

of *Saint Alexis* is usually said to date from 1040-50 (but could well be later). The earliest surviving distinguishably Occitan texts probably postdate the Clermont poems slightly. The *Boecis*, 257 decasyllables on Boethius, is written by a scribe of the eleventh century, in an Orleans manuscript that originally came from Fleury in the tenth century (Lavaud and Machicot 1950); the *Chanson de Sainte Foi d'Agen* (593 octosyllables) is probably from the area around Narbonne, although the manuscript is from Fleury. The first stanza of the *Chanson* mentions Latin, and the second stanza apparently mentions French; the third stanza states that the author heard the tale in Latin from *clerczons* and *gramazis* (transcribed from Elcock 1975: 389-90):

I
 Legir audi sorz eiss un pin
 Del vell temps un libre Latin;
 Tot l'escoltei tro a la fin.
 Hanc non fo senz q'el non declin;
 Parled del pair' al rei Licin.
 E del linradg' al Maximin.
 Cel meïrols saintz en tal train
 Con fal venairels cervs matin:
 A clusals menan et a fin;
 Mortz los laissavan en sopin.
 Jazon eis camps cumia fradin;
 Noiz sebelliron lur vizin.
 Czo fo prob del temps Constantin.
 Canczon audi q'es bella 'n tresca,
 Que fo de razo Espanesca;
 Non fo de paraulla Grezesca
 Ne de lengua Serrazinesca.
 Deiz' e suaus es plus que bresca
 E plus qe nulz pimentz q'om mesca;
 Qui ben la diz a lei Francesca,
 Cuiq me qe sos granz pros l'en cresca
 E q'en est segie l'en paresca.

III

Tofa Basconn' at Aragons
 E l'encontraca delz Gascons
 Sabon quals es aquest cançons
 E ss' es ben vera 'sta razons.
 Eu l'audi legir a clerczons
 Et a gramadis, a molt bons,
 Si cot q monstral passions
 En que om lig estas leiczons
 E si vos plaz est nostre sons,
 Aisi cont guidai primers tons,
 Eu la vos cantarèi en dons.

Elcock (1961: 16) suggested, attractively, that *a lei Francesca*, "in the French manner", means "in the vernacular, rather than in

Latin"; not a distinction between vernaculars, but between all vernaculars and Latin. Zaal (1962), however, interpreted *Francesca* as "French" in the sense of "a French genre" rather than anything linguistic. The poem is the second of four in the manuscript, of which the other three are Latin; as usual, early Romance writing is found in the company of expert Latinity.

Arguing from the word *grezesca*, Burger has recently (1978) dated the *Chanson* to 1060-80. The date of the *Boecis* is indeterminate, so it is quite possible that the earliest surviving Occitan poem is the two-line refrain of a Latin *alba* in another manuscript from Fleury, which may be as early as 1000 (and thus contemporary with Abbo's abbacy), and is now in the Vatican (1462). Tagliavini (1972: 495-96) prints the text as follows:

Phebi claro nondum orto iurare,
 Fert aurora lumen terris tenue:
 Spiculator pignis clamat: "surgite".
Laiba par(?) umet mar atra sol
Poy pas abigil mraclar tenebras.
 En incautos ostium insidie
 Torpentesque giscunt intercipere,
 Quos suadet prece, clamat surgere
Laiba par umet mar atra sol
Poy pas abigil mraclar tenebras.
 Ab Arcturo disgregatur Aquilo,
 Poli suos conduxit astra radios,
 Orienti tendit(ur) Septemtrio,
Laiba par umet mar atra sol
Poy pas abigil . . .

The manuscript includes the music¹⁴. Every Latin line is a hendecasyllable in the usual Latin pattern (given the emendation to *renditur*), with a caesura after four syllables, and homoteleutic rhyme, apart from the *s* of *radios*. The Occitan refrain, of 9 and 11 syllables, represents a conscious attempt to specify vernacular performance. The result is a song with the verse unintelligible to laymen but the chorus not. If this is indeed the earliest surviving Occitan composition, we have here too the origins of the tradition in a combination of "Latin" and "Romance" in the same manuscript (as in the Oaths, the Eufalia sequence and the Jonah sermon).

The Occitan impulse to vernacular poetry in Italy and Catalonia is well known. In Catalonia, Provençal culture and Carolingian education

14. Tagliavini summarizes a variety of possible interpretations. Dronke fantasized another (1968: 170-72).

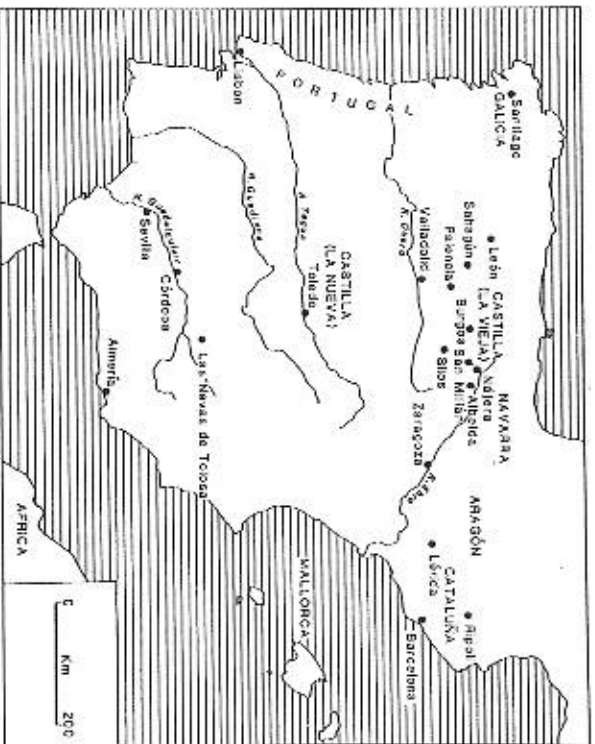
were already well established by the eleventh century. By 1100 or so, in France, the idea is spreading that writing in Romance might be an actively autonomous from writing in Latin. Spain, however, has been quite different. The advent of a distinction between Romance and Latin in Spain (outside Catalonia) does not seem to start until c.1100, or be accepted till the thirteenth century; the complicated history of Romance and Latin in Spain from 700 to 1250 forms the subject matter of the two remaining chapters.

Italy falls outside the brief of this study, but a few initial points can be made. In the first place, it tends to be thought that Northern Italy had many lay schools in the ninth and tenth centuries, with the result that education is not so intimately tied to the requirements of the church; that view was exploded by Bullough (1964), whose arguments have never been rejected. Bullough's study emphasises that *litterae*, reading and singing are all part of the same process in Northern Italy as they were elsewhere in the Carolingian area. In the tenth century, for example, Bullough has found no priest unable to write his name in documents from Novara and Parma, several references to the ecclesiastical establishment of *magistri grammaticae et cantorum*, and no evidence at all of lay schools. Norberg summarizes evidence for the perception of a difference between Latin and Italian vernacular in the tenth century (1968: 34), the coronation of Berenguer I in 915 is said to have been marked by speeches *patrio ore* and *vulgaris voce*. Gunzo of Novara distinguishes them in his *Epistola ad Augustinos* of 965: "Falso putavit sancti Galli monachus me remoum a scientia grammaticae artis, licet aliquando retarder usu nosure vulgaris lingue, que Latinitati vicina est" (Manitius 1958: 27); Pope Gregory V's epiphany (999) mentions his ability to speak *francica, vulgari et voce Latina*, presumably French, Italian and Latin. Apart from the so-called Veronese "riddle" of c.800, which is notoriously hard to interpret¹⁵, the earliest surviving intentionally vernacular Italian appears in four legal documents of the early 960s, where they are new versions of traditional sentences written elsewhere in normal Latin. Presumably the lawyers were experimenting to see if the reformed orthography aided vernacular reading back to, or by, the depositor (Sampson 1980: no.77). This experiment apparently failed, being dropped after 964. The evidence, in brief, suggests that Carolingian-influenced Northern Italy was in a similar position to France: the invention of Latin speech had led to experimentation in Romance writing.

15. *Se pareba boves, alba prestata araba/Albo versorio teneba, negro remen seninaba* (Sampson 1980: no.76).

4

SPAIN (711-1050)



(Map drawn by A. G. Hodgkiss)

The Iberian peninsula is heterogeneous. In the central Middle Ages it was even more heterogeneous than usual. The Muslim invasion of the Visigothic Kingdom began in 711, and until the mid-eleventh century Muslim rulers controlled the central and southern areas. The

North-Western corner, however, was never occupied, and the Kingdom of Asturias (after 914 called León) covered about a fifth of the peninsula. In the tenth century Moslem Spain (Al-Andalus) was a cohesive and powerful unit, but during the eleventh it disintegrated politically, until in c.1050 there were about thirty separate states in the peninsula. (For the history of the period see Sánchez Albornoz 1980; Suárez Fernández 1970; Lomax 1978: chaps.1 and 2).

The North-Eastern corner, now known as Catalonia, had a different history and culture from the other communities. For practical purposes it can be regarded as a part of the Frankish and European area (D'Abadal 1969-70; Lewis 1965).

Catalonia

The Moslem occupation of parts of Catalonia was comparatively brief, and the area was reinvaded by Carolingian forces in the late eighth century. Girona was taken in 785 and Barcelona in 801. Christian foundations in the area had been strong, and they revived in the ninth century with support from Southern France (Salmach 1978: chap.2). These communities were thus brought into the Benedictine orbit. The Eastern section of Catalonia was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Narbonne; both the Roman liturgy and the Caroline minuscule script seem to have been introduced there early in the century. In Western Catalonia the Hispanic traditions were more persistent, but by the tenth century Carolingian practice was common there too. There is thus a mixture of traditions. Pujol (1917) concluded that the act of consecration of Urgel Cathedral was written in a script containing both Gothic and Carolingian elements; Serdá (1955) showed that in the ninth century some churches kept the Visigothic rites, others used the Roman, and others were prepared to use either. The Franks themselves, however, felt some distaste for the supposedly heretical Visigothic liturgy, and Catalonia had become a Roman liturgical area by 1000 at the latest.

The abbey of Cuixà had Cluniac connections from 940 to 998, but in general Cluny had no great influence in Catalonia at this time (Cowdrey 1970: 215). The Papacy had an active interest in the area, and in the tenth century the Catalan church seems to have been as alive as anywhere else in Europe; there are several foundations then, and Ripoll (founded in 879-80) became a flourishing cultural centre. Gerbert of Rheims was there in 967-71.

Ripoll's manuscripts were catalogued by Beer (1907-08), and its Latin poetry was printed by Nicolau (1920). Nicolau showed that the

basic metric manual used was Bede's *De Arte Metrica*, of which two tenth-century manuscripts survive. Poetic texts known to be present include both Roman and Visigothic hymnals, Classical, Christian, Carolingian and post-Carolingian authors, of which Nicolau demonstrated the most important aids to composition were Vergil and Sedulius (Vergil as the ideal, Sedulius as a practical model). The subject matter of the poetry often included items of local interest, such as in Abbot Oliva's Poem in praise of Ripoll, c.1040 (Carcia Villada 1914). These poems also included the intellectual games of patterned poetry and complicated acrostics, such as the ninth- or tenth-century tour-de-force *Metra suit certa si visat rectius artem* (Nicolau 1920: no.40, p.57), where that palindromic sentence is the first line, last line, acrostic, telestich and double diagonal reading, and the middle line, the palindromic *Uy cttius repsit ne ventis persuit lectu*, is also readable downwards through the centre of each line. There can accordingly be no doubt that reformed Latin and linguistic sophistication were present at Ripoll.

One of the best-known poems from Ripoll was not studied by Nicolau: the *Carmen Campi Doctoris* (Menéndez Pidal 1947: 880-84; Wright 1979). This poem in rhythmic sapphics deals with episodes in the early life of Ruy Díaz (El Cid), and is broken off in the manuscript during the description of a skirmish of 1082. It was probably composed soon after that event. The skill in its composition is manifest. Every final line of a stanza, for example, has five written vowels as in the sapphic metre, but in addition the poet has managed to create a near-constant adonic stress pattern of / . . / . which corresponds to the classical sapphic pattern of long and short (- - - - -). This rhythm often recurs in the first half of the hendecasyllables, all of which end paroxytonically (/) with homoteleutic rhyme. There can be no doubt that this poem deserves the name of "rhythmic" verse, which is often loosely given to less skilled compositions from other parts of Spain in which the syllable count of written vowels may be constant but the idea of a concomitant rhythm has been lost.

In the fourth stanza, the author says that he learnt this technique as part of his education:

Verum et ego parum de doctrina
quamquam aurissem e pluribus pauca
ritritrice (sic) tamen dabo ventis vela
pavidus nauta.

There is no reason to doubt the literal truth of this; he had once been taught to write *ritritrice*, which as exemplified in his own composition was a sophisticated form using reformed European Latin.

This knowledge and teaching of Latin continues through the twelfth century, at the end of which appear the verses of the 'Anonim Enamorat' (Nicolau 1920: nos.20-39; most recently studied by Dronke 1979), and into the thirteenth. By this time, Catalans have begun writing in vernacular, particularly troubadours, who when writing were following the linguistic norms of written practice already established by then in Occitan. Catalan troubadours continued to make a significant contribution to the corpus of Occitan lyric until c.1280 (see Terry 1972: 4-12); Ramón Llull (1233-1316) wrote Occitan poems and Catalan prose.

Catalan prose had been written before verse. A notarial tradition existed here, as elsewhere, of writing documents in vernacular with a light Latin veneer. (For Catalan philology, see Badia Margant 1951; Bastardas 1977.) The earliest surviving writing in Catalan comes from the late eleventh and twelfth century; it includes the six sermons known as the *Homilies d'Organyà* (Coronines 1976-77: 1127-53), which usually present a section of Latin text followed by translation and commentary in Romance. It thus seems to be at a more advanced stage of the continuing Carolingian sermon tradition than the Jonah fragment. The sermons are similar to the twenty-two approximately contemporary Piedmontese sermons that are probably among the earliest examples of North Italian prose (Sampson 1980: no.78). There is a late eleventh-century oath among the surviving texts which is almost entirely in Catalan, presumably (as at Strassbourg) designed to aid performance (reproduced from Russell-Gebbett 1965: no.12):

Juro ego Guillem Pong, fil de Bonadonna femina, a ti Bertan, fil de Guila femina, che eu de ista ora in antea fidelis te secel sen frau e mal engien e ses neguna deceptio, cho<n> om deu esser a son senior chui manubus se comanda. Juro ego Guillem Pong, fil de Bonadonna femina, a ti Bertan, fil de Guila femina, che de ista ora in antea no-t prendrei ni no-t reterei ni no-t oucidrei ni no-t tolrei ta vita ne ta membra qui a ton corps se tenet, ni de achels <alods et de la> onor que oide abes ne che ena/n/ft ab meu conseil acceptars no la-t tolrei ni no re-n tolrei. E si es om o femina chi la-t tola ni te-n tola, aliori te-n secel per direcam (?) fer sen engien, e totes celes veds che me-n comonias per ti o per tos misericos comoniment no men devedarei e del aliori no-t engannarei. Sicur superius es escrit si t'o tenrei e si t'o atendrei per dieta fez sen engien.

There is also a surviving fragment of a twelfth-century Catalan translation of the *Forum Judicium* (the Visigothic law code; Russell-Gebbett 1965: no.16).

Organyà, where the sermon manuscript was discovered, is in the diocese of Urgell in Western Catalonia (in the modern province of Lleida). There are sufficient Catalan features in the language for this to qualify unequivocally as Catalan, but there are nevertheless signs that the writer had previously received his training in vernacular writing in Occitan. This is hardly surprising; someone who could write in the established vernacular tradition is more likely to have been given the task of writing these sermons than someone who could not. The orthographical practice as used in the eleventh-century *Chanson de Sainte Foi d'Agén* (known to Catalanists as *Cargó de Santa Fe*) from the Narbonne area is likely to have been in essentials the standard taught and used in Catalonia, and whoever adapted it into the system of the *Homilies* must have had considerable linguistic insight to notice those elements that might need to be written differently south of the Pyrenees (although the opposite view, that this is 'provençalised Catalan', is found in Russell-Gebbett 1973: 247). So although the fluency of the homilies attests an author practised in writing vernacular, that fluency could have been acquired in what Tagliavini (1972: 499) called the 'literary *Koiné* of Provençal'. Eiseck (1975: 453) pointed out 'a multitude of points of resemblance between the language of the *Homilies d'Organyà* and that of the *Chanson de Sainte Foi d'Agén*', although in a more recent study Gökçen (1977) has decided that 'the Provençal element in it is minimal'. The fifth homily starts as follows (Coronines 1976-77: 143):

Domínica inicio XLagesima

In illo tempore, ductus est Ihesus in deserto in spiritu ur temptatur a Diabolo. Et cum jejunasset .XII. diebus et .XII. n<coribus>, postea esurit. <Sermons>, audir e entendre deven lo Sent Evangelh per que aizò vol dir e mostrar que l N<ostre> S<enier> grans penas e grans trebals e grans dolors soferí per nós; per aizò gar el nos voig salvar e crer de poder de Diabie. Gar enaixí trobam que el dejunà .XII. dies <e> .XII. nuits, que anc no beg ne menjà, e enaprés si ag fam. <Sermons>, el no dejunà gens per zo que el agés peccat fei, per que el degés fer penitencia ni degés dejunar, mas per exemple o fet de nós e per zo que nós dejunàsem per los nostres peccads. E per aizò gar el dejunà .XII. dies e .XII. nuits, mostrà que el ere ver Déus; et aizò que el ag fam mostrà <que> ere ver om; e per aizò deven cretre que el fo ver Déus e ver om. Et enaprés sí dix l'Evangelh que can N<ostre> S<enier> ac fam, sí veng lo Diabie a el e voig-lo temptar e dix; Si filius Dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. — Si tu es fili de Déu, di a les pedras que s tornen pa e mangan.

Many of the Latin words are abbreviated to the initial letter alone;

probably the preacher would have the Missal open anyway, and such shorthand would save time. The appearance of such "bilingual" material in the Carolingian areas is one of many features to show that Catalonia is a part of "European" culture in these years, sharing the contemporary Latin-Romance distinction.

Catalan writing is unlike French in that it springs into existence fully armed. The monks at Ripoll felt no apparent need to experiment with vernacular writing approximating Catalan, because there was no market and the vernacular pattern was established in Occitan. The twelfth-century poet known as the Anonymous Lover was aware of Provençal literary traditions, and for all we know may have used them in Occitan poems of his own. Catalan writing seems to have lacked the "experimental" phase attested elsewhere although some eleventh- and twelfth-century documents have the same kind of Latinate camouflage put onto a vernacular base that is common in the rest of Spain (see Chapter 5).

After the fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the Council of Lleida (1229: see the next chapter), attempts were made to increase the level of Latinity among the priesthood. At the Council of Tarragona in 1233, the following order appeared in second place (Tejada 1849-62: III 363):

Item, statuitur ne aliquis libros veteris vel novi testamenti in Romancio habeat. Et si aliquis habeat, infra octo dies post publicationem huiusmodi constitutionis a tempore sententiae, tradat eos loci episcopo comburendos. quod nisi fecerit, sive clericus fuerit, sive laicus, tamquam suspectus de haeresi, quousque se purgaverit, habeatur.

Jaume I repeated this in 1234. This has been taken to imply the existence of Catalan Biblical translations, although *Romançó* could as easily be Occitan (or French). The decree concerning vernacular scriptures reiterated one made in 1229, against the Cathars, at the Council of Toulouse, so there may not have been any in Catalan at all. (None of the church councils of the previous century in Catalonia even mention this problem, not even that of Girona, convened in 1197 to combat the Waldensians.) Jaume I was in the event the patron of the establishment of Catalan prose as the official language of the Crown of Aragon, and by the end of his reign lengthy Catalan works of many kinds had appeared.

Catalonia is thus a special case of the Carolingian development of Medieval Latin and written Romance. Further west, the relationship is more complicated.

Moslem Spain

Moslems dominated three-quarters of the peninsula until the late eleventh century. At times Christian communities prospered in Moslem Spain; these Christians are now usually called *mozárabes*, although the term was not in use at the time (Hitchcock 1978). Toledo remained the archbishopric, in theory with authority over the north as well. Archbishop Elipandó of Toledo became an international figure as the proponent of "adoptionism", a view which was condemned in Regensburg in 792 and then with greater force at the Council of Frankfurt in 794 (*MGH Conc.* II i 110-71). He corresponded with Charlemagne, and at greater length with Alcuin, quoting from the Visigothic liturgy in support of his views (the letters are in Gil 1973a: I 93-111; cp. also Rivera 1940). As a result, a slight taint of heresy remained attached to the Spanish church in European eyes. The church was untouched by the Carolingian revival until well into the eleventh century.

Ninth-century Córdoba saw considerable literary activity among the Christians, in particular from Albaro (Paulus Alvarus) and Eulogio (Simonet 1903: 338-502; Gil 1973a: I 143-361, II 363-503; Sage 1943). Eulogio was eventually canonized after his martyrdom on 11th March 859. Albaro wrote his life (Gil 1973a: I 330-43; translated in Sage 1943: 190-214). According to Albaro, Eulogio made a visit to some of the Pyrenean monasteries of Navarra and Aragón in 848 (Lambert 1953; López 1961). It may have been from Leyre that Eulogio brought back the following books:

librum Civitatis beatissimi Agustini et Eneidios Vergilii sive Iubenalís metricos ídem libros atque Flacci saturata poemata seu Porfirii depincta opuscula vel Adhelemi epigramatum opera non et Abieni Fabule metricae et Ynnorum catholicorum fulgida carmina . . .
(chap. 9; Gil 1973a: 335-36)²

collectively described as *multa volumina librorum . . . abstrusa*.

The poetry in particular seems not to have been previously known in Córdoba. Eulogio recovered the secrets of metric verse and taught them to his associates from the time of his imprisonment in 851; *ibi metricos quos adhuc nesciebat sapientes Hispanie pedes perfectissime docuit nobisque post egressionem suam hosteratit*³. No metrical

1. The supposed papal authorization of the Visigothic rites in 924 (printed in Tejada 1849-62: III 217) is now thought to be an eleventh-century invention: see Hitchcock (1973: 21).
2. The *Porfirii depincta opuscula* must have been the "shaped" poetry of the fourth-century Publilius Optatianus Porfirius, which was often given rubrics in coloured ink; it was a genre fashionable among the Carolingians and imitated in the Rioja and in Catalonia.
3. The Latin says unambiguously *docuit* (Gil 1973a: 333, II.15-16), but Sage declares this to be a mistake for *didicit* (1943: 195, n.18).

work of Eulogio's survives, but several hexameters and elegiacs composed by Albaro do (GIL 1973a: 344-61). Pérez de Urbel (1926: 9) said unkindly that if Eulogio had taught Albaro metrics, then the latter's poems show that Eulogio's efforts were in vain: Sage asserted that "of his writings, only the poems are of negligible value" (1943: 216). In fact, given that he thought it permissible to lengthen a final syllable, particularly before the caesura, his poems are not unacceptable. For example, his *Versi in Bibliotheca Leobegildi Einsidem Albari* start as follows:

Sunt hic plura sacra, sunt vero decemata clara,
Que Deditis ope fulgent per cardina mundi,
Hic noba cum uetera pariter sunt clare decora,
Aurea dicta Dei, summi prudentia Patris,
Que totus celebrat quadrato uertice mundus.
Principium libri Genesis primordia pandit
Mundi, qui rerum naturas certe reuelat.
Exodus Egypto populam per brachio ducit.
Tertius Leuiticus ornat insigne canillas.

(GIL 1973a: 350)

Albaro sometimes points out that his poem is indeed written *metricae*; his *Lamentum metricum* declares "Albarus . . . metricae set ecce reuocat" (i.e. *reboat*: 14; GIL 1973a: 349). Other scholars to benefit from the rediscovery of metrics (while disregarding the strict rules of elision) were Cyprian (GIL 1973a: 685-88) and the abbot Samson, whose acrostic epitaph for abbot Offilo runs as follows:

Offilo hic tenui uersus in puluere dormit,
Fallentem mundum olim qui mente subegit
Fragrantisque dapces tempit et pocula fulua,
Infernum uirgo mallens uitare celidum,
Laudetur talis multorum lingua sacerdos,
Obteratur illi et celli portio dari.

(GIL 1973a: 665)

There is no way of knowing how these were read.

Rhythmic poetry, however, was known before Eulogio's voyage. This erudite genre was taught, within the general grammatical instruction based on Donatus. The traditional hymns were available as models, and the technical definition of a syllable (as a written vowel) was still there in grammars to be used as the basic unit of the rhythmic genre. According to Albaro (GIL 1973a: 332, II.1-2), he and Eulogio were taught this skill by the abbot Sperandeo, and wrote poems to each other: "ritimicis uersibus nos laudibus mulcebamus; et hoc erat exercitium nobis melle suavior, fabis iucundior."⁴ Rhythmic poetry was still

4. Sage points out (1943: 193) that this wording comes from Ps. 18, 11 (= 19, 10).

meant to be sung, and Eulogio was apparently expert at that too: "ubi uersi quorum ille ignoraret canora?" (GIL 1973a: 335, 1.11). None of these early productions seem to be among the surviving texts. One which Simonet (1903: 342 n.5) by implication dates to the 830s is Vincent's *Carmen Poenitentiale*, described by Simonet as "preciosa muestra del romance octosilabo, usado ya por San Agustín, perfeccionado por los mozárabes" (1903: 343); "a precious example of the octosyllabic ballad form, as used by St Augustine and perfected by the mozárabs". This poem knows no elision and is structured on an octosyllabic hemistich, usually with rhyme:

Deus miserere mei, Deus miserere mei,
Miserere, miserere, parce in peccatis meis.
Alme Rector et Redemptor cernuo uultu precamur,
Qui uenisti liberare sauciumque telis grauem.
Tu me libera de penis, pone finem malis meis,
Abiue que tanta gessi nec sinas baratro mergi.
Dignum quid minime egi, sed semper in preceps rui,
Men<te> et corpore deliqui, desiderans malum fui,
Peccatorum mole pressus erigi post lapsus mallens,
Manu porridge iacenti et a sorde terge clemens.
Inmensum malum insectans, nequiter laneste uibens,
<Sum> lacrimans euulsiante cum merore obsecranti:
Solue uinculum delicti, excipe precam poscenti<S>,
Confidenti iam reatu depende quod supplicatur.
Editi os uersus idem tristes et amarus quidem:
Zabulo diu consensi. Uincensius ego ipse,
Miscenque sareris tuis non confido bonis meis.
Nactus ueniam commisi<S>, propitius esto mihi.
Gloria tibi creator, gloria, immense nate:
Dauians crucem supplexi omnem mundum redemisti.

(GIL 1973a: 688)

Julian of Toledo had repeated in his Grammar (II xx 2-4) the old view that rhythmic verse, unlike metric verse, was meant to appeal to the ear. After a list of eight principal metres he added:

Siquid praeter haec, quod non ad certam pedum legem, sed ad temporum rationem modumque referatur, vel scribit quispiam, vel ab alio scriptum iegerit, id non metrum sed rhythmum esse sciat.⁵
... rhythmus . . . numero syllabarum ad iudicium aurium examinata, ut puta ueluti sunt carolica uulgarium poetarum. Da eius

5. That sentence is taken from Melliss Theodorus (Kell VI 588, 23-25), and seems to imply that metric verse was sometimes read aloud in "rhythmic" fashion, i.e. with normal stress. The phrase *carolica uulgarium poetarum* (below) comes from the fourth-century African Marius Victorinus, but the example does not (Kell VI 206).

exemplum: "Lupus dum ambularet viam incontravit asinum"¹⁶.
 Potest esse metrum sine rhythmo, aut rhythmus sine metro?
 Metrum sine rhythmo esse non potest, rhythmus sine metro esse
 potest. Quare? quia metrum est ratio cum modulatione, rhythmus
 modulatio sine ratione.

Metric verse is *ratio* — an artificial mathematical calculation — and *modulatio* — speech pattern, rhythm; rhythmic verse is rhythm without the calculations. At the time when the Carolingians are elaborating their own techniques, in Córdoba the "rhythmic poets" seem to be broadly continuing the tradition as taught by Julian 150 years earlier. Germán Prado (1928: 56) pointed out that this *Carmen Poenitentiale* was like the *preces* or *miserationes* of the mozarabic liturgy; that liturgy was daily performed by such as Vincent and the pattern was familiar to the ear of any Christian.

Some of the rhymes in this *Carmen* will have "pleased their ears" by not following the post-Alcuinian precepts of giving the same pronunciation to a letter on every occasion. E.g. it seems probable that rhyme is intended in line 3 between *redemptor* and *precarum*; rhyme is there if we concede contemporary pronunciation even of vanished morphology (i.e. [pregamor] for *precarum*), but not in post-Carolingian medieval Latin, where *ur* and *or* require distinct vowels. The same recourse to vernacular can apply to *liberare/igravere* (4), *consensu/ipse* (16) and *nate/redemisti* (19-20).

Presumably this is modelled on earlier hymns and exploits the traditional licence to lengthen or preserve syllables unnaturally in performance for the purposes of the musical form. Elision, present in colloquial speech but not in formal song styles, is absent where it might be expected in lines 2, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19 and 20. Gii's enunciation to *mente* in l.8, however, would require elision with *et*. Romance palatalizations are similarly avoided in *sauctum* (4), *dau* (16), *Vincentius* himself (16), *propitius* (18), but not in *supplicii* (20), since in the grammars *i* is regularly said to be one vowel, not two. This poem is carefully arranged, but, as Simonet cannily observed, octosyllables please the natural Spanish ear (as in the ballads) rather than the educated classicist, who does not think in isosyllabic terms, and this

6. This line is 'normalizing'. If it is indeed from a popular song, subsequent Spanish developments suggest the stresses are on *Lup-*, *-du-*, *v-*, *-trah-*, *-du-* (cp. *lodo*, *andare*, *vig*, *encontro*, *asno*), which form no clear pattern. Julian says it is based on the number of syllables; in strict rhythmic technique this, like Vincent's *Carmen*, has sixteen written syllables but without a caesura (as does the manuscript variant *lupus dum ambulabat viam obviansi asymum*; Bischoff 1959 n.27). The odds are, then, that this is not a popular song; all that "rhythmic" and popular verse share is a disregard of quantity.

Carmen is interpretable as high-style but vernacular Spanish of the ninth century.

There are perhaps thirty to forty mozarabic hymns surviving from Moslem Spain. *Analecta Hymnica* XXVII is the mozarabic volume, but makes no systematic attempt to distinguish those composed in Moslem Spain from those composed further north. Some have been attributed to Albaro and Eulogio. Thorsberg (1962) ascribes *AH* XXVII no.113 to Eulogio because of the acrostic, and suggests nos.111 and 167 are also his; she also suggests that nos.126 and 207 could be Albaro's. Szövérfy (1971: 55) also ascribes no.118 to Albaro, which celebrates Eulogio himself and has the acrostic *Albarus te rogat spes* (?=salves). (Messenger (1946) discusses these hymns as if the composers knew of Frankish customs, which is doubtful.) Hymns are intrinsically intended for oral reproduction, and are thus rhythmic rather than metric. Norberg (1968: 135-46) has devoted an extended study to Albaro's *Christus est virtus* (no.126), pointing out that *-o*, *-u* and *-um* rhyme, that *ca* is disyllabic, only two cases of syncope (*deífica*, *idoneus*) and "exemples d'une prosodie extrêmement bizarre" such as the stressed [e] in *fuero* (IX 5, as in O. Sp. *fuere*).

Szövérfy said of the Spanish hymns that "in some cases the exact rhythmical principles determining the verse forms are not yet clear" (1971: 201). Editors have long been prepared to allow for the prothetic *e*- before words beginning with *s* and another consonant, e.g. *AH* XXVII no.207, Stanza 4, l.2: *Deceptis oculis cernunt (e)squalia*. If Thorsberg is right to attribute this hymn to Albaro, then he must be assumed to have used such a prothetic syllable himself. This hymn has assonance with final *-a*; if we postulate vernacular pronunciation, with *-m* and *-t* as "silent" letters, the whole hymn rhymes in [-a] with the exception of stanza 9. (In stanza 9 the rhyme words are *nuptias*, *servant*, *referant*, *marcant*.) Some of the regularity Szövérfy seeks is to be found in vernacular phonetics.

Most of Albaro's work was in carefully worked prose, with an elaborate literary style, including prose rhyme and the rhythmic clauses to be found in Augustine and Jerome (Sage 1943: III 4). The manuscript of his prose works, now MS 123 in the archive of Córdoba cathedral (García y García et al 1976) is said by Díaz y Díaz (1979: 167 n.6) to be a tenth-century Northern copy, but there is no reason not to assume that it is a faithful copy; and Díaz y Díaz previously pointed out (1957: 381) what a number of confusions there are here between voiced and unvoiced consonants (e.g. *reveratur* for *referatur*). Eulogio's prose works only survive in the transcription made in 1574 by Ambrosio

de Morales of Alcalá, whose version was reprinted by Migne (*PL* CXV 703-966). Morales said (918B) that the Latin of his text was too bad to be reproduced verbatim. He edited it, reluctantly ("nos religione quaedam reverenter tucti, nihil emendare volumus"), but printed a selection of solecisms to show that within it there were "genera confusa, casus perversi, numerus in nominibus et verbis neglecti: et tota inde Latini sermonis structura dissipata, descriptendum; non auctoritas fuisse vitia, est manifestum. Idcirco nos omnia eiusmodi emendavimus. . .". It seemed obvious (*manifestum*) to Morales that the non-Classical nature of the text could not be ascribed to Eulogio himself, but that seems less likely now. Simonet (1888: CXXXVI-VII) pointed out that the same abundance of "solecisms" is to be found in virtually all mozarabic documents, including the works of Elipando of Toledo, Alvaro, Samson, and the Acts of the Council of Córdoba in 839. In particular he showed the breakdown of the original case system, with such examples as *vestro scripto accipi, cum compiles, ad nullo mistero, per toto orbe*, etc., where singular forms end in vowels and the plural adds *s*; Gil (1971: 201) concluded that "the collapse of the case system could hardly be more complete" in Alvaro's works. Miles (1950: 113) mentions bilingual gold coins, dated to 716-17, of which the non-Arabic inscription reads FERITROSSOLINSRANXXCVII (SOLI for solidus, as Amador 1862: II 582 suggests; unless FERITOS is a mistake for FERITOS, as Miles proposes).

The Early Romance of Moslem Spain was known to its users as *latinas*. This word can lead to modern confusion; the Visigothic scholars used it to contrast with Greek or Hebrew, and Simonet (1888: XXXIII-IV, XXXV-VII) established that in Moslem Spain it was used to refer to the non-Arabic vernacular (as was Arabic *Al-Latini*). It is not contrasted with any other variety of Latin-Romance speech, and no hint appears of the existence of two spoken layers. There are indications, however, that the writing of this *latinas* in the correct manner was hard. There is a famous but obscure passage at the end of Alvaro's *Incalculus Luminosus*, an anti-Moslem tract, in which Alvaro seems to be complaining that many Christians do not know their own language. What he seems to mean is that they can read and write Arabic but cannot read and write their native *latinas*:

Sic et dum illorum sacramenta inquinamus et filosoforum, immo filiooportum sectas scire non pro ipsorum convincendos herores, set pro elegantiam lepors et locutionem luculentem disertam neglectis sacris lectionibus congregamus, nisi aliquid quam numerum nominis eius in cuiusculo nostro quasi idola conlocamus. Quis, rogo, odie solters in nostris fidelibus layers invenitur,

qui scripturis sacris intentus volumina quorumcumque doctorum Latine conscripta respiciat? Quis euangelico, quis profetico, quis apostolico usus tenetur amore? Nonne homines iudens Xpiani vultu decori, lingue disertu, habitu gestuque conspicui, gentiliu <A> eruditioni preclari, Harabico eloquio sublimati volumina Caliceorum haudissime tractant, intensissime legunt, ardentissime disserunt et argenti studio congregantes lata construatque lingua laudando divulgant, eclesiasticam pulchritudinem ignorantem et ecclesie flumina de paradiso manantia quasi utilissima contemnerent? Heu pro dolor, legem suam nesciunt Xpiani et linguam propriam non aduertunt Latini, ita ut omni Xpi colligto vix inveniatur unus in milleno hominum numero qui saluatoris fraza possit rationabiliter dirigere literas, et repperitur absque numero multiplices tubas qui erudite Caldaicas verborum explicet pompas, ita ut metricae eruditioni ab ipsis gentibus carmine et sublimiori pulcritudine finales clausulas unius littere coartatione decorent, et iuxta quod lingue ipsius requirit idioma, que omnes vocales aptos commata clauditi et cola, rithmice, immo ut ipsis competit, metricae universi alfabeti litterae per varias dictiones plurimas variantes uno fine coniunguntur vel simili apice. Multa et alia erant que nostre huic expositioni exhiberent firmataem, immo que ipsam parule in lucem producerent.

(Gil 1973a: 314-15)

The section from *Quis, rogo, . . . onwards* has been bravely translated by Colbert (1962: 301) as follows:

What trained person, I ask, can be found today among our laity who with a knowledge of Holy Scripture looks into the Latin volumes of any of the doctors? Who is there on fire with evangelical love, with love like that of the prophets, like that of the apostles? Do not all the Christian youths, handsome in appearance, fluent of tongue, conspicuous in their dress and action, distinguished for their knowledge of Gentile lore, highly regarded for their ability to speak Arabic, do they not all eagerly use the volumes of the Chaldeans, read them with the greatest interest, discuss them ardently, and, collecting them with great trouble, make them known with every praise of their tongue, the while they are ignorant of the beauty of the Church and look with disgust upon the Church's rivers of paradise as something vile. Alas! Christians do not know their own law, and Latins do not use their own tongue, so that in all the college of Christ there will hardly be found one man in a thousand who can send correct letters of greeting to a brother. And a manifold crowd without number will be found who give out learnedly long sentences of Chaldean rhetoric. So that from the more sophisticated song of those people they embellish their final clauses metrically and in more polished beauty with the bond of a single letter, according to the demands of that tongue, which closes all phrases and clauses with ringing vowels and even, as is possible for them, the

various expressions containing the letters of the whole alphabet are all metrically reduced to one ending or to a similar letter. There are many other things which would have shown the reliability of this explanation of ours; that is, which would have brought out into the light the things we are exposing.

The text is too obscure for a translation of some of the details to be established with certainty, but a few conclusions can be drawn. *Litterae* here are letters of the alphabet or epistolary, but not the *litterae* which have become standard in the contemporary Carolingian civilization as the method for reading aloud. The word *litterae* is used to refer to people of Hispano-Roman-Gothic descent, as if it is a near-synonym of *origines*; works *litterae conscriptae* are contrasted to works in Arabic. This meaning of *litterae* is that of the surviving vernacular word *litterado*, as used in the *Poem of the Cid* 1.2667; there the *moro litterado* is so called specifically because he speaks and understands vernacular Spanish (Michael 1976):

"Ya pues que a dexar avemos fijas del Campeador,
"si puésseremos matar el moro Avengalvón.
"quanta rriquizza tiene aver la iernos nós.
"Tan en salvo lo abremos como lo de Carrión,
"nunqua avrié derecho de nós el Cid Campeador."
Quando esta falsedad dizién los de Carrión,
un moro latinado bien se lo entendió;
non tiene portidat, dixolo [a] Avengalvón:
"Acayaz, cúfiate d'éstos, ca eres mio señor,
"tu muert of cosseiar a los ifantes de Carrión."
(2661-70)

The word *litterado* (<LATINUM) survived with the specific linguistic meaning of "Spanish written by Jews", and with the meaning of "cunning", particularly for romance-speaking *mozos*; *litterado* was rendered as *litterado* in a Chronicle prosification of the epic (Menéndez Pidal 1944: 729). The word *litterae*, which specifically does refer to a non-Romance Latin, is a borrowing from the French, taken in c.1100; its French provenance is made almost certain by the absence of the original final syllable. (The distinction between *litterae* and Spanish seems to be adopted then too.) The use of *litterae* to mean Latin-Romance, as opposed to Arabic, is also found north of the religious border; the foundation charter of the Navarrese monastery of San Martín de Albelda (8-1-924) mentions "qui locus vocatur illorum incredulorum chaldeae lingua Albelda, nos quoque latino sermone nuncupamus Alba"; Arabic *albatá* and Latin *alba* both mean "white" (Vicuña Ruiz 1971: 219). The much-quoted Toledo document which distinguishes *litteratum* *circa romanorum* from *litteratum obscurum* is a red herring, for it is dated

1290; Latin and Romance are obviously distinguished by then, and applying this distinction to earlier times is anachronistic⁷.

The final section of Albaro's complaint is intriguing. He seems there to be describing a practice whereby Christians take over Arabic verses and add bits of their own to the end. The text is almost unintelligible, but it is tempting to suggest that they might conceivably be using the *muwshshaha* form, the endings of some of which contain the supposedly Romance *kharijas*.

The most interesting comments on Christian language in Moslem Spain, however, come from the Abbot Samson. He seems to have been employed to translate letters from Arabic into *litteratum eloquium* in the year 863:

Et ut mea oratio retrograderet paululum, cum epistole regis Hispanie ad regem Francorum essent sub era DCCCLa dirigende, appellatvs ex regio decreto ego ipse, quatenus, ut pridem facere consueueram, ex Caldeo sermone in Latinum eloquium ipsas epistolas deberem transferre, adfui et feci.
(Gil 1973a: 554)

Colbert (1962: 363-64) points out that these letters were sent with a delegation to Charles the Bald (which returned in 865). Samson is proud of his erudition. In his *Apologeticus*, written to defend himself from charges of heresy, he takes the time to attack the language used by his opponent Hostegesis (*Apol.* II 7; Gil 1973a: 569-72; translation, Colbert 1962: 371-78). Samson complains that Hostegesis misspelt *contenti* as *conempiti*, and follows it with a nominative rather than the dative, in *conempti essemus simplicitas Xpiana* (I 22); although (as Hagerly 1978: 234 points out) it should in fact take the ablative. Hostegesis mistakes the gender of *peris* (IV 5-9), and calls Samson an *idolatrix*, a word never before said nor heard (V 15-20). Such matters are collectively regarded as a lack of *litteritas*. In Hostegesis' written condemnation of Samson, "si latinatem quis querat, difficile poterit invenire" (I 9-10); he is, by general consent, "magis barbarum quam oratorem latine facundie" (I 19); this ridicule is shared by "omnes latinatis gnari" (II 1); he is called a "nove latinatis inventor" (III 12),

7. Quoted by Menéndez Pidal 1926: para.95: "Ille est vituperandus qui loquitur latinum circa romanorum, maxime coram laicis, ita quod ipso met intelligitur; et ille est laudandus qui semper loquitur latinum obscure, ita quod nullus intelligit cum nisi clericis; et ita debent omnes clerici loqui latinum suum obscure in quantum possunt et non circa romanorum." This is in any event a translation of an apocryphal remark in Arabic. For its modern misuse as a comment on pre-reform language, see e.g. Avallé (1965) and the excellent review by Harris (1967). *Litteratum* is in fact the same noun phrase in both sentences meaning "Latin"; the contrast is between the adverbial phrases *circa romanorum* and *obscurae*.

even an "auctor lingue nobelle" (V 5-6). As regards *idolatrix*:

Si latinus sermo . . . hoc recipere non recusaret, si Romana
facundia caperet, si urbanum labium fieri posse monstraret,
idolatrix vir et idolatrix mulier dicere quispiam posset . . .

(V 10-12)

The *barbarus* is criticized for *rusticitas* and if he gets something right it is only by accident, "furtivum casu recta conscribere", since he is incapable of consciously achieving "tutorem Romani sermonis" (V 33-36). This latter comment shows that here *latinitas* involves the written skill of emulating the long-dead Romans. Hostegesis's failings are specifically in the art of writing; a failure to use correctly the morphology, orthography and vocabulary taught in the best schools on the basis of venerated ancient texts. Had there been a Latin-Romance distinction, it is hard to believe that Sanson could not have found something phonetic to criticize in his opponent's usage; yet the *contempti/contempt* distinction, for example, is discussed in orthographical terms ("per n scribitur, non per m, ut tu, indocte doctor, tempestati scribere"). *Latinitas* here is a skill that can be exercised well or clumsily (*barbare/rustice*) according to the ability to write respectably; it has no implications for speech.

This nugget of pedantic invective begins as follows:

Ai nempe idem hostis Ihesu crudeliss'. In nomine sancte et
venerande Trinitatis nos omnes pusilli famuli Xpi presidentes in
concilio Cordobensi minime sacerdotes, quum in nostro conventu
ecclesiastica discernerentur negotia et clunius dispensata con-
templi essemus simplicitas Xpiana, ex improbitu quidam corrupta
pessis, Sanson nomine, sponte prosiliens, multas impletas in
Deum multasque sententias contra regulam predicavit, in tantum
ut immo idolatrix quam Xpianus assertor esse videretur. Hee sunt
verba versi primi ab inpurissimo ore sub nomine dictata concilii.
Ubi si Latinitatem quis quaeret, difficile poterit invenire, si orto-
grafe disciplinam, nullam sentiet esse, si sensum discutat, insani
capitis verba mox poterit censere. Quid non dicam grammaticus,
non retoricus vel dialecticus, non filosofus aut orthografus, sed, ut
ita dicam, communium tantummodo litterarum utrumque im-
burus non illum nisi dignum poterit definire, non a pueris sus-
sannandum peribere, quem confidentem in sua<lt>ta sua et
mentem cutvno fuceo inflatam conspicans habere, adhuc ordinem
sillabarum ignarum nec tempora verborum doctum, tam rancidola
orsa inlatis buis sub nomine episcoporum anlliter audit dicare,
quam constet eum magis barbarum quam oratorem Latine
facundie esse?

(GI 1973a: 569 ll.1-19)

8. *Hostis Ihesu* is Sanson's little joke (i.e. *Hostegesis*).

The Córdoba scholars of this period are, then, capable of written sophistication at a variety of levels; the stylistic distinctiveness of the written from the spoken genres was considerable. We are not justified, however, in seeing a separate "Latin" in existence alongside old *mozárabe* Romance. *Latinus* meant "Romance" and was distinguished from Arabic alone. Eulogio, Albaro, Sanson and the others spoke their own language, albeit with an unusually large vocabulary. There is no reflection here of contemporary Carolingian scholarship. Albaro's Christian writings are as determinedly polished as Sanson's, but Sage's studies have established that they are within the continuous tradition of the Visigothic scholars' analysis of patristic works; his style is "fundamentally scriptural" (1943: 182). Their culture looked back, not north; their approved linguistic standards are those of the past, not those of a contemporary erudite alternative.

Moslem Spain has acquired philological interest for a further reason: the *kharyas*. These are apparently bilingual (Arabic-Romance) or traccronic final stanzas of some verses in the Hispano-Arabic *muwashshaha* form discovered in some Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts (for bibliography, see Hitchcock 1977; Hitchcock 1980 decides that the Romance element may be minimal). Analyses of these have been hampered in the past by the belief that we know too little about *mozárabe* Romance to discuss the "Romance" element on a sound philological basis; but this is not entirely true. The 700 pages of Gil's *Corpus*, and the *mozárabe* hymns, can — if used with care — give us evidence of *mozárabe* vocabulary and even phonetics. The work of Diaz y Diaz on Visigothic and *mozárabe* "Latin" is largely about the vernacular. The detailed investigations by Galmés de Fuentes (e.g. 1977, 1980) on later documents and toponyms have established the main features of *mozárabe* phonology, and many features of its morphology, on a considerably surer basis than the informed guesswork of Menéndez Pidal and his followers. The conclusion seems to be that *mozárabe* Romance is not particularly different from that of other parts of Iberia. The idea that the "mozárabic" texts represent Latin and therefore not vernacular has hidden from view their use for the *kharyas* controversies; the fact that the reconstructable Romance elements of the *kharyas* are colloquial need not mean that their originators were at all ignorant or rustic or uneducated. In practice, they seem more likely to be cultured than popular verse. If so, it is no surprise to find that they are in Romance rather than "Medieval Latin". Medieval Latin did not exist in Moslem Spain before the fall of Toledo (1085), and probably never existed there at all.

Toledo

Toledo had been the Visigothic capital and its archbishop remained the nominal head of the Spanish Church; after its recapture by the Christians in 1085 it became again a flourishing cultural centre. It has thus seemed reasonable to suppose that it was an important centre of Christian Romance culture throughout the Moslem period. Yet not many Toledan manuscripts can be dated with certainty to between 711 and 1085 (Díaz y Díaz 1975: 142-52). Simonet listed several (1888: XXVII-LX), but Simonet shared the general belief that all manuscripts written in Visigothic script necessarily pre-dated 1085, which is now known not to be the case. Nor were all manuscripts found in Toledo necessarily written there. For example, one from Toledo which is specifically dated is Madrid BN 10007, a *Vitae Patrum* including the works of Valerio del Bierzo, signed "Armentarius" and dated 902; this manuscript contains Persian dress in an illuminated initial (f.176; Guilmartin 1976: 186); Díaz y Díaz (1979: 136 n.11), however, declares it to be *leonés* rather than from Toledo (and Gil 1973b: 192 dates it to the end of the century from the script). Many of the Toledo manuscripts have recently been reassigned dates in the twelfth century. One of these is the Latin-Arabic glossary now at Leiden, which Van Koningsveld (1977) has related to a milieu of Arabic-speaking (not necessarily monolingual) Christians in reconquered Toledo, whereas Menéndez Pidal (1926), for example, assumed it came from Moslem Spain. Van Koningsveld, whose expertise is in Arabic palaeography, studied all the 26 surviving manuscripts in Visigothic script with Arabic glosses, and dated all the glosses to the twelfth century, and most of the codices also. The European sources found in these manuscripts thus cease to be usable as evidence for European culture in Moslem Spain.⁹ The most interesting of these manuscripts has been Toledo Cathedral MS 99.30, a grammatical treatise with Arabic and Latin glosses. Codoñer (1966) had formerly dated this to the tenth century, and the Latin glosses to a later date. The sources include Donatus, Priscian and Julian; the Priscian material has roots further north, and Díaz y Díaz (1976b: 153) concluded that the manuscript was copied in Toledo from material that came from France, perhaps via Catalonia. This is the manuscript that contains, inserted onto an originally empty folio (26r), the list of animals and their noises mentioned in Chapter 1, which Díaz y Díaz connects with another European tradition as exemplified in a similar

9. Cixela took many manuscripts from Toledo to Abellar, in León, in 927 (see e.g. Díaz y Díaz 1975: 161), but these were probably of Visigothic date, rather than recent copies.

list in Aldhelm's Metrics, Mundó (1965: 15, and plate 17) first suggested the later date for this, now supported by Van Koningsveld, and the individuality of the codex has thus disappeared.

The same has happened to Madrid BN 10001. Amador declared it to be pre-Reconquest (1862: I 471); Mundó put it to the central eleventh century (1965: 20); and Díaz y Díaz (1976a: 243-45) has proclaimed it to be a twelfth-century copy of a Northern manuscript. Doubts therefore accrue to the early dating given by Brou (1951: 33-35) to the sequence *Alme virginis festum* found in it. The same doubts apply to Brou's two other supposedly "mozarabic" sequences found in a Córdoba manuscript fragment dated, it now seems misguidedly, by Millares Carlo to the tenth century: *Alma sollemnitatis* and *Orbis conditor regressus est* (28-30, 35-37). Brou realizes that the dating is crucial: the presence of sequences in Spain at this time is no longer attested in the light of the revised dating of the manuscript, and indeed it can no longer be stated as a certainty that Southern Christians used hymns composed after 711 north of the religious frontier, nor even that Christians in Moslem Toledo were active scholars.

The conclusions of Díaz y Díaz, Mundó and Van Koningsveld, working independently, are that after 1085 the Christian communities of Toledo acquired large numbers of manuscripts from the North, and copied them. The time of the most avid copying of Visigothic liturgy thus coincides understandably with the unpopular proclamation of its abandonment for the Roman. This does not remove the interest from the manuscripts; but it does put them in the quite different context of post-Reconquest Toledo, thereby postponing further discussion to the next chapter.

Asturias

Events in Moslem Spain were followed with interest in the unconquered areas of the North-Western mountains. There was a steady trickle of exiles, which at times — with official encouragement — became a stream. In 882 Alfonso III of Asturias managed to have the remains of Eulogio and his protégée martyr Leocritia brought to his capital, Oviedo. Tenth-century northern hymnals include hymns almost certainly composed in the south. Much of the written material from the North-West in these centuries was written by, or under the guidance of, immigrants from the south.

This area was strongly Visigothic and Christian in sentiment. They jealously preserved their Visigothic inheritance insofar as they knew what it was. Much of the old Visigothic culture had come there at

the time of, and after, the Moslem invasion, from Toledo and elsewhere (Díaz y Díaz 1969: 391; Mahn 1949). In the late eighth century there were schisms in the Asturian church (admirably summarized in Díaz y Díaz 1976a: 247-51), partly connected with fluctuations in policy towards Islam, mainly concerned with the views of their nominal superior Elipando of Toledo. He declared that Christ "was adopted by God in respect of his human nature, but not in respect of his divine nature" (Livermore 1971: 349); the Northern scholars Beato of Liébana and Herenio of Osma rejected this idea. Eventually Felix, Bishop of Urgell, brought this to the attention of the Carolingian Court and of Pope Hadrian I, who also rejected it. The effect was to distance the Asturian church from Toledo, but not to lead to close contacts with the Carolingians. The Asturians kept the Visigothic liturgy, and the Carolingians continued to believe it to be heretical.

Einhard, biographer of Charlemagne, is sometimes thought to have implied that Alfonso II of Asturias declared allegiance to Charlemagne (Garrod and Mowat 1915: chap. 16). This is improbable, and in practice meaningless even if true. Leonese chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries elaborated and expanded this link with imaginative creativity, but (as Défourmeaux 1949 pointed out) no Spanish history before 1100 even mentions Charlemagne. (Sholod' 1966 also said that Alfonso II had close links, but Sholod' is not reliable on Leonese matters.) There are a few pilgrims to Santiago — ninth-century Carolingian coins have been found under Santiago cathedral (Sánchez Albornoz 1980: 96); Alfonso III received a letter from the inhabitants of Tours after the Viking attack on Tours in 903, to which his reply (of 906) survives (Floriano 1951: II 339-42); but contact was unsystematic. Carolingian scholarship, at least, had no great influence.

Whatever links there were with the Carolingians and their successors, we can be sure that liturgical reform was not involved until well into the eleventh century. Tradition weighed stronger than Papal disapproval; the Visigothic rites survived. There seems no reason to suppose that the vigorous advocacy of "correct" liturgical pronunciation as promulgated further East was emulated in Asturias. The Visigothic script remains until the late eleventh century and beyond. It is possible that a very few Iberian monasteries were run on the exclusively Benedictine lines that accompanied the educational standardization in the Carolingian culture; Linage (1973a: 1002-05) believes that some were, other scholars (e.g. Floriano 1951) do not. Generally, individual monasteries tended to choose their own organization eclectically, usually on the basis of the Hispanic rules of Isidore or Fructuoso of Braga, and it is

agreed that none used the Roman liturgy. There was also a variety which Bischo (1951) has called "Practical" monasticism, most common in Galicia, where the community was run democratically according to a charter of rights drawn up between abbot and monks. This kind of monastery spread East to Castille and Southern Navarre from the late ninth century. Although Benedictine influence is not unknown in León no completely Benedictine monastery may have been established before the accession of Alfonso VI in 1072; the simultaneous obsession with liturgy and hierarchy that characterizes the propagation of the Carolingian reforms on their home territory is not present in (non-Catalan) Spanish monasticism. If the theory outlined in previous chapters is valid, it is impossible to visualize the general arrival of Medieval Latin into Spain outside Catalonia before the increasing cultural contacts of the eleventh century and adoption of the Roman liturgy after 1080.

"Leonese Vulgar Latin"

Some people learnt to write. If the theory under examination holds, until the advent of reformed Latin, the documents produced in Asturias-León were written by speakers of Old Leonese. The techniques of official writing were not updated; as time went by the skill needed to make written language appear suitably archaic became increasingly hard to acquire; the vernacular grew ever more dissimilar to the stratified decreed in Grammars, while the general educational level continued well below that of the seventh century. It is not surprising that elites from the south who could write were often asked to do so.

The documents from Asturias (or León, as the kingdom was called after 914) are, therefore, not in very good "Latin". Later copies refurbish the spelling so as to disguise this, but the surviving originals in Floriano's diplomatic collection (1951) look now like a kind of hybrid between Latin and vernacular. This is explicable as the outcome of trying to write in a system devised to suit the purposes of the language of a millennium earlier. The same might occur if we tried to write English with Anglo-Saxon spelling, morphology and vocabulary. Méndez Pidal (1926: para. 95), however, believed that, in addition to the coexistence of Latin and Romance, these documents attested the existence in the same community of yet a third language intermediate between the other two, which he christened *lata vulgar leonesa*. Méndez Pidal's *Orgenes* first appeared in 1926. In context it was an outstanding work, temporarily putting Spain in the vanguard of Romance philology, and it is still indispensable. However, such is his

prestige that his views are still repeated with respect (e.g. Lapesa 1980) even in cases such as this where they are hard to justify. The idea that an unsophisticated rural community could produce such a tripartite system, and also produce documents in a phonetic script designed to reflect accurately the hybrid Latin-vernacular habits of their originators, is not only implausible but unnecessary.

We have no direct access to the nature of tenth-century Old Leonese speech. There are not even any contemporary Grammars. Every theory involves speculation. Surviving texts tell us little about speech, but might tell us something about reading aloud. Reading aloud is a different question from spontaneous speech in that it can lead the reader to produce syntax and vocabulary which he would not otherwise utter; there is absolutely no reason, however, why reading aloud should make any more difference to phonology than in altering the statistical incidence of contemporary "variable" sounds. Sociolinguistic theory has established that — in every community so far studied — careful speech can have a few features that distinguish it from spontaneous speech; this does not *per se* involve the systematic retention of archaic phonetic features, however, since the variability is between a few contemporary alternatives rather than between stages on an evolutionary scale (e.g. Chambers and Trudgill 1980: chap.4.6). The variation concerned is slight enough for it to make little difference to the study of the distant past. Unless we have other extrinsic reasons for thinking otherwise, we can assume that the reading aloud of a tenth-century document was in a sociolinguistic and stylistic variety of tenth-century vernacular phonetics.

The document below concerns a sale of land near León on May 11th 908 A.D. (from Floriano 1951: II 361-62; with a photocopy of the original):

In Dei nomine. Ego Spondonius tui Fredesinde In Domino salutem. Ideo placuit michi atque conuenit, nulliusque cogentis Imperio neque suadentis artificio set probria michi acesi voluntas ut uiderem tui lam dicte Fredesinde terra In uilla Uiasco suber illa senrta domniga illoco predicto Agro rrodunco. Issa 5 terra appretia In duos modios et duas quartas, et dedisti michi pro Idem In pretjo sicera et zeuarra cod michi bene complacuit, et de ipso pretjo abut te nicill remansi, auas, adeas, uindices ac defendas et quidquid exinde agere facere uel iudigare uolueris lijueram In Dei nomine abeas potestatem. Et si quis tamen, cod 10 mea at Inuampendum uenerit uel uenire conauro Imfram uel Imferat pars meū partique tue ipsa terra dubplata. Facta uindicia U. Idus magji era DCCCC Xv V^{ra}.

Spondonius In anc uindicione ac me facta manum mea (Signum).

- a) + Armanarius presbiter testis (Signum). — + Ermegildus testis (Signum). + Florencius testis (Signum).
b) Presencius testis (Signum). — Nebridius testis (Signum).

We can presume that lawyers wrote in this strange way as a result of their professional training; the consequence is a text which contains both legal terminology and Romance elements, and is the kind of text that led to the postulation of "Leonese Vulgar Latin". It could, however, easily have been read aloud by the notary in vernacular Leonese more or less as follows:

Jendienwémné. Ioesplendóno tiefredzinde endwéposalúde, joplogómie ekombine nuájoskekodjéntesempérioniswabjéntesacréto sepróbjamféatsévoluntáde owendjérefejábjáifredzinde tjétraenwíllawjásko sobrela sérnadópiga Awégoprebjito áyrorodóno. ésa tjéra apretsjádaendózmójos edússkwártas edístemjéporíde empréájo sídzaetsébejca kerniebjéne kómplógo, edéseprétsjéobotímí: Iremáze ájjas ájas wéndzes edeíjénúas, ekékeléndé adzére Iadzére welzulgárewjeres. ájßra endienwémné ájjaspodestáde. esekitamné, kefjécemáménokrewo, alkítie kwéntranjkéndzónemía aenrompjéndowjétre welwenkekónáro, énfra welénfrapártemía pártékettúe, ésa tjéra obbláda. fájta wéndzóné tsjnkódozmáge éranowétsjéntoskwárentasjéstá. esplendójoenánkwéndzóné amífjéjamánómia armanéjropretstretjéste emmedjídóerjéste flórensísjójtéste prezéntsjojtéste nefrjéjtjéste]

The details of this transcription are not intended to be taken as definitive; the point being made is that reading aloud could have used Old Leonese phonetics even for such apparently Latinate material as a legal document, in the same way as readers of Modern English documents can read legal language aloud with their own phonetic habits. Dutton (1980) has established that legal documents regularly were read aloud to interested parties in a manner they could understand. Those words that still exist in the vernacular as lexical units would be given the pronunciation that they normally had in León in 908¹⁰. We are legitimately

10. The document includes the Visigothic sign for 40 and is ostensibly dated 946; Spanish documents prior to the reign of Juan I (in the 1380s) were dated by the "era hispánica" which started in 38 B.C. For an explanation see Torres Rodríguez (1976). Some details of the transcription are there as the result of my need to make a decision, when transcribing, in doubtful cases. For practical purposes I have omitted the [-s] in the nominative singular but kept it in the genitives of the formulaic sections; added the extra syllable to the imparisyllabic nominatives; omitted [-t] and [-d]; fricativized initial *d-* and *b-* if preceded by a vowel within the breathgroup — e.g. *micibene* (L7), [micibjéne] but not voiced any word-initial unvoiced consonants; assumed that *-u* is [-o], even though parts of León preserve [-u] (this does not materially affect the argument); and included the [j] of Leonese *jujger* < IUDICARE. It is likely that many details are wrong, but that does not upset the general point.

entitled to be hazy about what that was in many cases, however much we trust reconstructions, but some details seem firm enough. For example, the diphthongization of stressed short [e] will have happened by then; thus when read aloud, *terra* (1.4) would be [tɛra], *cogentis* (1.2) [kɔdʒɛntɛs], etc. The diphthongization of stressed short [o] would similarly lead to the reading of *loco* (1.5) with [we]. The intervocalic plosives would have voiced; thus *loco* also has [ʒ], *salutem* (1.2) is [salude], and *abut* (1.8) — i.e. *apud* — [aɔo]. Such words would cause no more difficulty than reading *sovereign* as [sɔvɪn], or *thoroughly* as [θərəʊli], *heureux* as [œʁœ] or *transilient* as [travɛj]; the problem would arise if people felt they had to say [sovereign], [thoroxul], [heureux], [travallient], [tɛra], [lɔco], [salutem], etc. The practical purpose of writing words on a page is to indicate the right lexical item to the reader; originally semi-phonetic spellings can achieve this even if they have in time become distant from evolved phonetics, precisely because the reader has been taught to recognize them and takes the discrepancies in his stride.

Vocabulary that has fallen out of vernacular use presents a different problem to the reader. The archaic words in legal formulae that make up a large proportion of most documents could be pronounced according to the normal rules of tenth-century Leonese sound-letter equivalence. For example, *agere* (1.9) would be read as [adʒɛrɛ] rather than [agerɛ], since at that time all infinitives had come to be stressed on the thematic vowel (cp. FÄCHRE > *fazer* > *hacer*) and the letter *g* before *e* normally represented [dʒ] or even [ʒ] as in *cogentis* (1.2). *Exinde* (1.9) would be read as [ɛfɛnde] rather than [eksɪnde] since *x* normally represented a [ʃ] sound (e.g. O. Sp. *exir*, from EXIRE, pronounced with [ʃ] as in Italian *uscire*) and the *inde* in *deinde* corresponded to O. Sp. *dende*. For us to expect the reader to have attempted to reproduce the phonology of the previous millennium is less reasonable than expecting Shakespearean speeches to be delivered now in the phonology of 1600, not only would it be very difficult, even for a specialist, it would be quite unnecessary. These principles of reading aloud are not hard for us to recreate. Where difficulties are more likely to arise, both for us and for the tenth-century Leonese, is in outdated morphology. Outdated word order is of no consequence; the words could be read in the order written, and if this led to problems of comprehension no lawyer is likely to have minded about that. Word-endings, however, might have worried people. In normal morphology there would be little difficulty in cases such as the ablative singular, where the lack of an ablative function in syntax was of no significance

because the forms were usually indistinguishable in the vernacular. From that derived regularly from the accusative, *Prodomo*, for example (1.5), could be read [pɔdɔmo] — or [pɛdɔmo], if the dissimilatory initial vowel change had already happened; it is modern Sp. *redondo* — and no problem would arise since the accusative -DM forms were also pronounced [-o]. Genitive singulars might appear to be a stylistic peculiarity of the legal genre, but would cause no phonetic problem: the transcriptions of *Dei* as [die], *cogentis* as [kɔdʒɛntɛs], in the formulaic parts, are only guesswork on my part, but it would hardly have mattered if they sounded a bit strange (like -e, -en as now pronounced in texts of Chaucer). The nominative singular provides us — and perhaps them also — with a problem; since the accusative-derived forms were the normal forms of the vernacular, the final [-s] was becoming a marker for the plural, and it could be that a singular written -s was regarded as a "silent" s. If so, *Splenzonius* (1.1) was read as normal vernacular [splɛndɔno], and the witnesses as [ɛnɛmɛdʒido], etc. This seems probable; what may be less justifiable is the transcription here of *voluntas* (1.3) as [voluntáde] (<VOLUNTATEM). This could have been one of the cases of sociolinguistic and stylistic variability beloved of the theorists. A reasonable hypothesis is that [voluntáde] would appear when the reader is adopting an informal style, but that [voluntas] (or even [voluntá]) might conceivably have appeared if he was feeling professionally pompous. This is a problem caused not so much by morphology as by imparisyllabicity. There is no problem in [podestáde] (1.10) or [vendzóne] (1.11, 13), here presented in oblique cases; the need to write with -e rather than -e in some syntactic circumstances was a quirk of the rules of writing and may not have affected even reading aloud. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that lawyers (or anyone else) would say [voluntás] in any other circumstances than reading aloud.

Disyllabic nominal suffixes — i.e. -arum, -orum, -ibus — could have been seen as an esoteric subsection of archaic vocabulary and read in the same manner, i.e. *mensuram* as [mɛzuro] and *aporum* as [ɔboro], since -um corresponded to spoken [-o], -ibus is interesting; it might have been read aloud as [-ibus] or [-ɛbos] — there is no problem with having -s here since these forms are indeed plural — but it could also have been read aloud as [-es] with the *bu* seen as a "silent" *bu*. Since the ablative usually follows a preposition, the result is often intelligible. This cannot be dismissed out of hand; it is no less remarkable to find a silent *gh* in *knighth*, and surely more remarkable to find a silent *ent* in *chierment*, than a *bu* in *regibus*. No modern English lawyer under any

conceivable circumstances would pronounce a [gh] or even a [x] in knight, nor a Frenchman an [ont] in *chantant*; *mensibus* could be read as [mezes]. The occasional insertion of written *-ibus* onto second declension stems in texts of this time is evidence in favour of the "silent *bu*" theory (e.g. *arribus*, *dorsibus*, *membribus*; Löfstedt 1976: 123).

This problem with morphology is accentuated in verbs. E.g., the synthetic passive forms have no counterpart in Old Spanish vernacular, so how, for example, did they read *cingitur*? The many verbal suffixes can also be categorized as a subsection of the vocabulary, to be read aloud according to the normal contingent sound-letter correspondences of that community; i.e. since vernacular [vída] is spelt *vía*, etc., and as a result a *t* between two vowels is normally read as [d]; and since a written *u* in the final syllable is always a vernacular [o]; therefore it was reasonable for them to read this word as [tsɛpédod] (CINGERE > *ceñir*), AUDIETUR as [ojédor], etc. In Vincent's *Carmen Poenitentiale* discussed above, *precarnur* probably rhymes with *redemtor*. In passives there is no impulse to having "silent" letters; omitting *-bu-* in e.g. *monibus* provides the vernacular [montes], but no amount of omission leads from *cingitur* to the vernacular equivalent [tsɛpɛpido], *es ceñido*.

Many verb forms in fact offer no problem; e.g. reading *avit* as [o] provides no great difficulty for those who read *au* as [o] anyway (e.g. *causa* [koza]). A silent *i* is common (cp. the many cases of internal syncope such as *veritatem* [verdade]). There is no real problem in *placuit* [plogo]. The future of first conjugation verbs provides an interesting case; in Chapter 1 it was suggested that e.g. original STARE HABET, pronounced [estaraβe] and written *stabit*, might have led some or most or even all writers to see the [aβe] as the equivalent of written *-abit* by false but intelligent etymology. If by the tenth century the [βe] is no longer there in speech — it may well not have been — a "silent *-i-*" in *stabit* is no problem. The problem is the insertion of a non-silent but unwritten [-ar] into the middle. Here could be another candidate for style variability; informal reading aloud might have included an [-ar], formal reading aloud might not ([estaraβe]). But the difficulty for us lies only in our uncertainty as to the psychological nature of the future tense in tenth-century León, and there is no need to postulate a reading form [stabit]. Futures are rare in documents in any event; futurity there tends to be hypothetical, in the future perfect or perfect subjunctive (as in *venerit*, 1.12), and the Old Spanish future subjunctive that derives from this is a live and easy form, *viniere* ([viniere]).

Since Old Leonese, like all other vernaculars, is bound to have had geographical, stylistic and sociolinguistic variation, it is inevitable

that there were perceptible variables distinguishing formal written styles from informal spoken styles; and reading aloud the written style could lead to features not present in spontaneous speech. This is normal in every community and does not require us to postulate the existence of a whole separate language used by newsmen, clergymen reading sermons, lawyers reading documents, academics reading learned papers, etc. Different people, reading this Leonese document with varying degrees of self-consciousness, would not all have been consistent in detail; no linguistic theory suggests that they should. The point is that, apart from word order and occasional lexical archaisms, including some inflexions, there is no reason to suppose that this reading would not have sounded like the vernacular: a legal style, recognizably, but a style of Old Leonese rather than a separate language used by the educated (or "semi"-educated) in their spontaneous speech. Reading aloud was not a particularly common activity in general, but did not require the learning of any language. Other works, when read, recited or even sung from a written text, could as equally have involved vernacular sounds. The liturgy, for example, could easily have been read aloud in a similar way; renderings would have been subject to inevitable individual inconsistencies of self-consciousness, speed and style, but in essence there is no reason to suppose that they were not vernacular. An ecclesiastical style would be perceptible, but it was and is a style. The Archbishop of Canterbury speaks English.

Menéndez Pidal declared that the spoken *lartín vulgar leonés* which he claimed was attested in such texts as this was a survival of the "Vulgar Latin" supposedly common throughout the Romance area from the fifth or sixth centuries, apparently distinguishable even then from Early Romance; in his view this kind of Latin was spoken as well as written, and survived in León precisely because there was no Latinizing movement there as there was in the Carolingian area. His linguistic argument runs as follows (condensed from *Orígenes*, 1926: para.95). Written texts from tenth- and eleventh-century León include many cases in which archaic vocabulary or morphology is given apparently evolved phonetics; e.g. *aceebi* (for ACCEPI), *piertis* (for PIGE-ATIS), *presses* (for PRESENS), *ribolo* (for RIVULO), *ovias* (for AUREAS) and the converse hyper-correction *asáie* (for HODIE), *amobus* (for AMBOBUS), *luges* (for LUCEAT), *cingitur* (for CINGITUR), *avitura* (for HABITURA), *abostoli* (for APOSTOLI), etc., etc. Menéndez Pidal is undoubtedly right to mention the commonness of such forms, but he takes the step of assuming that these are the phonetic transcriptions of current spoken forms. They are to him evidence of a "voluntary

abandonment to a straightforward current language, halfway between school Latin and the Romance of the people"; the old vocabulary and morphology was preserved in this layer, but "transformed" by popular pronunciation. The argument as presented here thus suggests that the "Leonese vulgar Latin" had old grammar in modern phonetics. This is, in the event, very similar to what I have been proposing as the characteristic nature of the formal style of reading aloud; the difference is that where Menéndez Pidal saw a whole linguistic system reflected faithfully in a skilled phonetic transcription, my hypothesis sees *ad hoc* necessities applied only in reading aloud the already written. The fact that the forms prescribed by the writing manuals — e.g. passives in *-tuz* — are sometimes misspelt in accordance with the vernacular pronunciation normally employed by those who had sometimes to read them aloud — e.g. *chrigidur* — is not in the least surprising. Archaic vocabulary (including morphemes) is not *per se* immune from misspelling. The presence of the archaic morphology is evidence that the writer had been taught to write, which we can assume anyway, and of nothing at all concerning his speech; the misspelling according to evolved phonetics is consistent with the view that the texts were read aloud, if at all, in ordinary vernacular.

Menéndez Pidal saw three coexisting norms in León: Latin, Vulgar Latin and Romance, of which the last was the speech of *indoctos* (para. 109). And although this schema is hard to defend, and the evidence is compatible with the reasonable hypothesis of ill-trained scribes who spoke their own vernacular, it has not been seriously attacked, and has thus not led to the production of any further evidence in its defence. Menéndez Pidal's tone was reasonable and not dogmatic; but his suggestions were seen by others as established fact. Muller, for example, said that "a Vulgar Latin, different both from the vulgar speech and from Medieval Latin, persisted several centuries in Spain..." (Muller and Taylor 1932: 256), even though Muller is in fact discussing the Glosses of San Millán, which come not from León but from La Rioja, an area specifically excluded from the hypothesis in *Orígenes* para. 95. Valdeavellano's generally valuable history declares that "it seems that at least in the realm of Asturias-León the *sermónes* used a vulgar Latin that adapted Latin forms to Romance phonetics" (1952: 481, repeated 695). Bustos Tovar's study of *castro* is not centrally concerned with the period before 1140, but the discussion of the deviously named "época de orígenes" (1974: 67) takes the three-fold distinction for granted as existing from the seventh century.

The misconceptions have multiplied. Menéndez Pidal originally saw this semi-learned Latin as using largely vernacular pronunciation for

largely archaic words, but it has become in the event allied to the different theory of 'sermónismo', the idea that semi-learned people used vernacular words with archaic pronunciation — which is the exact opposite. Yet there is among Menéndez Pidal's texts one which he perhaps might have used, but did not use, to support the hypothesis of yet a fourth level of language on exactly those lines; it is time for us to consider the cheeses.

The Cheeses

Documents that survive have usually been carefully preserved; transitory material such as shopping lists, ephemeral accounts, sermon notes, messages, etc., usually were not preserved. So there was no incentive to write such material in the officialese of the Grammars. Unlike legal documents, it was not intended to be kept.

Menéndez Pidal found a list of cheeses from the latter of the monastic community of San Justo y Pastor, at Ardón on the Esla, not far from León, which has survived through being written on the back of a document of donation dated 959. This list is undated but paleographically attributable to the same century; if we knew when the King went to Rozuela (north of Ardón) a closer dating might be possible than Menéndez Pidal's guess of 980. This is it (Menéndez Pidal 1926: 24-25):

Noticia de kesos que espixit frater Semeno in labore de frates:
 jnillo bacelare de cirka Sancte Juste, kesos .ii. jnillo alto de aperte,
 .ii. kesos; en que pusieron organo, kesos .iiii. jnillo de Kastrelo,
 .i. jnillo unia majore, .ii.; que lebaron enfosado, .ii. adlla toze;
 que [le] baron a Cegia, .ii. quando la tallaron; la mesa, .ii.; que
 lebaron a lejone .i. ... n a... re... que... .. ga uane ece; aho
 ke laba de soprino de Gomi de do... a...; .iiii. quespiaron quando
 jho rege uenit ad Rocola; .i. qua salbarore joi uenit.

This list shows that, even in a monastery, for humdrum purposes written correctness was of no particular concern. If scholars wished, they could claim that this was the first sign of an unofficial norm of writing. If "Latin" of any kind really were the normal means of communication in monasteries, there would have been no need to write in any other way than the traditional. The interesting thing about this list is not so much its spelling as its morphology, syntax and vocabulary. There is no apparent case system; all nouns appear in a form evolved from the original accusative, whatever their function. *Rege*, for example, is used as the subject of the sentence, representing contemporary [re] < REGEM (REX > *o*). *Ita*, *ke*, *aho* are used as articles with no obvious further semantic import (ILLAM > *ita* > *ke*). *De kesos*, "of cheeses";

have both maintained a sophisticated tripartite (or quadripartite) linguistic division and used a sophisticated phonetic script. We do not have to share Fletcher's uncharitable view (1978: *passim*) of the Leonese to believe that its inhabitants were incapable of doing so; even Menéndez Pidal liked to call these times "primitive". Lindley Cintra has recently (1978) been the first, to my knowledge, even to have reservations about this theory:

It seems very unlikely to me that this language should be anything other than an artificial written one. In my view, this manner of writing simply reflects, within certain limitations, the Romance of the Visigothic times as developed into Mozarabic Romance. In so saying I dissent from the view . . . of Menéndez Pidal, who suggested that these documents reproduced fairly closely a language spoken in the tenth and eleventh centuries "by laymen who had a higher culture but lacked any systematic study of grammar".

I have argued previously (Wright 1976a: 14-15) that:

there is a basic misconception here: that of supposing social registers to lie neatly on a descending scale of Latinity in the early Middle Ages . . . this misconception about the spoken language has probably arisen by false analogy with the written language.

In fact, as we shall see below, not only the hybrid Latin of these documents, but also the more respectable "Latin" of hymns, histories and poems, are explicable in a theory of only one spoken level rather than three or two. Given the stylistic and sociolinguistic variation expected of all communities by modern linguistic theory, the kind of language we find in tenth-century León is interpretable on the available evidence as the kind we would expect to find: a single vernacular, with a complex manner of writing attached, used with varying skill by different writers.

Verse

a) Rhythmic

Old-fashioned metric verse was not composed in Asturias-León; anything called a *metrum* was either rhythmic or from elsewhere. Hymns continue to be composed in the "rhythmic" genre, often directly modelled on earlier hymns by Prudentius or the Visigothic writers. They are usually impossible to date, although Szövérfy (1971: chaps. 3 and 4) has had a good try. Several do seem to come from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, north of the religious frontier. We are fortunate in that one of the most important is precisely datable: the hymn to St James *O Dei verbum, patris ore proditum* (AH XXXVII no. 130) is dedicated in its acrostic to King Mauregato. There was only one

is the simple vernacular equivalent of the Latin genitive (*casorum*). "To León" is *a Leone*, "to Rozeña" is *a Rocola*, "to the tower" is *adila rore*; the need stressed in the grammars for a written *-m* is never observed here at all. The third person past of the first conjugation is not *-averat* but *-aron*; *callaron* (= Sp. *callaron*), *tebaron* (= Sp. *tebaron*). The relative conjunction is *que* whatever the syntax, as in Modern Spanish (assuming *qua* at the end to be short for *quando*). In short, the Leonese morphology and syntax usually used for talking about cheese rations is here transcribed more or less neat, disregarding the lexical and morphological refinements that would have been thought necessary were this a document of some legal or institutional importance.

The spelling, however, is not revolutionary. This is not phonetic script of vernacular. The *p* in *soprino*, for example, must represent a [ɔ] or [β] whatever language we think this is: *sobrino* < *SOBRINUM*; but in *puseron* it must represent a [p]: *puseron* < *POSUERUNT*. The *qu* of *que* represents the same [k] as the *k* in *ke*, whereas the *qu* in *quando* must represent [kw] (*quando* < *QUANDO*). *In* and *en* are presumably the same word. There is no reason to suppose that the quarter-master is even aware of diphthongization: [je] is always *e* - *leba*, *puseron*, *episeron* - and [we] *o* - *Rocola*; the only non-Latinate spellings other than in suffixes involve the (Greek) letter *k* or simple correspondences such as the *e* in *kesos* [kezos]: Mod. Sp. *quesos* < *CASEOS*. This looks, then, like vernacular grammar written in generally unevolved spelling.

If the cheeses were to be interpreted as ingeniously as the other documents of the period - i.e. on the assumption that it faithfully reflects its writer's speech - the document seems to offer us a monk using vernacular vocabulary, morphology and syntax with partly *caño* pronunciation. (In my view it indeed shows that monks used vernacular vocabulary, morphology and syntax, and had also been taught how to spell.) If so, this would be a fourth category to be added to Menéndez Pidal's other three. That he did not do so is strange, if only because that would have given some apparent documentary justification to the category of *semicallismo*, of words found in the vernacular with phonetic features recalcitrant to the "rules" of sound change that the philologists wanted to postulate.

The evidence does not support any of these intermediate theories. If we apply Occam's razor at last, we see one vernacular written by scribes of varying sophistication. That is what we would in any event expect, there is in tenth-century León a scattered community of no great education and no mass communication. It is unlikely to

King Mauregato, who reigned from 783-88. Díaz y Díaz has edited the hymn (1976a: 239-42) and dated it more precisely to late 784 or 785. There are two early manuscript records: London, BM Add.30851, f.124 and Madrid, BN 10001, f.18. The hymn follows the normal pattern for "rhythmic" iambic trimeters: i.e. there are twelve written vowels (or classical diphthongs) in each line. The syllable thus continues in this tradition to be defined by the original spelling. Apart from *Spaniam* and *Sperte* (ll.25 and 47), required to be quadrisyllabic — and thus presumably *Hispaniam* and *Hispanie* in the original, since this is not a case of prothesis — four lines appear not to have exactly twelve written syllables; Díaz y Díaz prints these as follows:

- 1.10 Zmarcedus, iaspis, ligunus crisolitus
 1.19 Varrolomeus Liceon Iudas Edisse
 1.20 Matthias Iudee et Filippus Gallie
 1.58 Eterna cuius laus et clementia.

(Blume amended the first three into twelve-syllabled variants.) The caesura comes regularly after the first five technical syllables; this seems to suggest that *figurius*, *Liceon* and either *Matthias* or *Iudæe* are required to become diphthongs. Problems are caused by sources: lines 19-20 derive from Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum* 81:110 from *AH XXVII* 190, stanza 5. The caesura suggests that in 1.58 *laus* may be meant as a disyllable, rather than *cuius* a trisyllable (as is occasionally found elsewhere). Lorenzana's 1775 edition inserted *est* after *laus*.

Díaz y Díaz established that much of the wording of this hymn comes directly from hymns composed much earlier. The author of this is more skilled at adapting the sources than in producing words of his own. Indeed, he concludes that the author has extreme difficulty in producing any words of his own at all, under the pressure of the rhythmic scheme adopted and of his chosen (and misspelt) acrostic. Given vernacular presentation, rhyme is also visible in e.g. *tonitruum/inchie* (ll.21-22), *pluvieru/gloriam* (ll.29-30), *copiam/gloriam* (ll.44-45); vernacular stress seems to Díaz y Díaz to be required in e.g. *lápides* (1.6), *duóderim* (1.11: Sp. *doce*), *superpósti* (1.14: Sp. *sobrepuestos*), which he describes as revealing both clumsiness and ignorance (271). We can refrain from such a pejorative evaluation by observing that the author is feeling that he has to push his vernacular into patterns established by a different age; writing a hymn to order in the techniques of a past tradition, established at a time of more intense education, could not have been easy. As Díaz y Díaz observed, Pérez de Urbel had proposed that the author was Berto de Liébana, on the grounds that the hymn is so successful, but it seems more rational to propose that he

was not, partly on the grounds that the original parts of the hymn are so awkward; it is strange to find Sánchez Albornoz supporting Pérez de Urbel in this in his recent *Historia* (1980: 617-19). Apparently archaic features are due to imitation. If the man chosen to dedicate a church to the Kingdom's patron saint and simultaneously praise the King is so ill at ease in this traditional genre, it is unlikely that many others would have been less so; the Visigothic expertise survives, but only just.

Rhythmic verse, in the academic genre based on counting written vowels, continues to be written and sung. We can never be sure whether it was performed with the same number of syllables it appears to have on paper; as argued above (Chapter 2), there seems no particular reason why it should have been. We shall look at further examples, from La Rioja, later in this chapter, but for the minute it is worth considering what other kinds of verse existed in these centuries before the advent of the Carolingian reforms to Spain.

b) Popular Verse?

Every community has verse in its own vernacular. No community has been discovered that does not. We can assume that early medieval León had verses of some kind in early medieval Leonese. Is there any evidence that can tell us what these were like?

It has been assumed that nothing can be said about the vernacular literature of these centuries because we have no texts written then in Leonese, Castilian, Galician, etc.; yet some of the surviving texts could well be the written representation of the vernacular, at a time when the only method of writing was in unreformed spelling. If popular poetry did get written down, it certainly would not have been in phonetic script. In addition, some of the surviving "rhythmic" verse — i.e. based on counting syllables — might well show evidence of influence from popular patterns. In particular, it has often been suggested that such natural patterns were indeed rhythmic, unlike "rhythmic" verse, in that they were based on the number of spoken stresses per line rather than the number of written vowels. Norberg (1952: 89), for example, suggested that this might be true of the epiphany of one Oppilla (who died at the hands of the Basques), found on a tomb at Villafraanca (Córdoba province) and dated to 642 A.D., which Vives (1969: 90, no. 287) printed as follows:

+haec caua saxa Oppiliani continet membra,
 g[lorios]o ort[u] natah[ui]m, gestu abit[ur]g, col[osp]i[c]u[m],
 opib[us] quippe pollens et artium uiribus cluens
 iacula uel[ut] p[re]cep[er]it fur p[re]doq[ue], Baccosis destinatur
 in p[ro]cinctum belli: necatur optulatore sodalium desolatus

naulter eode perculsom cientes rapiunt peremtum.
 exanimis domu reducitur, suis a uernulis humatur.
 ligit cotiux cum liberis, fletibus familia prestrepit.
 decies ut ternos ad quater quateros uixit per annos,
 pridie Septemb(r)ium idus morte a Vasconibus multatus
 era sescentensima et octagensima id gestum memento.
 sepultus sub d. quiescit VI id. Octubres.

Norberg dismissed the idea that these could be rhythmic hexameters, and instead analysed each line as containing two hemistichs, usually in rhyme, with three main word stresses per hemistich, atonic words and secondary stresses being ignored. Thus the first line is balanced:

haec cava saxa /! Oppulani continet membra.

The first hemistich has five written syllables and the second has nine, but that does not matter, each has three main word-stresses. The epithaph itself contains non-vermacular grammatical elements (such as the passive of *precipitur*), but its structural pattern — if Norberg is right — is not at all academic or “Latinate”, and could be based on the patterns of native verse.

There are two peculiar compositions found in one of the manuscripts of the so-called *Historia Albedense*¹¹. The first version of this chronicle was completed in 881. It was subsequently expanded to reach 883, and in between the two sections the San Millian manuscript (*Admiria de la Historia* MS Em. 39) has the separate items, printed by Gómez Moreno (1932: 605-06) as follows:

Item noticia episcoporum cum sedibus suis.
 Regiamque sedem Hermenegildus tenet
 Filianus Bracarae Luco episcopus arce
 Rudesindus Dumio Menduniato degens
 Sisanandus Iriae Sancto Jacobo pollens
 Nautique tenens Conimbriae sedem
 Brandericus quoque locum Lamproensem
 Sebastianus quidem sedis Auriensem
 Justusque similiter in Portucalense
 Alvarus Velegiae Felemirus Oximae
 Maurus Legione necnon Ranulfus Astoricae

Prefati quoque presules in ecclesiae plebe ex regis prudentia emicant clare.

Rex quoque clarus omni mundo factus
 iam suprafatus Adefonsus uocatus
 regni culmine datus belli titulo abtus

11. Sánchez Albornoz prefers to follow Mommsen and call the chronicle the *Epitome Ovetense* (1980: 651); the text certainly has more in common with Oviedo than Albalá (which is where the other old manuscript was copied by Vigila). Both these MSs are tenth-century copies.

clarus in Astures fortis in Uascones
 uliscens Arabes et protegens ciues
 cui principi sacra sit uictoria data
 Xpisto duce iuuatus semper clarificatus
 pollet uictor seculo fulgeat ipse celo
 ceditus hic triumpho predictus ibi regno
 Amen.

Gómez, however, was working at a time when these folios of MS 39 had been lost — they reappeared in 1953 — on the basis of later versions. The manuscript folio (274r), written two columns to a page, looks more like this:

IT NOTTIA EPORU · CU SEDB SUI ·

Regiamq̄ sedem · hermenegildus tenet · new column (same page)
 Flajant̄ bracara · luco ep̄ops · arce ·
 rudesind̄ dumio · menduniato degens ·
 Sisanand̄ h̄rie · sc̄lacobo polens ·
 Nautic̄q̄ tenens conimbriae sedem ·
 Brandericus quoq̄ locum lamproensem ·
 Sebastian̄ quidem sedis auriense ·
 Justusq̄ similiter inportucalense ·
 Albarus · uel eḡis · felemirus

uxome · maurus legione · necnon
 Ranulfus astoric · prefatic̄q̄ presules

In sc̄te pleue · Ex regis prudentia
 emicant clare · Rex quoq̄ clarus
 om̄e mundo factus · Jam supra
 fatus · Adefonsus uocatus ·

Regni culmine datus · bellitulo
 abtus · Clarus inastures · fortis
 Inuascones · Uiscens arabes ·
 et protegens ciues · Cui principi
 sacra · sit uictoria data ·

Xp̄o duce lubatus · sempclarificatus ·
 Polleat uictor sc̄fo · fulgeat ipse celo ·
 Deditus hoc triumpho · predictus ibi
 regno · añ · finit ·

The right hand edge of each line is close to the edge of the folio. It seems that the copyist realized these were lines of verse, for each verse line begins with a large, usually capital, letter; once *uxome* spilled over a line he preferred to save space and preserve legibility by continuing from there, only recovering synchronization in the last three lines. This cheerful attitude to scribal enjambement continues in the succeeding chapter heading:

INCIPIT ORDOROMA
 NORUM!!~

so we can probably accept that this composition is in verse. In practice

all critics have agreed that it is verse of some kind. David (1947: 130) repositioned the first line after *Maurus* . . . on the grounds that a first line cannot start with *-que*, and printed the two central lines as verse:

Praefati praesules in ecclesiae plebe
Ex regis prudentia emicant clare.

If it is verse, what sort of verse is it? It is clearly not metrical. It is not technically "rhythmic", the written vowels (given resolution of MS abbreviations) range from 11 to 15 per line.

If we attempt to visualize a vernacular reading or recitation, on the lines of Esplonconio's deed of sale above, the result of the list of bishops in the first ten lines could be as follows. This transcription again omits the written *-s* of the nominative singular and of *sedis*, suggesting that its residual presence, perhaps as an aspiration, prevents elision (e.g. in *Ranulfus Astoricæ*); but it refrains from lengthening the imparisyllabic present participle. It also includes secondary stresses on long words.

[réd]gakeséde érnéd]sildotjéne
[háj]nógéage lígobíspodrtse
rudzínodóunjo mónodnédodóéd]se
sínádnod]rje sántiáqopólle
návstektjéne kon]nó]tjeséde
brándi]gokwóke íwé]gólá]még]éze
sé]gást]háno ké]de sé]deor]ense
d]ústokésenéd]éde ernp]wért]ogalé]ze
á]l]barob]eléd]gje fe]m]r]o]d]oz]me
mó]ro]le]one n]n]trán]f]i]f]ost]ó]r]ge]l]

This inevitably begs many questions. Apart from anything else, the poem only survives in a copy made the following century, and *quaque*, *quidem* and in particular *necon* could easily be later additions, or amplifications of *de*. Yet an advantage of this version, however specious, is that — allowing secondary stress in long proper names — we can envisage this being recited on a rough stress pattern of a hemistich of two stresses followed by a hemistich of three stresses. The lengths of line become, in spoken syllables rather than written, 11, 11, 11, 11, 11, 11, 12, 11, 13; and if we wished to, we could suggest hendecasyllabic versions for lines 8 and 10 by omitting [ke] and [mno] as possible interpolations. There is no need to do this, for regularity of spoken stress rhythm does not require exact syllabic equivalence, yet if we want to do so, we can, given a spot of *metri gratia*, which is not in itself implausible (we need not suppose that this composition is any good). The main advantage of this transcription, however, is that the rhyme is now visible. Apart from *Dunio* (1.3) and probably *Sebastianus* (1.6) — although *quidem* might

precede the caesura — all twenty hemistichs end in [e]. The poem is not itself in origin a vernacular verse, as can be seen from the noun morphology (e.g. with genitives rather than *de*), but it does seem to be written with the intention of having a stress pattern when reproduced in vernacular phonetics. Stress is natural in language; the syllable is an academic construct. Even if David is right to see the next two lines as verse — he does not discuss this at all — they are unlikely to have been originally part of either composition; they look like the scribal linking of two previously composed passages. Even so, *plebe* and *clare* continue the rhyme¹².

The second composition, beginning *Rex quaque* . . . is more connected and educated in syntax, morphology and vocabulary; yet if it is an attempt at a learned "rhythmic" poem it is an exceptionally incompetent one, for the number of written vowels per line ranges from eleven to fifteen. The attempt to visualize a possible vernacular rendering has, in the event, the effect of both increasing syllabic regularity and accentuating a spoken rhythm as of a trochaic trimeter (1.1.1, 1.1.0). Let us consider the first word, for example, *rex*: the list of cheeses has *reges* as a sentence subject, we know that the vernacular was disyllabic [rjé] (or perhaps still [rjégel]: > O. Sp. *reye*, Mod. Sp. *rey*), and [rjé] creates a trochee that suits the metre well. "Rhythmic" compositions of twelve-syllabled lines were a traditional guise with available music, so this could even have been put to an existing tune. Other vernacular renderings that support the possibility that this was performed with an intentionally trochaic pattern are: *cunne* for *cunine* (> Sp. *cunbre*), *rido* (or *e*) for *ritur*, *negio* for *seculo* (> O. Sp. *steglo*, Sp. *siglo*), *y* for *ibi* (> O. Sp. *y*), perhaps *Alfonso* for *Adefonus*, the presence of a semivocalic [j] in *victoria*, and the likely loss of the first [j] in *claryficatus*, a word that does not survive in the vernacular, but of a type in which an unstressed [j] would have been lost. *Iam suprafatus* has three stresses, but vernacular falls to supply the extra syllable needed if we want strict syllabic equivalence; *Xpsto dice inuatus* has three stresses, but *dice* seems to require elision to [dó:] if we want it to become a six-syllable line in speech. ([e] was

12. The bishops themselves are attested and discussed by David (1947), Sánchez Albornoz (1980) and Floriano (1951: II 658-76). Velegra is on the road from Pamplona to Burgos; Velegra and Osmá, 1.9, are the only Castilian sees included. Santiago was in the Iria Flavia diocese at this time. The "royal" see is Oviedo. The purpose of the list is more probably as a kind of roll of honour for an assembly than as a mnemonic. I am very grateful to the Librarian of the History Academy in Madrid for providing me with a photocopy of this folio.

stress-patterning, whether consciously or not. There is, as a consequence, absolutely no reason to suppose that stress-patterning is somehow an "uneducated" type of language.

The liturgy is usually written down as prose. But at times the rhythmic effect is so pervasive and constant that the distinction between rhythmic prose and accentual verse begins to seem at best porous and at worst artificial. Devoto (1980), for example, has suggested that there was no natural distinction consciously felt between the two: the distinction comes from the subsequent application of artificial literary convention. That the period from 711-1080 continued to see no clear boundary is attested by the way in which one passage in particular has been variously seen by modern scholars: the second of the four prologues to the manuscript of the *Antiphonary of León*. This manuscript is eleventh-century (probably 1069); the prologues have been ascribed to a variety of centuries, but Díaz y Díaz (1954) plausibly ascribed at least the last three to the reign of Fernando I (1035-65), a time when the Leonese were vigorously recovering their Visigothic past. (Vives 1955 disagrees, however, preferring a much earlier date.) The third and fourth of these, called *metro* in the titles, are attempts at rhythmic elegiacs; the second, printed by Férotin and Díaz y Díaz as prose — Férotin (1912: 917) called it "étrange prose" — has such an insistent rhythmic pattern that Meyer (1936: 205) was inspired to print it as verse, adding in his own accent marks to indicate the stresses in question. The version printed here is slightly altered in small details, on the basis of Díaz y Díaz's manuscript research, but otherwise it is Meyer's:

Item alius prologus eiusdem.

Traditio Toletana institutioque sancta
melodice canticus mirifice promiserunt [oracula].
Concénitos dulces, sonoras compares
resonant in choro diversorum modulis.
Cámeras fulgentes nínguide splendéntes
aúribus demúlcent pre suavitate sónum.
Spléndida doctrína et púlcra canóra
dulcífimas voces rútilant in choro.
In súmis adfóllunt precinéndó latides
íctibus cámen mirífice proménies.
Adínstar caeléstium miltítiae angelórum
órdines párant in conspéctu seniórum.
Bíni aut témi responsúria cánuunt,
vespertinos et laudes, simúliter et psálmos.
Ad dextra lévaque córos consistunt,
anúphóné módos reciprocátos cánuunt:

10

lost in later centuries, but that is perhaps too precocious to envisage here.) Lines 4 and 5 seem to have two-stress hemistichs; the three-stress hemistichs are not all trochaic in this version, but there is a greater regularity than appears in any other. The hemistich assonance pattern visible in both the written and spoken versions remains the same.

[r]éjkwókekláro wúnemúndoféjto
jásóbrefado alfonosopogádo
rènekúrnédádo bélléfúdwáwto
klároenasúres fwéteengwaskónes
wútsifsearapes eprotédgeisives
kújprínuseosésára sébjítójaóada
kristóódzjuvádo stjemprekjárvegádo
póaxbjítorsjéqlo fúdzáesetsjélo
óéddofirúfnfo preóbjítóiréjno]

As usual, there are many doubtful details in this transcription, and as usual these are doubts about ninth-century Leonese vernacular. What we can be fairly certain of is that the established features of that vernacular, such as [áda], [tsjélo], [en], [ése], etc., for written *data*, *celo*, *in*, *ipse*, were not read out in any Latinare way. In St Amand, at almost exactly the same time, they wrote *ciel* in the Eulalia Sequence for their vernacular, because otherwise in church *celo* was read with no diphthong and an [o]; there, [data], [in], [ipse] were read in the liturgy; Oviedo and León did not have that choice, and there was no need to change the usual spelling. These poems are explicable if we see them as read in vernacular phonetics, and not if not.¹³

Rhythmic recitation seems to have been normal in the Visigothic liturgy. The seventh-century Visigothic scholars loved rhythmic prose. It often seems as if they preferred rhythm to intelligibility. The technique was already traditional and revered, having been used, for example, by Saints Jerome and Augustine. The reason for its cultivation in liturgy may have specifically been to adorn the recitation with aesthetic attraction. Its appeal was not lost on Alvaro of Córdoba. It continued to be enjoyed in the twelfth century and beyond. Its presence in the liturgy led to its being heard all the time; since most scholars were active in the church, they were reciting it all the time as well. A feeling for rhythm, for the deliberate patterning of the stresses inherent in words, was thus inevitably likely to exist in any educated person of the time. A bishop, for example, creating a jingle containing his colleagues' names, would almost inevitably tend to some kind of

13. The presumption that any explanation is better than none is one that Norberg severely criticizes Strecker for holding (1954: passim), but they are discussing verse with prose sources.

Uni incipientes et illi subpsalmantes,
 tertio post Gloriam pariter cantantes,
 Ordinem angelicum tenent institutum,
 nitentes consistunt pariter in choro.
 Benignos componunt melodice carnos
 in laude divinae promulgantes.
 Illes proferant in sancta sanctorum,
 officium divinum sumunt gaudentes.
 Nulla ventiliantes otiosa verba,
 sed saltem divina eloquia canentes,
 Lectiones sanctas pariter auscultant(es).
 strepitum vulgi nullo modo ibi sonat.

20

Promulgantes (1.22) and *oracula* (1.2) remain the only barriers to accepting this as accentual verse based on two stresses per hemistich. If we wish, line 2 can be emended by omitting *mirifice* as a pre-echo of 1.10, and 1.22 by emending *que* to *quaque*. The prologue implies that it is itself an excellent example of the liturgical language of the *Traditio toletana*, whose musical performance soothes the ears (1.6) and where there are no inappropriate words (*otiosa verba*). The *Antiphonary* itself has music printed above the words; the notation is not easy to interpret but does not suggest any strict equivalence of musical note and sung vowel. Whether this prologue was recited at all is unclear, but Meyer's version shows that at the least a rhythmic patterning would be obvious in the performance. This structural requirement could continue to be satisfied despite the vagaries of phonetic evolution, for none of these words gained nor lost a tonic stress when evolving, so the pattern suits the vernacular of the eleventh century as well as that of the seventh.

It has often been suggested that the presumed unattested popular verse of these centuries was patterned on stress. This patterning has been ascribed to the influence of Germanic (e.g. by Leonard 1931; Hall 1965-66). Unfortunately, Hall presented this view in tandem with a debatable theory of "superstratum" influence and the almost certainly mistaken suggestion that Gothic speech and literature continued after the Moslem invasion; since these latter ideas are easy to argue against — Collins (1977: 40), for example, doubts if the Visigoths spoke Germanic after the fifth century — they have cast disrepute on the Germanic stress connection (e.g. in Martínez 1975: 73). Yet the theory survives. In the first place, rhythmic patterns are logically independent of Germanic origins: no one claims that St Augustine was a Visigoth. In the second place, patterns of sentence stress in verse and recitation could easily survive long after the community lost its Germanic language, as those of Welsh are observable in monolingual

English-speaking Welshmen. Since there seems to be no doubt that stress-patterns existed in the liturgy, which was recited all the time, it seems *a priori* reasonable to expect to find it in other works — epigrams, lists of bishops, encomia of Kings, prologues to liturgical manuscripts; it also seems reasonable to hypothesize its existence in popular lyric, ballad, epic, or whatever else we wish to envisage.

As regards the versification of early Spanish lyric, Rico, editing the earliest known extant indisputably Castilian lyric, offered the lapidary view that "the metric norm of early traditional lyric is to lack any norm" (1975: 545). This verse is attested (written in prose) as follows: "Cantan de Roldán, cantan de Olivero, e non de Corraquín Sancho, que fue buen caballero. Cantan de Olivero, cantan de Roldán, e non de Corraquín Sancho, que fue buen barragán" (542). It comes in the *Cronica de la población de Avila* (1255), but refers to events of c.1158 (see Mackay 1977: 54-55), and is datable to the mid-twelfth century. These verses are endowed with a variety of emendations by Rico, but can be spared that if we envisage a tune in which *Corraquín* can be sung quickly: *e non de Corraquín Sánchez*¹⁴. The norm is that of the Antiphonary prologue and the Bishops' list, two stresses per half-line. Similarly, discussion of the *Kharjas* will not progress until scholars accept that popular Romance metrics need not have been isosyllabic (unlike e.g. Jones 1980: 41). Non-lyrical genres need have been no more isosyllabic; as regards ballads, although all the surviving texts are much later, some of the venerable old ones (and, indeed, many recently-collected versions) were not as rigidly octosyllabic as the metric manuals tell us. Devoto (1979), for example, points out that one of the most famous lines of all has in fact nine syllables (Smith 1964: 97): "Villanos te maten, Alonso . . ."

The whole of this argument, however, has been skewed in perspective by the existence of the *Poema de Mio Cid* and the surviving fragment of a *Cantar de Roncesvalles* (see Magrota 1976: chap. 7). The metre of these epics is based largely on hemistichs with two or three main stresses; both epics have 39% of their hemistichs heptasyllabic and about a quarter octosyllabic, but this is a consequence of the stress pattern rather than being a pattern in its own right. Some of the *Poema's* hemistichs have one stress, or four, and no scholar yet knows what to do about that. Yet the liturgy, and such other evidence as survives of recitation patterns before the overwhelming influence of

14. A simple conga rhythm, in fact, due no doubt to the Brazilian substratum in Avila.

French syllable-based metres in the early thirteenth century, strongly suggests that stress-patterning came naturally to the community, whereas syllable-counting came awkwardly and only to antiquarians. Smith (1979) has revived the theory of rhythmic patterning in the *Poema*, but suggested that the author of the *Poema* "invented" it. There is no need to suggest that. The fact that a spelling reform operates in about 1200 means that at first sight the Bishops' List and the Antiphony Prologue seem to be in a different language from the *Poema*, but a spelling reform is a minor thing. Major cultural patterns carry on regardless of spelling reforms. Smith sees the surviving *Poema* as a first draft, "una fase primitiva métricamente imperfecta"; of an attempt to imitate the French, but it is surely no less reasonable to see it as one of the last works in the common stress-based anisosyllabic nature of pre-1220s Spanish recitations¹⁵ (although its length probably is unprecedented). There is no need to suppose that "popular" reciters, untrained in the definition of the syllable found in the Grammars by the old-fashioned "rhythmic" poets, even knew what a syllable was.

The preference for rhythm over counting syllables in performed verse survives after the thirteenth-century francophile deluge. In the early fourteenth century, Juan Ruiz humanizes the *mester de clerecía*, and unless we use Corominas' edition (1967) of his *Libro de Buen Amor* we can see that the rhythmic patterns often override the strict syllable count. The only native Spanish metre of the later Middle Ages, the *arte mayor*, is one that contains eight to twelve syllables per line, in two hemistichs with two stresses per hemistich, usually () / . . / () (Balaguer 1974).

There has been considerable argument over whether the native literature of Spain before the twelfth century was in Latin or in Romance. The theory offered here solves that problem by removing the distinction. What existed was Romance; if written it looks "Latin" to us, but that is only because we have projected an anachronism needlessly back. Monroe (1975: 114-16) has been arguing that Romance lyric and ballad traditions go back to Roman times; cp. also Menéndez Pidal (1951). Martínez's book (1975) has made a step forward in that he uses early "Latin" popular songs as evidence in his discussion of the genesis of Spanish epic, accepting a continuity between vernacular Latin and Romance. Indeed there is a continuity. Late Latin is Early Romance and the true novelty of twelfth-century

Spain is the arrival of Medieval Latin as a distinct concept. Martínez also, however, uses works of an undoubtedly Medieval Latin nature, such as the *Carmen Campi Doctoris* (397), in this argument, which is surely mistaken. But no less mistaken appears to be the instinctive view of Smith that no vernacular verse existed then at all — "el hecho es que no nos queda ningún testimonio directo o textual acerca de lo que las estructuras métricas castellanas pudieran haber sido (de haber existido) antes de 1207" (1979: 30); "The editors of the [sc. *Historia*] *Silense*, discussing a lively account in the chronicle of the defeat by Ordoño II of the Moslems at San Esteban de Gornaz, hint at the existence of a poem (they do not specify the language) as a source; but there are grave difficulties in postulating this for Ordoño's days in the early tenth century" (1971: 4 = 1977a: 92-93). There are no such difficulties. It would have been in tenth-century vernacular. Had it been written, it would have used the ordinary quaint old writing methods used in the *Historia* itself, but there does not seem to have been any need or point to writing it. Most verses in the world have never been written down. The theory expounded here, that Medieval Latin did not exist till it was invented, solves these arguments and should prevent such knots being tied in future.

Historiography

Asturians show an interest in their national heritage through the ninth century. In the early 880s there is a flurry of activity. Dulcicio came from Toledo in 880, and the body of San Eulogio from Córdoba in 882; an inventory of books at Oviedo dated 882 (Gil 1973a: II 707-08) may be of those that came with Eulogio. In 881 the first version of the *Historia Albedense* was written, in 883 the second. This chronicle refers to the Leonese as Goths; after the section called *Ordo gentis gotorum* (as in Isidore), the section on Asturias is labelled *Ordo Gotorum Obetensium Regum* (Gómez Moreno 1932: 601). This new self-consciously Visigothic pride is taken up in the chronicle that bears the name of Alfonso III (Bonnaz 1977; Cotarelo 1933; on historiography in general, Sánchez Alonso 1941). Although it is by the 880s conceivable that Carolingian scholarship might have had an influence, the Visigothic orientation of Asturian culture makes that improbable, and the nature of the texts makes it more so. Of Alfonso III's history, Cotarelo (1933: 583) declared that "being written at a time of total literary decadence, its style is very limited and wearisome"; Gómez Moreno, on the *Albedense*, stated that "it shows how low Latin sank, even among scholars, in the last third of the ninth century. Its vocabulary is very

15. The 1220s see the definitive attempt to train priests in Latin, and the spread of the fashion for French-style syllabic verse: see Chapter 5.

small, its sentences rarely attain any elegance; the use of particles is quite *barbaro*; the inflexions are often nonsense, and so on" (1932: 566). Sánchez Albornoz simply said that Gómez's comments on the language "could not be bettered" (1980: 664). All these remarks miss the simple point:¹⁶ these histories are in vernacular, but awkwardly imitating an ancient genre. The tenth-century *Scriptura* chronicle is in "better" Latin, but this is only known to us in twelfth-century versions that are not usable as testimony to its original language (Pérez de Urbel 1952).

In the tenth century, Visigothic (rather than Frankish) culture continues. Sánchez Albornoz (1944; 1980: 643-50) drew up a list of all the books mentioned in monastic documents in the tenth-century kingdom of León. (He also found a document of 796 that established the cost of a liturgical text at about three times that of a cow.) García Álvarez (1965) prepared a similar list for Galicia. It is clear from these that traditional liturgical texts of all kinds were quite common, much respected, and continually on the move. The largest single collection is that given by Cixila of Toledo on November 5th 927 to the monastery of Saints Cosme and Damian at Abellán (León), described in the only document to mention any Classical work (Díaz Jiménez 1892). The monastery of San Rosendo at Calarova in Galicia was given (by the saint) many books in 942 (Díaz y Díaz 1975: 161; García Álvarez 1965: 310). In León, much of the border resettlement was entrusted to emigrants from the south, some of whom were literate.

In León, it is often not easy, as García Gallo demonstrated (1950: 373-93), to distinguish between a monastery and a church, since both tend to have priests and living quarters. Fletcher (1978: 163) was unsure how to translate *monasteria* in a document as late as 1122. Further east, however, monasteries are more recognizable, and the important centres of tenth-century Spanish Christian culture (outside Catalonia) are those in *La Rioja*.

The Rioja

The Rioja is approximately that part of Navarre near the Ebro. If Carolingian culture impinged on non-Castilian Spain at all before the eleventh century — if the Latin-Romance contrast existed anywhere — it would have been here. Díaz y Díaz's superb recent book (1979) on the culture of tenth-century Rioja has made much earlier discussion seem jejune (e.g. Vicuña Ruiz 1971; Pérez de Urbel 1950; García de Cortázar 1977); in particular, it has dated and located manuscripts with authority. Among other things, it demonstrates a slight but real

connection with contemporary culture from North of the Pyrenees.

The Rioja was well placed to receive visitors from all directions; from the West (Castile, León), the South (Moslem Spain; Díaz y Díaz 1979: 253-59) is the East (Catalonia), the North East (the Navarrese Pyrenees, where Eulogio of Córdoba found his manuscripts in 848) and the North (France). In the 920s the area — long fought over — was resettled by the Navarrese, in particular with the monasteries of San Martín de Albelda and San Millán de la Cogolla. Six others, at least, were active in that century. San Martín and San Millán were culturally akin (García de Cortázar 1969: 26; Cantera Orive 1950-63). San Martín — probably named after Martin of Tours rather than Martin of Braga — was said at its foundation (5 January 924) to be organized "secundum Benedicti regulam vel id quod a sanctis patribus didicisti" (Bishko 1948: 563; Ubieta 1960: 13 calls the surviving document a falsification). The Benedictine rule is also mentioned in three documents from ninth-century Castile (probably referring to Smaragdus' commentary), but in practice most monasteries chose their rules eclectically; in the Rioja the cosmopolitan origins included aspects of both Benedictinism and native Hispanic rules (Linage 1973a, 1976). The most interesting case of this concerns a nuns' rule. Salvo, abbot of Albelda from 951/3-962, is said, according to Vigilia's brief biography of him, to have composed hymns, liturgical texts, and a nuns' rule, which may or may not be the *Libellus a regula sancti Benedicti subtractus* found in San Millán MS 62 (which probably came from Najera; Díaz y Díaz 1979: 30-32), and studied by Bishko (1948) and Linage (1973b). Bishko is sure Salvo wrote it. Linage ascribes it to the scribe Enneco (who dates it 976), and Díaz y Díaz (1979) rejects the latter because Enneco's colophon to the MS is so clumsy. It is an adaptation of Smaragdus for use by nuns. Not only is the content mostly Carolingian, initials and abbreviations are convincingly used by Linage (1973b: 87-93, 101-110) to show that the source manuscript was itself of French origin. The saints to whom the convent is dedicated were Nunilo and Alodia, martyrs in Córdoba in 851, whose bodies were at Leyre in the Pyrenees. This combination of inspirations is typical of the area's ability to fuse together whatever ideas they liked.¹⁷

16. Moslem Spain includes Zaragoza, which is close to the Rioja. The common culture of Visigoth, *mozarabe*, *asturiano* and *riojano* is demonstrated at length by G. Menéndez Pidal (1954).

17. Another tenth-century MS (no. 53) includes St Leander's Spanish nuns' rule followed by adapted extracts from Smaragdus (Díaz y Díaz 1979: 177-78).

For the present purpose of assessing the nature of the "Latinity" used in the Rioja, the immediate question concerning Benedictinism is whether the Roman liturgy was used at all. It is, in the event, noticeable that all reference in the source to the Roman liturgy is omitted from this *Libellus*, which is designed for a Benedictine community using the Hispanic rites. Liturgy is, uncharacteristically, at a loss as to how to explain the omission. It is not mere conservatism; profounder changes than ritual are accepted gladly. Liturgy points out as a contrast that in modern times liturgical change has appeared more acceptable than fundamental reorganization and comments that we can see from this how modern man has lost a sense of ritual: "something providing good material for the history of human mentalities" (1973b: 139). In fact it is practical common sense; establishing a convent on the border zone was awkward enough without requiring the nuns to learn a different method of speaking and run a new kind of education system. The pointedness of the omission might suggest, however, that the Riojans were aware of the Latinity used in Northern rites and consciously preferred to avoid it.

Frankish influence is attested in the Rioja. For example, there is a list of *Reges Francorum* in MS San Millán 78, f.194v, which ends in a first person plural: "Et fuimus sine rege a vii, postea regnavit Leodevicus a xvii. Et postea regnat Leutharius filius eius." The present tense of *regnavit* dates the list to 954-86 (Menéndez Pidal 1958: 11; Lacarra 1948, however, ascribed the manuscript to Catalonia). Contact would have been increased by the pilgrimage to Santiago; the main route ran further north until the eleventh century, but some pilgrims did come on the southern route through the Rioja. The foundation of Albelda (924) decrees "ut pretereuntes itidem habeant tugurium hospitandi" (Cantera Orive 1950-63: VII 296; V 319). A document of 933 which concedes the village of Uñón to Albelda seems to accept the presence of pilgrims as a fact of life (Ubieto 1960: 31): "Postremo namque liberam in Dei nomine habeatis potestatem in cultura peregrinorum adque in alimonia monachorum, eandem possidere et sepe ampliare." The most distinguished pilgrim from France was Bishop Gotscale of Le Puy, Count of Velay and Brioude, who stopped at Albelda in 950, commissioned a copy of San Ildefonso's *De Virginitate Beatae Mariae* from the scribe Gomesano, and then returned to pick it up in 951¹⁸. Le Puy le Velay,

18. Now Paris BN Latin MS 2855. On the visit see Cantera Orive (1948-49); Díaz y Díaz (1979: 55-62) and (Gomesano's additions to the MS) 279-81). Gomesano also copied here two earlier rhythmic poems awkwardly imitative of Eugenio of Toledo, 293-96.

not very far from Clermont-Ferrand, was a centre of Carolingian culture; the Cathedral library, for example, has an edition of Theodulf's Bible that Rand (1931: 337) called "sumptuous". Gomesano's MS was later copied at Cluny (Cantera Orive 1950-63: XVII 202). The excellent state of his manuscript is an encouraging indication of professional competence at Albelda.

The Rioja is also the home of several "rhythmic" compositions. Abbot Salvo of Albelda was described by Vígila as follows (Díaz y Díaz 1979: 282):

Salvus abba Albaldeñsis monasterii uir lingua nitidus et scientia eruditus, elegans sententis, ornatus in uerbis, scripsit sacris uirginibus regularem libellum et eloquio nitidum et rei ueritate pre-spiciuum.

Cuius oratio, nempe in hymnis, orationibus, uersibus ac missis quas industri ipse sermone composuit plurimam cordis computationem et magnam suauiloquentiam legentibus audientibusque tribuet.

Díaz y Díaz (1979: 23-24) explains that the vocabulary here is taken from the *De Viris Illustribus* of Isidore and Isidore, to insert Salvo into the glorious Visigothic tradition.

Szóvérfly (1971) ascribes two hymns to Salvo: *AH* XXVII no. 153, to St Martin, which is not ascribed to Salvo by Díaz y Díaz (1979: 63), and *AH* XXVII no.160, to Nunilo and Alodia, for whose convent near Nájera the *Libellus* was composed. This latter hymn has thirteen six-line stanzas of alternate 8 and 7 syllable lines, in a traditional pattern. The earliest rhythmic poem from a San Millán manuscript is that of 82 rhythmic verses (printed by Díaz y Díaz 1979: 289-92) appended as a colophon to MS AHN 1007B, the earliest surviving datable San Millán MS (932). The scribe, Jimeno, is thought by Díaz y Díaz to have been trained in León by immigrants from the south (1979: 117), and by Shailor (1979) to have been trained at Cardaña in Castille. Each stanza has three lines of 8 + 7 syllables, thus effectively having the same form as the Nunilo-Alodia hymn; the number of written vowels is accurate and consistent, at least in all the lines that are legible, except for the need for a vernacular diphthong in *apología* (1.11) and *uenture* (1.34), and the lack of a syllable in the attempted octosyllable *Sic me ipse credensque* (1.76). That the arithmetic is indeed based on written vowels rather than anything else is attested in startling fashion by the following lines:

Exitus futuri seculi Iuliani presagus (1.26)

Orant Xristo solioque in eterno seculo (1.45)

Seculi is necessarily disyllabic in 1.26, and *seculo* trisyllabic in 1.45; the

is surely wrong to praise these verses so highly; he claims that they are evidence of detailed metrical knowledge (1979: 73-74; 1981b), but they are not. They are evidence of metrical and rhythmical ignorance, combined with a skill in counting written vowels.

There is one other notable composition from tenth-century Navarre; the *versus domina Leodegundia Regina*, an epithalamion (MS 78, f.232; Díaz y Díaz 1979: 315-18, who discounts the supposed Galician connections; also edited by Lacarra 1948: 272-75, who filled in the many lacunae with his own work). The acrostic, formed by the initial letters of each three-line stanza, reads *Leodegundia pulcra Ordoyni filia*. Ordoños I-IV reigned (in León) in 850-66, 914-24, 951-56 and 958-60, so the princess is probably of the tenth century. The Navarrese ascription rests on a reference to celebrations in Pamplona (1.26) and the fact that the manuscript comes from the Nájera area. Leodegundia herself has five syllables in the poem rather than the six written vowels of her name, but otherwise this composition is competently arranged on a 6+6, 7+7, 8+7 pattern (although Díaz y Díaz resorts to three minor emendations *metri causa*).

The Riojan scholars thus continued the techniques of "rhythmic" poetry with fixed numbers of written vowels per line; the evidence suggests that they also had some slight contact with French culture of the time, but were not much influenced by it. There is no reason to suppose they knew much about the Roman liturgy and its "Latinate" performance; Vigila's own *Codex Vigilanus* is a superb collection of the *Hispania* Visigothic canons. That, and the *Emilianense* of 992 (Escorial d.I.1), are the best manuscripts of Visigothic church texts we have. But they probably had heard of Frankish kings, and bishops of Le Puy; there is heard of the A.D. era, Frankish kings, and bishops of Le Puy; there is therefore a chance that they might have heard of the vernacular spellings being used in the tenth century near, for example, Clermont-Ferrand. If so, that may be part of the explanation of their celebrated Glosses.

Glosses

There was a party at San Millán in November 1977 to celebrate the thousandth anniversary of the birth of the Spanish language. The mathematics were based on the marginal glosses discovered in what is now the History Academy MS *Emilianense* 60. The manuscript itself is probably of the late ninth century, from somewhere in the South-Western Pyrenees. Its contents have been described by Franquesa (1959) and Díaz y Díaz (1979: 235-41, 249, 266); a version of St Pascazio of Durio's *Verba Seniorum*; *Passio*, *Missa* and *Orationes* of the blessed

without the example. The suspicion that the scansion is a later addition is strengthened by the manner of scansion of line 6: APOSTOLORŪ CLĀRIS ŌRNĀTĀ DŌCTRĪNIS SACRĪS LŌTĀ LĪMFĪS RŪTĪLĀT CĒŪ SŌL; here the omission of the first vowel is made up by marking CĒŪ SŌL. There is one mistake: in SĪMŪLQ for SĪMŪLQ (1.11). As elsewhere, there is no verbal consistency: 1.23 includes both DECĪES and DECĪES, for example (it is *decēs* in the hymn above, 1.43). As elsewhere the colour of the scanning pen and marginal note is not that of half of the text. In this case, however, both 1.23 and the telestich (*Era millesima sive quarta decima*) have the Spanish era date of 1014 rather than the A.D. date 976. The Q of the telestich is HIQ; Alcuin would not have approved.

One other "rhythmic" piece can be ascribed to Vigila. In 980 he sent a manuscript of some of the Visigothic church councils to the otherwise unknown abbot Montano, with a dedicatory letter of similar ingenious clumsiness (Díaz y Díaz 1979: 368-70, and plate 3). It contains 29 three-line stanzas. The acrostic is *Membrana missa a Vigilano Montano*. Each line of a stanza ends in the same letter. At the top of the first folio (74v) the comment begins: "metrū trocaycum decapenta sillaba et trimetrū habet locis omnib⁹ ponitur ulti..."; which runs illegibly onto 75r, returning as "...jecton". This comment is at the top of the page in smaller writing than the text; again it seems to be a later addition. The scansion was given up after four syllables, however: the first line runs *Montano dei electo cristi namque famulo*.

Each three lines of verse are given as two lines of prose in the MS, which might have been what led the scanner to give up, but in addition the inappropriateness of the - u formula might even have struck the scribe here as it apparently did not in the *Codex Vigilanus*. The fifteen syllables per line are achieved exactly throughout; the last stanza is dated to the Spanish era 1018, i.e. A.D. 980.

Vigila's other compositions are "figurative" jigsaws (Díaz y Díaz 1979: 353-63, 367) in which the letter, rather than the writer, vowel, is the mathematical unit; lines are of equal number of letters, and patterns are created from that. The language of Vigila's poetry is throughout written and artificial; other than the hymn, set to previous music, there is no need to suppose they were performed aloud at all, but if they were a "Latinate" pronunciation would not have seemed more appropriate than a vernacular one. Pérez de Urbel (1926: 9-10) thought that Vigila "saw nothing in verse other than rhythm": Díaz y Díaz omitted the scansion from his edition, but had he included it it would be obvious that he certainly saw no rhythm. Díaz y Díaz himself

martyrs Cosme and Damian; two unidentified *lectiones*; several sermons attributed wrongly to Augustine, taken from the Visigothic *Homiliario de Silos* and most in fact by Caesarius of Arles. The final folios of the *Verba Seniorum* (26 to 28), the second *lectio*, "Interrogatio de nobissimo" (64-67), the first three sermons (67-75) and the sixth (87-91), were later given a number of glosses in a finer rub, several of which are in a consciously reformed spelling we can reasonably call "Romance".

These were added later, but it is not clear when. November 977 was known to be a guess, based on Ramón Menéndez Pidal's (1926: 3-9) edition of these glosses, which dated them to the late tenth century. Díaz y Díaz (1978: 27-30) has recently ascribed them to early or even mid eleventh century, possibly not even added in San Millán but further west, in Castile. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal (1958) has added further dating problems by confidently visualizing tenth-century paleographic habits being used by an ancient San Millán scribe in 1060. If they are indeed of the eleventh century, they may be later than the original of another manuscript, BM Add. MS 30853 (Whitehall 1976: 286), which has nearly copied whole comparable glosses from the original text. This eleventh-century MS, from Santo Domingo de Silos (in Eastern Castile), contains sermons — including those glossed in the San Millán MS — under the heading *Homiliae Tolentanae*, and letters, and its final section (folios 309r to 324v), which contains the glosses, is a penitential, related to that included in Vigilia's *codex*, and, like Vigilia's, based on material from North of the Pyrenees (McNeill and Gerner 1938; Le Bras 1931). Silos was refounded from San Millán in the early eleventh century, so it is likely that the original of the Silos copy came from San Millán.

By the early eleventh century at the latest, then, someone has got into the habit of annotating some texts in words of a deliberately "incorrect" spelling. The annotation of sermons, probably so as to facilitate intelligible oral delivery, is preceded north of the Pyrenees; that of a penitential is understandable if not so apparently necessary.²² No serious study has been given to these 513 glosses since 1926.

Concerning the glosses themselves, only one general comment can be made with some certainty: that most of what has been written about their function and nature is wrong. The 1977 facsimile of the San Millán folios (Olarte 1977) has an introductory paratyptic (7-9) which

neatly encapsulates two traditional misconceptions: that "así, vacillante y tímida, nació la lengua que hoy hablamos" — as if nobody talked before 977; and that the glosses are a sign of ignorance, "apuntes para disimular unos conocimientos inseguros, vacilantes, como prendidos con alfileres, de la vieja cultura monacal" (7), when their writer was clearly a man of vision and enterprise. These views are, however, more justifiable than Peña's apparent assumption (1972: 60) that the monks invented the language itself.

Olarte's supposedly "academic" introduction to the facsimile in fact blandly assures Menéndez Pidal had all the answers. Olarte follows his line in declaring that the glosser was using some kind of glossary as an aid to his task. Latin-Latin glossaries undoubtedly existed, but Latin-Spanish Romance glossaries have not been found from before the late fourteenth century (Castro 1936), and there are serious problems in postulating them for Navarre in c.1000. Even so, Menéndez Pidal's suggestion to this effect has convinced such excellent scholars as Elcock (1975: 421) and Díaz y Díaz (1978) himself. Many of the Latin-Latin glossaries were collections of pre-existing glosses; Vigilia may have used glossaries as a kind of thesaurus to aid the composition of his verses and colophons (Díaz y Díaz 1979: 72), but there is no real evidence that scribes usually used glossaries to provide them with further glosses to write on other manuscripts, even in unreformed spelling.

It is worth looking first at how manuscripts were given glosses in Latin. A useful example is BM Add. MS 25600, from San Pedro de Cardena in Castile — whose monks had helped found San Martín de Albelda —, a tenth-century liturgical manuscript with many glosses.²³ The glosses are not always correctly spelt, but are clearly intended to be the correct form, and to clarify words whose meaning, as used by the seventh-century scholars, was not immediately accessible to the tenth-century reader. The glosser may well have seen glossaries, but his glosses correspond in general to no known glossary. For example (with references to folio and column) *amens* is glossed as "scolidus vel sine mente" (241c) or "turbatus, sine mens" (26d); *amentia* "stultitia" (194b), *amentiam* "sine mente" (33d); the Silos glossaries (García de Diego 1935) offer *amens* "demens, turbatus" and *amens* "sensu carens, sine mente", but not *amentia*. *Demens* is glossed in the Cardena MS as

22. The minimum knowledge of Carolingian priests included "familiarity with the *canones* — which perhaps means the articles in penitentials", according to Ganshof (1971: 217). The main Hispanic departure from Strangulus in the *Riojan Liberulus* is a separate penitential chapter (Chapter XXX).

23. See Carrera (1950-63: XVII 330); and, for Cardena, Moreta (1971), although he avoids the topic of the monastery's intellectual life. Shallor (1979: 472) doubts if this MS was written at Cardena itself. The glosses are listed in Fábrega Grau (1951-52); cf. Díaz y Díaz (1978: 23-24). I am grateful to the British Museum for making me a photocopy of this manuscript.

"turbatus, sine mens" (30b), "sine mente" (251b), and *dementem* as "sine mentem" (24a); the glossaries include *demens* "idem que amens vel sine mente vel quod diminutionem habet mentis". There are echoes, but it is unlikely that the glosser is actually copying a glossary. *Sine* takes *mente* in extant glossaries, but *mens*, *mentem* and *mente* in the glosses. *Mens* and *mentem* seem improbable emendations for the glosser to make if the glossary is in fact open in front of him; they look more like the unpredictable case usage we find in contemporary legal documents. *Sine* is used in many glosses as an all-purpose word to gloss the negative prefix *in-*: e.g. *inconsulta* "sine parsimonia" (109c), *innocua* "sine culpa" (94b), *inermem* "sine arma" (*sic*: 260b), *infirmie* "sine honore" (58c), *ingrati* "sine gratia" (57c), etc.; and this tendency recurs in the Silos Romance glosses, e.g. *Sil.136 iniecerbronum* "sine mundo", *Sil.18 in monstruoso tempore* "sine mundo"²⁴, *Sil.194 incontinentie* "de la sine tenencia", as well as more obvious uses as "without" in *Sil.107 sine . . . testibus* "o sen testes/testimonio", *Sil.256 absque benedictione* "sine mandatione". In the Silos glosses, the *ser* spelling has the old orthodox meaning, and the new "negative-prefix" meaning has the old spelling *sine*, so there seems to be no clear Latin-Romance distinction in the glosser's mind there; both glosses, however they spell, seem to be inserting glosses of their own similar *ad hoc* invention.

Other indications that the Cardena glosser is not directly using a glossary can be seen in the glosses on *oculo*: *oculuit* "obcultavit, cooperuit" (235a), *occuliendo* "occultandum" (42a), *occulitur* "absconditur" (260a) (cp. e.g. the Silos glossary, now Paris 1298, *occulit* "pro occultuit et clausit"); or on *officio* as "ministerium" (43b), "servitio" (131d), "servicio" (145c); or on *exiguus* "compellimus vel cogimus" (134c), *exigam* "petam" (39a), *exigitur* "evocatur" (177d); and many other cases of wide alternatives of words and spellings that do not suggest a single source. There are unstandardized encyclopaedic glosses, not found elsewhere, such as:

oculo "similis cruce sed tamen non cruce, id est unum lignum" (7c)
oculo "genus tormenti in quo stans homo extenditur in ligno" (47a)
oculos "cruces" (59c)

Such glosses are evidence of thinking on one's feet. That he was not tempted to reform spelling is shown by his comments on *Boreas* and *foro*. *Foro* (88b) "quod vulgo dicitur mercato"; the *-to* represents

Romance morphology (*mercado*), since *mercatus* was originally fourth declension and *-o* was no part of its paradigm, but not directly the Romance [d], since *t* for [d] was normal in Cardena as now in the USA (*potato* [pəˈdʒɪpə]). *Vulgo*, as usual, means "by everyone now". *Boreas* "boreas ventus Circius quod dat nomen vulgo"; the north wind is known in the region south of the Pyrenees as *cierzo* (< CIRCUS, presumably a variant of CIRCUS) and at Cardena the normal pronunciation would probably have been [tsjérdzo]. *Circius* is thus the traditional spelling given to a modern word; the Cardena glosser is in this respect acting more like the cheese-lister of Ardón than the phonetician of San Millán, and as far as we can tell, this manuscript has not been glossed directly from a glossary.

Five long glossaries of the tenth- and early eleventh-century Rioja and South-East Castile area have survived. From Silos, Paris MSS 1296 and 1297 were published by García de Diego (1933); Paris MS 1298 by Goetz (1894; V 104-58); that in San Millán MS 46 folios 1v-168 has not been published, but is very similar to Paris 1296 and 1297; San Millán MS 31 has not been published and is, in Goetz's phrase (1923: I 186), *sui generis*²⁵. This latter glossary urgently needs further study than can be given to it here. For a start, the leaves are bound in the wrong order (as Díaz y Díaz 1979: plate 32 shows), so that although it is universally said to run from *adspernatus* to *stipulator* (e.g. Díaz y Díaz 1979: 186-87), the alphabetically earliest glosses are in fact on folio 2r, beginning *Acrnto*. Collectively, then, at San Millán and Silos there seems to be no doubt that glossaries existed and were actively thought useful.

Glossaries were often compiled by collecting glosses already written on a manuscript, and thus tended to be of most use when reading the particular text that gave rise to them²⁶. They could, therefore, be used as source material for adding glosses to un glossed manuscripts of the same text. But otherwise there is no obvious justification

25. I am grateful to the Librarian of the Academia de la Historia for making photocopies for me of the San Millán glossaries and of the glossed folios in MS 60, and to the British Museum for copies of the glossed folios in Add. MS 30853. The similarity of the unpublished Em. 46 to the Silos glossaries 1296, and especially 1297, is indisputable. Most of the glosses are the same, allowing occasionally for copying variations such as *h-* word divisions, and a few re-orderings. The subsequent folios 168-71 of Em. 46 have French sources, including an incompetent attempt at a Greek alphabet (Díaz y Díaz 1978: 13; 1979: 143-47, comments). Em. 31 deserves complete publication, although it may not originate in San Millán (Díaz y Díaz 1978: 15). A few other lists and fragments are mentioned in Díaz y Díaz (1978: 11-19).

26. This also applies to the Leiden Latin-Arabic Glossary which, as Van Koningveld (1977) established, is a later collection of known glosses rather than their source.

24. Meaning "menstrual", although the MS is clearly *mon-*. The numbering follows Menéndez Pidal (1926); not Priebsch (1895).

for the belief that glossaries were regularly used as sources for adding glosses to other texts. To begin with, as anyone who has used these manuscripts can testify, the alphabetization is sufficiently arbitrary to annoy, the equivalences often depend on a different context, and at times the available alternatives add to the confusion; a scribe could often find an alternative more quickly from his own resources, although the memory of glossaries would indeed be a part of those resources. Díaz y Díaz, however, unfortunately gives the impression that glossaries of the type of the Silos ones now in Paris and *Em*. 46 were used by the "Romance" glosser (1978: 30-34). He mentions twelve glosses as a sample from those of San Millán that correspond to the Latin-Latin glossaries, and twenty-two from Silos that have "indubitable fuente latina". Further investigation shows that this is misleading. There are approximately 20,000 entries in the Silos glossaries published by García de Diego; there are 368 glosses in the glossed manuscript also from Silos. Although several are very similar, not a single gloss coincides exactly with a glossary entry. (A very few do with items in Goetz's Europe-wide glossary corpus.²⁷) Two of the 145 San Millán glosses coincide: *Em*. 17, *puador* "verecundia" and *Em*. 118, *iter* "via", are both to be found in these lists, which is not in the least surprising. For only two of 513 glosses to coincide with 20,000 entries is less than one might expect by chance. Only one gloss coincides with an entry in MS 1298 (Goetz): *strages* "occisiones" (*St*. 52), although *St*. adds "matanzas". MS *Em*. 31 provides no more evidence of having been consulted. Díaz y Díaz reached his conclusions by ignoring formal variations and sticking to lexical roots alone. E.g. the glossary entry *puador* "verecundia" (above) is said to be the source for *St*. 171 *puadoris* "de la vergüena". *Em*. 4 *bellum* "pugna" is said to correspond to glossary *bellum* "pugnam".²⁸ Díaz y Díaz quotes *Em*. 33 *devotos* "promisiones" as being based on the Silos glossary's *devoto*: "deslinata, determinata, dedicata, promissa" and Goetz's *Affirm* glossary's *devotus* "promissus, dedicata, promissa" or *devotus* "debita exsolvens et non promissa". *Em*. 11 *indica* "amnestia" is said to be based on Goetz IV 94, 24, *indica* "ostendit"; there is no case at all here, and the Silos glossaries offer *indica* "investigar". Díaz y Díaz's case is weak. The glossaries offer vast choices that are ignored on many occasions, and differently spelt on others; such similarities as there are tend to be obvious and not requiring any source at all.

That choices available in the glossaries are not taken can be exemplified by *quousque* and *dennum*. *St*. 240 reads *quousque recocier* "ata ke pacifiker". The Silos glossaries offer a wide variety for *quousque*, including "quamdiu", "quatenus", "usque eo vel usque quo", "tandem", "usque ad finem", and "ab utero cantilena patientia nostre quam diu tamen ab initio sermonis mansuetudinis nostre". These comments, intelligible in the original context from which they come into the glossary, are all ignored by the glosser, who prefers an Arabic borrowing (*ara*) here, recently used in two previous glosses (*St*. 210, 226). *St*. 22 *De munique* "de puica" is adduced by Díaz y Díaz: the Silos glossaries offer *dennum* "tandem, novissimum, maxime vel postremum, igitur; postea, deinde; consequenter vel iterum vel postmodum", but not the DE POSTQUAM from which *de puica* comes, nor even POSTQUAM²⁹, *St*. 98 *Dennum* "de Inde" (two words and capital I) and *St*. 151 *dennaque* "postea" are closer (there is no *que* in the glossary entry), but there is still no reason here to postulate that the glosser has the glossary in front of him.

The presence of these glossaries is thus a red herring for our understanding of the "Romance" glosses, whose outstanding characteristic is their originality rather than their traditionality. Díaz y Díaz concluded that "por las peculiaridades de estas glosas resulta casi imposible no aceptar que se utilizaba como base un glosario latino; más aún, parece probable que uno de los empleadores haya sido el Silense..." (1978: 34); it seems, on the contrary, impossible to accept that the scribes used such glossaries as the base for their own glosses. It is easier to conclude that they had probably met them before but nevertheless made up their own glosses to fit the case.

Díaz y Díaz's view is, however, more plausible than that of Menéndez Pidal and Elcock, who believed that the glossers used existing Latin-Romance glossaries, now lost. Arguing on the basis of the Reichenau glossary, Elcock said that "the practice of using such lexical compilations had already begun in Gaul in the eighth century, and two centuries later they were probably in general circulation in all the monastic schools of the West" (1975: 422). This begs the following questions: whether the Reichenau glossary can be called "Latin-Romance" when the "Romance" half is spelt in the Latin way; whether the Reichenau glossary is one of many such — part of a "practice"; whether they were "used" to insert later glosses; and whether the Rioja

27. One very minor variant is: *St*. 106, *reus* "culpaviles"; glossary *reus* "culpa-villa".

28. *Bellum* "pugna" is in St Gall MS 912 glossary (Goetz 1889: IV 211, 8).

29. Priebsch (1895: 17) suggested POSTEA > puica, but this is unlikely; cp. NUNQUAM > nunca.

had a Carolingian-style "monastic school". The answer to all these questions seems to be no. In addition, since glossaries are usually made by compiling existing glosses, the existence of a Latin-Riojan glossary would imply the existence of many earlier manuscripts with Romance glosses, now lost, whose own origins would be just as debatable as those that have survived. Indeed, the questions raised by the existence of such a glossary would far outweigh those answered by it. Even so, it is worth looking at the internal evidence of the glosses to see if they suggest the existence of a glossary as the source.

There are many cases of the same Latin word having different glosses in different places. *Sil. 1 aur deponatur* "aut desse poncat", *Sil. 76 deponatur* "toito siegam" (sic: the MS is clearly -m); *Sil. 55 consenserit* "castigatore fueret, consiliu dederit", *Sil. 46 consenserit* "castigat et consilio malo dederit", *Sil. 54 consenserit* "cui quiesceret", and *Sil. 125 consensit* "sientet sculta placet"; *Sil. 104 cui reus fuerit* "quale factu fueret, que gerranza fueret", and in the next line *Sil. 106 reus* "culpaviles"; successive glosses *Sil. 264 exercent* "faciunt" and *Sil. 265 exercent* "ascieret" (which slightly mistranslates the text); *Em. 15 abicinabunt se* "alunge seferan", *Em. 23 abicinabunt se* "alongarsan"; e.c., etc. In most cases the gloss chosen suits the context, even if it does not seem to be an extrinsic lexical equivalent. The most obvious example of this concerns esse: *Sil. 72* and *238 esse* "señere" (SEDERE > Sp. ser, "to be"), *Sil. 272 esse* "ke jet" and *Sil. 273* "ke son" (after *dicit* and *credit*, to explain the accusative and infinitive construction). Many individual glosses are thus inaccurate out of context: e.g. *Sil. 163 marnio* "prima junctiione", *Sil. 321 coira* "semen" (discussed in Ariza 1979: 13), *Em. 59 occupare* "parare uel aplocare", *Em. 82 offero* "gico", etc. There are also apparent cases of misunderstanding: *Em. 116 Denus* "alra" probably means "again" in context, as the glossaries suggest (MS 31 "iterato", Silos "iterato, rursus"); and perhaps *Em. 33 devotos* "promissiones", which in the text is an adjective but seems to be understood by the glosser as two words, *de votos*. This misunderstanding is used by Menéndez Pidal and Elcock as proof of the use of a glossary, but readers do not need the help of a glossary to misread. There are cases where the glosser provides clarification rather than synonymy: e.g. *Em. 131 dicit etiam* "Esajas" (i.e. Isaiah), which would be a remarkable coincidence if it came from a glossary. Cumulatively, such evidence of variation, contextualization, and misunderstanding points against a source glossary.

Nor is there any standardization of Romance orthography. The contemporary stage of the LACTARE > *echer* development is variously

spelt: *Sil. 53 relictiis* "jectatis", *Sil. 43 transiserit* "zetare corri", *Sil. 102 trici* "por jactare", *Em. 45 respuit* "geitat". The *puisca* of *Sil. 22* above is the *posque* of *Sil. 44*. We can compare *Sil. 62 cadabera* "corpora" and *Sil. 327 cadabera* "elos cuerpos"; *Sil. 55 per poculum* "por la bebetura", *Sil. 68 poculum* "vevetura de la ierba"; *Em. 17* "verecundia" and *Sil. 171* "vergoina" (mentioned above) with the verb "se berguidian" of *Em. 78* (> Sp. *(a)berguerran*, glossing *erubescunt*); *quomodo* glosses four separate words in *Em. 25*, 50, 52, 83, but *quemo* appears twice in *Em. 115*. *Uemne*, *uzanne* and *iuanne* (<HOMINEM) appear in *Em. 130*, 68 and 128. Indeed, many of the glosses are in ordinary Latin spelling, a fact which previous discussion of these glosses has overlooked; if these indeed came from a "Latin-Romance" glossary, the "Romance" side was totally inconsistent.

It seems clear that the theory of a pre-existing glossary — which, if true, would put the discussion of these centuries into enormous difficulties — has no firm evidence to support it; like *latin vulgar leonés*, it was a reasonable hypothesis once, but has fossilized far beyond its credibility. Only one variant of a "source" theory can survive; that these glosses are modernizations of pre-existing Latin glosses on other manuscripts of the same text, now lost. This theory can be invalidated by consideration of some of the most interesting glosses, in which the same lexical item is used in a different form. This rearrangement is at times due to the morphology; e.g. *Sil. 189 promiserit* "promietieret", *Sil. 268 arerit* "ardieret", where lost strong perfects are replaced by weak regular forms; *Em. 103 et tu ibis* "etujras", with the Romance future (*et tu ū* is an interlinear explanatory gloss in any case); *Sil. 331 ab eo non inquitur* "non siegat inquinata poiū" (> *no sea* "inquinada" *por ello*), where the synthetic present passive is replaced by the participle and the auxiliary (SEDEAT > [sjeja] *siegat* > *sea*: *g* for [j] is normal here); *Sil. 111 auguria* "aguros" replaces an imparisyllabic vernacular masculine; *Em. 133 flos* "flore" replaces an imparisyllabic nominative. Four others, less explicitly, respell the same form: *Sil. 218 habeat* "ajat", *Sil. 251 saltare* "sotare", *Sil. 277 scitares* "seketares", *Em. 121 ubi* "obe". The first three are perhaps explicable as unusual letter-sound correspondences; *be-* was not often [j], *-al-* was only [o] before some cases of [t], *-ci-* was usually [tsi] or [tse] rather than [ke] (Sp. *haya*, O. Sp. *sotar*, Sp. *sequedat*, O. Sp. *o*). These examples serve to overthrow the theory of the existence of orthodox Latin glosses on the manuscript from which the texts are copied, for none would e.g. gloss *saltare* as "saitare". They remain interesting even so; we can hardly claim that the spelling of the glosses is in general meant to be

Romance in phonetic script in the light of such extreme variations as *corpore/cuerpos*, *quomodo/quemo*, but some, at least, of the glosses must represent such an attempt to approximate speech.

The usual assumption that the spelling of many of them is consciously devised in order to approximate vernacular phonetics is tenable provided we do not assume that they are in as rigorous a "phonetic" script as is the *Eulalia*. The gloss is meant to facilitate recognition of lexical items, rather than of their sound. In general, there is reason to suppose that non-Latin orthography in the glosses is usable as evidence of evolved speech, but no reason to suppose that Latin orthography represents unevolved speech. *Em. 2 repente* "ibeoco", for example, is evidence that [o] > [we] has happened in the Navarre/East Castille region; it is not evidence of a vernacular [k] rather than [g] in this word (*beogo* < *LOCO*), for written *c* would often be read aloud as [g], *r* as [d], *p* as [b]. There is confirmation of this in *Sil. 134 ignorans* "non sapientio", *Sil. 341 ignorant* "[foni] sapientio", which is spelt in three other glosses as *sapientado* (17, 32 and 339); this was always [d] (*SAPIENDUM* > *sabiendo*); similarly *Sil. 38 inrentu* "de lo inrentu" is a word in which the first *r* represents a sound which was always [d] (*INCENDIUM* > *inrentio*; this is the participle *encendido*). In this respect the spelling is as unrevealing as that of the cheeses. The consciously reformed spelling in the Rioja is far more revolutionary, though; e.g. Romance diphthongs are explicitly represented (*beaco*, *uenne*, *cueros*, *puisco*, *stegam*, above, etc.), Romance [j] is represented, usually by *i* or *g* (e.g. *stegam*; *Em. 112* "galemio" = *yelmo* < *HELM*) — as in the *Eulalia* — or both (*Em. 26 caracrerem* "seignale" which = [sejal], < *SIGNA*, plus the suffix *ale*, and becomes Spanish *señal*); and a variety of inventions such as *Em. 115* "spilly" (*SPECULUM* > [espéfo]) > *Sp. espefo*, *Em. 138* "tuelisco" (< *TU ILE IPSE*), etc. The morphology of the glosses tends also to be that of vernacular nouns are nearly always in the form derived from the accusative; futures are the Romance ones derived from the infinitive plus *HABEO*, passives are rephrased analytically or with *se*, etc. That this is at times the result of a determined attempt at new representation of vernacular is clear in the only extended gloss, *Em. 89*:

adlubarie dho nro xpo cui est honor et Imperia cum patre et spu sco In scia scior Amen "cono auitorio de nuestro dueno dueno xpo dueno salbarore qual dueno get ena honore e qual dueno tener eia mandatione como patre como spu sco enos seculos de lo seculos. Faca nos ds omnipis tal serotito fere ke deante eia sua face gaudioso segamus Amen."

The final sentence corresponds to nothing in the text. *Cyno* (< *CUM ILLO*) and *em*, *enoi* (< *IN ILLA*, *IN ILLOS*) are further evolved than normal Old Spanish, and presumably attest current forms without [j]. *Siculus* attests the diphthongization and the Romance "masculine plural, the original Latin being neuter *SAECULA*, but is no evidence of [kul] nor [kaɪ] nor [kɪ] rather than ordinary vernacular [qɪ] (cp. *scifi* in Jimeno's colophon, above). The whole represents an attempt to write in some non-Latin way; and the question that remains is, why?

One of Menéndez Pidal's many achievements in the *Origenes* (1926) was to show the way in which scribes spelt non-Romance (particularly Germanic) names with non-Romance sounds: e.g. *gg* for [ʃ] in *Sangez* (Sánchez), *Oggobiz* for the Basque *Ochoiz* (para. 8.2). This attempt at spelling words coming from other languages is added to in these glosses by the need to write a few words derived from Arabic: *Em. 48 paupertus reddet* "qui dat alomismquinos" (Arabic *miskin* > *Sp. mezquino*); *Em. 110 donec* "ata quando", *Sil. 201 usque in finem* "ata que muerant", *Sil. 226 quondam* "ta miente", *Sil. 240 quousque reconciliet* "ata ke pacifiker", *Sil. 328 usque dum mazerentur* "ata ke se morden". Arabic *hāritā* > *Sp. hasta* is earliest attested in 945, as *arāta*. *Mozlemos* turn up in *Sil. 51*, being the Arabic *muslim*, given (like *misikin*) a Romance ending. More urgent in the Rioja/East Castille area than Germanic or Arabic may have been a desire to write Basque. Two of the glosses are in Basque: *Em. 31 incohimies inrentit merumur* "jzo-qui dugu", *Em. 42-43 non nos sufficit* "guc ajoruezdugu" and "nos nonkaiganus" (Alvar 1976: 19-26; Guiter 1979 showed that Menéndez Pidal probably attached the Basque glosses to the wrong Latin words). We do not have to follow Rico's whimsy (1978) that the MS is a Basque schoolboy's Latin-learning text to find these interesting. The area may have had a large number of Basque speakers; Saralegui (1977) implies that they might have been a majority in Navarre. Yet it seems reasonable to speculate that, in addition to the impulse from creating writing for Basque, the presence of creative enterprise in writing Romance (e.g. in representing diphthongs) may have something to do with the experiments going on at the same time north of the Pyrenees. Even if the glosses are tenth-century, there is ample evidence of some unsystematic contacts in the Rioja with Carolingian scholarship, and the circle of Vigilā at Albelda is no less linguistically adventurous than that of Huchald at St Amand seventy years earlier, even if less well-informed. One of Gorescalle's entourage, for example, could well have mentioned the possibility of reformed spelling. If the Glosses date from 1020-45, as Díaz y Díaz (1978) suggests, the hypothesis of French contacts is

indisputable in itself, since that is near the start of the age of increasing cultural interchange, when Cluniac monks are occasionally to be found in Northern Spain and the Santiago routes become more crowded. If so, the motive may have been to imitate a current French fashion using native words; since the contents of both texts are in the Old Visigothic Church tradition we cannot visualize that the glossers had learnt Medi-Latin or the Roman liturgy. The idea that the spelling of the glosses is designed to aid oral performance, particularly in preaching the sermons in the San Millán folios — an idea of which Díaz y Díaz is sceptical (1978: 31) —, would be reinforced by the hypothesis that the idea of changing the spelling came from France, since that is precisely the point of the contemporary French experiments.

The traditional view of these glosses contains yet one more misconception; that they represent "Navarro-Aragonese". Elcock (1975: 418) declared that:

among consonants, intervocalic voiceless plosives are preserved (*salbatore, patre, fāca, sieculos*) as they still are in certain localities. Thus in this earliest specimen of northern Hispano-Romance, the stamp of the region of Navarre is quite unmistakable.

Voicelessness is certainly not here attested, as we saw above; Díaz y Díaz suggests that the glosses were probably added to the San Millán MS in the Castilian end of the region (1978: 30); these "certain localities" are in fact way up in the Aragonese Pyrenees, some 150 miles from the Siñós/San Millán area; Elcock's argument is circular, since our knowledge of early Navarrese speech is based on these glosses; but more importantly, it seems anachronistic to see the isoglosses bundled together at this time into distinct dialect areas with clear boundaries. The evidence does not support that view. Nor does it support the view that Navarrese and Aragonese form a unit (Saralegui 1977; Libano 1977). Even if the glosses were phonetic script — which they are not — they would represent the speech of one or two scribes in East Castille or the Rioja, not the consensus of a large and delimitable region.

In sum, many of the traditional comments on the glosses (in e.g. Olarte 1976) are ill-founded. They are probably not tenth-century but eleventh. They are not phonetic transcriptions of "Navarro-Aragonese", but the result of intelligent *ad hoc* inventions by one or two individuals. They are not derived from known glossaries; nor do they seem to derive from lost "Latin-Romance" glossaries. They are not evidence that Latin and Romance are conceptually distinct. They are not the occasion of the "birth of Spanish". Unreformed spellings therein do not attest

unevolved spoken forms. The glossing is not done by ignorants who could not cope with Latin, but by scholars in a spirit of enterprise. This means that very little remains of the standard assessment except the undoubted facts that they are of exceptional interest and that they deserve a more serious and detailed study than I have been able to give them here.

Conclusion

The conclusion is simple. In non-Catalan Northern Spain up to the eleventh century there existed in each place its own vernacular. That was all. This theory — which in itself is hardly revolutionary — means that we no longer have to believe in such chimeras as *latín vulgar leonés*, Medieval Latin pronunciation, lost precocious Latin-Romance glossaries, and a multitude of experts in phonetic script.

European culture begins to impinge in the later eleventh century. The slow absorption of Medieval Latin, and the consequential need for written Spanish Romance, took two more centuries, and forms the substance of the next chapter.

5

LATIN AND ROMANCE IN SPAIN, 1050-1250

The Council of Burgos (1080)

The central years of the eleventh century saw a growth in Christian confidence in Spain, which culminated in the recapture of Toledo in 1085. Contacts increased with trans-Pyrenean Europe. At the Council of Burgos in 1080 it was decreed that the Roman liturgy should replace the old Visigothic liturgy. This reform led to a need for educational change, including the training of clerics in Medieval Latin, but it took two centuries for the general level of Latinity to improve greatly.

The decision to change the liturgy was not caused by popular demand, nor would it have been predictable in the 1050s. Fernando I of León, after defeating the Navarrese at Atapuerca in 1054, was the leader of the North-Western Christians and a firm believer in continuing the Visigothic traditions. Bishops came from all of his lands to the reforming Church Councils of Coyanza (1055) and Santiago de Compostela (1056), which consciously modelled themselves on the great Toledo councils of the seventh century (Maldonado and Toro 1942-43; García Gallo 1950; Martínez Díez 1964). The preface to the canons of Coyanza state the Council's desire to reestablish the glories of their church's Visigothic past:

pro corrigendis ac dirigendis regulis vel transtibus Ecclesie, ut
 mos est antiquorum patrum, ac sumendis tramitibus.

(*Prefatio* 6, García Gallo 1950: 287)

(Cp. also pp. 312, 319, 364-66, 380, 442, 557, 560, 572, 580-81, 596-97, 622, 630-33.)

Many details of church life are specified, but nothing is said about the oral nature of the liturgy other than that essential parts are to be known by heart (III xvii p. 294; V iii p. 296). In the original version of the canons, the *goticista* nature of the Council is obvious. Unfortunately, Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, in the early twelfth century, sponsored a

revised version which removed this emphasis ('el falsario Don Pelayo que siempre, siempre, siempre falsificó . . .', Sánchez Albornoz 1980: 589), and this revised version was thought to be the original until García Gallo argued the contrary (Grassotti 1977 still thinks so)¹. It is clear, however, that there was no idea in 1055 of altering the Visigothic liturgy. The Pope was not yet worrying about it, the ecclesiastical life of the Kingdom was based on it, and García Gallo (1950: 454, 557) decided not even to consider the liturgy in all the 358 pages of his article. Fernando I is said by the *Historia Silense* to have liked to visit monasteries and join in the traditional rite with the monks, apparently knowing part of it by heart (Pérez de Urbel and González 1959: 204-09). When the new church of St Isidore was consecrated in León on December 21st 1063, freshly endowed with the body of the greatest of all the Spanish Visigothic saints, the symbolic affirmation of contact with the former glories of the native church was obvious. These are the years of the preparation of excellent manuscripts of Visigothic rites, such as those of Silos (1039, 1053, 1067, 1072), Compostela (1055), León (1066), San Millán (1073), etc. (Férotin 1912: XLIII; Díaz y Díaz 1979: 184). The idea of abandoning the old liturgy for some alien French version unintelligibly pronounced was not likely to attract Fernando I.

Unfortunately for the national pride of the Leonese, both the Papacy and the French were at this time in expansionist mood. Bishko has charted the complex diplomacy of these years in a study (1968-69) that clarifies the picture and should eventually clear away several misconceptions. In 1063 the Aragonese King was encouraging the Papacy to support the arrival of a French army to help invade Moslem Zaragoza, on Aragón's southern border; these negotiations are credited with the first use of the concept of a 'crusade', a march of the cross against its enemies. Zaragoza, however, was a tributary ally of León, and Fernando wished to prevent his lucrative tributary from being attacked by the French. His method was to ally himself formally with the monks of Cluny, perhaps in the hope that they could use their influence in Rome to dissuade the Pope from supporting any French-Aragonese attack; in return he arranged to send Cluny 1000 gold pieces annually, money which was welcome to Cluny and originated in the tribute paid from Zaragoza, with the implication that if the Leonese lost control of

1. The view that the Council recommended the Benedictine Rule stems from this difference of opinion — e.g. Liturge (1973a: 1005), Cochert (1966: 24, 82); Moreta (1971: 148) refers to García Gallo in support of the view García is in fact arguing against.

Zaragoza Cluny would in turn lose its money. Fernando died in 1065, after that threat had receded, and the payment lapsed; the King of Aragón upstaged that alliance by becoming the personal vassal of the Papacy in 1068.

Bishko's analysis leaves little room for doubt; the alliance with Cluny was based at least partly on the King's desire to have a fifth column in Rome. Unfortunately, the opposite view is still widely held, that the monks of Cluny were the Papacy's fifth column in León, and were instrumental, even before the change, in the Papal plan to introduce the Roman liturgy (e.g. by Cantarino 1977, who — as Lomax 1979 pointed out — has read little recent research). There were a few Cluniacs in San Juan de la Peña in Aragón in 1032; they probably left in 1035, and that monastery kept the Visigothic rite until the 1070s. There was a Catalan, Pons de Tavernoles, appointed Bishop of Oviedo in 1023; he was said to be *romano more degens*, a phrase which San Martín (1942: 4) suggested meant that he performed the Roman rite. This phrase comes from a document of 1059 in Palencia cathedral, which goes on to declare that Pons was instrumental in reviving that see; Palencia cathedral, founded in 1033, seems to have had a few Catalan and French priests from 1035. The first Cluniac monk in León can only be definitely located in 1053. They were not widespread before the 1070s, and were happy to use the Visigothic liturgy (and script). Indeed, the extant documents from Sahagún, which came to be their eventual headquarters, show that Visigothic script was normal there until at least 1120. The idea that the Cluniacs were Europeanizing zealots is not supported by evidence; for present purposes, there is no reason at all to suppose that in Spain they generally advocated or even used either the Roman liturgy or the Medieval Latin required to perform it before 1080. These may have been used at (non-Cluniac) Palencia in the 1030s, but there is no evidence for their continued subsequent use there either.

On Fernando I's death, there was a civil war between his children, eventually won by Alfonso VI in 1072, partly, so he thought, because of Cluniac intercession in heaven on his behalf. Over the next few years (1072-77) he granted the Cluniacs four monasteries. Alfonso VI wished to call himself "Emperor", but the Papacy was also feeling imperialist. Pope Alexander II was interested in abolishing the Visigothic liturgy from 1070, and his successor Gregory VII felt even more strongly about it. In 1073, soon after his accession, Gregory sent a letter to all the Spanish rulers, saying so. San Juan de la Peña had adopted the Roman rite in 1071, and the rest of Aragón adopted it in

1074. Since Aragón was a temporal fief of the Papacy, this was a logical step (Kehr 1945; Cowdrey 1970: 228 believed that the changes were made "for the convenience of pilgrims"!); Navarre adopted it in 1076 (Ubieta 1948). The Papacy then stepped up pressure on León, coupling demands for liturgical change with demands for temporal overlordship.

The Leonese church leaders rejected the view that their ancient liturgy was heretical, but they had no wish to be excommunicated. Alfonso VI followed his father's example, and reestablished the alliance with Cluny at double the price, this time in gold largely from Moslem Toledo. The Cluniacs were delighted with the money, set about using it to rebuild their Burgundy headquarters, and had prayers said on Alfonso's behalf. But even though Gregory VII was himself connected with the Cluniacs, they were less able to influence the Papal mind in 1077-80 than they had been in 1063. Gregory envisaged Europe as "Christendom" and one corner could not be allowed to be heretical. Abbot Hugh of Cluny mediated on the Spaniards' behalf, to the Pope's displeasure, and eventually a compromise was reached: as a result Alfonso VI was able to reject Gregory's claim to temporal authority, but agreed to change the liturgy. The reform was eventually decreed at the Council of Burgos in the spring of 1080 (Fita 1906a).

The motivation for the change was thus political expediency. It was not theological nor even ecclesiastical. The consequent immediate need for expertise in Latin *litterae*, new educational techniques, new pronunciation methods and a new script, was, it seems, neither foreseen, expected, demanded nor desired by the Spanish church. Indeed, the reform as a whole was not universally welcome. Alfonso VI wrote to Hugh of Cluny to the effect that his country was pretty fed up with the Roman rite that Hugh had made them accept: "De romano autem officio, quod tua iussione recepinus, sciatis nostram terram admodum desolatam esse"; but continued nevertheless to ask for a Cardinal to reform whatever needed reforming, "ut ea quae sunt emendanda emendet, et ea quae sunt corrigenda corrigat".² The vagueness of this phrase suggests that he had no clear idea of what was going to be involved. In the event the reforming task was then taken over largely by the Cluniacs.

The dioceses of Coimbra and Braga initially refused to accept this decision, and it was a factor in the subsequent decision of the county of Portugal to secede from Alfonso's realms; the unrevised

2. Fita (1906a: 382). Hitchcock, however, dated this letter to 1077 (1973: 29), and Rivera (1962: 14-16) thought it was written in 1081 to Gregory.

version of the Council of Coyanza's canons only survives in Coimbra (cp. Bishtko 1965). Elsewhere, the following years saw the arrival of many French clerics. Sahagún was made the Cluniac headquarters. This inflow is so well-documented that no modern historian seems to find it surprising. French historians tend to see it as a self-evident case of a superior culture being gratefully imitated by barbaric neighbours. But it is indeed surprising. Alfonso VI wanted to call himself "Emperor" of Spain and raise his realms to a respected place in Europe; he was proudly determined to recover Spain for the Gothic Leonese, and sure he was going to succeed until the disasters of 1086. Even though this is a period of modernization and Europeanization, Alfonso might not have been expected to allow the ancient national church to become submissive to foreigners. If, however, the hypothesis is correct that Medieval Latin did not exist in Spain until it was suddenly required for the performance of the Roman liturgy in 1080, the arrival of French clerics is in part explicable as a response to the practical need for priests trained in Medieval Latin performance of that liturgy. There happened at the time to be a boom in Latin-teaching fervour in France: for example, the two *Artes Lectoriae* of Almericus and Sigwinus date, probably, to 1086 and 1088 (see below); Gilbert of Nogent, in the preface to his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (1104-12), says "cum enim passim videmus fervere grammatiscam..." (PL CLVI 681D; cp. Sancho 1914: 54). In his *De Rebus Hispaniae* VI 26, Ximénez de Rada (ed. 1968: 140) called the newcomers "iuvenes doctes et litterati".

The stress on the need for *litterae* in Church leaders, and its apparent limitation to foreigners, is made explicit in a letter from Gregory VII to Alfonso VI (published by Mansilla 1955: 36-38) which congratulates the King on changing to the Roman rite, and goes on to say that Alfonso's (unnamed) choice as Archbishop (*in archiepiscopum*) is unacceptable:

Discipline fundamento, videlicet litteralis scientie peritia indiget. Que virtus quam sit non modo episcopis, verum etiam sacerdotibus necessaria, ipse satis intelligis, cum nullus sine ea aut alios docere aut esse possit defendere.

He lacks any expertise in the foundations of Church education, i.e. the knowledge of *litterae*. As you know, this knowledge is essential, not merely for bishops, but also for priests, since without it no one can teach others nor (?) perform adequately himself.

Mansilla and many other scholars (including myself, Wright forthcoming) have assumed that in this the Pope referred to the see of Toledo, still nominally the archbishopric for the whole of Castille. Toledo was still in Moslem hands, however, until 1085, and although

the letter is undated Mansilla found it in the Vatican register for 1081. 1081 is a more likely date for congratulating Alfonso on changing the rites (in 1080) than 1085-6, and should probably be accepted. (There is also a reference in the letter to Bishop Simeon, presumably the Bishop of Burgos who died in 1082.) It is conceivable that Alfonso was already looking ahead to the capture of Toledo and wishing to have a candidate ready to jump into the metropolitan see, although in the event the new archbishop of Toledo was appointed more than a year after the capture of the city; Serrano (1935: 1309-10), however, concluded that after 1080 Alfonso wanted to appoint an existing bishop as the metropolitan, with authority over Castille and León, as was normal in other countries. This is not unlikely. The rejected candidate, in Serrano's view, could well have been Bishop Simeon of Burgos. If so, this would explain the Papal preference not to name the candidate outright, since Simeon was in the party carrying the letter to Alfonso. This would be a sensible choice from Alfonso's viewpoint: Burgos was the capital of Castille and the home of the 1080 Council, so its bishop might be expected to be the new archbishop. Burgos was not, however, a centre of *litterae*. The Pope goes on to suggest that they look around for a more suitable candidate, and, as Serrano points out, it looks as if the Bishop of Palencia (Bernardo II) was chosen. There are at least four documents from 1083 to early 1085 that call Bernardo "Archbishop"; after the capture of Toledo (1085) he stopped calling himself "Archbishop" and changed his name to Raimundo — perhaps to avoid confusion with the new Archbishop Bernard of Toledo. If this is the right interpretation of the events of these years, it makes excellent sense; the new liturgy required expertise in *litterae*, and Palencia was in the late eleventh century the centre of education in the Kingdom, with established French and Catalan connections? Whoever Gregory is writing about, however, the need for *litterae* in the new archbishop is an explicit and overriding criterion; and this cannot refer to the simple ability to read at all, since any existing Spanish bishop would do that when performing the old liturgy. It refers to the newly-essential Medieval Latin pronunciation.

Toledo

The same consideration applies in Toledo: on 18th December 1085 Alfonso VI and his Council appointed as archbishop of Toledo

3. My mind on this matter has been changed by discussions with Derek Lomax, to whom I am most grateful.

Bernard de Sédirac, already in charge of the Cluniacs' Spanish headquarters at Sahagún, already actively involved in educating the Spanish church in the *scientia litterarum*, and probably therefore better qualified than any native Spaniard to suit the Papal instructions. 150 years later Ximénez de Rada said that Bernard was *ab infantia litteratus* (VI 22; 1968: 137); he was in the Cluniac monastery at Auch as an adolescent, and then at Cluny itself during some part of the 1060s and 1070s, where he was a colleague of the future Pope Urban II. Similarly, the monastery of San Servando in Toledo was reopened with a staff from Marselles (Fita 1906b); Bernard recruited other bishops from France, such as Jeromé, who became bishop of Valencia (1098-1102) and of Salamanca (1102-20) (Fletcher 1978: 37-38) and is described in the *Poesma de Mio Cid* as "bien entendido es de letras e mucho acordado" (1.1290). *Litterati*, "letrados", in the period 1080-1100, seems to entail "Frenchmen".

Those modern scholars who approve of Cluny *a priori*, such as Cowdrey (1970) and Rivera (1962), think Bernard was a good choice; no one else does. Mundo (1965) is particularly harsh. The capture of Toledo had been almost bloodless, for the Christian community had aided Alfonso's entry and expected to prefer his rule; but Bernard had no sympathy with their ancient traditions and dealt with Christian *mozárabes* and Moslem *mudéjar* with the same lack of sensitivity. The Mosque was desecrated, against the King's wishes. The mozarabic community, initially exhilarated at the prospect of Christian rule, found that Bernard wished to destroy the old Visigothic manuscripts and customs. It has been suggested that they had difficulty in achieving social equality with the Northern immigrants, although this view has recently been severely criticized (González 1978), and in practice it seems that the twelfth-century mozarabs, who included many immigrants from further south, had a protected position. Díaz y Díaz (1975) and Mundo have established that the Toledan *mozárabes* acquired and copied several northern manuscripts of the Visigothic rites, anxious to preserve their heritage. A few churches were permitted to continue using them.

The investigations of Van Koningsveld (1977) confirm that there was in twelfth-century Toledo a community of Christians literate in Arabic, who were responsible for the Arabic glosses on some religious manuscripts. The large Latin-Arabic glossary at Leiden is not, as was once thought, a proselytizing work for Latin-speakers in Moslem territory, but an aid for Arabic-speakers eager to understand both Latin biblical texts and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*⁴. (One source of this

4. Díaz y Díaz (1978: 25 n. 45) redates the MS to 1250, without explaining why.

glossary is Toledo MS 15.8 — now Madrid BN MS Vitr. 14.3 —, a manuscript of Isidore containing over 1,500 Arabic glosses (facsimile in Beer 1909); others are preexisting Arabic translations of Christian gospels.)

Meanwhile there is no doubt that Bernard's entourage at Toledo knew and practised *litterae*. Ximénez de Rada's history (of the thirteenth century) includes the following poem in hexameters celebrating the capture of Toledo (VI 22):

O Obsedit secreta suum Castella Tolerum,
 P Castra sibi septena parans, aditumque recludens.
 P Rupibus alta licet, amplexuque situ populosa,
 I Circundante Tago, rerum virtute referta.
 D Victu victa carens, invicto se dedit hosti.
 A Huic Medina Caelim, Talavera, Conimbrina plaudat.
 C Abula, Secobia, Salmantica, Publica Septem,
 A Cauria, Cauca, Colar, Iscur, Medina, Canales,
 P Uimus, et Ulmetum, Magerit, Atentia, Ripa,
 T Osoma cum Fluvio lapidum, Valeránica, Maura,
 A Ascalona, Fita, Consocra, Maqueda, Butracum
 Victori sine fine suo modulantur ovantes:
 Aldefonse, tui resonent super astra triumphi.

This poem has been ascribed to one Alo "Grammaticus" who appears in royal documents and wrote epitaphs in Caroline script for Queen Costanza, who may or may not also be the author of the so-called *Historia Silense*, and/or the brief *Chronicon Compostellanum*, and who may or may not be the Alo who was bishop of Astorga (1123-31) (Martínez 1975: 272-73; Fletcher 1978: 46; Quintana 1978). Whoever it is, it is a recognizable attempt at hexameters, and the present tense of the last two lines led Amador (1862: II 212) and others to date it to soon after 1085; if so, it is perhaps written by a Frenchman.

Another unquestionably "Medieval Latin" production is the famous *Garcinid*, *Garsuinis*, or *Tractatus Garsiae Toletani Canonici de Albitro et Rufino* (the recent edition by Thomson 1973 is no improvement on Sackur 1892). This is a satirical account in prose of the visit of Bernard to Pope Urban II in 1099, probably at the council celebrated on 24th-30th April. The author has apparently adopted "García" as a pseudonym; Thomson makes no reference at all to the Spanish context in either his edition (1973) or his subsequent article (1978), which may be a justified omission as the background is clearly not Iberian (although Webber 1958 took the opposite view). "García" quotes and constructively misquotes the Bible, patristic and Roman liturgical works, proverbial and Classical sources (in particular Terence). The author was undoubtedly with Bernard at Rome in 1099, and more likely therefore to be French than Spanish; Ximénez de Rada gives the impression that

all the senior staff at Toledo were French *literari*: "hos inquam praedictos viros literatos, providos, et honestos Primas Bernardus per Gallas transiens, in Hispaniam secum duxit, et eos in Toletana Ecclesia Canonicos ordinavit" (VI 27). (Bernard brought in, from Moissac and Agen, teachers of ecclesiastical chant; the technique based on note-syllable equivalence⁶ as in the sequence, which necessarily involved Medieval Latin and thus non-Hispanic instructors; Rico (1969: 29-30) prints a sequence in this style from twelfth-century Toledo itself.) "García" might even have been a Roman; he seems to know both about Italy — referring, for example, to the Monte Gargano (Thomson 1973: 1265) — and about France — referring, for example, to the Rhone (1371) — without referring to anything Hispanic other than superficially to Toledo. The four surviving manuscripts come from twelfth-century Germany, thirteenth-century France, and two from twelfth-century England, so there is little intrinsic support for postulating a Spanish author: Lida de Malkiel (1953), however, basing her argument on the hostility expressed towards Bernard, believed the author to be a native Toledan despite his untypical knowledge of Classical culture. In fact, the tone is not hostile so much as that of a disrespected colleague poking fun; the portrayal of hypocrisy and corruption does not necessarily imply hostility or resentment. The *renso* tradition of insulting one's friends has been a fertile genre for millennia. García Villoslada's edition (1975: 307-16) presents the whole composition as a joke. Rico (1969: 89) added to the permutations by suggesting that the author was a *toledano* living abroad. No doubt someone will soon ascribe it to Alo. Whoever he was, though, we are justified in seeing this composition as evidence that a high level of Latin literacy was brought into Toledo with Bernard. A community had been imported into Toledo which knew European culture better than the Hispanic, and among which foreign scholars were going to be able to stay without feeling in too alien an environment. If the general two-norm image of an apartheid between a Latinate elite and a Romance-speaking mass has any validity anywhere, Toledo under Bernard might qualify as the most suitable example; although even here the Romance-speaking *mozárabes* are not illiterate in the modern sense, and there is in addition an important community of Castilian immigrants.

Much of southern Spain remained in Moslem control. The only indication that anyone in Moslem Spain might perhaps have known of a distinction between Latin and Romance comes in a vast botanical handbook, written (c.1100) in Arabic apparently by the head gardener of the Seville *alcázar*, partly edited by Asín Palacios (1943) under the

title *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botánico andaluz hispano-musulmán*; so far as I can tell it has not been seriously studied since. The author studies several hundred plants and their names in Arabic, Romance and assorted other languages. On sixteen occasions (out of Asín's 726 excerpts) he uses the word *latinyya*, "Latin", sometimes distinguished from *ḡarānyya*, which means here "Romance vernacular" and is often further specified to apply to terms used in Galicia, Castille, Aragón, Toledo, Catalonia, or even France. Other languages mentioned include Greek and Persian, so he is immensely well informed. This work ought to be of crucial interest to Hispanic philologists, but unfortunately the transcription of Romance terms in Arabic script presents so many cases of lack of equivalence that many details are lost. There are, for example, only three vowel symbols, each with long and short versions, of which the short are often omitted, and this system has to cope with a Romance five-vowel system without a length distinction. It is impossible, therefore, to be certain about distinguishing Romance [a] from [e], [u] from [o]; similarly, one symbol serves for Romance [b], [v] and [p]. Conversely, three Arabic symbols compete for Latin or Romance [t], three for [d], and two for [k]. Asín has, fortunately, printed the Arabic, for his Spanish transcription usually contains an amount of interpretation on his part in order to facilitate the reader's recognition of the lexical items.

There are sixteen explicit mentions of "Latin" forms. The following transcriptions are taken from Asín's printed Arabic text: "t" stands for an indeterminate vowel. Three of these uses of *latinyyya* seem to be explicitly referring to a form also referred to in the same place as *ḡarānyyya*:

18 (repeated, 234, 630) "buḡtur" (twice), cp. Sp. *butire*, from Latin VULTRUM

393 "b-llt", O. Sp. *belida*, derived from Latin BELLA

679 "y-ŋ-j-wartayra", Sp. *yunco*, Lat. *juncus*; *wartayya* presumably derived from **huerto* (= *huerto*), from Latin HORTUM.

It seems that in these cases *latinyyya* means *ladino*, i.e. a synonym of *ḡarānyyya*, "Romance".

On seven occasions an *ḡarānyyya* form is explicitly contrasted with a *latinyyya* form; suggesting that here *latinyyya* means "Latin":

186 Latin "kwāks" (*quercus*), Romance "jārk-" (*chirca*)

350 Latin "šānbura" (*silymbrium*), Romance "maria" (*menara*)

517 Latin "šāniy-m-w-r" (*serenium maritimum*), Romance "šāni-m-w-r" (*Menine maro*)

521 Latin "tūs" (*tus*), Romance "šāsiy-" (*incienso*)

- 583 Latin "burmāny" (*frumentum*), Romance "trigo" (*trigo*)
 592 Latin "wari?wu" (*hordeum*), Romance "waryu" and
 "warsu", presumably derived from HORDEUM.

One pair points to morphological variation:

- 362 Latin "mrw." (*morrum*), Romance "m-wrān." (the derived
 adjective *moreno*).

In five uses of *latiniyya* it is not explicit in context whether it refers to
latino or to *latin*:

- 1 "lyn" (*linum*); contrasted to "ābarta", which is presumably
 Romance, although the author does not say so.

- 290 "ʔily asīr" (*oleaster*); elsewhere Romance "labāstar" for the
 same plant.

- 387 "l-y" (*oleum*); elsewhere, Romance "ūyya".

In view of the Romance forms adduced on other folios, *latiniyya* would
 seem to mean *latina* in these instances.

- 520 "šanbar" (twice, *semper*), "būu" (*vivus*), "b-ya" (*viva*).

There is no Romance alternative, and either Latin or Romance forms
 could be those meant here.

The remaining case is confusing. Asín translates the text (393)
 as "yabrīā" is called *elovior* in Greek, which means 'ears' in Latin;
 singular *orella*, i.e. ear". A closer transcription of this latter form is
 "ʔurilla"; presumably this is a Mozarabic *orella* from Latin AURICULAM,
 i.e. *latino*.

The result is *latín* 10, *ladino* "Romance" 4, indeterminate 2.

The above does not present a clear picture. The author can
 hardly be used to encountering Latin as well as Romance at Seville, or
 he would mention it more often and with more consistency. Some of
 his informants have met Latin, in Christian Spain or France; either his
 transcription follows their pronunciation of it, or his information was
 in written Latin and he has provided his own phonetic equivalent.
 There is not sufficient reason here to postulate that Medieval Latin was
 used in Moslem Spain at that time.

Twelfth-century Toledo after Bernard's death has acquired a
 reputation for being a multi-cultural intellectual centre. There is some
 truth in this. Subsequent bishops were less hostile to the *mozárabes*
 than Bernard had been. Northern and southern traditions learnt to live
 together and be intrigued by each other. Other cities in the north saw
 Arabic-Latin translation ventures (Burnett 1977), but under bishop
 Raimundo (1125-51) Toledo became the main centre (González Palencia
 1942). Spanish scholars were involved in the translations (e.g. Hugo de
 Santalla at Tarazona) but at this time all written translations from

Arabic were converted into Latin (or Hebrew) rather than into any
 Romance form. Similarly, native Toledans wrote works inspired by
 Northern culture, also in Latin; for example, Domingo Gundisafvo's
De divisione philosophiae, of the mid-century, includes recognizably
 European theories of grammar and metrics based on Bede (Rico 1969:
 18-22). The advantage of writing Latin lay in its international validity
 (in the *respublica litterarum*), so it is hardly surprising that none of the
 early Toledo scholars were impelled to create a new orthography ap-
 proximating to a transcription of Toledo Romance⁵. In this century,
 writing in Latin was often left to foreigners, but the skill in Arabic was
 provided by natives of Toledo. Rico (1969: 90) quotes the instructive
 example of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who came to Toledo
 in 1142-43 and hired a "maestro Pedro de Toledo" to translate an anti-
 islamic treatise written in Arabic. Pedro, however, although being a
maestro, was also a *toledano*, and better at reading Arabic than writing
 Latin, so he cooperated with one of Peter's companions in producing
 the final version. In Peter's words:

Sed qua lingua latina non adeo ei familiaris vel nota erat ut
 Arabica, dedi ei coadiutorem doctum virum . . . qui verba latina
 impolite vel confuse pierumque ab eo prolata poliens et ordinans
 . . . libellum . . . perfecit.

This cultural cooperation, involving reading in Arabic, speaking
 in Spanish, and writing in Latin, would have heightened linguistic
 consciousness, if nothing else. It is possible that one of the earliest
 works in Spanish romance comes out of this mixed community. The
 dramatic *Auto de los Reyes Magos* was probably composed by a Gascon
 priest living in Toledo at the end of the twelfth century. Lapesa (1967:
 75) preferred an ascription to Aragón or Navarre, Solá-Solé (1975) to a
mozárabe, and Kerkhof (1979) to a Catalan, so the answer is far from
 clear. The manuscript dates from c.1200. The drama seems to have been
 transcribed for use in the Epiphany service, and is thus another text in
 the tradition going back to the Eulalia sequence, a work written in
 vernacular spelling in order to specify a vernacular pronunciation for a
 written text in Church. The method of transcription suggests that the
 author knows of contemporary practice north of the Pyrenees, and is
 attempting to apply it to Spanish. Whoever wrote this, and wherever,
 it may well be the first surviving written Spanish literary work; this

5. Deyermond (1971: 84-85) is surely right to suggest that the Spanish prose *La
 Fazienda de Ultramar* is a later translation of a Latin original from Raimundo's
 Toledo.

extract is Herod's soliloquy (Menéndez Pidal 1900: 460-61):

?Quin uio nunquas tal mal,
sobre rei otro tall
Aun non so io morto
ni so la terra pusto!
rei otro sobre mi?
nunquas atal non ui!
El seglo ua a caga,
ia non se que me faga:
por uertad no lo creio
ata que io io ueo.
Lenga mio maior do [mal]
qui mios aueres toma.
Idme por mios abades
i por mis podestades
i por mios scriuanos
i por meos gramatgos
i por mios streleros
i por mios retoricos;
dezir m' an la uertad, si face in escripto
o si lo saben elos o si lo an sabido.

(ll. 107-26)

If this indeed comes from Toledo, it is fitting that that linguistically sophisticated and cosmopolitan environment should have been the one to inspire connected written Spanish vernacular texts.

Santiago

A cultural change also came over Santiago de Compostela at the end of the eleventh century. In earlier centuries Santiago had been in the diocese of Iria Flavia, but under the energetic leadership of Diego Gelmírez it eventually became an archbishopric and a centre of *litterae*. The *Historia Compostelana* of c.1137 (Flórez 1765), subtitled *sive de rebus gestis D. Didaci Gelmírez, primi Compostellani archiepiscopi*, and composed by three Frenchmen and one French-trained Spaniard, is designed to glorify the individual, in the tradition also exemplified by the near-contemporary Eastern *Historia Roderici* on the Cid (?1144-50; Menéndez Pidal 1947: 919-69) and the Leonese *Chronica Adefoñsi Imperatoris* on Alfonso VII (1147-49; Sánchez Belda 1950). This history is thus an excellent source for the period, but tends to play down the rôle played by Santiago in previous years. One comment in particular has been interpreted to mean that noone in Santiago before Gelmírez was *litterate*:

... cum tunc temporis tota fere Hispania nudis & illiterata esset.
Nullus equidem Hispanorum Episcopos Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae

Trati nostrae servitii aut obedientiae quidquam tunc reddebat.
Hispania Toleranum, non Romanam legem recipiebat. Sed postquam A. rex bonae memoriae Romanam legem Romanasque consuetudines Hispanis contradidit, ex tunc utrunque oblitterata quadam nebula inscientiae Sanctae Ecclesiae vires in Hispanis pululare coeperunt. Quid enim memorem nudas & imperitos anteriores Ecclesiae B. Jacobi fuisse prelatos?

(ll. i; Flórez 1765: 253)

The Spanish translators of the *Historia* insert an indignant footnote here (Suárez and Campelo 1950: 241), pointing out that it is ridiculous to call the church before Gelmírez illiterate, since the Visigothic rite is complex and was regularly performed. If this really were the import of the author's comment, the indignation would be justified; all that Giraldo is doing here, however, is pointing out that in performing the *Tolitanum legem*, the Visigothic rite, clerics did not need to be *litterati*, since, unlike the Roman rite regularly used in the 1100s, that rite did not require to be performed in the European Carolingian manner of giving one sound to each written *littera*. These bishops were not illiterate in the modern sense, for several of them, at least, could certainly read their liturgy, and write also; after *A. rex bonae memoriae* (Alfonso VI) had changed the rite, they had to start learning *litterae* in order to do it. Campelo and Suárez stoked their own fires by translating *inscientia* as "ignorancia" and *imperitos* as "ignorantes". This passage simply states that Medieval Latin (*litterae*) came to Santiago at the same time as the Roman rite.

The nature of clerical education in preceding centuries is not clear. The bishop's household probably taught those entrusted to it; Diaz y Diaz (1971: 188) quotes a document printed by López Ferreiro (1899: app. 177) concerning a noble child being entrusted to the bishop *ad nutrendum*. All monasteries had liturgical books; García Álvarez (1965) 387 texts mentioned in Galician documents seem to imply that many clerics could read; the presence of the documents themselves implies that some could also write. Literacy may not have been innovating but it did exist. López Ferreiro, however, who is not given to underestimating the worth of his predecessors, has harsh words for the Galician clergy's educational standards before 1080, apparently being misled by the *Historia Compostelana*. The *Compostelana* suggested that the clergy followed no monastic rule ("nullus ordinis regulam nec saltem habitu observantes", III 36 p. 543), which López interpreted as a reference to general indiscipline and ignorance. However this is to be understood, we have no reason to criticize Bishop Cresconio. He revitalized the community, repelled the Normans (with greater success

than the English), and was one of the organizers of the 1056 Council of Santiago de Compostela, which introduced the canons of the 1055 Council of Coyanza into Galicia. López said (1899: 517) that the Council ordered the establishment of schools in every monastery and diocese, but the relevant section of the statute (II 2), as printed by Martínez Díez (1964: 128) is not clear:

Hi autem Abbates per proprias Ecclesias canonicas faciant Scholam, et disciplinam component, ut tales deferant ad Episcopos Clericos ordinandos.

Schola and *disciplina* may not mean "schools" in any modern sense, and the extent to which this canon was observed is unknown. Beltrán (1946: 316), however, proclaimed that "doubtless" all this was being done already anyway.

Some time in the years following the Council of Burgos in 1080 the study of *litterae* was introduced into Santiago. Diego Gelmírez himself, born c.1069, "bonus adolescens fuit, eruditus literis in Ecclesia B. Jacobi, & adultus in curia huius Episcopi", i.e. of Diego Peláez (II p.254); but, as Reilly (1968) has established, the French author of this part of the *Historia* was not in Spain before 1117 and is not always to be trusted on early details, so this cannot be taken to establish the immediate presence of reformed *litterae* in Santiago after 1080. Peláez was deposed in 1087, after which the existing canons were made to go to the same classes as new trainees, so that could well be the occasion of the introduction of *litterae* and the European liturgy. Gelmírez might have learnt his *litterae* elsewhere, however, having been at Alfonso's court and become notary to Raymond of Burgundy, Count of Galicia.

By the end of the eleventh century there is a French community in the Santiago Church. The Cluniac Dalmatius became bishop in 1094, dying, perhaps at Cluny, after attending the Papal Council of Clermont in 1095 (Biggs 1949: 236-37). Gelmírez was administrator since 1093, eventually became bishop some time in 1098-1100, and went to Cluny himself in 1104. On his return in 1105, "locato de doctrina eloquentiae Magistro & de ea quae discernendi facultatem plenius administrat, ut nos ab infantiae subtraheret rudimentis, suo nos commendavit imperio" (I 20, p.55). There cannot be much doubt that the French art of Latin letters, reading aloud included, was part of this *eloquentia*. "Quoniam Ecclesia B. Jacobi rudis & indisciplinata erat temporibus illis: applicuit animum ut consuetudines Ecclesiarum Franciae ibi plantaret" (II iii, p.255). Teachers came to Santiago from elsewhere in Europe; he sent several of his own clerics to study in France. One of Gelmírez's clerics

(*Pedro capellanus*) went to address the Pope in 1110 and "in praesentia Domini Papae querimoniam latine ventilavit" (I 37, p.87); this achievement was one of which he was rightly proud, and represents an early Hispanic attestation of *latine* to mean "in the international spelling-pronounced standard". The Archbishop's nephew Pedro "in Francia philosophicam disciplinam adiscebat" (II 49, p.346) in 1121, which would have required Medieval Latinity. One of the authors of the *Historia* was "Girardus", *magister* of the Cathedral school, who refers to himself as such: "ego Girardus . . . Didascalus Episcopi S. Jacobi" (II 6, p.265), "Giraldus magister" (II 56, p.378): on the first occasion he is an emissary to the Pope with Bishop Diego of Orense. Rainerio of Pistoia replaced Girardus in 1134 (González 1944: 451-53).

Santiago's education became so respected that it came to supply the Royal chancery with its notaries. Most of the chancellors at the Court of Queen Urraca (1109-26) came from the Santiago cathedral chapter (Sánchez Belda 1953; Millares Carlo 1926). Reilly (1976: 257) even talked of the "traditional control of Alfonso VII's chancery by the Prelate of Santiago de Compostela" up to 1134. The *schola grammaticorum* was apparently a separate room by 1140 at the latest (Díaz y Díaz 1971: 192). Fletcher's history of the bishopric (1978: 53-61) suggests that there was a relapse in the mid-century, but this may merely be a mirage caused by the relative paucity of written historical evidence after the *Historia*. (The prose and hexameter work *De Consolatione Rationis* by "Maestro Pedro de Compostela" has been redated to the fourteenth century by Torres Rodríguez 1974-75, a reassessment accepted by Moralejo 1980: 86-87.) In July 1169, Bishop Pedro Gudésteiz offered a subsidy "ut clerici de canonica nostra nostrates et ecclesiae nostrae mansionarii ad studium litterarum anhelantes, dum iuxta terminum sibi a capitulo constitutum, in litteraturae studiis honeste manserint"⁶. In the *Liber Constitutionum* of 1170, I 3, the *magister scoliarum* is advised to appoint another *magister* "in facultate grammatice", who "ad nutum magistri scoliarum omnes litteras capituli dirigat et componat . . . et iste debet venire in omnibus festiuitatibus ad seruiendum choro et legentes ibidem corrigere in sillabis et accentu" (López Ferreiro 1898-1911: IV app.106; Díaz y Díaz 1971: 193). Bishop Pedro Suárez de Deza (1173-1206) acquired the title of *magister*

6. Beltrán (1946: 321-22); Díaz y Díaz (1971: 193-95). This was reinforced in 1207, with the delightful phrasing: "quantum decoris afferat ecclesiis Dei et illis qui praecipue sunt honore praedictae litteraturae praerogativa et scientiarum excellentia, nemo est sic ignarus ut nesciat, sic nescius ut ignoret" (Beltrán 1946: 322).

in Paris, he was a former royal chancellor and bishop of Salamanca, and theologian, and his was a time of intellectual advance, even though it lacks the detailed record of its own *Historia* and the diocese was in financial trouble (Fletcher 1978: 226). Santiago continued to be a respectable centre of *litterae*.

The immediate question arises: what did Gelmirer's colleagues actually learn from their French teachers? The answer could be partly found in two surviving, and very similar, treatises entitled *Ars Lectoria*, dated to 1086 and 1088, probably from South-West France. Reinders (1971-72) published the first, by Aimericus, Kneiphens and Reinders have now (1979) published the second, by Magister Siginus⁷. The editors subtitle the latter *Un art de lecture à haute voix du onzième siècle*. These treatises assume in their readers the basic knowledge of sound-letter correspondences, and concentrate on the problems a reader faces in knowing where to put the stress on polysyllables, particularly in order to distinguish between homographs in reading aloud (thereby avoiding *ipsitatem omnimorum*, p.5), and in knowing how to distinguish vowel quantity. The stress instructions are often rather odd. We are told, for example, to stress the second syllable of disyllabic prepositions (*contra, sine*, etc.: p.87). Instructions are often addressed specifically to those intending to read aloud: for example, successive paragraphs (p.91) are addressed to "quisquis episcopus, hoc est 'brevern', bene vult fingere et Latine loqui decentissime" and "quis vel corde vel tabulis vel codice quilibet edicturus, vel in populo legens vel sociis proloquens vel amicis referens . . . Lector, ne perturbetur, audi".

The rules concerning vowel quantity are little more than lists, arranged in alphabetical order of consonants and the length of the preceding vowel⁸. For example E before N is short in these words, but long in these others; I before N is short in these words, but long in these others, etc. Significant generalizations are not their forte. Priscian, the Bible, Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and several others, are adduced as relevant authorities when possible. Neither Siginus nor Aimericus give the impression that they are attempting anything new. They are lists of tips (as was Bede's *De Orthographia*), representing the accumulated practice that has developed in French schools since 800. Siginus tells us in his Prologue (p.5) that he once wrote an *Orthographia* (now lost); it is made explicit that the prescriptions of

spelling, accentuation and quantity are all designed to aid oral reproduction without hesitation from the reader, rather than as ends in themselves. Some of the rules of thumb here are thus also a bit peculiar; *gu* appears in nouns but not in verbs, for example: "item scribenda nomina per u et enunciantia lingue/lingue, anguis/anguis, unguis/unguis, inguis/inguis, unguentum"; verba vero sine u 'lingo/lingis, anguo/angis, ungo/ungis, ingero/ingeris'. Aliter vero inter nomen et verbum hesitatio habebitur" (p.30). This means that what may look to us now like elementary scribal errors might have been done on purpose in the hope of clarifying recitation; it would be interesting to examine the documents of Aquitaine in the 1090s to see if such extraordinary advice was actually followed. The prescriptions of quantity are also intended to aid the composition of metric verse (pp.4f.); Aimericus calls himself "Aimericus metricorum semper amicus" (X 86). Siginus' first book (pp.6-85) also deals with grammatical points that the lector has to know ("hec dixerim ne in talibus perturbetur Lector").

Siginus tells us that he is a teacher in a religious community. He breaks off in the "I before D" section to tell us so (p.133), and apologizes to God for not doing it better than he is: "tu autem, Domine, maiora quam hec et profunda scientie litterarum scire me voluisti"; the *scientia de litterae*, required at precisely this time by the Pope in the new Archbishopric of León-Castile, is here clearly the knowledge of reading Latin aloud. Where Siginus taught is not clear, although his editors are happy to locate him in Aquitaine (p. XXIII). He seems once to have gone to Spain, however. In the "E before R" section (p.170) he tells us that ". . . Hiberus, ipse est Fluvius maior Hispanie, unde ipsa dicta est Hiberia. Hunc ego fluvium cum transirem, memini me quodam ligneo ponte medio nothem paruisse". This snippet of reminiscence is tantalizing. It is possible to speculate that this refers to events during the Barbarro campaign (1064), when Aquitanian soldiers were indeed involved, and massacred a Muslim community (Lomax 1978: 58). Barbarro is not on the Ebro; however, so one of the later campaigns in which Aquitanian soldiers joined the Aragonese in fighting Zaragoza is possible. Or the frightening experience may not have been a military one, looking over the side of a rickety bridge into the Ebro could make anyone dizzy. Maybe Siginus was assisting in Aragón or Navarre when those kingdoms were coming under Papal authority in the 1070s, adopting the Roman rite and in need of Latin teachers. Perhaps he was a pilgrim to Santiago itself. In general, it seems quite probable that he and Aimericus and those they taught had some kind of connection with the Europeanizing movements of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century

7. Unless otherwise stated, subsequent references are to Siginus.

8. Since it is the preceding rather than the following vowel, this tells us nothing systematic about *ce*, *ci*, *ge* or *gi*.

Northern Spain; the clerics of Santiago might well have been taught a *scientia litterarum*, which was normal practice in at least some of the more professional French schools, but not generally taught in Santiago previously.

Other areas than Santiago were touched by the intellectual expansion (González 1944: 447-64; Fletcher 1978). Bishop Pedro Segun of Orense (1157-69) was probably a French *magister* associated with the Poitevin community in El Bierzo; his successor Adán (1169-73 or 74) had been royal chancellor (1166-67), and a letter announcing his election in 1169 confirms that he "non deest in peritia litterarum". Lugo had a French bishop from 1135 to 1152, and a royal clerk became bishop there briefly in 1181-82. The bishop of nearby Astorga (subject, in fact, to the archbishop of Braga) from 1144 to 1152 or 53, Arnaldo I, had connections with Montpellier and Barcelona, and may well have been the author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and the *Poema de Abneria* (Martínez 1975: chap. 3; see below). The bishop of Mondoñedo from 1112-36, Nuño Alfonso, was a pupil at Diego Gelmírez's Compostela, part author of Book I of the *Historia Compostelana*, and worked in the royal chancery even after his promotion. The continuing connection between the archdiocese, French clerics and the chancery, between knowledge of *litterae* and the suitability to run a bishopric, and the lack of other Spanish nobles in episcopal office, led Fletcher to ask "was the royal hold so strong that aristocrats were excluded, passed over in favour of the incoming Frenchmen or the ubiquitous chancery servants?" (1978: 85); the answer to Fletcher's question may lie not in such antibaronial scheming but at least partly in the simple fact that chancery officials and French clerics knew the *litterae* which it was essential, as the Pope had said, for a bishop to know, and the reason for this is that *litterae*, Medieval Latin, was required for the new Roman rite.

The spread of Europeanizing centres stops in the middle of the twelfth century, as the influence of Cluny wanes and other currents of thought less obsessed with liturgy take their place. There is no need to assume that more than a few places in the Kingdom of León were practising the reformed Medieval Latin. When the Papal legate Jean d'Abbeville came in 1228-29 to see if the educational decrees of the fourth Lateran council (1215) were being carried out, he found much to displease him (Linehan 1971). The church had other urgent tasks, such as keeping the Moslems at bay and reorganizing reconquered dioceses, which relegated linguistic niceties to lower priority; "neither do we know anything at all about the steps taken (if any) by bishops to

ensure that the lower clergy had a modicum of education" (Fletcher 1978: 175). It seems generally true that the intellectual reforms were more enthusiastically followed in 1100 than in 1200; the only Leonese bishops of the end of the century to win any approval from Fletcher for intellectual achievement are Suárez de Deza at Santiago and his pupil Martín Arias, bishop of Zamora (1193-1217).

Galicia was the home in the twelfth century of a flourishing vernacular lyric tradition (see Deyermond 1971: 10-20). Presumably native vernacular verses had always been sung there, but the polyglot advent of pilgrims to Santiago brought Galicia into contact with twelfth-century Occitan and French traditions (e.g. Bouza Brey 1965). It is possible that many of the Galician *cantigas* were written down in a vernacular manner in that century, but unfortunately no early manuscripts survive at all and there is no way of knowing whether, if they were written down then, their orthography was the same as the largely fifteenth-century evidence that we have. It would not be at all surprising to discover that Galicia was indeed the first part of the Iberian peninsula to have its vernacular imitated consciously in orthographic technique; Santiago was a centre in which there were heard many languages, and undoubtedly there were people there skilled in writing French or Occitan who could have applied some skill to the task of writing Galician. (A charming thirteenth-century document has been printed in facsimile by Pensado (1960) which includes instructions for guides on talking to pilgrims in Occitan, Italian, Spanish and Breton.) A Galician *yuglar* called Palla was apparently at the court of Alfonso VII in 1136 (Otero 1976: 82; Martínez 1975: 60), probably performing in Galician; this tradition of court interest in Galician lyric eventually flowers in the *cantigas* of Alfonso X himself (1252-84).

The *Historia Compostelana*, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and *Historia Silense* are evidence that some people, at least, acquired reasonably good *litterae* in North-Western Spain. The *Historia Silense* (which has no connection with Siles; Díaz y Díaz 1979: 165) locates the author in the community of St John the Baptist in León; it demonstrates its knowledge of European culture in its markedly anti-French tone (Horrent 1973-74; West 1975); the French inflow inspired resentment as well as a desire for emulation. The inscriptions on the main altar at Santiago, said to be finished in 1105, are three metrically "secure" elegiac couplets with leonine rhyme (Díaz y Díaz 1971: 189-90). Probably the most interesting of these North-Western compositions is the *Poema de Abneria* at the end of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, where the author switches into verse for the purpose of exalting Alfonso

VII's attack on Almería (1147) and the forces that took part.⁹

This poem is in rhythmic hexameters. It may be that the author took a conscious decision not to use metrics, but it is as likely that he had never learnt them. In the event, several lines do not seem to fit either system particularly well. There are hints in the prose chronicle that the author would have preferred not to have to use Latin anyway; words that have no obvious written Latin equivalent are liable to appear as follows:

turres, quae lingua nostra dicunt alcazars (102, 150, 158, 189)
 magna turba multum, quod nostra lingua dicitur algaras (36)
 civitatem opulentissimam, quam antiqui dicebant Tuceis, nostra
 lingua Xerez (37)

Lingua nostra as used here is said by Martínez (1975: 101) to mean Castilian or Mozarabic; since the author, possibly French, had Catalan connections, and a Leonese bishopric in the Braga (Portuguese) archdiocese, those two dialects would seem less plausible than several others. In fact it surely means "Romance vernacular" without specifying any one dialect. This twelfth century is the only time when two types of pronunciation coexisted with only the one Latin writing system; in the next century historians who fell ill at ease in Latin had a written vernacular alternative (which happened to correspond to Castilian, owing to the political advances of Castile in the intervening years).

One other remark in the *Poema* has been generally misunderstood to contain a reference to contemporary consciousness of dialectal division:

Armorum tanta stellarum lumina quanta,
 Sunt et equi multi ferro seu pane suffuti,
 Illorum lingua resonat quasi tympanotriba.
 Sunt nimis elati, sunt divitis dilatati.
 Castellae vires per secula fuerunt recellas.
 Inclivita Castella sitiens saevissima bella
 Vix cuiquam regnum voluit submittere collum.
 Indomite vixit, celi lux quamdiu luxit.
 Hinc cunctis horis domuit sors imperatoris.
 Solus Castellam domitavit sicut assilam
 Penens indomito legis nova federa collo. (ll.147-57)

9. This is a common purpose of occasional verse; cf. the contemporary (1147) *De Expeditione Lyxbonensi* written by an Englishman on the capture of Lisbon (see Martínez 1975: 128). References to the Chronicle are to the edition by Sánchez-Belda (1950); to the Poem to that in Gil (1974). The edition by Martínez (1975: 22-51) has different line numbers and includes a modern Spanish translation. It was previously edited by Rodríguez Antico (1931). Also from this area was the first *Cronica anónima de Santiago*, now lost, only surviving in a fourteenth-century Spanish translation.

At a time when Castilian nationalism dominated Hispanic philology, 1149 was understood to mean that the Castilian dialect was already stronger and preparing to dominate the other Romance forms (and Lapesa 1980: 197 still thinks it does). The line refers to the loudness and arrogance of the way Castilians talk. The whole work is in praise of the Leonese King Alfonso VII, and here he is being praised for having kept under control the perennially fractious and self-important Castilians, Castile being at the time just one county in his "Empire" (formerly having succeeded in the tenth century, and about to do so again, 1158-1230). The sixteenth-century translation (printed by Rodríguez 1931) seems to omit 1149 altogether, unless it is subsumed in the comment "son muy soberbios".

These lines can also serve as a sample of the rhythmic technique adopted, which betrays in part the influence of vernacular stress patterns: *imperatoris* (1.155), for example, is not *im̄per̄atoris* but *im̄per̄atoris*, on the vernacular pattern of *emperador*, *dilatati* (1.150) is not *dilatati* but *dilatati* on the vernacular pattern of *dilatados*; etc. The Leonine rhyme is sometimes full and sometimes homoleptic. The most obvious idiosyncrasy is the avoidance of elision. In the written "rhythmic" tradition elision was avoided by the simple expedient of having hiatus instead, counting each written vowel as a syllable; yet in the 3854 extant lines of the *Poema* there are (in Gil's edition) no occasions at all when a word ending in a vowel or in *-m* precedes in the same line a word beginning with a vowel. This suggests that the author consciously preferred not to raise the question, since *fratres* required full vocalic status for all written vowels in performance, but elision was a natural feature of spoken Spanish. The language of the Chronicle as a whole is described by Martínez as "un latin sumamente corrompido", but — as the references to *lingua nostra* suggest — it is surely "una vernacula muy latinizada", as is almost everything else written down at the time.

Twelfth-Century Castile

Eastern Castile and the Rioja continued to be important cultural centres. The Riojan monasteries adopted the European rite, but they also preserved their Visigothic manuscripts and heritage in other respects, meticulously recopying many of their ancient volumes in c.1200. The centre of Castilian letters between Siles and León continued to be Palencia, which had a high reputation from the eleventh to the thirteenth century (Deyermann 1969) and became at the start of the thirteenth century the seat of the first Iberian "University" (see below). In the late twelfth century the Castilian court, now independent from

León, often resided there. The royal chancellor in the later part of Alfonso VII's reign had been Nicolás, archdeacon of Palencia. Under Sancho III (1157-58) of Castile the chancellor was Bernardo, also archdeacon of Palencia. Under Alfonso VIII, Raimundo II, bishop of Palencia (c.1148-84), perhaps the King's great-uncle, was said by Millares Carlo (1926: 269-71) to be the Raimundo who was chancellor from 1164 to 1178; Lomax (1965) discounts this, and shows that the bishop Raimundo may have been a Catalan. In any event he introduced Catalan clerics. Santo Domingo, the founder of the Dominicans, studied there in the 1180s. But until the thirteenth century this is not as prolific a literary centre as Toledo or Santiago.

One literary product of twelfth-century Castile was the *Historia Naxerense* (Ubieta 1966), dated by Lomax (1974:79) to after 1174. Nájera was politically in Navarre from 1162 to 1176 and in Castile after; the monastery of Santa María de Nájera was a Cluniac house from 1079. The history includes a perceptibly rhythmical passage on the death of King Sancho II of Castile (1065-72), which Entwistle (1928) bravely suggested was the reworking of a lost Latin leonine hexameter poem, which he "reconstructed" partly on the analogy of the *Poema de Almería*. Rico's comparison (1969: 83-4) with the attested prose shows that the reconstructed verses are much less similar to the prose than Entwistle's followers seem to believe; there is no reason to suppose that Latin poems were radically rewritten when being used in Latin histories — Ximénez de Rada seems to have quoted the poem on the capture of Toledo verbatim (see above); nor is there any reason to suppose that laments for dead kings took the form of lengthy leonine hexameters — the death of Sancho III of Castile in 1158 inspired nine lines of simple octosyllables in alternate rhyme set to music, and that of his brother Fernando II of León in 1188 was celebrated in another brief musical lament in heptasyllabic form with alternate rhyme (García Villoslada 1975: 132-34); if such a Latin poem was composed in the 1070s, it was probably composed by someone with French (or Catalan) training, and the Cluniacs, at least, were allies of Sancho II's victorious brother Alfonso VI; in short, there is no advantage of Entwistle's theory over the straightforward view that the author of the *Naxerense* realized that the subject was one that deserved a high style, and adopted the generally available techniques of prose rhyme and the varieties of the rhythmical *curtus* regularly sought after in elevated style without having to write a poem first. The writer had probably heard some of the popular verses on the death of Sancho II, but there is no need to reconstruct those out of his words either; we can leave the credit for his own work to himself.

Smith is one of Entwistle's followers. In his review (1977b) of Chalon's book (1976) on Castilian history and epic, he is scathing about Chalon's ignoring Entwistle's reconstructions in favour of a postulated vernacular (epic) *cantar*: "... what literary prose and narrative verse we have in writing from twelfth-century Spain is all in Latin ... and it is the supposition of vernacular verse in that century that has to be argued." As we saw in the last chapter, there need be no argument; all communities have vernacular verses, there were songs if not epics on historical events, such as the Çorraquín Sancho verses printed by Rico (1975), and if there is nothing written down before c.1200 in anything other than Latin — or attempts to write Latin — that is because the subsequent orthographical reforms had not yet happened. Castile is naturally the prime battleground for these arguments since Menéndez Pidal put his enormous authority behind a date of c.1140 for the vernacular Castilian *Poema de Mio Cid*; even if that is right as an approximate date of composition, it is unlikely to be right as the date of its first being written down. (The only surviving manuscript is a fourteenth-century copy of an original probably dated 1207).

Ruy Díaz, "El Cid", died in 1099 as ruler of Valencia. The literature he inspired is at the centre of the argument concerning Latin and Romance in twelfth-century Spain. In his lifetime he inspired the long rhythmic sapphic hymn *Carmen Campi Doctoris*, probably written by someone at or from Ripoll in Catalonia c.1083 (Wright 1979). The *Historia Roderici* was probably written in North-Eastern Spain in the late 1140s (Ubieta 1961), and follows the same general tradition of interest in his Eastern exploits as the *Carmen*. In Castile the historiographical tradition is well exemplified by Ximénez de Rada's thirteenth-century history (ed. 1968; see Lomax 1977). The epic *Poema de Mio Cid* is concerned with the end of his career (Menéndez Pidal 1911; Michael 1976; Smith 1972). The fourteenth-century poem *Mocedades de Rodrigo* (Deyermond 1969), and many ballads that may or may not have arisen subsequently (Smith 1964), deal with his youth. Other popular verses deal with his participation in the siege of Zamora at which Sancho II died in 1072. There seem, in effect, to be at least five surviving strands of material deriving from him, each including material not included elsewhere. The normal attempt to date this material along a chronological line from "sober" to "fanciful" is a failure; the *Carmen* is less accurate than the *Historia Roderici* because the latter is written by a historian and the former by a poet, regardless of their dates. Menéndez Pidal claimed that the factual aspects of the *Poema* showed it had an early date; Smith claimed that the fictional aspects of the *Poema*

showed that it had a late date; neither argument holds much water. If they did, we could be committed to believing that Lomax's *Reconquest of Spain* (1978) was less to be trusted than Pedro del Corral's *Crónica Sarracina* of c.1430; or that the daily newspapers of World War II were more accurate than modern accounts. Factual "sobriety" depends on the attitude of the author and little else.

The earliest apparent reference to literature about El Cid occurs in the *Poema de Almería*. After mentioning Roland and Oliver, the author compares them to Alvar Fáñez and his companion Ruy Díaz, el Cid (Alvar Fáñez was historically a more significant figure than the Cid). The lines concerning the Cid run as follows:

Ipsē Rodenicus, Meo Cidi sepe vocatus,
De quo cantatur quod ab hostibus haud superatur,
Qui domuit Mauros, comites domuit quoque nostros . . .
(ll.233-35)

What does *cantatur* refer to? Laza Palacio's view (1964: 35, 68-69) that the author of both the *Poema de Mio Cid* and the *Poema de Almería* had met the *Carmen Campi Doctoris* has received ridicule. His argument is certainly absurd, and the *Poema de Mio Cid* undoubtedly has no connection with it at all, but it is in fact possible that Arnaldo of Astorga, the likely author of the *Poema de Almería*, had met the *Carmen*. He was "sent on embassies to the counts of Barcelona and Montpellier late in 1146 or early in 1147" (Fletcher 1978: 46); it seems likely that the author of the *Historia Roderici* had found the *Carmen* as an available source in c.1147, and, although Arnaldo was not perhaps looking for sources, he was interested in rhythmic Latin verse, and might conceivably have also found the *Carmen* just before going on the campaign to Almería. Lines 234-35 are a summary of what happens in the *Carmen*, *comites nostros* referring to the Christian Spanish Counts (as *nostra lingua* refers to Spanish Romance) García Ordóñez of Nájera and Berenguer Ramón II of Barcelona; Rodrigo's invincibility is the theme of the *Carmen* — it may even be true that he never lost a battle, *ab hostibus haud superatur* — and the *Carmen* seems in form to be a hymn meant to be sung. However, even if Arnaldo had met the *Carmen*, the use of *cantatur* probably also refers to something else. Alvar Fáñez and the nickname Cid (given to Ruy Díaz in Valencia) do not appear in the *Carmen*, but do play a star role in the *Poema de Mio Cid*. Since it is certain that popular legends and tales of some kind were circulating in the mid-twelfth century, it seems reasonable to suppose that Arnaldo is referring to these. There is, however, no need at all to assume that the reference is to a long epic poem. The verses of c.1158 comparing

Corraquín Sancho to Roland and Oliver do so in four pithy lines; there may not have been any more than four on Corraquín, nor, in 1147, on Ray Díaz.

The existence of poems on the Cid in the century seems assured. How far the corpus was at that time amalgamated into a long unit is enjoyable to consider, as Martínez (1975: chap.8) shows, but is little more than speculation. What really does stand out about the surviving 1207 version of the *Poema de Mio Cid* is its astonishing length, 3733 lines. Nothing like that is attested in writing previously in Spain, and the theory is attractive, if unprovable, that the composer of the surviving version worked as a collator of earlier traditions to produce something comparable in length to a French epic, whether or not he was copying such epic in detail. The memory of the Cid as Christian hero was strong enough to be officially exploited, after the defeat at Alarcos in 1195, as that of a national model to inspire the troops; a long poem might be elaborated to give such inspiration then, but is (in my view) harder to envisage before. Even so, it must be conceded that the majority of scholars have succeeded in envisaging this.¹⁰

Vernacular verse of some kind existed; it does not seem to have been written down in the twelfth century. The Latinate disguise could not have seemed much use. Those trained to read the new Latin *litteza* would not have reproduced it as vernacular in any case. Eventually, as in Carolingian France, the frustrations introduced by Medieval Latin pronunciation, i.e. the inability to write material for oral reproduction in vernacular, led to the eventual decision to elaborate and spread vernacular writing systems. Whoever composed the *Poema*, wherever and whenever, its physical recording on manuscript must have been done by an educated man.

Script

Indirect evidence for the existence or absence of Medieval Latin in various parts of Spain may be found in the gradual replacement of Visigothic by Carolingian script. Lucas of Tuy (*et Tradense*), writing in the 1230s, was under the impression that a special Council of León in 1090 decreed the abolition of the old script in favour of the new:

Statuerunt etiam ut scriptores de cetero Gallicam litteram scriberent et pretermittent Toleranam in officiis ecclesiasticis et nulla esset divisio inter ministros Ecclesie Dei. (David 1947: 433)

10. This necessarily sketchy outline does no justice to the lakes of scholarly ink expended on the subject; for further details see Deyermond (1977).

Ximénez de Rada, in the 1240s, picked this up, but phrased it in a different way:

Intreuit autem Renerius legatus et Romane Ecclesie cardinalis, ibidemque celebrato concilio multa de officis Ecclesie statuerunt, et etiam de cetero omnes scriptores, omissa litera Tolitana quam Guffilas episcopus adinvenit, Gallicis litteris uterentur. (VI 29; David 1947: 434)

David is very sceptical of the existence of this decree (1947: 431-39), and certainly if there was such a decree few took much immediate notice of it. On the other hand, there was such a Council, whose acts are now lost (Fletcher 1978: 206), so Lucas may be right; he must have had some source. Even if he is wrong, the comments of these two thirteenth-century clerics are significant, because it seems natural to them that it should be the Church, even a Papal legate (Rainerius, the future Pope Paschal II), that decreed the French script, specifically to standardize the offices of the Church. The same idea is repeated in the vernacular histories of later in the century; e.g. the author of *Primera Crónica General* chapter 872 takes it for granted that the new script and rites go together, commenting that nowadays "al comun, el de Francia anda por toda la tierra, et aquel usan al comun en la scriptura de las letras et en ell officio" (Menéndez Pidal 1955: II 543); the previous reference to "el officio frances, tambien en el Salterio como en las otras leendas" reinforces the view that the new script was explicitly connected with the new rite, making the *leendas* easier to *leer* correctly. This connection of liturgy and script is not generally to be expected. That a hard-worked Papacy should express firm views on Leonese handwriting is in itself improbable. Yet if the correct pronunciation of the new *litterae* in church depended on easily recognizable individual letters, each to be given its sound in turn, with a minimum of recognizable abbreviations and ligatures, the connection is simple to understand.

Replacing the script may not have been strictly necessary, other than for the French and French-trained clerics. It is not merely a question of neatness; earlier Visigothic liturgical manuscripts are often in large legible non-cursive script for the same practical purpose of avoiding confusion, and the plates at the end of Férotin's (1912) edition of the Visigothic texts, for example, show how neat mid eleventh-century Visigothic calligraphy could be. The problem was probably one concerning unfamiliar abbreviations and such confusing phenomena as the Visigothic α , which is not easily distinguished from μ . That the new script was originally confined to the production of

performing manuscripts in French-dominated centres seems likely. The Cluniac documents at Sahagún are in Visigothic script until the 1120s, and the only one of Gelmírez's own Santiago documents to survive in the original form, one of 1122 concerning the cathedral water supply, is in what Fletcher called "unusually pure Visigothic script" (1978: 116). Outside the main centres of French influence there are even examples of early manuscripts of parts of the Roman rite themselves in Visigothic script; one from Braga in Portugal, one from San Millán dated 1095, and two from Silos (David 1947: 438; Díaz y Díaz 1979: 201-02; Whitehill 1976). In the Kingdom of León both scripts are used until the 1150s, when gradually a generation of French-trained clerics phase out the Visigothic. Fletcher has found a private charter in Visigothic script from 1155 (León: Archivo de San Isidoro, 298) which contains at the foot a kind of conversion table of the two scripts, as if to aid readers unused to the older form. The last royal Leonese charter to have Visigothic script comes from 1158 (Fletcher 1978: 115). French script is used earlier for non-ecclesiastical matters also; Fletcher (1978: 118-19) reproduces an attractive document of 1132 in French script from Lugo (AHN 1325C/21 bis), a see that had close relations with Rome. The conclusion seems to be that the presence of French script means that its writer has encountered Medieval Latin (*litterae*) and the Roman liturgy; that those who have not been taught the Roman liturgy or Medieval Latin used Visigothic script; but that some people in the first half of the century used both Visigothic script and the Roman rites.

The middle of the century seems to be the time when Visigothic script falls into disuse in León, perhaps as the result of a conscious decision. The same applies to Aragón. In the first half of the twelfth century Aragonese church centres used Caroline script and the chancery used Visigothic; Balaguer (1954) identified the first document in Caroline script from the Aragonese chancery as one dated May 1147, in which the French script is used by a scribe who had previously used the Gothic. This is therefore presumably the result of a conscious decision to extend the French script, previously only used in the church, into all official documents (cp. also the plates in Usón 1935). It is reasonable to see this as an administrative consequence of the union of Aragón and Catalonia in 1137, to form the *Corona de Aragón*. Balaguer sensibly draws no conclusions, from this date of 1147 for the official introduction of French script, as regards the death of the Gothic, pointing out that some of the documents of Alfonso II of Aragón (1162-96) are in Visigothic script, although by the end of that reign the Caroline had become standard; Ubieto (1961) apparently misunderstood Balaguer's

evidence on this point.

By the end of the century, and probably earlier, the only remaining area using Visigothic script was Toledo. Mundó (1965) established that it was used there until the second half of the thirteenth century, not only for manuscripts but for the signatures of witnesses. This survival is mainly due to the Christian exiles who came to Toledo from Moslem areas in the twelfth century, when Moslem rule was markedly less tolerant than it had been earlier; these would not have been trained in any reformed method. So the fact that the old hand decays in Toledo in the years following the end of the main part of the Reconquest (c.1250) is probably no coincidence. The spread of knowledge of Medieval Latin and the use of French handwriting are different phenomena, but closely linked.

It has been implied that the change of script made the old native Visigothic culture inaccessible (e.g. Jackson 1972: 57). This is an exaggeration. Even now, those who can read Caroline script have no serious problem in reading Visigothic script, once a few simple equivalences have been grasped, and had it not been for the view that standardization of practice on European lines was desirable the change might never have been undertaken. In San Millán, around 1200, many of the old Visigothic manuscripts were copied in French script, but even then the old ones were often preserved carefully enough to be still here. Some of the old liturgical texts were lightly "carolinized", presumably to continue in use (Díaz y Díaz 1979: 106-07). San Millán continued to preserve its Visigothic traditions and reverence for Visigothic saints to such an extent that the notary, Gonzalo de Berceo, wrote some of the greatest works in praise of those saints between the 1220s and the 1250s, even though he used a poetic form probably taught to him by Frenchmen (see below). After the city of Valencia was recaptured from the Moslems in 1238, the archbishops of Toledo and of Tarragona both claimed authority over the see of Valencia, and the neutral arbitrators examined many ancient manuscripts in Visigothic script in close detail when assessing the evidence (Díaz y Díaz 1979: 167-68). In, or just before, 1270 Alfonso X borrowed from the Riojan monasteries of Albelda and Nájera the oldest available manuscripts they could lend him (*libros de letra antigua*), seeking the most authoritative sources for his historians¹¹. And for many centuries the veneration of local saints, and even some services, such as the baptism,

continued with hardly a change. The culture did not die as a consequence of the change of script.

Vernacular Writing

a) Navarre

The earliest written completely Romance text in the peninsula is often ascribed to Navarre. Elcock (1975: 425), for example, declared that it was the *Fueros de la Noya*; but his dating of this legal code from the North-East Rioja to the reign of Sancho el Sabio (1150-94) can only have been based on a misunderstanding of Tliander's introduction to his edition (1951). Tliander established that the manuscript he edited was a copy of one which came from the reign of Teobaldo I (Thibault de Champagne, King of Navarre 1234-53), and although most of the material dates from considerably earlier there is no reason to suppose that that material was not originally in Latin. Saralegui (1977: 51) declared that a document of 1169 was in Romance, but that document is a thirteenth-century copy (Lacarra 1965: I no.175). The *Librer Regum*, a historical text probably copied in Teobaldo's reign, may originate from the 1190s, but the original could well have been in Latin (Serrano y Sanz 1919). The earliest "Romance" document printed by Cerverde (1972) is taken from Arçitia (1900: 158-59) and dated 1198, but even if that is the original form, it is in fact still somewhat Latinized, as are the two dated to 1202; it is considerably earlier than Lacarra's (1933) suggested date of 1220 for the official introduction of written Romance in Navarrese legal texts. It seems on balance most probable that the fragmentary *corónicas navarras* (Uhalero 1964: 31-35) of 1206-09 are the oldest extant Navarrese text intentionally in Romance script throughout; even though the surviving manuscript is a fourteenth-century copy, their experimental and awkward appearance supports this view, e.g.:

Quando morio Diaz Layniz — el padre de Rodic Diaz — priso el rey don Sancho de Castiella a Rodic Diaz, et enolo et fizolo cavallero, et fo con eyll en Garagoça.

Et quando se combato el rey don Sancho con el rey don Romirio en Grados, no ovo migor cavallero de Rodic Diaz. Vino al rey don Sancho a Castiella, et amolo muyto et dioli su alferrza, et fo muyt bon cav[all]ero.

There are several *Fueros* (local legal codes) produced in the following years. It looks as if the Occitan model was influential in elaborating the details of the orthography, in particular of the *Fuero*

11. The receipts are published in *Memorial histórico español* (Madrid 1851) pp. 257-58.

*General de Navarra*¹². This is hardly surprising in view of Navarre's position on the frontier; but if the conservative estimate of c.1206-09 is right for the experiment of writing complete texts in vernacular Navarrese, developments further west may be of greater significance.

b) Castille

The treaty of Cabrerros between León and Castille was signed on Palm Sunday, March 26th 1206; what seems to be one of the original versions survives in the Cathedral Archive at León (MS 27), bearing the seals of the Kings of Castille and León. It is in Romance. Cabrerros is in the Tierra de Campos area around Palencia, just on the Leonese side of the Leonese-Castilian border. At this time Alfonso VIII was King of Castille and Alfonso IX King of León. González has edited the surviving documents of both (1960: Cabrerros, no.782; 1944: Cabrerros, no.205; cp. Lomax 1971). No other Leonese document is totally in Romance till 1230, when Fernando III of Castille (1217-52) became King of León as well, reuniting the realms. It may be also true that no other Castilian document was in Romance before San Fernando's accession in 1217, although if so his reign saw the change to Romance writing initiated at once; for example, the *Fuero de Zorita de los Cerros* seems to have been translated into Romance in 1218 (González 1960: no.339). All other Romance documents are translations, except conceivably 1944: no.254, of 1209, which is from Portugal). This long treaty of Cabrerros is thus left standing alone as an official document wholly in Romance script. It looks remarkably professional and non-experimental; this is just a brief extract (González 1960: 368, ll.14-24):

Et, si el rei de León fizer fer omenage de suo regno ad algun otro omne fora a suo filio, nieto del rei de Castella, ho alguna part enagenare ques pierda del sennoio del regno, uiuendo alguno fillo del rei de León, nieto del rei de Castella, et non lo enmendare fasta sex meses, pierda destes quinze castellos, Monreal, Carpio, Castrouerda, Castro Gonzaluo, Valentia, el seruicio que end deua auer, et faganlo a suo filio, filio de la reina donna Berenguela, nieto del rei de Castella; pero los castellos finquen en manos de los fieles en toda uida del rei de León por fer cumplir todas las otras conuenenzas quomodo en esta carta dize; et guerreen al rei de León de todos los otros fasta que lo emiende.

12. See Lábano (1977). The Occitan model extends further west too, e.g. in the *Fuero de Avilés*. The *Fuero de Avilés* is often said to date to 1155; the original charter of this Asturian town was granted in 1155, but the surviving version is undatable and almost certainly a Romance translation of a Latin original (facsimile in Fernández Guerra 1865). It is less Latinized than the average notarial document, but still not independent. It too has a Provençal writer bringing over his own habits into an attempt to reproduce Asturian dialect (Lapesa 1948; cp. also Lapesa 1972).

The whole treaty runs for 239 lines in González's edition, with several important signatories from each kingdom; since it is the Leonese original that survives, the chancelry servants at the end are Fernando, dean of Compostela, chancellor of the King of León, and Pedro Pérez, notary of the King. But since this treaty represents in part a capitulation of the Leonese to Castilian wishes, many of the details of language as well as content could have come from Castille. The presence of the seals seems to ensure that this is an original.

Apart from the words *quomodo*, *quingue* and *sex* (which are always written like this throughout the treaty), this document is in thirteenth-century Old Spanish similar to the forms used through the rest of the century. It seems to present unavoidable evidence that by 1206 someone, at least, had decided with care and consistency how vernacular could be represented on paper. The reason why it was not written in Latin may be comparable to that which probably underlay the format of the Strasbourg Oaths: to ensure that all concerned appreciated the details. There is no reason to suppose that Alfonso VIII or Alfonso IX actually read it aloud themselves, but since it was a document of vital importance for the future relationship of the two Kingdoms, intended to solve a long-running dispute, it was essential both that the details of the wording should be fixed in advance and that the assembled company should have those details accurately fixed in their minds. Someone probably read it aloud from the written text. If he reproduced the text following the Latin system of the production of a specific sound per letter, the result might have sounded more like Castilian than any other variety of vernacular; the *ek* [ɛŋ] in *ocho* (< OCTO), for example, was a development apparently unique to Castille, but on the other hand the *-i-* in *filio* has more in common with Leonese than with the [ʃ] of O. Cast. *fijo* (> *hijo*). It might perhaps represent the vernacular of the Tierra de Campos, in which case the orthographic moving spirit probably came from Palencia (whose bishop was the second Castilian dignitary to sign, after the Archbishop of Toledo); the Castilian chancellors themselves had close links with the diocese of Palencia. The Catalan Pedro de Cardona was chancellor from 1178 to 1182, and abbot of Santa María de Husillos, in the Palencia diocese, for example. The current chancellor Diego García (author of the Latin *Placet* in 1218) was born in the Tierra de Campos. A later Castilian copy of the treaty of Cabrerros (now in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: Ciro 1918) states explicitly that their copy was not drawn up by Diego García but by "Dominicus regis notarius", who was apparently abbot of Valladolid (a Palencian dependency) from 1207 or

attempting to reproduce on paper what the depositor is saying, in as official-looking a manner as he can.

One of the tricks of this trade is to use initial *h*. He knows that a "silent" *h* often occurs in official orthography; sometimes the *h*-indeed has a Latinizing effect, as in *heredar* (lines 5, 6, 7) for [eredad], although since the Latin was in fact HEREDITATEM the result is less than convincing. Esteban also does it consistently before *a* (*ha*, lines 2, 3 etc.), even spelling O. Sp. *pora* as *porha* (< PRO AD; > para). Spelling *yo* as *hio* (1.6) extends his enthusiasm into semivowels: *hio* would look odd in comparison with the formulaic *ego* (1.1) if we seriously thought that this document represented a single "semicultro" register. The *h*-is available for the Latin formulae as well, which were as likely to be learnt by rote as to be faithfully copied, so that for example in the introductory formula not only *hominibus* but also *hominibus* (i.e. "all") acquires the *h*-, thereby spoiling the effect. We can probably deduce from this that [h-] was often not used in Latin pronunciation either. There is no sign yet of any tendency to use *h*- for the [ɣ] common in some parts of Castille for words originally beginning with a Latin *f*- (e.g. FACERE > O. Sp. *fazer* [ɣadzer] > Mod. Sp. *hacer* [aθer]). At the end, in his final formula, Esteban refrains from putting an *h*- on *oc*; *omnis* and *hoc* have both fallen from the spoken vocabulary long since, of course, so to Esteban it was all a question of guesswork. If he used the sounds [ɣ-] or [h-] himself, he did not connect them with the letter *h*: *faciant*, *filio*, *femina*, *bufon* have the *f* (Sp. *hagan*, *hijo*, *hembra*, *buhón*). The tendency to add *h*- is visible in the *Poema de Mio Cid* as well (e.g. *hvo*, *hido*, ll. 1435, 1439, and passim). Sometimes it survived in the standard orthography of later Castille: *huebra*, for example (< OPERA), 1.6, is still spelt as Esteban spelt it here, and has never had any initial consonant or aspiration at all.

Similarly, Esteban knows that medial [d] is often represented by an official letter *t*. Hence the use of *-t-* in e.g. *Tolero* and *vita* (ll. 12, 8); we can be sure that he and Don Armengot used [d] from e.g. *pagado* (1.4).¹³ He knows that [we] is often written with the letter *o*, as in *corpo* (1.5), *morte* (1.8), etc. (Spanish *cuerpo*, *muerde*) but does not always apply that rule of thumb in dictation conditions, e.g. in *huebra*. The case of [je] is more awkward for him; the rule of thumb is that [je] ought to be written *e*. We can be sure that Esteban and Armengot used [je] from *sieglo* (1.7), although he usually remembers the trick, as in *terras* (TERRAS > *tierras*), 1.3. This trick is not infallible, however;

13. Armengot seems to be a Catalan name (Lapesa 1975: 20).

whereas *ue* is not a common Latin spelling, *ie* is, so that spelling Sp. *comenencia* as *conbenencia* (1.5) with a simple *e* is in fact wrong, because the Latin was CONVENTENTIA with the *ie*. A more illuminating case is that of *erno*, the spelling twice used here for Sp. *verno* "son-in-law" (ll. 14, 15) which comes from Latin GENERUM. *Conbenencia* might be representing a monophthongized vernacular [e], since the *-encia* ending is occasionally found elsewhere in self-consciously vernacular works (e.g. in the extract from the treaty above; cp. also *manenencia*, *Libro de Alexandre* 2105c, 2380a), and although the change of Latin [je] > Sp. [e] might seem to be impossible in the face of the regular [e] > [je], dissimilation of palatal [j]s at the time of the [e]~[je] "free" variation is at least conceivable (i.e. [jentsja > entsja]). *Erno*, however, is inexplicable except as a result of the scribal technique of writing *e* for [je]. Since it appears twice, it is presumably not a slip. (Otherwise, according to Oelschläger 1940, this form only seems to be attested once, in a document of 1204.) *Erno* (lerno) does not seem to be the spoken form in any dialect; the GE->YE development, which is fairly common but not quite regular in Castille, is in itself unusual, and the YE->E development only happens in pretonic position (e.g. GERMANUM > *iermano* > *hermano*), whereas a postulated change *verno* > *erno* would happen in the tonic syllable. *Yerno* is the Castilian. The Cid's sons-in-law are often mentioned in the *Poema*; according to the facsimile of the *Poema*, on twenty-two occasions they are *verno*, on two they are *hyerno*. The lawyer, unlike the poet, felt the need to Latinize the Castilian sound [je] as written *e*; often he was right, but on this occasion he was wrong. Such forms as *terras* are thus no more evidence that the scribe knew Latin than is *erno*.

Other similar forms corroborate this argument. *Yerno*, for example, (< EREMUM) appears in the *Poema*, and in the slightly later works of Berceo, as *verno*, *iermo*, *hyerno*; these, and also the written forms with simple *e*, *erno* and *hermo*, appear in prose documents. *Yerbas* (< HERBAS) appear in the *Poema*, and *yerba*, *ierva*, *Yerva* in Berceo; Gloss Em. 134 is *ierba*. In prose, as well as *ierba*, there is *erba*. *Erno*, (*h*)*verno* and *erba* only occur in documents, where trained notaries operate the trick of spelling [je] as *e*. Latinate spelling in prose is not necessarily, therefore, evidence of knowledge of Latin, even in a community where Latin pronunciation is being taught to some people.

Another revealing example in this document is the word *pecter* (1.10). The trick of the trade is to transcribe [tʃ] as *ct*. Often this works: Spanish *derechos* turns up as written *derectos* (although the Latin was in fact DIRECTOS), for [kt] > [tʃ] is a regular Castilian

change. *Pectet* is a perfectly good Latin word, the future of *pecto*, "comb". Unfortunately, the Spanish word in Esteban's mind is *peche*, "let him pay"; the subjunctive of *pechar*, which in fact comes from Latin *PACTET*. We know now that [akt] > [ed] is the normal development — cp. *FACTA* > *hecha* — but Esteban's rules of thumb are not that sophisticated¹⁴.

Esteban is happy to use non-Latinate vocabulary, such as Arabic *morbedis*, *alcalde* and Germanic *saxar*; and non-Latinate syntax, such as the reflexive future subjunctive in *selevantare*. Apart from his own, he transcribes names in vernacular form; as *Peidro* is the western and *Pere* the eastern form of *Pedro* (< *PETRUM*). The evidence supports Eicock's suggestion of a thin coating of Latinity on a vernacular base, rather than the view that documents of this type are Latin with Romance interference. Esteban is thus in a similar position to that of the scribes of Sabatini's pre-Carolingian documents, of the cheeses in San Justo y Pastor, and of Esplendonio's sale deeds; he knows that the vernacular needs to be spelt in peculiar ways to be respectable, and as far as he can he does so. Yet, as Dutton (1980) showed, such documents were largely understood when read aloud to the witnesses, so presumably could be read aloud as Spanish (apart from the formulae). This analysis implies that the innovations used by the Rician glossers and others were not lost: Esteban knows how to write *te* in *siglo*, *ue* in *huebra*, etc. There is, therefore, an inherited body of scribal technique that the man who drew up the treaty of Cabreros and the man who recorded the *Poema de Mio Cid* were able to draw on; maybe not standardized nor consistent, but not non-existent either. The decision to write in vernacular without its disguise is thus a decision to cast off clothes and come out topless rather than a decision to form an embryo.

This analysis also implies that works of semi-Latinate appearance such as this document are written by those who do not know Latin, whereas completely and emancipatedly vernacular writing — such as that of Cabreros, or that of Berceo, who read Latin sources — implies a skilled level of Latinity in the writer until such time as, in the late thirteenth century, writers are explicitly trained in the writing of naked Castilian. If so, the old assumption that the level of "Latinity" in a text corresponds to the level of "Latinity" of the author's speech has no more legs to stand on.

Literature

In two important articles Dutton (1967, 1973) claimed to have established the birthplace and initial procedures of much early written Spanish literature. The place is Palencia; the literature is that of the *maester de clerecía*, a Spanish form calqued on French models of composing verse in Latin. As we have seen, there had long been a good school at Palencia, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the scholars might have trained the Castilian notaries who composed the Treaty of nearby Cabreros for Alfonso VIII; in any event, at some time in the next few years (probably c. 1210) its school was elevated by the King to the status of *studium generale* or University, the first in Castile. Bishop Tello Téllez, elected bishop in 1207, consecrated in office in 1212, ran it until his death in 1246. Ximénez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo, was a patron. Teachers were imported from Paris and Bologna; Rico has suggested that one of these teachers was Peter of Blois (not the poet of the same name, who died in London in 1212), who described Tello in the following glowing terms¹⁵:

... ad onorem tamen domini Tl venerabilis episcopi Palentini, per quem Palencie virgineus elicon vigeret studium garrularum, cuius meritis, liberalitate et eloquencia, largitate, magnanimitate et magnificencia ceterisque virtutibus, non solum commemorata civitas, set tota Hispania a primis cunabulis ipsis floruit, floret in perpetuum et florebis (sic).

Tello's *studium* was self-consciously *litterarum*. *Litterae* still seem to be the preserve of an élite; Tello described his parish clergy as *insci litterarum*, and the Pope granted Palencia the right to use part of the tithes to help pay for the teaching of these rural *insci litterarum* in 1225. Pupils were specifically trained in order to help celebrate the mass (*qui missam celebrant*) in their new skill (San Martín 1942: 89; Linehan 1971: 31; González 1960: 1628).

Dutton argued impressively that the *maester de clerecía* verse form was inspired by the education of the intellectual élite of the Spanish church at or near Palencia. (López Estrada 1978 has also shown that it is only in this initial phase that the word *clerecía* is narrowly identified with the church.) Berceo wrote prolifically in the form, adapting Latin prose sources into Spanish verse. Berceo's references to Palencia and its environs are additions to those sources; he refers in knowing tones to "todos los maestros de Francia" (*Duelo que fizo la*

14. *Pectet* (1.5) is odd. Castilian *pecho* is said to be borrowed from French or Aragonese (< *PLACITUM*); perhaps the trick of *ct* for *ll* was also known.

15. This comes from folio 1r of the fourteenth-century Ripoll MS 122 in the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* in Barcelona. I am grateful to Professor Rico for checking the manuscript on my behalf.

virgen 6d), and to Tello himself in a cryptic comment that sounds like a scholarly in-joke (all quotations are from Dutton 1967-):

Nin ardió la imagen nin ardió el flabello,
 Nin prisiéron de danno quanto val un cabello,
 Solamiente el fumo non se llegó a ello
 Nil nució más qe nuzo yo al bispo don Tello.
 (*Milagros* 325)

The Latin original has no comparable phrase. Dutton suggests that Berceo was probably at the University between 1222 and 1227, which is the period of Paçal interest in its educative ventures. (In 1225 the Pope refers to the church as one "que consuevit litteratis clericis venustari"; San Martín 1942: 94.) Thereafter he was notary and perhaps administrator at San Millán. He had learnt to read and understand Latin fluently, since his works adapt Latin ones, and to draw up documents. He never seems to have considered writing Latin verse, however. Maybe this was because he wished his verse to be read aloud and generally understood. At the start of his *Martirio de San Lorenzo* he says he is writing "en romanz que la pueda saber toda la gent" (1b); in the second stanza of his *Vida de Santo Domingo de Siles* he says the same:

Quiero fer una prosa en romanz paladino,
 en qual suele el pueblo fablar con so vezino
 ca non só tan letrado por fer otro latino:
 bien valdrá, como creo, un vaso de bon vino.

Whether his modesty topos — that he cannot write Latin verse — is true or not, the distinction between the *romanz* in which people talk to each other, and the latin used by *letrados*, is clear. *Letrado* means "literate" still, not simply "literate", although we are here witnessing the early stages of the conceptual break between Latin and Romance in Spain. This conscious conceptual distinction could also have been inspired by the French scholars coming from an area where the distinction was by now usual. San Millán itself, however, remained largely untouched by French culture in general.

Berceo has sometimes been claimed to be the author of the anonymous *Libro de Alexandre*, a life of Alexander the Great in 10,700 lines, inspired by the Latin *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon (which may well have been on the University curriculum) and the French *Roman d'Alexandre*¹⁶. This may be the earliest work in the form, and starts as follows:

16. Nelson's edition (1979) confidently proclaims Berceo as author on the cover; the edition by Cañas Murillo (1978), from which quotations here come, wisely does not. Ware (1965) dated it to 1204, but not many scholars agree with him. On the inspiration see Willis (1934, 1935).

- 1 Señores, si queredes mi servició prender
 querriávos de grado servir de mi mester,
 deve de lo que sabe home largo seer,
 si non, podné en culpa e en riéto caer.
- 2 Mester traigo fermoso, no es de joglaría,
 mester es sin pecado, ca es de clerezía;
 fablar curso rimado por la cuaderna vía,
 a sílabas contaés, ca es grant maestría.

These stanzas have given the verse form the name *mester de clerezía*, "metre of the educated". They explain that the form is a consciously elaborated one. Unlike previous Spanish verse, *joglaría*, it is *rimado*; the popular metres, such as ballads or epics, tended to use assonance alone, and consistent consonant rhyme is new. The *mester* has regular four-line stanzas, *cuaderna vía*, with AAAA rhyme. The *grant maestría* of counting syllables is a new achievement, unless we are not prepared to believe that vernacular verse was previously stress-based rather than syllable-based; even if rhythm leads to syllabic similarity, it is hard to visualize *joglares* actually counting syllables (*a sílabas contaés*). What this stanza omits to mention is that the definition of a vernacular syllable to mean each written vowel, accepted vernacular diphthongs apart, is also new in vernacular (see below). *Pecado*, meaning "sins against strict metrics", is an ancient European cliché, and line 2b is a pedantic joke (Deyermond 1965; Rico 1979). The word *fablar* is also given prominence, since (pace Gybbon-Monypenny 1965) these verses are designed for oral reproduction.

The contrast with *joglaría* here is literary and metrical rather than sociological, but that *joglares* were not thought to be suitable company for clerics can be seen from ordinance 5 of the Council of Valladolid in 1228 (see below):

Item establecemos, que los Clerigos no sean en compañías do
 estan Joglares, et trashechadores, et que escusen de entrar en las
 tabiernas, salvo con necesidad, et con priésa, non lo pudiendo
 escusar, yendo en camino, en non joguen los dados, nin las taulas.

The wording does not imply that there was no previous contact, nor does the edict seem to have been observed. There may be an echo of the edict in Berceo's *Santo Domingo* 89c:

Si ad opera manuum los mandavan exir,
 bien sabié el bon omne en ello abenir;
 por nulla joglería non lo farén reir,
 nin livianda alguna de la boca decir.

A later contrast (*Santo Domingo* 701b) shows that *joglaría* is more or less by definition not written down:

Peidro era su nome de esu cavallero,
el escripto lo cuenta, non jugar nin cedreuo.

(A *ceñero* is a musician.) Berceo calls himself a *trovador* at the end of *Los Loores de Nuestra Señora* (232a):

Aun merced te pido por el tu trovador,
que est romance fizo fue tu entendedor . . .

Esripto can be Romance, but *letras* remain Latin. Cañas (1978: 404) pointed out that in stanza 10 of the *Alexandre*, which comes from the Latin work, the author calls his source *letras*, but in stanza 11, which comes from the French, the author calls his source *escripto*:

10 En tierras de Egipto, — en letras fue trobado —,
fabló un condreuelo que era rezient nado,
parió una gallina un culebro irado;

era por Alexandre tod'esto demostrado.

11 Aun avino al en el su nacimiento:
fijos de altos condes nacieron más de giento,
fueron pora servirle todos de buen talento,
— en escripto yaz esto, sepades, non vos miento —.

(In *Santo Domingo* 609c, the source is "mala letra, encerrado latino" — *litrino* as a noun.) Alexander's own education in the poem came from Aristotle — *horne bien letrado*, 51a — whom he addresses as follows:

Maestro, tu me críaste por ti se clerezia . . . (38a)

. . . que m'enseñest las artes todas a entender. (39d)

Entiendo bien gramática se bien toda natura
bien dicto e versífico, conosco bien figura,
de cor se los actores, de libro non he cura,
mas todo lo olvido, ¡tant la fiera rencural! (40)

His education, called in general *clerezia*, includes versification and prose composition; *dicto* presumably refers to the *Ars Dictaminis* (Faulhaber 1972: 64, 75). Dutton does not mention this stanza, but it seems to support his view that versification was part of the education of thirteenth-century *clerezia*.

So we have a group of early thirteenth-century poems written in Spanish, probably by writers who had learnt the form while studying at Palencia, but not necessarily forming a "school" in any other sense. The most interesting feature in the metre is the fact that the counting of syllables is carried out according to the same principles that had already been used for centuries in the composition of Medieval Latin rhythmic verse. In the *maestro de clerezia* each line has fourteen syllables, each syllable being a written vowel or vernacular diphthong, and the line is divided into two heptasyllabic hemistichs with stress on the sixth syllable. Dutton (1973: 84) pointed out that this stress position comes

from the French version of the metre rather than the Latin, which tended to have fifth-syllable stress (so far as we can tell). This model therefore excludes elision and requires hiatus instead; unlike contemporary compositions in Latin it makes no effort to avoid the question. In *Alexandre* 10-11 (reproduced above), therefore, there is hiatus in *de Egipto*, *fabló un*, *que era*, *parió una*, *culebro irado*, *avino al*; the apparent exceptions *tod* and *yaz* are in fact commonly-found thirteenth-century forms (for *todo* and *yaze*) even in prose. Native Spanish speech almost certainly involved eliding such pairs of vowels then as now — e.g. *que era* [kera] — so this is an artificial requirement.

Dutton's most interesting discovery concerned the procedure followed for the syllabification of new borrowings from Latin; he found "a carefully established rule that new Latinisms were to be given their Latin syllable value" (1973: 89), i.e. one syllable per written vowel, in the time-honoured fashion. Dutton went carefully through the works of Berceo looking at words ending in *-ión*, to see whether the *i* was a semivocalic [j] as in vernacular Spanish, thereby forming a monosyllable with the diphthong [jo], or whether it was a fully syllabic [i] as in Medieval Latin. The results are striking.

He found 32 words requiring a syllabic [j]: of these, 25 always required it, e.g. *afflicción*, *devoción*, *dissensión*, *visión* and ubiquitously *visión*, and all these 25 are borrowings from Latin (except, in Dutton's view, *pipión*, a coin of little value). This list includes none of the common nominal Romance words in *-ción*, which are often (e.g. Pattison 1975: 93), but in my view wrongly, classified as Latinisms (see Chapter 1, under *Doubtfuls*). The remaining seven words attested with full syllabic value are also found with semivocalic value elsewhere: of these, two are reclassifiable as always syllabic, and a further two as always semivocalic, given the simple and plausible textual emendations suggested by Dutton. The other three are *comediación*, which has syllabic value only once, when used in a specialized Latin context (*Sacrificio de la Mesa* 116c); *misión*, which is only, but consistently, syllabic in the phrase *a my grand misión*; and *lección*, which includes the diphthong in all uses other than a liturgical sense, when it can be trisyllabic. There is, then, in this large group of words, a regular pattern: the many words current in vernacular Romance speech which end in *-ión* have this syllable treated by Berceo as a diphthong; the many words borrowed from Latin which end in *-ión* have that ending treated as two separate syllables, as in the normal pattern of Latin rhythmic verse, where it was the number of written vowels (with specified exceptions not including *io*) that determined the mathematics of isosyllabicity.

- 2 V this orbis urbiūm nomen innūmatur
Dum Iulia Romula nomine uocatur
Insignito nomine dum sic illustratur
Eius nomen celebre ubique laudatur

- 3 I nsigni(s) preconis urbs preconizetur
Fertilis et utilis quam sit declaratur
Et referta mercibus quantum fecundetur
Vt ex his et aliis quarta sit probetur

Pérez de la Calzada wrote from the Cluniac house of San Zoilo de Carrón (in the diocese of Palencia); he had previously been abbot of Salagún. This extraordinary poem was apparently intended for incorporation in *crónicas*; Alfonso's histories were to be in Spanish and did not reach 1248 in his lifetime, so there is no way of knowing if Alfonso planned to accede to this request¹⁷. Such Latin *rithmi*, however, remained a cultivated genre throughout the time of the strict syllabic *mester de clerecía* poetry in vernacular. Latin poems are composed in metric genres as well; for example, some time before 1213, a poem of 758 lines in metric elegiacs was written at the monastery of Santa María de Benavivere, also in Carrón, in praise of the monastery's founder Diego Martínez. Its modern editor suggests that the author was a Gascon (Fernández Martín 1961).

The spelling of Berceo's poetry is sufficiently consistent for us to deduce that it was consciously decided. Features that appear strange to Castilians include -ss- (for Castilian -x-), *h* (for *ll*), -i (for -e in e.g. *h*, *err*), *qe* *qi* *qa* (for *que* *qui* *ca*, [k]) and *que* (for *ca*, [kw]). This is also different from the usage of the treaty of Cabrerros, which spells *que* for [ke], *x* for [j], *h* for [x], and scholars may be right to ascribe some of these orthographic features to a conscious attempt by Berceo to approximate the speech of the Rioja (e.g. Gulysoy 1969); the *h* and the *q*-forms, however, are only orthographic variants and are probably inspired by Occitan usage. *Qe*, in fact, is normal in San Millán until the 1270s (Dutton 1967: 77-79). As we have seen, the *clerecía* poets did not have to invent their orthography *ex nihilo*, as whoever drew up the treaty signed a few miles away at Cabrerros in 1206 was already using the system that became the standard; but, in general, the Palencia scholars were those that laid the way for that standard.

Not all the literature written in Spanish before 1240 is in *mester de clerecía*, of course. Other compositions were inspired by other elements of French culture, such as the probably Toledan *Auto*

de los Reyes Magos referred to above, and the debate poems, of which the earliest (and least orthographically standardized) is the *Disputa del alma y el cuerpo* found on the back of a document of 1201 from San Salvador de Oña in Castille. These thirty-seven lines include *que* for both [ke] and [kwe] (*quende* represents a diphthongized variant of *conde*, [kwende]; Menéndez Pidal 1900: 449-53):

que tu fu[este] tan rico, agora eres mesquinu!
dim, o son los dineros que tu mi[sist en] estero?
o los tos monuedis azans et melequis
que solies manear et a menudo contar?
o son los pala[fres] que los quendes ie los ros
te solien dar por to losenar?
(ll.26-31)

There is also, inevitably, the *Poema de Mio Cid*. As Ian Michael observed (1976: 61), "the orthography of the manuscript is chaotic in some aspects, and may often reflect the habits of the fourteenth-century copyist rather than those that applied at the time of composition of the Poema". The thirteenth-century scribe may well have been the Per Abbat "quien escribió este libro" at the end (l.3731). Whether or not he was also the author, or "refundidor", is unclear; Smith is sure that he was (1977a: Chap.I), identifying him with one Per Abbat attested at Santa Eugenia de Co-dobilla (in the north-east of Palencia province) in 1223. Rafo (1971) identifies him with one attested at Fresno de Caracena, near Gornaz, in 1220. Whoever wrote it down is likely to have been trained at Palencia (before its elevation to *studium generale*) and may have acquired the difficult technique of vernacular transcription there. Perhaps the structural awkwardness of some lines is attributable to the newness of this technique as much as to the problems of following dictation or of copying French epic (as Harvey 1963 and Smith 1979 respectively suggest).

One argument against the view that the scribe was also the author could be based on this line (already discussed in Chapter 4): "un moro latinado bien ge lo entendió" (l.2667). This is the only use in the Poem of *latín* as a lexical entity, and it has the normal pre-reform meaning of "Romance-speaking". In context it specifically must mean "able to understand Spanish", and if this was open to misunderstanding the point of the episode would be dangerously weakened. The Latinate bishop Jerome is *lerrado*; the author of this poem seems to use the vernacular meaning of *latín* rather than that current in Latinate circles (e.g. in Berceo's *Santo Domingo* 2c quoted above; the apparently suggestive final comment in the *Poema* — "ei romanz es leido", l.3733 — is a later addition). The orthography of the

17. The study of the poem announced by Chaban and Gil is still awaited. The MS is Bodleian Holkham misc.26. One prototypic [e-] is required, in 160 (*strenu*).

Poema also shares the uncertainties of the notarial tradition rather than the comparative clarity of the Cabreros treaty; it tends, for example, to add unnecessary *h*-, and has no fixed graph for [k], which is often merely *l*. As Adams (1976: 6) established, "there is no reason why there should be any general consistency between spelling and sound" in the *Poema*, although on the whole there is such a consistency in the early *mester* poetry. So although the scribe must have been educated somewhere, and quite probably at Palencia, that must have been before the systematic establishment of vernacular orthographies on the pattern subsequently to become the standard; even if he is also the "author" of the surviving version, it seems unlikely that he knew much about academic Latin poetry.

The theory that the native Spanish verse tradition was based on stress, and thus not isosyllabic, and that this helps to explain the lack of syllabic regularity in this poem, remains acceptable. Such echoes of French epic as there may be in the *Poema* are echoes rather than translations. There is no need to suppose that anyone knew anything at all about Germanic culture, but a native pattern of rhythmic vernacular verse, allied to an early attempt to expand the existing *ad hoc* notarial orthographical practices into extended use before the more professional attempts made at and near Palencia, seems on balance to be the view of the *Poema*'s written form best supported by the evidence adduced here.

The Spread of the Reforms in the 1220s

The *studium generale* of Palencia led an uncertain existence as an institution; some details can be found in the examples in its 1222 *Ars Dictandi* manuscript (Barrero García 1976). It was singled out by the Papal legate Jean d'Abbeville in 1228 as having been a respectable centre of letters, but now in need of revitalization. Jean was sent to Spain to see if the reforms prescribed in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 were being carried out (Linehan 1971). On the whole, they were not. Ximénez de Rada, head of the Castilian church at the time, described the visit as follows:

Et tempore erat in Hispaniis legatus Romanæ Ecclesiæ Ioannes de Abbatis villa, quæ est in Comitatu Pontini. Sabinensis Episcopus Cardinalis, vir bonus, sapiens, litteratus, qui celebratis in singulis regnis Conciliis, postquam monita salutis proposuit, ad Sedem Apostolicam est reversus, tribus annis legationis expletis.
(IX xii)

Jean was described by Ximénez de Rada as *litteratus* (like Bernard de Sédirac): "concerned with the effective practice of Medieval Latin" (astonishingly translated as "out of touch" by Linehan 1971: 48). The

Council of Valladolid which he summoned in the autumn of 1228, valid for the ecclesiastical province of Toledo, put prominent emphasis on the ability to speak Latin and the need to set up schools for that purpose. The original ordinances have not survived, but a Castilian translation made subsequently was preserved in a Leonese manuscript. The second and third of these ordinances run as follows (Tejada 1849: 62: III 325):

DE MAGISTRIS

Item establecemos, que en cada Iglesia Cathedral sean escogidos dos varones los maes idoneos, et maes letrados que hi fueren, para predicar la palabra de Dios, et para oír las confesiones generalmente.

Item establecemos, que en todas las Iglesias conventuales por el Obispo sea escogido uno de los maes idoneos, y maes letrados que hi fueren para predicar et para oír las confesiones generalmente.

DE BENEFICIATIS ILLITERATIS

Stablecemos, que todos Beneficiados que non saben fablar latin, sacados los viejos, que sean constreñidos que aprendan, et que non les den los Beneficios fasta que sepan fablar latin.

Otroto dispensamos con todos aquellos que quisieren estudiar, et aprovechar en Gramatica, que hayan los Beneficios bien et entregamente en las escuelas, de la fiesta de San Luchas fasta tres años, se hi oviere otros Clerigos porque la Iglesia sea servida. Et se fasta este termino non sopieren fablar latin, non hayan los Beneficios, fasta que emienden la sua negligencia por estudio, et fablien latin.

Porque muchos cobdician traer corona porque hayan libertad de la Clerecia, et non quisieren aprender, firmemente mandamos, que los que non quisieren aprender, non sean ordenados de Corona, et que non sean de quatro grados fasta que sepan fablar latin.

Item porque queremos tomar en so estado el estudio de Palencia, otorgamos que todos aquellos que fueren hi Maestros, et leieren de qualquier sciencia, et tocos aquellos que oieren hi Theologia, que hayan bien et entregamente sos Beneficios por cinco años, asi como se serviesen a suas Iglesias.

The specified tasks of the *maestros* in the second ordinance, preaching and confession, involved the use of the vernacular. In the third, however, it is unambiguously Latin that is prescribed for the *illiterati*; more precisely, the ability to speak it, *fablar latin*, is essential. *Gramática* is prescribed to make them suitably able to read Latin aloud and thus perform acceptably. This ability to pronounce the written text remains an essential requirement; in 1260, for example, the synod of Calahorra ordered each archdeaconry to provide two masters of grammar, "e así non podrán haber excusas que non saben fablar latin e pronunciar" (Faulhaber 1972: 32). A similar Council was called by

Jean in March 1229 in Lérida (Lleida), valid for Aragón. These records survive in Latin; the following are ordinances VI and VII (Tejada 1849, 62: III 331-32; Chapman 1976: 28-29):

Cum in generali concilio pia fuerit constitutione provisa ut non solum in cathedralibus ecclesiis, sed etiam in aliis, in quibus suppetant facultates, magistris, qui ibidem laborant in doctrina, provideantur in beneficio competentis: nos attendentes quod in partibus Hispaniae ex defectu studiorum et literaturae multa et intolerabilia detrimenta animarum proveniunt, non solum in locis statutis praedictam constitutionem praecipimus observare, verum etiam ad multiplicem ignorantiam extirpandam eatenus scholas multiplicari statuimus, ut per singulas dioceses in quolibet Archidiaconatu in certis locis, si ad haec loca idonea inventa fuerint, per provisionem Episcopi scholae de Grammatica statuatur, et magistri collocentur. Quibus de ipsis Episcopi provisione vel ordinatione, si ipsius loci, in quo scholae fuerint, non sufficiat ecclesia, de aliis ecclesiis circa positis secundum singularum facultates competentes praecipimus providere: ne ex defectu magistrorum illiterati suam possint ignorantiam excusare.

Statuimus quoque ut omnes beneficiati et promovendi in ecclesiis parochialibus, qui latinis verbis loqui nesciunt, exceptis illis de quorum profectu propter aetatem non est sperandum, in studio ab Episcopo et Archidiacono loci, ubi tale jus consuevit habere Archidiaconus, per subtractionem beneficiorum (quoad usque latinis verbis loqui sciunt, addiscere compellantur. Illis autem, qui studere in Grammatica, et proficere voluerint, misericorditer indulgemus, ut beneficia sua integre in scholis habeant a proximo festo sancti Iohannis usque ad triennium, ac si in suis ecclesiis desererent. . . . Qui vero infra hunc terminum non tantum proficere curaverit, ut latinis verbis loqui sciat quia suam iuvare, vel vincere neglexerit ignorantiam, donec talem negligentiam per subsequens studium correxerit, beneficio suspendatur eodem.

The English translation in Chapman's article vaguely translates *qui latinis verbis loqui nesciunt* as "ignorant of the Latin tongue", but from the continual use of *loqui* in VII it is clear that here too speaking, rather than understanding or composing, Latin is the essential requirement of a *beneficiarius*.

The Aragonese reform was in practice carried out after 1239 with some sense of purpose under the Archbishop of Tarragona, Pere d'Albalat, who had been seccristan at Lérida at the time of the Council (Linehan 1969, 1971: Chap.4). In a useful unpublished thesis on Aragonese education, Winterbottom (1974: 97) observed that the reaction to the Council of Lérida was mainly that of "preparing local candidates for orders in the essentials of Latin grammar necessary for the exercise

of clerical functions, ultimately for the priesthood".¹⁸ In Albalat's *Summa Septem Sacramentorum* of 1241, under *De Ordinibus Clericorum* he decreed that candidates for ordination *ad acoliturum* (the fourth grade) should be examined to see whether they could sing, read, and speak Latin words: "utrum cantent, vel legant, vel sint legitimi, vel loqui sciant latinis verbis . . . qualiter in domo Domini conversari debeant"; none can be admitted "nisi loqui sciat verbis latinis" (Linehan 1969). The Aragonese extended this requirement to Valencia; in 1258 a synod of Valencia also decreed that none should apply for the same fourth level of orders "nisi loqui sciat latinis verbis"; and, when reading aloud in church, "punctantes sine sincopa legant psalmos et etiam lectiones".

In Castille the church leaders were less enthusiastic. Such cathedral schools as existed in León-Castille after the Council had existed before it also, and it was not until the reign of Alfonso X (1252-84) that education seems to have been widely given a high priority. Jean d'Abbeville's comment on Palencia at the end of Canon III of the Council of Valladolid is suggestive, however, and it seems that that *studium* was at the same time the main centre of both Latin knowledge and vernacular Spanish writing. This is no coincidence, for only a Latinate scholar would be likely to feel the need for a distinctive consistent Romance orthography in addition to the traditional one. The essential connection between the new pronunciation (Latin) and the new orthography (Romance) becomes clearer if we look at the career of Juan, abbot of Valladolid in 1228 and eventually Chancellor at the court of Fernando III (Lomas 1971; Serrano 1941).

Juan Díaz (Serrano 1941) or Domínguez (Millares Carlo 1926: 282-83) was probably from Soria, and apparently a cousin of Ximénez de Rada. He was at the Lateran Council of 1215 as abbot of Santander; from 1217 he was appointed to the Castilian chancery to replace Diego García. From 1219 to 1231 he was abbot of Valladolid, and presumably host of the 1228 Council; subsequently he became Bishop of Osma (1231-40), sang the first mass in reconquered Córdoba (1236), was appointed tutor to Fernando III's son Felipe, and became Bishop of Burgos (1240-46). The professional skills of bishop and chancellor remain as united as they had been in the previous century. By the time of his death in 1246 Juan's chancery had developed the habit of emitting most of the documents for internal consumption in Romance

18. I am grateful to the Liverpool University Library for permission to quote from this thesis.

rather than in Latin. The reason was that documents that had to be read to and understood by excisemen and local officials, or participants in boundary disputes, needed to specify vernacular pronunciation since the recipients would not understand Latin (Lomax 1971). In earlier days when all documents were given vernacular pronunciation anyway (Dutton 1980), Romance script would have been as unnecessary for such documents as phonetic script would be in Modern England; this change, which is only noticeable after 1230, implies that at court the prescriptions of the Council of Valladolid (1228) were taken seriously, that written Latin would have been read in the European manner as Latin rather than Spanish by at least some officials, and that simultaneously several officials were becoming practised in reading Romance writing. The same reasoning applies to the redaction of the *fueros* and other declarations of legal rights and duties that needed to be explained aloud in public. The translation in 1218 of the *fuero* of Zorita de los Canes into written Romance is likely to have been a consequence not only of the accession of Fernando III but of the chancellorship of Juan Díaz in the same year. There is no inconsistency in suggesting that the spread of Romance writing was patronized by the man who was at the same time urging the learning of Latin pronunciation; the new writing and the new pronunciation are here, as elsewhere, connected. Juan's contemporary Lucas of Tuy called Juan "vir sapiens et valde litteratus", and he may have been among the first in Castille to consider Latin and Romance to be distinct languages. The techniques evolved by notaries, elaborated under Diego García's aegis for Caberos, and used for poetry at Palencia and elsewhere, come quite soon to be given official blessing by an expert Latinist. (It has also been proposed that Juan was the author of the so-called *Chronique Latine des rois de Castille*, on Spanish history from the tenth century to 1236; see Cirot 1912-13, Lomax 1963. This chronicler calls Jean d'Abbeville "virum providum et discretum et literatum"; Cirot 1913: 272.)

By the end of Juan's chancellorship vernacular is the normal written mode; under Alfonso X (1252-84) Latin was reserved for foreign letters, and not even always then. Juan died on the 1st October 1246, having three days earlier issued a final testament at Palencia, witnessed by the Bishops of Toledo, Astorga and Compostela, and the bishop-elect of Palencia, of which the original survives in Burgos Cathedral Archives vol.25 fol.351 (Serrano 1941: 37-40). This will has the first two paragraphs in Latin; the third — which details specific debts — in Castilian; the witnesses in Latin; seven subsequent detailed paragraphs in Castilian. Each section is strictly in one language with no

visible interference from the other. Notarial documents — such as Esteban's of 1207, discussed above — used to present an apparent mixture of norms; Juan's will presents a juxtaposition of two separable and separate written (and spoken) norms, identifiable and identified as two languages. It is the attestation of a consciously "bilingual" literate community.

Juan Díaz may have been the prototype for the ideal chancellor described in Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* (c.1260; ed. 1807). Among other things, "et leer et escribir conviene que sepa en latin et en romance, porque las cartas que mandare facer sean dictadas et escritas bien et apuestamente" (II ix 4). In the *Siete Partidas* the existence of two languages is accepted. In section I xxvii, *De las cosas que debe ser sabidor el prelado*, the second requirement of the prelate is a knowledge of *grammatica*, defined as "que es arte para aprender el lenguaje del latín". As regards Church education, the first word under the heading *Quales deben ser los clérigos que hobieren de ser beneficiados en santa egleña* is *Letrados* (I xvi 2), which is subsequently explained as follows: "que sean letrados que entiendan Latin, et que sean sabidores del uso de la egleña que es cantar et leer". As usual, the point of literacy is seen in the performance of church singing and reading. The same skills are conjoined again in the description of the duties of the teacher, the *maestrescuela* (I vi 7):

Maestrescuela tanto quiere decir como maestro et provedor de las escuelas: et pertenesce a su oficio de dar maestros en la egleña que muestren a los mozos leer et cantar, et el debe emendar los libros en que leyeren en la egleña, et otrosi al que leyere en el coro quando errare: et otrosi a su oficio pertenesce de estar delante quando probaren los escolares en las ciudades do son los estudios, si son tan letrados que merecan ser otorgados por maestros de gramatica, o de logica o de alguno de los otros saberes; et a los que entendiere que lo merecen puédeles otorgar que lean asi como maestros.

The essential requirement of *leer et cantar* in *litterae* in the mid-thirteenth century is further attested in stanza 354 of Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*; the Latin source has the simple phrase *litteris instruebatur*, which is expanded into:

Tení en essa villa ca era menester
Un clérigo escuela de cantar et leer;
tení muchos criados a letras aprender,
fijos de bonos omnes que tenían más valer.

The phrase *ca era menester* suggests that Berceo had in mind the Council of Valladolid's edict on schools; the *Siete Partidas* confirm that in Alfonso's reign that ideal is being actively pursued.

The long gestation is over. Medieval Latin at last exists in Spain as a conceptually separate language from Spanish Romance. From the time of Alfonso X there are people literate in Spanish without necessarily being at the same time literate in Latin. Pérez de la Calzada celebrated the capture of Seville in Latin; at about the same time someone else lamented the capture of Jerusalem in Spanish in the equally isosyllabic *My Jerusalem!* (Pescador 1960: 244-46). The poets had a choice.

CONCLUSION

The changing relationship between Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France can be presented schematically.

STAGE A

France: up to c.800

Spain: up to 1080

ONE LANGUAGE ("Proto-Romance")

Written: in the traditional way

Spoken: in different evolving ways in different places ("vernacular").

STAGE B

France: c.800 to c.842

Spain: 1080 to c.1206

ONE LANGUAGE IN EACH COMMUNITY
(Old French, Old Spanish, etc.)

Written: in the traditional way

Spoken: in two distinct ways

a) in ordinary vernacular

b) reading aloud in church in the new method of *litterae*, producing one sound for each written letter.

STAGE C (Unstable)

France: c.842 to c.1000

Spain: c.1206 to c.1228

ONE LANGUAGE IN EACH COMMUNITY

Written: in two distinct ways

a) the traditional way

b) the new "Romance" way, with one letter for each existing vernacular sound; different in different places.

Spoken: in two distinct ways

a) in ordinary vernacular

b) *litterae* in Church.

STAGE D

France: since c.1000

Spain: since c.1228

TWO LANGUAGES

Written in the traditional way, *spoken* in the new way: LATIN

Written in the new way, *spoken* in the normal way: ROMANCE

The conceptual separation follows, rather than precedes, the inventions of new "Latin" pronunciation and new "Romance" writing.

This hypothesis is supported by a wide variety of disparate facts, philological, linguistic, textual and historical. It cannot be said to have been proved, but it does appear to be more compatible with established evidence than the generally accepted view that Latin and vernacular Romance are independent from the end of the Roman Empire. And Latin, as we have known it for over a thousand years, really does seem to have been introduced into Romance Europe by the Carolingian scholars.

Dante said that *grammatica* was an invented international language (Marigo and Ricci 1968: 72):

Hinc moti sunt inventores grammatice facultatis, que quidem
grammatica nihil aliud est quam quedam inalterabilis locutionis
idemitas diversis temporibus atque locis.

(*DVE*: I. IX. II)

Modern scholars have laughed at him. But Dante was right.

APPENDIX

Suggested translations of quotations from Grammarians

- Page
55-56 *Vellius Longus* (Keil VII 54.1.1-13)
When I started on the rationale of writing it struck me straight-away that some people have thought that we should write in the same way as we speak and hear others speak. For the way we ought to pronounce is quite often such that some of the letters included in the spelling are not audible when pronounced. For example, when we say *illum ego* and *omnium optimum*, both *illum* and *omnium* end in an *m* which is not noticeable in pronunciation . . . we have to admit that it is written one way and pronounced in another . . . often we ought to write one thing and pronounce another . . .
- 57 *Consentius* (Keil V 394.16-22)
There will be inconsistency in Roman speech concerning this, such that its sound is weak when a word begins in it, as *ite*, or *fater* when a word ends in it, as *habui*, *senai*; it has a sound halfway between *e* and *i* when in the middle of a word, as in *hominem*. It seems to me that when it is long it is fuller, or sharper, but when it is short it ought to have a middling sort of sound — as the examples above can show you.
- 58 *Pompeius* (Keil V 102.13-18)
Should *o* be long or short? If it is long, the sound should come from within the palate, as when you say *orator* it sounds as if it is inside, inside the palate. If it is short, the sound should come from the outer lips, as if from the edges of the lips, as when you say *obit*. You have this rule expressed in Terentianus; when you want to say it short, it sounds on the outer lips; when you say it long, it sounds inside the palate.
- Sergius* (Keil IV 520.27-31)
There are five vowels. They do not all have more than one sound; two do, *e* and *o*. For when *e* is short, it sounds like a diphthong, as in *equus*; when it is long, it sounds like an *i*, as in *demens*. Similarly with *o*; when it is long, it sounds inside the palate, as in *Roma*, *orator*; when it is short, it is said on the outer lips, as in *opus*, *rosa*.
- 59 *Servius* (Keil IV 421.16-21)
There are five vowels; *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. Two of these, *e* and *o*, sound different when long from when short. For when *o* is long, it sounds from the top of the mouth, as in *Roma*; when it is short, it sounds from the lips, as in *rosa*. It is the same when *e* is long, it is close to the sound of the letter *i*, as in *meta*; but when it is short, it is close to the sound of a diphthong, as in *equus*.

59 *Pompeius* (Kell V 285.5-9)
There is another barbarism of pronunciation; we often pronounce badly, and make a mistake, so that a short syllable is given a long pronunciation, or a long one a short pronunciation; if we wished to say *Ruoma*, or wished to say *aequus* instead of *equus*, that would be this barbarism of pronunciation.

60 *Pompeius* (Kell V 286.6-33)
There are some mistakes that we ought to avoid. You should avoid these five; iotacism, labdacism, myotacism, collision, hiatus. Iotacisms are mistakes over the letter *i*, as if one said *Titius* for *Titius*, *Aventius* for *Aventus*, *Amantius* for *Amantus*. So how is the mistake made? Let us define it, and then we will see how we ought to take care. This mistake is made whenever a vowel follows *ti* or *di* and there is no sibilant. For whenever a vowel follows *ti* or *di*, that *ti* or *di* should become a sibilant. We ought not to say *Titius* as it is written, but as *Titius*; that middle syllable becomes a sibilant. So if you should want to say *ti* or *di*, do not pronounce it in the way it is written, but pronounce it with a sibilant. You ought to know that, so that then you ought to do that, if it is in the middle of a word. If, however, it is at the start of the word, even if there is a following vowel, then it does not turn it into a sibilant. E.g. *dies* has a vowel after the *di*; we should say *dies*, but we do not. Add a first part to that word, and you do say *meridies*; we are unable to say *meridies*, so you should know that this happens to *ti* and *di* when it is in the middle, but not when it is at the beginning. . . .

79 *Cassiodorus* (PL 1245C)
Ternus and *quantus* should have an *m* in the middle, for they are *quam* and *tam*, from which come *quantitas*, *quantus*, *ternus*. Do not worry because the sound is an *r*. I told you earlier that *n* should be the sound, even though the written form has an *m*. (PL 1243B)

So if there are two consecutive words of which the first has an *-m* at the end and the second begins with a vowel, an *-m* is written, even though it sounds harsh and wrong if pronounced. (PL 1267C)

If the letter *m* is next to a vowel at the start of the next word, we will not pronounce it. (PL 1244D)

Yet it is better, both in pronouncing and writing, to put *r* rather than *v*, as has become normal. (PL 1245B)

We will decide when this is to happen and when it is not from the sound; *accedo* has two *cs*, *attuli* two *ts* . . . the consonants change not only for the smoothness of the sound, but also because a *d* could not be pronounced. It does sound, and is also written, next to an *f*, as in *affino*, *affini*, *adfectus*; it does not sound next to a *b*, as in *offui*, *offero*, *offendo*.

80 *Cassiodorus* (PL 1241C)
. . . so what you start to learn well you should carry through to the end with a blameless delivery. For if you want to be understood, what you once sought to achieve through slowness you will subsequently run through with exemplary speed. It is well worth studying . . . how to write accurately what you ought to say, and to read what has been written without any uncertainty or mistake. (PL 1242A)

I particularly thought you should be advised that you should carefully examine where to insert pauses as the sense requires, without which we cannot manage to read or understand anything. (PL 1128C)

80-81 In cases where words can be either in the accusative or the ablative case after prepositions, look carefully to see if it is place or motion, because copyists who do not know their grammar are particularly liable to get this wrong. For if you put on or take off a letter *m* inappropriately, the whole phrase gets muddled.

84 *Isidore* (I 27.12)
For as grammar deals with word-endings, so *orthographia* deals with expertise in writing; for example *ad*, when it is a preposition, has a letter *d*, and when it is a conjunction it has a letter *r*. *Hand*, when it is an adverb of negation, finishes in *d* and has an *n* at the start; when it is the disjunctive conjunction, it is written with a letter *r* and without an *n*. (I 27.12)

Id, when the pronoun of neuter gender, is written with a *d*, being a part of *is*, *ea*, *id*, because that gives *idem*. If it is the third-person verb it will be written with a *r*, being a part of *eo*, *is*, *it*, because that gives *itur*. (I 27.28)

85 For although *latritia* is pronounced with a letter *r*, it should be written with a *t*, because it is a Latin word. Similarly *mlitria*, *mlitria*, *negutia*, etc. (I 32.1)

86 A barbarism is a word pronounced with a wrong letter or sound. With a wrong letter, e.g. *forter* when we should say *forterit*; with a wrong sound, if the first syllable is stressed (lengthened?) rather than the middle one, e.g. in *latebrae*, *tenebrae*. It is called a *barbarismus* from the *barbari*, who do not completely appreciate the proper nature of our speech. (I 32.3-8)

87 Barbarism of pronunciation can be committed through mistakes in length, stress, the use of *h*, and the other following ways. In length, if a short syllable is uttered instead of a long, or a long syllable instead of a short; in stress, if the accent is moved to another syllable; in the use of *h*, if an *h* is put onto where it should not be, or removed where it should be. Hiatus, whenever a verse is cut short in speech before it is finished, or when a vowel follows another, as in *Musee Aonides*.

Barbarism can also happen through *metacism*, *iotacism*, and *labdacism*. It is a *metacism* when an *m* is followed by a vowel, such as *bonum aurum*, *istum amicum*; we avoid the mistake by suspending or removing the *m*. It is an *iotacism* when the sound is doubled in a letter *i*, as sometimes happens in *Troia, Maia*; where the pronunciation of the letters should be so slight that one *i* rather than two should seem to be uttered. It is a *labdacism* if two *i*'s are pronounced instead of one, as the Africans do, saying *colloquium* for *colloquium* (or when we pronounce one *i* too weakly or two is too strongly).

(*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* II 11)

88

Concerning readers.

1. The order of readers took its nature and origin from the prophets. So those are readers who preach the word of God, to whom it is said: "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet" (Isaiah 58). When these are ordained, the bishop first speaks about their new duties to the congregation. Then he publicly gives them the manuscript of the most holy words for them to read out the word of God.
2. Whoever reaches this level will be imbued with learning and books, adorned with the knowledge of senses and words, so that he understands in the punctuation of sentences where a clause should end, where a clause is still continuing, where the end of the sentence has a rhythmic *clausula*. And he will be so prepared with the technique of delivery that he will move the minds and senses of all to understanding, by distinguishing the kinds of delivery and expressing suitable tones for the sentences, now with a matter-of-fact voice, now sad, now rebuking, now encouraging, or other such modes according to the kinds of suitable delivery.
3. In this it is particularly important to be aware of ambiguities in sentences. For there are many such in the Scriptures, which, unless they are delivered in the right way, change the meaning of the sentence into its opposite; for example, "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth" (Romans viii 33-34). If this is said in a positive way, not respecting the kind of delivery that is suitable, misunderstanding arises. It must therefore be delivered as if it were saying "is it God who justifieth?"; so that *no* is understood.
4. So it is essential to have perception and understanding of so many things, so that every individual passage is delivered appropriately and suitably. So the reader should know the force of stresses also, so that he knows which syllable of a word the reader should accentuate. For many inexperienced readers get the stresses wrong on words, and then those who do seem to understand are likely to mock us and disparage us and swear that they have no idea what we are saying.
5. The reader's voice should also be straightforward, clear, adaptable to all kinds of delivery, full of virility and strength, avoiding boorishness or rudeness, not humble, nor excited, nor broken, nor tender, and with no feminine sounds, nor moving the body, but just with an expression of *gravitas*. For the reader should be addressing himself to the ears and the heart, not to the eyes of his audience, and

he should not make them his spectators rather than hearers. It is an old precept that readers should have taken special care of their voice for the sake of delivery, so that they might be heard amid a disturbance; which is why readers used to be called criers or proclaimers.

92-93

(IX 1.6-7)

Some people have said that there have been four Latin languages, i.e. Ancient, Latin, Roman, and Mixed. It was Ancient as used by the very ancient people of Italy under Janus and Saturn, as in the songs of the Sali. Latin was spoken under Latinus and the Kings by the Tuscans and others in Latium, in which the Twelve Tables were written. Roman began once the Roman people drove out the Kings, eloquently used by the poets Naevius, Plautus, Ennius and Vergil, and the orators Gracchus, Cato, Cicero, etc. Mixed came in once the Empire spread more widely, when new customs and peoples came into the Roman state, corrupting the proper nature of words with solecisms and barbarisms.

97

Julian of Toledo

(II V 1)

In a verb ending in *a*, is it long or short? In all moods, numbers, persons, tenses and conjugations, if it ends in *a* it is long, as in *arrax*.

(III 6)

How many letters are vowels? Five.

Which? *a, e, i, o, u*.

Are they always vowels? *a, e, i, o, u* are always vowels; *i* and *u* have different uses.

In what way? Because sometimes they are vowels, and sometimes they acquire the value of consonants, sometimes they are doubled, sometimes they are joined with other vowels, sometimes they are between vowels, sometimes a *u* is put between a *q* and a vowel, and then it is neither a consonant nor a vowel, sometimes a *u* is put in for a digamma (*w*), when two are written together, sometimes an *i* is put between two vowels in one word and takes the place of two consonants.

116

Robanus Maurus (De Clericorum Institutione III 18)

Concerning grammar, and its varieties.

The first of the liberal arts is grammar, the second is rhetoric, the third dialectic, the fourth arithmetic, the fifth geometry, the sixth music, the seventh astronomy. Grammar took its name from *grammae*, as the derivation of that word shows. This is the definition of it: Grammar is the discipline of interpreting poets and historians, and the rationale of correct writing and speaking. This is the origin and source of the liberal arts. So it is essential to read this in the Lord's schools, because the knowledge of correct speaking and the manner of writing consists of this. How can anyone appreciate the force of spoken words or the values of letters and syllables if he has not first learnt it in grammar? Or how does he know the distinct value of feet, accents and punctuation, if he has not first found the knowledge of it in this discipline? Or how does he know the value of parts of speech, the decorative value of *schemata*, the point of *trope*, the reasons of ety-

mologies, and correct *orthographia*, if he has not first learnt the art of grammar? For he learns this art blamelessly, nay, praiseworthy, who likes not to make an empty jumble of words out of it but seeks to acquire the knowledge of correct speaking and the skill of writing.

118 *Admonitio Generalis*

(Canon 72)

And there should be set up reading schools for boys. Carefully correct the psalms, *notae*, chants, *compertus* [the method of calculating dates of Church festivals], grammar and Church books in each monastery or cathedral; because often, when some people want to pray properly to God, they pray wrong because the text has not been corrected. And do not let your pupils make mistakes when reading or writing them; and if it is necessary to write the gospel, psalms and missal, grown men should write them with all care.

(Canon 82)

... that the priests that you send through your parishes to preach in church and organize the God-fearing parishioners, should preach correctly and accurately; and do not let them make up and preach to the people anything new or uncanonical from their own initiative, not in accord with holy Scripture.

122 *Council of Mainz*

(Canon 2)

(Incorporating Canon 17 of the Council of Tours, p.120)

Concerning Church teaching.

Although all the conciliary canons that are handed down are supposed to be read and understood by the priesthood, and they ought to live and preach according to them, we thought it necessary that those that concern the Faith, and deal with the rooting out of vices and implanting of virtues, should be particularly studied by them, and well understood, and preached publicly. And every bishop should have the homilies that contain the necessary advice with which to instruct their subjects in the Christian faith, as far as they can understand it, concerning the eternal reward for the good and eternal damnation for the evil, as well as about the future resurrection, and the last judgement, and what actions can promote or deny a state of grace; and they should all take care consciously to transfer to ordinary Romance or German when reading these homilies, so that everyone can find it easier to understand what is being said.

137

Abbo

(Questions Grammaticales, § 10)

When an *e* or an *i* follows a *c* in the same syllable, there are three normal ways of pronouncing it. Sometimes it sounds rather like a *g*, particularly when there is an *s* in front of it, as in *suscipio*, *suscipit*. Sometimes it has a sibilant sound, as if there were an *s* in there somewhere, as in *cevis*, *cepit*: this is commoner when a *t* is pronounced like a *z* as the start of a syllable, as in *laetitia*, *justitia*. Some people, finally, add a third variety with the sound as of *quae* or *qui*, and say that that is how it should be pronounced, as *susquipo* rather than *suscipio*, *susquepfit* rather than *suscipit*, *quisis* rather than *cevis* — but anyone who knows anything about it can see how ridiculous that is.

150 *Council of Terracina, 1233*

(Canon 2)

Likewise, it is decreed that nobody should have books of the Old or New Testament in Romance. If anyone does, within eight days from the time of publication of this decree he should give them to the bishop of the area to be burnt. If he does not do so, whether he is a cleric or a layman, he should be as if under suspicion of heresy until he redeems himself.

153-54

Milium of Toledo

(Ars Grammatica II xx 2-4)

If apart from these forms anyone writes, or reads something written by another, that is not based on the fixed rules of metric feet, but on the counting and measurement of rhythmical patterns, he should realize that that is not a *metrum* but a *rhythmus*... the *rhythmus* is subjected to the judgement of the ears by the number of syllables, in the same way as are the songs of ordinary poets. Give an example of this: *Lupus cum ambularet vitam incontrauit asinum*. Can a *metrum* be without rhythm, or a *rhythmus* without metre? A *metrum* cannot be without rhythm, but a *rhythmus* can be without metre. Why? Because a *metrum* is a calculation plus speech-patterns, whereas a *rhythmus* is a speech-pattern with no further calculations.

225

Sigwinus

(p.30)

Nouns should be written and pronounced with a *u* — e.g. *lingua*, *lingue*, *anguis*, *lingue*, *unguis*, *linguen*, *linguentium* — but verbs without the *u* — e.g. *lingo*, *lingis*, *ango*, *angis*, *ungo*, *ungis*, *ingero*, *ingerts*. Otherwise there would be hesitation over whether it was a noun or a verb.

256

Council of Lerida, 1229

(Canons 6 and 7)

Since it was agreed at the Fourth Lateran Council that sufficient resources should be made available for *magistri* who are teaching *doctrina*, not only in cathedrals but in other churches where the resources exist, and we are aware that in Spain there is great harm and damage done to souls from insufficient study and *litervae*, we not only decree that this decision should be carried out in the places mentioned, but that more schools should be founded in order to root out the ignorance on many matters, so that in each diocese — in every arch-episcopacy in some places if suitable places can be found — schools of *Grammatica* should be set up and teachers brought in from the Bishop's funds. We decree that if the Bishop's resources are not sufficient for these schools, then other nearby churches should contribute according to their ability to do so, to prevent those without *litervae* from claiming their ignorance is due to the non-existence of *magistri*.

We also decree that all those with benefices and due to be sent out to parish churches but who do not know how to speak words in the Latin way — except for those who are too old to be expected to learn — should be made to learn to do so, by the bishop — or the Archdeacon, where the Archdeacon has traditionally such powers —, and to forgo their benefice until they do know how to speak in Latin words. We look with favour on those who have wished to study and become

proficient in *Grammatica*, and grant that they can enjoy their benefices completely in the *scholae* for three years from next St John's Day, as if they were working in their parishes . . . but if any of them after this time has not been sufficiently conscientious to become proficient and know how to speak Latin words, because he has not bothered to improve or overcome his lack of knowledge, he should be suspended from that benefice until he has corrected that negligence by later study.

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Abbreviations used

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|------------------|--|
| <i>AEF</i> | Anuario de Estudios Filológicos |
| <i>AEM</i> | Anuario de Estudios Medievales |
| <i>AH</i> | Analecía Hymnica |
| <i>AHDE</i> | Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español |
| <i>ALMA</i> | Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi |
| <i>BAH, BRAH</i> | Boletín de la (Real) Academia de la Historia |
| <i>BBMP</i> | Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo |
| <i>BH</i> | Bulletin Hispanique |
| <i>BHS</i> | Bulletin of Hispanic Studies |
| <i>BRAE</i> | Boletín de la Real Academia Española |
| <i>CC</i> | Corpus Christianorum |
| <i>CCM</i> | Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale |
| <i>CHE</i> | Cuadernos de Historia de España |
| <i>CLHM</i> | Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale |
| <i>EEMCA</i> | Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón |
| <i>EHR</i> | English Historical Review |
| <i>ELH</i> | Enciclopedia Lingüística Hispánica |
| <i>FL</i> | Foundations of Language |
| <i>HR</i> | Hispanic Review |
| <i>HS</i> | Hispania Sacra |
| <i>JEH</i> | Journal of Ecclesiastical History |
| <i>JHP</i> | Journal of Hispanic Philology |
| <i>KRQ</i> | Kentucky Romance Quarterly |
| <i>MCV</i> | Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez |
| <i>MGH</i> | Monumenta Germaniae Historica |
| <i>MJ</i> | Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch |
| <i>MLR</i> | Modern Language Review |
| <i>NRFH</i> | Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica |
| <i>PL</i> | Patrologia Latina |
| <i>PLLS</i> | Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar |
| <i>PMLA</i> | Publications of the Modern Language Association of America |
| <i>RABM</i> | Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos |
| <i>RF</i> | Romanische Forschungen |
| <i>RFE</i> | Revista de Filología Española |
| <i>RLR</i> | Revue de Linguistique Romane |
| <i>RPh</i> | Romanic Philology |
| <i>SM</i> | Studi Medievali |
| <i>TPS</i> | Transactions of the Philological Society |
| <i>TraLIti</i> | Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature |
| <i>VR</i> | Vox Romanica |
| <i>ZRPb</i> | Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie |

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INDEXES

WORD-INDEXES

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Arabic | carve, 25 |
| alabada, 158 | children, 6 |
| al-lahim, 156 | clergy, 25 |
| 'ayamüyya, 217-18 | clerk, 19, 25 |
| gabä, 9 | cup, 28 |
| gannät, 9 | deescalate, 6 |
| hättä, 205 | deescalating, 51 |
| latinyya, 217-18 | doeth, 64 |
| muskün, 205 | dreamed, 40 |
| muslin, 205 | dreamt, 40 |
| qafa, 9 | edithon, 22 |
| qarab, 9 | -est, 64 |
| qazq, 9 | -eth, 42, 64 |
| yabrülh, 218 | father, 57 |
| | flour, 30 |
| | flower, 30 |
| <i>Basque</i> | gorilla, 22 |
| güc aintuzadugu, 205 | government, 22 |
| jzoquü dugu, 205 | greatest, 65 |
| Ochoitz, 205 | guerrilla, 22, 30 |
| | gunmen, 22 |
| <i>Catalan</i> | heaven, 70 |
| pensar, 27 | humours, 54 |
| pesar, 27 | knife, 81 |
| tota, 19 | knighl, 50, 75, 107, 169-70 |
| <i>Celtic</i> | makest, 64 |
| *karkia, 9 | moo, 19 |
| | music of the spheres, 54 |
| <i>English</i> | orange, 50, 107 |
| addition, 22 | paper, 126 |
| -ating, 51 | parson, 25 |
| -ator, 51 | pat, 58 |
| bits, 6 | person, 25 |
| blooming, 26 | |

phlogiston, 54
 potato, 199
 radium, 23
 raincheck, 6
 shut, 22
 shuttle, 22
 sovereign, 168
 states, 51
 station, 107
 swerve, 19, 20, 25
 thoroughly, 168
 transplant, 17
 twirl, 19
 united, 51
 Wednesday, 43
 whirl, 19
 whirl, 19
 witnesseth, 65
 women, 107
 would, 100
 your, 100

French (Ancient and Modern)

aciudha, 125
 avant, 125
 bellezour, 51
 buona, 51, 130
 chantai, 51
 chantaienc, 51
 chantais, 51
 chantait, 51
 chante, x, 8, 51
 chanté, 51
 chantée, 51
 chantées, 51
 chantent, x, 6, 51, 169-70
 chanter, 51
 chantés, x, 51
 chantés, 51
 chantez, 51
 chat, 6
 cher, 6

chi, 130
 Christus, 131
 ciel, 51, 130, 182
 clementia, 131
 coinite, 107
 cōmur, 125
 cosa, 125
 ezo, 130
 digne, 106
 dist, 125
 dō, 125
 drejt, 107
 dš, 125
 dunar, 125
 durer, 14

element, 131
 eo, 125
 épargna, 51
 eskoitet, 130
 étude, 106
 fazet, 125
 fiert, 107
 fragile, 4
 fraile, 4
 frère, 4
 gist, 107

habile, 106
 heureux, 168
 karlo, 125
 maître, 4
 née, 19
 nrō, 125
 nul, 14
 nūquā, 125

P, 125
 paix, 107
 pense, 5
 penser, 27, 28, 56
 peser, 27
 pulcella, 131
 salvament, 125
 sicū, 125
 souhaitent, 43, 107

toute, 19
 travaillet, 168
 tu, 14, 111
 veintre, 130
 vergier, 107
 vie, 19
 vierge, x
 virge, x
 xpian, 125

Gascon
 gat, 20
German
 Schild, 30

Germanic

ðaro, 30
 heim, 204
 raup, 29
 uuonenli, 111
 withralaun, 32
 wranjons, 32

Greek

ἀγγελος, 30
 γραφή, 76
 ἐκκλησία, 76
 ἔλεος, 218
 κατὰ, 8
 κοινή, 93
 παροῦσα, 138
 χριστιανισμός, 138
 χροῖνος, 89

Italian

aufunno, 63
 canti, 38
 cosa, 63
 femmina, 19
 fiore, 11
 fiorire, 86
 genero, 13
 giustizia, 60

latte, 63
 maggio, 87
 mecesimo, 76
 oggi, 85
 otto, 63
 pensare, 27
 penso, 5
 pesare, 27
 tutta, 19
 uguale, 60
 uova, 63
 uscire, 168

'Latin'

(including anything of any date
 in a spelling that has not been
 consciously reformed)

abicinabunt, 202
 -abis, 42
 -abit, x, 43
 abostoli, 171
 absque, 198
 abut, 168
 accubi, 171
 accedo, 79, 264
 accipi, 171
 acnuam, 90
 actus, 137
 ad, 76, 84, 102
 Adefonsus, 181
 adfectus, 79, 264
 adfluo, 79, 264
 adfui, 79, 264
 adila, 174
 ad illuc, 21
 adportare, 101
 adinet, 137
 aeger, 101
 aequalēm, 60
 aequus, 59-60, 264
 agere, 168
 agrestem, 91
 agtus, 137
 alba, 158
 a Lejone, 174

alud, 76
 alut, 76
 alpha, 110
 alvus, 102
 arna, 97
 Arantius, 60, 264
 ambobus, 171
 amens, 197
 amentia, 197
 ameritian, 197
 amobus, 171
 angelus, 3, 30
 angs, 225, 269
 angu, 225, 269
 angue, 225, 269
 anguis, 225, 269
 anibus, 42, 170
 -antiam, 29
 antiqui, 55
 apologia, 191
 apostoli, 171
 apud, 168
 aquam, 39
 arapennem, 90
 ariens, 42
 aRocola, 174
 -aron, 174
 arserit, 203
 artubus, 55
 -arum, 169
 aspiratur, 84
 at, 76, 84
 -atio(nem), 29
 atique, 192
 atinet, 137
 atuli, 79, 264
 audie, 171
 audietur, 170
 Auentius, 60, 264
 -averunt, 174
 auferes, 74
 auferei, 74
 aufers, 74
 aufert, 74
 auguria, 203
 audura, 171
 -aut, 170
 aureas, 171
 auricolam, 218

aut, 20, 21, 100
 autumnus, 63
 barbatae, 160
 barbarismus, 86, 265
 basatum, 92
 bella, 217
 bellum, 200
 bibit, 83
 bona, 130
 Borras, 198-99
 brevis, 58-9, 86
 burgos, 91
 cacida, 53
 cadabera, 203
 cadmia, 9
 caliginem, 8
 carnellam, 8
 canisia, 63, 91
 canocem, 8
 campare, 15
 canum, 9
 cantari, 6, 7
 cantas, 38
 cantat, 38
 cantatur, 232
 cantilena, 137
 cantionem, 9
 canto, 8, 9
 capere, 74, 86
 capitalem, 8
 capitulare, 92
 cappa, 110
 capram, 8
 capui, 74
 capusse, 74
 caput, 8
 caracterem, 204
 care, 100
 caritas, 100
 carmine, 71
 carpiolare, 8
 carullam, 9
 carum, 6, 7
 caseorum, 174

caseos, 174
 casum, 102
 castellum, 8
 caspa, 9
 carelo, 19
 catenatum, 94
 cathedram, 23, 32
 catum, 6, 8
 cattus, 20
 causa, 63, 170
 cavum, 9
 cedare, 41
 celo, 182
 celsa, 100
 cepi, 74
 cepisse, 74
 cepit, 137, 268
 cercius, 199
 certo, 100
 cessi, 41
 chartule, 66
 chera, 138
 cheras, 138
 chi, 138
 ciculos, 90
 cingentes, 13
 cingere, 170
 cingidur, 171-72
 cingitur, 170-71
 circa, 224
 circius, 199
 citococlar, 92
 civis, 137, 268
 clamas, 21
 clare, 181
 clarificatus, 181
 clarum, 12
 clavem, 10
 cliscenti, 76
 clorae, 76
 cogentis, 168-69
 cognitum, 107
 cognoscere, 87
 cohortem, 37
 coltu, 202
 colones, 23
 colloquium, 87, 90, 266
 colomellos, 93
 commercia, 55

committreium, 55
 comportare, 101
 computus, 268
 concinit, 71
 conditum, 53
 conducere, 39
 conduxi, 39
 conloquium, 87, 266
 consensit, 202
 consensi, 154
 consentit, 202
 consolan, 15
 consuetudo, 79
 consules, 56
 contenti, 159-60
 contenti, 159-60
 conventientia, 243
 copiam, 176
 corpusculum, 70
 corruptus, 58
 corrugite, 91-2
 cotidie, 112
 crepare, 76
 crescere, 39, 40
 crevi, 39, 40
 cristiani, 158
 cucurri, 39
 cul, 155
 cuius, 176, 192
 culmine, 26, 181
 cultellum, 26
 curn, 12, 205
 cuneam, 26
 cuppan, 29
 curtere, 39
 data, 182
 de, 63, 75, 181
 decies, 194
 decimare, 63
 dei, 192
 defica, 155
 delicti, 97
 deinde, 168
 dei, 169
 delictatio, 71
 demens, 58-60, 197-98, 263
 dementem, 198
 demum, 201,

demunquē, 201
 dēns, 28
 dēntem, 14
 dēntio, 28
 dēntis, 28
 dēnuo, 202
 deponatur, 202
 deportare, 101
 dēpost, 75
 dēsub, 75
 dēundē, 20
 devota, 200
 devoto, 200
 devotos, 200
 devotus, 200
 deus, 70
 cicerō, 40, 102, 109
 dictio, 81
 didicit, 152
 dies, 60, 264
 digeres, 193
 dignus, 106
 dilatati, 229
 directos, 243
 directum, 107
 disciplina, 222
 distinctiones, 80
 diu, 154
 dīxi, 40
 dō, 9
 doctrina, 137
 docuit, 152
 donationis, 66
 donec, 205
 dorsibus, 42, 170
 duce, 181
 dulcem, 35
 dulcis, 34, 35
 Dumio, 180
 duodecim, 176
 ecclesia, 76
 ecclesiam, 71
 eculco, 198
 eculos, 198
 edigeres, 193
 ego, 242
 egietae, 76
 egredere, 74

egredi, 75
 elegans, 55
 elegantia, 56
 eloquentia, 222
 Emeritam, 22
 en, 174
 enuntiatio, 80
 enuntio, 80
 episcopum, 31, 33
 equam, 59
 equus, 58-60, 263-64
 eremium, 243
 errata, 74
 erratas, 74
 erratum, 74
 esca, 85
 escarus, 85
 espiseron, 174
 esse, 202
 et, 20, 21, 67
 eu, 110-11
 euphonia, 81, 109
 ex, 75
 exerceat, 202
 exercevit, 202
 exigam, 198
 exigimus, 198
 exigitur, 198
 exinde, 168
 exire, 168
 exportare, 101
 fabam, 21
 facere, 35, 39, 168, 242
 faciant, 242
 facit, 10
 facta, 244
 falcem, 35
 fe, 110
 feci, 39
 femina, 19, 242
 feniculum, 20, 21
 ferulo, 70
 ferit, 107
 fi, 110, 138
 fieri, 71
 filiam, 10
 filio, 242
 fisci, 53

flaccidum, 10
 flaccum, 10
 flagrabit, 76
 flamine, 100
 flammam, 5, 10
 flammās, 21
 floccum, 10, 12
 floreat, 192
 floreat, 86, 265
 florem, 5, 10
 floriet, 86, 265
 flos, 203
 fluctos, 74
 fluctus, 74
 fluxum, 10
 foras, 39
 foresia, 56
 formosus, 85
 foro, 198-99
 fraglabit, 76
 framea, 90
 franchisca, 144
 freccos, 10
 froccus, 10
 frocus, 10
 frumentum, 218
 fudit, 100
 fuero, 155
 fugere, 74
 fugio, 26
 figure, 74, 86
 fundi, 66
 furca, 93
 gallus, 20
 gelum, 13
 geminantur, 97
 generum, 13, 14
 geniculum, 20, 21
 germanum, 13, 31
 gingivam, 14
 gladium, 71
 gliscenti, 76
 gloria, 176
 gloriae, 76
 gloriam, 176
 gradum, 74
 grammatice, 240
 grammatica, 261, 270

gravem, 154
 guttam, 15
 habeat, 203
 habeo, 39, 42, 204
 habere, 61
 habet, 43, 170
 habilis, 106
 habitura, 171
 habui, 57, 263
 haud, 84, 100, 265
 herbas, 243
 herculens, 42
 hereditatem, 242
 hi, 110, 138
 hieronymus, 89
 hiq, 194
 Hispaniam, 176
 Hispanie, 176
 hita, 110
 hoc, 242
 hodie, 85, 171
 hominem, 12, 57, 203, 263
 hominibus, 242
 hominibus, 242
 hortem, 218
 hortesia, 56
 hortulani, 95
 hortum, 217
 hostis Ihesu, 160
 huic, 66
 iacet, 107
 iactare, 202
 ibi, 20, 21, 181
 ibis, 39, 203
 -ibus, 42, 169-70
 id, 76, 84, 265
 idem, 84, 265
 idolatrix, 159-60
 idoneus, 155
 ignorans, 204
 ignoranti, 204
 ignoscere, 87
 ihc, 240
 ila, 173
 illa, 205
 illam, 173
 illiterati, 235
 illo, 205

- illos, 12, 205
 illuminatio, 81
 ilo, 173
 immutabilis, 81
 imperatoris, 229
 imperios, 221
 impius, 81
 imprimens, 193
 improbus, 81
 imprudens, 91-2
 in, 81, 102, 174, 187, 205
 incendii, 204
 incendium, 204
 incincta, 94
 incipitans, 111
 incilte, 176
 inconsulta, 198
 incontinentie, 198
 indica, 200
 indicat, 200
 inefabile, 240
 inermem, 198
 infamie, 198
 ingenerate, 13
 ingens, 28
 ingentis, 28
 ingeris, 225, 269
 ingero, 225, 269
 ingrati, 198
 inguen, 225, 269
 inguis, 225, 269
 inica, 203
 indecebtrosun, 198
 innocua, 198
 inprimens, 193
 inquirerur, 203
 inquirere, 83
 inrisio, 81
 inscientia, 221
 insidias, 75
 insignare, 14, 15
 integro, 76
 ipse, 154, 182, 204
 ipsei, 62
 incant, 93
 irrisio, 81
 iscurra, 85
 iste, 76
 it, 76, 84, 265
- ite, 57, 263
 iter, 200
 -itur, 42, 64, 84, 172, 265
 iudee, 176
 iudicare, 167
 iuncea, 217
 iungere, 14
 iustitia, 85, 137, 265, 268
- ke, 174
 kera, 138
 kesos, 173-74
- la, 173
 lactem, 63
 lacum, 39
 lactitia, 84, 137, 268
 lactus, 84
 lanceam, 35
 lapides, 176
 larebrae, 86, 265
 latina, 86, 89, 93, 144
 latine, 53, 89, 90, 158, 223
 latini, 89, 158
 lacinias, 159-60
 latinum, 158-59
 latius, 89, 156, 158
 latitudo, 84
 laus, 176, 192
 leba, 174
 lebaton, 174
 lectio, 137
 legam, 137
 legat, 109
 lege, 137
 legere, 113
 leges, 39
 legi, 137
 legitimum, 16
 legitur, 109
 lego, 137
 Leodegundia, 195
 letitia, 84
 liberare, 154
 hoanon, 176
 figurus, 176
 hiltam, 16
 limpidum, 16, 35
 lingis, 225, 269
 lingo, 225, 269
- lingua, 225, 269
 lingue, 225, 269
 linum, 218
 litigare, 23
 littrae, 112-15, 137, 144, 158, 211-15, 221, 245, 261, 267
 litteralis, 112, 121
 litteraria, 137
 littratus, 116, 214, 221, 240, 245, 254, 256
- loco, 168, 204
 longa, 58-9, 86
 loquelas, 109
 loquendi, 112
 loquendo, 113
 loqui, 109, 256
 lorandrum, 92
 luculentem, 89
 lugae, 171
 lugeri, 171
 iuraticos, 91
 luporum, 169
 lupos, 38
 lupum, 38
- magister, 4, 223
 maia, 87, 266
 maestas, 102
 malitia, 85, 265
 malvellam, 90
 manent, 155
 manum, 74
 mathias, 176
 matrimonio, 202
 maurum, 217-18
 maximus, 55, 79
 maximum, 55, 79
 megalesia, 56
 membribus, 170
 memed ipsum, 76
 menneripsun, 76
 mens, 198
 mense, 24
 mensam, 5, 9, 14, 28, 38
 mensarum, 169
 mensa, 38
 mensam, 5
 menses, 42
- mensibus, 42, 170
 mente, 154, 198
 mentem, 198
 meolare, 20
 mercatus, 199
 mercatus, 55
 merdam, 22
 merenda, 94
 merides, 60-1, 264
 meta, 59-60, 263
 metipsum, 16
 methoe, 152
 metrum, 153, 154, 269
 michi, 107
 michi bene, 167
 militia, 85, 265
 mirabilia, 20
 mirifice, 184
 nitum, 55
 nuxta, 93
 modulatio, 154
 molochiam, 90
 monasteria, 188
 monstruoso, 198
 montem, 38
 montes, 38
 montibus, 170
 mori, 74
 mugire, 19
 multum, 35
 mundum, 23
 mundus, 26
- nata, 19
 natam, 14
 nate, 154
 nativa, 144
 nebootum, 76
 neonon, 180
 nepotum, 76
 nequicia, 85, 265
 nesqio, 71
 nichil, 107
 noctem, 24
 nomuliam, 70
 novas, 111
 nunquam, 12, 201
 nuncupatum, 91
 nuptus, 155

- obit, 58, 263
 obscure, 159
 obscurum, 158
 oc, 242
 occassionibus, 42
 occisiones, 200
 octo, 63, 239
 octurnio, 63
 oculendo, 198
 occulit, 198
 occulitur, 198
 occultit, 198
 occupate, 202
 offendo, 79, 264
 offero, 79, 202, 264
 officio, 198
 offui, 79, 264
 olester, 218
 oleum, 218
 omnes, 119
 omnis, 242
 opera, 29, 242
 opus, 58, 59, 60
 oracula, 184
 orator, 58, 263
 orias, 171
 -orum, 169
 orthoepia, 56
 orthographia, 56
 ova, 63
 ovas, 63
 oves, 63
 ozie, 85, 90
 pacant, 9
 pactet, 244
 paraglitum, 76
 parraechia, 138
 parrochia, 138
 pauperibus, 205
 patro, 144
 pectet, 243-44
 pecto, 244
 pene, 102
 pensare, 27
 penso, 5, 9, 23, 27, 28
 pensum, 27
 periculum, 76
 perpes, 111
 perscrutator, 76
 perspicuus, 76
 persuadere, 40
 persuasi, 41
 pestis, 159
 petiit, 71
 petrum, 244
 phlomos, 89
 phoca, 9
 pietas, 171
 pigeatis, 171
 pignera, 176
 pigrum, 83
 piscem, 12
 placitum, 244
 placuit, 170
 plebe, 181
 plenum, 10
 plicant, 39
 plorare, 10
 poculum, 203
 poeta, 102
 ponitur, 193
 popina, 92
 portiois, 66
 posituras, 80
 post, 75
 postea, 201
 postquam, 201
 posuerunt, 174
 potui, 37
 praesumere, 40
 praesumpsi, 40
 precamur, 154, 170
 precipitur, 178
 prefatio, 76
 prebendo, 55
 prendo, 55
 presbyter, 89
 prescrutator, 76
 presens, 171
 preses, 171
 prespicuus, 76
 prevatio, 76
 prisca, 93
 pro, 86
 pro ad, 242
 producat, 86
 productus, 58
 profana, 76
 profertur, 111
 proferre, 109
 promiserit, 203
 promulgantes, 184
 pronuntiatio, 80
 pronitus, 159
 prospere, 71
 prostrare, 94
 provana, 76
 psallui, 101
 psalmografe, 76
 pudor, 200
 pudoris, 200
 pungentem, 13
 puseron, 174
 quadraginta, 31
 quae, 137, 268
 quaerere, 83
 qualitatem, 32
 quam, 79, 264
 quantitas, 79, 264
 quartus, 79, 264
 quandum, 205
 quando, 174
 quantitatem, 32
 quasi, 31, 67
 quassicare, 32
 quattuordecim, 32
 que, 174
 -que, 180, 184, 192
 quem, 12, 31
 quercus, 217
 qui, 137, 268
 quicquam, 81
 quid, 76, 81
 quidem, 180
 quindécim, 30
 quingentos, 13
 quinque, 239
 quit, 76
 quivis, 137, 268
 quomodo, 239
 quoque, 180, 184
 quousque, 201, 205
 radios, 143
 radium, 23
 rasus, 94
 ratio, 154
 rationem, 23, 29, 107, 251
 reciprocare, 72
 recogito, 71
 recte, 102, 111, 113, 116
 redditum, 71
 redemisti, 154
 redemptor, 154, 170
 referant, 155
 referatur, 155
 rege, 173, 181
 regem, 173
 regibus, 169
 regnat, 190
 regnat, 190
 relictis, 203
 reliquid, 76
 reliquit, 76
 repente, 204
 reprehendit, 55
 reprehendit, 55
 reptos, 94
 respuit, 203
 retem, 35, 37
 reth, 120
 retrorsere, 76
 retrorsere, 76
 reus, 200, 202
 reveratur, 155
 revulsam, 97
 rex, 173, 181
 rhythmus, 98, 153-54, 269
 ribolo, 171
 ridere, 39
 rigidum, 16
 ritmice, 147
 rimi, 250
 risi, 39
 rivulo, 171
 Rocca, 174
 Roma, 58-60, 263
 romancio, 150
 romanum, 158
 romana, 93
 romani, 89
 romanum, 53
 rosa, 58-9, 263
 rotam, 21
 rodiundo, 169
 rugire, 19

- profana, 76
 profertur, 111
 proferre, 109
 promiserit, 203
 promulgantes, 184
 pronuntiatio, 80
 pronitus, 159
 prospere, 71
 prostrare, 94
 provana, 76
 psallui, 101
 psalmografe, 76
 pudor, 200
 pudoris, 200
 pungentem, 13
 puseron, 174
 quadraginta, 31
 quae, 137, 268
 quaerere, 83
 qualitatem, 32
 quam, 79, 264
 quantitas, 79, 264
 quartus, 79, 264
 quandum, 205
 quando, 174
 quantitatem, 32
 quasi, 31, 67
 quassicare, 32
 quattuordecim, 32
 que, 174
 -que, 180, 184, 192
 quem, 12, 31
 quercus, 217
 qui, 137, 268
 quicquam, 81
 quid, 76, 81
 quidem, 180
 quindécim, 30
 quingentos, 13
 quinque, 239
 quit, 76
 quivis, 137, 268
 quomodo, 239
 quoque, 180, 184
 quousque, 201, 205
 radios, 143
 radium, 23
 rasus, 94

- rugitum, 19
 Ruoma, 59, 264
 rustica, 95, 120-21
 rusticarum, 55
 rustice, 120, 160
 rustici, 95
 rusticitas, 95, 111, 160
 Sabastianus, 180
 saecula, 69, 205
 saeculo, 70
 saeculum, 50
 salina, 92
 saliare, 203
 salutaris, 89
 salutare, 168
 sapientum, 204
 saporit, 29
 sarram, 94
 saucium, 154
 saupit, 29
 scarus, 85
 schola, 222
 scotica, 94
 scribendi, 112
 scribere, 74
 scribitus, 137
 scriptum, 15
 scriptus, 137
 scurra, 85
 sectat, 9
 secll, 191, 205
 secula, 192
 seculo, 181, 191
 seculum, 251
 sedeat, 203
 sedere, 202
 sedis, 180
 seminium, 217
 semper, 192, 218
 sene, 109
 septimana, 62
 sequentia, 127
 scrualliam, 91
 serviant, 155
 sex, 239
 sic, 192
 sicutates, 203
 signa, 204
 simul, 194
 sine, 109, 198, 224
 singulos, 30
 sisymbrium, 217
 sobrinum, 174
 solacium, 71
 solidos, 156
 sonum, 83
 soprino, 174
 Spaniam, 176
 Spanie, 176
 sparniavit, 51
 spatam, 90
 speculum, 204
 Splendonus, 169
 spiritum, 70
 spiritum, 70
 spureissima, 69
 squalida, 155
 stabit, 43, 170
 ste, 76
 stellam, 76
 stincum, 94
 stiterant, 252
 sto, 9, 76
 strages, 200
 strychnos, 89
 studium, 106
 subire, 21
 subrusticus, 89
 sufferet, 74
 suffert, 74
 sullos, 94
 sulphur, 26
 sum, 9
 superpositi, 176
 suplicii, 154
 supraditus, 181
 suscepi, 137, 268
 suscepti, 137, 268
 suscipio, 137, 268
 susquepi, 137, 268
 suscipio, 137, 268
 suum, 71
 tabanus, 53
 taliaora, 174
 tam, 79, 264
 tantus, 79, 85, 264
 tangendo, 13
 tangit, 14
 tantus, 79
 tauranos, 90
 tempus, 38
 tenebrae, 86, 265
 tenere, 14
 tensari, 9
 tensum, 28
 tenui, 57, 263
 tepidum, 16
 tetedo, 53
 terra, 168
 terras, 242
 testibus, 198
 teta, 138
 thau, 110
 thiotiscam, 120-21
 thita, 110, 138
 Titius, 60, 264
 titulus, 181
 tith, 94
 toles, 90
 Toledo, 242
 tonitru, 176
 tore, 174
 toporem, 83
 toia, 19
 toian, 18
 toturn, 51
 transeunt, 71
 transfere, 120-21
 transiatus, 120-21
 transmiserit, 203
 trociscum, 193
 Troia, 56, 87, 266
 tucoo, 90
 turnulo, 70
 tus, 217
 tusillas, 90
 ubi, 20, 21, 203
 ubi, 110-11
 undecim, 16
 ungli, 225, 269
 ungo, 225, 269
 ungue, 225, 269
 unguentum, 225, 269
 unguis, 225, 269
 unguam, 26
 uniusque, 193
 uniusve, 193
 urbanitas, 95
 usque, 205
 uterus, 102
 uxore, 179
 vacare, 9
 vado, 9
 vae, 83
 vascones, 32
 vastare, 32
 ve, 83
 vehemens, 55
 vel, 100
 venentem, 55
 venerit, 170
 veniente, 191
 veniant, 64
 venier, 102
 verba, 100
 verbosus, 53
 veritatem, 170
 versiculis, 72
 versus, 100
 veteres, 55, 89
 victoria, 181
 vincam, 137
 vince, 137
 vincens, 154
 vincere, 74
 vinctes, 74
 vinici, 137
 vincts, 74
 vinco, 137
 virgeni, x
 virgine, x, 3
 virginem, x
 virgini, x
 vindictum, 107
 vita, 19, 170, 242
 vitha, 87, 112
 vitium, 60
 viva, 218
 vivere, 39
 vivit, 83
 vivus, 218
 vixi, 39

vocem, 83
 voluntas, 169
 voluntatem, 169
 vulgari, 144
 vulgarium, 70
 vulgo, 53, 90-2, 124, 199
 vulgus, 53, 55, 90-5, 119
 villus, 53
 vultur, 217
 xpc, 240
 xre, 192

Mozarabic

abartal, 218
 bíbu, 218
 buctur, 217
 b-llf, 217
 b-yba, 218
 ják, 217
 labaštar, 218
 manta, 217
 m-wr, 217
 m-wrān, 218

orella, 218

šamp-, 217
 šānbar, 218
 šānsiy-, 217
 šigco, 218

ūl-yya, 218
 warsu, 218
 wartayra, 217
 waryu, 218

y-n-j-, 217

ʔurilla, 218

Occitan

clerczons, 142
 francesca, 142-43
 gramadis, 142
 grezesca, 143

Portuguese

irmão, 13
 lindo, 16
 pensar, 27
 pesar, 27

Spanish (Ancient and Modern)

-ación, 29, 37, 249

adta, 205

afflicción, 249

agua, 39

agueros, 203

ajal, 203

alcalde, 9, 244

alcázar, 9

alcázares, 228

aice, 35

alférez, 37

Alfonso, 181

algaras, 228

alj, 21

alongarsan, 202

aluerge, 202

alzar, 55

amuestra, 200

-ancia, 29

andar, 40

andare, 155

andé, 40

anduve, 40

ángel, 3, 30, 34

-anza, 29

aplecare, 202

ardiente, 250

ardieret, 203

-aron, 174

asno, 155

ata, 201, 205

audiencia, 250

averguenzan, 203

-azón, 29, 37

azufe, 26

barón, 30

bebetura, 203

bellida, 217

bergudian, 203

bufoa, 242

buhón, 242
 buitre, 217

cabazon, 29

caber, 74

cabo, 8

cabra, 8

cada, 8

cadera, 23, 32, 38

cadí, 9

cadozo, 9

calidad, 32

carción, 9

candado, 94

candil, 9

cansar, 15

canta, 38

cantan, 7, 9

cantar, 259

cantas, 38

cantidad, 32

canto, 8, 9

caña, 8

caro, 7

carrucha, 8

cascar, 32

casi, 31, 32

castigaret, 202

castigatore, 202

castillo, 8

cátedra, 23, 38

catorce, 31, 32

caudal, 8

cazar, 9

ceder, 41

cedí, 41

cedrero, 248

ceñido, 170

ceñir, 170

cerraja, 91

chirca, 217

cielo, 182

ciencia, 250

cierzo, 199

cinientes, 13

claro, 12

clerecía, 245, 248

cojones, 23

colmillos, 93

coloquio, 87

con, 12

conbenencia, 243

conde, 253

condición, 249

conducir, 39

conduje, 39

cono, 205

conocer, 87

consolar, 15

conveniencia, 243

copa, 29

corpo, 242

corpora, 203-04

Çorraquin, 185

correr, 39

corri, 39

cort, 35, 37

corte, 35, 37

erocer, 39, 40

creci, 39, 40

cruz, 26

cuaderno, 31, 32, 39

cuadril, 32

cuadro, 32

cuál, 32

cuando, 32, 174

cuanto, 32

cuarenta, 31, 32, 34

cuaresma, 32

cuarto, 32

cuatro, 32

cuchillo, 26

cuervo, 242

cuervos, 203-04

culpa, 26

culpaviles, 200, 202

cumbre, 26, 181

cuña, 26

cupe, 74

dada, 182

darás, 86

de, 75

dend, 35, 3

dende, 35, 168

dépués, 75

derechos, 244

derechos, 243

- desde, 75
 desó, 75
 después, 75
 devoción, 249
 día, 61
 dico, 202
 dicto, 248
 diante, 14
 dije, 40
 dilatados, 229
 disensión, 249
 doce, 176
 dulce, 35
 doiz, 35
 donde, 20
 doy, 9
 doz, 34, 35
 doze, 35
 duce, 34, 35
 duda, 26
 dulce, 34
 cula, 34, 35
 duz, 34, 35
 echar, 202
 ellos, 12
 emperador, 229
 en, 182
 ena, 205
 encendido, 204
 enca, 14
 enclita, 94
 encontró, 155
 engendra, 13
 engendrar, 13, 14, 31
 enos, 205
 enseñar, 14, 15
 entrego, 76
 erba, 243
 erzo, 93
 erro, 243
 erro, 243
 Esajas, 202
 escleret, 202
 escribir, 74
 escrípto, 248
 escrito, 15
 ese, 182
 espejo, 204
 espíritu, 70
 estrad, 42
 estratus, 77
 este, 76
 esti, 252
 esto, 76
 estoy, 9, 76
 estrella, 76
 etujas, 203
 exir, 168
 fablar, 247, 255
 faca, 206
 faygon, 29
 fazar, 35, 168, 242
 fijo, 239
 filo, 239
 fize, 35
 flaco, 10, 11
 flaco, 10, 11, 12
 flojo, 10, 11
 flor, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13
 flore, 203
 florecer, 86
 flueco, 10, 12
 foca, 9
 fuera, 39
 fuere, 155
 gabán, 9
 gaditano, 32
 gafa, 9
 galápagos, 8
 galardón, 31, 32
 gannara, 9
 gannella, 8
 gannuza, 8
 ganancia, 29
 gáñote, 8
 garafón, 32
 garapiñar, 8
 garrafa, 9
 garrucha, 8
 guarda, 8
 gartulla, 9
 garza, 9
 gasa, 9
 gascones, 32
 gatar, 32
 gato, 8, 9
 gavilla, 9
 gazmoño, 9
 gaznate, 9
 gazpacho, 9
 gazuza, 9
 getal, 203
 getemo, 204
 gente, 14
 ferranza, 202
 gota, 15
 grado, 74
 gramática, 255, 259
 guacarnayo, 33
 guacho, 33
 guadalquivir, 32
 guadamecí, 31, 32
 guadana, 32
 guadanyar, 32
 guadapero, 32
 Guacalajara, 32
 Guadaluquivir, 32
 Guadiana, 32
 guagua, 33
 guano, 33
 guante, 32
 guardar, 31, 32
 guarir, 32
 guarir, 32
 guarir, 32
 guasarra, 33
 guasasa, 33
 guasca, 33
 guasso, 33
 guay, 32
 guayaba, 33
 ha, 242
 ha, 242
 haba, 21
 hace, 10
 hacer, 39, 168, 242
 haci, 14
 hacen, 242
 hasta, 14, 205
 haya, 203
 hecha, 244
 hembra, 242
 heredat, 242
 hermano, 13, 31, 243
 hermo, 243
 hice, 39
 hido, 242
 hielo, 13
 hija, 10
 hijo, 239, 242
 hijojo, 20, 21
 hio, 242
 hombre, 12, 57
 honra, 13
 horca, 93
 hoy, 85
 hoz, 35
 huarme, 203
 huabe, 57
 huebos, 59
 huebra, 29, 242, 244
 huerto, 217
 huir, 74
 huyo, 26
 hyerno, 243
 hyerno, 243
 hvo, 242
 id, 57
 terba, 243
 hermano, 13, 31, 243
 termo, 243
 ierva, 243
 iglesia, 76
 ignorancia, 221
 ignorantes, 221
 igual, 60
 incendio, 204
 incertitu, 204
 incenso, 217
 inquinata, 203
 ión, 249
 irás, 39, 203
 iactare, 203
 iectans, 203
 jerdá, 243
 jeringonza, 94
 jet, 202
 ioglaría, 247
 juez, 35
 juglares, 247
 julgar, 167
 junctatione, 202
 kalgamus, 205

lacio, 10
 ladino, 158, 217-18
 lago, 39
 lança, 35
 latín, 158, 218, 255
 latínado, 158, 253
 latíno, 248
 lección, 249
 leer, 259
 leerá, 39
 letrado, 246, 253, 259
 letras, 214, 248
 li, 252
 lidiar, 23, 38
 limpio, 16
 lindo, 16
 linde, 16
 lison, 249
 litigar, 23, 24, 38
 lobo, 38, 155
 lobos, 38
 los, 12
 lucha, 26
 lueco, 204
 juego, 204
 llacio, 10
 llama, 5, 10, 11
 llamas, 11, 21
 llave, 10
 lleco, 10
 llegar, 39
 lleno, 10
 llevaron, 174
 llorar, 10
 maestrescuela, 259
 maestría, 247
 maestros, 255
 maleza, 85
 mano, 74
 mantención, 243
 mañana, 30
 maravilla, 20
 matatas, 200
 maullar, 19
 mayo, 87
 meismo, 16
 menta, 217
 mercado, 199

Mérida, 22
 merienda, 94
 mes, 5
 mesa, 5, 9, 14, 24, 28, 38
 mesas, 38
 meses, 42
 mesmo, 16
 mezuqino, 205
 mierda, 22
 mismo, 16, 76
 misquinos, 205
 misión, 249
 mondar, 26
 mundo, 23, 24, 26
 monte, 38
 montes, 38
 morabedís, 244
 moreno, 218
 monir, 74
 moro, 217
 morte, 242
 moziemos, 205
 mucho, 26, 35
 muerte, 242
 mugir, 19
 mundo, 23, 24, 26, 39, 198
 nada, 14
 nieta, 76
 noche, 24, 35
 noche, 24, 35
 nunca, 12, 26, 201
 o, 20, 203
 obe, 203
 obediencia, 250
 obedient, 250
 obispo, 31, 34
 obra, 29
 ocho, 239
 Oggobiz, 205
 omne, 57
 once, 16
 orient, 250
 otoño, 63
 paciencia, 250
 pagado, 242
 pagan, 9
 para, 242

parare, 202
 padre, 206
 paz, 35
 pecado, 247
 pechar, 244
 peche, 244
 Pedro, 244
 Peidro, 244
 peligro, 76
 pensar, 15, 24, 25, 27, 28, 39
 Pere, 244
 persuadir, 41
 persuadir, 41
 pesado, 27
 pesar, 24, 25, 27, 28
 peso, 23, 27, 28
 pez, 12
 pienso, 5, 9, 13, 23, 27, 28, 34
 pipión, 249
 plecto, 244
 pleito, 244
 poncat, 202
 pondré, 13
 pora, 242
 porña, 242
 porné, 13
 posque, 203
 postrar, 94
 prefacio, 76
 presumí, 40
 presumir, 40
 profano, 76
 prometieret, 203
 promisiones, 200, 202
 propriecat, 250
 pud, 37
 pude, 37
 pugna, 200
 puisca, 201, 203-04
 punniente, 13
 puña, 26
 pusieron, 174
 qe, 252
 que, 252-53
 quebrar, 76
 quemó, 203-04
 quende, 253
 quesos, 174
 quien, 12, 31
 quince, 30
 quinientos, 13
 quisieret, 202
 quomodo, 203-04
 ración, 23, 24, 29
 radio, 23
 radium, 23
 rayo, 23
 razón, 23, 24, 29, 251
 reciente, 250
 recto, 16
 red, 35, 37
 rede, 35, 37
 redondo, 169
 rei, 39
 reir, 39
 rey, 181
 reye, 181
 roba, 29
 rodilla, 21
 romanz, 246, 253
 ropa, 29
 rueda, 21
 rugir, 19
 ruido, 19
 sabiendo, 204
 sacar, 244
 salbatore, 206
 Sánchez, 205
 Sanggez, 205
 sapiencia, 250
 sapiendo, 204
 sapiento, 204
 sarna, 94
 scuita, 202
 se, 204
 sea, 203
 sedere, 202
 seingnale, 204
 seketates, 203
 selevantare, 244
 semen, 202
 sen, 198
 sendos, 30
 señal, 204
 sequedad, 203
 ser, 202

- sieculos, 205-06
 siega, 9
 siegam, 204
 siegat, 203
 siglo, 50, 70, 181, 192, 242, 244, 251
 siemne, 217
 sientet, 202
 siglo, 181
 sine, 198
 so, 75
 sobrepuestos, 176
 sobrino, 174
 sociedad, 251
 sollos, 94
 son, 202
 sopo, 29
 sotar, 203
 sotare, 203
 soy, 9
 spillu, 204
 subir, 21
 sucielat, 250
 sucio, 250
 sutre, 74
 supo, 29
 ta, 205
 tábano, 53
 tallaron, 174
 tañe, 14
 tañendo, 13
 tendé, 13
 tener, 13, 14
 tenencia, 198
 terré, 13
 terras, 242-43
 testimonio, 198
 tibiio, 16
 tiempo, 38
 tiempos, 38
 tierras, 242
 tiesa, 9
 tieso, 28
 tistes, 198
 tulle, 181
 tildo, 181
 tinieblas, 86
 tfo, 94
 tod, 249
 toda, 18
 todo, 51, 249
 toltio, 202
 trigo, 218
 trobador, 248
 trucha, 26
 tuelisco, 204
 tuve, 57
 uanne, 203
 uemne, 203-04
 unzir, 14
 uña, 26
 vagar, 9
 varón, 30
 vencer, 74
 vercundia, 200, 203
 vergoña, 200, 203
 vevetura, 203
 vía, 155
 viene, 35
 vienén, 64
 vino, 137
 vihíere, 170
 virgen, 3
 visión, 249
 visque, 40
 vivi, 40
 voy, 9
 Xerez, 228
 y, 20, 21, 181
 yaz, 249
 yaze, 249
 yegua, 59
 yelmo, 204
 yente, 14
 yerba, 243
 yerbas, 243
 yermo, 243
 yerno, 13, 14, 243
 yerua, 243
 yo, 242
 yunco, 217
 zetare, 203

TEXT AND AUTHOR INDEX

- Abbo of Fleury, 136-39, 143, 268
 Adármantius Martyrius, 79
 Admonitio Genarialis, 112-15, 118, 267-68
 Aelbert of York, 103
 Agroecius, 83
 AH XXVII: 111: 155
 113: 155
 118: 155
 119: 192
 126: 69, 155
 130: 175-77
 153: 191
 160: 191
 167: 155
 173: 192
 190: 176
 207: 155
 Almericus, 212, 224-25
 Aimoin of Fleury, 136
 Alba (Occitan-Latin), 143
 Albalat, 256-57
 Alvaro de Córdoba, 151-61, 182
 Alcuin, xi, 4, 54, 99, 122, 127, 28, 131, 137-39, 151, 154, 194
 Aldhelm, 98, 151, 163
Alexandreis, 246-47
 Alfonso III's encomium, 178-82, 185
 Alfonso X's *cantigas*, 227
Alma sollemnitatis, 163
Alme virginis festum, 163
 Alo "Grammaticus", 215-16
 Ambrose, 118
 Ambrosio de Morales, 155-56
Annales Regni Francorum, 115
 Arónin Erasmoret, 148, 150
Antifonario de León, 183-85
Apologeticus, 159-60
Appendix Probi, 51
 Armentgot's mortgage, 241-44, 259
 Armentarius, 162
 Arnaldo de Astorga, 226, 232
Ar Diarmuidis, 248
Ar Diarandi, 254
Ar Grammatica (Julian), 96, 153-54, 267, 269
Ar Lectoria, 212, 224-25, 269
Ar Minor, 41, 96, 117
 Augustine, 71, 77, 118, 120, 151, 153, 155, 182, 184, 196
 Aulus Gellius, 54
Auto de los Reyes Magos, 219, 20, 240, 252-53
 ¡Ay Jerusalem!, 260
 Beato de Liébana, 164, 176
 Bede, 72, 78, 98-103, 108-09, 147, 219, 224
 Benedict Biscop, 99
 Benedict of Aniane, 107
 Berceo, 29, 236, 244-52, 259
Bishops' List, 178-81, 185-86
 Boetius, 142-43
 Boethius, 142
 Bonifacio, 98
 Braulio de Zaragoza, 96, 192
 Cabrerros Treaty, 238-40, 243-45, 252-54, 258
 Caecilius Sedulius, 120, 147
 Caesarius of Arles, 81-2, 118, 196
 Canons of Council of Arles, 119
 Chalton, 119
 Compostela, 208, 222
 Córdoba, 156
 Coynanza, 208-09, 212, 222
 Frankfurt, 151
 Giróna, 150
 León, 233-34
 Lérida, 150, 256, 270-71
 Mainz 813, 119
 Mainz 847, 122, 126, 136, 268

- León, xii, 23, 37, 53, 62, 64,
 145-46, 163, 165-89,
 192, 195, 209, 213, 225-
 26, 229, 235, 238-40
 Leonese, 23, 51, 62, 165-88
 Lexical Diffusion, 16-18, 33, 40
 Lexicon, 19, 36
 Leyre, 151, 189
 Lingua franca, 46
 Lisbon, 145, 228
 Litheray, 8, 16
 Liturgy, 36, 99, 104-12, 141, 146,
 164-65, 171, 190, 206,
 208-13, 221-22, 225-26,
 229, 234-35
 Liverpool, 257
 Lleida (Lérida), 145, 149, 256
 London, 245
 Lothair, 122
 Louis the German, 122-26
 Lucca, 61
 Lugo, 226, 235
 Lusitano, 61
 Lyric, 185-86
- Macaronic verse, 47, 161
 Magyars, 116
 Mainz, 119, 122
 MANUSCRIPTS
 Barcelona ACA, Ripoll 122:
 245
 Clermont-Ferrand 240: 139
 Córdoba 123: 155
 Escorial d. I. 1: 195
 Escorial d. I. 2: 192-95
 León Arch. S. I. 298: 235
 León Cathedral MS 27: 238
 London BM add.25600: 197-
 99
 London BM add.30851: 176
 London BM add.30853: 196-
 207
 Madrid
 Acad. Hist. Eym. 31: 199-201
 Acad. Hist. Eym. 39: 178-83
 Acad. Hist. Eym. 46: 199-201
 Acad. Hist. Eym. 53: 189
 Acad. Hist. Eym. 60: 195-207
- Acad. Hist. Eym. 62: 189-91
 Acad. Hist. Eym. 78: 190, 195
 Arch. Hist. Nac. 1007B: 191,
 194
 Arch. Hist. Nac. 1325C/21
 bis: 235
 BN 10001: 163, 176
 BN 10007: 162
 BN Vtr. 14.3: 215
 Oxford Bod. Holk. Misc. 26:
 252
 Paris BN Lat. 1296-97-98:
 199-201
 Paris BN Lat. 2855: 190
 Paris BN FL 9768: 125
 Toledo 15.8: 215
 Toledo 99.30: 162
 Valenciennes 143: 129
 Valenciennes 521: 135
 Vatican 596: 137
 Vatican 1462: 143
 Vienna 795: 109-11, 128,
 131, 138
 Marseilles, 214
 Mauregato, 175
 Mérida, 129
 Merovingians, 7, 62, 73, 83, 104,
 124-25
 Metric Verse, 66-7, 151-52, 175,
 180, 195, 225, 228, 240,
 252
 Moissac, 216
 Mondonédo, 178, 226
 Monte Cassino, 108
 Monte Gargano, 216
 Montpelier, 232
 Morphology, 9, 38-43, 63, 74-5,
 87, 156, 168-74, 181
 Moslems, 82, 96, 116, 145, 214,
 225-26, 251
 Moslem Spain, xii, 70, 76, 89,
 103, 146, 151-63, 189,
 216-18, 236
 Mozarabes, 22, 37, 151-61, 214-
 19, 228
 Najera, 145, 191, 195, 230, 232,
 236
 Narbonne, 142, 149
- Navarre, 145, 151, 165, 188-207,
 211, 219, 225, 230, 237-
 38, 250-51
 'Navarro-Aragonese', 206
 Nicolás of Palencia, 230
 Normans, 221
 Northumbria, 99
 Novara, 144
 Numlo and Alodia, 189, 191
 Nuño Alfonso, 226
 Occitan, 36-7, 141-43, 149-50,
 227, 237-38, 252
 Orfilo, 152
 Oliver, 232-33
 Onomatopoeia, 20
 Oña, 253
 Oplla, 177-78
 Ordóñez, García, 235
 Ordoño IV, 195
 Organyà, 148-49
 Orleans, 142
 Osmá, 181, 257
 Oviedo, 163, 178, 181-82, 187,
 208, 210
- Palatalization, 5, 10, 11, 12
 Palencia, 145, 210, 213, 229-30,
 238-40, 245-54, 257-58
 Palla, 227
 Pamplona, 181, 195
 Papey, 146, 209-11, 223, 225,
 234-35, 245-46, 254
 Paris, 224, 245, 251
 Parma, 144
 Paschal II, 234
 Pedro de Cardona, 239
 Peñáz, Diego, 222
 Pelayo, 208-09
 Penitentials, 196
 Pepin, 104
 Per Abbat, 253
 Perez, Pedro, 239
 Persian, 162, 217
 Phonasthetics, 18-20
 Phonetic Script, 46, 50-52, 105-
 06, 125-26, 129-33, 166-
 67, 175, 177, 181, 182,
 206-07, 258
 Pilgrims, 190, 211
- Pisa, 108
 Poitewins, 226
 Polysemy, 23-30
 Pompeii, 30, 48
 Pons de Tavernoles, 210
 Popular Verse, 68, 155
 Portugal, ix, 46, 145, 211, 228,
 235
 Prothesis, 69, 71, 76, 85, 176
 Proto-Romance, 4, 14, 27, 44,
 48-61
 Punctuation, 114-15
- Raimundo (chancellor), 230
 Raimundo of Toledo, 218-19
 Raimundo II of Palencia, 230
 Rainerio of Pistoria, 223
 Ramsey, 137
 Ravenna, 66, 131
 Raymond of Burgundy, 222
 Reconstruction, 48-50, 93-95
 Regensburg, 151
 Rheims, 119, 134, 139, 141
 Rhone, 216
 Rhyme, 68, 70, 127, 133, 153,
 180-81, 247
 Rhythmic Verse, 66-73, 98, 147,
 152-55, 175-77, 180-87,
 191-95, 228-33, 240,
 248-52, 254
 Rioja, xii, 96, 152, 172, 177,
 188-207, 229, 237, 252
 Ripoll, 145-47, 150, 231, 245
 Robert of St Amand, 128
 Roland, 232-33
 Roncesvalles, 250-51
 Runic, 111
- Salagün, 145, 212, 214, 235,
 252
 Salamanca, 214, 224
 San Juan Bautista, León, 227
 San Juan de la Peña, 145, 210
 San Justo y Pastor, 173
 San Millán de la Cogolla, 145,
 172, 189-207, 209, 235-
 36, 246, 252
 San Serrando, 214
 Sancho el Sabio, 237

- Sancho II of Castille, 230-31
 Sancho III of Castille, 230
 Santa Maria de Husillos, 239
 Santander, 257
 Santiago de Compostela, 145,
 164, 175-77, 181, 190,
 192, 206, 209, 220-30,
 235, 241, 258
 Santo Domingo, 230
 Sardinia, 7
 Scansion, 192-95
 Script, 164, 210-11, 217, 233,
 37
 Seguin, Pedro, 226
 Semicultismo, 172-75
 Sequences, xi, 127-35, 163, 215
 Sermons, xi, 118-22, 126, 135-
 36, 148-50, 173, 206
 Seville, 145, 216-18, 251-52,
 260
 Sùlos, 145, 196-206, 209, 227,
 229, 235
 Simeon, Bishop, 213
 Sociolinguistics, x, 44, 166, 169,
 70
 Sofia, 257
 St Anand, 128-36, 140, 205
 St Germain des Prés, 128, 130
 Statistics, 6, 8-14, 30-33
 Strasbourg, 122-26
 Strengthening, 18, 20, 21, 22, 60
 Stress, 68-72, 87, 127, 147, 177-
 87, 193, 224-25, 247-51,
 254
 Style, x, 5, 44-5, 53, 61, 65, 73,
 131, 161, 166, 169-72
 Suárez de Deza, Pedro, 223, 227
 Substratum, 48-9, 86
 Superstratum, 184
 Syllables, 66, 68, 70-1, 102,
 127-28, 133, 147, 152,
 154, 176-87, 193, 224-
 25, 240, 247-51, 254
 Synecpation, 68-9, 71
 Taboo, 22
 Tarragona, 145, 236, 256
 Teleology, 21, 49
 Telesiachs, 68, 133, 192, 194
 Tensò, 216
 Teobaldo I of Navarre, 237
 Thorn, 111, 138
 Tierra de Campos, 238-39
 Toledo, 20, 96-7, 145, 151, 161-
 64, 187-88, 208, 211-20,
 230, 236, 239-40, 245,
 252, 255, 258
 Tours, 108, 111, 115, 118-22,
 128, 164
 Trumpets, 21, 88, 228, 266
 'Two-norm' Theory, 1-44, 52,
 77, 216
 Ufòn, 190
 Urban II, 214-15
 Urgell, 146, 149
 Urraca, 223
 Valencia, 145, 214, 236, 257
 Valencia de San Juan, 23
 Valenciennes, 128-29
 Valladolid, 145, 239, 247, 255,
 257-59
 Velegia, 181
 Vikings, 116, 128-29, 136, 164
 Villafranca, 177
 Visigothic liturgy, 73-78, 127,
 146, 151, 155, 163-64,
 182-84, 188, 190-96,
 206, 208-11, 214, 221,
 234-35
 Visigoths, xii, 2, 7, 67, 70, 73-
 78, 82-98, 107, 148,
 156, 161-62, 175, 182,
 189, 229
 Vivarium, 78-81, 108
 'Vulgar' Latin, 49, 52-54, 90-95,
 165-75, 203, 207
 Welsh, 184
 Wyn, 111
 York, 108
 Zamora, 231
 Zaragoza, 145, 189, 209-10, 225
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 Rheims, 119
 Tarragona, 150, 269
 Toulouse, 150
 Tours, 119-22, 134, 136
 Valencia, 257
 Valladolid, 247, 255, 257-59
 Canons, collected, of 813, 119
Cantar de Roncesvalles, 185
 **Cantar de Sancho II*, 231
 Cantigas, 227
Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie, 51, 129-35, 143, 204, 219
 Caper, 61, 83
Carmen Campi Doctoris, 147, 187, 231-32
 **Carmen de Morre Sanctii Regis*, 230-31
Carmen in Honorem Rosacie Vallis, 250-51
Carmen Paschale, 120
Carmen Poenitentiale, 153-55, 170
 Cassiodorus, 78-82, 84-85, 98, 108-09, 264-65
 Catalan Oath, 148
Catherineinon, 193
Celestina, 22
 Ceolfrith, 99
Chanson de Sainte Foi d' Agen, 142-43, 149
 Choises of Ardón, 173-75, 199, 204, 241, 244
 Chilperic, 72
Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, 220, 226-28
Chronicon Compostellanum, 215
Chronique latine des rois de Castille, 258
 Cicero, 61, 80
 Cixila, 163, 188
 Claudius Terentianus, 48
 Consentius, 57, 263
Corónicas navarras, 237
Corraquán Sancho, 185, 231-33
 Covarrubias, 10
Crónica anónima de Sahagún, 228
Crónica de Alfonso III, 187-88
Crónica de la población de Avila, 185
Crónica Sarracina, 232
 Cyprian, 152
 Dante, 261
De Arte Metrica, 102, 147
De Clericorum Institutione, 115-16, 120, 267-68
De Consolatione Rationis, 223
De Dissensionibus (Nithard), 122-26
De Divisione Philosophiarum, 219
De Ecclesiasticis Officialis, 87-9, 266-67
De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, 228
De Inventione, 80
De Litteris Colendiis, 108, 112-16
De Nuptiis, 100
De Orthographia (Alcuin), xi, 4, 100, 105-06, 108-12, 119, 128, 131
De Orthographia (Bede), 101-02, 108, 224
De Orthographia (Cassiodorus), 78-81, 264-65
De Ortu et Obitu Parvum, 176
De Rebus Hispaniarum, 212, 215
De Schematibus et Tropis, 98
De Virginitate, 190
De Viris Illustribus, 191
De Vulgari Eloquentia, 261
Dei patris unice, 193
 Díaz, Juan, 257-58
Differentiae, 83-4, 101-02
 Diomedes, 54
Disputa del alma y el cuerpo, 253
 Donatus, 41, 58, 78, 83, 96-8, 108, 114, 117, 120, 152, 162
Duelo que fizo la virgen, 245-46
 Ecloga de Calvis, 133-34
 Egbert of York, 103
 Einhard, 164
 Elipanó de Toledo, 151, 156, 164
Epistola ad Augustenses, 144
Epitome Ovetense, 178
 Epodes, 192
 Esplendonio's sale, 166-73, 180, 244
Etymologiae, 82, 97, 102, 114, 214, 265-67
 Eugenio de Toledo, 71, 96, 190
 Eulalia sequences, 129-35
 Eulogio de Córdoba, 151-61, 163, 187
Fazienda de Ultramar, 219
 Felix of Urgell, 164
 Formulary, 95
Forum Iudicum (Catalan), 148
 Fructuoso of Braga, 164
Fuero de Avilés, 238
Fuero de Zorita de los Canes, 238, 258
Fuero general de Navarra, 237-38
Fueros de la Novenera, 237
 García, Diego, 239-40, 257-58
Garcinid, 215
 Georgics, 53
 Gerbert of Rheims, 139, 146
Gesta Dei per Francos, 212
 Giraldo of Santiago, 221, 223
Glossario de voces... (mozárabes), 217
 Glossaries, 195-207
 Glossaries (14th cent.), 19, 197
 *Glossaries of Rioja (lost), 201-03, 206-07
 Glossaries of San Millán, 199-201
 Glossaries of Silos, 199-201
 Glossary of Leiden, 162, 199, 214
 Glosses of Cardena, 197-99
 Glosses of Reichenau, 51, 201
 Glosses of San Millán, 172, 195-207, 241
 Glosses of Silos, 196-207, 241
 Goethe, 95
 Gornesano, 190-91
 Graffiu of Pompeii, 30
Grammatica (Alcuin), 112, 116
 Gregory of Nazianzus, 129
 Gregory of Tours, 95
 Gregory the Great, 83, 118
 Guibert of Nogent, 212
 Gundisalvo, Domingo, 219
 Gunzo of Novara, 144
 Hadrianum, 105
Harmonica Institutio, 134
 Heterio de Ogma, 164
Historia Albigensense, 178-82, 187-88
Historia Compostellana, 220-24, 226-27
Historia Francorum, 95
Historia Naverse, 230
Historia Roderici, 220, 231
Historia Silense, 187, 209, 215, 227
Homiliario de Silos, 196
 Homilies, 118-19, 130
Homilies d'Organyà, 148-50
 Horace, 89, 151, 192, 224
 Hucbald of St Amand, 128, 133-36, 139-41, 205
 Idefonso de Toledo, 190-91
Indiculus Luminosus, 156-58
Institutiones (Cassiodorus), 80-81, 265
Institutiones (Priscian), 78, 108
 Isaiah, 88, 202, 266
 Isidore of Seville, 53, 73, 76, 78, 82-98, 101, 108-09, 112, 114, 164, 176, 191, 209, 214, 265-67
 Jerome, 69, 118, 155, 182
 Jimeno's colophon, 191-92
 'Jonah' sermon, 135-36, 143, 148
 Juan de Biciaro, 96
 Juan de Mena, 23
 Julian of Toledo, 78, 96-8, 153-54, 162, 267, 269
 Juvenal, 151

- Khairas, 159, 161, 185
Lamentum Mercurii (Albaro), 152
 Leander of Seville, 47, 189
 Leonese hymns, 163, 175-77, 192
Lex Salsa, 124
Libellus a Regula Sancti Benedicti subtractus, 189-91, 196
Liber Constitutionum (Santiago), 223
Liber Glossarum, 139
Liber Regum, 237
Libro de Alexandre, 243, 246-48, 250
Libro de Apolonio, 250
Libro de Buen Amor, 186
 Lull, Ramon, 148
 Longsword's lament, 140
Loores, 248
 Lucan, 224
 Lucas of Tuy, 233-34, 258
Ludwigslied, 129-35
 Mallius Theodorus, 97, 154
 Marculf, 95
 Martinus Victorinus, 97, 154
 Martinus Capella, 100-01, 105-06
 Martínez, Diego, encomium of, 252
Martirio de San Lorenzo, 246
Membrana missa a Vigilane Morzano, 194
 Mester de clerecía, 186, 245-51, 254
Mena sui certa . . . , 147
Milagros de Nuestra Señora, 259
 Milo of St. Armand, 128
Mocedades de Rodrigo, 231
 Mozarabic hymns, 155, 161
 Muwashshahas, 159, 161
Natural History (Pliny), 44
 Nithard, 117, 122-26
 Ocean, 174
 Odo of Cluny, 136, 141
 Offilo's epigraph, 152
 Old Testament, 82
 Oliva, 147
Oppida capta, 215, 230
 Opplia's epigraph, 177-78, 185
Opus Paschale, 120
Orbis conditor . . . , 163
Origines, 82-97, 102, 114, 214
 Ovid, 224
 Papiannus, 84
 Papius, Q., 85
 Pascasio de Durrio, 195
 Passon (Clermont-F.), 139-40
 Paul the Deacon, 108
 Pedro de Compostela, 223
 Pedro de Toledo, 219
 Perez de la Calzada, 251-52, 260
Persephanon, 129
 Peters of Blois, 245
 Peter the Deacon, 108
 Peter the Venerable, 219
Planeta, 239-40
 Plautus, xi
 Pliny, xi, 44
Poema de Almería, 226-30, 232
Poema de Fernán González, 250
Poema de Mio Cid, 29, 158, 185-87, 214, 231, 240, 242-44, 253-54
 Pompeius, 57-61, 97, 263-64
 Pomponius Mela, 102
Primer Crónica General, 29, 234, 251
 Priscian, 78, 103-09, 114, 128, 162, 224
 Prudentius, 129, 175, 193
 Psalm 18 (19), 152
 Publilius Optatianus Porfirianus, 151
Quaestiones Grammaticales, 137, 268
 Quintilian, 56, 61, 112
 Rabanus Maurus, 115-20, 122, 267-68
Reges Francorum, 190
 Remigius of Auxerre, 139, 141
Roman d'Alexandre, 246
 Ruiz, Juan, 186
Sacrificio de la Misa, 249
 Salvo de Albelda, 189-92
 Sampiro, 188
 Sanson, 152, 156, 159-61
 Sequences, xi, 127-35, 216
 Sergius, 58, 114, 263
 Servus, 53, 58, 263
 Shakespeare, 95, 168
 Shaw, George Bernard, 129
Siete Partidas, 259
 Siguinus, 212, 224-25, 269
 Smaragdus, 189, 196
 Speraindeo, 152
 Strasbourg Oaths, 4, 47, 122-26, 129-31, 134, 143, 148, 239
Summa (Albalat), 257
 Tatwine, 98-9
 Tello Teñez, 245-46
 Terence, 215
 Terentianus Maurus, 57-8, 263
 Theodulf of Orléans, 107, 112, 115, 120, 136, 191
 Theofridus, 72
 Uñon cession, 190
 Valerio del Bierzo, 98, 133, 162
 Vatro, 54, 86
 Velius Longus, 55-6, 61, 84, 263
 Venantius Fortunatus, 71
 Vergil, 53, 147, 151, 224
 Veronese riddle, 144
Versi Donna Leodegundia Regina, 195
Versi in Biblioteca Leodegundii, 152
Vita de Santo Domingo, 246-48, 253
Vie de Saint Alexis, 141-42
Vie de Saint Léger, 139-40
 Vigilia, 189-97, 205
 Vincentius, 153-54, 170
Vita Salvi Abbatis, 191
Vita Sancti Egidii, 72
Vitae Parrum, 162
 Walter of Châtillon, 246
 Ximénez de Rada, 212, 214-16, 230-31, 234, 240, 245, 250-51, 254, 257

SUBJECT INDEX

- Abellar, 163, 188
 Acrostics, 68, 133, 147, 152, 155, 175-76, 192, 195
 Adán of Orense, 226
 Adoptionism, 151
 Ager, 215
 Alarcos, 233
 Albelda, 145, 158, 178, 189-95, 197, 205, 236
 Alexander the Great, 246-47
 Alexander II, 210
 Alfonso II of Aragon, 235
 Alfonso II of Asturias, 164
 Alfonso III of Asturias, 163-64, 187-88
 Alfonso VII of León-Castille, 165, 210-14, 222
 Alfonso VII of León-Castille, 220, 223, 227-30
 Alfonso VIII of Castille, 238-39, 245
 Alfonso IX of León, 22, 238-39
 Alfonso X of Castille-León, 227, 236, 251-52, 257-60
 Almería, 145, 227-28
 América, 33, 38
 Andalucía, 38
 Anglo-Saxons, 72, 98, 107, 111, 141
 Arsileubus, 139
 Apocopeation, 47
 Aquitaine, 225
 Arabic, x, 9, 37, 89, 156, 159, 161-62, 201, 205, 214, 19