

## THE CODEX CAVENSIS

### NEW LIGHT ON ITS LATER HISTORY

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Among the oldest Latin manuscripts of the Bible the Codex Cavensis holds a place of its own. It is by common consent one of the two most important representatives of the peculiar type of text which was current in Spain for many centuries. The Spanish manuscript closest to the Cavensis is the Toletanus\*; editors usually cite the variant readings of both.<sup>1</sup> Of the two the Cavensis is by far the more accurate, as it is also the more ancient. It also happens to be a superb specimen of calligraphy, perhaps the finest manuscript ever penned by a Spanish scribe. He left us his name—DANILA SCRIPTOR—in beautiful capitalis rustica, entered after the colophon to the Lamentations of Jeremiah on fol. 166<sup>v</sup>. It is a Spanish name. But Danila does not tell us where he wrote or when.

The present note is not concerned with the text of the Cavensis but with its palaeography, the main object being to call attention to a scrap of fresh evidence which goes to show that the Codex must have been in South Italy ever since the twelfth century. At the same time it may be useful to state briefly what is knowable regarding its date and origin and to give as detailed a description of the manuscript as possible on the lines followed in *Codices Latini Antiquiores*,<sup>2</sup> in the hope that the hard and dry facts may some day prove helpful in discovering the precise locality which produced so remarkable a book.

The Codex Cavensis gets its name from its present home near La Cava in the province of Salerno. The Benedictine Abbey situ-

\* On the much debated question of its date see now Augustín Millares Carlo, *Contribución al "Corpus" de Codices Visigóticos*, pp. 99-130 (Madrid, 1931). The arguments in favor of the 10th century seem thoroughly convincing.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wordsworth's and White's preface and epilogue to their edition of the N. T.: *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi* etc. Pars prior, pp. xi, xiiif. and 717ff. (Oxford 1889-1898).

<sup>2</sup> Part I, The Vatican City (Oxford 1934); Part II, Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford 1935). Parts III and IV are devoted to Italy.

ated at Corpo di Cava near the top of the hill and dedicated to the Holy Trinity was only founded in 1011. It is therefore not one of the early monastic houses. Its library, though particularly rich in charters, is not without important ancient manuscripts. Of both charters and manuscripts the oldest are written in the peculiar script of South Italy which modern palaeographers call 'Beneventan', but which formerly bore the unfortunate name 'Lombardic'—a term still used by palaeographical die-hards. The unhistoric designation 'Lombardic' has been responsible for much confusion.<sup>3</sup> It has manifestly played its part in obscuring the true character of the Cavensis.

For all its importance, both textually and palaeographically, the Cavensis remained practically unknown to scholars until the early decades of the last century. When the great Benedictine, Jean Mabillon, the father of Latin palaeography, visited the abbey in November 1685 he was shown a number of manuscripts, but the Cavensis apparently was not among them. Had he seen it, he could hardly have failed to have devoted some space to it in his 'Iter Italicum'.<sup>4</sup> One wonders whether the monks of Holy Trinity had some reason for keeping quiet about their ancient Bible. Or had the manuscript not yet migrated to that part of Southern Italy? It had certainly left Spain centuries before Mabillon's time, since, as will be shown presently, it had reached some South Italian center at latest by the beginning of the twelfth century. And it is arguable that that center was the abbey near La Cava.

Although the Cavensis is a typically Spanish manuscript whose script, abbreviation, orthography, and ornamentation all proclaim it as such, and even the beginner in palaeography would nowadays promptly recognize its nationality, it is nevertheless a fact that the scholars who first dealt with our manuscript, like De Roza<sup>5</sup> and Angelo Mai,<sup>6</sup> never suspected its origin, and Champollion (in Silvestre<sup>7</sup>), D'Aragona<sup>8</sup> and Ziegler<sup>9</sup> describe it as 'Lombardic'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Beneventan Script*, p. 28, n. 1 (Oxford 1914).

<sup>4</sup> *Museum Italicum*, Tom. I, p. 118 (Paris 1687).

<sup>5</sup> *Lettre de L'abbé Roza sur des livres et des manuscrits précieux de la bibliothèque de la Cava* (Naples 1822); Italian translation by Dom G. Morcaldi.

<sup>6</sup> *Scriptorum Veterum* etc., III, pars 2, pp. 165f. (Rome 1828); *Spicilegium Romanum*, IX, p. xxiii (Rome 1843); *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, I, pars 2, p. 7 (Rome 1852).

<sup>7</sup> *Paléographie Universelle*, III, pl. CXLI-106 (Paris 1839-41).

<sup>8</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, Vol. I, Appendix (Naples 1873).

<sup>9</sup> In *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerisch. Akademie* (1876), pp. 607-660.

et hanc rectam viam meam tantum habere non eo quia  
 non ventem per odium in praelio deinde lentem et gen-  
 tem in angulis de me et accusatores et deperisores  
 qui in malis praevalent quod in terra per locum qui  
 in praelio et in iudicio non habebunt et cum aliis  
 pugnetur. Ceterum me in iudicio non metueri  
 agnoscite etiam in iudicio non habetis de re cohaerentem  
 tam tribuisse me non isticis. Nec enim cum debeat  
 maxime iudicium quod non convenit ut praelium semper  
 dissero. et quod non in debeat in iudicio et verba  
 dierum in interpretatu sum in die iudicii non in  
 tricabiles moras et in iudicio non in iudicio  
 totum confusus sunt iudicio sensuum quae de  
 emperatius et per me sum colat digere rem in  
 me ipsi et me in iudicio non in iudicio  
 surdesunt ceterorum.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS:  
 INGRUNT CARTOLIE  
 LIBRI PRIMI:

T. Iacob.  
 Deinde sequens generatio iudaeorum  
 II Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 III Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 IV Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum

XIII Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XIV Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XV Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XVI Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XVII Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XVIII Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XIX Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XX Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XXI Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XXII Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum  
 XXIII Deinde de iudaeis et de generatio iudaeorum

Cuncti unusquisque  
 pyrenaei primus  
 nam  
 celatum  
 habet in quoque  
 exumetum  
 exoptatum  
 elatumque  
 exatum  
 exantatum  
 habet in quoque  
 exumetum  
 exumetum  
 filium  
 elatum  
 exaltum  
 exultatum  
 exalud  
 exatum.  
 filium  
 huius  
 exul  
 exagor  
 exomoch  
 affuxum  
 genus  
 quicquid  
 genus  
 pater  
 luna  
 nomini  
 pulch.  
 indicat  
 dicitur  
 canis

[illegible]

This error in classification found a place, for a short time, even in a well-known text book on palaeography, as anyone may see who examines the first edition of Wattenbach's *Anleitung*.<sup>10</sup> It was not until the great Florentine palaeographer Cesare Paoli attacked the mistaken ascription that the error was banished for good and all. His article published in 1879<sup>11</sup> convinced Wattenbach completely, and subsequent editions of the *Anleitung* correctly describe the Cava Bible as Spanish, as do all later writers who deal with its text,<sup>12</sup> and all palaeographers by profession.<sup>13</sup>

While palaeography has progressed far enough to be able to distinguish a Visigothic manuscript from a so-called 'Lombardic', it is still groping in the dark when it comes to fixing the precise home of a Visigothic manuscript. Some day perhaps, as a result of careful and exhaustive study, we may be in a position to say of a manuscript that it hails from Toledo rather than Seville, from Leon rather than Barcelona. But we are not there yet. And the origin of the manuscript which has been described as "by far the finest product of Spanish penmanship and book decoration" eludes us still. What we are certain of, however, is that this manuscript could have originated only in a center of great palaeographic traditions. There is ground for believing that this great center was probably in the North rather than in the South, since in the North more frequent opportunity existed for coming in contact with the masterpieces of Caroline calligraphy. For according to some art critics traces of French influence are discernible in the ornamentation of the Caven-sis;<sup>14</sup> and the palaeographer is tempted to account for the systematic use by the scribe of the Caven-sis of various ancient types (*capitalis rustica*, *uncial*, *half-uncial* and even *bd-uncial*, all seen in the

<sup>10</sup> *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*, p. 8 (Leipzig 1869).

<sup>11</sup> In *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie 4, Vol. III (1879), p. 256.

<sup>12</sup> See P. Corssen, *Epistula ad Galatas*, pp. 12-14 (Berlin 1885); G. Schepps in *Corpus Scriptorum Eccles. Lat.* XVIII (1889), pp. xxxff.; S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 14f. (Paris 1893); Wordsworth and White cited in note 1; A. Amelli, *De libri Baruch vetustissima Latina versione etc.*, pp. 6ff. (Monte Cassino 1902). F. Stabile in *Rivista di Filologia*, XXXIX (1911), pp. 361-384; De Bruyne in *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXI (1914-19), pp. 373-401; H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, pp. 299, 310ff. (Rome and Paris 1922).

<sup>13</sup> Their works are cited in the bibliographical paragraph following the description of the manuscript and in notes 11, 17 and 18.

<sup>14</sup> Marquis De Lozoya, *Historia de la Parte Hispánico*, p. 322 and fig. 397 (Barcelona 1931-4).

accompanying plates) by his acquaintance with the exquisite Biblical manuscripts of the school of St. Martin's at Tours, in which one encounters the same delight in the display of nearly all ancient types of script.<sup>15</sup> While the Tours scribes make use of capitalis quadrata, not found in the Cavensis, the scribe of the Cavensis on the other hand, employs bd-uncial, not found in the manuscripts of Tours. I may say in passing that if one needed further proof that bd-uncial was considered a distinct type (the entire Codex Bezae and the Codex Claromontanus of the Epistles are in this type), its presence in the Cavensis would supply it. It also throws some light on what I call the hierarchy of scripts: the bd-uncial in our manuscript is confined to the Capitulationes, just as in the fifth century uncial manuscript of Jerome's Chronicle in the Bodleian the bd-uncial is only used for the marginal summaries.<sup>16</sup> The type is subordinate and ancillary in both manuscripts, and the letters are sloping in both (see plate 1). In the Cavensis there is one curious feature: letter *a* is almost capitalis rustica. Perhaps some clue as to the place of origin may be contained in the orthography of the Cavensis. In any case its misspellings are so extraordinary as to deserve a special study. But many manuscripts will have to be gone over with a fine-tooth comb and exhaustive data collected before it will be possible to draw any conclusions from orthographic peculiarities as regards locality.

And now a word on the date of the Cavensis. Its precise age we shall never know, but there can be little doubt that it was written in the ninth century, probably in the middle or even past it. This judgment is based mainly on palaeographic grounds, on the script. If the broad lines of the development of Visigothic script as sketched in my *Studia Palaeographica*<sup>17</sup> are valid guides—they were accepted by C. U. Clark in his *Collectanea Hispanica*<sup>18</sup> (pp. 106–7)—then the Cavensis is more ancient than our extant dated manuscripts of the tenth century. On the other hand, if low broad letters with coarse strokes and frequent ligatures are characteristic of the eighth and

<sup>15</sup> See the facsimiles in Delisle's *Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours* etc. in *Mémoires de l'Académie*, XXXII, 1 (Paris 1885) and especially the rich material offered in E. K. Rand's *Studies in the Script of Tours*, vols. I and II (Cambridge, Mass. 1929 and 1934).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Steffens, *Lateinische Palaeographie*,<sup>2</sup> pl. 17 (Trier 1909).

<sup>17</sup> Pp. 80f. (Munich 1910), published in *Sitzungsber. der Bayer. Akademie*.

<sup>18</sup> Pp. 106f. (Paris 1920), published in the *Transactions of the Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 24.

I n deo nati sunt auribus eum.  
hoc uelut de longis protulisti.  
P ullus est lumbus tuus qui natus  
habeat quicquid uideri faciat tuum dicit.  
**A** DJECIT DOMINUS ET LOCUTUS EST AD JOB.

N umquid quicontra dicitur modo.  
cum fuerit deconquiescit.

h uis qui equum ad dicit.  
debet respondere illi.

**R** ESPONDENS AUTEM JOB DNO DIXIT.

Q uia iacet locustis sum.  
respondere quid possum.

u numponam super hoc manum.

h u num locustis sum quod huiusmodi non dixi.  
et uelut in quibus huiusmodi non uidi.

**R** ESPONDENS AUTEM DNS JOB DE TURBINE DIXIT.

Q uia in gressu tuo uis lumbus tuus.

In aeternum uis tuus respondens michi.

N umquid ista cum fueris ludis cum meum.

do condonabis mihi uelut aspidem.

S uber brachium tuum dicitur.

et si uocem similia sonus.

C itum uelut uis de tota terra in sublimem gressu.  
et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

D ispergit super os tuum.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

R e spicere uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

do condonabis mihi uelut aspidem.

h ubi condonabis mihi uelut aspidem.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

E cce uis in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

N umquid mulas percuti uis ad te.  
uia loquar tibi in molliu.

N umquid scis quid sit pectus.  
et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

N umquid in huiusmodi quid sit.  
uia loquar tibi in molliu.

C oncedas mihi humi.  
et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

N umquid in huiusmodi quid sit.  
uia loquar tibi in molliu.

uia loquar tibi in molliu.

P onas super me uis in molliu.

E cce pectus tuum in molliu.

uia loquar tibi in molliu.

Q uis in molliu in molliu.

h omni uis in molliu.

N on patet tibi in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

Q uis in molliu in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

P otius uis in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

C oncedas mihi in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

h uis in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

h uis in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

S cias in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

D ehotelur in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

h uis in molliu.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

et si uocem sonus in speculo in speculo dicitur.

700

prostatomucosarcoma

Non est sup̄statum pacis aut quæ conputantur.

① mncsublimetidec.

RESPONDENS AUTEM JOB DOMINO DIXIT.

famulus et heros cognatio.

1 deolnsipienatrlouaiffum.

de omnibus et de singulis  
de quibus huiusmodi fecerit et cetera et cetera.

Ad udivergologuor.

Ἰνα εἴνο γὰρ οὐ αὐτὰρ ἡσθεὶς ἐμὶ χι.

Α' ὑποκαταρτισανδία.

nunciamus hoc oculis meis uidere.

1. descolpimento profundo.

acrogopocnietum infuilluocine.

Postquam uero in locum istum dominus uenit uoluit hic loqui.

dixiaudhelufexanhemuniam. Incausciogutolmtusinae

ad inducendum quoniam non est locus et costume

caduqofumicofauofquoniunnonelaislocuaitotumme  
 recaumfieuaitetuufmctuslob. sumiatfegiautifpdm auuot

recatum sic uatitruum eurlob. iumitaciglaunipadam auuor  
finafinaum bosi / at / uum eurlob / e / h / offitue

*Carapace medium sized; carapace width 10 mm. Body brownish black.*

holocausumptouobis.lobuacmstauismeturhotuua.  
ntuobis. tu. ctm. fustuc. ctm. mbu. manubis. fustuc. m.

[illegible]

சுலகாநா. நத்யுத்தம். மலையாளம். மீதமுள்ளவைகள்  
யுத்தம். இலக்கணம். இலக்கணம்.

uultus lob. habet unatque oculum fuzacham uniat  
 et dicitur unatque oculum fuzacham uniat

tabulduchuyarifarofurnuumuachyari. fapsectunari  
suplounuist. fuyaydar demunus. fuyaydar demunus.

cuatlocuauisfutuauetofidominus. etafuscipiadominifut

clm lob. dominus quoque conuictus et auctor potestatis suae

lobquumhotuaptoumicissuit. Eaudididadiomin

omniumque cumque fortuna obduplicem. Utinam

uacm homn d fua d fua h u n i u d h u k o t o t f u u k d o c u c

acquino ubi sum prius socium eductum a meo puncto in

mo l u s t a m o u t u n a s u p t u m t u p u a t a c o n s o l u a s u n a s u

super hominem quod in aultu domini super eum.

*Eodem modo*



**R**omani ex Iudaeis gentibusque credide-  
runt. hiis super uia contentione uole-  
bant se alterutrum superponere.

**N**am Iudaei dicebant. Nos sumus populus dei qui  
ab initio dilexite et fouit. Nos circumcisi ex gene-  
re abraham. ex stirpe sancti et descendimus.  
et notus retro apud Iudaeam tantum deus. Nos  
de egypto. unde isignis e iuribus liberati.  
maresio. et transiimus pede. quum nimi-  
us nostros grauiissimi fluctibus in uolueren-  
t. nobis manna pluuit dominus in deserto. et qua-  
si filius uiscerum est epulum ministravit. nos  
dile noctuque in columna nubis signis que pra-  
cessit. huiusmodi in uim iter hostenderet. ad  
que huiusmodi elus circanos in mensa benefi-  
cia taceamus nos solidi quum uis deilegem  
accipere. et uocem domini loquentis audire. eiusque  
cognoscere uoluntatem. in qua legem nobis pro-  
missus est christus. ad quos se perit in se uenisset sta-  
tute sit dicens. non ueni inis ad homines quales perie-  
runt domus israel. quum uos canes potius quam  
homines appellauit. in quum ne ergo est huius  
dile et dola deserentes qui bus ab initio deserui-  
stis nobis conparemini. et non potius in propositio-  
ne locum ex legis auctoritate et consuetudine  
deputemini. et hoc ipsum non mereremini. nisi  
qui aliquid deis semper clementia uoluit uos ad  
trahim in uiam admittere. Gentiles  
iam huiusmodi contrarios respondebant. quantum aliquid  
aliquid deis debent beneficia narraueritis. tanto  
maioris uos criminis reos esse monstrabitis.  
semper enim his hominibus ex titis in gratia.  
nam si spedi bus qui bus aridum mare transi-  
tudebatis ante dola que fecistis. et in hoc quo  
pauca ante huiusmodi ad uerum dominum can-  
taueratis. simulacra uobis fieri propterea. si  
illud hoc ueneranda quibus deum in uide-  
uclit. non conspiceret solubatis. manna quoque  
uobis est astidit. et semper in deserto contra  
dominum in ueneratis. ad aegyptum huius  
uobis manna uidebat. et edire uolentes.  
qui plurimum in ueneratis. et ebra pro uocauit

ignorantia de pitandum. qui enim agnitum  
illic sequitur. olim huiusque sequere eius sian-  
cognouisset. Sic autem uos de generis nobi-  
tate iactatis. quas in omni hominibus imitatio  
quam carnalis natura afflicta facit esse  
enique. esau huiusmodi quum ex abrahama  
sint. minimi in filiis reputantur. hiis ali-  
alter cantibus. apostolus se medium interpo-  
lit. partium diuinitatem questionem. huiusmodi  
eorum suauitatis salutem meruisse confi-  
am uos uero populo se scienter et grauiter  
liquisse. Iudaeos quod per praeuersionem  
legis deum in honorem uenerunt. gentes uero  
quum cognitum decreuit a creatore huius  
de ueritate uenerari. gloria eius in manu  
tam uoluerunt simulacra. huiusmodi  
similiter ueniam consecutos. equales esse  
uissimam narrationem demonstrat. praeser-  
quum in ea de lege praedictum. et Iudaeos  
tes ad christum uocando ostendat. quum  
hobrem. uicissim eos humilians. ad pacem et  
cordiam cohortatur.

**I**tem alii argumentum eius de

**R**omani sunt in parte ethaliae. hiis pre-  
uenit sunt a falsis apostolis et sub nomi-  
ne dominici ostendit. christum in lege. non pro-  
pheta. et in iudicio. huiusmodi uocem pos-  
tholus ad ueritatem et angelicam fidem.  
scribens in faba huius.

**I**tem alii argumentum

**R**omani non dum uiderat apostolus.  
neque in ipso huiusmodi et primo si de  
cerat fundamentum. et alius. et pul-  
lam et de deo. et propterea huiusmodi  
postholusolum in gentes confirmari.  
et in predicit. de deo enim uideret uos  
itali quid in peritia uobis et ratio spiriti-  
ualis ad confirmandos uos.

adum. quoniam magnitudo  
iniquitatis sequere in se  
nemus de generis mobili  
omnium inimitatione magis  
uitas. hoc facit esset  
abel quoniam abrahæ stirpe  
reputantur. his aliter  
utolusse medium interponere  
questiones. huiusmodi

I. k. xvi.

aliter inmeruisse confirma  
re scienter et c. aliter de  
od per præuocationem  
lauere. gentes uero quos  
reatur creator embuto  
u. gloria ius in manu fac  
ulacra. huiusmodi quæ  
u. secutos. equales esse uen  
re demonstrat. præsertim  
prædictum. et iuda eos et ge  
and ostendat. quam  
oshumilians ad pacem et c.  
cohortatur.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

# MENTUM ELUSDEM

partes thalæ et hipre  
a apostolus et sub nomi  
ni et xpi lege nopro  
duci. hoc reuocatur pos  
et angelus eandem.  
et ab athenis.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

# ARGUMENTUM

um uidet apostolus.  
lucet et primum de  
um. et ab aliis. et quib  
pro medicantibus. aba  
dicent confirmari.  
id est enim uidet uos  
ta uobis et ratio et spi  
mandat uos. r. p.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.

k. xvi.



adulter uos xpi. uocatus  
apostolus. segregatus me  
uangelio dei. quod ante pro  
miserat. propter hoc uos in temp  
auis et c. et de uos qui facit et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
qui per uos et c. et in uos uos et c.

Primum quid est genus et c. et in uos uos et c.  
qui per uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.

Secundum quid est genus et c. et in uos uos et c.  
qui per uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.

Tercium quid est genus et c. et in uos uos et c.  
qui per uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.

Quartum quid est genus et c. et in uos uos et c.  
qui per uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.

Quintum quid est genus et c. et in uos uos et c.  
qui per uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.  
et in uos uos et c. et in uos uos et c.

early ninth century, then the Cavensis has manifestly passed that stage. The date thus derived from a study of the script is confirmed by internal evidence furnished by a few curious marginal entries which seem to refer to the theological disputes then raging on the question of predestination, in connection with which church councils were held in 848, 849 and 855. These dates fit in well with the verdict suggested by the script.

The later history of the Cavensis, like its origin, seems shrouded in mystery. We do not know when it left Spain, nor under what circumstances.

And this brings me to what I consider the scrap of evidence which is the only justification for the present note. There exist in the Cavensis at least three marginal notes recording variant readings entered by a reader whose natural script must have been, I am convinced, Beneventan, i.e., South Italian. On fol. 100 (seen in our Plate 2), opposite the word *uerbi*, in Iob XL, 27, a manifestly Beneventan hand of the first half of the twelfth century wrote: *belli*. In the upper half of fol. 254<sup>v</sup> (reproduced in our Plate 3) in the prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, the word *dicentes* is entered in the margin, with a sign showing that it is to be inserted after the sentence *gentes hetiam he contrario respondebant*. In the same column, nine lines below, the same hand inserted in the margin the words *simulacra intuebamini* which were omitted after the words *in nube uel igni conspicere solebatis*. Both these entries are followed by the group of two dots over a comma, which is the normal Beneventan full stop. This same full stop, as well as the point surmounted by an oblique line for lesser pauses—also a Beneventan feature—is found passim in this prologue. While the word *belli* is unmistakably Beneventan, the words *dicentes* and *simulacra intuebamini* have elements which are foreign to the South Italian minuscule, for neither the *d* nor the *t* nor the *a* has the Beneventan form. And yet I think it can justly be claimed that the scribe who permitted himself the non-Beneventan forms of these letters was trained in the Beneventan school; the pen he used was one adapted to Beneventan calligraphy. What is more—the hand which wrote *dicentes* also wrote *intuebamini*. Now, while the *t* in the former is non-Beneventan, the *t* in the latter is pure Beneventan. What we have here, then, is doubtless a case which illustrates the tendency of the time to graft Caroline forms upon the Beneventan

calligraphy. And it is precisely among the manuscripts of La Cava that an excellent parallel is found: the early twelfth century manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia*, which bears the number 7, is written partly in Beneventan and partly in ordinary minuscule. On fol. 34 both scripts are seen, the Beneventan continuing the non-Beneventan. What is curious and interesting is that the hand which writes the non-Beneventan is manifestly accustomed to Beneventan script and uses a pen adapted for that script. The Beneventan punctuation is used in both parts. Now the hand which entered the readings on fol. 254<sup>v</sup> of the Cavensis has, to my mind, considerable resemblance to the non-Beneventan hand of the Cava Gregory MS. 7. That the variant readings just mentioned were made by a South Italian will be admitted by everyone familiar with the Beneventan style of writing. Is it not reasonable to suppose that they were made in the very abbey where the Cavensis is still preserved?

If the above account of the variant readings is not incongruous with the facts of the case, then the surmise made by the late Abbot Amelli as to how the Codex came to Italy seems attractive and even plausible.<sup>19</sup> He suggests that the precious and beautiful Bible once belonged to the Benedictine Mauritius Bordinho, later known as anti-Pope Gregory VIII, who had been Bishop of Coimbra and archbishop of Braga and a welcome visitor at the abbey in La Cava in the first decades of the twelfth century. This is no more than a conjecture; yet a hypothesis which connects this important Spanish manuscript with an Iberian Benedictine of high station who had relations with the Benedictine house in which the manuscript is now preserved has something at least in its favor.

LA CAVA, Archivio della Badia della SS<sup>ma</sup> Trinità, MS. I.

BIBLA SACRA.

VISIGOTHIC MINUSCULE. SAEC. IX<sup>2</sup>

Foll. 303; 320 × 268 mm. < 265–275 × 215 mm. > normally in three columns of 54–56 lines (the lists of names on fol. 80<sup>v</sup> ff. are in six columns). Ruling on hair-side, each leaf singly before folding. Double bounding lines enclose each column. Prickings in the outer margin guided ruling. Gatherings normally of eights, signed by a Roman numeral often followed by QT (quaternio) and enclosed in an artfully decorated and coloured border. Hair-side outside quires. Colophons and headings mostly in elongated capitals in alternating red and black or red and blue, or in hollow capitals filled with colours, the whole usually enclosed in coloured

<sup>19</sup> See Dom Mattei-Ceraschi, *Codices Cavenses*, Pars I, p. 10 (Cava 1935).

ornamental frames of graceful lines; red is used for the first words of chapters. Punctuation: the low or medial point marks the various pauses; other points are later additions; the interrogation point is not used; Job, the Psalms, and other metrical parts of the Bible are written per cola et commata. Abbreviations (apart from Nomina Sacra) include: **autm** = autem; **b** with the prolonged curve of the bow sweeping boldly below the line = bis (fol. 18 etc.) **b<sup>e</sup>**, **I<sup>e</sup>**, **m<sup>e</sup>** = bus, ius, mus; **Ihrs fm** = Ierusalem; **Srhl** = Israel; **krsmi** = karissimi; **mm** = meum; **msrcdae** = misericordiae; **nmn**, **nmne** = nomen, -ine; **nn** = non; **nsam** = nostram; **oma** = omnia; **p** and **p** = per; **pplm** = populum; **q** = que; **qnm** = quoniam; **t** with cross-bar transected vertically = tum; **usi** = uestri; the horizontal abbreviation stroke is surmounted by a dot except when placed over **q** (que), or when transecting the shafts of **h** or **l**. Omitted **m** at word or line-end is marked by a flourish, usually with a dot above. Spelling: the most conspicuous feature is the perverse misuse of **h** (hadam, ha, homnia, het). Ornamental pages decorated with coloured crosses are seen on foll. Iv and 143; on some pages containing prefatory matter the written space is cruciform and various colours are used in the text (foll. 143v, 194, 194v, 220, 220v, 224v, 225); horse-shoe formed arches enclose the canon tables (foll. 221-222v); initials show the rope pattern or the leaf or bird or fish motif; the colours used are red, pink, blue, green, yellow; gold is also used (foll. Iv, 143, 143v) Parchment good; fol. 221 is stained blue, fol. 194, 224 and 253 are stained purple. Ink grey or greyish brown, on the ornamental pages red, pink, blue, green, yellow and white inks are used for the text. Script of the Biblical text is a finely penned, very regular Visigothic minuscule with a general inclination towards the left; uncial **d** is more common than minuscule; **I**-longa is used initially and medially for the intervocalic sound; it is occasionally forked at the top (**Yn**, **aYt**) and is not to be confused with letter **Y**; there are frequent ligatures: **ern**, **rtem**, etc.; the same type of script, exceptionally tiny, is used for exegetic marginalia on foll. 186v f. Uncial is used for prefaces and for the opening sentences of books; sloping **bd**-uncial is used often for capitula (foll. 57v, 58, 64, 64v etc.); half-uncial is used for the argumenta of the Pauline Epistles (foll. 255v etc.) and where two prologues occur one is in uncial, the other in half-uncial (foll. 181v and 239); Rustic capital is used for some opening verses and for the scribe's signature: **DANILA SCRIP-TOR**, on fol. 166v. Some marginalia are in sloping uncial (fol. 14v) or in ordinary minuscule. Beneventan variant readings saec. XII in. occur on foll. 100, 254v (see facs.). Here and there are Arabic notes (foll. 32, 33), once a Hebrew note (fol. 98). The whole MS. is in excellent condition.

Catalogues and facsimiles:—Dom B. Gaetani D'Aragona, *I manoscritti membranacei della biblioteca della SS. Trinità di Cava* published as Appendix to Vol. I of *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*; two plates (Naples 1873). D. Leo Mattei-Cerasoli, *Codices Cavenses Pars I*, pp. 1ff. (Cava 1935); Silvestre, (*Pal. Univ.* cited above n. 7); the plate is composite; C. U. Clark, *Coll. Hisp.* (cited above n. 18) plates 13-14 (reduced); Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire* etc. (see above n. 12) fig. 28 (fol. 24); De Lozoya, *Hist. de l'arte Hisp.* (cited above n. 14) fig. 397.

For other works, see notes 11, 12, 17, 18, and L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra* (Munich 1907); Z. García Villada, *Palcografía Española* (Madrid 1923), and A. Millares Carlo, *Tratado de Paleografía Española* (Madrid 1932).