IV
The extant manuscripts and incunabula of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*: a codicological description

THERE ARE TWENTY-TWO extant codices of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, housed in various European and American libraries, and two known incunabula. The manuscripts are as follows:

1. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gaml. Kongl. Saml. 2219
2. Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS h-III-4
3. Madrid, Biblioteca del Museo Lázaro Galdiano, MS 474
4. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 727
5. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 758
6. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 1272
7. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 1305
8. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 2906
9. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, MS 9 / 712
10. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 27
11. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6607
12. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6609
13. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 7345
14. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 7365
15. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 10107
16. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 12743
17. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 12796
18. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 18061
19. New York, Hispanic Society of America, MS B2704[1]
20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 597

[1] Lamentably, I have not been able to inspect this manuscript personally.

21. Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, MS 1767
22. Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS 7-5-29

Previous bibliographers have written descriptions of most of these codices, but (albeit of necessity) their descriptions often tend to be brief. By studying watermarks and researching contemporary library inventories it has been possible to shed some new light on this particular group of manuscripts.

I have divided the manuscripts according to the century in which they were written. In the case of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts I have included descriptions of watermarks, and, at the end of each description, I have summarized known details concerning the amanuensis, date, and ownership of the codex. In most instances the only clue for the date of the codex is based on the date of the watermark(s). Since watermarks cannot often be dated with great certainty, the dates given are approximations, and are by no means intended to be definitive. Drawings of the watermarks in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century codices and incunabula are provided in Appendix 2.

I. Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts

1. Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS h-III-4 (olim v-M-9; ij-A-14)[2]

276 ff. plus 4 blank pages.

205 X 280 mm.

Paper and vellum. Approximately 27 lines per page.

The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Tabla de los titulos del libro que se llama el *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, el qual es partido en quatro libros" (f° 1r). Otherwise there are no preliminary remarks or dedicatory paragraph.

Titles are in red; text is in black. Initials and calderones are in alternating colours: the initials are in turquoise and red (except for the first initial of each book, which is gilded); the calderones in red and purple.

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[2] Faulhaber, *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1984), 23, 310; Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos: historia de la Judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1952), 494; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1933), II, 93, entry number 1617; Augusto Llacayo y Santa María, *Antiguos manuscritos de historia, ciencia y arte militar, medicina y literarios existentes en la biblioteca del monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial* (Seville: Francisco Álvarez, 1878), 115; Joseph Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca española*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1781), I, 643b; Juan Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1924), I, 214-215.

The first page of each book is lavishly illustrated in gold, blue and red, with courtly scenes. Each illumination is approximately a half folio in size, done in grisaille: Book I (f° 1r); Book II (f° 92r); Book III (f° 180r); Book IV (f° 232r). In the case of the illuminations on ff. 1r and 92r, a bishop (Cartagena?) appears alongside the king.

Some pages are vellum, others are paper. Many pages have been restored and have a rectangular piece of paper stuck over the text in order to cover numerous holes and tears, namely: ff. 55-58, 61-64, 67-70, 73-76, 79-82, 86-90, 99, 112-114, 165-168, 171-174, 177-178, 181, 184, 187-190, 193-194, 196, 217-220, 223-226, 233-236 (here the text beneath the restoration has been supplied in a modern hand in the bottom margin), 239, 240, 241-242 (text supplied in a modern hand), 245-248, 251-254, 257-260, 263-266. The pages have been guillotined and gilded. On the verso side of the blank vellum page after f° 276 is the name "TUBINO 1874." Francisco María Tubino studied this codex, and no doubt he played a part in the restoration of the manuscript.[3]

The volume is bound in brown leather.

The watermark is a letter T atop a lion.[4]

This codex belonged to Juan II and Isabel la Católica, as evinced from Isabel's library inventory, compiled in 1503.[5]

Summary of Escorial MS h-III-4:

Amanuensis: Unknown

Approximate date: Before 1454

Owners: 1. Juan II (1406-1454)
2. Isabel la Católica (1474-1504)

2. Madrid, Biblioteca del Museo Lázaro Galdiano, MS 474[6]

335 ff. No foliation.

220 X 285 mm.

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[3] Francisco María Tubino, "El *Doctrinal de Caballeros*, por Don Alfonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos, diplomático, literato y poeta de la corte castellana de Don Juan II. Códice de la Biblioteca del Escorial. Estudio histórico-crítico," *Museo Español de Antigüedades* 10 (1880): 129-177.

[4] There is no comparable watermark in Briquet (see below, n.8). A similar watermark from a text in the Archivo Municipal de Barcelona is, however, registered by Francisco de Asis de Bofarull y Sans, *Los animales en las marcas del papel* (Villanueva y Geltrú: Oliva, 1910), 37, n° 195, dated 1471-72.

[5] Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tápices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: CSIC, 1950), 69, entry number 219C.

[6] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 85, 1120; Charles Faulhaber, "Some Private and Semi-private Spanish Libraries: Travel Notes," *La Corónica* 4 (1976): 81-90, at p. 84.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Double columns with approximately 25 lines per column.

The text begins as follows:

> Aquj comjença el libro que se llama *Dotrinal de los caualleros*, que contiene las leys del regno que fasen a los fechos de la caualleria. Prologo que se dirige a vn conde a cuya ynstançia se fiso.[7]

Book I, 1r-103r; Book II, 103v-211r; Book III, 211v-273r; Book IV, 273v-332r.

Titles are in red ink; text is in black ink. The first initial is illustrated, the rest are omitted.

Four folios, in a different hand, are appended to the end of the codex. The section is entitled: "Capitulo honseno como las armas se deuen auer e en quantas maneras perderse pueden."

The volume is bound in brown suede with brass bosses in each corner of the cover, as well as brass catches.

The watermark for the four appended folios is a scale (cf. Briquet III, 2407 [1474]).[8] The watermark for the main text is a wagon, the same as Biblioteca Nacional MS 27 (Briquet III, 3540 [1470]).

Summary of Lázaro Galdiano MS 474:

Amanuensis: Unknown

Approximate date: c. 1470-1474?

Owner: Unknown

3. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 1305 (olim VIII-G-1; 1-L-4)

218 ff. plus two blank pages at the beginning and one blank page at the end.

200 X 290 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Approximately 30-33 lines per page.

The text is preceded by a dedication: "Este libro es de Bamonde. O Mater Dei Memento Mei" (f° 2r); and, in red ink, "*Dotrinal de los caualleros*. Aqui viene a parar la vida" (f° 2v), beneath which is a skull and crossed bone, done in grisaille.

A table of contents follows the dedication: "Tabla de los titulos del libro que se llama el *Dotrinal de los caualleros*, el qual es partido en quatro libros" (f° 3r).

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[7] On the confusion that has arisen among bibliographers from the various dedicatory paragraphs of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, see chapter I, n.3.

[8] Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. Allan Stevenson, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968). The reference refers to volume, entry number and date.

The text begins as follows:

Comiença vna copillaçion de aquellas leyes que atañen a los fijosdalgo del reyno de Castilla. Libro primero. (5r)

Book I, 5r-76r; Book II, 76r-148r; Book III, 148r-191r; Book IV, 191r-218r.

Titles and calderones are in red ink; text is in black ink. All of the initials are in place, alternating in colour between blue and red, and purple and red.

The volume is bound in an eighteenth-century leather binding, with the title on the spine: "Doctrinal de caballeros. MS." The pages have been guillotined, and the codex has undergone some restoration in the form of pieces of paper stuck along the bottom margin of pages 163-66, and 169-71, to cover worm damage.

The watermark is a scale (cf. Briquet III, 2448 [1453]).

This manuscript belonged to Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, and is cited in his library inventory, compiled in 1623.[9]

Summary of Palacio Real MS 1305:

Amanuensis: Unknown

Approximate date: c. 1453?

Owner: Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar (1623)

4. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 2906 (olim 2-G-11)[10]

228 ff.

195 X 275 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Between 32-41 lines per page.

The *Doctrinal de los caualleros* occupies ff. 1r-215r.

The text begins as follows:

> Comjença una copilacion de aquellas leyes del reygno de Castilla que fablan de los fechos que tañen a los caualleros e fijosdalgo, fecha e compuesta por el reuerendo don Alfonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos. (1r)

Book I, 1r-64r; Book II, 65v-133r; Book III, 133r-179v; Book IV, 179r-212r.

Ff. 215v-228v contain fragments of Seneca's letters to Lucilius: "Tabla de las epistolas de Seneca a Lluçillo." The text is in the same hand as the *Doctrinal*.

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[9] M. Serrano y Sanz, "Libros manuscritos o de mano [de la biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar]," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 8 (1903): 65-68, 222-228, 295-300, at p. 225.

[10] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 186, 2214; Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García*, 494.

Titles and calderones are in red ink; text is in black ink. All initials are left blank, with the exception of f° 27v.

Masking tape has been stuck to the top margin of pages 1 and 2; page 38 is severely torn at the top right side of the page; page 84 is severely torn on the right side of the page. The pages have been guillotined.

The volume is bound in brown leather embossed with gold. The title is on the spine: "CARTAGENA / DOCTRINAL / DE / CABALLEROS."

The watermark is a wagon (cf. Briquet III, 3538 [1466]).

Summary of Palacio Real MS 2906:

Amanuensis: Unknown

Approximate date: c. 1466?

Owner: Unknown

5. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, MS 9 / 712 (olim 9-5-1=K-87)[11]

174 ff.

200 X 275 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Approximately 30 lines per page.

The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Tabla de los titulos del libro que se llama el *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, el qual es partido en quatro libros" (f° 1r).

The text begins as follows:

> Aqui comjenca una copilacion de aquellas leyes del rreyno de Castilla que fablan del fecho de los caualleros e fijosdalgo e de todo lo que a la cauallerja perteneçe. (2r)

Book I, 1r-55r; Book II, 56v-118r; Book III, 118v-147r; Book IV, 147r-174v.

Initials and calderones are in red ink; text is in black ink. All of the initials are in place.

There is a note in a different, more modern hand at the top of the first folio of the text: "Este libro, cuio titulo es *Doctrinal de caualleros*, fue conpuesto por don Alonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos, a instancia de D. Diego Gomez de Sandoval, Conde de Castro e Denia."

The volume is bound in pigskin.

The watermark is a flower (there is no comparable watermark in Briquet).

Summary of Real Academia de la Historia MS 9 / 712:

Amanuensis: Unknown

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[11] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 71, 935; José Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica*, 2nd. ed. (Madrid: CSIC, 1965), III, 5285.

Approximate date: Fifteenth century
Owner: Unknown

6. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 27 (olim S-73)[12]
194 ff.
280 X 400 mm.
Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Double columns with approximately 34-36 lines per column.
The *Doctrinal de los caualleros* occupies ff. 1r-157r. The text begins as follows:

Aqui comiença una copillaçion de aquellas leyes del rregno de Castilla que fablan de los fechos que tañen a los caualleros fijosdalgo. Libro primero. (1r)

Book I, 1r-48r; Book II, 48v-99v; Book III, 99v-130r; Book IV, 130v-157r.
Ff. 158r-194r contain *Los doçe trabajos de Hercules*: "Este libro fiso don Enrrique de Villena en que puso las dose cosas señaladas que Hercules el grande fiso." The text is in the same hand as the *Doctrinal*.
On f° 194v a note in a modern hand, written in pencil says: "fol. 195-205 contenía los Proverbios del Marqués de Santillana, que fueron arrancados después de la restauración del MS como se ve por los hilos sueltos de la encuadernación."
Capitals are illustrated and complete, in red and black ink. Titles and calderones are in red ink; text is in black ink.
The volume is bound in brown embossed leather. According to Faulhaber, this is the original binding and dates from 1446.
The watermark is a wagon (cf. Briquet III, 3540 [1470]).
This manuscript belonged to Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, Cardinal in Burgos, and then to García de Loaisa Girón, Archbishop of Toledo, who purchased the Cardinal's library from his nephew, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, in 1588. The manuscript fits the description of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* in Mendoza's library, as follows: "*Doctrinal de cavalleros*; *Trabajos de Hércules*, y *Proverbios* del Marqués de Santillana: 1vol. fol. marca mayor, letra antigua."[13] The extraordinarily detailed library inventory of García de Loaisa's books provides the name of the scribe of this codex—Juan Alfonso de León—, as well as its value in 1599. The entry is as follows: "*Un Doctrinal de los caballeros y recopilación de las leyes de la caballería*, hechas por Juan Alfonso de León en tiempo de Juan Segundo, se

[12] Faulhaber, 87, 1144; Margherita Morreale, ed., Enrique de Villena, *Los doze trabajos de Hércules* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1958), 51-54.
[13] José M. Fernández Pomar, "Libros y manuscritos procedentes de Plasencia. Historia de una colección," *Hispania Sacra* 18 (1965): 33-102, at p. 93, entry number 45.

tasó en 100 reales."[14]

Summary of BN MS 27:

Amanuensis: Juan Alfonso de León

Approximate date: Probably before 1454

Owners: 1. Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, Cardinal in Burgos (1508-1566)
2. García de Loaisa Girón, Archbishop of Toledo (1534-1599)

7. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6607 (olim S-22)[15]

199 ff.

200 X 270 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Approximately 26-28 lines per page.

The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Tabla de los titulos del libro que se llama el *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, el qual es partido en quatro libros" (f° 1r).

The text begins as follows:

> Comiença una copilaçion de aquellas leyes del rreyno de Castilla que fablan de los fechos que tañen a los caualleros e fijosdalgo.
> Libro primero.
> Prologo del libro primero. (14r)

Book I, 14r-83r; Book II, 84r-144v; Book III, 144v-176r; Book IV, 176r-199v. Initials, titles and calderones are in red ink; text is in black ink. Many initials are left blank. Page 42 has a square cut out of the bottom margin, but no text is missing. Similarly, there is a tear in the margin of page 83, but again no text is missing. The text seems to be written in two different hands. The text of Book IV is incomplete: approximately half of the conclusion is missing, which would occupy the last folio of the codex.

The volume is bound in pigskin, with original ties. The title is on the spine: "DON / Alonso / De Cartagea. / DOCTRINAL / DE / Cavalleros."

There are two watermarks, as follows:

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[14] Gregorio de Andrés, "Historia de un fondo griego de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 77 (1974): 5-65, at p. 62, entry number 204. The incunabula copies of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* owned by Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Priego, were valued at only 4 reales in 1518. See María Concepción Quintanilla Raso, "La biblioteca del marqués de Priego (1518)," *En la España Medieval, I: Estudios dedicados al profesor D. Julio González González* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1980), 347-383, at p. 367, entry numbers 231 and 234. See also chapter III, p. 45.

[15] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 112, 1503; Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía*, III, 5286.

1. Scissors (cf. Briquet III, 3717 [1466]).
2. As of folio 101, a crown (cf. Briquet III, 4864 [1499]).

Summary of BN MS 6607:
Amanuensis: Unknown
Approximate date: c. 1466-1499?
Owner: Unknown

8. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6609 (olim S-125)[16]
332 ff.
195 X 265 mm.
Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Approximately 26-27 lines per page.
The *Doctrinal de los caualleros* occupies ff. 16r-332v.
Ff. 1r-16r contain the Marqués de Santillana's *Qüestión* and Cartagena's reply:

> Comjença una question o pregunta enbiada por el magnifico senor el Marques de Santillana e conde del real al reuerendo señor don Pablo, obpo. de Burgos, de donde aya aujdo prinçipio el ofiçio de caualleria. (1r)

The text of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* is preceded by a table of contents: "Tabla de los titulos deste libro que se llama el *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, el qual es partido en quatro libros" (f° 16r).
The text begins as follows:

> Aqui comjenca una copillaçion de aquellas [ll] leyes del rregno de Castilla que fablan de los fechos que tañen a los caualleros e fijosdalgo e llamase *Dotrinal de los caualleros*.
> Prologo.

Book I, 19r-128v; Book II, 128v-227r; Book III, 227v-283v; Book IV, 284r-334r.
Initials, titles and calderones are in red ink; text is in black ink. Most of the initials are left blank. On ff. 96, 101, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, the ink has eaten through the page, causing minor damage.
At the top of the first folio a note has been added in a modern hand, which attributes the work erroneously to Alfonso's father, Pablo de Cartagena: "Libro de

[16] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 112, 1506; Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía*, III, 5287; Angel Gómez Moreno, "La *Qüestión* del Marqués de Santillana a Don Alfonso de Cartagena," *El Crotalón* 2 (1985): 335-363, at p. 341.

la nobleça y caualleria por el opo. Pablo de Cartagena."

The following note, in a contemporary hand, is appended to f° 332v:

> Este libro es de Sancho de Herrera, el qual costo quatro ducados, de maese Alfonso, cura de Lomego, en el ano de mill e qujnientos e quatro años. E murio el dicho Sancho de Herrera a diez y siete dias del mes de mayo de mill e quinjentos e nueve, viego de diez y nueve años. Y porque es verdad lo firme de mj nonbre. Fecho a comienzos del mes de junjo de mill e qujnientos e treynta e syete años. Floridio de Horozco. En nonbre de Dios y de Santa Maria su madre [?] hijo de Julio e de San Pedro [?] a quince dias del mes de junjo en mill e qujnientos e treynta e syete años. Floridio de Horozco.

The volume is bound in cardboard with a green leather spine. The title is embossed on the spine in gold: "A. DE CARTAGENA / DOCTRINAL / DE CABALLEROS."

The watermark is a ring (there is no comparable water mark in Briquet).

Summary of BN MS 6609:

Amanuensis: Unknown

Approximate date: Fifteenth century

Owner: Sancho de Herrera (d. 17-5-1509)

9. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 10107 (olim IIh-24. Cajon 43 Num 31)[17]

270 ff.

190 X 270 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the late fifteenth century. Approximately 27-30 lines per page.

The text begins as follows:

> Aquy comjença una copilaçion daquellas leyes del reyno de Castilla que tañen a caualleros e fijosdalgo, las quales mando copilar en vno el muy estrenuo don Diego Gomez de Sandoval, Conde de Castro, Señor de Saldaña, Adelantado Mayor de Castilla. E por ende sendereça a el. El prologo. E llamase este libro *Dotrynal de cavalleros*. (1r)

Book I, 1r-87r; Book II, 87v-172r; Book III, 172v-220r; Book IV, 220v-273v.

Titles are in red ink; text is in black ink. Initials are omitted. The pages have been guillotined.

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[17] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 122, 1656; G. Fink-Errera, "A propos des bibliothèques d'Espagne. Tables de concordances," *Scriptorium* 13 (1959): 89-118, at p. 96.

The volume is bound in red leather with brass clips. The title is on the spine: "Doctrinal / DE / Caballeros."

The watermark is a crescent (cf. Briquet III, 5214 [1481-1482]).

Summary of BN MS 10107:

Amanuensis: Unknown

Approximate date: c. 1481-1482?

Owner: Unknown

10. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 12743 (olim Pp-31)

230 ff.

245 X 335 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Double columns with approximately 29-30 lines per column.

The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Aqui comiença la tabla deste libro llamado *Dotrinal de caualleros*, que es partido en quatro libros" (f° 1r).

The text begins as follows:

> Aqui comiença el libro llamado *Dotrinal de los caualleros*, el qual es vna copilaçion de aquellas leyes del rreyno de Castilla que fabla de los fechos que atañen a los caualleros e fijosdalgo. (2v)

Book I, 2v-73r; Book II, 73r-148r; Book III, 148r-192v; Book IV, 192v-230r. Titles and calderones are in red ink; text is in black ink. The initials are all in place, beautifully illustrated in red, purple and blue.

At the end of the codex the scribe has written his name in red ink, as follows: "Petrus me fecit" (f° 230r).

The volume is bound in pigskin. The title is on the spine: "Cartagena / Doctrinal de caualleros / MS." A sticker on the inside cover reads as follows: "Librería de Juan Rodríguez. Calle del Oliva 6 y 8. Madrid."

The watermark is a pair of scissors surmounted by a crown (cf. Briquet III, 3686 [1460-64]).

Summary of BN MS 12743:

Amanuensis: "Petrus"

Approximate date: c. 1460-64?

Owner: Unknown

11. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 12796 (olim Ee-20)[18]

119 ff.

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[18] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 134, 1821; Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía*, III, 5288.

280 X 390 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Double columns with approximately 44-50 lines per column.

The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Tabla de los titulos deste libro que se llama el *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, que es partido en quatro libros" (f° ir).

The text begins as follows:

> Aqui comiença una copillaçion de aquellas leyes del rregno de Castilla que fablan de los fechos que tañen a los caualleros e fijosdalgo: ha nombre *Doctrinal de los caualleros*. (1r)

Book I, 1r-25r; Book II, 25v-73r; Book III, 73r-96r; Book IV, 96v-118r.

Titles are in red ink; text is in black ink. Most of the initials are left blank.

The following note concerning details of the amanuensis, Juan de Nebreda, is appended to f° 119v, which is otherwise blank: "Istum librum perfecit Iohans de Nebreda."

The volume is bound in green leather with gold inlay. The title is embossed on the spine in gold: "Santa María / (Alfonso de) / Doctrinal / de / Caballeros."

The watermark is a wagon (cf. Briquet III, 3540 [1470]).[19]

This manuscript probably belonged to Pedro Fernández de Velasco, Conde de Haro, since it fits the description of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* in his library inventory, compiled in 1455, as follows: "*Doctrinal de cavalleros*, echo por Joannes de Nebreda, escrito de mano en papel de 119 hojas."[20]

Summary of BN MS 12796:

Amanuensis: Juan de Nebreda

Approximate date: Before 1455

Owner: Probably Pedro Fernández de Velasco, Count of Haro (c. 1400-1470)

12. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 18061 (olim 917)[21]

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[19] For a similar water mark in use in Catalonia as early as 1409, see Oriol Vals i Subirà, *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1970), II, entry number 1330. See also Gemma Avenoza and Germán Orduña, "Registro de filigranas de papel en códices españoles," *Incipit* 11 (1991): 1-9, at p. 1 (described only as fifteenth century).

[20] Jeremy N. H. Lawrance, "Nueva luz sobre la biblioteca del conde de Haro: inventario de 1455," *El Crotalón* 1 (1984): 1073-1111, at p. 1105, entry number 148. In a footnote, however, Lawrance states that "a pesar de la descripción pormenorizada, no he identificado este manuscrito, que no es BN 27, 6607, 6609, ni 12796." My own research shows that the description does concur with MS 12796.

[21] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 137, 1867; Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía*, III, 5284.

223 ff.
200 X 280 mm.
Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Approximately 31-32 lines per page.
The text begins as follows:

> Comiença una copilaçion de aquellas leyes del reyno de Castilla que fablan de los fechos que atañen a los caualleros e los fijosdalgo.
> Libro primero.
> Introduçion al muy magnifico y noble cauallero don Aluaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. (1r)

Book I, 1r-73v; Book II, 74r-146v; Book III, 147r-188v; Book IV, 189r-224r.
Initials, titles and calderones are in red; text is in black. With the exception of ff. 9r, 10v, 210v, 211r, 212r, 218r, 220r, 222r, the initials are left blank. Calderones are added up to and including f° 12v. From f° 13r they are omitted, with the exception of ff. 37r, 55v, 56v, 57v, 58v, 60v, 61r, 220r. Pages 23, 143 and 218 have the middle section of the page torn out. The text of Book IV is incomplete: approximately one third of the conclusion is missing, which would occupy the last folio of the codex.
There is an appendix to the codex, in a modern hand on paper with the following heading: "Sello de 4. mrs. Pobres Año 1833." Each folio has a hole at the top of the page and the pages were probably held in place with a clip. They are copied from ff. 204-206, 215-217, 221, all of which are torn out of the codex.
The volume is bound in pigskin with original ties. The title is on the spine: "FVERO / de los / Caballeros / Nobles."
The watermark is a pair of scissors (cf. Briquet III, 3744 [1448]).
This manuscript belonged to Pascual de Gayangos, whose personal seal is on the inside cover.

Summary of BN MS 18061:
Amanuensis: Unknown
Approximate date: c. 1448?
Owners: 1. Unknown
2. Pascual de Gayangos

13. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 597 (olim S. C. 2377)[22]

[22] Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford: Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), I, 337, entry number 2377.

337 ff.

200 X 250 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Approximately 30-31 lines per page.

The *Doctrinal de los caualleros* occupies ff. 112-337.

The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Aqui comiença la tabla de los titulos que se llama *Dotrinal*." The text begins simply with the word "Leyes." Otherwise there are no preliminary remarks or dedicatory paragraph.

Book I, 112v-191v; Book II, 192r-253v; Book III, 254r-297v; Book IV, 298r-335v.

The titles to individual laws, as well as capitals and calderones appear sporadically in book I and more consistently in books II-IV, in red ink, as follows: 139v, 142v (capitals only), 143v (title), 144v (titles), 190v (title, calderones, initial), 191v (titles, initials), 192r (initial), 194v (titles, initials), 195v (title, initial, calderones), 196r-253v (titles, initials), 254r-297v (titles, initials), 299r-335v (titles, initials). The text is in black ink.

The manuscript has sustained some damage in the upper right corner, possibly due to water, on ff. 296-334, but this does not interfere with the text. F° 333v has a strip of paper added to reinforce the bottom margin, as does f° 335r on the bottom and right margin. The first and last two pages are blank and were added at a later date.

The volume is bound in cardboard with a pigskin spine. The pages have been guillotined and dyed green.

Ff. 1r-111v is a manuscript on vellum—also fifteenth century, but a different hand from the *Doctrinal*—containing two astrological treatises of Ptolemy, with gloss and commentary by Alî ben Ridhwân, in Latin, with beautifully illustrated initials and calderones in blue and red.

There are two watermarks: up to f° 141, a hand (cf. Briquet IV, 10637 [1467]); as of f° 142, spectacles (cf. Briquet IV, 10625 [1466]).

Madan and Craster note that this manuscript was donated to the library in 1601 by Dame Mary Fermor of Easton Neston. English interest in Alfonso de Cartagena may be due to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (1391-1447), who knew of Alfonso de Cartagena through Humphrey's correspondence with Pier Candido Decembrio concerning Decembrio's translation of Plato's *Republic*, the sixth book of which was dedicated to Cartagena.[23]

Summary of Bodleian Library MS 597:

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[23] See Mario Borsa, "Correspondence of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Pier Candido Decembrio," *English Historical Review* 19 (1904): 509-526; and W. L. Newman, "The Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio," *English Historical Review* 20 (1905): 484-496.

Amanuensis: Unknown
Approximate date: c. 1466-1467?
Owner: Dame Mary Fermor, before 1601

14. Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, MS 1767 (olim Colegio del Arzobispo 19; Biblioteca del Palacio Real VII-Y-4, 2-C-5, 210)[24]
250 ff.
195 X 265 mm.
Paper. Free cursive Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Double columns with approximately 27-32 lines per column.
The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Tabla de los titulos del libro que se llama el *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, el qual es partido en quatro libros" (f° 1r).
The text begins as follows:

> Aqui comjença una copilaçion de aquellas leyes del reyno de Castilla que atañen de los fechos que atañen a los caualleros e fijosdalgo. (3r)

A title has been appended to the first folio, in a modern hand: "*Doctrinal de caballeros*. Autor: don Alonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos."
Book I, 3r-79v; Book II, 79v-160r; Book III, 160r-207v; Book IV, 207v-249v.
Initials and calderones are in red; text is in black. All the initials are complete.
Ff. 249v-250v contain anotations in a different hand on the siege of Baeza by the Catholic Monarchs (7 April, 1489). Cartagena's text ends proper on f° 249v.
There is some restoration on pages 246, 247. The pages have been guillotined. The volume is bound in brown leather. The title is embossed on the spine, in gold on red: "DOCTRINAL / DE / CABALLEROS."
There are four watermarks, as follows: 1) A scorpion (there is no comparable watermark in Briquet); 2) A wagon (cf. Briquet III, 3533 [1453]); 3) A flower, similar to Biblioteca Colombina MS 7-5-29 (cf. Briquet III, 6652 [1465]); 4) A paschal lamb (cf. Briquet III, 22 [1478]).
Summary of Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, MS 1767
Amanuensis: Unknown
Approximate date: c. 1453-1478?
Owner: Unknown

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[24] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 226, 2733; Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García*, 494; F. Marcos Rodríguez, "Los manuscritos pretridentinos hispanos de ciencias sagradas en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca," *Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España* 2 (1971): 261-481, at p. 373.

15. Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS 7-5-29[25]

233 ff. plus four blank pages at the beginning and two blank pages at the end. 220 X 290 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Approximately 25 lines per page.

The dedicatory paragraph and parts of the text, including the beginning of the prologue and the end of the conclusion, are missing.

Book I, 1r-71v; Book II, 71v-153v; Book III, 153v-190v; Book IV, 190v-233v.

The codex has been partly restored, possibly in the eighteenth century, judging by the watermark on the restored pages. F° 233, for example, has the original text cut out and pasted onto it. The extra folios at the beginning and end of the codex were also meant to have pages pasted on them, but the restoration is incomplete and this would explain the loss of the prologue and conclusion. Ff. 188-189 were also intended for restoration, but for some reason the text was not pasted on them.

A sticker on the inside front cover of the manuscript describes the text as follows:

> Don Fernando Colón, hijo de Don Cristóbal Colón, primer Almirante que descubrió las Indias, dejó este libro para uso e provecho de todos sus próximos; rogad a Dios por él (Cláusula 49 del Testamento del mismo Don Fernando, cumplida por el Cabildo Metropolitano de Sevilla).[26]

A previous bibliographer made the following observations about the text on f° 1r:

> Ordenamientos Reales. Compilación de las leyes de cavallería & de los Hijosdalgo (Alfonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos, Doctrinal de Caballeros). Escrivióse esta Compilación en el Reynado del Sr. Rey D. Juan el Segundo, como se lee al fin en la Rúbrica & Título después de la Rubriçela & de el Título VIII en que trascribe el Ordenamiento de Madrid hecho por el Sr. Rey D. Enrrique III, "Padre" (dice) "de Nuestro Señor el Rey."
>
> Fáltale la primera oja donde empieza el Prólogo, donde diría quién es el Virtuoso Cavallero por cuyo mandato hizo el Compilador (D. Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Conde de Castro y de Denia) esta obra, y donde es preciso diese su nombre también. Resulta que a ecepción de el principio de el Prólogo y final de la conclusión toda la Compilación está entera.

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[25] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 252, 3042.

[26] See also Henri Dehérain, "Fernand Colomb et sa bibliothèque," *Journal des Savants* 12 (1914): 342-351.

También le falta el final de el Título 4 de el Libro 3° desde la Carta de Paz. Igualmente le falta la mayor Parte de el Título 5 que habla de los Ricos Omes, y todo el Título 6, ambos del Lib. I, y el principio de la Introducción de de este último Título.

Initials, titles and calderones are in red ink; the text is in black ink.

The volume is bound in pigskin, with original ties. The following title is on the spine: "Ordenamient. Reales."

There are two watermarks: scales (cf. Briquet III, 2405 [1463]); and, as of f° 135, a flower (cf. Briquet III, 6652 [1465]).

Summary of Biblioteca Colombina MS 7-5-29:

Amanuensis: Unknown

Approximate date: c. 1463-1465?

Owner: Fernando Colón (1488-1539)

II. Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts

1. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gaml. Kongl. Saml. 2219[27]

49 ff. Fragmentary copy (occupies ff. 5r-14v).

170 X 230 mm.

Two different types of paper. Free cursive script of the sixteenth century in three different hands. Ff. 10r, 15, 28, 41, 43, 45, and 48 are blank.

The *Doctrinal de los caualleros* occupies ff. 5r-13v and is accompanied by a glossary of "palabras antiguas" on f° 14v. The manuscript also contains the following works:

1. *Comiença vn tratado que fizo Juan de Mena al señor don Juan de Guzman, duque de Medina Sydonia y conde de Niebla sobre el titulo de duque: adonde ouo comiençio, e quantas maneras son de duques, y que preeminençias tienen* (ff. 1r-2v).
2. *Cadira de honor ordenada por señor Rodriguez de Padron, criado del Cardenal de San Pedro don Juan de Sernantes, fecha a ruego de algunos señores mançebos de la corte del rey don Juan el Segundo* (ff. 2v-3r).
3. *Lo que dixo el relator quando el rey don Juan el II hizo Marques de Santillana a Iñigo Lopez de Mendoça, año de MCCCCXLV* (ff. 3v-4v).
4. *De vn tratado que compuso el obispo don Alfonso, dedicado al Condestable don Alvaro de Luna que llama Dotrinal de caualleria* (ff. 5r-14v).
5. *Fuero del rey don Alfonso [VII]* (ff. 16r-28r).

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[27] Faulhaber, *Bibliography*, 10, 128-132; P. Högberg, "Notices et extraits des manuscrits espagnols de Copenhague," *Revue Hispanique* 46 (1919): 382-399. See especially p. 383, N° 5.

6. Fragments of elegies in Latin (ff. 29r-40v) written in a second hand. The text has no title. A piece of paper between folios 40 and 41 continues the text from the previous folio.
7. Part of a geographical treatise, written in a third hand, in Spanish (ff. 42r-49v).

The text of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* is fragmentary, and the following sections are included in the manuscript: from Book I—part of the prologue, and parts of title III, title V, title VI, title IX; from Book II—parts of title IV and title V; from Book III—the prologue.

There are two watermarks: up to f° 29, a pointed oval with a Latin cross in the centre, the stem of which is flanked by the letters LP (cf. Briquet III, 5695 [1560]); and a circle with a Greek cross in the centre (cf. Briquet III, 1242 [1566]).

Summary of Det Kongelige Bibliotek MS Gaml. Kongl. Saml. 2219:
Amanuensis: Unknown
Approximate date: c. 1560-1566?
Owner: Unknown

2. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS II / 758 (olim Gondomar Sal. 2, est. 12, cax. 7; 2-L-4)

483 ff. Fragmentary copy (occupies ff. 17r-22v).
200 X 285 mm.
Paper. Free cursive script of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
The text begins as follows:

> Aqui comiença una copilaçion de aquellas leies del rreyno de Castilla que fablan de los fechos que atañen a los caualleros e fijosdalgo. (17r)

On the same page another, contemporary hand has written: "Fue autor Mosén Diego de Balera."

The text of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* is fragmentary, and the following sections are included in the manuscript: from Book I—the prologue; from Book IV—Cartagena's introductions to titles I, III, and V, part of title VIII, the last law of title IX.

The volume was bound in brown leather in the nineteenth century. The following title is on the spine: "FUEROS DE LOS HIJOSDALGO DE CASTILLA." The pages have been guillotined and dyed red.

The watermark is a star above a hand (cf. Briquet IV, 11174 [1523]).

Summary of Palacio Real MS II / 758:
Amanuensis: Unknown
Approximate date: c. 1523?

Owner: Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar

III. Seventeenth-Century Manuscript

1. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 7365

Fragmentary copy (occupies ff. 56r-59r).

220 X 320 mm.

This is Nicolás Antonio's summary of the contents of the 1487 printed edition of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*. The text of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* is fragmentary, and the following sections are included in the manuscript: from Book I—the prologue and brief summaries of each title; from Book II—brief summaries of each title; from Book III—a brief summary of title I.

IV. Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Manuscripts

1. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS II / 727 (olim VIII-Y-1)

Fragmentary copy (occupies ff. 338r-349v).

220 X 320 mm.

The text of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* is fragmentary, and the following sections are included in the manuscript: from Book I—the prologue, title I, brief summaries of titles II-IX; from Books II and III—brief summaries of each title; from Book IV—title III. The scribe has also copied two different dedicatory paragraphs, one from a manuscript dedicated to Alvaro de Luna, the other from a manuscript dedicated to Diego Gómez de Sandoval. The dedicatory paragraph to Alvaro de Luna is as follows:

> Aqui comienza vna copilaçion de çiertas leyes del reyno de Castilla que llaman *Dotrinal de caualleros e fijosdalgo*, que es partido en quatro libros.
>
> Libro primero.
>
> Los famosos caualleros, mui noble señor condestable, que en los tiempos antiguos por diversas regiones del mundo florescieron, &c. (338r)

The dedicatory paragraph to Diego Gómez de Sandoval follows Biblioteca Nacional MS 10107:

> Aqui comienza vna copilaçion daquellas leyes del reyno de Castilla que tañen a cavalleros e fijosdalgo, las quales mando copilar en vno el muy estrenuo Don Diego Gomez de Sandobal, Conde de Castro, Señor de Saldaña, Adelantado Mayor de Castilla. E por ende se endereza a el. El prologo. E llamase este libro *Dotrinal de caualleros*.
>
> Prologo.
>
> Los famosos, &c. (338r)

A note on f° 331r states that the summaries of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* in the following pages are written by Padre [Andrés Marcos] Burriel (1719-62).

2. Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 1272 (olim IV D 3; 2-J-3)
574 ff.
200 X 300 mm.
Paper. Italic script of the eighteenth century. Approximately 20 lines per page.
The text is preceded by a table of contents: "Yndice de lo contenido en este Libro de las leyes de caballeria" (f° 7r).
Book I, 1r-151r; Book II, 151v-354v; Book III, 354v-468v; Book IV, 468v-573v.
A piece of paper is stuck onto the first folio of the codex with the following note:

> En atención a que no hay otro tomo de esta clase, se dejará este en los términos que se halla, sin necesidad de que pase al librero, [pues para hacerle el índice que le falta tiene papel al principio, y así no hay necesidad más que foliarlo, y proceder a formar dicho índice. Se ha foliado y se lo falta el índice.]

The following note in a contemporary hand appears on f° 574r: "Del Libro Antiguo de Ocaña."
The entire prologue to Book I is missing. The text begins in the middle of I, iii, as follows: "Atamiento [*sic.*] de religion que les muestra que sean obedientes..." (see my ed., p. 101, l. 433).
The text is in black ink. The initials are all in place. There are no calderones. The volume is bound in brown leather, in a nineteenth-century binding, with the title on the spine: "Leyes de Caballería."

3. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 7345
Fragmentary copy (occupies ff. 299r-307r).
220 X 320 mm.
This is simply a nineteenth-century copy of Nicolás Antonio's annotations in Biblioteca Nacional MS 7365 (see above).

V. Printed Editions of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*
1. Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea [Friedrich Biel], 20 June, 1487.[28]

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[28] Konrad Haebler, *Der Westeuropäische Wiegendruck in originaltypenbespielen* (München: Weiss and Co., 1928), Plate 53; Francisco Vindel, *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del bibliófilo hispano-americano (1475-1850)*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Góngora, 1930), II, Plate 446; Francisco

170 ff. No foliation.

200 X 280 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. 35 lines per page.

The entire text is in black ink, except for the dedicatory paragraph, which is in red ink.

The title is given on f° 1r: "Doctrinal de los caualleros."

The text is preceded by the dedicatory paragraph and a table of contents, as follows:

> Este libro se llama *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, en que estan copiladas çiertas leyes e ordenanças que estan en los Fueros e Partidas de los rreynos de Castilla e de Leon tocantes a los caualleros e fijosdalgo e los otros que andan en actos de guerra. Con çiertos prologos e introduçiones que hizo e ordeno el muy reuerendo señor don Alonso de Cartajena, obispo de Burgos, a instançia e ruego del señor don Diego Gomez de Sandoual, conde de Castro e de Denia.
>
> Tabla de los titulos deste libro.

The watermark in Biblioteca Nacional I-1982 is a star above a hand.

2. Seville: [?], 1492.

Whereas the 1487 and 1497 editions are well documented, concrete evidence concerning the alleged 1492 edition of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* has yet to be uncovered. The first bibliographer to mention this edition is Nicolás Antonio. In the *Biblioteca hispana vetus*, Nicolás Antonio registers the 1487 edition of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* and a 1492 edition, of which no copies apparently survive.[29] Ludwig Hain lists the same two editions as Nicolás Antonio, and adds the 1497 edition. According to Hain the 1492 edition was printed in Seville.[30] Thirty five years later Francisco Méndez listed the alleged Seville, 1492 edition and the Burgos, 1487 edition, after Nicolás Antonio, and added the 1497 edition, following Hain.[31] Méndez's contemporary, Bartolomé José Gallardo, cites the

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Vindel, *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo XV*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1951), VII, 24-28.

[29] Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca hispana vetus* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1788), 262, entry number 397.

[30] Ludwig Friedrich Theodor Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Gotta, 1828-1838), I, 49a, entry numbers 4538-4540.

[31] Francisco Méndez, *Tipografía española, o Historia de la introducción, propagación o progresos del arte de la imprenta en España* (Madrid: Imprenta de las Escuelas Pías, 1861), 93, entry number 36, and 134, entry number 5.

editions of 1487 and 1497, but he does not acknowledge the Seville, 1492 printing.[32] Nor does José Amador de los Ríos, even though he follows Méndez as to printed editions of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*: Amador cites the 1487 and 1497 printings, and acknowledges Méndez as his source.[33] The same is true of Pedro Salvá y Mallén, who recognizes only the 1487 and 1497 editions.[34] The 1487 and 1497 printings are again recognized by Konrad Haebler in *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal*,[35] and in a later monograph Haebler refers to the editions of 1487, 1492 and 1497, but expresses some reservations as to the work of earlier bibliographers, and dismisses the Seville, 1492 edition as "dudosa."[36]

The *Biblioteca hispana vetus* dates both of the editions registered of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* in Roman numerals, and it is feasible that MCDXCII is simply a printing error for MCDXCVII. As the case may be, the existence of a 1492 edition remains a bibliographical enigma, and its existence is somewhat suspect.

3. Burgos: Juan de Burgos, 6 May, 1497.[37]

130 ff.

200 X 290 mm.

Paper. Gothic script of the fifteenth century. Double columns, except for the prologues to each book, with 42 lines per column.

The entire text is in black ink, except for the dedicatory paragraph, which is in

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[32] Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Rivadeneyra,1863-1866; M. Tello, 1888-1889), II, 249-250, entry numbers 1627 and 1628.

[33] José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (Madrid: José Fernández Cancela, 1861-1865), VI, 251, n.5.

[34] Pedro Salvá y Mallén, *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Imprenta de Ferrer de Orga, 1872), II, 341ab, entry number 1541.

[35] Konrad Haebler, *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal*, Bibliographical Society Monographs 4 (London: Chiswick Press, 1897), 109 and 131.

[36] Konrad Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV. Enumeración de todos los libros impresos en España y Portugal hasta el año de 1500*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1903), I, 54-56, entry numbers 124-126. Described as "edición dudosa" on p. 54, entry number 124.

[37] Francisco Vindel, *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del bibliófilo hispano-americano (1475-1850)*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Góngora, 1930), II, Plate 447; Francisco Vindel, *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo XV*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1951), VII, 122-131.

red ink.

Book I, 2r-41r; Book II, 41r-82v; Book III, 82v-106v; Book IV, 106v-129r; Tablas, 129v-130r.

F° 1r has a wood engraving of a knight kneeling before the king, and the title: "Doctrina e instruçion del arte de la caualleria."

The text is preceded by the dedicatory paragraph, as follows:

> El presente libro se llama *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, en que estan copiladas çiertas leyes e ordenanças que estan en los Fueros e Partidas de los reynos de Castilla e de Leon tocantes a los caualleros e hijosdalgo e a los otros que andan en actos de guerra. Con çiertos prologos e introduçiones que hizo e ordeno el muy reuerendo señor don Alonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos, a instançia e ruego del señor don Diego Gomez de Sandoual, conde de Castro e de Denia. Prologo. (2r)

The watermark in Biblioteca Nacional I-2297 is a star above a hand.

Copies of the Incunabula are located in the following libraries (details from Faulhaber, *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts*):

1. 1487 Edition:
Bloomington: Indiana University
Cambridge: Harvard University (Houghton)
Cuenca: Biblioteca Diocesana
London: British Library
Madrid: Academia de la Historia
Madrid: Academia Española
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional
New Haven: Yale University
New York: Hispanic Society
Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale
Salamanca: Biblioteca Universitaria
Toledo: Biblioteca Pública
Valencia: Biblioteca Universitaria

2. 1497 Edition
Barcelona: Biblioteca Universitaria
Devon, Pennsylvania: Penrose
Madrid: Academia Española
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional
Madrid: Biblioteca del Palacio Real
Mallorca: Biblioteca Pública
New York: Hispanic Society
Rio de Janeiro: Nacional
Salamanca: Biblioteca Universitaria
Valencia: Biblioteca Universitaria
Washington: Library of Congress
Valencia: Biblioteca Municipal

V
Conclusion

IN CONCLUSION, ALTHOUGH it is true that the knights in fifteenth-century Castile often abused their privileged status primarily for reasons of self-interest, Cartagena attempted to correct this problem by offering a way out of lawlessness in his view of a structured society, a structure which is reflected in the military orders, for example, and, to a lesser extent, in the layout of the treatise itself which is carefully divided into titles and laws.

Cartagena deliberately steers clear of unattainable ideals and all the trappings of chivalric fantasy, and stresses instead the harsh reality of the social and political demands which the nobles must accept in order to achieve peace. The years following the composition of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* bear witness to their struggle to meet these demands, as well as their ultimate triumph, due in part to the teachings of Cartagena, for the success of the marital alliances forged between Castile and Aragon in the fifteenth century depended largely upon the creation of a strictly service nobility. If as an observer the bishop of Burgos was not satisfied with everything he observed, he nevertheless acknowledged the power of the knights, and constantly underscored their potential. This potential—for a military force that would serve and support the royal authority—was to be exploited in the military orders, particularly the Order of the Band, which reflected the chivalric heritage of Castile.

By the final years of the Reconquest Aragon and Castile were united politically and the knights' role in society, always functional, was clearly defined: a military force whose ultimate objective was peninsular unification at the cost of Muslim expulsion from the kingdom of Granada. The King and Queen themselves would, on occasion, remind the knights of the knights' obligations to God, crown and country, and encourage them in their endeavours during these trying times. After the bloody siege of Loja (28 May, 1486), for example, in a calculated diplomatic move aimed at boosting morale, Queen Isabel visited the knights who had been wounded in the fighting. Her words of encouragement (as reported by Hernando del Pulgar) echo the advice contained in the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*: "E luego embió a visitar los caballeros e otros continos de su casa que allí habían quedado feridos, diciéndoles que debían ser alegres, porque como caballeros se ofrescieron a los peligros por ensalzar la fe y ensanchar la tierra, e que si ella gelo agradecía

para gelo remunerar en esta vida, Dios cuya era la causa, no se olvidaría de gelo remunerar en la otra. E junta con esta consolación les embió su Tesorero que les diese dineros para ayuda de sus gastos, a cada uno según la manera de su estado."[1]

Thus, in Spain at least, we are not so much faced with problems of decadence versus prosperity of the chivalric ideal in the later Middle Ages, as the knights' own attempt to adhere to a new set of ideals and models for aristocratic life between the reigns of Juan II and the Catholic Monarchs. It would not be until 1492, thirty-six years after Cartagena's death, that the Reconquest would be completed, under the auspices of Fernando and Isabel. Under their rule the Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula was brought to a swift and violent conclusion,[2] and their reign heralded a new era of vast religious, political and military expansion, in Europe and the New World. Unlike their predecessor, Enrique IV, whose ignoble epithet, "el Impotente," was so emblematic of his reign, Fernando and Isabel were the living emblems of Cartagena's chivalric ideal, and their epithet, "los Reyes Católicos," stood as a monument to national unity. Thus Cartagena's foresight was proven correct, and the political unity that he had hoped to envision within the kingdom of Castile ultimately became the reality of the sovereign nation of Spain. It could be said, then, that the advice contained in the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* was heeded, and that the book serves as a corner-stone for the absolutism of the Catholic Monarchs.

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[1] *Crónica de los señores Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón*, in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Cayetano Rosell, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 70 (Madrid: Rivadeneira, 1953), 439a. It should be noted that financial compensation for injuries sustained in battle was the norm in the Middle Ages. The amount of compensation generally depended on the gravity of the wound and the social class of the victim. Cartagena provides a gruesome catalogue of some of the most common wounds sustained in battle and their corresponding monetary values in Book II of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*. For example: "si la ferida fuese en la cabeça de guisa que la non pudiese encobrir con los cabellos, que le diesen doze maravedis. E por ferida de cabeça de que le sacasen hueso, diez maravedis. E por otra ferida que le non sacasen hueso, çinco maravedis...Si perdiese ojo o nariz o mano o pie, por cada vna destas deue auer çient maravedis, o por la oreja, quarenta maravedis. E si perdiese el braço fasta el codo o la pierna fasta la rodilla o dende arriua, ha de auer çiento y veynte..." (175). On the horrific treatment of wounds and the organized use of surgeons in war, see, Linda M. Paterson, "Military Surgery: Knights, Sergeants and Raimon of Avignon's Version of the *Chirurgia* of Roger of Salerno (1180-1209)," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood, 2: Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Bury St. Edmunds: Boydell Press, 1986), 117-146.

[2] See especially Weston F. Cook, Jr., "The Cannon Conquest of Nasrid Spain and the End of the Reconquista," *Journal of Military History* 57. 1 (1993): 43-70.

Editorial criteria

The aim of the present edition of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* is, quite simply, to fill a significant gap in fifteenth-century studies by providing an edition that reflects the best medieval text of the treatise available in the fifteenth century. The edition is a best-manuscript edition based on the 1487 incunable, which, as stated in the colophon, was copied directly from Cartagena's original version. There is no evidence to suggest that this statement is untrue. Cartagena's autograph manuscript was indeed housed in the Capilla de la Visitación in Burgos cathedral, and since Friedrich Biel printed in Burgos he would therefore have had easy access to the original. The text is transcribed as conservatively as possible, using the following criteria.

1. All abbreviations are silently resolved.
2. The ampersand is transcribed as *e*; calderones are omitted.
3. Word separation is modernized, as are capitalization and punctuation, with the exception of accents, which have not been included in the text. When modern capitalization is required in a word with initial lower-case *rr*, the double *r* is replaced with a single upper-case *r*.
4. There is no foliation in the 1487 incunable and, therefore, folio numbers are not indicated in the text.
5. Minor editorial emendations are indicated within square brackets without further explanation. Thus, for example, *quisieseu* (p. 197, l. 667) is emended to *quisiese[n]*. Other textual changes and emendations are indicated and explained in the notes to the text, as is the case with *[cauallos]* for *caualleros* (p. 94, l. 209), for example. Readings and variants from other manuscripts are included only when there exists a lacuna in the incunable or when there is an error which affects the sense of the text. Because of the large number of extant manuscripts, many of which are fragmentary copies, I have further limited textual variants to fifteenth-century manuscripts only. The notes to the edition are numbered consecutively for each *Titulo*.

Manuscript and Incunabula versions of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* mentioned in the notes are abbreviated as follows:

Escorial, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS h-III-4	*E*
Madrid, Biblioteca del Museo Lázaro Galdiano, MS 474	*G*
Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 1305	*P1*
Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS 2906	*P2*
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, MS 9 / 712	*R*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 27	*N1*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6607	*N2*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6609	*N3*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 10107	*N4*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 12743	*N5*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 12796	*N6*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 18061	*N7*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 597	*B*
Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1767	*S*
Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS 7-5-29	*C*
Doctrinal de los caualleros (Burgos: Friedrich Biel, 1487)	*Inc. 1487*
Doctrina e instruçion del arte de caualleria (Burgos: Juan de Burgos, 1497)	*Inc. 1497*

Works cited in the notes to the text on more than one occasion are abbreviated as follows:

Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*	Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, 51 vols. (Blackfriars: McGraw-Hill, 1963-1969).
Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*	Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).
Cicero, *De Amicitia*	Cicero, *De Amicitia*, ed. William A. Falconer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954).
Cicero, *De Officiis*	Cicero, *De Officiis*, ed. Walter Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961).
Corpus Iuris Canonici	*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2 vols., ed. Æmilius Friedberg (Leipzig: Graz, 1959).
Cortes	*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1861).
Crónica de Alfonso décimo	*Crónica de Alfonso décimo*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, I, ed. Cayetano Rosell, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 66 (Madrid: Rivadeneira, 1953), 1-66.
Curtius	Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

DC	Alfonso de Cartagena, *Doctrinal de los caualleros.*
Fuero Juzgo	*Fuero Juzgo en latín y castellano* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1815).
Fuero Real	Alfonso X, *Fuero Real*, ed. Gonzalo Martínez Díez (Avila: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 1988).
Gonzalo de la Hinojosa	Gonzalo de la Hinojosa, *Crónica de España*, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, 105-106 (Madrid: Imprenta de José Perales y Martínez, 1893).
Gratian, *Decretum*	*Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol I, ed. Æmilius Friedberg (Leipzig: Graz, 1959).
Justinian, *Digest*	Justinian, *Digest*, 4 vols., ed. Theodor Mommsen, Paul Krueger, Alan Watson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
Las Etimologías Romanceadas	*Las Etimologías de San Isidoro Romanceadas*, 2 vols., ed. Joaquín González Cuenca (Salamanca: CSIC, 1983).
Lib. de Valerio	*Libro de Valerio Maximo*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 2208
Livy, *Annals*	Livy, *Annals*, 14 vols., ed. B. O. Foster, E. T. Sage, A. C. Schlesinger, R. M. Geer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940).
Lucas de Túy	Lucas de Túy, *Crónica de España*, ed. Julio Puyol (Madrid: Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1926).
Ed. Morrás	*Texto y Concordancias del "De Officiis de Cicerón." Traducción castellana por Alonso de Cartagena. MS. 7815, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, ed. María Morrás (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1989).
Opúsculos	*Opúsculos legales del rey don Alfonso el Sabio*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1836).
Ordenamiento de Alcalá	*Ordenamiento de leyes que el rey D. Alfonso XI hizo en las Cortes de Alcalá de Henares, en la era MCCCLXXXVI (año 1348)*, in *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1861), I, 492-593.
Partidas	Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, in *Códigos Españoles*, vols. 2-5 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1848).
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, 222 vols., ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Vrayet, 1844-1864).
Pliny, *Natural History*	Pliny, *Natural History*, 10 vols., ed. H. Rackham,

	W. H. S. Jones, D. E. Eichholz (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961).
Plutarch, *Lives*	Plutarch, *Lives*, 11 vols., ed. Bernadotte Perrin (London: Heinemann, 1928).
Primera Crónica General	*Primera Crónica General*, 2 vols., ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Gredos, 1955).
Prosistas	*Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, ed. Mario Penna, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 116 (Madrid: Rivadeneira, 1959).
Qüestión	*Qüestión fecha por el noble e magnífico señor don Iñigo López de Mendoça, Marqués de Santillana e Conde del Real, al muy sabio e noble perlado don Alfonso de Cartagena, Obispo de Burgos*, in Angel Gómez Moreno, ed. Marqués de Santillana, *Obras completas* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1988), 414-34.
Russell, *The Just War*	Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
Saint Isidore, *Etymologiæ*	Saint Isidore, *Etymologiæ*, 2 vols., ed. José Oroz Reta, Manuel-A. Marcos Casquero, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982).
Saint Jerome, *Lettres*	Saint Jérôme, *Lettres*, 10 vols., ed. Jérôme Labourt (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1949-1963).
Siete edades del mundo	M. Jean Sconza, *History and literature in fifteenth-century Spain: An edition and study of Pablo de Santa María's "Siete edades del mundo"* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1991).
Valerius Maximus	Valerius Maximus, *Factorum Dictorumque Memorabilium Libri Novem*, 3 vols., ed. Joannis Kapii (London: A. J. Valpy, 1823).
Vegetius	Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, ed. Leo F. Stelten (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).
Ed. Villanueva	Lorenzo Tadeo Villanueva, "Memoria sobre la orden de caballería de la Banda de Castilla," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 72 (1918): 436-465, 552-574.