

# THE SCRIPTORIUM OF SAN PEDRO DE CARDEÑA<sup>1</sup>

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**D**URING the greater part of the ninth and tenth centuries the Christians in northern Spain were primarily concerned with the reconquest and resettling of lands formerly seized by the Arabs. The most commonly used and highly successful manner of defending and repopulating this territory was through the establishment of monastic communities. To the nobility in northern Spain monasteries offered a means of colonization which effectively enabled them both to secure the area from further Arab incursions and to exploit the uncultivated lands.

Because of the advantages offered to the nobles by such communities, there frequently were special rights and privileges granted to those interested in founding a monastery. In particular one should note that in the long reign of Alfonso III (866-910) an edict of repopulation was issued by the king in which tracts of land were given away free (except for the payment of royal tribute) to anyone interested in establishing a monastic community.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this edict a great number of monasteries were founded in León and Castile at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century. Those who settled in these communities included not only people from northern Spain, but also many who had fled from territories still under Moorish control. In many cases they had escaped from the widespread persecution of Christians in Andalusia and were seeking the advantages offered in the North.

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<sup>2</sup> J. Pérez de Urbel, "Los monjes españoles en los tres primeros siglos de la Reconquista", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, ci (1932<sup>2</sup>), 39.

Other wealthy individuals followed the lead of the king and founded monasteries. In Castile, whose territory had doubled through reconquest at the end of the ninth century, Counts secured their lands by establishing monasteries. Usually located in strategic positions, the monasteries served as fortifications against possible Arab attacks.<sup>1</sup> As early as 899 we find the establishment of San Pedro de Cardena. To the south, but in the same province, Count Fernán Gonzalez and his family founded many monasteries, including San Quirce (927), Santa Maria de Lara (929), San Pedro de Arlanza (912), and San Sebastian, later Santo Domingo de Silos (919).<sup>2</sup> Some of these monasteries were old monastic communities destroyed by the Arabs, whose earlier history is now unknown, while others were founded by the Count for the first time.

It is to the inhabitants of these monasteries that we owe what little intellectual and literary activity we encounter in Spain in this period. Since the monks were compelled to spend so much of their time protecting and cultivating their land that there was little leisure for other pursuits, there are only a few examples of original scholarly works such as the *Commentaries on the Apocalypse* of Saint Beatus and the anonymous *Cronica* of Albelda. The spare time that the monks did possess was devoted largely to the production of liturgical and devotional manuscripts considered indispensable for the vitality of a monastic community, such as antiphonaries, psalters, Bibles, and collections of sermons.

In many instances, particularly in the case of the more prosperous monasteries, the task of manuscript copying was not the work of one monk only, but that of a scriptorium. The best evidence we have for the existence of scriptoria in medieval Spain is a magnificent, full-page illumination which occurs in a

<sup>1</sup> It was not unusual for the benefactor of a monastery to stipulate that it was the duty of the abbot and monks to protect his land. In a document dated 6 January 975 (L. Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*, iii (Madrid, 1936), 17-18) certain possessions were granted to a monastic community by Count Garci Fernández and his wife with the provision *ut habeatis, teneatis, atque defendatis*.

<sup>2</sup> J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles en la Edad Media*, ii (Madrid, 1934), 293-4.

manuscript of Saint Beatus currently preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid (Sección de Códices, MS. 1098B, fol. 139).<sup>1</sup> This manuscript was completed in the year 970 at the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara in the province of Zamora, and the scene depicted presumably represents the scriptorium of that monastery. In the representation we see the tower of the monastery with horseshoe arches, and on the roof two small towers with bells. Within the tower are three men climbing the ladders which lead from one floor to the next, while a fourth man, who stands on the ground floor, grasps the ropes attached to one of the bells. To the right of the tower is the scriptorium. In one room there are two men seated at chairs in front of a table. Each is holding a pen in one hand and anchoring his writing material with the other. In a second room there is a monk sitting on a stool cutting the vellum with a large pair of scissors. In this monastery, as undoubtedly in many others in Spain, we find a scriptorium in which monks were assigned to the separate technical tasks involved in the preparation of manuscripts.

Among those monasteries established in Castile whose inhabitants were actively engaged in manuscript production may be included the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña. Founded near Burgos in 899, this monastery flourished at the beginning of the tenth century; it is often mentioned in documents of the period and was occasionally named in the colophons of manuscripts copied there, though many of the manuscripts themselves have since perished. Since Cardeña was a monastery of some consequence, many aspects of its history and of its historical importance have already been treated by scholars.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, two problems relating to manuscript production in its scriptorium which have received little attention. First, which codicological features are characteristic of its manuscripts.

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. I in Z. García Villada, "La vida de los escritorios españoles medievales", *Conferencias dadas en el centro de intercambio intelectual germano-español* (Madrid, 1926). A similar illumination appears in another Beatus codex, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 429, fol. 183<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> F. de Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, 2 vol. (Madrid, 1719-21); L. Serrano, *Becerro gótico de Cardeña: Fuentes para la historia de Castilla*, vol. III (Valladolid, 1910).

Second, which of those Visigothic manuscripts and fragments now extant can be attributed with certainty to its scriptorium. These are the specific problems with which I should like to deal in this article.

Of the more than 300 Latin manuscript texts, complete or fragmentary, written in Visigothic minuscule from the eighth through the twelfth centuries, only two are universally accepted as products of the Cardeña scriptorium<sup>1</sup>: the *Biblia de Cardeña* now in the Archivo de la Catedral de Burgos,<sup>2</sup> and a copy of the *Moralia* of St. Gregory, now Lat. MS. 83 of the Rylands Library.<sup>3</sup> Férotin identified the former with the Bible described by Berganza in his history of the monastery<sup>4</sup>; James, also citing information obtained from Berganza, suggested that the latter was executed in the year 914 by the same scribe, Gomez, who copied the *Biblia de Cardeña*.<sup>5</sup> For both of these manuscripts we shall note the format (size of folio and writing area; the placement of prickings; the number of columns and lines per page; the location of the guide-lines, and the manner in which they are spaced on the page; the type of running title, if present,

<sup>1</sup> Two codices that many scholars also assign to Cardeña (B.L. Add. MS. 25,600 and Rylands Lat. MS. 89) will be discussed later in this article. For the most recent list of manuscripts attributed to the scriptorium see P. Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14-1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid: Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim, 1976), i. 255.

<sup>2</sup> C. U. Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica* (Sept. 1920 = *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of the Arts and Sciences*, 24), no. 510, pl. 49, 50; Z. García Villada, *Paleografía española* (Madrid, 1923), nos. 11-12; A. Andrés, "La Biblia visigoda de San Pedro de Cardeña", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, lx (1912), 101-46.

<sup>3</sup> R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 120; E. A. Lowe, *Studia Palaeographica* (1910 = *Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 12), no. 51; Clark, no. 637; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester* (Manchester, 1921), i. 150-3, ii. pl. 109-11; García Villada, no. 138.

<sup>4</sup> M. Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes* (Paris, 1912), col. 937; Berganza, i. 177-8.

<sup>5</sup> James, i. 150-3; Berganza (i. 177) provides the following colophon which is no longer present in the codex: *Explicit foeliciter Liber Moralium Papae Gregorii, pars ultima: Deo gratias, Gomez Diaconus, peccator, hoc opus Era DCCCC. LII. VI. Kalend. Decembris, ob iussionem Domni Damiani Abbatis praescripti.*

and quire-marks), script (the structure and usage of abbreviations and ligatures, and the *ductus litterarum*), and ornamentation (its colours and style). Since there are, in fact, three distinct hands in Lat. MS. 83,<sup>1</sup> the characteristics of each will be noted. Such a detailed analysis of the two manuscripts will reveal those specific criteria by which we shall be able to attribute other manuscripts to the same scriptorium.<sup>2</sup>

One of the remarkable features of these codices is their large size. The individual page of the Bible measures 455 × 322 mm. with an area of writing that averages 355 × 250; the measurements for the *Moralia* manuscript are somewhat smaller: 417 × 302 mm. for the folio, 316 × 225 mm. for the writing area of Scribe I (Gomez), 320 × 235 mm. for that of Scribe II, and 316 × 225 mm. for that of Scribe III. There are two columns per page throughout each manuscript and approximately 52 lines in the one and 47 in the other. In both manuscripts, moreover, there is a distinctive page-format which seems to be peculiar to codices from Cardena. The prickings to guide the placement of the vertical lines are to be seen at the top and bottom of each folio, except in those instances where trimming of the pages has resulted in their loss. Those prickings for the horizontal lines are within the writing area of the second column so that they were later concealed by the script. Each column is bounded by a pair of vertical lines along the outer edge and a single vertical line along the inner. The horizontal lines extend from the pair of vertical lines on the left-hand side of the page, through the space between the two columns, to the pair of vertical lines on the right-hand side (Table I, fig. 1).

The Biblia de Cardena and Rylands Lat. MS. 83 also exhibit

<sup>1</sup> Scribe I, who copied fols. 1-213<sup>v</sup> and 242<sup>v</sup>-361, can be identified as Gomez: on fol. 80<sup>v</sup> appears the inscription *O bone lector lectrixque, Gomez peccatoris memento* (James, ii. pl. 111, no. 4); in col. 1 of fol. 142<sup>r</sup> occurs additional evidence: *Quisquis hunc librum ob utilitatem tui legeris ut ex eo edificeris mei gomesanis* [erasure] *peccatoris, in tuis orationibus commendatum habeto* (James, ii. pl. 109). Scribe II wrote fols. 215<sup>r</sup>-242<sup>r</sup> in a hand less skilled than that of Gomez. Scribe III copied the single leaf (fol. 214) which was apparently inserted later between quires 34 and 35 to fill in a lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> For all manuscripts described in the text the reader should consult the Tables to this article. Table I contains schematic designs of page-formats; Table II provides statistics and drawings of specific abbreviations, ligatures, etc.

interesting types of quire-marks and running titles. In the Burgos manuscript the copyist, Gomez, prefers quire-marks in black ink consisting of the appropriate Roman numeral with several dots and flourishes, and the letter *q* (either minuscule or majuscule), presumably representing *quaternio*. In some instances the *q* is accompanied by the first few words of the next gathering. Gomez employs similar, though somewhat different, quire-marks in the Rylands manuscript: the Roman numeral is accompanied by several dots, lines and flourishes, but not by the letter *q*. For that section written by Scribe II quire-marks appear only sporadically. When present, they consist of unadorned Roman numerals. Running titles in both codices are distinctive in two respects. First, they do not appear on every folio, but seem to be randomly placed throughout the text according to the caprice of the scribe. Second, Gomez and Scribe II use one standard format.<sup>1</sup> In the Rylands manuscript the abbreviation for *liber* and the specific book-reference in Roman numerals occur on the verso of one folio, while the *pars* of the book appears on the recto of the subsequent folio. The pattern is similar in the Biblia de Cardena: the abbreviation for *liber* is on the verso, the name of the particular book of the Bible on the recto. Running titles, as quire-marks, are always in black.

Let us now turn to the script, devoting our attention first to the types of abbreviations preferred by Gomez and his fellow scribes. In Visigothic minuscule there are several ways in which a copyist may express the omission of *-us* in *-bus*, *-mus*, *-nus*, *-dus*, *-ius*, and of *-ue* in *-que*.<sup>2</sup> All three scribes employ an *s*-flourish which is well rounded at the top, but finer and more angular at the bottom. The exact placement of this abbreviation sign does differ somewhat, however, when attached to *b* or *q*. For *-bus* Gomez and Scribe II place the flourish on the upper portion of the open bow; Scribe II places it further to the right on a bow which is often closed. With respect to *-que*, both Gomez and Scribe III generally prefer to join the sign to the *q* at the extreme

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 214 copied by Scribe III displays neither quire-mark nor running title.

<sup>2</sup> A. Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía española* (Madrid, 1932), p. 110, fig. 16.

upper right-hand corner of the bow ; the s-flourish in the second hand, however, sits somewhere in the middle of the top of the bow.

The abbreviation sign for *per* can also be rendered in several different ways.<sup>1</sup> One particular form is prevalent in the Burgos and Rylands codices : it consists of the letter *p* plus a small, flat curve which slants downward on the left side of the descender. The sign is not a continuation of the bow and does not cross the hasta, except in the Biblia de Cardeña, where a later hand has systematically altered its structure so that the curve is extended horizontally and passes through the descender.

The abbreviations for *-bis* and *id est* must also be briefly mentioned. In the Burgos manuscript Gomez consistently renders *-bis* by placing a small hook resembling the letter *c* beneath the bow of the *b*. This design is not present, however, in either his work or that of Scribe II in the *Moralia* codex.<sup>2</sup> Instead we find that a short horizontal line is drawn through the ascender of the letter *b*. There are, then, two distinct abbreviations for *-bis* employed in the Cardeña scriptorium. The abbreviations used for *id est* also display a number of forms. Gomez uses the letter combinations *idt* and *idst*, while Scribe II adopts *ids* and *idst*. In every case, however, the *d* is of the minuscule rather than the uncial type and the horizontal stroke which indicates abbreviation crosses its shaft.

In addition to these abbreviations there are several ligatures which are of considerable interest. In 1910 E. A. Lowe published his *Studia Palaeographica*, in which, among other things, he attempted to establish sound criteria for the dating of Visigothic manuscripts. As well as distinguishing four distinct stages of development, Lowe proposed a system of dating based on the graphic distinction between two kinds of ligature for *ti* in Visigothic book-hand. He concluded from a study of scribal practice in numerous manuscripts that, from the second half of the tenth to the twelfth century, the distinction between un-assibilated *ti* and assibilated *ti* was invariably observed. Thus the presence of the ligature for the assibilated *ti* in which the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 108, fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> There is no abbreviation for *-bis* or for *id est* on fol. 214.

letter *i* trails below the line of writing is an immediate indication that the manuscript in which it occurs is not of the oldest class<sup>1</sup>. In both the Biblia de Cardena and Rylands Lat. MS. 83 neither Gomez nor Scribe II makes any such distinction; a single form of *ti* is employed. Scribe III, however, copying the leaf now foliated 214 at a somewhat later time, clearly differentiates between assimilated and unassimilated *ti*. The shaft of *i* in the ligature representing assimilated *ti* extends below the line and turns toward the left.

Among other ligatures found in the two codices we should mention that used by all three scribes for the letter combination *nt*. This most often occurs at the end of a line, but also appears less frequently in the middle of a column. It consists of a minuscule *n* and an enclitic *t* which tends to resemble a small *c*. The foot of the final stroke of the *n* is extended to accommodate the additional stroke, and the top of the enclitic *t* curves upward and outward, sometimes in an exaggerated fashion.

The letter-forms of the scribes of the two manuscripts are remarkably alike and contribute greatly to our understanding of which features are characteristic of the Cardena scriptorium. The script is small and neat, but lacks the precision exhibited by codices produced at the neighbouring monasteries of Berlangas, San Millán, and Santo Domingo de Silos. Letters do not rest firmly on the line of writing, but often sit above or below. Ascenders are usually clubbed, but display neither wedges nor fine oblique serifs; descenders, which often trail to the left, lack finishing strokes. There is little attempt at word division.

It is through the comparison of specific letters, however, that the close relationship of the three hands becomes apparent. In the work of Gomez and his fellow copyists *b*, *d*, and *q* are

<sup>1</sup> I am in complete agreement with R. P. Robinson concerning the dating of Visigothic manuscripts ("Some Newly Discovered Fragments of Visigothic Manuscripts", *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, lx (1929), 51-52). Robinson questioned the validity of using the same general criteria for dating scripts from different areas of Spain. In considering the date of a manuscript fragment in a private collection in Zaragoza, he states: "The writing may be of the ninth century, but I am convinced that manuscripts of Mozarabic provenience cannot be dated by the same criteria as those of northern Spain". Lowe's observations on the *ti*-distinction appear to be applicable for those manuscripts executed in northern Spain, but not for those from southern Spain.



distinctive in structure. The letter *b* consists of a clubbed shaft, sometimes slanted toward the left, and a bow which is not usually well rounded. There is a slight angle at its bottom left-hand corner. While Gomez and Scribe II leave the bow open, Scribe III consistently closes it. The two types of *d* are also noteworthy. The execution of uncial *d* begins with a long straight downward stroke extending obliquely from left to right and stopping before the guide-line. This stroke is, at times, curved at the top. All three copyists form the bow by attaching a small flat loop to the bottom portion of the initial stroke. The shaft of the minuscule *d* is similar to that of the letter *b*, but ends in a prominent foot which occasionally extends below the line. The bow is distinguished by either a flat or indented top. Finally, the letter *q* is of significance. Instead of a well-rounded bow, we discover one which is most often elliptical, with one end of the ellipse attached to the top of the descender, and the other balanced on the guide-line.

There are many instances in Visigothic manuscripts where consonantal *i* is represented by a peculiar letter-form of *i*-longa which is forked or cleft at the top.<sup>1</sup> It commonly occurs in words such as *ait* and *moysen*. The scribes of the Cardeña scriptorium used several similar types of forked *i*-longa. In both the *Biblia de Cardeña* and Rylands Lat. MS. 83 the shaft of the letter ends on the line with a distinct dot and does not extend below. At the top of the shaft, the letter splits in two. In the text copied by Gomez and Scribe III, the left side of the fork curves upward and to the left, the right side upward and to the right. This structure is varied slightly by Scribe II: the right arm initially curves to the right, but then swings back toward the left.

To complete our examination of letter-forms we should consider the structure of *r*, *s*, and *u*-superscript. In Visigothic book-hand minuscule *r* and *s* are very similar in appearance. The *r* is, however, always joined to the following letter except

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the use of *i*-longa in Visigothic manuscripts and the principle for *i*-longa in *hiatu* see R. P. Robinson, *Manuscripts 27* (S. 29) and 107 (S. 129) of the *Municipal Library of Autun: A Study of Half-Uncial and Early Visigothic Minuscule and Cursive Scripts* (1939 = *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 16).

when it is the final element of the word or line. It is this final *r* which is most distinctive: the shoulder curves downward slightly, then proceeds upward and out, terminating in a small, but pronounced, flourish. The design of *s* is also uniform in the three hands: we always find the minuscule *s*, and never the uncial. A ligature for *tur* frequently occurs where the *t* and *r* are linked together and the *u* is suprascript. In both the *Biblia de Cardeña* and the *Moralia* codex the *u* is a rounded version of the letter *v*. It either slants toward the left, or rests upright with one arm branching toward the left, and the other toward the right.

In addition to the similarities of format and script exhibited in work of the scribes from Cardeña there is a close resemblance in the technique of illumination of the two manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> A number of features are of particular interest:

1. *Incipits* and *explicits* are usually treated in one of two fashions. On folio 80<sup>v</sup> (James, ii. pl. 111, no. 4) the first line (*Explicit . . . beati*) is painted in a bright orange bordering on red. In the following line the letters are outlined in a soft mint green, and then filled with the same shade of orange-red. Line three is written in green, and the scribe's invocation to the reader (line 4) in black. The first line of the *incipit* for the subsequent part of the text is more elaborate; the letters, larger than those in the preceding sections, are outlined in green and filled with orange-red. The other manner in which such sections are treated is illustrated on folio 90<sup>r</sup> (James, ii. pl. 111, no. 2) where the words, rather than the lines, are painted alternately orange-red and mint green.

2. The decorative initials are also significant. They are always small in size, never more than a few inches in length, and are consistently executed in the same few colours: orange-red, mint green, pale yellow-gold. The type of initial most frequently used in these manuscripts can be demonstrated by the *i* and *q* on folio 80<sup>v</sup> (James, ii. pl. 111, no. 4). The shaft of *i* is surrounded by an orange-red band, while its interior portion consists of yellow and green swirl designs on a background area left in the

<sup>1</sup> Our analysis of the ornamentation can consider only those portions of the text copied by Scribes I (Gomez) and II. There is no contemporary decoration on fol. 214.

natural colour of the vellum. The *q* is painted in the same colours and contains a criss-cross pattern in black pen-work in the centre. Though small in size, both initials are quite intricate in design.<sup>1</sup>

3. Sections of the text are frequently rubricated in the bright shade of orange-red also used for initials, *incipits* and *explicits*.

Taken all together, these features of format, script and illumination might well be called a distinctive style-sheet that was observed more or less faithfully in the scriptorium of Cardeña. There are naturally some differences which distinguish the work of one scribe from that of another. A copyist seldom arranged the format, or executed the script and illumination, of a codex in precisely the same fashion as his teacher or colleague; he often expressed his individuality in his choice and structure of abbreviations or ligatures. Thus, in attributing other manuscripts to the monastery of Cardeña we may expect to find a certain number of differences, as well as many similarities, between the features we have noted and those observed in the work of other copyists. Using the evidence provided by the *Biblia de Cardeña* and Rylands Lat. MS. 83, let us now consider other Visigothic codices and fragments and see how they may be related to the same scriptorium. Each item will be examined and compared in some detail with the work of Gomez and his two colleagues.

When I first saw the Visigothic manuscripts in the Rylands, I was struck by the similarity between the *Moralia* codex (Lat. MS. 83) and a codex of Smaragdus (Lat. MS. 104) also preserved in that library.<sup>2</sup> James, however, in his catalogue of Latin manu-

<sup>1</sup> Although the basic style and colours of the initials are the same throughout, the Rylands manuscript reveals that each scribe was responsible for executing the illumination as well as for copying the text. In the section of the codex produced by Gomez the initials are more skilfully drawn; those of Scribe II are smaller in size and less intricate, but birds, animals, fish and human figures have been incorporated into the designs. It is possible that Scribe II was either influenced by the decorative motifs in his exemplar or learned the technique of illumination in another scriptorium. The difference in the illumination, though not in script and quire-marks, was first noted by James (i. 152).

<sup>2</sup> Lowe, no. 29; Clark, no. 639; García Villada, no. 140; James, i. 185-7 and ii. pl. 104; *New Palaeographical Society*, N.S., ii. pl. 162; A. Spannagel and P. Engelbert, *Smaragdi Abbatis Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti* (Siegburg, 1974 = *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, 8), MS. no. 30 (*Mn*).

scripts had attributed the latter to the scribe John of Silos in the year 945 on the basis of information supplied by Berganza.<sup>1</sup> He was unaware that a codex bearing the precise colophon quoted in the *Antigüedades de España* is catalogued as MS. I in the Archivo de Santo Domingo de Silos.<sup>2</sup> Recent attempts to localize and date Rylands Lat. MS. 104 have been more rewarding. In a modern edition of the *Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti* Spannagel and Engelbert assign the codex to Cardeña or to a dependent house and place it chronologically at the end of the ninth century (see pp. xvii, xlv–xlvi, lxxvii). Based on the following comparison of the Smaragdus manuscript with the Bible in Burgos and Rylands Lat. MS. 83, I would revise somewhat their conclusions: I believe that the codex was produced in the scriptorium of Cardeña, rather than in a dependent monastery, and that it can be firmly dated to the first decade of the tenth century.

The physical appearance of Rylands Lat. MS. 104 is less impressive than that of either the Biblia de Cardeña or Rylands Lat. MS. 83. The vellum is worn and discoloured, particularly in the outer margins; the beginning of the text is missing.<sup>3</sup> Most of the pages have been trimmed, and in many cases the upper portion of decorative initials and of ascenders in the first line of script is missing. Perhaps also for this reason there are no running titles. The size of the codex is small: 236 × 186 mm. for the individual leaf, 200 × 145 mm. for the area of writing. There is a single-column format throughout consisting of twenty-seven lines per column. Prickings to guide the vertical rulings normally occur at the top of the folio and at the bottom of the writing area, rather than of the folio. Although these features of format differ somewhat from those of the two manuscripts from Cardeña there are several important ways in which they

<sup>1</sup> James, i. 186; Berganza, i. 215: *Juan Monge de Silos, Presbytero, y Notario, escribió en dicho año el Comentario, que Esmaragdo hizo sobre la Regla de San Benito, y al fin del Libro dixo: Conscriptus est liber iste à Notario Ioannes Presbyter, discurrente Era DCCCC. LXXX. III. obtinente glorioso Principe Ranemiro Oveto, sive Legione sublimis apicem Regni: Consulque eius Fredinando Gundisalviz egregius Comite in Castella Comitatum.*

<sup>2</sup> James's ascription was subsequently corrected by D. de Bruyne, "Manuscripts wisigothiques", *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxvi (1924), 11 and M. Tyson, *The Spanish Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (1932), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The text starts on fol. 1 with the prologue (Migne, *P.L.*, cii. 706D).

correspond : prickings for the horizontal guide-lines are located within the writing-area so that they are concealed by the text ; there are two pairs of vertical lines which extend the full length of the page, one pair on each side of the writing-area ; the horizontal rulings do not usually extend through the side margins to the inner or outer edges of the folio (Table I, fig. 2). Furthermore, the only completely preserved quire-mark (fol. 14<sup>v</sup>) consists of a Roman numeral, in black ink, with lines and flourishes, also in black.

An examination of the script provides further points of comparison. It is possible to identify the hands of two scribes : one copyist (Scribe I) copied the beginning of the text (fols. 1-19<sup>r</sup>, middle of the third quire), while the other (Scribe II) completed the manuscript. The scripts of the two copyists are remarkably alike. Both display the general characteristics noted as features of the Biblia de Cardena and Rylands *Moralia* : lack of precision in the alignment of letters ; clubbed ascenders, but no serifs ; poor word separation. Certain abbreviations and ligatures are preferred by the two copyists. The abbreviation sign for *-us* and *-ue* is an *s*-flourish which is curved at the top but rather angular at its base. For *-que* the sign was placed at the upper right-hand corner of the bow. It usually appears in a similar position on the bow of *b* in the abbreviation of *-bus*, though Scribe I occasionally attaches the flourish to the centre of the shaft. For *-bis* Scribes I and II draw a short horizontal line through the ascender of *b*, a form which is precisely the same as that in Lat. MS. 83. Lastly, the letter combinations used to express *id est* (Scribe I : *id* ; Scribe II : *idt*) always contain a minuscule *d* with a horizontal stroke crossing its shaft.

The following ligatures and letter-forms in the Smaragdus codex also correspond to those in manuscripts from Cardena : *ti* (with no graphic distinction between assimilated and unassimilated sounds) *nt*, *b*, *d*, *q*, *r*, *s*, and *u*-superscript.<sup>1</sup> While the structure of *i*-longa is similar, we often find two variations in the treatment of the shaft. First, it sometimes trails below the

<sup>1</sup> There are no ligatures for *nt* in the section copied by Scribe I ; the structure of the *nt* ligature in the second part does, however, correspond exactly to that described in the Biblia de Cardena and the *Moralia* codex.

guide-line ; second, when it does trail, it terminates in a curve toward the left. Perhaps the major difference between Lat. MS. 104 and the two codices from Cardeña occurs in the structure of *per*. Scribe II invariably prefers the design used by Gomez and his colleagues, but Scribe I uses a distinctive type of abbreviation sign. To the left of the descender, just below the point where the lower portion of the bow meets the hasta, we find an oblique stroke which slants downward toward the left. This line then approaches the descender, but without either touching or intersecting it (see Table II).

The technique of illumination employed in this manuscript, as well as the format and script, bears a marked resemblance to that in the codices from Cardeña, but it is much less imaginative. The *incipits*, *explicits*, and chapter headings within the text are executed in either orange-red or mint green ; in many instances, however, portions of the text are practically illegible because the red and green ink has faded.<sup>1</sup> The decorative initials are of two types, depending upon the section of the codex in which they appear. In that part copied by Scribe I the initials are small and of very simple design. Those included in the work of the second copyist resemble more closely initials in the two manuscripts from Cardeña and may be compared to enamel work. The manuscript seems to have been left unfinished since the initials are clearly outlined in black, but are not filled with the appropriate colours. In my opinion, the manuscript was produced at Cardeña by individuals trained in its scriptorium. The poor quality of the vellum, the small one column format, and the slight variations in letter forms and abbreviations suggest, moreover, that the Smaragdus codex was one of the early products of the monastery, executed before the Biblia de Cardeña and Rylands Lat. MS. 83.

Among the many interesting manuscripts preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid is a bifolium catalogued

<sup>1</sup> See James, ii. pl. 136, fol. 144<sup>v</sup>, where portions of the text are very faint.

<sup>2</sup> Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía española*, no. 131 ; idem, *Contribución al "Corpus" de códices visigóticos*, pp. 222-8 ; B. Shailor, " Corrections and Additions to the Catalogue of Visigothic Manuscripts ", *Scriptorium*, xxxii (1978), no. 2, pp. 310-312.

as Seccion de Códices, Carpeta 1452B, no. 9.<sup>a</sup> This fragment, removed from a copy of the *De vita et miraculis patrum emeritensium*, served as a cover-sheet for an agreement between the monasteries of Cardeña and Obarenes. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the two folios display many of the same features found in manuscripts from the scriptorium of Cardeña. With respect to the size and format of the page we may note the following similarities. The folio-dimensions are somewhat smaller than those of the Bible and Rylands Lat. MS. 83, though still quite generous when compared with Lat. MS. 104; the individual folio measures 323 × 219 mm. while the writing area measures approximately 280 × 185 mm. There are two columns per page and forty lines per column. Prickings are present at the top of the leaves and within the writing area of column *b*. The absence of prickings at the bottom implies that the manuscript has been trimmed. Each column is bounded by a pair of vertical lines along its outer edge and by single lines along its inner. Vertical rulings extend the entire length of the folio; horizontal guide-lines pass through the area between the two columns (Table I, fig. 3). There are no examples of quire-marks and running titles.

It is not only with respect to format that this fragment is like the manuscripts from Cardeña. Certain features of the script also correspond.<sup>1</sup> There are two forms for the abbreviation of *per*. One, which is similar to that preferred by Gomez and his fellow copyists, consists of a small flourish added to the descender of the letter *p*. The lower portion of the abbreviation sign touches the hasta as well as the upper. In the other form of *per* the scribe does not extend the flourish until it joins the descender, but rather leaves a small gap. The copyist of the Madrid fragment also uses the same slightly rounded form of the *s*-flourish to represent *-us* and *-ue*. The *s*-flourish is, moreover, appended to the open bow of *b*. Lastly, the letter combination *-bis* is designated by a small hook resembling the letter *c* beneath the bow of *b*. This design is similar to that noticed in the Biblia de Cardeña copied by Gomez.

Specific letter-forms and ligatures support our hypothesis that the two folios are from a codex copied in the scriptorium at

<sup>1</sup> Those features of script not appearing in the two folios include: an abbreviation for *id est*, ligature(s) for the letter combination *nt*, a form for *u*-superscript.

TABLE 1: SCHEMATIC DESIGNS OF PAGE-FORMATS.

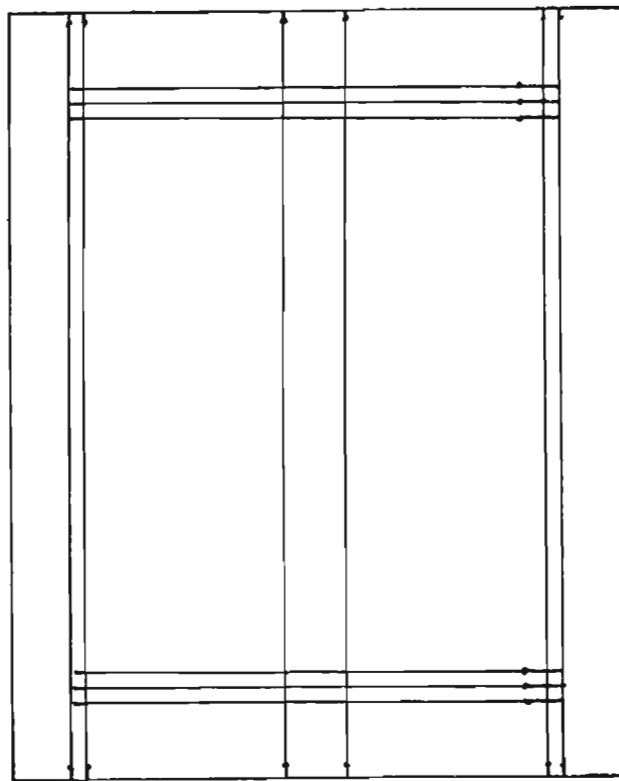


Fig. 1 Burgos, Biblia de Cardena ; Rylands Lat. MS. 83

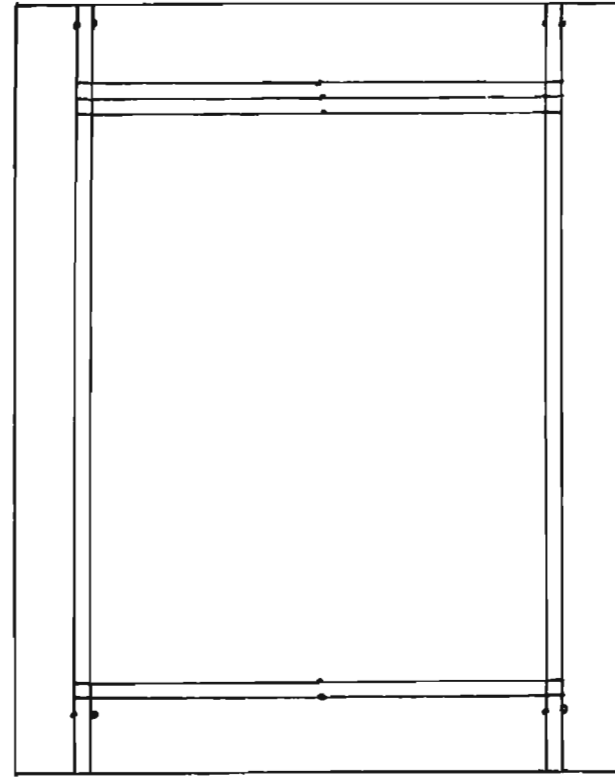


Fig. 2 Rylands Lat. MS. 104

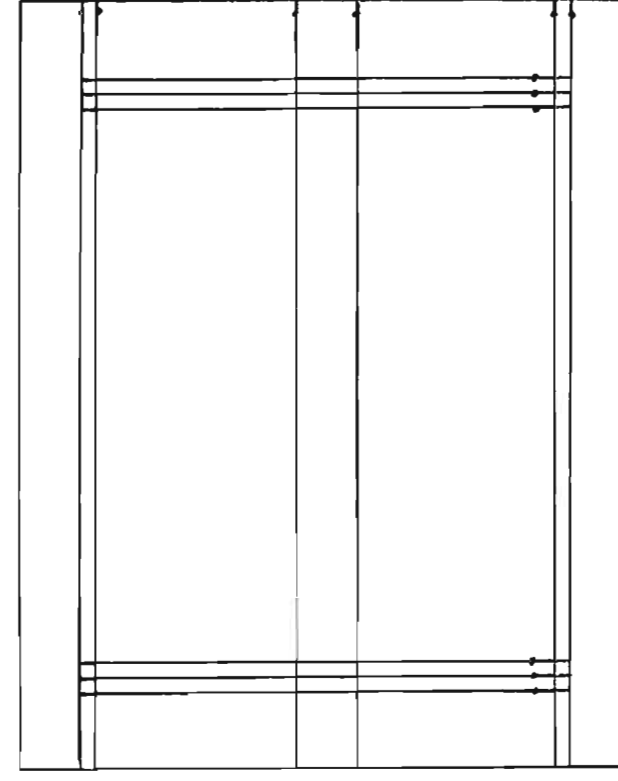


Fig. 3 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Códices,  
Carpeta 1452B, no. 9

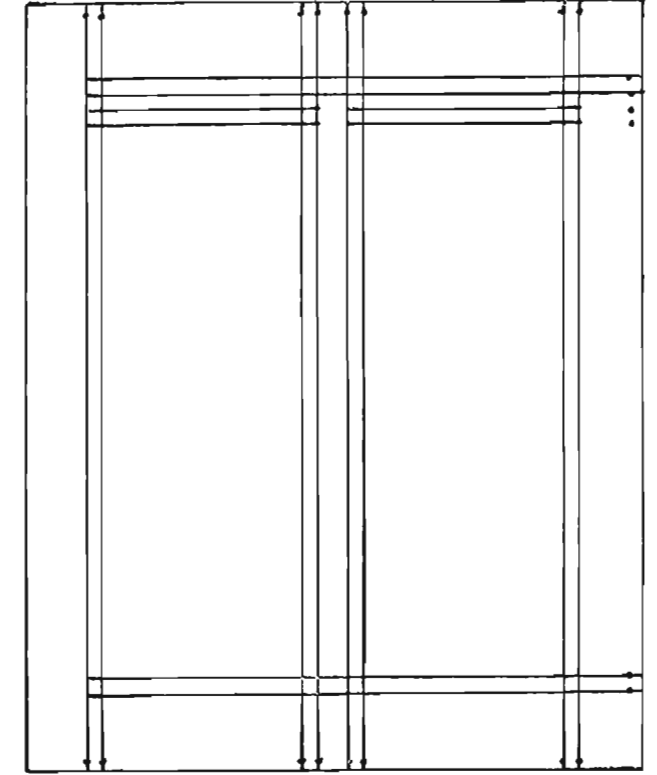


Fig. 4 Format I : Madrid, Academia de la Historia, Códice 25

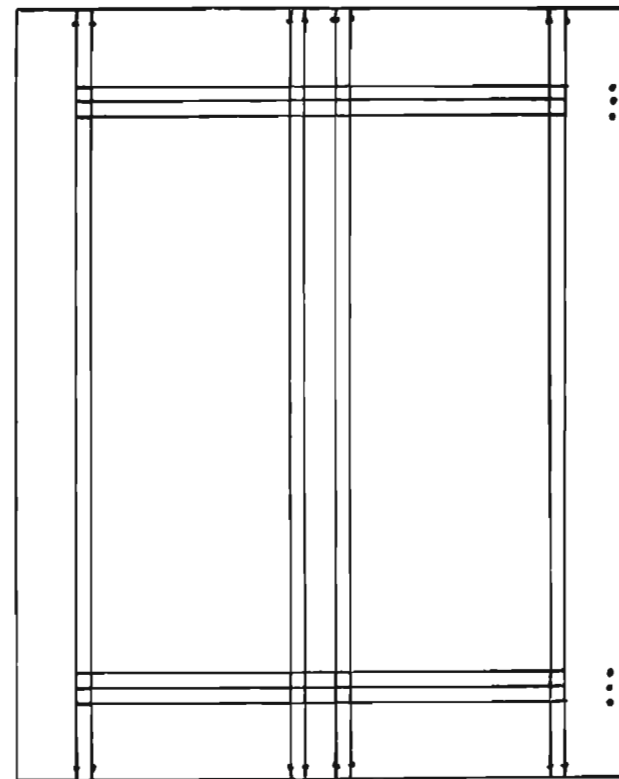


Fig. 5 Format II : Madrid, Academia de la Historia, Códice 25

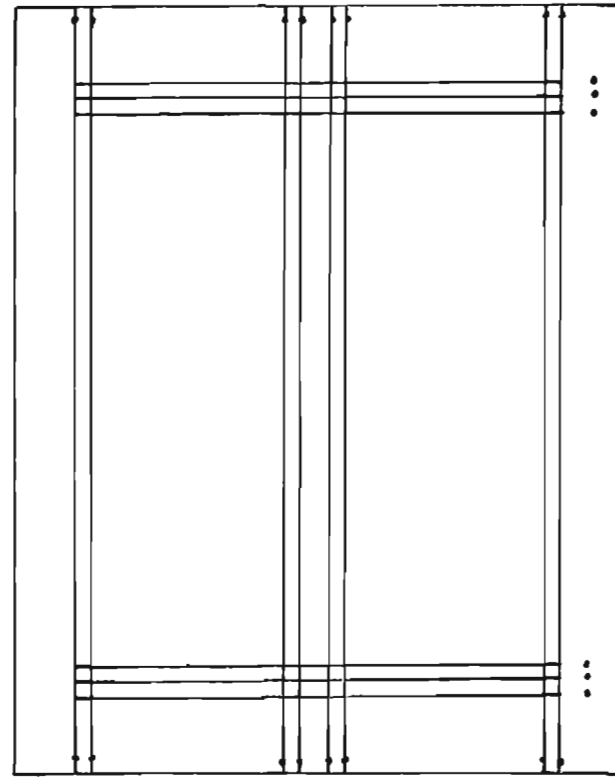


Fig. 6 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códice 1007B

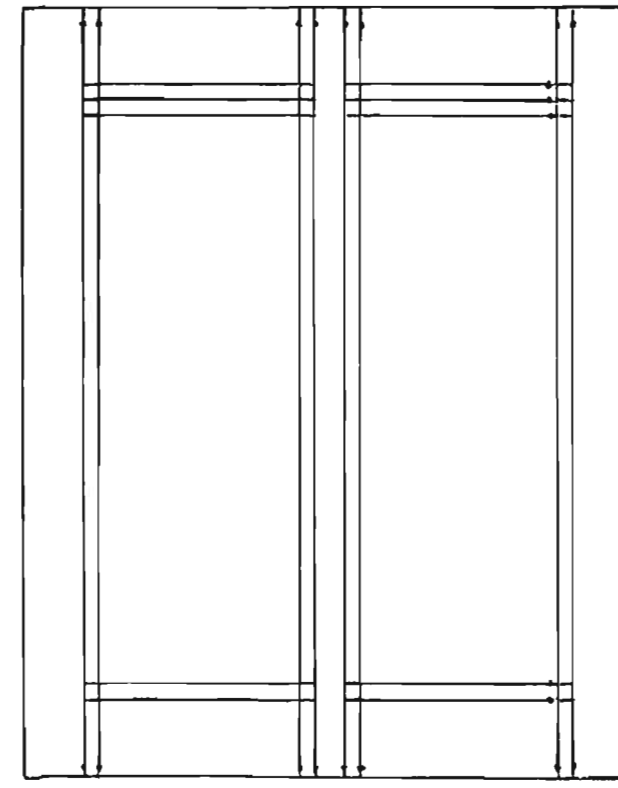


Fig. 7 British Library, Add. MS. 30, 055

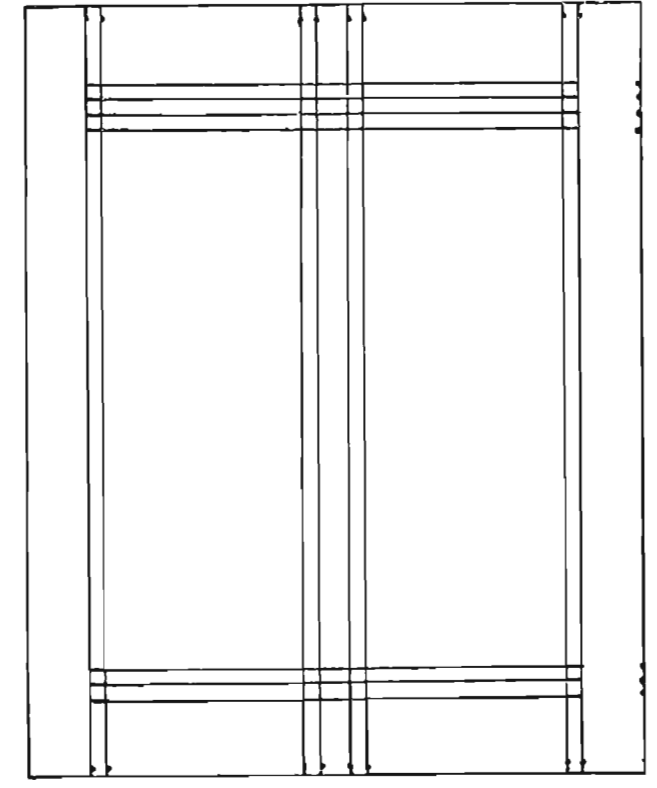


Fig. 8 Rylands Lat. MS. 89; British Library, Add. MS. 25, 600



TABLE II: STATISTICS

		cols.	lines	folio (in mm.)	writing area (in mm.)	quire-marks	running titles	ti- distinction	per	-bus	-que	-bis	id est	nt	i-longa	b	d	q	r	s	u-supra- script
Rylands, Lat. MS. 104	Scribe I	1	27	236 x 186	200 x 145		no	no						—				q	r	r	u
	Scribe II	1	27	236 x 186	200 x 145	no	no	no										q	r	r	u
Rylands, Lat. MS. 83	Scribe I	2	47	417 x 302	316 x 225		yes, in black	no										q	r	r	u
	Scribe II	2	47	417 x 502	320 x 235	Roman numerals	yes, in black	no										q	r	r	u
Burgos, Biblia de Cardeña		2	52	455 x 322	355 x 250		yes, in black	no										q	r	r	u
Madrid, AHN, Seccion de Códices Carpeta 1452B, no. 9		2	40	323 x 219	280 x 185	—	—	no					—	—				q	r	r	—
British Library, Add. MS. 30.055		2	29	337 x 236	244 x 172		yes, in black	no										q	r	r	u
Rylands, Lat. MS. 83, f. 214, Scribe III		2	47	411 x 295	316 x 225	—	—	yes				—	—					q	r	r	u
Madrid, AHN, Códice 1007B		2	32	282 x 181	218 x 145		yes, in black	yes										q	r	s	u
Madrid, RAH, Códice 25		2	38	360 x 267	255 x 190		yes, in black	yes										q	r	s	u
Rylands, Lat. MS. 89		2	38	442 x 325	334 x 243	catchwords	no	yes										q	r	s	u
British Library, Add. MS. 25.600		2	29	382 x 278	294 x 212	no	no	yes										q	r	s	u

Cardeña. The structure of the letters *b*, *d* (both uncial and minuscule), and *q* are like those in the manuscripts from Cardeña. In particular, the bow of *b* is open, that of minuscule *d* is flat or indented, while that of *q* is elliptical. Consonantal *i* is frequently represented by a forked or cleft *i*-longa, the form of which corresponds most closely to that found in Rylands Lat. MS. 104 since that shaft of the letter does, in some instances, extend below the guide-line. For the letter-forms *r* and *s* we once again see a striking resemblance between those in the Madrid fragment and those in the other codices. There is no example of uncial *s* and final *r* ends in a small but pronounced dot. Although there are no decorative initials or chapter headings in these leaves, the evidence furnished by both the page-format and script is sufficient for the fragment to be attributed to the scriptorium of Cardeña and to assign it to approximately the same period as the Biblia de Cardeña and Rylands Lat. MS. 83.

A copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, currently preserved in the Real Academia de la Historia (Códice 25),<sup>1</sup> is also of special interest to our study. It is one of the many manuscripts previously located in the monasteries of San Millán de la Cogolla and San Pedro de Cardeña that came to Madrid at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> We possess no specific information concerning its origin, but it can be definitely dated. A brief colophon on folio 295<sup>v</sup> states that Aeximinus *archpresbiter* completed it in the era 984 (i.e. in 946).<sup>3</sup> Other evidence for the name of the scribe appears on folio 160<sup>r</sup> where a medallion contains the

<sup>1</sup> P. Ewald, "Reise nach Spanien im Winter von 1878 auf 1879", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, vi (1881), 331, no. 8; Lowe, no. 62; Clark, no. 588; García Villada, i. no. 85, ii. facs. 31; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum* (Madrid, 1959), p. 142, no. 569.

<sup>2</sup> C. Pérez Pastor, *Índices de los códices de San Millán de la Cogolla y San Pedro de Cardeña existentes en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, 1908).

<sup>3</sup> This colophon is reproduced in P. Ewald and G. Loewe, *Exempla Scripturae Visigoticae XL Tabulis Expressa* (Heidelberg, 1883), pl. xxii: EXPLICITUS ES [sic] EST LIBER ETHIMOLOGIARUM. ERA DCCCCLXXXIIIIA. XIII. KALENDAS. SEPTEMBRES. LUNE CURSU DISCURRENTE. XXIII. Luna xiiiiia. REGNANTE REGE RANEMIRO IN LEGIONE. ET GARSEA SANCTIO IN PANPILONA. GOMESANI DENIQUE ABBATI SANCTO EMILIANO DIRCETII MONASTERII REGENTI. Ora pro scriblore eximinone archipresbitero. si deum ubique protectorem habeas tuo in voto.

inscription *Aeximino Archpresbiter scripsit ob honorem sancti Aemiliani*. I suggest that there are palaeographical grounds for asserting that the codex was copied by a scribe trained in the scriptorium of Cardeña, based on a detailed comparison with manuscripts definitely known to have been executed there. Aeximinus, who refers to the monastery of San Millán in his colophon, may have executed the codex after he had come to that monastery, or on commission from it, but he was assuredly trained by the scribes of Cardeña. Moreover, since this manuscript is from a somewhat later period than those previously discussed, we shall attempt to determine which changes in the characteristic features may be of chronological significance.

The size and format of Códice 25 corresponds approximately to those already noted. Each folio measures  $360 \times 267$  mm.; the writing area averages  $255 \times 190$  mm. There are two columns per page and thirty-eight lines per column. Prickings for the vertical guide-lines normally occur at the top and bottom of the folio; those for the horizontal rulings do not appear within column *b* but rather within the outer margin close to column *b*. The prickings are, therefore, not hidden by the text. There are, in addition, two distinct patterns for the placement of guide-lines; I shall refer to them as Formats I and II.<sup>1</sup> In Format I there are four pairs of vertical lines which extend the full length of the page, one pair on each side of the two columns. The horizontal guide-lines do not pass through the area between the two columns, except for one or two rulings at the upper and lower edge of the writing area. These particular rulings also extend through the side-margins to the edge of the folio (Table I, fig. 4). The vertical rulings in Format II are the same as those in Format I, though the horizontal lines are different: all were drawn from the outer bounding lines of column *a* to the outer lines of column *b* (Table I, fig. 5).

The Isidore codex displays interesting designs for quire-marks and running titles. The quire-marks are executed in

<sup>1</sup> There is no immediate explanation for the use of two distinct page-formats. Format I can be found in quires I-III, VII, XIII-XVIII, XX, XXXII; Format II in IV-VI, VIII-XII, XIX, XXI-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXVI. In some instances several sheets of a quire do not conform to either of these patterns.

black ink and consist of a small bracket on the left, the appropriate Roman numeral, the letter *q* (majuscule), and several lines as embellishment. The signs do not appear consistently and are sometimes replaced toward the end of the manuscript by a single catchword located in the lower right corner of the page.<sup>1</sup> In some instances neither quire-mark nor catchword occurs. The running titles are also not used regularly, but when present they are similar to those noted in the *Biblia de Cardena* and Rylands Lat. MS. 83. On the verso of each folio we find an abbreviation for the word *liber* with book reference in Roman numerals; the recto of the following folio contains the name of the book. All running titles are in black ink. The similarities in page-format between the Isidore codex and manuscripts produced at Cardena are significant; of equal importance, however, are the ways in which the format differs, for these may help us to date more accurately other manuscripts attributed to Cardena.

An analysis of the script and decoration reinforces the supposition that Aeximinus was trained at Cardena. In almost every respect the script of Códice 25 is like that of the manuscripts from Cardena. Consider, in particular, in Table II the structure of the abbreviation signs for *per*, *-bus*, *-ue*, and *-bis*, the use of minuscule *d* in the abbreviation of *id est*, and the forms of *q*, *d*, *u*-superscript and cleft *i*-longa. Other letter-forms are similar to those noted previously, but display slight changes which I consider to be of chronological importance. There is a distinction between assimilated and unassimilated *ti*, the bow of *b* is usually closed, uncial *s* sometimes appears at the end of a line, and the finishing stroke of final *r* exhibits a more pronounced upward, as opposed to outward, curve. There are two distinct ligatures for the letter combination *nt*. The one corresponds to that observed in the manuscripts from Cardena, the other consists of a minuscule *n*, with the foot on the last stroke extended to the right. To this stroke is then attached a small curved line ending in a period.

The technique of illumination in the Isidore manuscript is also noteworthy. Some sections of the text contain chapter

<sup>1</sup> The change from quire-marks at the beginning of the manuscript to catchwords does not correspond to the changes in page-format.

headings in orange-red, and decorative initials in the same shade of red, and black; other sections contain initials filled with pale yellow-gold, orange-red, and shades of green, as well as chapter headings in orange-red. These are precisely the same shades found in the *Biblia de Cardena* and Rylands Lat. MS. 83. In addition to this similarity of colours there is a distinct resemblance in the style of ornamentation: initials are small in size, but rather intricate in design. The letters *p* on folio 230<sup>v</sup> and *b* on folio 104<sup>v</sup> are representative of the type of decorative initial in the manuscript. The entire letter *p* is outlined in orange-red, and painted with green and yellow. A criss-cross pattern, left in the natural shade of the vellum, appears in the central portion of its shaft. The initial *b* contains small swirl designs within its upper bow and shaft. Although the decoration of Códice 25 is not executed with the same skill and precision found in the work of Gomez and Scribe II, it is definitely similar with respect to both colours and style.

The Isidore manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia is not the only manuscript now extant that can be attributed to the scribe Aeximinus. An acrostic in Códice 1007B<sup>1</sup> of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid states that *Aeximinus hoc misellus scripsit* in the era 970 (i.e. in 932). This statement has raised two controversial questions: since the acrostic is isolated at the end of the codex, does *hoc* refer only to the acrostic or to both the acrostic and the remainder of the codex? Is this scribe the same Aeximinus who was responsible for Códice 25 in the Academia de la Historia? A palaeographical analysis of the manuscript provides solutions to both of these problems.

Códice 1007B consists of a number of distinct texts which appear to have been bound together in a later period; the codex has recently been restored. The first section (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-16), which has been designated *Fragmentum operum Divi Prudentii Episcopi*, has a single column format with twenty-three lines per column. The module of the script and the *ductus litterarum* differ from those in the Cardena manuscripts. The overall appearance of the

<sup>1</sup> Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía española*, nos. 122, 126; idem, *Contribución al "Corpus" de códices visigóticos*, p. 206; Díaz y Díaz, p. 142, no. 569.

manuscript suggests a date in the latter part of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. The second section of the manuscript (fols. 17<sup>r</sup>–159<sup>r</sup>) contains a variety of texts, including works of St. Jerome and a letter of Alcuin to Beatus of Liébana.<sup>1</sup> The final section (fols. 159<sup>v</sup>–160<sup>r</sup>), written in a third hand, contains a short selection on meter and an acrostic that gives the name of the scribe as Vigila and the date of composition as the era 1018 (i.e. 980). Both the script and the format of these two folios resemble those in the first section of the manuscript.

It is the second and longest part of Códice 1007B which is of primary concern to us, for clearly the scribe Aeximinus who copied Códice 25 in the Academia de la Historia also produced Section II of this codex. First, the page size and format must be considered. The leaves in Section II measure 282 × 181 mm. with an area of writing of approximately 218 × 145 mm. Each folio has two columns per page and thirty-two lines per column. The size of this codex is somewhat smaller than that of Códice 25. The arrangement of prickings and guide-lines is, however, identical with Format II in that codex (compare fig. 5 with fig. 6 in Table I). Furthermore, the designs of quire-marks and running titles are significant. Quire-marks occur throughout the text, beginning with number seven on folio 15<sup>v</sup>. The absence of the first six gatherings indicates that the beginning of Section II is lost. The structure of the quire-marks varies somewhat, but is usually composed of the following elements: a Roman numeral accompanied by a bracket on the left, and a minuscule or majuscule *q* to represent *quaternio*. The bracket is often replaced by several lines and curlicues above and below the Roman numeral. All quire-marks are drawn in black ink. Running titles, also in black, appear sporadically, but have exactly the same form as those in Códice 25.

Apart from the important question of format, there are many features of script and illumination which substantiate our belief that Section II was copied by Aeximinus. In almost every case the abbreviations, ligatures and letter-forms are like their counterparts in Códice 25 (see Table II), and minor differences may be attributed to the earlier date of Section II. For example, the

<sup>1</sup> For a full description of the contents see D. de Bruyne, pp. 13–20.

bow of *b* is more frequently closed in the later codex. The decoration is, moreover, similar with respect to the choice of both colours and designs. Orange-red, dark mint green and pale yellow-gold are the most popular shades; decorative patterns consisting of criss-cross and/or swirl designs are often left unpainted in the centre of initials.

One additional item, as yet unattributed to Aeximinus, must also be included among his achievements: the single page (fol. 214) inserted in Rylands Lat. MS. 83. We noted earlier that the format and script of this folio conform in almost every respect to the other two hands in the codex, but that the presence of the distinction between assibilated and unassibilated *ti* indicates that the page was a later addition so placed to fill a lacuna. The folio is undoubtedly the work of Aeximinus. This final piece of information concerning Aeximinus is of value for two reasons. First, it furnishes additional support for our opinion that this scribe was associated, probably at the beginning of his career, with the Cardeña scriptorium. Perhaps we can reconstruct the early history of the *Moralia* codex in the following fashion. Sometime after the completion of the codex in 914 by Gomez and Scribe II the manuscript was damaged and a portion of the text was either mutilated or lost. Aeximinus, a scribe at Cardeña in the second third of the tenth century, was given the task of supplying the text. The single folio seems to represent one of his earlier efforts since the prickings appear within column *b* and not in the outer margin, there is only one form for the ligature *nt*, and the script lacks many of the finer techniques of calligraphy that are apparent in the later manuscripts. Folio 214 is interesting for a second reason: it contributes to our knowledge of scribal practices in the scriptorium. The folio offers the earliest evidence from Cardeña for the graphic distinction between assibilated and unassibilated *ti*.

The final item in our collection of manuscripts from this scriptorium is a *Codex Regularum* acquired by the then British Museum in 1876 and now catalogued as Add. MS. 30,055.<sup>1</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Berganza, i. 19; W. M. Whitehill, "Un código visigótico de San Pedro de Cardeña", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, cvii (1935), 508-14; A. Millares Carlo, *Nuevos estudios de paleografía española* (Madrid, 1941), p. 138; Spannagel and Engelbert, MS. no. 23.

the past this manuscript has been attributed, and I think rightly, to Cardeña, but scholars have not been able to date it except in the most general terms. Both the work of Millares Carlo and the recent study of Klein have placed it rather vaguely, in the period tenth to eleventh centuries.<sup>1</sup> Let us proceed to examine the manuscript palaeographically, comparing it in detail with the other manuscripts from the scriptorium, in an attempt to determine a more precise date.

The size of the British Library codex is approximately the same as that of Códice 25 in the Academia de la Historia. Each leaf measures 337×236 mm., while the writing area measures 244×172 mm. There is a two-column arrangement with only twenty-nine lines per column. The lines of the text are well spaced and the margins quite ample, although there are indications of trimming throughout. The page-format (Table I, fig. 7) exhibits certain features observed in the early work of Gomez and Scribe II, and other features distinguished in the later manuscripts by Aeximinus. Prickings for vertical guide-lines are at the top and bottom of each folio; those for the horizontal rulings are just within the outer edge of column *b*. In gatherings XXI and XXIII, however, the prickings sometimes appear in the margin. There are four pairs of vertical rulings that extend the entire length of the folio; horizontal guide-lines are drawn only in the writing area of the two columns, with the exception of quire XV where the lines cross the area between columns. Quires are marked with Roman numerals accompanied by lines, flourishes and/or curlicues. The structure of running titles conforms to that seen in the other manuscripts. Black ink is used for both.

Several features of the script and decoration also help us to establish a date for this codex. In general, the script is firm and even, more so than in any of the other codices from Cardeña. The scribe was extremely careful in the execution of ascenders and descenders. Shafts are tall, slightly clubbed, and sometimes bevelled at the top, but they do not display triangular thickening or diagonal finishing strokes. An analysis of Table II reveals

<sup>1</sup> A. Millares Carlo, "Manuscritos visigóticos: Notas bibliográficas", *Hispania Sacra*, xvi (1961), no. 203; Klein, p. 255.



that the script is distinguished by both early and late features. The early characteristics include only one form for *ti*, an abbreviation for *-bis* in which a short horizontal bar crosses the ascender of the letter *b*, and no examples of uncial *s*. Among later features we should note the closed bow of *b*, two ligatures for *nt*, and final *r* with a more pronounced upward tilt. The ornamentation throughout the codex is executed on a limited scale; the initials are, however, somewhat more intricate in design than any observed previously. They exhibit the same neat, precise appearance as the script of the manuscript.

From these comparisons of format, script and illumination it would seem that B.L. Add. MS. 30,055 should be dated after the work of Gomez and Scribe II, but before that of Aeximinus. The codex may appear to be later than the manuscripts copied by Aeximinus, since the script and illumination are more carefully executed, but the presence of certain early characteristics, particularly the alignment of prickings within the area of writing, and the absence of the *ti*-distinction, firmly place the codex in an earlier period. It is reasonable to suggest that this manuscript was produced at Cardeña c. 920–930.

There has been almost unanimous agreement among scholars that both Add. MS. 25,600 in the British Library and Lat. MS. 89 of the Rylands were copied at Cardeña in the tenth century. Virtually every list of manuscripts attributed to the scriptorium includes at least one of these two items.<sup>1</sup> Before presenting the palaeographical grounds for questioning the supposed origin of the manuscripts, I shall present the reasons offered by others in assigning the codices to Cardeña.

In July 1862 the *Martyrologium* (Add. MS. 25,600)<sup>2</sup> was offered for sale to the British Museum. Sir Frederic Madden saw the manuscript on inspection from the bookseller Thomas Boone. The latter stated that the codex came from the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña and that he had purchased it from an

<sup>1</sup> Clark, p. 67; Andrés, p. 104; Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*, i. 178; Klein, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *The Palaeographical Society*, i (London, 1873–8), pl. 95; W. Arndt and M. Tangl, *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung der lateinischen Palaeographie* (Berlin, 1904), pl. 36; Lowe, no. 58; Férotin, cols. 937–8; Clark, no. 557; García Villada, no. 61.

intermediary who provided the information concerning its provenance. There was also an anonymous note in a hand of the eighteenth century which purported to give the substance of a colophon presumably written on the badly mutilated last page (fol. 269). According to the note, which is now pasted on the front fly-leaf, the codex was copied in the year 919 by the monk Gomez at the monastery of Cardeña. Madden accepted the date and attribution, and purchased the *Martyrologium* for the library on 12 March 1864.<sup>1</sup> It was later discovered that a brief inscription on folio 258<sup>v</sup> contradicts the note: *O tu, lector sanctissime, quotiens hunc librum arripueris ad legendum, pro me tandem Endura presbyter scriptoris non cesses Dominum exorare*. Endura presbyter is clearly identified as the scribe. To the best of my knowledge no one has challenged either the place of execution given in the note, or the name of the copyist discovered in the codex and mentioned by Berganza as the name of a scribe at the monastery. Some recent studies have suggested, however, that a date somewhere in the mid-tenth century would be more appropriate.<sup>2</sup>

The copy of Cassiodorus' *Super Psalmos* (Lat. MS. 89) in the Rylands is well known to palaeographers and art historians for the precision of the writing and the beauty of the ornamentation.<sup>3</sup> The early provenance of the manuscript is uncertain. Although James states that it was formerly in the Libri collection, it has not been possible to trace it in the Libri sales of 1859-64; we do know that it was in the Bateman sale of 1893, at which time it was purchased by Lord Crawford. James assigned the manuscript to Cardeña on the basis of statements in the *Antigüedades de España*. In discussing the history of San Pedro de Cardeña, Berganza noted that at the time of the abbot Don Estevan Primero the scribes Endura presbyter and Sebastianus diaconus made a copy of Cassiodorus' *Commentary on the Psalms*. He

<sup>1</sup> The *Diary* of Sir Frederic Madden (Bodl. MS. Eng. hist. 177, pp. 54 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> A. Fábrega Grau, *Pasionario hispánico (siglos VII-XI)*, i (Madrid-Barcelona, 1953), 28; Klein, p. 566, n. 133. Millares Carlo ("Manuscritos visigóticos: Notas bibliográficas", no. 44) continues to accept the date 919.

<sup>3</sup> Lowe, no. 63; Clark, no. 638; García Villada, no. 139; James, i. 161-5, ii. plates 120-2; J. Domínguez Bordona, "Diccionario de iluminadores españoles", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, cxl (1957), 95.

remarked that several inscriptions by the scribes at both the beginning and end of the codex were worth mentioning. In particular, we learn that on the second folio the monk Endura inscribed the following words in Greek letters: *O bone Lector charissime Misselli Endurae Presbyteri sui scriptoris tua inprece [sic] mei memento. Amen.*<sup>1</sup> Berganza also tells us that there were two subscriptions at the end of the volume on leaves which were missing even in his time, but which were recorded by other scholars before their loss.<sup>2</sup> The first of these stated that Endura began his task when he was thirty-one years of age, that he was aided by a second scribe named Sebastianus, that he completed the work in the era 987 (i.e. 949), and that the codex was currently at the monastery of Cardeña:

Almae Trinitatis divinae coelitus inspiramine compulsus ego Endura, Sacerdotii indignè gerens officium, Libri huius solerter praescribere feci initium; aerumnosae vitae peracto aetatis meae tricesimo, et primo anno. Iniunxi tamen hoc opus implendum Sebastiano speciali filio, alumnoque dilecto, Levitico etiam ordine functo, eligens praesertim hoc in opere habere socium, quem eruditio huius scriptionis charissimum mihi praeberat discipulum. Extat praeterea hoc gestum Caradignae in Arcisterio sub atrio Reliquias ferente Martyrum Sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, simulque Sanctorum Ioannis Apostoli et Evangelistae, et Sancti Vincentii Levitae; inseriturque his venerabilibus Reliquiis memoria Beatae Euphemiae Virginis. Magnam docente, claramque Monachorum cateravam, Patre spirituali Stephano, gratia regiminis, priori in ordine constituto. Perfectus est hic Liber, expositionem in se continens omnium Psalmorum, Christi iuvante dextera, sub Era DCCCC. LXXX. VII.<sup>3</sup>

This subscription was followed by a second one stating that the manuscript was finished by Sebastianus *diaconus* in the year 949:

Explicuit est Liber iste à Notario Sebastiano Diacono notum praefixionis diem, quartodecimo Kalendas Februarii, Era DCCCC. LXXX. VII. regnante Serenissimo Rege Ramiro in Legione, et egregio Comite Fredinando Gundisalvi in Castella, atque Pontificatum gerente Basilio Episcopo Sedis Munnioni Castelli.<sup>4</sup>

Using these subscriptions quoted by Berganza and his predecessors, James attempted to prove that this manuscript,

<sup>1</sup> Berganza, i. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Berganza is using as sources A. de Yepes, *Crónica general de la Orden de San Benito*, which was written at the beginning of the seventeenth century and recently edited by J. Pérez de Urbel (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vols. 123-5), Madrid, 1959-60, and Fr. Lope de Frias, *Historia de Cardeña*, a manuscript which is no longer extant.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

written at Cardena in 949, is identical with the manuscript now preserved in the Rylands. Indeed, there is an inscription in Rylands Lat. MS. 89 which lends support to his opinion. In a lengthy passage on folio 4<sup>r</sup> the name of the scribe appears in two distinct places. At the bottom of the first column in alternating lines of red and black majuscules we read :

ILLE QUI ANTE PRESIDEM STETIS SILENS. MECUM incipiente Endura presviter scr(i)benti in hoc volumine ad liberandum sit regens. In secundo adventu sui gloria vel futura examinationis die fruar gratia et mercedis pro hoc labore. Tertio demum die expulcro dominus resurgens. omnes patres paradiso restituens. incidente me in peccatis nunc resurgam. et cum patriarchis dexteram tenes. regna polorum fruar per secula amen amen.<sup>1</sup>

At the top of the second column is a continuation of the inscription, in Greek capitals, which gives the name of the scribe for the second time. A transliteration into Roman letters reads : *O bone lector carissime misello Endora presbiter seu scriptoris tua in prece mei memento. amen.* These lines, which clearly name Endura as responsible for the manuscript, correspond almost exactly to the inscription recorded by Berganza. On the basis of the similarity of these passages, James and subsequent scholars assumed that this Endura is the same monk mentioned in Berganza's *Antigüedades de España* as one of two scribes who made a copy of Cassiodorus, and that Rylands Lat. MS. 89 is in fact that very manuscript written by him.

The association of the manuscript in the Rylands with that considered by Berganza does, however, present a number of difficulties. Granted that this is the manuscript mentioned by Berganza, it should be possible to find two distinct hands in the codex, one representing that of Endura and the other that of Sebastianus. James himself, however, admits that he was not able to distinguish two hands.<sup>2</sup> Having examined this manuscript personally, I must agree with James that there is no clear distinction of hands. The manuscript was apparently the work of a single copyist, a fact which suggests that this is not the same codex noted by Berganza.

Those scholars who would, in spite of the difficulty discussed

<sup>1</sup> James, ii. pl. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. i. 165.

above, still attribute the Rylands codex to the monastery of Cardeña must face another problem when they proceed to associate the Endura of this manuscript with the Endura of B.L. Add. MS. 25,600; palaeographers and art historians alike have assumed that the same scribe copied both codices. In the first of two subscriptions supposedly present at one time in Lat. MS. 89, Endura indicates that he began his task when thirty-one years of age (*aerumnosae vitae peracto aetatis meae tricesimo et primo anno*). Both he and Sebastianus also say that the codex was finished in 949. Allowing a few years for the time necessary to complete such an impressive work, we may theorize that he began copying around 945. If Endura was indeed thirty-one years old in 945, it is impossible to claim that he wrote the *Martyrologium* at the beginning of the tenth century. Unless we alter the date of one of the manuscripts, there were two copyists named Endura who were actively engaged in manuscript production in the tenth century. One was responsible for the codex dated 919, and the other for that dated 949, produced at Cardeña.

The reasons given by scholars for attributing the two manuscripts to the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña are, I believe, open to serious doubt. Certain questions remain troublesome: Why is it impossible to distinguish between the hands of Endura and Sebastianus in Rylands Lat. MS. 89? Were both manuscripts copied by the same scribe Endura in the scriptorium of Cardeña? Are the dates 919 and 949 the correct ones? I shall now examine each manuscript with respect to page-format, script and illumination in an effort to determine answers to these questions.

Although the format of both codices is uniform and corresponds, to a great extent, to that found in the later manuscripts from the Cardeña scriptorium, especially to Format II in Códice 25 (Table I, fig. 5), there are a number of differences between these codices and those copied by Gomez and the other scribes from Cardeña. Prickings to guide horizontal rulings (when they have not been lost due to trimming) always occur in the outer margin along the extreme edge of the folio (Table I, fig. 8). There are no quire-marks or contemporary running titles, but we can observe the remains of some catchwords in Lat. MS. 89.

The differences in script are much more remarkable. In general, the writing in the two manuscripts is much better proportioned and aesthetically pleasing than the script in the codices from Cardena. The letter-forms display a firmness yet delicacy of line not found in the work of Gomez and his colleagues ; there are fine serifs on the tops of ascenders and slight hair-lines trailing to the left on the bottom of many descenders.

An analysis of individual features, moreover, reveals other striking differences in script and illumination ; among the most important are the following (see Table II) :

1. The abbreviation for *per* consists of the letter *p* plus a curlicue on the left side of the descender which appears to be a continuation of the bow. The lower portion of the sign never touches or crosses the hasta. The *s*-flourish to represent *-us* and *-ue* is very angular at the bottom and curved at the top. For *id est* an abbreviation using the letters *idst* is preferred in Lat. MS. 89 ; the letter *d* is either minuscule or uncial. In the *Martyrologium* we find the abbreviation *idt* in which *d* is of the uncial type.

2. The scribes of both manuscripts used two ligatures for *nt*. The one is like that observed in the Biblia de Cardena ; the other is formed from a majuscule rather than minuscule *n*. Ligatures of all types, especially those comprised of uncial *a* plus *t* or *s*, are rare in manuscripts from Cardena. In these two codices they appear with great frequency. The graphic distinction between assibilated and unassibilated *ti* is made throughout both manuscripts.

3. Specific letter-forms are also significant : cleft *i*-longa trails somewhat below the line, has a horizontal hair-line on the right side of the fork, and is always angular ; the stem of uncial *d* is very short ; the bow of uncial *d*, and *q* is round ; both uncial *s*, with an added stroke below the letter, and uncial *a* are used regularly at the end of lines ; *u*-superscript resembles the upper portion of forked *i*-longa.

4. Chapter headings in Lat. MS. 89 and B.L. Add. MS. 25,600 consist of alternating lines of bright red and steel blue, not orange-red and mint green.

5. The dominant colours in the British Library codex are steel blue, peach-orange, dark green and purple, while those in Lat. MS. 89 include bright red, steel blue, orange and shades of olive green.

6. Most decorative initials are quite large. In Add. MS. 25,600 the letters often extend the entire length of the page. The designs of the initials are, moreover, extremely complex. There are many examples of beautifully executed panels of interlace work, outlined in either red or black, and sometimes filled with yellow; fine patterns in black ink often decorate the outer edge of a letter. In some sections of Lat. MS. 89 the smaller painted initials are drawn lying horizontally.

On the basis of the internal evidence supplied by the two manuscripts it is difficult not to reach a number of conclusions which contradict current scholarly opinion. I firmly believe that it is impossible to assign B.L. Add. MS. 25,600 and Rylands Lat. MS. 89 to the scriptorium at Cardeña since we are not able to explain satisfactorily the significant differences in format, script and illumination displayed by these two codices. We observed that the manner of preparing vellum and executing the script and illumination are similar in the *Biblia de Cardeña*, Lat. MS. 83, and in all the other manuscripts from Cardeña discussed during the course of this study. Any variations from my proposed "style-sheet" are minor, and are due, for the most part, to chronological considerations; certain characteristic features evolved with the passage of time. In the case of Add. MS. 25,600 and Lat. MS. 89 the differences are so extensive as to conclude, on valid palaeographical grounds, that neither codex was produced by scribes trained at Cardeña.

Our palaeographical analysis of the manuscripts also suggests answers to two additional problems concerning the dates of composition and the identification of scribes. Dates have been assigned to both codices: 919 for Add. MS. 25,000 and 949 for Lat. MS. 89. While a date of 949 is appropriate for the codex in the Rylands, that of 919 is much too early for the manuscript in the British Library. Specific features of the script and illumination place it at approximately the same time as a magni-

ficient copy of a Bible copied in the year 960 by Florentius and Sanctius in the monastery of Berlangas,<sup>1</sup> and therefore in a somewhat later period than Lat. MS. 89. Additionally, it is evident from my personal examination of the codices that two distinct copyists executed the manuscripts. There are enough differences in the script and decoration to warrant this judgement (see Table II). A scribe named Endura may have copied either one or the other of the codices, but the same Endura did not copy both. The assumption that one scribe from Cardeña produced these two manuscripts cannot be supported by the internal evidence.

There can be little doubt that the scriptorium at Cardeña was flourishing in the first half of the tenth century; the number and quality of the manuscripts discussed above, as well as the statements of Berganza concerning works that are no longer extant, attest to its prosperity. Among the many scribes working there we can identify seven separate hands, including the early script of Gomez in the Biblia de Cardeña and Rylands Lat. MS. 83, and the less skilful work of Aeximinus. The manuscripts, complete and fragmentary, range chronologically from the first decade of the tenth century to the middle of the same century: Rylands Lat. MS. 104; Burgos, Biblia de Cardeña, and Rylands Lat. MS. 83; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Carpeta 1452B, no. 9; British Library Add. MS. 30,055; Rylands Lat. MS. 83, fol. 214; Real Academia de la Historia, Códice 25; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códice 1007B. While these manuscripts display distinctive codicological features that will enable us to recognize, attribute, and date other manuscripts to Cardeña, their characteristic features have also prompted us to question two attributions long upheld by scholars. With respect to B.L. Add. MS. 25,600 and Rylands Lat. MS. 89, palaeographers and art historians should set aside the previous attributions to the scriptorium of Cardeña, and begin anew to seek the origin of these fascinating manuscripts.

<sup>1</sup> Clark, no. 549; García Villada, no. 50; P. Galindo, "La 'Biblia de León' del 960", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, xvi (1960), 37-76; J. Williams, "A Model for the León Bibles", *Madrider Mitteilungen*, viii (1967), 281-6; idem, "A Contribution to the History of the Castilian Monastery of Valeránica and the Scribe Florentius", *Madrider Mitteilungen*, xi (1970), 231-48.