

Wizard doesn't make errors in L^AT_EX, and answers questions about L^AT_EX by editing `latex.tex`.
Guru knows whether to edit `latex.tex`, `lplain.tex`, `article.sty`, or `art10.sty`.

L^AT_EX style

Novice types `a$_{1}$` because the error in `a_{1}` occurred on the `'_'`.

User types `a_{1}` because Leslie Lamport says so.

Other packages

Novice could do more in Pagemaker.

User doesn't see the difference between T_EX macros and WordPerfect macros.

Hacker writes macros to make T_EX look more like `troff`.

Wizard types `\input troff` to process old `troff` files.

Guru types

```
\input txtmacros
\input text.txt
to format plain text.
```

Life, everything

Novice thinks that learning T_EX will take a long time.

User realises that it wasn't so bad after all.

Programmer tries to convince himself that the next macro is really going to save time in the future.

Wizard daydreams idly about how much he could have done with his life if he had never heard of T_EX.

Guru realises that a life without T_EX is not worth living.

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- ◊ Donald Arseneau
Triumf
4004 Wesbrook Mall
Vancouver, BC
Canada V6T 1Z6
Internet: `asnd@erich.triumf.ca`
- ◊ Raymond Chen
Microsoft Corporation
One Microsoft Way
Redmond, WA 98052-6399
Internet: `raymond@microsoft.com`
- ◊ Victor Eijkhout
Department of Computer Science
University of Tennessee at Knoxville
Knoxville, TN 37996-1301
Internet: `eijkhout@cs.utk.edu`

Philology

Some remarks on typesetting classical Latin

Claudio Beccari

Abstract

Besides requiring special fonts and/or hyphenation patterns, typesetting of ancient languages, in particular classical Latin, requires that some stylistic points should be taken into consideration; for instance, medieval codices and Renaissance books should *not* be taken as models, but, if an old style flavor is desired, books printed in the late XVII century should be imitated. Particular attention is given to the issue of the letters 'u' and 'v'.

1 Introduction

The excellent paper by Yannis Haralambous [1] on hyphenation of ancient Greek and Latin published in *TUGboat* 13.4 gives me the opportunity of expressing my ideas about the style of composition of ancient languages with particular reference to classical Latin. Having prepared the hyphenation patterns for modern Latin [4], I was very pleased to find Haralambous's work on ancient Latin and ancient Greek and to see how he solved the difficulty of preparing hyphenation tables that allow to deal with prefixes that are so common in both languages.

Haralambous cites a Latin example from [7], having taken into account the Chicago manual of style [8], where: a) upper-case 'V' and its corresponding lower-case 'u' are used; b) the ligature 'æ' (which implies also œ, Æ, Œ) is used. The Chicago manual of style, in practice, suggests to set Latin according to what the scholars call the *restituta* [*lectio*], that is in a way that supposedly imitates the original setting.

In this paper I will try to prove that the *restituta* in reality imitates the medieval codices and the first printings, not the original way of writing Latin by the Roman themselves, so that the *restituta* should be avoided in favor of a more modern way of setting classical Latin.

2 The Latin script

We are all aware that ancient Romans used 'V' for indicating several different sounds, one of which was the back closed vowel /u/, another was the closed bi-labial vowel /y/ (same as the Greek Υ from which the Roman glyph 'V' derives), but certainly also the voiced labio-dental fricative consonant /v/, especially when it was in intervocalic position (how

would they have pronounced the word *VVLA* otherwise?), or at the beginning of a word when it was followed by a vocalic ‘V’ as in *VVLGVS*, *VVLT*, ... The fact that the consonantic value of the letter ‘V’ is maintained consistently in all the Romance languages (with possible alterations into a bi-labial fricative or a bi-labial plosive) confirms this value. I came across the works of Quintilianus [14] where he complains about the poverty of the Latin alphabet (of his time) that does not allow to distinguish the three sounds represented by the same glyph; Fig. 1 shows a page of a XVI century book where his complaints are reported. Besides Quintilianus’ complaints, Fig. 1 gives an example of classical Latin typeset according to the habits of the early printings.

We are also aware of the fact that twenty centuries ago our Roman and Greek ancestors did not use lower-case letters; these are a medieval variation of the uncial script of either language; such variation was substantially complete in the eighth or ninth century, while the complex system of Greek diacritics (see the fonts produced by Silvio Levy [5] or by Mylonas and Whitney [6]) was complete around the seventh century. Also the punctuation varied a lot (that is, it was either completely absent or reduced to very simple marks) and it was settled down just during the Renaissance, in practice, with the advent of printing.

Fig. 2 shows a page of one of the last codices that was composed for the Duke Federico of Urbino [16]; the script is defined *calligrafia umanistica libraria o tonda* (book or round humanistic script) and is particularly easy to read.¹ The use of capitalization (“lucas” [Luke] and “dei” [God’s] in lower case, for example), abbreviations, ligatures, punctuation, accents, is very different from what we use today; ‘u’ is regularly used in lower case, except in one case where ‘v’ is used (... *env/merare longissimum est.*), and ‘V’ is used in small caps, especially after ‘Q’. Abbreviations such as ‘Q̄’ or ‘q̄’ for ‘qui’, or ‘p̄’ for ‘prae’, make this text difficult to understand for readers not acquainted with paleography even if the lettering is very clear.

¹ A similar script defined *calligrafia umanistica diritta* (straight humanistic script) was used by the engravers working for Manunzio as a model for producing what now we call “roman type”; the *calligrafia umanistica inclinata o corsiva* (slanted or cursive humanistic script) was the model for designing what now we call “italics”. In Italian still nowadays these font shapes are called *tondo* and *corsivo* instead of “romano” and “italico” respectively.

When in the fifteenth century Gutenberg, Manunzio and the other prototypographers designed the glyphs for use in printing, they imitated the three current Latin handwritten styles (Texture, Roman and Italic), and these did not contain upper- and lower-case ‘V’ and ‘U’; in printing they preserved the manuscript tradition of using ‘V’ for the upper-case and ‘u’ for the lower case letter *independently from the language* in use. I have seen books in Latin, Italian, French, English, Spanish, German printed in the XV, XVI and XVII centuries, where this habit was preserved. Sometimes in the initial position a lower case ‘v’ was used independently of the consonantic or vocalic function of the letter, while in the 42-line Bible by Gutenberg (at least in the sample page reproduced in [10]) ‘u’ and ‘v’ are correctly used but only at the beginning of the words.

Sporadic attempts to eliminate this anomaly were made by many grammarians, for example Trissino for Italian [12], but they remained *vox clamans in deserto* till the second half of the XVIII century. Fig. 4 shows a couple of facing pages from a book by Trissino printed in 1547 [13], where he uses the phonetic alphabet he had proposed in [12] for the Italian language: it includes two glyphs for the two sounds of each of the letters ‘e’, ‘o’, ‘s’, and ‘z’, it uses ‘u’ and ‘v’ correctly even in capitalized titles, and uses ‘k’ instead of ‘ch’ (not always) and ‘lj’ instead of ‘gli’; there are no unusual abbreviations, the ligatures concern only the letter ‘s’ followed by another ‘s’ or by ‘t’ and the spelling is unusually modern, except perhaps for an excessive use of ‘h’ compared to modern usage.

According to my sources [11], it was the Dutch printer Elsevier that eventually succeeded in doing away with this confusion and used the proper letter for the proper sound; Fig. 5 shows a couple of pages of a book printed by Elsevier in 1649, where in the body of the text ‘u’ and ‘v’ are used according to the new style, while in the titles set in capitals or caps- and-small-caps the old style is preserved and the glyph ‘V’ is used throughout. In the XVIII century the new style of using ‘v’ and ‘u’ in the proper places had become almost universally accepted, so that you can recognize a two century old book from other elements (language style, font design, ligatures, page graphic layout, ...), not from the use of ‘u’ and ‘v’.

Before the age of printing the lower-case letter ‘i’ was dotless in the humanistic straight and cursive scripts (see Fig. 2); the dot was introduced with the

22 M. FAB. QVINT. INSTIT.

iudicium est. Quo quidem ita seuerè sunt isti ueteres Grammatici, ut non uersus modò censoria quadam uirgula notare, & libros qui falso uiderentur inscripti, tanquam subdititios summa mouere familia permiserint sibi: sed autores alios in ordinem redegerint, alios omnino exemerint numero. Nec Poetas legisse satis est. excutiendum omne scriptorum genus: non propter historias modò, sed uerba, quæ frequenter ius ab autoribus sumunt. Tum nec citra Musicen Grammaticæ potest esse perfecta, cum ei de metris rhythmisq; dicendum sit. Nec si rationem syderum ignoret, Poetas intelligat: qui (ut alia mittam) toties ortu occasuq; signorum in declarandis temporibus utuntur. Nec ignara Philosophia, cum propter plurimos in omnibus fere carminibus locos ex intima questionum naturalium subtilitate repetitos: tum uel propter Empedoclem in Græcis, Varronem ac Lucretium in Latinis: qui præcepta sapientiæ uersibus tradiderunt. Eloquentia quoque non mediocri est opus, ut de unaquaque earum quas demonstrauimus rerum dicat proprie & copiosè.

Quò minus sunt ferendi, qui hanc artem ut tenuem ac icuinam cavillantur: quæ nisi Oratori futuro fundamenta fideliter iecerit, quicquid superstruxerit, corruet: necessaria pueris, iucunda senibus, dulcis secretorum comes, & quæ uel sola omni studiorum genere plus habet operis quam ostentationis. Ne quis igitur tanquam parua fastidiat Grammatices elementa: non quia magnæ sit operæ, Consonantes à Vocalibus discernere, ipsasq; eas in Senuocalium numerum, Mutarumq; partiri: sed quia interiora uelut sacri huius aduentibus, apparebit multa rerum subtilitas, quæ non modo acuer ingenia puerilia, sed exercere altissimam quoque eruditionem ac scientiam possit. An cuiuslibet auris est exigere Literarum sonos? Non hercule magis quam neruorum. At Grammatici saltem omnes in hanc descendit rerum tenuitatem, desint

De literis & earum potestate.

ORATORIARVM LIB. I.

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desint ne aliqua nobis necessaria litera, non cum Græca scribimus (tum enim ab iisdem duas mutuamur) sed proprie in y & z. Latinis, ut in his seruus & uulgus, Aeolicum digamma desideratur. Et medius est quidam, u, & i, literæ sonus. Non enim sic optimum dicimus, ut optimum. Et in here, neque, e, plane, neque, i, auditur. An rursus aliæ redundant, præter illam aspirationis t: quæ si necessaria est, etiam contrariam sibi poscit, t. Et k, quæ & ipsa quorundam nominum nota est. Et q, cuius similis effectus species que, nisi quòd paulum à nostris obliquatur. Kappa apud Græcos, nunc tantum in numero manet. Et nostrarum ultima x, qua tamen carere potuimus, si non quæsiuimus. Atque etiam in ipsis Vocalibus Grammatici est uidere, an aliquis pro Consonantibus usus acceperit, quia iam sicut tam scribitur, & uos ut eos. At quæ ut uocales iunguntur, aut unam longam faciunt, ut ueteres scripsere, qui geminatione earum uelut apic utebantur: aut duas: nisi quis putat etiam ex tribus uocalibus syllabam, quod nequit fieri, si non aliqua officio consonantium fungantur.

Quæret etiam hoc, Quomodo duabus demum uocalibus in scripsas coeundi natura sit, cum consonantium coact nulla, nisi alteram frangat. Atqui litera, i, sibi insidit. Coniicit enim est ab illo iacit. Et, u, quomodo nunc scribitur uulgus & seruus. Sciat etiam Cicroni placuisse Aijo Maijamq; gemi= In Oratore. nata, i, scribere. Quod si est, etiam iungetur ut consonans.

Quare discat puer, quid in literis proprium, quid commune, quæ cum quibus cognatio. Nec miretur cur ex scamno fiat Scabellum: aut à pinna (quod est acutum) securis utrinque habens aciem, Bipennis: ne illorum sequatur errorem, qui quia à pennis duabus hoc esse nomen existimant, Pinnas auium dici uolunt. Neque has modò nouerit mutationes, quas afferunt declinatio, aut prepositio, ut fecat fecuit, cedit excidit, cedit cecidit, calcat exculcat: & sic à lauando lotus, & inde

Figure 1: The grammarian Quintilianus (I century A.D.) discusses the pronunciation of Latin and complains that ‘V’ (‘u’ in print) is supposed to represent several sounds, one of which is the *Aeolicum digamma*. This page reports part of the section “De literis & earum potestate” (The letters and their value): “[...] aliqua nobis necessariae literae, non cum Graeca scribimus, ([...]) sed proprie in Latinis, ut in his [“seruus & uulgus”], *Aeolicum digamma desideratur. Et medius est quidam, u, & i, literae sonus. Non enim sic [“optimum”] dicimus, ut [“optimum”].*

German scripts from which Texture is derived. Besides a number of ligatures², some of which survived till to day, there were two different glyphs for the letter ‘s’, one for the end of the words and one for internal or initial positions. The latter closely resembled an ‘f’, the difference being that the tie did not cross the stem of the letter (see again Fig. 2); the ligature of the latter glyph with a regular ‘s’ gave rise to the ‘ß’ glyph. Among these ligatures there are ‘æ’, ‘Æ’, ‘œ’, and ‘Œ’ that were totally unknown twenty centuries ago. Furthermore many shorthand notations, abbreviations, substitutions of ‘n’ and ‘m’ with a

² In a recent issue of TTN [17] Peter Flynn asks if “someone would like to try faking (*sic*) up the ct and st ligatures”; I like these ligatures that were so frequent in XVIII century books and I admit that sometimes such graphic devices are useful for giving “that particular flavor” to the printed page.

tilde accent on the preceding vowel (always Fig. 2), occasional accents on the desinence of the ablatives (even in printing), etc. etc., were such that a modern unskilled reader may find it difficult to read a XV or XVI century book.

These are the main reasons why I think medieval manuscripts and early printings should not be taken as a model for setting classical Latin into type. Nor should they be taken as a model *today* for setting into type the works of the medieval writers themselves; would you set *The Canterbury tales*, or *El cantar de mio Cid*, or *Le romans de la rose*, or *Il decameron* making use only of ‘V’ and ‘u’, and using all the other abbreviations, ligatures, unusual glyphs, diacritics, and the like? The only reason for doing so might be for reproducing those masterpieces with the look they had their days, but this would be useful only for scholars, and I doubt that

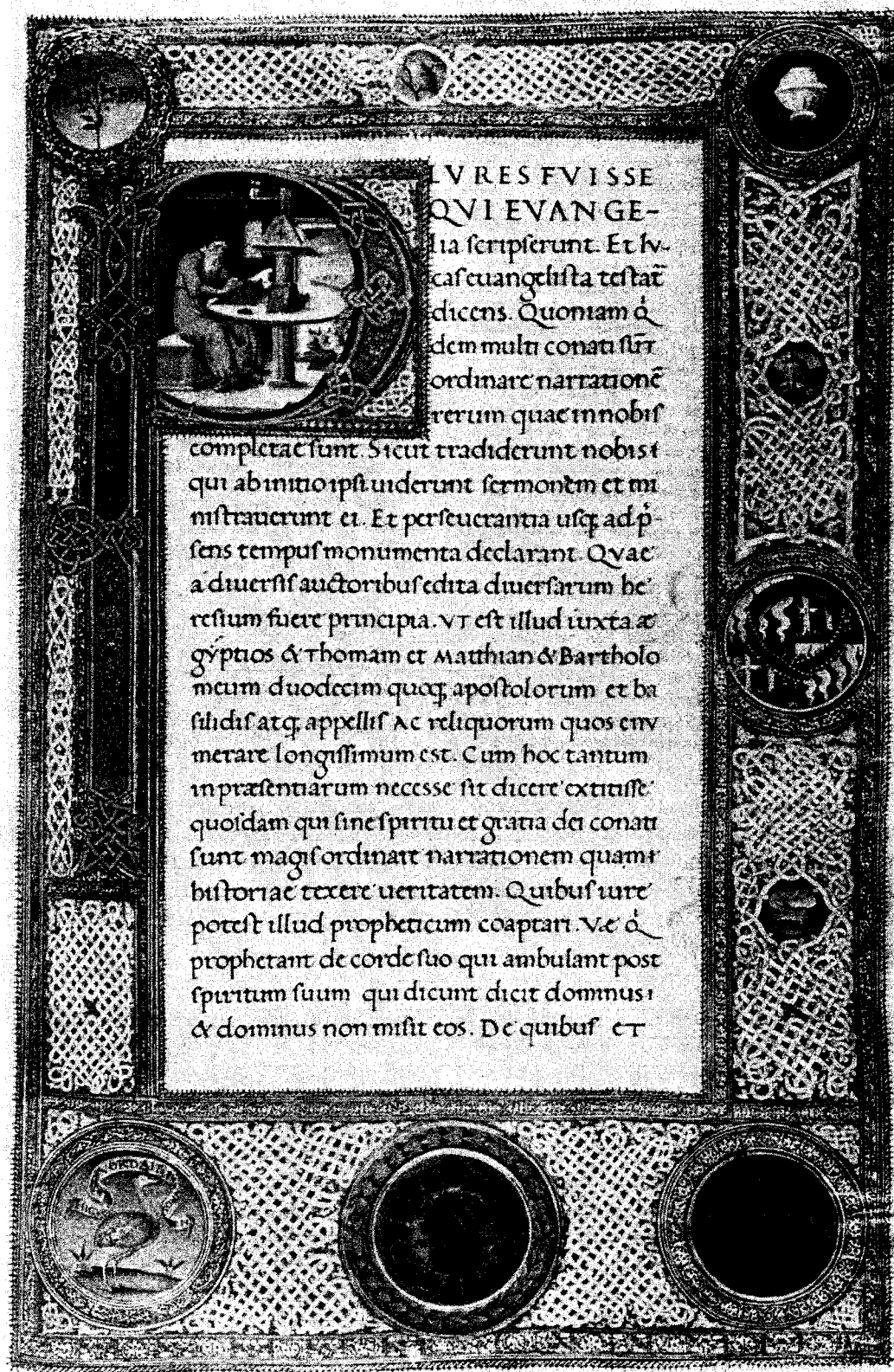


Figure 2: The *Codex Urbinas* containing the Latin version of the New Testament translated by Jerolamus. Reproduced from [9, page 153] by courtesy of Mr Ghorzo, president of the publishing house.

CORNELIVS·LVCIVS·SCIPIO BARBATVS·GNAIVOD·PATRE
 PROGNATUS·FORTIS·VIR·SAPIENSQVE – QVOIVS·FORMA·VIRTVTEI·PARISVMA
 FVIT – CONSOL·CENSOR·AIDILIS·QVEI·FVIT·APVD·VOS – TAVRASIA·CISAVNA
 SAMNIO·CEPIT – SVBIGIT·OMNE·LOVCANA – OPSIDESQVE ABDOVCIT

Figure 3: Inscription on the sarcophagus side of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (259 B.C.). Vatican Museum. Archaic lapidarian script.

IL SESTO LIBRO
 DELLA ITALIA LIBERATA
 DA GOTTHI.

Il sexto muove il campo, e fa il gran vello

NEL Tempo, che si stava entr'a le mura
 Il Capitano, a far ripari, e fossi,
 E che quei cavalier, ch'avean pigliato
 Paulo, eran iti a liberare Areta,
 I buon legati co i tribuni insieme,
 Che si trovar nell'adunato stuolo,
 Faceano exercitar tutte le genti;
 Tal, che i tirani almen due volte al giorno
 Si riduceano sopra la quintana,
 Et imparavan quivi a fare il passo
 Pare di tempo, e di lunghezza eguale,
 Da gir con esso almen tre milia a l'ora.
 Poi si davano al corso, et al saltare
 Saraje, e fossi, et a natar ne l'onde;
 E dopo questo, ivano contra un palo
 Nudo, e grosso, e di robusto legno,
 Ch'avanzava sei pie sopra la terra,
 E con un scudo grave, et una maza,
 Ch'era di peso doppio d'una spada,
 Combattean seco, e come a un lor nimico
 Tentavan di ferirlo hor ne la gola,
 Hora ne i fianchi, et hora ne la faccia;

SESTO

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Ne hi menavan mai se non di punta.
 Erano anchor quei giovinetti intenti
 A tirar haste, e trar balestre, et archi,
 Et a saltar sopra cavai di legno,
 E destramente maneggiarsi in essi.
 Et imparavan anchor a portar pesi
 A cavar fossi, e far tutti i ripari,
 Ch'eran mestieri a circondare il vello.
 Onde venendo Belisario il grande
 Una mattina nel spuntar de l'alba
 A riveder come si stava il campo,
 Per farlo caminar verso Tarento,
 Il vecchio Paulo se hi fece incontra
 Et in tal modo a lui parlando disse.
 Illustre Capitan, luce del mondo,
 Divisi havem hi alloggiamenti tutti,
 Et havem posto ogni centuria insieme
 Sattò il suo contestabile, che stansi
 A mangiare, e dormir sempre in un loco.
 Et ordinato havem, che ogni pramosso
 Habbia i suoi fanti, e stian presso al sergente;
 E che i sergenti stian co i caporali,
 E quei co i loro iconami, e squadrieri;
 Tenendo sempre i consueti luochi.
 Et io hi faccio stare in questa forma;
 Accio, che meglio si conoscan tutti
 L'un l'altro, e cerchi ognun di farsi onore,

Figure 4: Two facing pages of a XVI century Italian book set in print with a phonetic alphabet adapted to the sounds of the Italian language; this phonetic alphabet was partially used until the end of the XIX century, but the regular use of 'u' and 'v' for representing their own sound was not adopted until the second half of the XVII century.



Figure 5: Two facing pages of a Latin book printed by Elsevier in the second half of the XVII century where, at least in plain text, 'u' and 'v' are used consistently with their value. The original is set with a type size of 6.52 pt, so that reading requires a pretty good eyesight.

such a modern imitation of the past would really be appreciated by the scholars themselves.

To give an ancient look to ancient texts, while maintaining readability for modern readers, I'd suggest imitating the typesetting style of the little book reproduced in Fig. 5: titles have a pretty old fashioned look, the text is easily readable, the proper choice of fonts can add a lot, and the page's graphic design gives the final touch; I'd suggest reviving the "two-diagonal" method for positioning the facing pages one in front of the other. The little book of Fig. 5 gives many hints in this respect, although it must have been a sort of pocket handbook, that is a booklet without a pretentious look.

3 Ancient writing style

From Roman times we have actual specimens of marble, stone and clay inscriptions, besides a few papyri; before the Augustean period the glyphs were simple and without serifs. In Fig. 3 there is a transcription of a tomb epitaph, where I deliberately used sans serif fonts so as to imitate the original script.

The different uses of the glyph 'V' can be readily seen; among the others, the fact that the diphthong 'OV' is sometimes used as in Greek for the sound /u/, while the word *PARISVMA* implies the sound /y/: in the classical times the same word became in fact *PARISSIMA*. The diphthong 'AE' (or the ligature 'Æ') is missing and is still written as the Greek diphthong 'AI', where it comes from; the Greek diphthongs 'OI' and 'EI' still appear in that III century B.C. specimen, while such diphthongs will not be used any more in the classical age, from the I century B.C. onwards.

C·TREBIVS·L·F·LONGVS
VETERANVS·COHORTIS
SECVNDAE·PRAETORIAE

Figure 6: Funerary inscription of the Augustean age. (City Museum of Bologna) Square lapidarian script.

Another example comes from an Augustean marble post, reset in Fig. 6 in Roman capitals; the original is engraved with the square lapidarian capitals that were used as a model to design most modern Roman upper case glyphs. It can be noticed that the ligatures 'Æ' are completely absent although there are three instances of the diphthong 'AE'.

4 Modern style for classical Latin

Classical Latin could be set in Roman capitals or, may be, in Roman small caps, only in case one wants

to give the flavor of classical inscriptions or handwritten codices; in such cases I'd rather use only the glyph 'V'.

The Latin text cited by Haralambous would turn out this way:

FLVMEN EST ARAR, QVOD PER FINES HAE-
DVORVM ET SEQVANORVM IN RHODANVM
INFLVIT, INCREDIBILI LENITATE, ITA VT
OCVLIS IN VTRAM PARTEM FLVAT IVDICARI
NON POSSIT. ID HELVETHI RATIBVS AC
LINTRIBVS IVNCTIS TRANSIBANT. VBI PER
EXPLORATOIRES CAESAR CERTIOR FACTVS
EST TRES IAM PARTES COPIARVM HELVETIOS
ID FLVMEN TRADVXISSE, QVARTAM FERE
PARTEM CITRA FLVMEN ARARIM RELIQVAM
ESSE, DE TERTIA VIGILIA CVM LEGIONI-
BVS TRIBVS E CASTRIS PROPECTVS EST AD
EAM PARTEM PERVENIT QVAE NONDVM FLV-
MEN TRANSIERAT. EOS IMPEDITOS ET IN-
OPINANTES ADGRESSVS MAGNAM PARTEM
EORVM CONCIDIT: RELIQVI SESE FVGAE
MANDARVNT ATQVE IN PROXIMAS SILVAS
ABDIDERVNT.

But the reading of a long text set only in capitals is tiresome, so that common lower-case Roman or, sometimes, Italic type is more adequate for longer texts; in any case I find no reason for using just the glyphs 'V' and 'u', as done until the XVII century, because that is a bad habit that was done away with in all other modern languages which, nevertheless, up to that century were handwritten and printed with that curious anomaly: three glyphs to render the voiceless guttural consonant /k/, namely 'c', 'k' and 'q', and one glyph to render two different sounds as /u/ and /v/.

In passing, it may be interesting to compare the hyphenation produced by my modern Latin hyphenation patterns with those produced by the patterns created by Haralambous for medieval Latin. The same text, written in a modern way with the criteria I discussed above gets the following hyphens:

Flu-men est Arar, quod per fi-nes Hae-duo-
rum et Se-qua-no-rum in Rho-da-num in-
fluit, in-cre-di-bi-li le-ni-ta-te, ita ut ocu-
lis in utram par-tem fluat iu-di-ca-ri non pos-
sit. Id Hel-ve-tii ra-ti-bus ac lin-tri-bus iunc-
tis trans-ibant. Ubi per ex-plo-ra-to-res
Caesar cer-tior fac-tus est tres iam par-tes
copia-rum Hel-ve-tios id flu-men tra-du-xis-
se, quar-tam fe-re par-tem ci-tra flu-men
Ara-rim re-li-quam es-se, de ter-tia vi-gi-
lia cum le-gio-ni-bus tri-bus e ca-stris pro-
fec-tus est

ad eam par-tem per-ve-nit quae non-dum flu-
men trans-÷-ie-rat. Eos im-pe-di-tos et ino-pi-
nan-tes ad-gres-sus ma-gnam par-tem eo-rum
con-ci-dit: re-li-qui se-se fu-gae man-da-runt
atque in pro-xi-mas sil-vas ab-di-de-runt.

Manual separation of prefixes by means of the underscore definition explained in [4] was used; in practice it was used only to separate the prefix trans-, and it is marked with a ÷ mark in the above text. In this respect Haralambous's patterns are far superior; of course for using Haralambous patterns it is necessary to `\lccode` and `\uccode` properly the letters 'u' and 'V' since they correspond to one another in passing from upper case to lower case and vice versa.

5 Conclusion

Several arguments have been set forth for explaining why classical Latin (and other ancient languages as well) should not be set according to the typesetting style used in the early age of printing and in the medieval codices; although the *restituta* version of Latin texts is enjoying a certain popularity among the scholars, the *restituta* "gives back" the appearance of writing and printing of the first centuries of this millennium, not the appearance of the original script of twenty centuries ago.

Although I believe in what I claimed in this paper, I might be wrong or miss some point; therefore I'd like to invite the readers of *TUGboat* to a broader debate on matters concerning the typesetting of old texts. Haralambous has already given fundamental contributions to this debate, not only with the paper that originated this comment of mine, but also with his many fonts for unusual languages; among the others let me draw attention to his paper [2] concerning the typesetting of old German, where he explains the motivations that pushed him to design his beautiful Schwabacher fonts. In [3] he also contributed, among others, the ancient Greek epigraphical characters and the rules for setting Greek epigraphs. There is enough material already, but except for [2], I believe most of us miss the aesthetic viewpoint.

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- [16] *Codex Urbinas latinus no. 10*, Manuscript written and decorated between 1474 and 1482 for the Duke Federico of Montefeltro (Urbino), now at the Biblioteca Vaticana, Vatican City
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◇ Claudio Beccari
Dipartimento di Elettronica
Politecnico di Torino
Turin, Italy
beccari@polito.it