. To the bowl of this initial letter has been added in dry point a crude design of the 'Celtic knot' variety. A comparable example is the initial 'G' on p. 200 where the loop of the letter has had a knot added to it in dry point.[25] To all such shapes we apply the not altogether accurate term 'interlace' in the list below.

Similar connections and intrusions are to be seen in another relatively frequent dry-point mark, namely single letters, generally uncials, none of which are of an overtly insular identity[26] except on a rare occasion when imitating a scribal initial.[27] While most of these letters appear to be randomly inscribed, some can be loosely associated with letters in the text. For example, two letters A between the columns on p. 168 appear to be attempted replicas of an initial in column *b*, lines 38–9. Others have been inserted in blank spaces on the page that are neither marginal nor inter-columnar. On p. 170, for instance, an 'S' has been inserted in a rare example of an unfilled initial-space (column *a*, lines 7–9). Comparable to this is the faint 'C' inserted in what the inscriber must have thought was another unfilled letter-space in the last two lines of column *b* on p. 172. In this case, however, the space was caused by an indentation rather than by the omission of an initial.[28] The space left unfilled for a rubricated title on p. 197, column *a*, is occupied by a large dry-point 'X'. Combinations of letters also occur sometimes, replicating text in some cases, as in the faint letters in the upper margin of p. 71, column *a*, which imitate letters in the rubricated title. Many of the letter-combinations are difficult to decipher. Dr Bronner only detected one such combination that could be identified as a gloss: on p. 210, right-hand margin, line 19.[29]

Among the most recognizable categories of dry-point markings on the manuscript are the representational drawings and sketches. These drawings include miscellaneous items such as a leaf (3, 95), reverse-S serpents (185), a bird-claw (176), and a lion (176). Male genitalia feature prominently between the columns on p. 180, accompanied by a diamond-design possibly representing the female organ; other possible examples, weaker and less well executed, occur on pp. 120 and 166 between columns. Depictions of humans are confined to notable drawings of heads and faces on p. 199 between columns, and especially

[25]Dry-point additions have also been made to initials on pp. 185 (V) and 190 (T).

[26]This applies also to the four examples of the letter F written in ink on p. 5, two in the right-hand margin, two in the lower margin.

[27]The two insular letters A on p. 168 are the only true instances of this. The lower terminal of an initial Q is imitated on p. 61.

[28]Text is continuous from 'IN leo disinentia' to 'composita' (172*b*.x–z). Comparable indentations occur at pp. 154*b*, 183*b*, and 210*b* (cf. 208*a* for a reverse arrangement); initial-indentations in these positions occur at pp. 27 and 190.

[29]Bronner, 'Dry-point glosses', 5.

p. 200, column *a*, where four such drawings occur at the start of the section of Book XII of the *Institutiones* beginning 'Genera pronominum sunt .v.': three in the left-hand margin, and one between lines in the space generated by the presence of the large scribal initial 'G'. This sequence was probably initiated by the attempted replication of the decorative face (profile) that rests on the left terminal of the head-stroke of the G; immediately below it a face has been added in dry point to the left of the curved shaft of the initial, together with the interlace in the upper loop, as noted above. Two faces have been inscribed in dry point in the margin below this again, one in profile one in portrait; and another face (profile), less elaborate than the others, occupies the space to the right of the head-stroke of the initial, along with multiple letters 'D' (non-insular), and other jottings. The lowermost face in the margin, shown in profile with what seems to be a cravat beneath the chin, was inscribed so deeply that it generated a replica on the recto of the leaf underneath, p. 202.[30]

These faces are contextualized by the marginal, non-textual ink-drawings of heads or faces that also occur in the manuscript. These are to be seen on p. 25 lower margin (two facing heads, in the style of those found decorating many of the initial letters); p. 31 intercolumnar, lines 7–9 (head (with hat) and torso); p. 121 lower margin (head in profile); and p. 224 upper margin (profile of head with elongated chin and ear). Of these, the simple representation of a head that is drawn in ink on the lower margin of p. 121 is the one most comparable to the heads inscribed in dry point on pp. 199 and 200. In the upper margin of p. 238 is an ink-drawing of a flying quadruped with claws, the only marginal drawing in the manuscript that was obviously executed prior to writing, and probably, therefore, to be regarded as an elaborate pen-test and pointing to the function of the other ink-drawings in the manuscript.

A broader context is supplied by the evidence of Prof. Andreas Nievergelt for the presence of a 'surprising density' (*überraschender Dichte*) of dry-point glosses and marks among the manuscripts in the Abbey Library of St Gall.[31] Many of the glosses are in Latin, but by far the greatest number are in Old High German, found in 47 manuscripts in the Library and in a small number of manuscripts that were once in St Gall are but now located elsewhere.[32] The working proposal is that the dry-point glossing of all of these manuscripts took place at the Abbey of St Gall. Prof. Nievergelt also includes scrawls and drawings in his survey, bringing him closer to the situation in Codex Sangallensis 904, and indeed finding a parallel, though somewhat less focused, in another ninth-century manuscript for the item inscribed on p.180 of Sang. 904 as mentioned above.[33]

[30] An error in the nineteenth-century pagination resulted in all rectos after p. 78 bearing even numbers.

[31] Andreas Nievergelt, ' "Sie wussten auch ohne Dinte zu schreiben und zu zeichnen" – Griffeleintragungen in St. Galler Handschriften', in Franzsika Schnoor, Karl Schmuki and Silvio Frigg (eds), *Schaukasten Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen: Abschiedsgabe für Stiftsbibliothekar Ernst Tremp* (St Gallen, 2013), 58–65.

[32] Ibid., 60.

[33] Ibid., 64.

Preliminary list

Such is the prevalence of the dry-point markings in Codex Sangallensis 904 that a preliminary listing of these marks seems worthwhile. This is presented below.[34] The impression made by the stylus is of variable strength. It can be quite faint in many places, and strong enough in others to carry through to the other side of the folio, sometimes also leaving its mark on the folio immediately underneath. Even under raking light the fainter marks are difficult to detect, and it is probable that not all occurrences have been recorded in the list that follows. These markings cannot be said to evince much by way of artistic merit. They bear nothing of the obvious deliberation involved in the practice of dry-point glossing recorded elsewhere in Irish and medieval tradition, sharing with it only the use of the stylus as the reader or readers worked their way through the grammar. With the possible exception of the x-marks, they appear to be random markings that bear, at best, a tenuous connection to the text on the page, as outlined above.

As one might expect, the distribution of the dry-point markings across the fifteen quires that make up Codex Sangallensis 904 varies from quire to quire.[35] With the caveat that some marks may have passed undetected in this preliminary study, the accompanying bar-chart shows a heightened concentration of dry-point markings in quires 10–12 (pp. 154–69, 170–85, 186–201). Quires 11 and 12 in particular have markings on nearly every page. It is impossible to say definitively whether this feature of the manuscript represents the work of a single individual or an accumulation of the traces of different readers over time. Two strata of marks suggest themselves: the x-marks, which may relate to the reading and interpretation of the text, and the sketches, designs and amorphous marks, which may reflect reader distraction or fatigue. Though devoid of artistic or linguistic significance, these dry-point marks and drawings still have something to contribute to our understanding of the use made of the manuscript, especially considering its suggested presence in the monastic classroom.[36]

Although we have no way of dating the markings, the apparent lack of use of the manuscript in the later medieval period,[37] combined with the opinion of Nievergelt as to the origins in the Abbey of St Gall itself of the dry-point activity evident in the eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts in the Library, may mean that in the dry-point markings in Sang. 904 we are looking at the handiwork of monastic students of the high medieval era. This is reenforced by the fact that the non-insular letters among those of the markings that are not imitative suggest that the dry-point inscriptions were made after the book had left Ireland. A picture is conjured, therefore, of the continental student, stylus in hand, his mind possibly wandering from the combined challenges of

[34]The following less obvious abbreviations are used: cols = intercolumnar; rhm = right-hand margin; lhm = left-hand margin; as explained above, the designation of 'interlace' covers a variety of interlocking designs, principally figures-of-eight and ellipses.

[35]See collation in Hofman, *The Sankt Gall Priscian commentary*, i, 12.

[36]Ibid., 49.

[37]Ibid., 31.

the subject matter and the insular script before him. If we may be permitted to extrapolate in this way, and to interpret many of the dry-point marks in Codex Sangallensis 904 as a reaction to the subject matter and textual presentation, we are left with a view of the book in exile that is far removed from the idyll depicted in the famous verse in the lower margin of p. 203, which pictures a blackbird warbling in the tree that overlooks the scribe with his ruled manuscript.

Page	Location	Description
1	rhm lines 8–10	X (boxed)
3	upper marg. col. *a*	C
3	upper marg. col. *b*	E *and* R
3	cols 5–7	indeterminate
3	cols lines 11–13	A
3	cols line 25	leaf
11	cols lines 11–13	X
23	cols lines 3–5	X
23	cols lines 25–7	indeterminate
27	cols lines 9–11	multiple indeterminate markings
30	lhm lines 11–12	X
30	lhm lines 14–15	X
30	cols line 13	three fingers (?)
32	clos lines 4–8	X
36	cols lines 20–2	interlace
41	cols lines 3–7	geometric initial letter (P?) design
41	upper marg. col. *a*	M
44	lower marg. cols	indeterminate
44	lower marg. col. *b*	four pointed ‘fingers’
44	lhm lines 18–20	X
52	lhm lines 26 – 7	X
53	rhm lines 9–10	X
53	lhm lines 31–3	X
55	upper marg. col. *a*	A
60	rhm 5–7 and 8–12	interlace
60	lower marg. col. *b*	indeterminate (letter O?)
60	cols lines 9–11	interlace (boxed)
61	cols lines 7–10	X
61	lhm lines 8–9	spiral imitating terminal of scribal initial Q
61	cols lines 16–19	Q (repeated 26–7, 33–5)
62	cols line 9	X
67	cols lines 26–7	M
71	upper marg. col. *a*	faint capital letters repeating letters from rubricated title
73	cols line 12	X
74	cols line 13	O

Page	Location	Description
74	cols line 24	Q
74	cols lines 34–5	S
76	cols lines 3–4	indeterminate
76	cols lines 31–2	Q (inverted)
77	upper marg. col. *a*	double vertical lines (also visible p. 78)
92	lhm lines 14–17	X
94	cols lines 24–7	indeterminate
94	cols lines 36–8	indeterminate (face?)
95	lhm lines 27–9	N
95	cols 18–21	leaf
100	cols line 6	X
102	cols lines 14–17	X (showing through on p. 103 also)
104	cols lines 21–2	X
106	upper marg.	uncial letters (inverted)
106	cols lines 10–11	X
106	cols line 19	X
106	cols lines 25–7	interlace
107	cols lines 31–3	flower (?)
108	cols lines 25–7, 33–6	indeterminate
112	cols line 3–5	interlace
112	cols line 17	X
113	cols lines 22–3	interlace
114	upper marg. col. *a*	interlace and indeterminate marking
114	cols	multiple indeterminate markings
114	cols line 5	'[.]or'
114	rhm line 10	X with small, initial-terminal (face) attached
114	lhm lines 14–17	two floral/interlace designs above scribal initial T
115	lhm lines 9–11	X
116	cols lines 6–7, 9–11, 36–7	interlace, repeated
120	cols line 11	male genitalia (?)
121	lhm lines 7–11	three animal heads
121	cols lines 8–10, 14–17	interlace
124	upper marg. col. *a*	triangle
125	cols lines 5–6	face (front)
125	cols lines 9–10	face (profile)
125	cols lines 13–16, 23–6	interlace
128	cols lines 35–6	R
132	rhm line 8	interlace
133	rhm lines 35–6	interlace
134	cols lines 22–4	interlace
134	cols lines 40–2	interlace
135	cols lines 20–2	interlace

Page	Location	Description
135	cols lines 25–6	X
136	lower marg. col *a*	interlace
139	cols lines 2, 3, 15, 17	X
140	lhm lines 36–8	'ladder'/vertical boxes
143	cols lines 25–8	indeterminate
143	cols lines 34–5	figure-of-8
146	rhm lines 14 and 28	indeterminate
148	cols line 18	M
150	lhm line 30	N
150	lhm line 31	OM
153	cols lines 3–5, 24–5, 28, 40	X
154	rhm lines 19–29	sequence of three (?) large letters N
154	lhm	multiple vertical lines, single and double
154	lhm line 39	X
154	cols lines 15–17	M
154	cols lines 40–4	vertical parallel lines
154	cols lines 11 and 40	X
156	lhm line 2	X
156	cols line 40	X
156	lhm and cols	X (very long)
158	lhm line 3	X
160	rhm line 8, lower marg. (col. *a*), cols lines 37, 39, 41–2	R repeated a number of times
164	lhm lines 35–6	P
165	cols lines 16–17	V
166	cols lines 18–20	male genitalia?
166	cols line 40	'P*er*' ?
167	cols line 29	'o th a'?
167	cols lines 31–3	capital A[38]
167	cols lines 36–7	3 parallel vertical lines
168	rhm lines 5–11	series of zig-zag lines
168	rhm lines 24–6	indeterminate
168	cols line 24	D[. . .]
168	cols lines 28–9	O
168	cols lines 33–4 and 37–9	two insular letters A [replicating initial, col. *b* line 39]
169	cols	multiple indeterminate squiggles
170	col *a*, lines 7–9	S in blank space left for initial
170	cols line 13	Evπ
170	rhm lines 10 to end	zig-zags and multiple indeterminate squiggles

[38]This presents a good example of the impression of a dry-point inscription being visible on the other side of the leaf (p. 166).

Page	Location	Description
170	lhm lines 26–32	three large replicas of marginal 'v' siglum; series of letters in vertical succession: S, N, N, IN
170	lhm lines 37–8	indeterminate
171	rhm line 17	V
171	rhm lines 19–20	V
172	rhm lines 20–1	X, with indeterminate marks beneath
172	rhm line 31	circular elaboration around *oculus* siglum
172	cols lines 17–18	N
172	cols line 28	X
172	cols line 35	indeterminate double-line mark
172	col. *b* lines 41–2	faint initial C occupying space before indented text at end of column, not intended for an initial.
172	rhm lines 33–5	interlace
173	lhm line 5	indeterminate letters[39]
173	lhm lines 34–5	P with interlace (?)
173	cols line 7	indeterminate letters
173	cols lines 9–10 and 16–18	indeterminate
173	cols lines 22–7	interlace
174	rhm lines 17–18 and 23–4	indeterminate
174	lhm lines 35–7	'S' with smaller 's' beside and interlace (?) beneath
174	cols lines 1–4	indeterminate
174	cols lines 33–9	flower on stem and base (?)
175	cols line 16	qu[. . .]
176	rhm lines 21–2	interlace
176	lhm line 29	V (imitating *v* siglum above)
176	lhm lines 39–40	interlace
176	upper marg. col. *a*	fish (tail and fin)
176	cols lines 14–15	letter 'A'
176	cols lines 23–7	bird claw
176	cols lines 26–33	indeterminate design
176	cols lines 34–7	lion
177	upper marg. col *b*	indeterminate letters
177	cols line 16	M
177	cols lines 19–22	indeterminate design
178	cols lines 23–5	quatrefoil
178	cols lines 33–40	indeterminate design
180	cols lines 29–34	male (and female?) genitalia

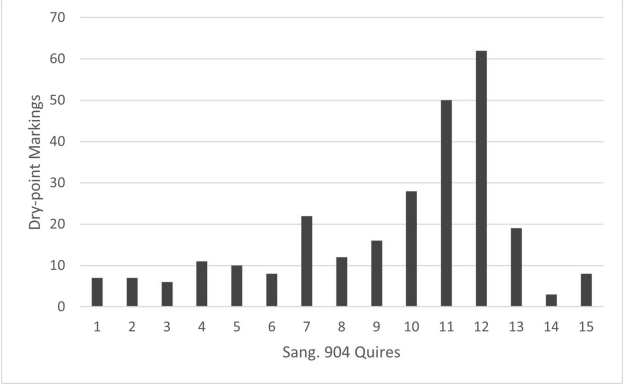
[39] Possibly 'cleo', copying word in text; impression visible on reverse (p. 172).

Page	Location	Description
182	rhm lines 21–8	solar cross with a smaller version above and below
184	rhm lines 30–3	interlace
184	rhm lines 35–7	N
184	lower marg. col. *b*	M
185	lhm lines 30–3	interlace
185	lhm lines 34–6	A
185	lhm lines 37–40	indeterminate
185	col. *a* lines 38–9	dry-point cross added to interior of scribal initial V
185	lower marg. col. *a*	NV
185	cols lines 33–6	reversed S (serpent?)
187	rhm line 22	A
187	rhm line 32	N
187	cols lines 23–6	interlace; also added to bowl of adjacent scribal initial Q; and between title and first line of Book IX
187	cols lines 30–4	interlace (repeated)
187	cols lines 39–40	S
188	upper marg. col. *a*	interlace
188	rhm line 8	interlace
188	rhm lines 9–10	inverted teardrop shape (visible also on verso, 189)
188	rhm lines 13–15	closed S or figure-of-8
188	rhm lines 20–3	interlace with solar cross
188	rhm lines 24–8	head (profile) over interlace
188	lhm line 11	M
188	lhm line 16	M
188	lhm lines 27–8	N
188	lhm lines 32–5	*questa* symbol (in imitation of scribal sign above) with 'ladder' device attached to terminal (visible also on verso, 189)
188	lhm lines 38–41	triangular device on sphere (carrying through to p. 190)
188	lower marg. col. *a*	triangular device (unfinished A?) with broad parallel lines
188	lower marg. col *a*	six wavy lines coming to point at either side
188	cols lines 10–21	indeterminate
188	cols lines 21–5	indeterminate
188	cols lines 35–6	interlace (as in upper marg.)
188	col. *b* (interlinear) lines 18–25	indeterminate
189	lhm lines 35–6	figure-of-8 with V attached

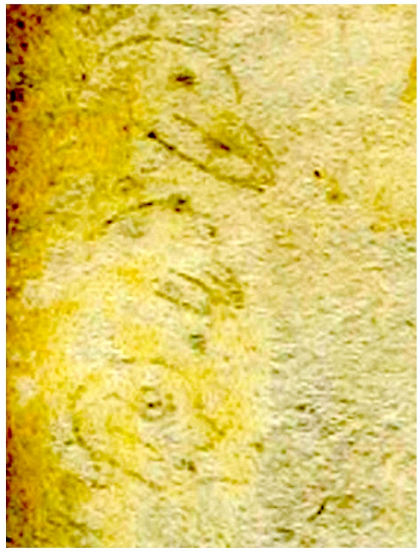
Page	Location	Description
189	cols	intersecting lines running virtually length of column
190	rhm lines 17–19	indeterminate
190	lhm lines 5–8, 11–16, 29–35	sequence of three large formations with double lines connected by single meandering line extending from upper to lower margin
190	lower marg. col *a*	indeterminate (visible in part on verso, p. 191)
190	cols	continuous intersecting lines
190	cols lines 38–41	double-line device beside scribal initial T, bearing dry-point addition to interior
191	cols lines 22–9, 30–6	indeterminate
191	cols line 40	v
192	lhm lines 28–32	S
192	cols lines 25–9	interlace (four figures-of-8, two over two)
192	cols lines 32–5	animal letter-terminal above human head (?)
197	col *a*, lines 6–7	large X in space left for rubricated title
198	upper marg. col. *b*	figures-of-8 cropped
199	cols lines 15–19	face (profile)
200	rhm lines 15–17	circle with grid and dots in square frame (visible also on verso, p. 201, and on p. 202 rhm)
200	lhm line 9	IN
200	lhm line 13	HIER
200	lhm line 14	CHO
200	lhm lines 16–18	face (in profile) attached to left of scribal initial G in imitation of scribal face on the left terminal of the cross-bar, with interlace addition to loop and outline of G[40]
200	lhm lines 20–4	face (in profile)
200	lhm lines 25–9	face (front) with cravat (?), visible also p. 202
200	interlinear, col. *a*, lines 15–16	face in profile flanked by two letters D
200	cols line 11	AUE
200	cols line 13	MA
200	cols lines 14–16	D
200	cols lines 17–18	circle with grid and dots (visible also on verso, p. 201, and on p. 202)
200	cols lines 22–3	circle with grid and dots, with spiral above (visible also on verso, p. 201)
200	cols lines 25–6	square with triangular grid and dots
200	cols line 29	circle with grid and dots
200	cols lines 35–7	indeterminate
201	lhm lines 15–17	circular grid with dots
201	cols lines 17–18, 22–3	circular grid with dots

[40] Impression visible on p. 202 (lhm).

Page	Location	Description
202	lhm lines 30–2	interlace
202	rhm lines 7–9	four vertical lines bunched together under diagonal score
202	rhm lines 24–30	indeterminate
202	cols lines 1–5	twin lines
202	cols lines 30–5	indeterminate
204	upper marg. (col. *a*)	indeterminate (vessel?)
204	rhm lines 22–4	X
206	cols lines 17–19	M v (?)
206	cols lines 24–5	AN
206	cols lines 32–4	indeterminate
207	lhm line 12	X
207	lhm lines 15–16	O or teardrop
207	cols lines 17–19	AU / CAR (?)
207	cols lines 20–3	X / X
207	cols lines 29–42	indeterminate
208	cols lines 13–14	X
210	rhm line 19	nōa (see n. 29 above)
211	rhm lines 22–8	two parallel lines meeting in point
220	lower marg. col. *a*	M
223	cols lines 24–6	indeterminate
233	cols line 2	X
235	rhm line 15	small circle with dot above half circle with dot
235	rhm line 27	X
235	lower marg. col. *b*	sequence of vertical strokes
236	lhm line 27	X
241	cols lines 6–7	X
244	cols line 29	X
245	rhm lines 37–40	A (without crossbar)
247	cols line 28	faint lettering



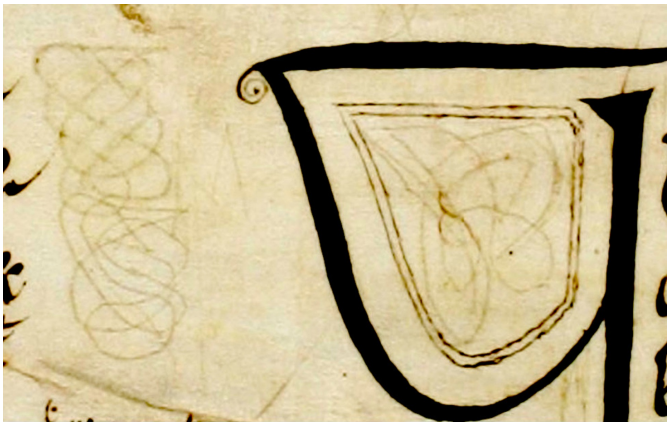
1. Number of dry-point markings per quire in Codex Sang. 904.



2. Codex Sang. 904, p. 121: animal heads in dry-point (enhanced).



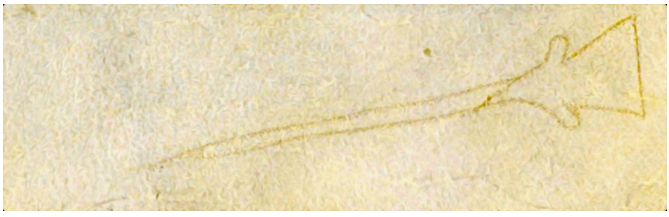
3. Codex Sang. 904, p. 180: genitalia in dry point (enhanced).



4. Codex Sang. 904, p. 187: dry-point 'interlace' between columns and in bowl of letter (enhanced).



5. Codex Sang. 904, p. 200: face in dry-point (enhanced).



6. Codex Sang. 99, p. 23 (detail): dry-point drawing of stylus (enhanced), identified by Andreas Nievergelt.



7. Codex Sang. 904, p. 224: face in ink.



8. Codex Sang. 904, p. 234: beast in ink.

Images from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 904: Prisciani grammatica (https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0904), CC BY-SA.

Image from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 99: Ambrosius in Lucam (https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0099), CC BY-SA.

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