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Cover: By permission of the British Library Board. Detail of Daniel's vision of the four beasts from the sea and the Ancient of Days (Daniel 7:2-10). Additional MS 11695 (the "Silos Apocalypse"), fol. 240r. Spain (Silos), 1091–1109.

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Brief Notices

The Scribes of the Silos Apocalypse
(London, British Library, Add. MS 11695) and
the Scriptorium of Silos in the Late Eleventh Century

By Ainoa Castro Correa

Preface

In the late eleventh century, Abbot Fortunio decided to enlist the scribes living in the monastery of Silos, near Burgos, in the time-consuming and costly task of copying for the monastery one of the most significant peninsular best sellers of the Middle Ages: a *Beatus*, a commentary on the book of Revelation. In doing so, he was continuing a long-lasting Iberian tradition originating in the late eighth century, already popular and yet far from over. Fortunio was taking advantage of the fruitful efforts of his predecessor, Abbot Domingo, to restore the Benedictine community of Silos, left in ruins after the Muslim raids of the late tenth century. But what was the process of copying this book? How did it all start, and what did this work mean for the monastery of Silos?

The colophons and historical data held in this *Beatus*, now known as the Silos Apocalypse (London, British Library, Additional MS 11695), inform the reader about the commissioners under whom the copy was produced, the scribes who engaged in that task, the illuminators who created one of the most significant extant examples of Mozarabic or northern Christian art, and when and where it all happened. But, is all the contextual information the codex provides accurate? In this article, the Silos Apocalypse is thoroughly analyzed to unveil the identity of its scribes, what can be known about their professional careers, their cultural context, and how this codex fits within the written production of the monastery of Silos in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.

Introduction

The monastery of San Sebastián (later Santo Domingo) de Silos is a Benedictine community with early medieval origins located in the Tabladillo Valley, near the city of Burgos in northern Spain. The *cenobium*, like many others on the *meseta* (plateau), was funded by a local noble family to ease the reorganization of the land and its people as the area was recovered from the Muslims in the early tenth century, when Castile was yet a county of the kingdom of León and the Iberian Peninsula's political borders were still taking shape. Very little is known about the first century or so of the

monastery's history, until the Muslim raids common to the central peninsula reached it in the late tenth century, resulting in its abandonment and the likely dispersion of its inhabitants and possessions to other, more fortunate, centers. It is supposed that the monastery was still deserted at the beginning of the eleventh century, for around 1040, King Fernando I decided to restore it, summoning a new abbot from another nearby center. Once restored, the monastery of Silos flourished as a major center of piety and Christian devotion, dedicated to pastoral duties and to the writing and copying of sacred texts, producing one of the most significant collections of medieval codices preserved. Among that collection is the Silos Apocalypse.

Silos rivaled the other notable northern monasteries, such as San Millán de la Cogolla, in what is today La Rioja; San Pedro de Valeránica; and San Pedro de Cardeña, also near Burgos, in the calligraphic expertise of its manuscripts and scribes.[1] Many codices have been attributed to Silos. However, a clear contextualization of all these books, the copyists, and the monastery itself has yet to be established. This article is a result of my exploration of the importance of Silos in the last decades of the eleventh century and the first decade of the twelfth, with particular attention to the Silos Apocalypse as a starting point for a better understanding of this cultural hub of written production in northern Iberia.

The codex widely known as the Silos Apocalypse, kept at the British Library since the mid-nineteenth century,[2] belongs to one of the most essentially Iberian manuscript traditions: the "Beatuses." It is one example of many preserved copies of this work,[3] each one transmitting a thorough, passionate, and lavishly illuminated commentary on the Apocalypse of Saint John of Patmos, as well as other texts, such as Saint Isidore's treatise *De adfinitatibus et gradibus* and the *Commentary on Daniel* by Saint Jerome, which were commonly added to the volume from as early as the tenth century. The name "Beatus" used to refer to all these codices comes from the supposed author of the first exemplar, Beatus of Liébana, a monk who almost certainly lived in San Martín de Turieno (later Santo Toribio de Liébana) and who may have been born there or in the southern Iberian Peninsula before settling in the sheltered mountains of Cantabria, in the far north, after the Muslim arrival in 711.[4]

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[1] For recent debate on written production in northern peninsular scriptoria, see José Antonio Fernández Flórez, "Escribir en los monasterios altomedievales del Occidente peninsular (siglos VIII–XII)," in *Lugares de escritura: El monasterio*, ed. Vicent Raimon Baldaquí Escandell (Alacant, Spain, 2016), 17–67, esp. 29–32.

[2] On the provenance of the Silos Apocalypse (BL Add. MS 11695), and the collection of Visigothic script manuscripts at the British Library, see Ainoa Castro Correa, "Codex of the Month (X–XI): Visigothic Script Manuscripts at the British Library," *Littera Visigothica* (2015), http://litteravisigothica.com /articulo/codex-of-the-month-x-xi-visigothic-script-manuscripts-at-the-british-library (last accessed 13 November 2019).

[3] A total of thirty-four medieval copies and two sixteenth-century ones by the latest count. See Ana Suárez González, "El *Beato* del archivo histórico provincial de Zamora," *Hispania Sacra* 55 (2003): 435–39; Vicente García Lobo, "Beato y los "beatos": Tradición de un texto medieval," in *Actas del XI congreso internacional de la Asociación hispánica de literatura medieval: Universidad de León, 20 al 24 de septiembre de 2005*, ed. Armando López Castro and María Luzdivina Cuesta Torre, vol. 1 (León, 2007), 75–78. See also Ainoa Castro Correa, "Online Catalogue of Visigothic Script Codices," *Littera Visigothica*, http:// www.litteravisigothica.com (last accessed 13 November 2019).

[4] See Bernard F. Reilly, "Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, ed. John P. O'Neill et al. (New York, 1993), 3–12, at 7.

Both the figure of Beatus, the monk, and the "Beatuses," the codices, have been extensively discussed in a wide variety of disciplines, with scholars reaching very different yet complementary conclusions, which has made Beatus and this collection of codices one of the best-known author-codex pairs of Iberian medieval manuscript production.[5] The original was written in 776, its copies continued to be best sellers throughout the Middle Ages, and even today they are greatly esteemed for their doctrinal content and impressive artistic value.

Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* was a product of the monk's agitated religious and political context,[6] putting forth a summary of medieval doctrine and theological symbolism,[7] and as such it represents a good example of the methods of education of Beatus's time,[8] perpetuated throughout the centuries and adapted to changing cultural contexts. As books for preparing a Christian soul for the Apocalypse and intended for the transcendental comprehension of medieval Christian thought, the "Beatuses" are an open window to the medieval Iberian Peninsula, regardless of the perspective from which one wants to address them.

Of special note is that the Silos Apocalypse may be one of the best preserved and most remarkable of the "Beatuses" for its illuminations and the calligraphic expertise displayed by the copyists who were its material authors, their hands being among the best exponents of the Visigothic minuscule script in use in northern Iberia. But this codex is also exceptional for the detailed historical information it provides, mostly through its colophons, which allows us to place it in a specific cultural context and to study not only how the process of copying the text proceeded but also how a group of calligraphers and illuminators worked together to make it possible and, moreover,

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[5] Among the extensive bibliography on the topic, basic references are: *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana (Madrid, noviembre 1976)*, 3 vols., Grupo de estudios Beato de Liébana 1 (Madrid, 1978–80), and *Silos: Un milenio; Actas del congreso internacional sobre la Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. Saturnino López Santidrián and José Antonio Fernández Flórez, 4 vols., Studia Silensia 25–28 (Burgos-Silos, 2003). As a curiosity, see Antonio Martín Araguz, Maria Cristina Bustamante Martínez, et al., "Pareidolia en los códices visigóticos iluminados de Beato de Liébana," *Neurología* 17 (2002): 633–42.

[6] On the genesis of the "Beatuses," identified families, and the historical context that led to their production, see Ainoa Castro Correa, "Codex of the Month (II): London, BL, Add. Ms. 11695 (1) The 'Beatos,'" *Littera Visigothica* (November 2014), http://www.litteravisigothica.com/articulo/codex-of-the-month-ii -british-library-add-ms-11695-1-the-beatos (last accessed 13 November 2019); and John Williams, "The History of the Morgan Beatus Manuscript," in *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript*, ed. John Williams and Barbara A. Shailor (New York, 1991), 11–22, at 20. On Adoptionism and its meaning to the "Beatuses" tradition, see Emilio Mitre and Cristina Granda, *Las grandes herejías de la Europa cristiana (380–1520)*, Colección Fundamentos 82 (Madrid, 1983), 43–48; Roger E. Reynolds, "The Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne," in *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy*, Collected Studies 927 (Farnham, 2009), 919–21. On the significance of the "Beatuses" in a theological context, see James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK, 2014). On the political context, see Miguel Corella Lacasa, "Notas para una lectura política de la obra del Beato de Liébana," *Res Publica: Revista de Historia de las Ideas Políticas* 17 (2007): 11, 19, 26.

[7] Elena Ruiz Larrea, "La iconografía apocalíptica en los Beatos," in *Milenarismos y milenaristas en la Europa medieval: IX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, del 3 al 7 de agosto de 1998*, ed. José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Logroño, 1999), 101–36.

[8] Elisa Ruíz García, "Beato de Liébana: Un testigo de su tiempo (siglo VIII)," in *VIII Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación de la Hispania altomedieval (siglos VI–X)*, ed. Nicolás Ávila Seoane, Manuel Joaquín Salamanca López, and Leonor Zozaya Montes (Madrid, 2009), 213–22.

what the undertaking of such a task meant for a community—in other words, how it fit into the general context of its manuscript production. Yet the wealth of detailed information the codex provides, and the significant skill and traditionalism of its scribes, have somehow obscured the codex's history.

Colophons are not always to be trusted. Nevertheless, current scholarship on the Silos Apocalypse has accepted the information provided there and perpetuated the idea that the two self-identified amanuenses were the only ones to intervene, one after another, in copying the codex,[9] and that a sole illuminator, the one alluded to in the codex, was likely responsible for its illumination.[10] Likewise, it has been suggested that this "Beatus" was produced in response to a specific liturgical program imposed by the central royal administration even for manuscripts written in Visigothic script and following Mozarabic archetypes.[11] In this article I will challenge these statements and show that my careful review of the codex reveals a much more complex context for both the book and the scriptorium with which it is associated.

I. The Silos Apocalypse

I.1. *The Opening Text*

The Silos Apocalypse is a composite codex formed of two clearly distinguishable parts. The codex opens with four misbound leaves sewn together, which contain parts of a Mozarabic antiphonary,[12] while the second contains the *Liber Apocalypsin* in twelve books that gives the volume its name, plus some miscellaneous texts attributed to Isidore, Jerome, Gregory, and Augustine.[13] The four leaves of the antiphonary seem to have been copied in an unknown center in the early eleventh century.[14] It has been supposed they were added to the volume when it was bound as a memorial to

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[9] See, for example, Miguel C. Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader: Historical and Codicological Aspects of the Silos Beatus," in *Beatus of Liébana: Codex of Santo Domingo de Silos Monastery*, ed. Miguel Vivancos and Ángela Franco, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 2001–03, 2:19–69, at 57), as one of the most recent studies. All references consistently promote the same theory except for one: Ann Boylan, "Manuscript Illumination at Santo Domingo de Silos (Xth to XIIth Centuries)," (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1990), 215. Boylan identified two hands more, one for fols. 132v–134v and another for fols. 154v–155r (compare with Appendix 2), although she did not maintain this hypothesis in her later publications. See Ann Boylan, "The Silos Beatus and the Silos Scriptorium," in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris, Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 26 (Leiden, 2005), 173–205.

[10] Scholarship published on the illustrations of the Silos Apocalypse has proven to be more skeptical, agreeing on diminishing the role of the identified *magister* illuminator and proposing his collaboration with one of the known copyists acting as an illuminator. See, for example, Ángela Franco, "Observations on the Illustrations of the Silos Beatus Manuscript," in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone*, ed. Martin and Harris, 207–33. The relationship between both professionals, and consideration of other possible collaboration, however, has not been explored.

[11] See, for example, Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 173, 179–83, 184–86, 188, and Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London, 1998), 63, 65.

[12] Dom Louis Brou, "Un antiphonaire mozarabe de Silos d'après les fragments du British Museum," *Hispania Sacra* 5 (1952): 341, 344–47, edition 356.

[13] See Appendix 1 for an up-to-date description of the volume, including further identification of the texts, and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_1169 (last accessed 13 November 2019).

[14] Brou, "Antiphonaire," 366.

and sign of respect for the Mozarabic liturgical tradition, which had been banished throughout the peninsula in the late eleventh century.[15] The *Liber Apocalypsin*, in addition to its addenda, is attributed to the monastery of Silos, and was copied at the end of the eleventh century; the place and date are determined by the many colophons and other historical information within the codex.

The first scribe we find working in the Silos Apocalypse (except for the Antiphonary, whose leaves are a fitting outer binding to the codex) added a short introduction to the whole volume, telling the reader about not only the topic of the book but also its main sources.[16] After this prologue, the same scribe indicates to whom the codex was dedicated, among whom he significantly includes Abbot Domingo.[17] Domingo was the Benedictine monk of San Millán de la Cogolla, in La Rioja, whom King Fernando I called on to restore the ecclesiastical community at the monastery of San Sebastián de Silos since at least the mid-tenth century.[18] After the initial turbulent decades common to all early medieval monasteries in the *meseta*, which were experiencing Muslim raids in the late tenth century, and the general disorder of Silos's reorganization, Domingo proved to be an exceptional choice. Thanks to the royal and noble support he was adept at attracting, Silos became known not only for its territorial power and rigorous piety but also for its scriptorium.[19] There has been much debate on whether Silos's atelier was active before and/or survived for long after Domingo's death in 1073 and his acclamation as a saint soon thereafter.[20] The manuscript evidence is limited to a period ranging from approximately 1070 to

[15] On the progressive change from the Mozarabic to the Roman rite, see Ainoa Castro Correa, "Visigothic Script vs. Caroline Minuscule: The Collision of Two Cultural Worlds in Twelfth-Century Galicia," *Mediaeval Studies* 78 (2016): 203–42. The Mozarabic or Hispanic liturgy seems to have been suppressed in Silos c.1088. See Jordi Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, Biblioteca litúrgica 9 (Barcelona, 1998); Miguel C. Vivancos, "L'introduction de la liturgie romaine dans les monastères de Silos et de San Millán à travers leurs manuscrits," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 232 (2015): 339. Regarding the practical implications of the liturgical change, see Walker, *Views of Transition*.

[16] "In the name of the unbegotten, the son, and ancestors joined forever as one with the nature of the Deity. Here begins the Book of Revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, set out and declared by these authors, that is, Jerónimo, Agustino, Ambrosio, Fulgentio, Gregorio, Ticonio, Ireneo, Abringio, and Isidoro." See Appendix 1 (BL Add. MS 11695, fol. 6v, ll.1–4); Pedro's introduction to the volume: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_11695_f006v (last accessed 13 November 2019).

[17] "In honor of Saint Sebastian and all the martyrs of Christ, and of Holy Maria forever virgin, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Saint Martin, bishop, and Saint Domingo, confessor of Christ and abbot." See Appendix 1 (BL Add. MS 11695, fol. 6v, ll.5–7).

[18] The first charter related to Silos is dated 954 (Count Fernán González and his wife, Sancha, granted Abbot Placentius and the San Sebastián monks the site on which the monastery was to be built); Domingo arrived at Silos c.1040. See Manuel Sánchez Mariana, "Los códices del Monasterio de Silos," *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 63 (1984): 219–36; Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader," 21–22, and n. 9. Count Fernán González also made grants to other monasteries in the area, among them San Pedro de Cardeña. See Salustiano Moreta Velayos, *El monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña: Historia de un dominio monástico castellano (902–1338)*, Acta Salmanticensia: Filosofía y letras 63 (Salamanca, 1971), 50.

[19] Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *The Art Bulletin* 21/4 (1939): 369 (following Marius Férotin, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* [Paris, 1897]); Ann Boylan, "The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos and Its Catalogues (XIth–XVIIIth Centuries)," *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 3 (1992): 59.

[20] Anthony Lappin, *The Medieval Cult of Saint Dominic of Silos*, Texts and Dissertations 56 (Leeds, 2002).

1125, in which Silos's codices were among the most precious manuscripts produced in the Iberian Peninsula.

The introduction to the Silos Apocalypse is the natural starting point for reconstructing the cultural context of the codex itself. Its scribe identifies himself as Pedro.[21] One of the characteristics of the codex is the considerable amount of historical information it provides in comparison with other coeval codices, given that it offers not only the names of the scribes who copied it—or of some of them, at least, as we will see—and the dates of their interventions but also specific references to where it was copied, namely, the monastery of Silos. It is not uncommon to find direct historical references, although perhaps not with the same degree of detail, in Visigothic script codices of the period in which the Silos Apocalypse was copied.[22] However, if we consider the corpus of codices written in that graphic system as a whole, it should be noted that not many can be contextualized with certainty from the information they provide. Thus, as a securely dated and localized codex, the Silos Apocalypse is special—even without considering the exceptional illumination program developed to help with the transmission of the text. The historical information it provides through paleographical analysis allows the scribes who intervened in the codex to be well placed in time and space, which in turn enables the examination of how a team of amanuenses worked together to undertake the task and, moreover, through study of their hands, how the graphic system used evolved.

Pedro added not only the first introductory text alluded to above but also the codex's final one, a colophon. This is not the proper colophon of the codex (fols. 277v–278r), to which we will refer later, but a shorter one inserted in a blank space toward the end (fol. 275v). In doing so, Pedro identifies himself as the last scribe to intervene in the manuscript, given the historical information provided by the colophon text he added, and also as the most "modern" one, considering the graphic characteristics of his hand. Pedro, a prior and relative of Abbot Nuño, shares information that is extremely useful for understanding the codex.[23] He explains that the process of copying

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[21] "He who stood silent before the judge, may he as ruler set free with me Pedro the first. In the glory of his second coming and the future day of judgment, I shall enjoy his grace and the reward for my labor; when the Lord rising at last from his sepulchre on the third day, restoring all the fathers to the garden, then I who have fallen in sin shall rise again and I shall enjoy the reign of heaven standing on the right hand of the patriarchs. Amen." See Appendix 1 (BL Add. MS 11695, fol. 6v, ll.8–14). This part of the text is copied from Manchester, John Ryland's Library, MS lat. 89 (Cassiodorus's *Super Psalmos*), fol. 4r, a codex copied by Endura at San Pedro de Cardeña (Burgos) c.949. See Bénédictins du Bouveret, ed., *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle*, vol. 5, *Colophons signés P–Z (14889–18951)*, Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 6 (Fribourg, 1979), 285; Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa*, Colección Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa 31 (León, 1983), 335–36; Agustín Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, vol. 2, *Álbum*, ed. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, Anscari Manuel Mundó Marcet, José Maria Ruiz Asencio, Blas Casado Quintanilla, and Enrique Lecuona Ribot (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999), 220, https://www.librarysearch.manchester.ac.uk/permalink/44MAN_INST/elks2a/alma99297796110370163 (last accessed 13 November 2019).

[22] Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*.

[23] "In the name of the Lord, this Book of Apocalypse was begun at the order of Abbot Fortunio; but, upon his death, a very small part of this work had been done. The same thing happened in the time of Abbot Nuño. But, at last, in the time of Abbot Juan, master Pedro the prior, a relative of Abbot Nuño, completed it and illuminated it throughout. And it was finished on the kalends of the same month of July in which died the glorious Alfonso, Emperor of all Spain, in the era Tma CXL VIIa." See Appendix 1 (BL Add. MS 11695, fol. 275vb).

the manuscript began with Fortunio, abbot of Silos after Domingo's death, from 1073 to 1100. Upon Fortunio's passing, very little was done to the manuscript (whether Pedro refers here only to the text or also to the illumination program is a matter to which we shall return later): the copy was unfinished and work on it only advanced slightly, and it seems that it remained so under Fortunio's successor, Abbot Nuño (1100–06). Soon after, Abbot Juan (1106–43) must have found the resources to continue the work, since Pedro, our first identified scribe, was called in to finish the codex by adding the illuminations, which he had done by July 1109. Pedro thus reveals himself to be an illuminator as well as a scribe. His hand is a Visigothic script heavily mixed with Caroline minuscule features: a transitional Visigothic minuscule script. Through comparison of Pedro's hand with that of the scribe who started the process of copying the Silos Apocalypse (fol. 8r), using a Visigothic minuscule script without external features, the codex displays the evolution of this writing system in the monastery of Silos in a particularly interesting time, a period of liturgical and graphical change, as the traditional Hispanic Visigothic script and Mozarabic rite were superseded by the new European Caroline minuscule script and the Roman rite,[24] the focus of the next section.

I.2. *And the Work Began: The Calligraphic Expertise of Hand 1*

The copying of an Apocalypse like that of Silos was a highly elaborate and expensive task for the community; one must bear in mind that it entailed the use of the finest writing support that Silos could afford and recruitment of the most skilled personnel available, both scribes and illuminators. The parchment used throughout the codex is of excellent quality, as is the work done in the illumination program that accompanies the text. The scribes nevertheless show striking differences in levels of practical skill, which allows us to reconsider how the whole process of copying the codex may have initially been envisioned and, in practice, completed.

After the Antiphonary and Pedro's introduction to the codex, the process of copying the Silos Apocalypse began with an initial quire, which starts on fol. 8r in the current binding of BL Add. MS 11695 (see Appendix 2 for correspondence between hands and quires). The scribe who first intervened is identified for practical purposes as Hand 1.

Hand 1 is the most skilled scribe involved in producing the Silos Apocalypse. His is a highly calligraphic hand, a flawless Visigothic minuscule script sitting perfectly on the baseline (Fig. 1).[25] From its fluidity, which can be seen in the first stroke of each letter and the development of ascenders and descenders, it can be assumed

[24] On this topic, see n. 15 and Ainoa Castro Correa, "The Regional Study of Visigothic Script: Visigothic Script vs. Caroline Minuscule in Galicia," in *"Change" in Medieval and Renaissance Scripts and Manuscripts: Proceedings of the 19th Colloquium of the Comité international de paléographie latine (Berlin, 16–18 September, 2015)*, ed. Martin Schubert and Eef Overgaauw, Bibliologia 50 (Turnhout, 2019), 25–35.

[25] The paleographic analysis of the codex BL Add. MS 11695 here summarized represents part of an experimental project aimed at testing whether and how the incorporation of digital tools could change this kind of research. The results are currently being assessed and will be published shortly. For informal updates on the development of the project, see http://www.litteravisigothica.com/.
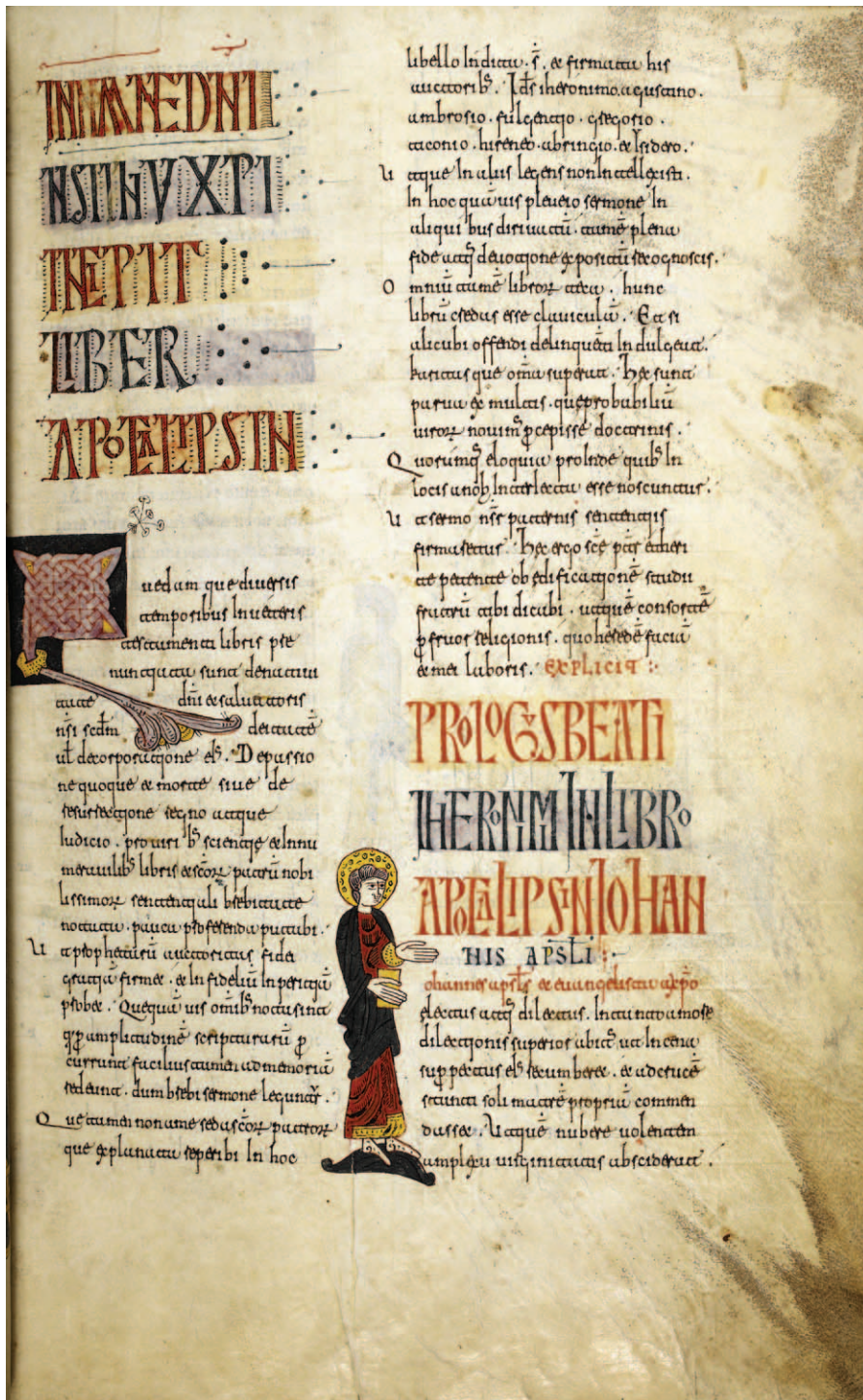
Fig. 1. London, British Library, Additional MS 11695, fol. 8r. By permission of the British Library Board.

that by the time he started copying the codex, he was already a well-trained scribe with several years of experience. He was a remarkable amanuensis whose expertise was likely sought for other codices and perhaps also for charters, but no other written testimonies of him have yet been identified, though they likely existed.

Analysis of Hand 1's minuscule alphabet (Fig. 2.1) shows that it is particularly remarkable for its calm and efficiently executed strokes—which make it a slender and elegant hand, embellished by the development of the last rising stroke of the letters *e*, *r*, and *t*—and also for its consistent adherence to the graphic model the scribe was replicating. He presents limited variation through allographs, and when they do occur, they tend to be scarce and are usually found within the same textual context. For example, in some isolated examples among the quires that Hand 1 copied, besides the characteristic open *a* proper to the typological variant employed, he used a rustic capital form, not only in numerals (*LX^{L}A* [fol. 10vb]), as is common with many Visigothic script scribes, but also in some words (*signati* [fol. 10ra12]). The Caroline minuscule form of *a*, one of the very few examples of external influence on Hand 1, as will be discussed, is also present, but in this case only in those initials that highlight the beginning of a new section of text and not in the text itself (e.g., fol. 18rb). The two allographs of the letter *d* are used with a clear tendency corresponding to the different pronunciation this letter had depending on its position within a word; thus, the minuscule form of *d* can be found in the middle of a word when the letter immediately before or after is a consonant, whereas the uncial form is used at the end of the word
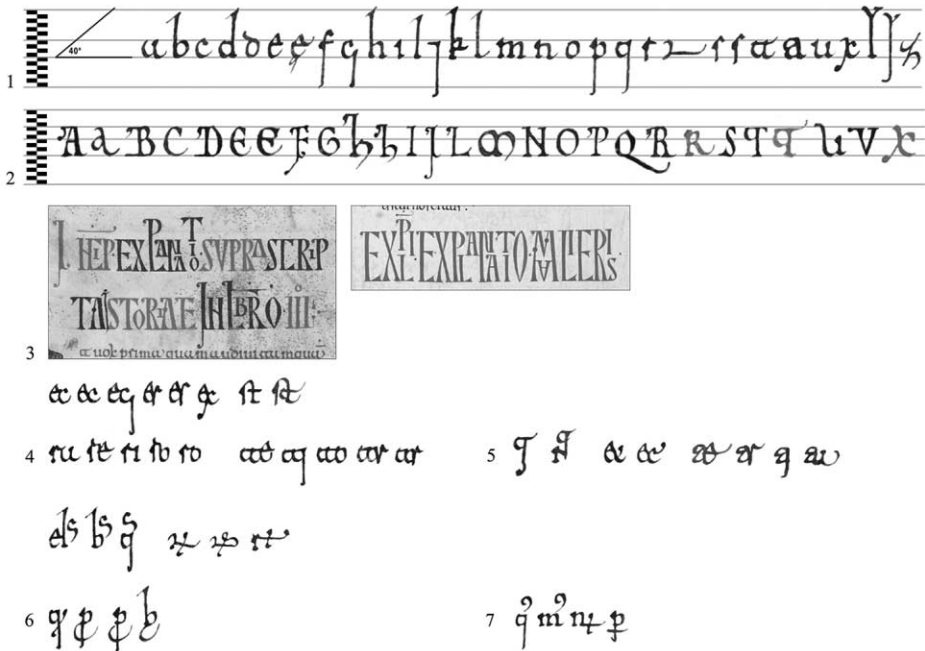
Fig. 2. Hand 1: (1) minuscule alphabet, (2) majuscule alphabet, (3) detail of incipit (fol. 83v) and explicit (fol. 151v), (4) ligatures, (5) nexuses, (6) general signs of abbreviation, (7) abbreviation signs added after quire V. Montage: author. See the online edition for a color version of this image.

and in the middle when between vowels. Another example is the allograph of *r* known as square-*r*, which is generally used in Visigothic minuscule script after the letter *o* and before the sign corresponding to the ending *-um*. Hand 1 rarely used it, indicating a canonical script still in an initial stage (mid-/late eleventh century). Isolated examples of an allograph of the letter *s*, which takes the form of an uppercase *S*, can also be found in Hand 1 at the end of a word, not necessarily at the end of a line (*primus* [fol. 9ra8]). To the two common allographs of *t*, minuscule and as inverted beta, the latter scarce and only in ligatures and nexuses, Hand 1 adds the cursive form common in Visigothic minuscule script at the end of a word after *n* (*habebant* [fol. 9vb26]). Another particularity of Hand 1, also frequent in other hands working on codices, is the use of a superscript *v* for the *u* in *-tur* (fol. 8ra19), which this scribe also employed in some other contexts, at the end of a line or not, and thus without a clear tendency (*posi**ᵗ* [fol. 10rb]).

The consistency shown in the minuscule alphabet employed by Hand 1 extends to his majuscule alphabet as well (Fig. 2.2): it is regular, traced with great ease, and presents small flourishes in the initial or final strokes of specific letters, especially in *H* and *I*. These uppercase forms were employed in the middle of the text when needed, although they particularly stand out when positioned at the beginning of a paragraph because they were placed outside the text box, to the left, and drawn in different colors, some in black and others in red.[26] The ingenious combination of black and red inks, which makes reading easier, is also used by this scribe to highlight important content throughout the text (such as the allusion to *alpha et omega* in fols. 21vb and 22ra) and in the introductory sentences of specific paragraphs. Also in red are roman numerals marking each new chapter of text in the margins or in the space left by a short previous line.

The visual presentation of the text being copied was clearly a concern for Hand 1. Throughout the quires he wrote, the main titles of each chapter are embellished by using elaborated display script[27] of capital letters in an epigraphic style alternating red and dark-blue ink, its background sometimes highlighted in yellow or in pale blue. The personal manner in which these elements are combined by each copyist distinguishes them. Judging by the graphic characteristics of the script of these titles and the way they merge with the text that follows, it can be said with some certainty that they were produced by the same scribe who copied the remaining text (with the exception of the incipit in fol. 131v and the incipit and explicit in fol. 133r, which are in a different style and perhaps the work of a different copyist). Thus, following a standardized terminology, Hand 1 used the following features to attract the attention of the reader (Fig. 2.3): (1) A specific design for the main title of the codex (fol. 8r; Fig. 1), which is classified as formal (the height of the letters is slightly larger than two interlinear spaces) and complex (the letters, besides being drawn in dark blue and

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[26] On this kind of codicological feature, see Ainoa Castro Correa, "Pricking, Visigothic Script Style," *Littera Visigothica* (2014) http://www.litteravisigothica.com/articulo/codicology-pricking-visigothic -script-style (last accessed 13 November 2019); Ainoa Castro Correa, "More on Codicology: Visigothic Script Codices; North vs. South," *Littera Visigothica* (2014), http://www.litteravisigothica.com/articulo /more-on-codicology-visigothic-script-codices-north-vs-south (last accessed 13 November 2019).

[27] On Visigothic display script, including all relevant bibliography, see Natalia Rodríguez Suárez, "La escritura publicitaria en los Beatos: El caso del Beato de Urgel, una primera aproximación," *Documenta & Instrumenta* 13 (2015): 183–96.

red, are outlined in black, shaded, and decorated with dots, the lines drawn in yellow and pale blue); (2) Incipits are presented with titles in which the lines of text tend to decrease gradually in size and category toward the main text, generally displaying formal or semiformal script (height of around two interlinear spaces, plus ascenders and descenders), followed by common script (height of one interlinear space, plus ascenders and descenders) or minor script (similar module to that of the main text). A background color is also added to each line, alternating yellow and pale blue to red and dark blue (fols. 8r [see Fig. 2], 79r); (3) Incipits (fols. 18r, 19r) and explicits (fols. 20v, 42v, 63v) are presented as semiformal or common titles—more usually the former, gradually decreasing in size to common (fols. 21v, 34r, 113v), and from common to minor titles (fols. 24v, 51v, 52v)—in dark blue and red, without further decoration (except for isolated examples, such as the explicits of fols. 59r and 63v or the incipit of fol. 77r); (4) Finits (fol. 18r) and, in some isolated cases, explicits (fol. 8r) are presented as minor titles in black, red, or red and dark blue, generally with some dotted decoration; (5) Some other sentences (subheadings) or words are highlighted in red and presented as minor titles (see *Apocalipsis Iesu Christi* [fol. 18r]; *De heresibus Christianorum* [fol. 43v]; *De supprestitione* [fol. 44r]).

In summary, a hierarchical structure of decorative initials is followed, drawing the corresponding lines of text and marking the main subdivisions or headings of the Apocalypse: main titles are formal titles with decoration; incipits tend to be formal or semiformal titles with decoration; explicits are semiformal or common titles with little decoration if any; finits are presented as minor titles; and, finally, subheadings and some relevant words are presented as minor titles too. Besides the height of the letters and the colors applied to them and to these titles, the way in which Hand 1 structures the letters themselves is also significant and is a distinguishing feature particular to this scribe. They are drawn forming nexuses ($D+E$, $I+N$, $M+E$, $N+C$, $N+E$), one letter superimposed over another, and with vowels nested in elaborate compositions, more so after quire XI. Many elaborate initials in black, red, yellow, and dark green were also added at the beginning of each chapter. These initials, with a few rare exceptions (Q in fol. 8r), give the impression of having been drawn after the text was written, as can be seen, for example, in the way the text accommodates the blank space left for an initial A in fol. 52v or in fol. 63v, which, instead of being drawn as an initial, was filled in by an anthropomorphic figure. Besides these initials, then, anthropomorphic figures were added (see fols. 8r, 8v, 52v, 54v), and it can be argued that they were drawn by the same hand, as they do not interfere with the distribution of the text on the page.

Maintaining a perfect representation of the graphical model, Hand 1 used ligatures and nexuses following the canon (see Figs. 2.4 and 2.5). The letters *a*, *e*, *f*, *l*, *r*, and *t* are always linked to the next, the letter *s* only links when in the ligature *s+t*, while *i* and *n* are found only in nexus. Ligatures are thus built with *e*, *r*, *s* (only *s+t* and it is not always used—see *testes* [fol. 10vb22] and *est* [fols. 10vb24]), and *t*, while nexuses are less frequently used with scarce examples of *I+T*, *N+T*, *e+t* and inverted beta *t+e* and *t+r* (inverted beta *t+j* and inverted beta *t+a* are rarely used, with one example each, *sacerdotjo* [fol. 87va] and *mota* [fol. 92rb], respectively).

The abbreviation system employed by Hand 1 also replicates that of Visigothic minuscule script. As such, it shows all the characteristics proper to a minuscule variant of the late eleventh century, but their specifics, i.e., the design of the general sign

to mark abbreviation and of those used to abbreviate endings, and their frequency, identify this scribe. The general sign stressing the lack of nasals *m/n* or an abbreviation is a horizontal line, its right side rising, with a dot (see Fig. 1 for examples). In cases where two or more abbreviations come together in the text, Hand 1 tends to merge what should be independent abbreviation signs (*dninsiIhuxpi* [fol. 22rb9, 99vb]), a peculiarity useful to individuate his work. As for the specific signs of abbreviation (Fig. 2.6), Hand 1 uses: (1) an *s*-shaped stroke after *b* (fol. 8r), *d* (fol. 77v), *i*-longa (fol. 8r), *l* (fol. 13v) (rare), *m* (fol. 8r), *n* (fol. 8v), *p* (fol. 11r), and *t* (fol. 8r) (rare) for the ending *-us*; (2) the same sign for *-ue* after *q* (fol. 8r); (3) an oblique stroke that crosses the last stroke of square-*r* (fol. 8r) for *-um*, a form that can vary slightly when following a regular minuscule *r* that is not preceded by an *o* (*profetarum* [fol. 9rb22]); (4) a sign similar to a G-clef that crosses the last stroke of square-*r* for the ending *-um* (*eorum* [fol. 9rb15]). This is as frequent as the previous sign in the first quire but is uncommon in the subsequent ones;[28] (5) the Visigothic form of *qui* (fol. 8r, fol. 89rb— very scarce; (6) the Visigothic script form of *per* (fol. 8r), the curly stroke over the descender of *p* linked (or not) to the lobe; (7) the characteristic ending *-is* marked by a stroke below *b* (fol. 8r). From quire V (see Fig. 2.7), and more or less continuously until quire XIII, however, the scribe's abbreviation system changes. He also employed: (1) a sign similar to a semicircle for the ending *-us* after *m* (*possumus* [fol. 80rb35]) and after *b* (*quibus* [fol. 84vb34]) combined with the *s*-shaped stroke thereafter, and in one case after *n* (*unus* [fol. 89rb]), less or no use from quire XIII on; (2) the same sign for *-ue* after *q* (*atque* [fol. 41ra16]), commonly used from fol. 81r on and with less or no use from quire XIII on; (3) an oblique stroke that crosses the last stroke of *n* for the ending *-um* (fol. 70rb); (4) the so-called "continental" form of *per* (*tripertita* [fol. 81ra]). As for the abbreviations, marked by the general sign, they generally follow the Visigothic script tradition, with the exception of the forms used to contract *episcopus*, *nomen*, *quod*, and *sicut* in the Caroline minuscule style. (A full list of abbreviations is given in Appendix 3).

The punctuation system is consistent throughout his work: the *punctus flexus* corresponds to a long pause and is always followed by a majuscule letter; the *punctus elevatus* is used to mark a short pause; three dots in a triangular formation indicate a change of line or of paragraph; *media distinctio* or *subdistinctio* were used for short pauses when reading (to breathe), while *punctus versus*[29] marks a short pause.

Finally, all of the orthographic peculiarities are consistent with those found in Visigothic script. The differentiation of minuscule and uncial *d* mentioned above (maintained with few exceptions: *arðens* [fol. 9va]); use of *ę* (very frequent, and not only in *nomina sacra* but also *quę*, *cęlo* . . .); (rare) use of *g* instead of *c* (*ęglam* [fol. 11r]); (rare) omission of *h* (*ypocritę* [fol. 11r]); (rare) use of *h* when not needed (*huxor* [fol. 75r]); lack of *h* when needed (*ębreo* [fol. 40v]); (rare) lack of *i* at the beginning of words (*storia* [fol. 18r]); use of three allographs of *i* (*i/I/j*): tall *I* at the beginning of the word when followed by a letter without ascender (*In*) (in general, with very few

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[28] This G-clef sign is proper to the cursive typological variant of Visigothic script, showing that this scribe was also familiar with at least some of the features of that variant, if not a polygraphic scribe. This characteristic is relevant to assess which charters could have been his work, since Visigothic cursive script is very unusual in codices.

[29] The use of *punctus versus* has been considered a Caroline minuscule feature. See Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), 35–40.

exceptions, also used in the abbreviation *Id* for *id est*), and in the middle of words as a consonant (*eIus*); *i-longa* to differentiate *ti/tj* (*scientję*); (rare) use of *k* instead of *c* (*karitatis* [fol. 20v]); and (rare) use of *x* instead of *s* (*sinixtra* [fol. 65r]). The prepositions *a*, *de*, and *in* tend to be connected with the following word (*aDeo* [fol. 11va]), as happens with the conjunction *et*. Otherwise, with a few exceptions (*queChristum* [fol. 12vb]), the separation of words is maintained.

Analyzing together all the work of Hand 1, one notes, significantly, that not only is the text more carefully written in the first folios—the general aspect of the script is more elegant—but that the graphic representation of the script model itself changes. Ascenders and descenders change slightly in height, becoming progressively shorter. The final stroke of the descenders also varies: slightly hooked to the left at the beginning, it turns increasingly toward the downstroke as a semicircle (see, e.g., *ex capi-/ ex plaga* on fol. 151v). Some nexuses are more frequent in or after specific quires (e.g., *I+T* and *N+T* after quire V, *t+e* after quire XI). The different signs used to mark abbreviation of the endings *-us*, *-um*, and *-ue* also evolved as mentioned: the sign similar to a G-clef characteristic of the cursive typological variant of Visigothic script was used by Hand 1 in his first quire to mark the ending *-um* after square-*r*; from quire V on, more or less until quire XIII, he added the sign similar to a semicircle for *-us* and *-ue* as well as the continental form of *per*; in terms of his abbreviation system, it is also significant that the Visigothic form of *per* changes progressively, the curly stroke over the descender of *p* being more likely to be detached from the lobe from quire V onward.

To elucidate why these changes occurred is not easy. It seems that, given the consistency of the graphic characteristics of the script used, the first five quires on which Hand 1 worked were copied one after another in a short period of time. In quire V, another hand, which will be discussed in the next section, intervened and, perhaps due to its influence or just because Hand 1 resumed his work a few months later, his hand had changed. It seems, therefore, that Hand 1 wrote quires I to V quickly, then left the work to come back and continue copying quires VI to XIX. It is also difficult to determine how long Hand 1 spent copying the Silos Apocalypse. Pedro's colophon on fol. 275v explains that all the text was copied in a first phase, started under Abbot Fortunio,[30] but it is clear that his hand evolved. Although its graphic peculiarities permit Hand 1 to be described as a canonical Visigothic minuscule script proper to the late eleventh century in the geographical area of Silos, and consistent with the ideal model of this typological variant, there are a few elements that speak about the cultural, and especially graphic, context in which it is placed. By this time, external graphic influence from the Caroline minuscule writing system started to show in northwestern Visigothic scribes, at first unobtrusively but reaching a peak in the second quarter of the twelfth century.[31] Hand 1 subtly incorporated Caroline minuscule features into

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[30] A scribe could copy half a folio or even more in a day. See Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, 2nd ed., Biblioteca de temas riojanos 28 (Logroño, 1991), 147–55. Hypothetically, then, he would take around a year to copy the whole codex. See also Deborah E. Thorpe, "Clever Sluggards? How Fast Did Medieval Scribes Work?," blog post on *The Scribe Unbound*, October 28, 2015, http://thescribeunbound.wordpress.com/2015/10/28/clever-sluggards-how-fast-did-medieval -scribes-work/ (last accessed 13 November 2019).

[31] See Castro, "Visigothic Script vs. Caroline Minuscule."

his hand: the allograph of *a*, used only in titles; the continental *per*; the sign similar to a semicircle; the list of abbreviations, almost all proper to the Visigothic script system; the forms of *episcopus* with theme *ep*, *nomen* with theme *nn*, *quod* contracted as *qd*, and *sicut* contracted omitting the vowels as *sct*.

If the graphic peculiarities shown by Hand 1 were not enough to individuate his intervention within the Silos Apocalypse, there are also two codicological features in the quires he copied that clearly identify him. Hand 1 wrote almost all the text contained in quires I to XIX of the Apocalypse, which form quires III to XXI of the codex in its current binding. All these quires are formed by quaternions, as are the remaining quires of the codex, apart from the Antiphonary: two bifolia added at the beginning of the Apocalypse, where Pedro wrote his introductory text, and quire VII of the Apocalypse (IX of the codex), which is a ternion. In the last folio of the quires copied by Hand 1, he added signatures to help order the work.[32] This practice is common in manuscripts from Silos,[33] although Hand 1 is the only scribe to do so here. Even on fols. 107v, 123v, and 139v, he included short indications for putting the quires together by copying the first words of the next quire as catchwords.

It can be said that Hand 1 was a highly skilled scribe; it can be seen in both the graphic characteristics of his hand and the expertise shown in adapting the text to the layout of the page and adding signatures. Placed in the context of the monastery of Silos in the late eleventh century, one could argue that he was the leading master of the scriptorium—understood as a group of scribes working toward the same goal—the scribe initially commissioned to copy the Silos Apocalypse and in charge of organizing the process. He copied almost half of the codex, almost all of its text. He did not work alone, however. Did he teach the scribes who continued the work after him? Can his graphic influence be traced in their hands?

I.3. *Quires V and XIX: Collaboration among Scribes in the Silos Apocalypse*

Fol. 38v, the last of quire IV of the Silos Apocalypse, was copied by Hand 1, but fol. 39r, the first of quire V, was not (Fig. 3). This quire, like quire XIX, is a particularly interesting example of how the process of producing a codex was conceived and how the work was divided among professional scribes and illuminator(s). In folio 39r, another scribe, here identified as Hand 2, resumed the text of the codex. His intervention was brief, since it was limited to fols. 39r, 40v, 45r, and 45v. The other folios of this quire were copied by Hand 1 (except for fols. 39v–40r, which correspond to a full-page illumination, a map), who continues the text in quire VI. Hand 2 therefore copied the text of the two external bifolia of quire V (although the last folio is missing, one can assume that it was more likely his work) without any specific differentiation in the text apparent in this change of hands—no blank spaces

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[32] See fol. 15v (end of first quire), fol. 23v (end of second quire), fol. 31v (end of quire third), fol. 38v (end of fourth quire; + fol. 32* wrong modern numbering), fol. 53v (end of sixth quire), fol. 59v (end of seventh quire), fol. 67v (end of eighth quire), fol. 75v (end of ninth quire), fol. 83v (end of tenth quire), fol. 91v (end of eleventh quire), fol. 99v (end of twelfth quire), fol. 107v (end of thirteenth quire), fol. 115v (end of fourteenth quire), fol. 123v (end of fifteenth quire), fol. 131v (end of sixteenth quire), fol. 139v (end of seventeenth quire), fol. 147v (end of eighteenth quire).

[33] On the *Liber commicus*, Paris, BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171, see Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos*, 456.
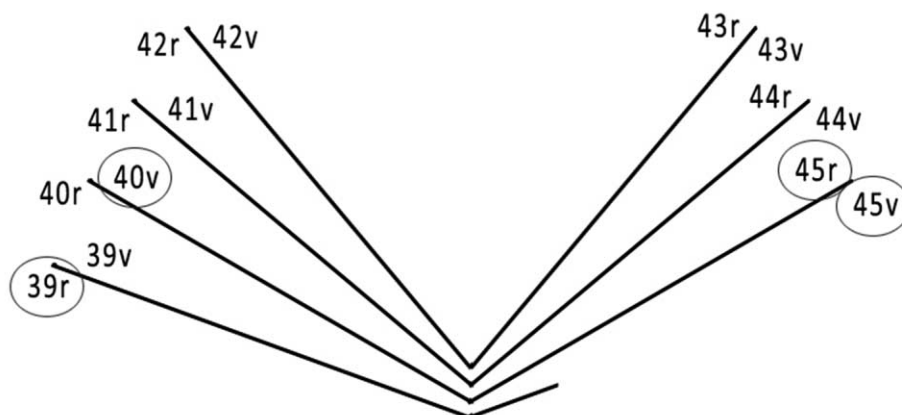
Fig. 3. Quire V: Hand 1 and Hand 2 (encircled). Graphic: author.

left in fols. 38v, 40v, or 44v. Quire V is the product of two different scribes work-ing, in all likelihood, in parallel instead of sequentially[34] and (at least) one illuminator.

The graphic differences between Hand 1 and Hand 2 are many but difficult to identify at first sight because of the hands' overall similarity. Hand 2 is also a cal-ligraphic hand. It does not show the same expertise as Hand 1 and there are dif-ferences in the general aspect of the script and the abbreviation system used. Hand 2 was also a proficient scribe but not very fluent. The general aspect of this hand is slightly less elegant, less carefully written than Hand 1, resulting in more variation.

Regarding the minuscule alphabet (Fig. 4.1), for example, the eye of Hand 2's letter *b* is not always closed. The eye of the minuscule *d* is more oval than round be-cause the first stroke that makes this letter reaches farther from the upright stroke than usual. The uncial form of *d* in Hand 2 shows an approach stroke with less flourish than that of Hand 1. The eye of the letter *e* is rounder in Hand 2, more triangular in Hand 1. The third stroke that makes the letter *f*—the protuberance to the left—is bigger in Hand 2: at the top it almost connects with the beginning of the first stroke in a diagonal. The open bow of *g* is broader in Hand 2. The differences in the form of the letter *i* are significant, this letter being one of the most difficult to perfect from a calligraphic point of view: in Hand 2, the approach stroke is thick, full of ink, while the end stroke, that which forms the serif of the letter, is almost a horizontal line added instead of the natural opposite to the initial stroke. The first stroke of *j* is al-most perfectly horizontal parallel to the headline in Hand 1, while it rises to the right in Hand 2. The end of the first upright stroke of *l* in Hand 2 is full of ink, as is *i*. The arches of the nasals *m* and *n* also show the difference in skill between the two hands: from a calligraphic point of view, the arch should end to become a vertical down-ward stroke, as it does in Hand 1, while the scribe of Hand 2 continues the cur-vature of the arch to reach the baseline, then also adds a calligraphically unnatural

Fig. 4. Hand 2: (1) minuscule alphabet, (2) majuscule alphabet, (3) ligatures, (4) nexuses, (5) general signs of abbreviation. Montage: author.

serif for both letters. A lack of roundness is also remarkable in the execution of the eye of the minuscule *q*, as in the *d*, and the oval is delimited by three perfectly differentiated strokes that vary from *q* to *q*. The way in which the minuscule *r* ends in Hand 2, a sort of hook to the left, is also characteristic and repeated in the descenders. The square-*r* is less natural in Hand 2, where the pen nib does not flow. The letter *s* again shows too much ink to the left. *X* is wider in Hand 2, straighter in Hand 1. The first stroke of the letter *z* bears more resemblance to a *c* in Hand 2 than in Hand 1. In general, the script in Hand 2 is less upright than in Hand 1, sometimes leaning to the right or to the left. Finally, the ascenders and descenders are considerably less fluent in Hand 2. It looks as though this scribe had difficulty with making straight vertical strokes. The endings of descenders, hooked to the left, are also less natural. There are a few other differences between the minuscule alphabets of Hand 1 and Hand 2 to consider. For example, Hand 2 does not use the cursive form of the letter *t* at the end of words as Hand 1 does, or the inverted beta form of *t*, also used in the latter. Hand 1 frequently employs superscript *v* for *u* in *-tur*, a peculiarity not found in Hand 2.

A comparison of the majuscule alphabets of the two hands shows the same difference in dexterity as in their execution of the minuscule alphabet. Thus, although Hand 2 clearly tries to imitate the design of uppercase letters used by his fellow scribe (Fig. 4.2), also distributing them outside the text box and alternating black and red inks, some strokes seem to be a challenge for him. The diagonal strokes of Hand 2's *A* merge at the top to meet the headstroke. The flourishes made by the two first strokes to the top left, clear and fluent in Hand 1, are in Hand 2 made by two strokes with a charge of ink linking both. The serifs also differ, being thinner in Hand 1. The eye of the uncial form of the letter *A* shows a tremulous stroke in Hand 2. The top of *C* is rendered with a firm single stroke in Hand 1, whereas the scribe responsible for Hand 2 needs to retouch the top of the letter in order to make a smooth curve, without much success. *G* is perhaps the letter that best shows the lack of fluency in Hand 2, rendered by three equally tremulous curved strokes. The difficulty in drawing uprights in Hand 2 is also notable in *H* (in the second example above, Hand 2 cuts the last stroke before meeting the baseline, and then needs to go back to finish it), *I* (rendered

with a double vertical stroke in both hands, it is perfectly upright in Hand 1), and *L*. The first stroke of the uncial *M* is also inexpertly drawn in Hand 2, particularly in the first and last curved strokes. A small flourish to the left is added at the top of *H*, *I*, *L*, *N*, *P*, and *R* in Hand 2, similar to that of Hand 1, but thicker and less elegant. The eyes of *O* and *P* are rounder in Hand 1, more oval in Hand 2. The many strokes needed in Hand 2 to render a *T* is also noteworthy. Besides the shape of the letters, their proportion varies in Hand 2. Thus, in summary, Hand 2 is less skilled, showing difficulty with upright strokes and the more elaborate curves and flourishes of the letters. It is a heavier hand, wider than it is tall, with more ink charging. In the four folios in which Hand 2 intervened, there are very few examples of display script, limited to the enhancement of subheadings as minor titles (fol. 45v).

The differences between Hand 1 and Hand 2 are less evident in the ligatures and nexuses employed (see Figs. 4.3 and 4.4) when one considers letters from which they are formed rather than their shape, since both scribes used the same type of script with the same basic graphic characteristics: letters *a*, *e*, *f*, *I*, and *r* are always connected to the following letter, and *s* when in the ligature *s+t* but not always (e.g., *Christi* [fol. 39ra2]). The only significant difference, besides the fact that *e+t* tends to form a ligature instead of a nexus, with no clear tendency (see *et* [fol. 39rb17 versus fol. 39rb18]), is that in Hand 2 there is no example of the nexus *I+T*, *N+T*, or inverted beta plus *a*, *e*, *j*, and *r* found in Hand 1.

Comparing the abbreviation system, the two hands present many dissimilarities, starting with the design of the general sign of abbreviation: in both hands this is a horizontal line with a dot in the interlinear space, but in Hand 1 it is much longer and rises to the right. In some exceptional cases, Hand 2 also uses a wavy line with a dot (e.g., *xpm* [fol. 39rb6]). As for the signs of abbreviation (see Fig. 4.5), Hand 2 uses a sign similar to a semicircle to mark the ending *-us* after the letters *b* (fol. 45rb), *m* (*primus* [fol. 40va8]), and *p* (*tempus* [fol. 40va]), and *-ue* after *q* (*usque* [fol. 40va7]). This sign is only used in Hand 1 after quire V and in combination with the characteristically Visigothic script sign similar to an *s* at the top of the letter on the headline, which is also used by Hand 2 after *b* (*Iacobus* [fol. 39ra19]), *d* (*gradus* [fol. 40vb]), *I* (*huIus* [fol. 39rb]), *m* (*credimus* [fol. 39rb]), *n* (*stefanus* [fol. 40va9]), and *t* (*coronatus* [fol. 40va14]). The ending *-um* after *r* is executed in Hand 2 by a combination of square-*r* plus a sign similar to a G-clef usually found in Visigothic cursive script with the same meaning, whereas Hand 1 mostly uses the regular form of square-*r* or minuscule *r* plus a vertical stroke that crosses its last stroke, as usual (*quorum* [fol. 40vb5]). Hand 2 does not use the ending *-is* or the Visigothic form of *qui*, which are written out fully. Perhaps more significantly, Hand 2 changes the regular Visigothic sign for *per*—a curved single stroke over the descender of *p*, as seen in Hand 1—rendering it with an angular two-stroke trace.

It does not seem to be worthwhile to compare the list of abbreviations used in both hands considering the scribes' dissimilar stint. However, it should be noted that different abbreviations appear in each hand, and that Hand 2 adds abbreviations by *singula littera* for *est* and *sunt*, none of which is significant in form. (See the full list of abbreviations in Appendix 3).

The punctuation systems used are, like the abbreviations, typical but differ slightly between the hands. The *punctus flexus* is employed in both to mark a long pause, and is followed by a majuscule letter. However, while in Hand 1 this punctuation

sign is formed by a *subdistinctio* and two vertical strokes merging like an upside-down *v* on the headline to the right of the dot, in Hand 2 the scribe uses a *sub-* or *media distinctio* plus a comma. The *punctus elevatus* also appears in both hands to mark a short pause, formed by a *subdistinctio* and an angular stroke above it, but this stroke is sharper in Hand 2. Moreover, Hand 1 uses *punctus versus* and three dots in a triangular formation, which do not appear in Hand 2.

The orthographic characteristics of Hand 2 are as expected, distinctive of Visigothic script scribes: differentiation of *d/∂* is as usual but not always employed (*predicandum* [fol. 39r]); very frequent use of *ę*; omission or lack of *h* when needed (*ębreo* [fol. 40va]); (rare) lack of *i* at the beginning of the word (*srael* [fol. 39rb]); use of three allographs of *i* but not always (*ipsum* [fol. 45v]); and use of *ph* instead of *f*, in contrast with Hand 1 (*prophetę* [fol. 39rb24]). In addition, *ad*, *de*, *et*, *in*, and *per* are usually connected to the subsequent word, making separation between words rare and not always well delimited. There is no significant difference between the linguistic features of the two hands, but again the copying stints are too dissimilar.

Hand 2 shows a different level of calligraphic skill than Hand 1. Features of this scribe's hand, such as the constant use of square-*r* after the letter *o* and before the sign for the ending -*um*, the more frequent use of a sign similar to a semicircle for the endings -*us* and -*ue*, the lack of abbreviation of the ending -*is* characteristic of Visigothic script, or of the Visigothic script form of *per*, show him to be coeval with his predecessor but slightly more open to the external influence of Caroline minuscule. Quire V was the work of two scribes, perhaps a master and an apprentice, working together with illuminator(s).

The other quire relevant to studying the collaboration among scribes in Silos's scriptorium in the late eleventh century is quire XIX, corresponding to folios 148r–155v of the codex (Fig. 5). While two scribes, Hand 1 and Hand 2, worked together on quire V, most likely in parallel, with illuminator(s), in quire XIX we can identify not two but three scribes: fols. 148r–151v were copied by Hand 1; fol. 152r is a full-page miniature; fols. 152v to the left-hand column of fol. 154v were copied by a different scribe, here called Hand 3; while the right-hand column of fol. 154v and subsequent folios were produced by yet another scribe, called Hand 4 (further
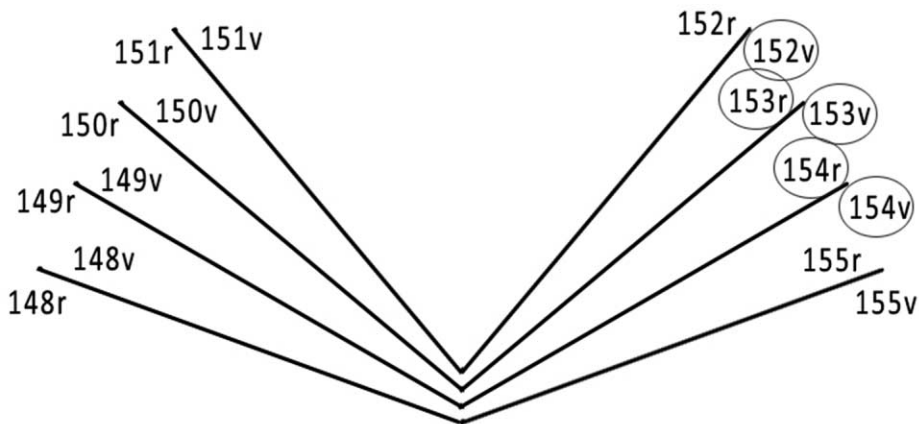
Fig. 5. Quire XIX: Hand 1, Hand 3 (encircled), and Hand 4. Graphic: author.

on Hand 4 in the next section). This latter is, with Hand 1, one of the main hands of the codex. Therefore, Hand 3 and Hand 4 worked sequentially, continuing Hand 1's stint one after the other.

Hand 3 proves to be almost as skilled as Hand 1. Hand 3 uses the same type of script as Hand 1 and the others who intervened in the process of copying the Silos Apocalypse. This scribe's work is, however, very different from both Hand 1 and Hand 2, reflecting the influence of the general ductus of what, by the end of the eleventh century, was Visigothic script's main coeval script, Caroline minuscule. Hand 3 is considerably rounder than the previous hands, with shorter ascenders and descenders. The angle of Hand 3 is also slightly sharper. The general aspect of the script of Hand 3 is thus compacted, "Carolinized."

Comparison of the minuscule alphabet used by Hand 3 (Fig. 6.1) with that of Hand 1 shows certain differences in the way the letters are drawn that deserve further consideration. First, the serifs of the ascenders in Hand 3, made by the approach stroke as it merges with the upright stroke, is wedged. Its ductus seems to be different: in Hand 1 the approach stroke of these ascenders seems to have been drawn from left to right before going downward, without lifting the pen, to make the stem of the letter; in Hand 3 the initial stroke seems to be from right to left, before going downward (see especially the tops of *b*, *I*, *l*). The ductus of *t* also varies. The descenders of both Hand 1 and Hand 3 end hooked to the left. Hand 3 uses an allograph of *e* that had not appeared before: the open *e*, particularly used in ligatures and nexuses. Besides these differences, there are considerable similarities between these scribes: both Hand 1 and Hand 3 use the rustic capital allograph of the letter *a* (*opera* [fol. 152va]) and the uppercase *S* (*IudeiS* [fol. 152va]) at the end of a word; square-*r* after *o* (see *cornibus* [fol. 153rb]), which is rare in both; the cursive form of the letter *t* after *n* at the end of a word (*cupiunt* [fol. 154rvb]); *t* as inverted beta, particularly in nexuses; and the superscript *v* for the *u* in -*tur* (*scribit^{v}r* [fol. 152v]), which is sometimes also used after *q* (*aliq^{v}ando* [fol. 153r]).

As for the majuscule alphabet (Fig. 6.2), the results of the same comparison made between Hand 1 and Hand 2 are relevant for Hand 3. In black or red ink, the
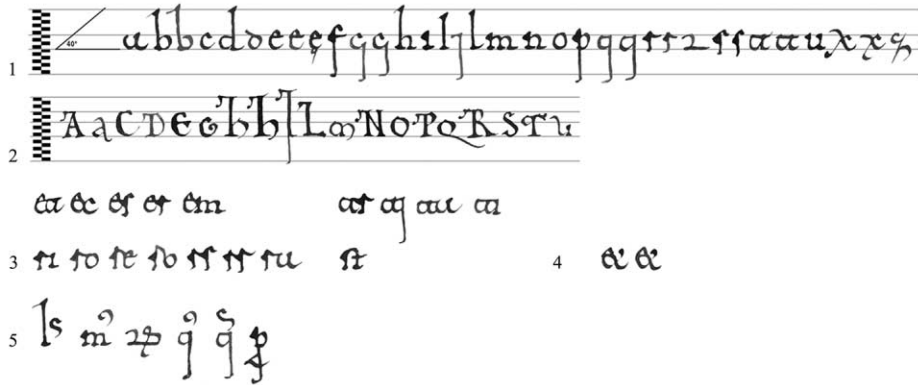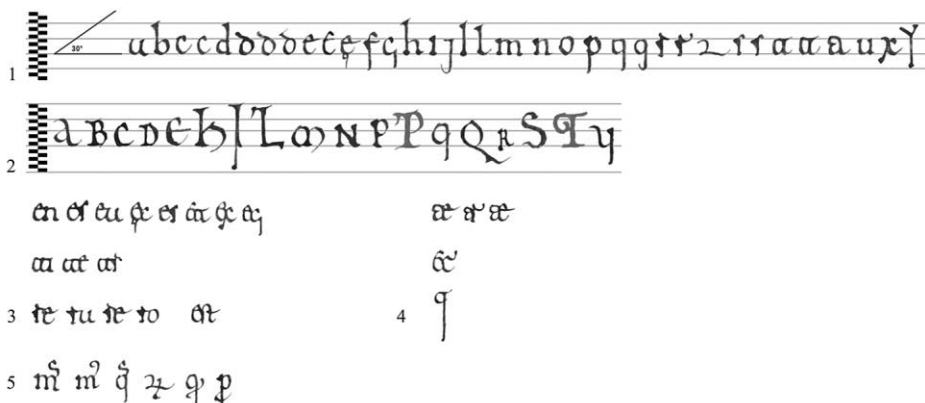

Fig. 6. Hand 3: (1) minuscule alphabet, (2) majuscule alphabet, (3) ligatures, (4) nexuses, (5) general signs of abbreviation. Montage: author.

style of the letters is very similar, though Hand 3 was less prone to adding flourishes to the top serifs than Hand 1, and the proportions in Hand 3 are quite irregular. Hand 3's lack of the calligraphic expertise of Hand 1 is clear in the display script. The only example, an incipit in fol. 152v, shows the same hierarchical structure as used for titles in Hand 1 (in this case, semiformal to common title, in red and dark green), but the strokes are considerably less fluent.

Ligatures and nexuses are very similar in both hands, and are the usual ones found in Visigothic minuscule script, including ligature *s+t*, which is not always used (see *est* [fol. 152va] but *est* [fol. 153ra]), and nexus *I+T* (*dicit* [fol. 154va]), with two exceptions. As mentioned, Hand 3 is the only hand identified so far in the Silos Apocalypse to use the open *e* regularly, especially in ligatures and nexuses (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4). This third scribe also uses the nexus *e+t*, as a conjunction and also frequently at the end of a word (*faceret* [fol. 152v]); inverted beta *t* plus *e* (*sacerdotes* [fol. 153ra]) or *r* (not always; see *contrarii* [fol. 153r]); and *I+T* (*dicit* [fol. 154va]), but less frequently than Hand 1, which also employs the nexus *n+T* and inverted beta plus *j* and *a*.

The similarities and dissimilarities highlighted between Hand 1 and Hand 3 continue when contrasting the abbreviation system used by each scribe. The general sign of abbreviation used by both is a horizontal line with a dot, used to mark the lack of nasals and an abbreviation. However, in Hand 1 this stroke is quite large and rising to the right, whereas in Hand 3 it is small, hardly longer than the dot, and instead of rising, descends to the right. These scribes used the same signs of abbreviation, with two exceptions: Hand 1 merges the sign corresponding to the ending *-um* after square-*r* with the G-clef sign and uses a sign for the ending *-is*, neither of which appears in Hand 3 (Fig. 6.5). Hand 3 uses only an *s*-shaped stroke for the ending *-us* after *b* (*pedibus* [fol. 152v]), *I* (*eIus* [fol. 152v]), *l* (*diabolus* [fol. 153v]), *m* (*dicimus* [fol. 152v]), *n* (*unus* [fol. 152v]), *p* (*corpus* [fol. 153r]), and *t* (*tempus* [fol. 154r]); and the same sign for *-ue* after *q* (*atque* [fol. 152v]); a semicircle (Caroline minuscule influence) for the ending *-us* after *m* (*cogitaberimus*, [fol. 152v]); an oblique stroke that crosses the last stroke of square-*r* for *-um* (*scorum* [fol. 152v]); and the Visigothic script forms of *qui* (*quia* [fol. 152v]) and *per* (fol. 152vb). There is no significant difference between the abbreviations used by Hands 1 and 3, but, as with Hand 2, their copying stints are too dissimilar in length for real comparison. (The full list of abbreviations is given in Appendix 3).

Regarding punctuation, both hands use the same design for their *punctus elevatus*, and with the same purpose, *subdistinctio* for a short nongrammatical pause, and *punctus flexus* to mark a long pause, but Hand 3 does not use *punctus versus* to indicate a short pause or three dots in a triangular formation to indicate a change of line; in Hand 3 this last sign is used to mark the end of the hand's stint.

There is no significant difference between the linguistic features of these two hands. Hand 3 is characterized by the lack of a pattern in the use of *d/∂*, although the latter tends to be the form preferred at the end of words (*quo∂* [fol. 152v]) or in the middle between vowels (*gla∂io* [fol. 153va]); frequent use of *ę*; the use of *I* when followed by a word without an ascender, but not always (*ipsis* [fol. 152v]), and in the middle as a consonant (*eIus* [fol. 152v]), although this is not always correct (*etjam* [fol. 152v]); the use of *ti/tj* to differentiate the two sounds of *ti* (*gratja* [fol. 153r]); and the frequent use of *y* (*martyrum* [fol. 153r]). The prepositions *de*, *ex*, and *In* tend to be connected

to the subsequent word (*deabisso* [fol. 152va]), and separation between words tends to be scarce in Hand 3.

As in quire V, the three scribes of quire XIX do not show enough variation to indicate a different graphic or chronological period of the script's evolution. All of them used a calligraphic Visigothic minuscule script with isolated influences from the Caroline minuscule system, which are limited to the abbreviation system. All of these scribes seem to be contemporaries.

I.4. *Hand 4 and the Culmination of the Copying Process*

Hand 4 begins his stint in the second column of fol. 154v, which is the penultimate folio of quire XIX of the Apocalypse (XXI of the codex). This scribe finishes the process of copying the *Beatus*, and then proceeds to copy the remaining texts of BL Add. MS 11695.

Hand 4 is rather striking, wider than it is tall, and characterized by multiple variations in letter forms, abbreviation signs, and abbreviations, which makes it difficult to identify the text as the work of a single scribe throughout the quires. This hand gathers all the allographs and abbreviation signs used by all the previous hands and combines them without clear preferences.

Hand 4 is a sometimes calligraphic, sometimes semicalligraphic Visigothic minuscule script; in some folios—perhaps at points where he restarts his work—the hand shows doubt, is not always steady, and does not follow the layout of the page in copying the text. However, after a few paragraphs, the hand progressively recovers the standard quality of a scribe worthy of the challenge and privilege of copying a *Beatus*, matching Hand 1 (compare, for example, fol. 155r and fol. 200v).

Hand 4 is highly inconsistent in its most basic graphic characteristics. It shows inclination sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. The angle of inclination in relation to the baseline varies depending on the paragraph. The general aspect of this hand differs, then, although in general the modulus is wider than it is tall; the proportions of the letters also differ from his colleagues' hands. There is clear contrast between strokes, but only in some letters (b, ∂, open e, o, p), and the serifs show a barely pronounced approach stroke.

The minuscule alphabet of Hand 4 (Fig. 7.1) is notable for the many forms of the letter b, the irregular eye of the minuscule form of d, the extreme angularity of uncial d, the contrast of the strokes that form open e, the fact that the letter l develops a second horizontal stroke or serif on the baseline at a ninety-degree angle to the upright stroke, the irregularity of the letter q, the change in ductus of the letter t relative to the previous hands, and the particular form of the letter z, which may best reflect the level of ability of this scribe. Hand 4's minuscule alphabet nevertheless shares some features with the previous hands: the use of the rustic capital form of the letter a in numerals (fol. 164v) and other sporadic examples (*alleluia* [fol. 195r]) is like Hand 1 and Hand 3; open e in ligatures (*er* [fol. 155va1]) is like Hand 3; the cursive form of the letter t at the end of a word after a (*fluctuat* [fol. 155rb]) is like Hand 1; and superscript ν for u in *-tur* at the end of a line (fols. 155vb, 188va) is as used by Hand 1 and Hand 3.

The proportions of Hand 4's majuscule letters (Fig. 7.2) are highly irregular, more so than any of the previous hands. Especially distinctive are the uncial form
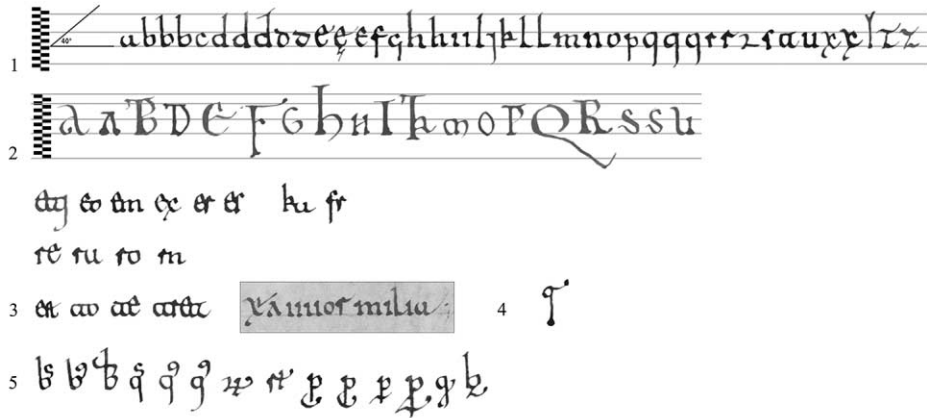
Fig. 7. Hand 4: (1) minuscule alphabet, (2) majuscule alphabet, (3) ligatures, (4) nexus, (5) general signs of abbreviation. Montage: author.

of *A*, which shows a spiral flourish in the second stroke, a capital *A* with no bar, an *F* developing a descender beneath the baseline, and a capital form of the letter *H* not used by any previous scribe of the *Beatus*. Otherwise, the uppercase letters are comparable to those in the previous hands, distributed within the text box when needed or in the lateral column when beginning a paragraph, and drawn in black and red inks.

The display script of this hand is, as might be expected, irregular and in fact astoundingly different from previous hands. One finds incipits highlighted by using formal (fols. 155r, 161r), common (fols. 167v, 168v), or minor (fols. 171v, 193r) titles; semiformal (fols. 164v, 178r), decreasing to common (fols. 180v, 193v), to common and minor (195v), or to minor (fol. 176v) titles; a mix of formal and semiformal followed by minor titles with background color (fol. 202r); and a mixture of common and semiformal titles (fols. 170v, 178v), sometimes in color (fol. 177r), plus minor titles (fols. 162v, 199r) and common titles (fols. 154v, 163v), sometimes with background color (fol. 173r). Almost all combinations are possible. Explicits can also vary from formal (fols. 165v, 167v) to semiformal (fols. 170r, 177r) or common (fols. 183r, 193r), sometimes with background color (fol. 173r), although the most common form is minor titles (fols. 162v, 165v). Finits tend to be highlighted by minor titles (fols. 163v, 176v). In comparison with Hand 1, this variation in the type of titles is also differentiated by changes of ink, Hand 4 using not only red and dark blue but also, and more frequently, black, besides pale blue and yellow. Another difference is that Hand 4 rarely employs nexuses with capitals (there are a few examples of *D+E*, *H+R*, *I+N+C*), which results in some very elaborate displays with nested consonants and vowels (fols. 161v, 172v, 178r, 182v).

Ligatures and nexuses are common to this typological variant and show no idiosyncrasy (Figs. 7.3 and 7.4). Hand 4 connects or links the letters *e*, *f*, *k*, *r*, and *t* to the subsequent letter, as usual; connects *s* only in the ligature *s+t*, and not always (see *est* [fol. 154vb2]), and *i* only in the nexus *I+T* (*dixit* [fol. 157r]).

The abbreviation system may be the aspect in which this hand shows the most options. The general sign of abbreviation differs from the previous hands, with Hand 4

using a wavy line with a dot at the top right, which is sometimes missing from fol. 215 on, but there are multiple signs of abbreviation (Fig. 7.5) used. Particular to this hand is the ending *-us* represented by a wavy line that crosses the ascender of *b* and *I* (*tribus* [fol. 201r]). There are also several signs already used by the previous hands: the ending *-us* represented by an *s*-shaped stroke (also in Hand 1, Hand 2, Hand 3) after *b* (*captibus* [fol. 154vb]—not always used, see *melioribus* [fol. 155va]), *i* (*cuius* [fol. 157v]), *m* (*diximus* [fol. 154v]), *n* (*unus* [fol. 159r]), *p* (*tempus* [fol. 158v]), and *t* (*locutus* [fol. 182v]); the ending *-us* represented by a semicircle (Caroline minuscule influence) (also in Hand 0 [Pedro], Hand 1, Hand 2, and Hand 3) after *b* (*fructibus* [fol. 156v]), and one example after *I* (*eius* [fol. 164v]); the ending *-ue* represented by an *s*-shaped stroke (also in Hand 1 and Hand 2) (*que*, fol. 154vb) combined with another close to a semicircle (Caroline minuscule influence) (also in Hand 1 and Hand 2) (*que* [fol. 154vb]); the ending *-um* represented by an oblique stroke that crosses the last stroke of square-*r* (*scorum* [fol. 154v]) after *o* or the last stroke of regular *r* after *a* (*alienigenarum* [fol. 157r]) and *e* (*numerum* [fol. 159v]) (also in Hand 1 and Hand 3); the Visigothic *per* (also in Hand 1 and Hand 3) (fol. 154v); sporadic examples of Caroline minuscule *per* (also in Hand 0 and Hand 1) ([fol. 155r]); sporadic examples of a mixture of Visigothic-Caroline *per* (also in Hand 2), such as the last example of *per* in Fig. 7.5, two examples in fol. 184va, one in fol. 186vb, one in fol. 188v, one in fol. 193va, three in fol. 200v; the Visigothic *qui* (*requirat* [fol. 154vb]), which is not always used (*qui* [fol. 154vb]); and the ending *-is* rendered by a stroke below *b* (also in Hand 1, although rounded instead of angular as it is here) (*uobis* [fols. 156v, 162v]). As for the remaining abbreviations (see the full list in Appendix 3), among them must be highlighted the Caroline minuscule form used for the possessives *noster/uester* with theme in *r* instead of the typical Visigothic script form in *s* (fol. 189r); the special abbreviation of *semper* by an *s* plus a Visigothic *per* and macron (fol. 156v), which is only sporadically used; the mixed Caroline-Visigothic abbreviation of *nobis* by an *n* plus Visigothic *-is* and macron (fols. 162r, 213va), along with Caroline *nobis* as *nb* [fol. 162r]); and the distinct design of some instances of *nomina sacra* drawn together (e.g., *nsiIhuxpi* [fol. 199r, 214rb], with common macron and three independent dots above), which recalls Hand 1.

There are rare variations of the punctuation system: Hand 4 only uses *punctus versus* to mark a long pause (as Pedro did; Hand 1 uses this sign to mark a short pause) and *punctus elevatus* to indicate a short pause (as all the other scribes did). It does not use *sub-* or *media distinctio* (employed by all the other hands), *punctus flexus* (Hand 1, Hand 2, and Hand 3), or three dots in a triangular formation (Hand 1 and Hand 3).

The linguistic features are as expected: use of *b* instead of *p* (*cabtibum* [fol. 154v]); reduction of *cc* (*eclesia* [fol. 154v]), but not always (*occultu* [fol. 154v]) and not of other duplicated consonants (*ippocrisim* but *ipocrisin* [fol. 154v]); no tendency observed in the use of *d/∂*, although the latter tends to be the form used at the end of a word (*a∂* [fol. 154v]) and in the middle between vowels (*ua∂it* but *ciderit* [fol. 154v]); lack of *h* when needed (*ipocrisin* [fol. 154v]) and use of *h* when not needed (*histam* [fol. 155v]); use of *I* when followed by a word without ascender (*Interra* but *illam* [fol. 154vb]) and in the middle as a consonant (*eIus* but *eius* [fol. 154v]); use of *ti/tj* to differentiate the two sounds of *ti* (*patjentja* fol. 154v). The prepositions *a* and *In* tend to be connected to the subsequent word (*Interra* [fol. 154vb]), but there are also many other examples (*addracone* [fol. 154v]), and the separation between words

is not always clear. Likewise, the separation between lines is not always the same (see fol. 155va between lines 11 and 12). Finally, overall, Hand 4 does not show any specific graphic evolution, unlike Hand 1.

In fol. 182r, lines 13–17 of the left-hand column (quire XXIII), there is an intervention by yet another hand not seen before (from the *media distinctio* and *et imbrem . . . decem plagas*) (see Fig. 8). However, the interlinear note between lines 13 and 14 corresponds to Hand 4—there are clear differences between the two hands. Besides the general aspects, while this new hand resembles Hand 4 in its greater than usual ink load, and shares the same proportions and angle (leaning slightly to the left), it differs from Hand 4 in the serifs and approach strokes, the ending of descenders, the general sign of abbreviation, the form of *per* (l. 15), and the punctuation system employed. Could this be a scribe testing his skills to see whether he should continue the task?

Hand 4 continued to copy the manuscript after finishing the text that properly corresponds to the Apocalypse. In a blank space left in fols. 265v–266r, after the explicit of Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, this scribe added a note that he would repeat, extended, in fols. 277v–278r, which constitutes the proper colophon of the codex.[35] The names of Domingo and Munio are inscribed in flowers or wheels, divided into eight sectors colored alternately in yellow and red with black and red letters, one per sector. According to this text, then, the scribe whom Hand 4 identified as Domingo states that only he and Munio had worked on the copying of the codex, which was finished on 18 April 1091, and this is what has been always stated in scholarship.[36] However, this study, laid out in the previous pages, shows that there were not two but at least four scribes involved, plus Pedro, who added the final texts (colophon [fol. 6v and fol. 275v]) and the illumination.

Therefore, if one identifies Munio as Hand 1, since that is the other major one identified throughout the codex, it could be argued that the part of quire V (of the Apocalypse, VII of the codex) copied by Hand 2 and the part of quire XIX (XXI of the codex) by Hand 3 were left unfinished and written later, and that Hand 1 could have copied out the text on the folios in quire V, which correspond to the two central bifolia of the quire, leaving the rest blank for the map (fols. 39v–40r) to be drawn. Then, contemporary to the map, Hand 2 added his stint. As for quire XIX, Hand 1 could have written half, leaving the remaining folios blank. Hand 3 briefly resumed the task of copying fols. 152v–154va, followed by Hand 4 in fols. 154vb–155v. Although this process seems viable for quire V, it is difficult to explain how it is that Domingo did not consider Hand 3 when mentioning the scribes who had worked on the codex, since they were clearly contemporaries. He may have considered it irrelevant, given the few folios involved (fols. 152v, 153r–v, 154r, and part of the first column of 154v). The same could be true regarding Hand 2.

[35] "I, Domingo, priest, and my relative Munio, priest, have put this humble book in writing . . . Under the rule of Fortunio, abbot of this brethren of monks . . . On the 6th hour of the day (over an erasure: XIV Kalends May), on the 5th week day of the TC XX VIIIIᵃ era [18 April 1091]. During the reign of King Alfonso in Toledo or León, and Galicia, together with Castile and Nájera and Álava." See Appendix 1 (BL Add. MS 11695, fol. 277v, ll. 1–2, 8–11).
[36] Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader," 57, and n. 126 writes, "The copyist Munnio worked on folios 8 to 151v. . . . Domingo worked from folio 152v as far as the end of the manuscript."
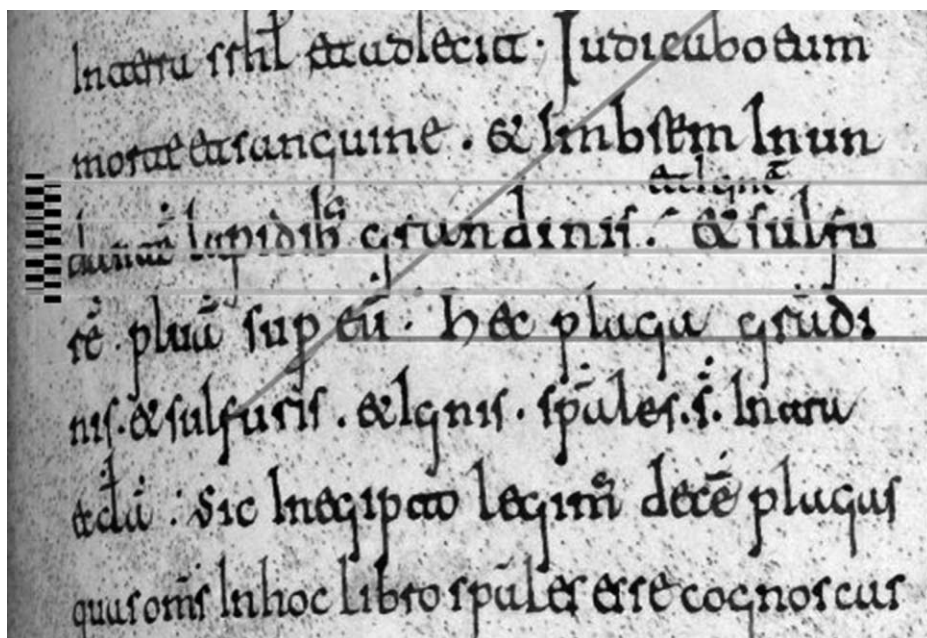
Fig. 8. London, British Library, Additional MS 11695, fol. 182r. Detail of intervention by another scribe. By permission of the British Library Board. See the online edition for a color version of this image.

I.5. *Pedro and the Illumination Program of the Silos Apocalypse*

Once the text was finished, Prior Pedro was called in to draw the illuminations, as explained in the second colophon added to the codex mentioned in the opening pages of this article. He was not, however, the only illuminator who worked on the codex, or at least not the only one in charge of its decoration, despite his claim (fol. 275vb) that "Pedro the prior . . . completed it and illuminated it throughout." Munio (Hand 1), the second of the scribes alluded to in the colophon together with Domingo, has also been identified as an illuminator thanks to the style of the carpet page of fol. 276r, on which his name is inscribed, the cross on fol. 277r, the frame of the colophon on fols. 277v–278r, the frame on the *affinitatibus* on fol. 218r, the two trees depicted on fols. 251v and 266r, and several initials (fols. 217v, 264v, 268–275v, 278v–279v).[37] Hand 2 also participated to some degree in the illumination program, an intervention not highlighted by previous scholarship, although his involvement in copying the text was fleeting; his is the hand that provided all the legends within the drawings (see Fig. 9),[38] with the exception of those within the map (fols. 39v–40r), which were

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[37] See Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 174–75, for a comparison between Munio's and Pedro's styles. See also Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, "La miniatura en los códices de Silos," in *Silos: Un milenio*, vol. 4; *Arte*, ed. Alberto Cayetano Ibáñez Pérez, 242–43; Ángela Franco, "The Illustrations in the Santo Domingo de Silos Beatus: Authors, Style and Chronology," in *Beatus of Liébana: Codex*, 208.

[38] His script is more evolved, far more open to external graphic influence, than the main text (see the use of uncial *a*), which could perfectly correspond to a date of 1100–1104, based on comparison of graphic characteristics with Pedro's text.

Fig. 9. London, British Library, Additional MS 11695, fol. 24r. Detail of text (Hand 2) in illumination. By permission of the British Library Board. See the online edition for a color version of this image.

written by Pedro. It may be argued, then, that Hand 2 was also an illuminator—perhaps it was a case of master and apprentice.

In the second colophon, Pedro states that work on the codex began under Abbot Fortunio (1073–1100), and that very little was done under Fortunio's successor, Abbot Nuño (1100–06), until Abbot Juan (1106–43) called upon Pedro to finish the manuscript. Domingo's colophon (fol. 277v), however, states that all the text had been copied before Nuño's abbacy. The minimal work done under Nuño could have been (some of) the miniatures. Indeed, in a legend beside the illustration on fol. 111r, one can read "King Alfonso reigning in Toledo and in León and in Castile and in Nájera and King Pedro Sánchez in Aragon." (See Appendix 1.) Bearing in mind that Pedro I of Aragon reigned between 1094 and 1104, it could be argued that this miniature, and possibly many others, had already been produced around 1100–04, before Pedro's involvement, most likely by Hand 2.[39]

Pedro's use of the traditional northern peninsular style for the illuminations, instead of the European, Romanesque style that was being imposed and was already practiced in the northern peninsula,[40] has been thought to reflect a conscious intention

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[39] See Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader," 60. Once he had finished the decoration of the codex, Pedro added some other miniatures to the initial folios: the image of Hell (fol. 2r), a full-page Oviedo Cross (fol. 5v), an acrostic page (fol. 6r), and a Christ in Majesty (fol. 7v). See Franco, "Observations on the Illustrations," 208.

[40] For example in the *Libro de Horas de Fernando y Sancha* (Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 609), dated 1055. See Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, 279–92, 351; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, 287; John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, 2 vols. (New York, 1977), 1:27–31; 2:36–40, plates 35a, 35b.

to express "alliance to customs about to be discarded."[41] However, as has been demonstrated here, the influence of the new style is nevertheless present in the second campaign of illumination of the Silos Apocalypse, that of Pedro (the marginal figures, the sense of movement, et cetera).[42] Pedro could have used this style because of the model he was copying,[43] or simply because it was the style in which he was trained.

Pedro's skills as an illuminator are unquestionable; he was not a poor scribe, either, as can be seen from the texts he added. However, Pedro's hand can be described as functional; it is neither a sloppy (rudimentary) nor an elegant (calligraphic) hand. The texts he produced are divided into sentences of alternate colors—a graphic characteristic found in other Visigothic script codices—but a more skilled hand could have been expected. His writing is not always fluent, particularly in the text on fol. 6v, since the parchment shows pricking but no ruling; at the bottom of the recto side, some lines to help draw the carpet can be seen, and there are some more on the verso side below the text, which are practically invisible. Pedro's hand is, like his colleagues, written in Visigothic minuscule script, leaning slightly to the right, with some contrast, similar to that of Hand 4, but with very significant differences.

First of all, within his minuscule alphabet (Fig. 10.2), Pedro used a particularly distinctive allograph of the letter *g*, which resembles the Caroline minuscule form. Also, despite the shortness of his textual contribution to the codex, it offers two examples of closed *a*, proper to the imported graphic system (*abbatis* [l. 7]). Pedro's hand thus exemplifies a different (from the other scribes) stage of evolution of Visigothic script, for he wrote in a minuscule variant in transition to Caroline minuscule. The incorporation of elements from the new system is also patent in the abbreviations he employed (Fig. 10.4): a sign similar to a spiral is used to mark the ending -*us* after *i* (*eius* [fol. 6v5]) and *t* (*aduentus* [fol. 6v9]); the continental *per* with a wavy line crossing the descender of *p*; and the Tironian sign for *et* (combined with the nexus *e*+*t*),

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[41] See Otto K. Werckmeister, "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, ed. John P. O'Neill et al., 131.

[42] See Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 189.

[43] It is not clear which exemplar was the model for this *Beatus*; most likely it is now lost. It belongs to the family IIa (see Henry A. Sanders, ed. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin: Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 7 [Rome, 1930], p. xii, sig. S; Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Iohannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration (das Problem der Beatus-handschriften) nebst einem Tafelbande enthaltend 284 Abbildungen* [Münster, 1931], 38–41, lam. 56 [fols. 2r, 105v, 111r]), but also displays important differences with the codices of this family. See Franco, "Observations on the Illustrations"; Peter K. Klein, "Eschatological Expectations and the Revised Beatus," in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone*, ed. Martin and Harris, 149 n. 11. Boylan proposed a tenth-century manuscript from Valeránica as exemplar ("The Silos Beatus," 199). Díaz y Díaz, on the other hand, has stressed the importance of analyzing the text and image separately, bearing in mind that recent studies have determined that the traditions differ. See *Actas del Simposio para el Estudio de los Códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana (Madrid, noviembre 1976)*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1978–80). 1:15. Pedro's style reveals him to be familiar with the mid-tenth-century Valeranican style of Florencio. See Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 175–77; John Williams, "Meyer Schapiro y el Beato de Silos," in *Silos: Un milenio*, 4:538–40. The same model could have also influenced Silos's scribes and their Visigothic script. See Barbara Shailor, "The Beatus of Burgo de Osma: A Paleographical and Codicological Study," in *Apocalipsis Beati Liebanensis, Burgi Oxomensis*, vol. 2, *El Beato de Osma: Estudios* (Valencia, 1992), 29–52.
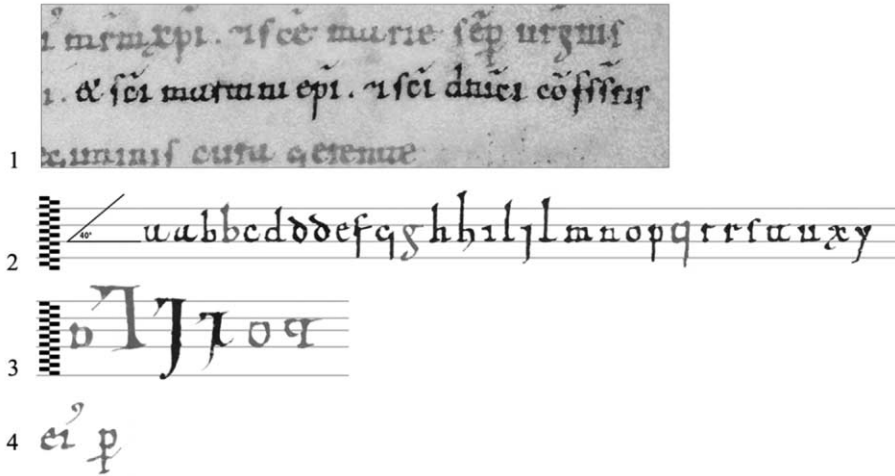
Fig. 10. Hand 0, Pedro: (1) detail, fol. 6v, (2) minuscule alphabet, (3) majuscule alphabet, (4) general signs of abbreviation. Montage: author. See the online edition for a color version of this image.

which had not previously been used by his colleagues. The Caroline minuscule influence can be noted equally in his orthography, which maintains the use of the three allographs of the letter *I* but does not always use them (*tercio*, fol. 6v11).

II. The Silos Apocalypse in Context

II.1. The Library at Silos

When the Benedictine monastery of San Sebastián de Silos was founded, in the mid-tenth century, it must have been supplied with the codices necessary for the basic religious observance of its community. These books would have come from nearby monasteries that are thought to have had a scriptorium, however embryonic, by that time.[44] Likewise, books from the south must have been carried to the *meseta* by Mozarabs, who almost certainly helped populate these northern monasteries.[45] Given the evidence that survives, it is difficult to assess which works would have constituted Silos's initial library and where exactly they must have come from. Such information would help to establish the relationships—or lack thereof—between Silos and other institutions in León, Castile, La Rioja, and farther south at this early stage, as well as the historical and cultural context of the center. However, examination of the list of manuscripts that have been linked to Silos, either as a possible production center or as place of provenance, as well as of all published studies about them, can reveal some useful data (see Appendix 4 for references).

Within the collection of codices that were in Silos before the expropriation and privatization of monastic properties in Spain in the mid-nineteenth century and the

[44] See Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader," 21.

[45] See Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, "La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIIIe au XIe siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 12 (1969): 219–41.

consequent dispersion of material it caused,[46] there are manuscripts that either pre-date the monastery's foundation or are thought to be more or less coeval with it. These include, for example, the Mozarabic Orational of Silos (BL Add. MS 30852), a copy of Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelium* and *Regula pastoralis* (BnF MSS nouv. acq. lat. 2616 I and II), a glossary of which only certain bifolia have been preserved (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 1298),[47] and a Mozarabic copy of Cassian's *Institutiones* (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 260),[48] all dated by current scholarship to some time during the ninth century; and another copy of Gregory's *Homiliae* and *Regula* (BnF MSS nouv. acq. lat. 2167 and 2168), in addition to two copies of a *Misticus* (BL Add. MSS 30845 and 30846), a volume of *Homilies* and a *Penitential* (BL Add. MS 30853), a Bible (Kraków, The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 3.118), a copy of Smaragdus's *Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti* (Archivo del Monasterio de Silos, MS 1),[49] and Gregory's *Dialogues* (Archivo del Monasterio de Silos, MS 2),[50] all dated to points throughout the tenth century. It could be argued that these volumes were part of Silos's library when the Muslim raids of the late tenth century (particularly that of 994) precipitated the center's abandonment and left it in ruins until Domingo's arrival c.1040. In fact, Silos has been identified as the production center of some of them (see Appendix 4). The books were preserved, refugees in nearby monasteries, before they were returned. It could also be argued that these codices came to Silos following Abbot Domingo's restoration. All the extant written evidence related to Silos has been dated to that second stage, as will be discussed below, meaning that the historical context caused an evidence gap of at least some fifty years.

Moving forward to the written evidence from the mid-eleventh century onward, the sources are not only more abundant but also easier to contextualize, although not all of them conclusively. A charter included in the codex BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171 (p. 26)—which includes (1) *Varia ecclesiastica* (Nicodemus's Gospel), (2) a compendium of *Orelogium*, *Adnuntiationes*, and *Calendar*, and (3) a *Liber commicus*—states that in the 1060s (around 1067 by historical context), likely soon after Abbot Domingo arrived at Silos, the same manuscript was given to the monastery by Sancho de Tabladillo, along with "all his codices," which included an *Antiphonarium*, *Orationale*, *Manuale*, *Liber commicus*, *Liber ordinum*, *Liber hymnorum*, and *Liber horarum*. If these were the first books of Silos's library, they would have provided the monastery with all the basic codices for its liturgical needs. These books could have remained in the monastery or been donated to some other smaller dependent center if its library

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[46] See the full list in Boylan, "The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos." Walker (*Views of Transition*, 51) suggests that the library of Silos could have had more books than those listed in the thirteenth-century catalogue compiled on fol. 16v of BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2169, which lists 105 items held by the monastery. On this catalogue, see Sánchez, "Los códices del Monasterio de Silos," 223–25; Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, "El escriptorio de Silos," *Revista de musicología* 15 (1992): 389–402.

[47] Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, 452; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 258, p. 166; Leonese, with noteworthy cursive influence.

[48] Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 256, pp. 165–66; from the southern peninsula.

[49] Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, 468–69; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 295, p. 179; from a Caroline minuscule model and related to graphic Eastern schools.

[50] Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, 470–71; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 296, pp. 179–80; Castilian, highly calligraphic.

already had these materials,[51] given that no further correspondence between these books and those kept in Silos's library has been successfully proved.[52] What this donation seems to suggest, however, is that the monastery was still in an early phase of reorganization in which it needed essential ecclesiastical and liturgical books and, it seems, was not yet able to provide them, for itself or its dependencies, through its own scriptorium. In the mid-eleventh century, therefore, it can be argued that Abbot Domingo had not yet had time enough to organize Silos's atelier, but he appears not to have taken long. Scholars have proposed that the *Liber commicus* of the afore-mentioned codex (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171) was copied in Silos around the 1070s, and thus added to the codex after its donation, although it could have been copied in a nearby center from the same area in Castile and thus reached Silos together with the other parts: the first part copied in the Burgos area in the mid-eleventh century, and the second from around the 1070s in an unknown production center. The scribe who produced this copy of the *Liber commicus* displays a very thin, broad script—a mix between Hand 1 and Hand 4 of the *Beatus*—a characteristic *y* with dot, an angular *z*, and, sometimes, a forked horizontal line as a general sign to mark abbreviation.[53] In any case, whether this addendum was copied in Silos or not, the collection of codices from the monastery's pre-nineteenth-century library attests that by the last quarter of the eleventh century, around the 1080s, a scriptorium could have been operational in Silos, and the *Liber Apocalypsin* and its accompanying texts was one, but not the only one, of the incomparable manuscripts produced there in this period.

II.2. *Codices Produced in Silos*

In August 1072, as stated in the colophon added to the codex, likely around the time the above-mentioned *Liber commicus* could have been produced in Silos, another manuscript was finished there: a copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2169).[54] The model of this book seems to be an ultrapyrenaic exemplar.[55] Its hand is a regular calligraphic Visigothic minuscule script, with very little Caroline minuscule influence—similar to, but not as fine as, the hands identified in the Silos Apocalypse or that of the *Liber commicus*. These three pieces of documentary evidence speak of the calligraphic expertise the scriptorium achieved during the last quarter of the eleventh century. Their localization and contextualization

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[51] A number of unspecified works were also donated to the *cenobium* in 1056. See Walker, *View of Transition*, 119.

[52] The correspondences proposed by Boylan in "The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos" should be taken into consideration but are in need of revision, since they are not based on sufficiently solid paleographic evidence—no consistent attribution of origin for any of the codices mentioned has yet been established. See Walker, *View of Transition*, 51.

[53] This macron design would also be used by the scribe of BL Add. MS 30844 (1060s, Silos area).

[54] Boylan ("The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos," 61) argues that this manuscript was commissioned by Domingo from the scriptorium of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, in consideration of "analogies with the stylistic repertory of that scriptorium."

[55] A copy of this work was produced at San Pedro de Cardeña in the mid-tenth century (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 76), which seems to follow a copy produced at San Millán de la Cogolla shortly before (Real Academia de la Historia, MS Emilianense 25). See Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, 321–22, 413–21; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 209, p. 139.

allow us to investigate, by comparative analysis, whether the rest of the collection of late-eleventh-century codices believed to be from Silos were indeed copied there.

The first codex that should be considered is the *Passionarium*, BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2179,[56] copied by a single scribe called Juan (fol. 48r, in red ink, in Greek) following the model of the mid-tenth-century "Pasionario de Cardeña," BL Add. MS 25600.[57] Juan's script is a common Visigothic minuscule,[58] its characteristics sufficiently calligraphic to suggest that it might be a product of Silos's scriptorium in the late eleventh century. The same can be affirmed for the second part of Cassian's *Collationes* (the *Vitae* of Saint Martial from an unknown exemplar) added to BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2170 by two scribes in the same canonical script and style.[59]

More or less coeval with the previous codex is the manuscript known as the Mozarabic Breviary (BL Add. MS 30848),[60] copied by a single scribe from an unknown imported exemplar in a highly calligraphic, slightly vertically compressed script that perfectly matches the characteristics of Hand 4 of the *Beatus*. It nevertheless shows more external graphic influence,[61] most likely due to the impact of the exemplar, which was written in Caroline minuscule. This would make the codex a Silos exemplar most likely produced between 1091 and 1109. If its scribe was indeed Hand 4, his style had become a little more modern since the Silos Apocalypse, but not as modern as Pedro's.

Around the same time, two *Homilies* (BnF MSS nouv. acq. lat. 2176 and 2177) were almost certainly copied in Silos,[62] it has been suggested following an ultrapirenaic exemplar,[63] or rather, a model from San Millán de la Cogolla.[64] The former (2176) was copied by a scribe whose script greatly resembles Hand 2 of the Silos Apocalypse, which shows two stages of evolution (fol. 427) in the second part of this codex, his hand being a Visigothic minuscule script in transition to Caroline minuscule.[65]

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[56] This codex has numbered quires like BL Add. MS 11695 and the *Liber commicus* in BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2171.

[57] Written by Endura. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, 313–14, no. 20; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 107, 84–85.

[58] Common features with some particular characteristics: regular use of the Caroline minuscule and rustic capital forms of *a*; superscript *v* for *u*, not only over *tr* but also q^vi and sim^vl; ligature *c+j*; nexus *o+r/o+s*; nexus with the regular form of *t* plus *t*, *r*, or *e* (e.g., *artem* [fol. 123r]) making a characteristic, if unusual, multiple nexus (e.g., *litterarum* [fol. 134r]).

[59] Boylan notes that the illumination of this codex (see fols. 237r and 238v) is similar to Pedro's style, reinforcing the argument for its Silos origins. See Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 178.

[60] For a recent study on the unusual content of this breviary, see Rose Walker, "Eating the Sweet and Bitter Book: The Ingestion of Text during Liturgical Change in Late Eleventh-Century Castile," in *Medieval Manuscripts in Motion: La circulación de manuscritos iluminados en la península Ibérica; Segunda edición del Congreso Internacional "Medieval Europe in Motion," Lisboa, 2015*, ed. Alicia Miguélez Cavero and Fernando Villaseñor Sebastián, Biblioteca de historia del arte 27 (Madrid, 2018), 101–12.

[61] Caroline minuscule influence: *nrr/urr* (*noster/uester*), *nb* (*nobis*), *qm* (*quoniam*), *qd* (*quod*), *nne* (*nomine*), *ul* (*uel*), *sct* (*sicut*).

[62] Boylan ("The Silos Beatus," 178) notes that the illumination of BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2177 (see fol. 256) is similar to Pedro's style, reinforcing the argument for its Silos origins.

[63] See Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, 348.

[64] See Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader," 23.

[65] Caroline minuscule influence: semicircle for the endings *-um/-us/-ue* combined with the Visigothic *s*-like sign, *qd* (*quod*), *sct* (*sicut*), *ul* (*uel*), *s* (*sunt*), *e* (*est*), *nrr* (*noster*), *ppr* (*propter*), *qm* (*quoniam*), *qui*, and *nihil* by superscript letter, and *-en-* by a horizontal stroke above *m*.

The latter (2177) was copied by another scribe whose work bears a resemblance to Hand 4 of the *Beatus* but with very few signs of external influence.

There are no other remarkable similarities to highlight between our Silos Apocalypse scribes and the hands of those who copied the remaining codices attributed to the eleventh century and to Silos or its nearby dependencies. These other books were nevertheless part of the monastery's library, together with books from other monasteries that were donated or gifted to Silos, reflecting the—predominantly—spiritual and educational interests (e.g., an interesting glossary on paper [BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 1296][66] and the many glosses that populate Silos's codices[67]) of the community living in Silos. The only extant exemplars that could be argued with some certainty, based on their graphic characteristics, to have been copied in Silos remain, therefore:

1) Isidore's *Etymologiae* (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2169; dated to 1072; one unidentified scribe);
2) a *Liber commicus* (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171; c.1070s; one unidentified scribe);
3) a *Passionarium* (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2179; c.1070s; Juan);
4) Cassian's *Collationes* (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2170; c.1070s; two unidentified scribes);
5) the Silos Apocalypse (1091–1109);
6) a Mozarabic breviary (BL Add. MS 30848; c.1091–1109; one unidentified scribe—possibly Hand 4 of the *Beatus*);
7) two *Homilies* (BnF MSS nouv. acq. lat. 2176 and 2177; c.1091–1109; two unidentified scribes—possibly Hand 2 and Hand 4 of the *Beatus*).

These relationships between scribes and codices were previously unknown, and now allow a proper contextualization, which is particularly significant for the Mozarabic Breviary in London and the two *Homilies* now found in Paris, which do not have colophons stating production center or date. Comparative stylistic analysis of the decoration of these codices against the securely contextualized Silos Apocalypse supports the following attribution: Munio, besides working on the Silos Apocalypse, also drew all the initials and decoration in the breviary,[68] while Pedro added the initials to the opening four quires of the first of the *Homilies*, as well as three initials and a figure in the *Etymologiae*.[69] What does all this tell us about Silos's scriptorium in the late eleventh century?

II.3. *The Scriptorium of Silos*

Bearing in mind that the works preserved are but a part of what would have been produced at Silos or kept in its medieval library,[70] it seems reasonable to suggest that the community did not have a functional scriptorium before its restoration by Abbot

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[66] Copied following a model from San Millán de la Cogolla (Real Academia de la Historia, MS Emilianense 46). On Visigothic script codices on paper, see Sánchez, "Los códices del Monasterio de Silos," 231–34.

[67] See Miguel C. Vivancos, *Glosas y notas marginales de los manuscritos visigóticos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Studia Silensia 19 (Burgos, 1996).

[68] See Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 177. Boylan also sees Munio's hand in some initials of BL Add. MS 30847 and the frame on fol. A–B of BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 235. See Walker, *Views of Transition*, 127–28.

[69] See Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 178. Also, two initials in BL Add. MS 30853.

[70] An original codex now lost is the *Vita Dominici*, written c.1090 (see Lappin, *The Medieval Cult of Saint Dominic of Silos*).

Domingo in the mid-eleventh century. Once Domingo brought the monastery back to life, he must have called in scribes, as well as monks and books to populate it, from other nearby monasteries,[71] perhaps some from San Millán de la Cogolla, considering his relationship with that institution.[72] It would make sense to propose that in this initial period the monastery received all the necessary books from other more consolidated centers, as the donation in 1067 of BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171 suggests. Those codices predating Domingo previously attributed to Silos could be from smaller local centers, and thus share certain graphic features common to the area. It could also be suggested, however, that they all belong to the monastery of Silos itself, the dissimilar graphic quality explained by different levels or degrees of expertise among its scribes: one group of exceptional calligraphers, who may have been brought in from other centers by Domingo, and another group of less skilled scribes who were trained in the incipient scriptorium under Domingo and remained more or less independent, working in parallel with the other group. Domingo died in 1073. It could be that the copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2169), whose colophon provides the date, 24 August 1072, and place of production, Silos, was the only manuscript produced at Silos in his lifetime.

After this analysis of the codices copied by hands similar to those of the Silos Apocalypse and those that can be affirmed with some certainty to be products of Silos, it seems beyond doubt that by the time the copy of the Apocalypse was initiated, the monastery had at least four highly skilled amanuenses, two of them previously unknown to current scholarship. Were they trained at Silos or did they come from elsewhere? The scriptorium, whether established by Domingo or not, was so new—bearing in mind its activity began around the 1070s—that it is not tenable that it could already have presented specific characteristic features of a school in 1072, so it must have continued those of the scribes who came in from elsewhere. But who were these scribes? It is not known how the Silos community was formed or where its scribes were trained. Comparing the characteristics of the manuscripts here attributed to Silos with those from the nearby scriptoria, it is striking that similarities are found not with the coeval written production of San Millán de la Cogolla, as would be expected, but with that of San Pedro de Cardeña,[73] a monastery roughly twenty-five miles to the north whose scriptorium was at its artistic peak at the end of the eleventh century,[74] and with the mid-tenth-century style of the monastery of San Pedro de Valeránica, some twenty-five miles west of Silos, raised to its greatest splendor by the scribe Florencio.[75] The general aspect of the script and the peculiar graphic characteristics of the alphabet and abbreviation system of these centers greatly resemble those of Silos's scribes discussed above. A full and thorough examination of the manuscript production of these centers in the periods identified above and comparison of the

[71] See Walker, *Views of Transition*, 57, 119.

[72] Although communication between the two monasteries was neither frequent nor intense, at least until Domingo's time. See José Manuel Ruíz Asencio, "Códices pirenaicos y riojanos en la biblioteca de Silos en el siglo XI," in *Silos: Un milenio*, vol. 2, *Historia*, ed. José Antonio Fernández Flórez , 181–83.

[73] Compare with, for example, the codex San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, B.I.4. See Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos*, 304–5, no. 45; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 46, p. 50.

[74] See Moreta, *El monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña*, 141.

[75] See n. 47.

characteristics of their material authors with the copyists of the *Beatus* would be useful to confirm or deny links to Silos's school.

The manuscript evidence here analyzed reveals that Abbot Fortunio was able to take advantage of Domingo's work and to use his *fama* as a way to extract funds to enrich the monastery of Silos[76] and the scriptorium that Domingo may have already established there.[77] The Silos Apocalypse was among the first products of Silos's scriptorium; it may have been a book produced for the king or simply to bear witness to the monastery's cultural preeminence. As noted above, recent scholarship has debated whether there was a scriptorium before Fortunio's abbacy. Some claim that he founded it to answer the new ecclesiastical needs that arose as a consequence of the change of rite from Mozarabic to Roman.[78] It has also been suggested that the purpose of the scriptorium at Silos was to produce books containing the new liturgy, reflecting a "willing adherence to the new rite."[79] In light of the evidence, however, it is hard to believe that Silos's community would have "willingly adhered" if the opposite were an option. The fact that the breviary (BL Add. MS 30848), in which parts of the *Praefatio* of the Beatus were copied,[80] and that the two *Homilies* (BnF MSS nouv. acq. lat. 2176 and 2177) follow the Roman rite but were copied c.1091–1109 in Visigothic script, shows a certain traditionalism.[81] Likewise, the breviary, which follows the Mozarabic rite but was copied in Caroline minuscule, betrays an appreciation of embedded cultural conventions and perhaps a sign of reactionism against the liturgical change.[82] It could be that Fortunio was seeking only to elevate Silos's significance among its peers by producing books of exceptional quality such as the above and, more significantly, the Silos Apocalypse. However, the late eleventh to early twelfth century reflects a moment of change in Silos's scriptorium in which both liturgies were practiced (though only one—the Roman—endured). It was also a period in which monasteries were establishing themselves as key players in medieval politics and therefore needed to display their resources and power. It seems that Silos adhered to the liturgical change—a necessary step to maintain its status—but was not so eager to let go of tradition. There does not seem to have been any conscious effort to erase Mozarabic tradition at Silos; if anything, the evidence points to the opposite. The leaves of a Visigothic antiphonary were most likely added to the Silos Apocalypse as a sign of respect for and veneration of the past. Moreover, the monastery

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[76] Fortunio commissioned the extension of the monastic church, consecrated in 1088, and the construction of the cloister. See Isidro Bango Torviso, "La iglesia antigua de Silos: Del Prerrománico al Románico pleno," in *El románico en Silos: IX centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088–1988*, Studia Silensia: Series maior 1 (Silos, 1990), 357.]

[77] See Walker, *Views of Transition*, 50–51, 57, 119, 134.

[78] See Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 179–83, 184–86. On the change of liturgy, see n. 15.

[79] Boylan, "The Silos Beatus," 173, 179, 185, 188.

[80] Walker, "Eating the Sweet and Bitter Book."

[81] On why the scribes used Visigothic script to copy the Roman liturgy, see Walker, *Views of Transition*, 63, 65. On the process of graphic change and its meaning, see Castro, "The Regional Study of Visigothic Script."

[82] BL Add. MS 30849, the *Breviarium mozarabicum*, has traditionally been thought to have been copied at Silos in the late eleventh century in Caroline minuscule (by a scribe first trained in Visigothic script and, thus, with graphic influence from this writing system), although recent scholarship disagrees. See Vivancos, "L'introduction de la liturgie romaine," 339.

kept books of the Mozarabic rite and continued to use them, as the glosses that fill the margins of the collection of codices from Silos's library amply demonstrate.

Conclusions

This analysis has demonstrated that the process of copying the Silos Apocalypse was more complex and more significant to the history of the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos than previously thought. Several highly skilled calligraphers worked together in intricate relationship while one master illuminator led a team of decorators to achieve one of the most well known examples of medieval art ever produced. But their talent was not only devoted to the copying of this codex; it extended to answering the liturgical and spiritual needs of an incipient community and a scriptorium immersed in a period of change—liturgical, graphic, cultural—in the northern Iberian Peninsula in the late eleventh century.

As has been discussed, Abbot Fortunio commissioned the copy of the Silos Apocalypse at some point in 1090 or 1091, when he had been at the head of Silos's monastery for some twenty years. After obtaining a model about which very little is known, he chose the scribe Munio to begin the task. Munio did so at a regular pace, displaying his highly stylish Visigothic minuscule script. Something happened when Munio reached the fifth quire of the Apocalypse: the model indicated that a map should be included there. Munio then delegated the work to one of his colleagues, here identified as Hand 2. This scribe, whose existence is recognized in this article for the first time, was likely an amanuensis younger than Munio because his hand is more open to external graphic influences. Munio may have been his master. Hand 2 took charge of the quire, copying some pieces of text while Munio continued his stint, perhaps sketching the map while he waited for a master illuminator to be found. Some time after, Munio stopped his work on the *Beatus* in its nineteenth quire, leaving another scribe who was previously unknown, here identified as Hand 3, to continue. Hand 3's intervention was short. His is a highly calligraphic hand, equal to that of Munio but linked to another cultural background, since his Visigothic script is clearly influenced by Caroline minuscule. This scribe seems not to have been a match for the task. Domingo, the codex's other major scribe besides Munio, relieved his colleague shortly after. On 18 April 1091, the book was complete.

Abbot Fortunio must have aimed to oversee the completion of the Silos Apocalypse, but he died before his ambition was fulfilled. It has been argued that the monastery was not rich or powerful enough to hire an illuminator to draw a decorative program equal to that which brought the text of the Apocalypse to life. It will never be known why work on the codex came to an abrupt stop. One of the scribes who had intervened in the manuscript, Munio, is suggested to have started some of the decoration when the monastery was under Abbot Nuño, a short time after the copy of the text was finished, without much progress. But the codex was to be finished; its completion was commissioned by Abbot Juan. An illuminator named Pedro, about whom very little is known, was called in to work on the codex, which he seems to have done aided by the previously unknown Hand 2 (if it was not the other way around), who added the legends to the images the former painted. Pedro stated that his work was concluded on 1 July 1109. He must have seen the manuscript bound

together with the antiphonary leaves at the beginning, given that he added another miniature there.

In Pedro's time Silos's scriptorium must have been bursting with life since, besides this codex, other books arrived to join the monastery's library and were being copied there. After finishing the Silos Apocalypse, Domingo remained active: he produced the breviary now in London, in the same collection of the British Library, which was in all likelihood decorated by Munio. He was also aided by his colleague Hand 2, perhaps Munio's pupil, in copying two voluminous books of homilies now in Paris, for which he recruited Pedro to produce the initials of the opening quires. This community of scribes was previously unknown, as was the firm attribution of similarities among the skilled calligraphers who copied these codices.

It can be debated whether all this activity related to the monastery's need to supply itself and its dependencies with books in line with the Roman rite instead of the Mozarabic liturgy, which, willingly or not, was to be discarded. What cannot be denied is that around the 1070s, just after Abbot Domingo passed away, Abbot Fortunio saw how to build or reenergize a scriptorium whose late-eleventh-century written production soon made it one of the most significant of the medieval Iberian Peninsula.

APPENDIX 1

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADDITIONAL MS 11695: DESCRIPTIVE FILE

Composite codex:
Mozarabic antiphonary;
Beatus of Liébana, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*—the "Silos Apocalypse";
Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* (excerpts);
Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*

(antiphonary: Unknown)	(early 11th c.?)
Benedictine monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos	1091–1109

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(1) fols. 1r–4v, Mozarabic Antiphonary.

fols. 1r–1v, end of the mass of Saint Roman and beginning of the first feria of Advent. ". . . bunt te. Deo gratias. Transibimus. Alleluia. Gaudate iusti . . . in Bethlem ambulans super aquas egressionis Iude." The musical notation is probably by the same hand as the text, considering the ink and the similar style of the strokes.

fol. 2r, originally left blank, now full-page miniature of Hell (believed to have been added by the illuminator, Pedro, during the 1109 illustration campaign of the *Beatus*'s commentary). See Ángela Franco, "Observations on the Illustrations of the Silos Beatus Manuscript," in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 26 (Leiden, 2005), 207–33, at 208.

fol. 2v, full-page Oviedo Cross (belongs to the original antiphonary).

fol. 3v, full-page Oviedo Cross and the legend "SIGNUM CRUCIS CHRISTI REGIS" (belongs to the original antiphonary).

fol. 4r, added miniature "VPR" (*vespertinum*), corresponding to the first chant of Mozarabic antiphonaries and, thus, the first page of the antiphonary.

fol. 4v, added miniature "LUX" from the first chant for the eve of the feast of Saint Acisclus (17 November), first day of the Mozarabic liturgical year.

Four misbound leaves sewn with fabric strips (*escartivanas*); original arrangement: fols. 2, 4, 1, 3; only fols. 2 and 4 being consecutive in the manuscript; fol. 3r blank. See Dom Louis Brou, "Un antiphonaire mozarabe de Silos d'après les fragments du British Museum," *Hispania Sacra* 5 (1952): 341–60, at 356.

(2) fols. 5r–217v, *Liber Apocalipsin*—Beatus of Liébana, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.

fol. 5v (fol. 5r blank), full-page Oviedo Cross, legend: "PAX, LUX, REX, LEX."

fol. 6r, full-page miniature (unfinished carpet page of a labyrinth, designed to accommodate a legend probably relating to the commission of the manuscript).

fol. 6v, note added by Prior Pedro (the illuminator): "In nomine ingeniti prolisque ac procedentis conexa unius semper natura Deitatis. Incipit liber reuelationis ipsius Domini nostri Iesu Christi, editus et firmatus ab his auctoribus. Id est, Iheronimo, Agustino, Ambrosio, Fulgentio, Gregorio, Ticonio, Hireneo, Abringio et Isidoro. Ob honorem sancti Sebastiani et omnem eius martirum Christi, et sancte Marie semper uirginis et genetricis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et sancti Martini episcopi, et sancti Dominici confessoris Christi et abbatis. Digne uero regiminis cura gerente. [There follows half a line that has been erased.] Ille qui ante presidem stetit silens, mecum Petro incipiente ad liberandum sit regens. In secundo aduentus sui gloria, uel futura examinationis diem, fruar gratia et mercedis pro labore; tercio demum die e sepulcro Dominus

resurgens, omnes patres paradiso restituens, incidentem me in peccatis nunc resurgam et cum patriarchis dexteram tenens regna polorum fruar, amen."

fol. 7r, the beginning of the letter of Abbot Pedro (of 1158) relating to the distribution of the monastery's income (the full copy of this letter is included on fol. 267v; here in Caroline minuscule/protogothic, there in protogothic).

fol. 7v, full-page miniature (Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists).

fols. 8r–217v, Beatus of Liébana, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* in 12 books (3rd version, according to Sanders's classification): "In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi incipit liber Apocalipsin [initials]. Quedam que diuersis temporibus . . . "

fol. 18r, Liber primus; fol. 34r, Liber secundus; fol. 82r, Liber tertius; fol. 102r, Liber quartus; fol. 125v, Liber quintus; fol. 145v, Liber sextus; fol. 165v, Liber septimus; fol. 173r, Liber octauus; fol. 182r, Liber nonus; fol. 189r, Liber decimus; fol. 195v, Liber undecimus; fol. 205r, Liber duodecimus.

". . . Explicit codix apocalipsin sicut duodenario ecclesiarum numero ita duodenario ordine librorum incisioni distincto [initials] . . . eo quod sibi inuicem conpingantur. Explicit."

Miniatures with inscriptions explaining their contents at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts /FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add._MS_11695. Major initials in colors with zoomorphic, foliate, and/ or interlace decoration, with display script at the beginning of books and prologues.

fol. 46 broken (half); fol. 190r partially blank ("explicit storiae"); fol. 208 blank. See *Sancti Beati a Liébana Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, ed. Eugenio Romero-Pose, 2 vols. (Rome, 1985); *Beati Liebanensis Tractatus de Apocalipsin*, ed. Roger Gryson, Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 107B–C, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2012).

(3) fols. 218r–219v, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* (excerpts).

fol. 218r, table of kinship ("Auctor mei generis mici pater est").

fols. 218v–219v, "De adfinitatibus et gradibus [in red]. Heredis nomen inposuit census aeris . . . aui, proaui, abaui, ataui, titrauique uocabulum."

Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, *Etymologiarum Libri XX*. Pat. Lat. 82: 0353C–0357A.

fols. 219v–220r, "De Agnatis et cognatis [in red]. Agnati dicti, eo . . . progenitores, progenetrices; germani, germane."

Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, *Etymologiarum Libri XX*. Pat. Lat. 82: 0357A–0359A.

(4) fols. 220r–265v, Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*:

"In Nomine Domini Iesu Christi incipit explanatio in Danielis Prophete ab auctore beati Iheronimi presbiteri. Incipit prologus in libro Danielis prophete [initials]. [C]ontra profetam Danielem decimum librum scripsit . . . est quod ei respondere debeamus. Explicit explanatio Danielis prophete."

Miniatures with inscriptions explaining their content. Major initials in colors with zoomorphic, foliate, and/or interlace decoration, with display script at the beginning of books and prologues.

fol. 222r blank.

S. Eusebii Hieronymy, Stridonensis presbyter, *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam ad Pammachium et Marcellam, Liber I*. Pat. Lat. 25: 0491A–0584A.

[fols. 265v–266r, text added in a blank space: "XIII kalendas maias, hora VI, die V feria, sub era TᵃCᵃXXVIIIIᵃ [18 April 1091], regnante rex Adefonso in sedis Toleto et Kastella, Legio adque Gallecia, Nagara siue Alaua . . . in Castella. Benedictus dominus qui me adduxit ad portum operi meo. Et benedico cęli quoque regem me qui ad istius libri finem uenire permisit incolomem, amen."]

fols. 266v, 267r blank.

[fol. 267v, originally left blank, letter added by Abbot Pedro dated 24 July 1158, regarding distribution of the income of the monastery of San Domingo de Silos; Proto-gothic script:

"[I]n Dei nomine et indiuidue sancta Trinitatis. Ego Petrus, Dei gratia sancti Dominici, licet indignus, nuper factus abbas, ne forte in posterum aliqua inde oriretur dissensio, que in eadem ęcclesia minus ordinata inueni, ex mandato domini nostri Iohannis, Toletani archiepiscopi et Hispaniarum primatis, cum assensu nostri capituli, prout potuimus, hordinauimus, et ne a memoria laberetur scripto mandauimus: uidelicet reditus helemosinarie, infirmarie, operis claustri et domorum, refectorii, uestium monacorum et sacristanie.

Decimam igitur furni domus nostre et furnorum qui sunt in burgo, nouas plantaciones uinearum del burgo, decimam omnium infurcionum refectorii, butiri quę mellis et sagiminis comunis decimam, ganati ętiam quod adquisieuerimus decimam, insuper Pennam Couam cum duobus iugis bouum, de lectis mortuorum decimam, necnon tricesimum caseum porcionis refectorii helemosinarie assignauimus.

[I]nfirmarie: uillam longam, cum duobus iugis bouum, ac omne redditum ęcclesie sancti Petri, ipsumque essar de Orta; de ganato quod adquisieuerimus, preter boues masculos, qui agriculture dentur, duas partes, cellario tercia; butirum quoque, caseum, mel et sagimen infirmo de refectorio dent, seruienti famulo infirmorum porcionem de cellario.

Opera claustri et domorum: decimam offerende et caseorum, uineam ętiam magistri, uineamque cellerarii et porcionem de cellario contulimus.

Refectorio: in augusto pane, in uindemiis uinum, ab anno in annum (iusta mensuram a nobis statutam;) caseorum, butiri, mellis et sagiminis medietatem, relicum cellario, preter eaque superius aliis iam collata sunt; mortuorum quoque usque duos pene aureos refectorio in caritate concedimus, tam de possessione quam auro uel ętiam de ganato, de cetero medietatem, alteram nobis; omnes enfurciones decaniarum, morabetinorum quoque duas partes pro emendis piscibus in tempore quadragesimali, terciam nobis tribuimus.

Ad opus uestium monacorum: dimidiam partem redditus del burgo, ganati et offerende terciam dedimus partem; caseorum ętiam, qui ad ęcclesiam feruntur, terciam largiti sumus.

Addimus ętiam ad opus refectorii illa foz, ut inde semper dominicis et precipuis festis monachi caritatem ciphorum haberent uini.

Camere omnes mortuorum lectos, preter decimam, quam elemosinarie iam dedimus, esse dispossuimus.

Si quis hoc nostrum factum infringere temptauerit, siue laicus, siue clericus, anathema sit, et cum Datan et Abiron graues penas luat, et cum Iuda Domini proditore partem habeat in inferno inferiori; insuper ętiam, siue sit abbas, siue sit monacus, et ordinem et gradum amittat, et a monasterio proiciatur.

Ego Petrus abbas hanc cartam roboro et confirmo.

Facta carta VIIII kalendas agusti. Noto die Vᵃ feria, era Mᵃ Cᵃ LXXXX VIᵃ. Regnante rege Sancio in Toleto et in Castella, rege Fernando in Gallecia.

Iohanne, archiepiscopo presidente Toleto, cf.; Petrus, episcopus Burgensis, cf.; Iohannes, episcopus Oxomensis, cf.; Cerebrunus, episcopus Segontinensis, cf.; Guillelmus, episcopus Secobiensis, cf.; Paschalis, nuper abbas factus, hanc cartam roborat et cf.; abbas Michael, Sancti Petri Asilance, ts.; Michael, abbas Gomellensis, ts.; prior Martinus cf.; prior Blasius cf.; prior Uicencius cf.; Absincius cf.; Petrus camere cf.; Martinus de Salas cf.; Et omne capitulum sancti Domici confirmat. Et prior Dominicus confirmat."

Letter transcribed in Agustín Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, ed. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, Anscari Manuel Mundó Marcet, José Maria Ruiz Asencio, Blas Casado Quintanilla, and Enrique Lecuona Ribot, 1 (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999), 82.

(5) fols. 268r–279v, Miscellaneous texts, some attributed in the manuscript to Jerome, Gregory, and Augustine.

fols. 268r–269r, "Incipit liber Iheronimi presbiteri de salute anime [in red and blue]. [S]aluum me faciat dextera tua altissime Deus meus. Suscipe me secundum eloquium tuum cum fratribus . . . Odie illo quam magis pro times co domine succurre."

fols. 269r–269v, "Item Iheronimi presbiteri [in red and blue]. Sit sermo tuus adsidue in reprehensiuilis . . . Et redemptoris nostri pro misericordiam suam reparauit ad gloriam."

fols. 269v–270r, "Alia de scriptura [in red]. Cum seruo alieno conloquium . . . et hauebus uitam eternam."

fol. 270r, "Beatus Gregorius dixit [in red]. Omnipotens dominus Deus noster tardus est . . . in Iudicio terribiliter condemnari acperculi."

fols. 270r–270v, "Item alia scriptura testimonia [in red]. Tantum promptus sis ad lamentum . . . quos inuenerit ieiunantes."

fol. 270v, "De animabus defunctorum [in red]. Tres ordines sunt spiritibus defunctorum . . . et in sorte electorum sociantur, amen."

fols. 270v–271v, "Epistola Iheronimi narrat [in red]. Quod si in ieiunio . . . ipse intrauit in regnum cęlorum."

fol. 271v, "Augustini presbiteri [in red]. Orare etiam . . . et ad gaudia paradisi."

fol. 271v, "Augustinus dixit [in red]. Unusquisque nostrum in fine . . . unitatis nulla ratione discedit."

fols. 271v–272r, "De guila restringenda [in red]. Nemo potest . . . qui intruse recludit periculum."

fols. 272r–272v, "Gregorius in libro pastorale ait [in red]. Qui omnia bona sua pauperibus tribuunt . . . ad uos ait dominus operus."

fol. 272v, "De canones [in red]. Presbiter si se in adulterium . . . domine miserere nobis."

fols. 272v–273r, "Beati Macarii uisio [in red]. In diebus illis abbas Maccarius . . . et euanescit diabolus."

fols. 273r–273v, "Testimonia actuum apostolorum [in red]. Multa sunt enim testimonia . . . tu autem Domine."

fols. 273v–274r, "Capitula monacorum [in red]. Opus monaci est . . . in aliqua obedientia facienda."

fols. 274r–274v, "Alia capitula [in red]. Rogo uos fratres karisimi . . . Iui dum conuersus fuerit . . . Timeamus fratres exemplum . . . abbati uulneri tuo conscientiam."

fol. 274v, "De diem Iudicii [in red]. In finem seculi bonos a malis . . . ex fructibus cognoscetis eos."

fols. 274v–275r, "De signo ecclesie ordo [in red and blue]. Quendam interrogantem me . . . eius non occurrerint sancta eclesia. Finit."

fol. 275r, "De canones sanctorum partum [in red and blue]. Septuaginta et duos dextros . . . et angelis eius percipiat."

fols. 275r–275v, "Alia sententia de Canone [in red]. Placuit in concilio niceno . . . et locum orationis sibi negabit."

fol. 275v, "De canones Patrum [in red]. Non licet ecclesia . . . iusti ambulabunt pro eam."

fol. 275v, "Explicit feliciter, amen"; Colophon: "In nomine Domini hic liber apocalipsis abuit inicium iussu Fortunii abbatis; set, morte eius interueniente, minima pars ex eo facta fuit. Eodemque modo contigit in tempore Nunni abbatis. Ad ultimum uero, tempore Iohannis abbatis, domnus Petrus prior, consanguineus Nunni abbatis, compleuit et conplendo ab integro illuminabit. Explicitusque est in ipsis kalendis iulii mensis quando obiit gloriosus Adefonsus, totius Yspanie ymperator, era Tma CXL VII A [1 July 1109]." Visigothic script mixed with Caroline minuscule alphabet.

fol. 276r, Carpet page with a labyrinth and legend: "OB ONOREM SANCTI SEBASTIANI (MARTIRI) / ABBA FORTUNIO LIBRUM / MUNNIO PRESBITER TITULABIT HOC."

fol. 276v blank.

fol. 277r, Oviedo Cross with legend: "PAX, LUX, LEX, REX."

fols. 277v–278r, Colophon, incipit: "Alme Trinitatis diuine cęlitus inspiramine conpulsus, ego Dominico presbiter et consanguinei mei Munnio presbiter exigui libri huius prescribere sollerter cepimus opus erumnose uite huius peracto hoc gestum Siliensis cenobii sub atria

reliquias ferente sanctisimi Sebastiani et comitum eius, et sancte Marie uirginis et genetricis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et sancti Martini episcopi, et apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sancti Andree apostoli, et reliquie plurimorum sanctorum aliorum, et corpus beatissimi Dominici presbiteri et confessoris Christi, intra aula eclesie tumulatum, in quo fiunt innumerabilium uirtutum quo operatur Dominus per fidelem suum.

Regente Fortunio abba monacorum katerba. Perfectus est igitur hic liuer explanationem in se mirificam continens apocalipsis Iohannis Christi iubante dextera diemque temporis (over an erasure: XIIII kalendas maii) hora VIᵃ, die V feria, sub era TC XX VIIIIᵃ [18 April 1091]. Regnante rex Adefonso in Toleto siue Legio adque Gallecia simulque Kastella cum Naggara adque Alaua.

His uero premissis iam superius nominatis, humiliter poscimus, commendantes presentibus et futuris, qui in hoc libro fulgidam sacre explanationem apocalipsis auide legeritis, in orationibus uestris sacris memorare non desistatis, qualiter uobis intercedentibus concedatur nobis a Domino premium regni celestis gaudiumque perpetue felicitatis, amen.

Preterea, si culparum nostrarum onus nobis inclinauerit ad inferni supplicia, huius tamen laboris sollertia simul cum pia exoratione uestra proueant nos feliciter ad cęlestia regna, amen; ut illic obtinere mereamur una pariter cum omnibus nobis consortium beatorum, ubi Christo regi in dextera Patris sedenti incessauiliter gloria, laus honorque canitur ab innumerabilium turmis angelorum martirumque et omnium sanctorum, adque cum ipsis uiuere ualeamus per infinita semper secula seculorum, amen.

Fratres karissimi, quisquis hunc codicem legerit ex uobis, presentibus uel futuris, prespicaci mente legat, aures, occulos, os, cordis quod legerit discrete intellegat et intelligenda opera Domino Deo indesinenter teneat; et effundat preces ut in uitam eternam cum editoribus et auctoribus uel abtatoribus atque facientibus libri huius, uel cum omnibus sanctis locum inueniat habitationis, amen.

Orate pro hos scriptores, si regnetis cum Domino redemtore, amen.

In nomine ingeniti Prolisque ac Procedentis conexa unius semper natura Deitatis. Explicitus est liuer reuelationis ipsius Domini nostri Iesu Christi, editus et firmatus ab his auctoribus. Id est, Iheronimo, Augustino, Ambrosio, Fulgentio, Gregorio, Ticonio, Hireneo, Ambringio et Isidoro, ob honorem sancti Sebastiani et comitum eorum, et reliqua que superius retexuimus pagina.

Labor scribentis refectio est legentis. Hic deficit corpore, ille proficit mente. Quisquis ergo in hoc proficis opere, operarii lauorantis non dedignemini meminisse, ut Dominus inuocatus inmemor sit iniquitatibus tuis, amen. Et pro uocem tue orationis mercedem recipies in tempore iudicii, quando Dominus sanctis suis retribuere iusserit retributionem. Quia, qui nescit scribere laborem nullum extimat esse. Nam si uelis scire singulatim, nuntio tibi quam grabe est scripture pondus. Occulis caliginem facit, dorsum incurbat, costas et uentrem frangit, renibus dolorem inmittit, et omne corpus fastidium nutrit.

Ideo tu, lector, lente folias uersa, longe a literis digitos tene; quia sicut grande fecunditatem telluris tollit, sic lector inutilis scripturam et librum euertit. Nam, quam suabis est nauigantibus portum extremum, ita et scriptoris nouissimus uersus. Explicit Deo gratias semper."

(The names of Domingo and Munio are inscribed in flowers depicted below the colophon: "scribano Dominico" and "scribano Monnio").

fols. 278v–279v, "Uita uel gesta sancti Ildefonsi Toletane sedis metropolitani episcopi a beato Elladio eiusdem urbis episcopo edita. Ecce dapes melliflue . . . sollicitus de adipiscenda Gloria quantum."

Texts not attributed (miscellany), see Miguel C. Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader: Historical and Codicological Aspects of the Silos Beatus," in *Beatus of Liébana: Codex of Santo Domingo de Silos Monastery*, ed. Miguel C. Vivancos and Ángela Franco (Barcelona, 2001–2003), 43–51, for some correspondences.

Colophons transcribed in Millares Carlo, *Corpus* (amended), 1:81–84

Parchment 394 × 245 mm (text box 295 × 175 mm).

Beatus: 39 lines (quires I, II, III, IV, VII)/36 lines (quires V, VI, VIII to XXIII, XXVI, XXVII)/ 36 or 37 lines (quires XXIX, XXV), and 2 cols.

Ex. layout 39 lines:

Width: two columns of 68–70 mm, intercolumns of 12 mm, double vertical lines of 7.5 mm each, 47 mm blank space to the right.

Height: 17 mm blank space at the top, line spacing 8 mm, 67 mm blank space bottom. HF'FH

Ruling made on the hair side in the Caroline minuscule manner, folio by folio.

iiii + 279 + ii (6 unfoliated modern flyleaves; 2 paper and 2 parchment at the beginning, 2 parchment at the end).

Collation:

I⁴ (fols. 1–4); II³⁻¹ (fols. 5–7; last leaf missing);

Beatus (27 quires; quaternions except quire IX, which is ternion):

III–V⁸ (fols. 8–31); VI⁸ (fols. 32+32*–38; wrong modern numbering); VII¹⁻⁷ (fols. 39–45; last leaf missing—what was fol. 46 was cut and has never been considered to number the codex; thus, the next quire starts erroneously with fol. 46, instead of with fol. 47); VIII⁸ (fols. 46–53); IX⁶ (fols. 54–59); X–XXX⁸ (fols. 60–227); XXXI⁸⁻¹ (fols. 228–234; sixth leaf missing, replaced by a blank paper leaf); XXXII–XXXVI⁸ (fols. 235–274); XXXVII⁶⁻¹ (fols. 275–279; last leaf missing).

Signatures (not catchwords) used only at the end of the quires copied by the first hand (on fols. 15v, 23v, 31v, 38v, 53v, 59v, 67v, 75v, 83v, 91v, 99v, 107v, 115v, 123v, 131v, 139v, and 147v). Indications to bind the quires preserved on fols. 107v, 123v, and 139v.

Written in Visigothic minuscule script.

Begun by Munio and finished by Domingo (helped by at least two more copyists) under Abbot Fortunius in 1091 (in the sixth hour on Thursday 19 April—amended to 13 April; cf. Vivancos, "From the Editor to the Reader," 57). The illumination program was drawn by Prior Pedro and other collaborators from 1091 on, completed on 1 July 1109. See note by Pedro in fol. 6v, and colophons fols. 265v–266r, 276r, 275v, 277v–278v.

Bound in early nineteenth-century boards and green leather (French; from when the codex was owned by Joseph Bonaparte [1768–1844], Count of Survilliers and King of Spain [1808–13]). Gilt fore-edges and titles added when the codex entered the British Museum.

Notes ("Nota") added by a hand that also annotated other Silos manuscripts (e.g., BL Add. MS 30855, and BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2178; see *Beatus* 2003), fourteenth century (fols. 90r, 101r, 211v).

Written in Silos between 1091 and 1109. Antonio of Aragon (1618–50), cardinal, owned the codex according to the Spanish bibliographer Nicolas Antonio (d. 1684). Together with the rest of his library, the codex probably became the possession of Antonio of Aragon's brother, Pascual of Aragon (1626–77), Canon of Toledo, Archdeacon of Talavera, Regent of Catalonia, and cardinal: probably bequeathed by him to the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé in Salamanca in 1677 with other books from his library. Salamanca, Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé: described in the 1770 catalogue of the college's library. Madrid, Biblioteca Real, acquired the codex upon the dissolution of the Salamancan *colegios mayores* by Charles IV between 1804 and 1808: it is listed in the index of the manuscripts incorporated into the royal collection by Antonio Tavira y Almazán, Bishop of Salamanca, between 1799 and 1801. Purchased on 9 May 1840 from Joseph Bonaparte: inscription on fol. iv recto. On the codex's provenance, see Jesús Domínguez Bordona, "Una carta sobre la venta de libros en Silos," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 11 (33) (1935): 313–18, at p. 313; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, "Exlibris mozárabes," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 11 (1935): 153–63, at p. 162; Brou, "Antiphonaire," 342, 364–65.

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<center>APPENDIX 2</center>

<center>London, British Library, Add. MS 11695:
The *Beatus*'s Correspondence Between Hands/Scribes and Quires</center>

Quire	fols.	lines per page	Hand
Quire I (III codex)	fols. 8r–15v (quaternion)	39	Hand 1 (Munio)
Quire II	fols. 16r–23v (q.)	39	Hand 1
Quire III	fols. 24r–31v (q.)	39	Hand 1
Quire IV	fols. 32r–38v + fol. 32* (q.)	39	Hand 1
Quire V	fols. 39r–45v (q.)	fol. 39r – 30/26 lines	fols. 39r, 40v, 45r–v Hand 2
		fols. 40v–45v – 36 lines	fols. 41r–v, 42r–v, 43r–v, 44r–v Hand 1
Quire VI	fols. 46r–53v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire VII	fols. 54r–59v (ternion)	39	Hand 1
Quire VIII	fols. 60r–67v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire IX	fols. 68r–75v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire X	fols. 76r–83v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XI	fols. 84r–91v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XII	fols. 92r–99v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XIII	fols. 100r–107v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XIV	fols. 108r–115v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XV	fols. 116r–123v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XVI	fols. 124r–131v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XVII	fols. 132r–139v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XVIII	fols. 140r–147v (q.)	36	Hand 1
Quire XIX	fols. 148r–155v (q.)	36	fols. 148r–151v Hand 1
			fols. 152v–154va Hand 3
			fols. 154vb– 155v Hand 4 (Domingo)
Quire XX	fols. 156r–163v (q.)	36	Hand 4
Quire XXI	fols. 164r–171v (q.)	36	Hand 4
Quire XXII	fols. 172r–179v (q.)	36	Hand 4
Quire XXIII	fols. 180r–187v (q.)	36	Hand 4
Quire XXIV	fols. 188r–195v (q.)	188r–v – 37 but 189v etc. – 36 195r–v – 37 36 lines	Hand 4
Quire XXV	fols. 196r–203v (q.)	197v, 198r – 37 199r etc. – 36	Hand 4
Quire XXVI	fols. 204r–211v (q.)	36	Hand 4
Quire XXVII	fols. 212r–219v (q.)	36	Hand 4

Appendix 3

London, British Library, Add. MS 11695: The *Beatus*'s Scribes
and Their Abbreviations

Hand 1: In order of appearance: alleluia: alla (fol. 26r) | amen: am (fol. 18r) | angelus: agls (fol. 31v), aglo, aglos, agli, aglorum, aglm | apostolus (etc.): apstli (fol. 8r), apsls, apslorum, apstls, apslo, apsli, apstlis, apslos, apslis, apslm, apstlos; apslico, apslicam, apslica, apslicum, apslcs | aprilis: apls (fol. 114r) | autem: aum (fol. 10r) | benedictus (etc.): bndctio (fol. 112r) | Christus (etc.): xpi (fol. 8r), xpo, xpm, xps; xpiani (fol. 10v), xpianum, xpianitatis (fol. 13v), xpianę, xpianos, xpianitas, xpianis | David: dd (fol. 49v) | Deus: di (fol. 9r), dm, do, ds | diaconus (etc.): dcnatu (fol. 15v), dcns (fol. 32*v), dcnes | dicitur: dctr (fol. 65r) | discipulus: dscplis (fol. 111v) | dominicus: dnica (fol. 22r), dnico, dnicam, dnicum, dnicę | Dominus (etc.): dni (fol. 8ra), dns, dnm, dno, dne; dnorum, dnationes | ecclesia: ęccla (fol. 8v), ęccle, ęcclam, ęglam, ęclę, ęcclas, ęcclę, ęcclarum, ęcclsiis, ęcclis, ęcclasticos | episcopus: eps (fol. 8v), ępo, epi, eps, epscporum, ępis, epos | epistola: epstle (fol. 8v), epstla, epsla | evangelio: eglo (fol. 50r), eglii, eglio, eglm, eglio, ęglstę, eglii | finir (finit): fnt (fol. 23v) | flagellatur (etc.): fllatur (fol. 14v), fllaretur, fllla, fllabunt, fllo, fllat | frater: frr (fol. 9r), fribus, frs, frem, fris, frm, frum | Gloria (etc.): gla (fol. 20r), glam, glę; glificant, gletur, glificent, glificat, glosissimum, glificantes, glantur, glari | gratia: gra (fol. 8v), gram, gras, grę, grarum | ianuarias: inrs (fol. 114r) | Id est: ids (fol. 8r), id, idst | Iesus: ihu (fol. 8r), ihm, his | Iherusalem: Ihrslm (fol. 13v) | Iohannis: ihnnis (fol. 8v), ihns, ihnnm, ihnnes | Israel (etc.): srl (fol. 12v), srhlita | kalendas: klds (fol. 114r) | kapitulo: k (fol. 19r) | karissimus: kme (fol. 8v), kmi | martir: mres (fol. 100v) | mater: mtr (fol. 47r) | meus: mm (fol. 29r), ms, mo, mi | misericordia: mscdę (fol. 32*v), mscda, mscde | nomen: nmn (fol. 8v), nmne, nme, nmi, nmna, nna (fol. 25r), nnibus, nmnis, nmnantur, nne (fol. 42r), nnatur, nmabimus, nmari, nmę | noster: nsi (fol. 8r), nsr, nsa, nsm, nsis, nsę, nsam, nso, nsos | omnipotens: ompm (fol. 10v), omps, ompti, omptnti, ompte, ompts, omiptntm | omnis: omi (fol. 8r), omis, oms, omibus, ome, oma | pater (etc.): ptr (fol. 8r), ptre, ptri, ptris; ptriarcis, ptriarcarum | populus: pplm (fol. 9r), ppls, pplo, ppli, pplis, pplorum | presbiter (etc.): presbtrio (fol. 15v), prsbtr (fol. 32*v), prbres, prsbres, prsbtres, prsbtris, prbros, prbros | propheta: prfa (fol. 9r), prfarum, prfę, prfetis, prfas, prfam, ppham (fol. 57v), pphas, prftis, ppha, prfalis, prfetię | propter: ppr (fol. 8v), pptrea, pprea, pptr | quam: qm (fol. 9r) | quod: qd (fol. 8v) | quoniam: qnm (fol. 20r) | responsum: rs (fol. 19r) | sacerdos: scrdos (fol. 41r), scrdts, scrdtes, scrdtum | sacrificium: scfm (fol. 126v) | sanctus (etc.): sco (fol. 8r), sce, sci, scos, scis, scam, scorum, scs, scm, scę, sca; scitatis, scitate, scitas, scificandum, scificat | seculum: scli (fol. 9r), scla, sclorum, sclo, sclis, sclm, sclari | secundum: scdm (fol. 8r), scds, scda, scdo, scdam, scdas | sequitur: sqr (fol. 90r) | sicut: sct (fol. 8v) | spiritus (etc.): spm (fol. 8v), spu, sps, spibus; spale (fol. 14v), spales, spaliter, spalis, spalem, spalium, spalia | sunt: s (fol. 8r) | tempore: tmpre (fol. 100v), tmpra | uel: ul (fol. 8r) | uester: usr (fol. 20v), usis, uso, usa, usam, usm, usas, usi, usę, usorum.

Hand 2: In order of appearance: apostolus (etc.): apstlis (fol. 39r), apsls, aplos; apslica, apslicum, apslicam | autem: aum (fol. 39r) | Christus (etc.): xpm (fol. 39r), xpi, xpo; xpianus | Deus: do (fol. 40v), dm | Diabolus: dbli (fol. 45r) | diaconus: dcns (fol. 40v) | Dominus: dni (fol. 39r) | ecclesia: ęccla (fol. 39r), ęcclam | episcopus: eps (fol. 40v), epscporum, ępis, eps, ępos | est: e (fol. 40v) | fratres: frr (fol. 39r) | Id est: id (fol. 39r) | Iherusalem: Ihrslm (fol. 39r) | Israel: srl (fol. 39r) | nomen: nna (fol. 40v), nme, nmantur, nnis | non: nn (fol. 45r) | omnipotentis: ompti (fol. 40v) | omnis: oms (fol. 39r), omnibus, ome | presbiter: prsbr (fol. 40v) | propter: ppr (fol. 40v), pptrea | sanctus: scm (fol. 39r) | seculus: scli (fol. 45r) | sunt: s (fol. 40v) | uel: ul (fol. 40v).

Hand 3: In order of appearance: autem: aum (fol. 152v) | Christus (etc.): xpo (fol. 152v), xps, xpm, xpi; xpianos | Deus: di (fol. 152v), dm | diabolus: dbli (fol. 152va), dblus, diablus | dominus: dni (fol. 154r) | ecclesia: ęccla (fol. 153r), ęcclam, ęccle | episcopus: epos (fol. 153r) | est: e

(fol. 153v) | fratres: frs (fol. 153r) | Id est: Id (fol. 152va) | nomen (etc.): nnat (fol. 153r), nmn, nne, nnis | omnes: oms (fol. 153r) | populus: pplm (fol. 152v), pplo, pplis, ppls, ppli | propter: ppr (fol. 153r), pprea | quod: qd (fol. 153r) | quoniam: qm (fol. 153v) | sanctus (etc.): scorum (fol. 152va), scos, sci, sca; scitatis, scitatem | seculus: scli (fol. 153v) | sicut: sct (fol. 152va) | spiritus: sps (fol. 153v) | sunt: s (fol. 153r) | uel: ul (fol. 153r).

Hand 4: In order of occurrence: alleluia: alla (fol. 194r) | amen: am (fol. 207v) | angelus (etc.): aglos (fol. 159r), agls, aglm, aglis, aglorum, agli; arcgls (fol. 197v) | apostolus (etc.): apstls (fol. 156r), apstlos, apstlorum, apstli, apstlis; apstlicam | autem: aum (fol. 155v) | Christus (etc.): xpo (fol. 154v), xpm, xps, xpi; xpianum, xpiani, xpianitatis, xpianum | David: dd (fol. 162v) | Deus: dm (fol. 155v), ds | dicere: dcs (dicens, fol. 157r) | discipulus: dscplis (fol. 156v) | dominus (etc.): dnm (fol. 155v), dns, dno, dni, dnos, dns, dne, dnorum; dnantium (fol. 197r) | ecclesia: ecla (fol. 154v), eclam, ęclę, ęclam, ęclas, ecle, ęcla, ęcliis, eccle, eccla, ecclam, eclas, ęclarum | episcopus: ępis (fol. 154v), epi, epo, epos, epis | epistola: epstla (fol. 162v), epstlam | est: e (fol. 155r) | evangelio (etc.): eglm (fol. 155v), eglm, eglii, eglo; eglista | explanatio: expl (fol. 154v) | frater: frs (fol. 163r), fri, frem, fr, frum, fribus, fris | gloria (etc.): gle (fol. 155r), glam; glose | gratia: gra (fol. 156r), gre, gras, gram | Id est: Id (fol. 154v) | Iesus: ihs (fol. 157v), Ihu | Iherusalem: Ihrslm (fol. 156r) | Iohannes: Ihnes (fol. 197v) | Israel: sshl (fol. 165r) | meus: mm (fol. 157r), ms, mrum | misericordia: mscda (fol. 206v), mscdie | nobis: nb (fol. 162r) | nomen: nmn (fol. 155r), nmnis, nne, nmne, nnmis, nnis, nn, nnibus, nna, nmn, nnne (fol. 185r), nnis, nmnauimus | noster: nsr (fol. 162r), nse, nsi, nsm, nrr | omnipotens: ops (fol. 170r) | omnis: omis (fol. 154v), oms, omi, ome | pater: ptrem (fol. 157r), ptris, ptr, ptres | Paulus: pli (fol. 162v) | populus: ppli (fol. 155v), pplorum, pplo, ppls, pplm, pplis | presbiter: prsbri (fol. 157v) | propheta: pphare (fol. 155v), prftis, pphe, ppha, pphas, ppharum, prfe, prfa, prfas, prfarum, prfts, prftes, prftje | propter: pptrea (fol. 156r), pptr, ppr | quam: qm (fol. 158r) | quod: qd (fol. 155r) | sacerdos: scrdotes (fol. 154v), scrdotem, scrdotibus, scrdotum | sanctus (etc.): sco (fol. 156r), scm, sci, scam, scorum, scs, scis; scitatis (fol. 154v), scitatem, scificatum | seculum (etc.): sclo (fol. 155v), scli, scla, sclorum; sclarium | secundum: scdm (fol. 159v), scdam, scds, scdo | sicut: sct (fol. 154v) | spiritus (etc.): spm (fol. 155r), sps, spu; spaliter, spales, spalem, spalis, spalibus | sunt: s (fol. 154v) | tempus: tpre (fol. 162v), tmpre (fol. 199r) | uel: ul (fol. 156r) | uester: usa (fol. 157r), use, usas, usos, usis, usam, urr (fol. 189r).

Appendix 4

Codices Thought to Have Been Produced at Silos
up to the Late Eleventh/Early Twelfth Century

Reference*	Content	Current scholarship[1]		New proposal	
		Date	Origin	Date	Origin
BL Add. MS 30852	*Orationale*	9th c.	Silos	9th c.	Castile
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2616 I	Gregorius, *Homiliae*	9th c.?	Silos?	9th c.	Leonese
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2616 II	Gregorius, *Regula pastoralis*	9th c.?	Silos?	9th c.	Leonese
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2167	Gregorius, *Homiliae*	10th c.	Silos	early 10th c.	Castile
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2168	Gregorius, *Regula pastoralis*	10th c.	Silos	early 10th c.	Castile
BL Add. MS 30853	*Homiliarium, Poenitentiale ecclesiasticum*	second half 10th/early 11th c.	Silos	second half 10th c.	Castile
Czartoryski Lib., MS 3.118	Bible	late 10th c	?	late 10th c.	Castile?
BL Add. MS 30845	*Misticus*	10th/early 11th c.	Silos?	10th/11th c.	Castile
BL Add. MS 30846	*Misticus*	10th/early 11th c.	Silos?	10th/11th c.	Castile
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2178 (+ BnM MSS 822 fols.1–22)	*Passionarium (varia)*	10th/11th c.	Silos	mid-11th c.	Castile
BnF MS Smith Lesouëf, 2 I–II	*Psalterium, Liber canticorum*	11th c.	Silos	mid-11th c.	Castile/ Silos area
Archivo del Monasterio Silos, MS 6	*Missale*	11th c.	Silos?	mid-11th c.	Castile?
BL Add. MS 30855	*Vitae Patrum*	mid-11th c.	Silos	1050s	Castile/ Silos area
BL Add. MS 30844	*Misticus*	10th/early 11th c.	Silos	1060s	Castile
BL Add. MS 30847	*Breviarium*	late 11th c.	Silos?	1060s	Castile/ Silos area
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 235	*Varia scripta catholica*	10th/ mid-11 th c.	Silos	1060s	Castile/ Silos area
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 1296	*Glossarium*	mid-11th c.	Silos	late 11th c.	Castile
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2179	*Passionarium*	early 11th c.	Silos?	1070s	Silos
BL Add. MS 30851	*Psalterium, Liber canticorum, et alii*	11th c.	Silos	1070s	Silos area

(*Continued*)

Reference*	Content	Current scholarship[1]		New proposal	
		Date	Origin	Date	Origin
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2170	Cassianus, *Collationes* (fols. 237–255)	11th c.	Silos	1070s	Silos
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171	*Varia ecclesiastica, Orelogium, et alii*	mid-11th c.	Burgos area/ Silos	1070s	Burgos area/ Silos
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2169	Isidorus, *Etymologiae*	1072	Silos/ Cogolla	1072	Silos
BL Add. MS 30850	*Antiphonarium*	late 11th c.	Silos?	1080s	Castile
BL Add. MS 11695	Beatus, *Liber Apocalypsin*	1091–1109	Silos	c.1091– 1109	Silos
BL Add. MS 30848	*Breviarium*	late 11th c.	Silos	c.1091– 1109	Silos
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2176	*Homiliae*	mid-11th c.	Silos	c.1091– 1109	Silos
BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2177	*Homiliae*	mid-11th c.	Silos	c.1091– 1109	Silos

[1]See Díaz y Díaz, *Códices*, no. 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 44, 45, 46, 49, 118, 123, 125, 188, 189–90, 191, 192–94, 195, 197–98, 210–11; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 253, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268, 269, 270; *Hispania Vetus: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th–12th Centuries)*, ed. Susanna Zapke (Bilbao, 2007), 262.

*BnF MSS nouv. acq. lat. 1296, 2616 I, 2167, 2168, 2170, 2171, 2176, and 2179 are available online at Gallica, http://gallica.bnf.fr. BL Add. MSS 11695, 30844, and 30851 are digitized at the BL catalogue, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts; and BL Add. MSS 30853, 30845, 30846, and 30850 have some pages available at the BL Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts (last accessed 20 November 2019).

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