

**Medieval Textuality as a Temporal Lens:
The Minnesota Manuscript from the *Estoria de Espanna***

by

LAUREN PAIGE BRINSDON

**A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
MASTERS BY RESEARCH**

Department of Modern
Languages School of Languages, Cultures, Art
History and Music
College of Arts and
Law University of
Birmingham
August 2018

**UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM**

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the multi-temporal layers of the Minnesota codex from the *Estoria de Espanna*, and manuscript culture as a whole. It is an interdisciplinary approach to manuscript studies, which brings together the physical structure, the content, and reader reception to create a three-dimensional view of the codex. In this way, I hope to demonstrate the temporal thread which binds the unbound folios of the Minnesota manuscript together; it begins with Alfonso X in the thirteenth century, follows through to the late-fifteenth century when the codex was produced, and continues through subsequent periods. The centuries involved in the manuscript's development form the temporal matrix of the medieval codex; it is subjected to the social, cultural, and political environments to which it has belonged. These dynamic conditions question the authorship of the manuscript as the text is filtered through the different hands of the prototypes and the scribes, and then developed by those hands which fill the margins and add to the text between the lines. As a result, I will illustrate how medieval manuscripts are transhistorical objects which offer a temporal lens into the past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

This thesis is undoubtedly the most challenging assignment of my academic career so far. When I began my undergraduate degree at the University of Birmingham, I would never have thought that I would be capable enough to read and understand a medieval Castilian manuscript, let alone produce a lengthy composition on the analysis of such a problematic codex. However, there have always been a select few people who have assisted me along the way, and I could never have completed, or even started this thesis without their support.

To Aengus, my supervisor. Thank you for inspiring my passion for medieval manuscript culture, for all the support you have given me in the last four years, and for believing in me when I never had faith in myself. Tutors like you are very hard to come by, and it has been a pleasure to be your student.

To Maggie Ragnow, Michelle Hamilton, and all those at the University of Minnesota who made my stay enjoyable. Thank you for facilitating my research, and for making me feel so welcome. I am delighted to have been given the opportunity to travel to Minneapolis and see and hold the codex which is the star of this thesis. Without you, this would never have been possible.

To the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* team. Your edition was a vital part of my research, and without it, I would not have been able to carry out such an extensive study – thank you for all your hard work!

To Jack, my best friend. We embarked on this journey together twelve years ago, and this thesis marks the end of our academic voyage. Thank you for all your proof-reading and your genuine interest in my studies. We may be taking different paths in our lives, but mine will always lead back to yours.

To my mom, my inspiration. Although you still don't understand why I had to travel all the way to America to see 'the very old Spanish book', you have always motivated me to strive for the best. Thank you for everything you do for me and for tolerating my untidy room for the past year (or so); I guess I can no longer use the excuse 'I have a thesis to write'. I hope I can continue to make you proud, this is for you.

Introduction	1
<hr/>	
Chapter One – Physical Description	10
1.1 Writing Material and Watermarks	10
1.2 Mise-en-Page	11
1.3 Copyists and Hands	13
1.4 Initials and Pilcrows	17
1.5 Index and Chapter Headings	20
1.6 Foliation	22
1.7 Binding	37
1.8 Conclusions	43
<hr/>	
Chapter Two – Content Analysis	45
2.1 Part One: The Preface	46
2.2 Part Two: From the First Inhabitants of Spain Until the End of Eurico's Reign	48
2.3 Part Three: The History of the Visigoths until the Third Year of Pelayo's Rule	63
2.4 Part Four: The History of the Asturian kings from the Fourth Year of Pelayo's rule until the Eighteenth Year of Alfonso II	68
2.5 Part Five: From the Eighteenth Year of Alfonso II until the End of His Reign	69
2.6 Part Six: From the History of the Asturian and Leonese kings from Ramiro I's Reign until the End of Vermudo III's rule	71
2.7 Part Seven: <i>The Versión Crítica</i> and the <i>Crónica de viente reyes</i>	74
2.8 Conclusions	78
<hr/>	
Chapter Three – Reader Reception	80
3.1 Provenance	82
3.2 Hand 4	90
3.3 Hand 5	96
3.4 Hand 8	100
3.5 Hand 9	102
3.6 Miscellaneous	104
3.7 Conclusions	116
<hr/>	
General Conclusion	118
<hr/>	
Appendices	120

Introduction

The manuscripts of the *Estoria de Espanna* can be traced back to the innovative idea of King Alfonso X of Castile.¹ Whilst his life is often bookended with two political events which negatively impact our understanding of his rule: the burden that his father, Fernando III, left him, and the conflict with his son, Sancho IV, the manuscript tradition of the *EE* continues Alfonso's legacy to this day. González Jiménez and Salvador Martínez, provide very favourable depictions of Alfonso X as both of their introductions strive to highlight his wider cultural impact during the 'era alfonsí'.² However, this cultural influence is often overshadowed by the chronological structure of their biographies; his first years in power are very much defined by his father's own shortcomings, and his last years are often described as 'el triste final de un reinado'.³ The beginning of his rule was plagued by the aftermath of the conquest of Andalusia and Murcia under the reign of Fernando III, and O'Callaghan reduces this into three dilemmas. The first was the need to repopulate these newly conquered zones with Christian people from the North of Spain, as the Muslims unwilling to submit travelled to other Muslim kingdoms. The second was the challenge of having to rule those Muslims who were prepared to submit to Christian rule. And the third, and potentially most difficult of them all, was the extraordinary inflation that he had inherited from his father's tenure, however Alfonso's own extravagant lifestyle and his strong commitment to his imperial ideology did nothing to aid this, and ultimately contributed to his downfall in 1282.⁴ This date really marks the tragic end to Alfonso's reign as his loyal followers began to turn their backs on their King. Not only does his wife, Violante, desert him as she flees to Aragon with *los Infantes de la Cerda* (the children of the late Fernando, and potential heirs to the throne), but the bishops gave their support to Sancho IV, his son, who rejected his father's policies and revolted

¹ The *Estoria de Espanna* will also be referred to as the *EE*.

² H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X el Sabio: Una biografía* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2003), p.11; Manuel González Jiménez, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2004).

³ González Jiménez, p. 329.

⁴ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 5-16.

against him. This, in turn, led to a civil war, in which Alfonso was forced to flee to Seville – the only place left, along with some parts of Murcia, which still recognised the authority of the King.⁵

However, his authority is never doubted when it comes to the establishment of his literary enterprises. Alfonso X was an extremely scholarly King, unparalleled in thirteenth-century Europe. He contributed to the fields of poetry, law, history, science and astronomy. He was an extremely ambitious King, who desired to bring Spain together in an attempt to become its emperor of sorts. This imperial desire branched out to the Roman Empire, and as ambitious as that was, it seemed to have cost him more effort and money than it was worth. Nevertheless, one crucial aspect of his reign is praised by all his critics: the establishment of a Castilian, vernacular language for his prose works. This is defined by Villanueva as the key to the *concepto cultural alfonsí*.⁶ Furthermore, by rejecting the traditional use of Latin for his seminal works, Alfonso was able to acknowledge and embrace a multicultural Iberia and a more inclusive readership in their reception, of which, Villanueva argues that his historiography is the most influential of all.⁷ This is due to the fact that it is his most extensive composition, and potentially his most personal; he did not seek to copy those chroniclers who had come before him, but he intended to compile, restructure, and ‘fill in the gaps’.⁸ It thus became an innovative instrument of national history, which served to create a national identity.

The two significant historiographical initiatives of the Middle Ages are attributed to Alfonso X: the *General estoria* and the *Estoria de Espanna*. Whilst the former sought to establish a universal history, intending to span from the Creation up until Alfonso’s lifetime, the *EE* presents a national Iberian history, which depicts the succession of inhabitants: commencing with Tubal, Noah’s son and continuing with the Greeks; Carthaginians; Romans and proposed to lead up Alfonso’s own reign. As the first compiled historiographies to be written in the vernacular language, they become the nucleus of Castilian literary tradition. However, despite the originality of both works, Alfonso X’s critics cannot

⁵ González Jiménez, p. 351.

⁶ Francisco, Márquez Villanueva, *El Concepto cultural Alfonsí* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1994).

⁷ Ibid., p.135.

⁸ Ibid., p.137.

seem to escape the notion of his ‘relative failure’⁹ due to the unfinished nature of his enterprises. By using Juan Manuel’s (Alfonso’s own nephew) term ‘obra sin acabamiento’ as a limiting factor of ‘los dos magnas compilaciones historiales’¹⁰, Rodriguez Porto restricts the *Estorias* within the time boundaries of Alfonso X’s own period, completely disregarding their longevity through subsequent centuries. The *EE*, in particular, despite its brevity in comparison to the *General estoria*, has really epitomised this concept of a ‘work without an ending’ through its extensive manuscript transmission. Forty surviving manuscripts stem specifically from Alfonso’s national historiography, and if the various chronicles and reworkings are taken into account, this figure can rise to around one hundred. Consequently, despite the fact that The Learned King’s original masterpiece had failed to survive long enough for us to examine the authenticity of the *Estoria de Espanna*, Nadia Altschul has noted that medieval textuality does not have to be inherently defined by the authorial texts, but rather by the reproduction of this material through a manual process of transmission.¹¹ In which case, Alfonso’s ‘relative failure’ has in fact become his success, as the unfinished nature of the *EE* has led many others to contribute to his intellectual legacy.

The textual progenies of The Learned King’s initiative are individually unique. They represent one (or more) of three different versions of the text. Only two of these are thought to have been compiled in Alfonso’s own lifetime: the *Versión primitiva* and the *Versión crítica*. The first, known as the ‘original’ chronicle, was composed around 1270, and the second is considered to be a re-write of the first, written in the tragic year of 1282 in Alfonso’s refuge, Seville. The third, the *Versión amplificada*, was written in 1289 during the reign of Sancho IV, with the supposed intention to complete what his father had begun. Two of the codices that were produced by the royal *scriptorium* are preserved today in the *Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*: manuscripts Y-I-2 and X-I-4 (E_1 and E_2). E_1 formed the base for Menéndez Pidal’s celebrated edition of the *EE*: *Primera Crónica General*. It dates back to the thirteenth century and follows the *Versión primitiva*; it contains the iconic

⁹ Rosa M. Rodriguez Porto, ‘The Pillars of Hercules: The *Estoria de Espanna* (Escorial, Y-I-2) as Universal Chronicle’, in *Universal Chronicles in the High Middle Ages*, ed. by Michele Campopiano and Henry Bainton (York: York Medieval Press, 2017), p. 224.

¹⁰ Inés Fernández-Ordoñez, *Las estorias de Alfonso El Sabio* (Madrid: Istmo, 1992), p.11.

¹¹ Nadia Altschul, ‘The Genealogy of Scribal Versions: A “Fourth Way” in Medieval Editorial Theory’, *Textual Cultures*, 1:2 (2006), pp. 114-136.

Alfonsine prologue and follows the chronicle from the first inhabitants of Spain until the end of King Pelayo's rule. Originally, E₁ had also included the first half of Alfonso II's rule, however, in the middle of the fourteenth century the final two quires pertaining to the codex were removed and used at the beginning of the second royal manuscript, E₂. It is thought to have been assembled during Alfonso XI's kingship; it is comprised of fragments that were composed at different times. It commences with the original end of E₁ and is finished with a manuscript that was completed under the rule of Sancho IV along with other texts that were copied throughout the fourteenth century. The content begins with King Pelayo's sixth year (which was actually the year that he became King) and continues all the way to the reign of Fernando III, Alfonso X's father. These two manuscripts are thought to be the closest witnesses to what would have been Alfonso's original work, that is, if such a copy did exist. This notion of an urtext is somewhat complicated by the *Versión crítica*, as it revises the subject matter of E₁ and E₂. The understanding that this version existed came about when manuscript Ss was discovered in the late-twentieth century. It would appear that during the last two years of his reign, Alfonso X had decided to alter the *EE*. Perhaps his rejection from the imperial throne and the turmoil with his son had forced him reconsider his first line of thought. Manuscript Ss bridges the subject matter of both E₁ and E₂; it begins with the Visigoth rule and finishes with the *Crónica de Castilla* and the *Crónica particular de San Fernando*.¹² It is also the source of the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, which is thought to have been made into its own chronicle in the fifteenth-century. These three redactions have formed the way in which we believe the *EE* would have originally been composed, and with the study of the other witnesses it is possible to analyse the 'how, why, and when' of their construction.

As a result, Alfonso X's resourcefulness forms the origin in this stemma of manuscripts and chronicles, which have sought to replicate his own scriptorial process of 'filling in the gaps'. In this way, the scribes themselves become part of this 'multiple authorship': a concept which is explored by Altchusl in determining a 'fourth way' to interpreting and editing manuscript families.¹³ She illustrates

¹² These three chronicles are all reworkings or adaptations of the final part of the *EE*. The *Crónica de Castilla* addresses the reign of Fernando I until the reign of Fernando III of Castile and Leon (Alfonso X's father), the *Crónica particular de San Fernando* is the first Castilian chronicle to have been written on one single king: Fernando III, and finally, the *Crónica de veinte reyes*, which comes from the *Versión crítica* and is a history of the Castilian kings from Fruela II until Fernando III.

¹³ Altchusl.

the limitations of Bédierism, which uses extant manuscripts in order to present a historically accurate exemplar of all of those witnesses, and Lachmannism, which proposes an editorial solution in search of an urtext, that is, the original text. However, these outdated methods only use the surviving witnesses in the pursuit of a non-existent composition, which completely disregard the scribe as an author. On the other end of the spectrum, Dagenais attempts to unshackle the manuscript from any type of classification with the *stemma codicum*; in his words, ‘we must free the manuscript from the idea [...] that it “represents” the authorial literary text’.¹⁴ Nevertheless, by completely discounting the other textual witnesses of an archetype or source text, it is impossible to fully understand the intention or meaning behind the text itself. According to Altschul, neo-Bédierism, or ‘versionism’ as she defines it, is the closest methodology we have to achieve a rounded understanding of manuscript culture.¹⁵ This particular method, which is the closest editorial process of Menéndez Pidal in the *Primera crónica general*, aims to examine the variants of a text in and of themselves in order to provide a fuller historical understanding of the text itself. However, the editor, and in this case Menéndez Pidal, ceases to use all of the existing witnesses to create an edition, thus establishing a hierarchy of variants. As a result, the *EE* is yet to receive a complete and thorough study of all the extant manuscripts. However, its latest edition, *Estoria de Espanna Digital*, directed under Aengus Ward, creates a platform where different manuscripts of the *EE* can be viewed in both a material and/or transcribed form, and so it is possible to compare, contrast, and comment on the idiosyncrasies between the content and *mise-en-page* of the different variants. Despite the fact that it is limited to the number of manuscripts that are available on the edition (due to their inaccessibility through the strict nature of their holding-libraries, and the wealth of manpower required to digitally edit each and every variant) it does have space for later contributions and progression, and thus, has the potential to be the ‘fourth way’ that Altschul was searching for.

One particular manuscript, which has been excluded from all previous editions, is the Minnesota manuscript.¹⁶ One can only assume that the neglected nature of this manuscript is due to its

¹⁴ John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the "Libro de Buen Amor"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 129.

¹⁵ Alstchul, p. 126.

¹⁶ The Minnesota Manuscript will also be abbreviated to *Min.*

distant location in the James Ford Bell collection of the O. Meredith Wilson Library in the University of Minnesota. It has also only recently uploaded digitised images of the codex in accordance with the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* exhibition in December 2016, thus the accessibility of the manuscript was previously restricted. It had remained unknown until Professor Raymond L. Grismer provided Gómez Pérez with some photographs of the codex and the *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* also gave him permission to obtain a microfilm of it.¹⁷ This allowed him not only to identify the Minnesota manuscript as a witness to the *EE*, but to confirm that it is the only composition that splices the *Crónica de veinte reyes* at the end of the Alfonsine chronicle. It has received little critical attention, however the attention that it has received does not provide a full and accurate analysis of the codex; its current deteriorated state furthers this difficulty to create a comprehensive examination of its physicality and contents. Any reference to *Min* in the critical works of the *EE*, seem to reuse Gómez Pérez's brief description of the codex:

It is written on paper, two columns, 280 X 215 mm, colored initials generally with calligraphic strokes and marginal projections, red epigraphs, marginal notes, and Arabic numbering in ink.¹⁸

This generic phrasing appears to have been used by all of those who have mentioned the manuscript before, suggesting that they have not personally examined the manuscript, and are thus recycling Goméz Pérez's 1965 account of it. Nevertheless, Fernández Ordoñez does provide more detail, including what she believes to be missing from codex:

Consta de 11 + 547 folios (280 X 215 mm.) de papel, a dos columnas. El códice se encuentra notablemente deteriorado, habiendo perdido numerosos folios (entre ellos, fols. 308-435, 456-459, otros dos folios tras el fol. 463, 468-479, 491-492). Epígrafes en rojo e iniciales coloreadas y adornadas con rasgos caligráficos alternando con iniciales toscas en rojo. Notas marginales.

¹⁷ Gómez Pérez, 'La Estoria de Espana Alfonsí de Fruela II a Fernando III', *Hispania*, 25 (1965), p. 515.

¹⁸ Larry L. Collins, 'An Unknown manuscript of the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*', *Scriptorium*, 28 (1974), p. 51.

Entre los fols. 1-307 se transcriben en unciales las primeras palabras de muchos capítulos, costumbre que se abandona desde el fol. 436.¹⁹

However, there are various methods of pagination in the manuscript, and Fernández Ordoñez only addresses one here, which is actually the most inaccurate of them all. Therefore, this description of what is missing and how many folios remain is completely incorrect. Ward has since recommended to use the image numbers from the University of Minnesota site as a consistent method of reference to *Min.* Ward, who examined the manuscript in September 2016, states that *Min* is comprised of four hundred and eighty-two unbound sides, thus two hundred and forty-one folios. However, after examining the manuscript myself in April 2018, this is also inaccurate as the University of Minnesota have mistakenly forgotten to upload the verso and recto side from two separate folios (the verso side of image number 103 and the recto side of image 104).²⁰ Therefore, *Min* is actually comprised of four hundred and eighty-four unbound sides, thus two hundred and forty-two folios. Ward does mention at least two modern methods of foliation and uses this to determine what he believes to be missing from the manuscript; he also notices some of the inaccuracies with these methods as he notes that the foliation passes from 229 to 300 without any indication of missing folios. Furthermore, Ward states that folio 201 is repeated, however, this does not seem to be the case as the subsequent folio actually states 204 as it proceeds a number of missing folios. Nonetheless, it can be determined that the foliation is not reliable, and I will henceforth refer to the updated Minnesota image numbers.

In spite of the rather undeveloped and, in some cases, unreliable physical descriptions of the manuscript, a lot of effort has been made to situate the codex within its own manuscript families. Diego Catalán and Inés Fernández Ordoñez have both analysed the subject matter of all the manuscripts in order to determine the stemma of each one. According to Catalán, *Min* follows the *Versión primitiva* until the *EE Digital* chapter 627.²¹ It then begins to follow the text of the *E₂* manuscript and the *Versión*

¹⁹ Inés Fernández Ordoñez, ed., 'La transmisión textual de la *Estoria de España* y de las principales 'Crónicas' de ella derivadas', in *Alfonso X el Sabio y las crónicas de España* (Valladolid: Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000), pp. 246-247.

²⁰ These folios will be referred to as image numbers 103v and 104r.

²¹ All references to chapters in this thesis refer to the *EE Digital* chapters, however, Appendix A demonstrates the corresponding *PCG* chapter numbering system, along with the image numbers from *Min* on which the

amplificada until chapter 693. After this point it follows the *Versión crítica* with the *Crónica de veinte reyes*.²² Despite the fact that *Min*'s stemma has been determined, there has been no study which focuses specifically on the contents of *Min*. Instead, like the physicality of the codex itself, its textual analysis is deeply fragmented and incoherent. This may be due to the fact that it cannot be read properly and accurately through microfilm, and until two years ago, there was no other way of consulting the manuscript unless through direct contact. However, my transcription of *Min* is now available on the *Estoria de Espanna* digital edition. Furthermore, Larry Collins' study on the manuscript in 1974 is the most comprehensive analysis of the codex, although its brevity and inconsistencies does not do *Min* any favours.²³ Nevertheless, Collins does recognise some of its unique qualities: its unpublished preface and the material of the *Crónica de veinte reyes*. Consequently, a thorough study of *Min*'s own textual tradition and the way in which it is both part of, and apart from the *EE* is lacking.

Furthermore, this pursuit of the origin of the manuscripts overshadows the key characteristic of manuscript culture as a whole. Of course, this is not to suggest that the stemma of the codices should be disregarded, rather they should be incorporated as the beginning of their life-span. By this, I intend to suggest that manuscripts, and in this case *Min*, are not ultimately defined by their sources. Moreover, there is not one single author that can be attributed to the text on the folio; there is a complicated transmission process whereby the source becomes a lens through which scribes and readers are able to supplement and develop the words on the folio. Thus, by completely ignoring the unique textual additions, omissions, and alterations that are made by both scribes and readers, the codex loses its individual quality, and remains as a mere 'witness' to a past text. Consequently, by analysing the way in which readers (and writers) adapt the text, it is us that become the 'witnesses' to its dynamic historical development. *Min* is not just a witness to the *EE*, but it is a witness to the subsequent centuries in which it has endured.

chapters begin. Note that, any blank spaces determine that the beginning of the chapter is not extant in *Min*, either because there is a lacuna of folios, or that *Min* jumps from one chapter to another.

²² Chapter numbers will not be referred to from this point.

²³ Collins.

As a result, this study will create a multi-layered record of the Minnesota manuscript. The first chapter (Physical Description) will analyse how the codex was first produced through an examination of its physical structure. This will address the fact that *Min* was once a bound book, despite its large number of missing folios. Furthermore, the second chapter (Content Analysis) will amalgamate the fractured studies of *Min*'s textual tradition and highlight the ways in which the scribes (both of *Min* and its predecessors) have manipulated and modified the text. Finally, the last chapter (Reader Reception) aims to examine the post-life of *Min* by incorporating all of the extant hands that are present in the margins and between the lines. In this way, I hope to create a three-dimensional structure of the codex, which can apply to manuscript culture in general, whereby its pre-life, contemporary life, and post-life form the way in which we read the text today.

Chapter One – Physical Description

1.1 Writing Material and Watermarks

The text is written on a rag-paper support that has five vertical chain-lines on each folio, thus ten per bifolium (see figure 1).



(Figure 1, image number 22)

The watermark is positioned between the third and fourth chain-line and is slightly off-centre. There is only one watermark design throughout the manuscript (Briquet 4846) and by assessing the location of the watermark, it is clear that the positioning of the paper is not consistent: it varies between mould-side up and right way round, mould-side up and upside down, felt-side up and right way round, and felt- side up and upside down.

The watermark is of an Italian origin: Briquet notes its first use in Genova 1465, thus dating Min in the last half of the fifteenth-century.²⁴ It is a crown with three florets and two-halves and it measures 26 x 36 mm (see figure 2).

²⁴ Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. by Allen Stevenson, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968), p. 293.

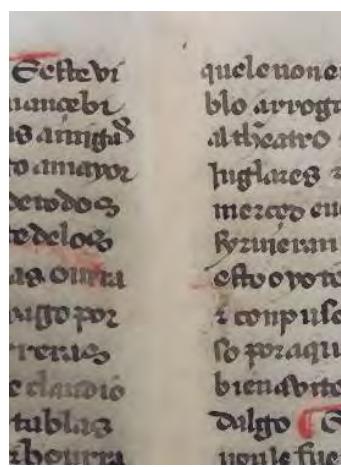


(Figure 2, image number 317)

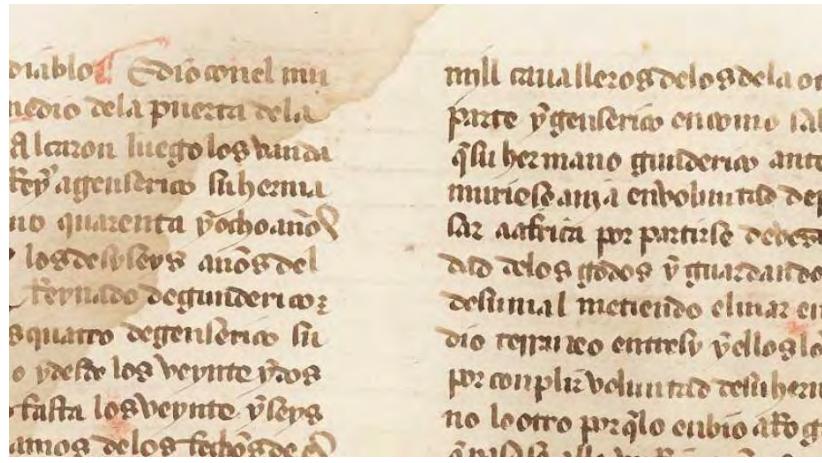
1.2 Mise-en-page

The dimensions of the folio are 335 x 225 mm, with a writing space of 225 x 170 mm (measured from image number 23), separated into two columns of 225 x 75 mm each (Lemaire formula: $27.5 + 75 + 2 + 75 + 27.5$). The number of lines per column range from thirty-four (image number 62, columns a and b) and thirty-nine (image number 35, columns a and b), however, the average number of lines per column is between 35 and 36.

The same format is used for each extant folio (apart from image number 22, which is left blank), and each column has been pricked on the top-left and right and the bottom-left and right corners. Sometimes it is clear that the folio has been folded in half to mark the middle of the folio (see figure 3), and the guidelines are faintly visible on some folios (see figure 4).



(Figure 3, image number 149)



(Figure 4, image number 242)

It would appear that the guidelines were scored onto certain folios so that the indentation would imprint on many other sheets, and this would explain why they are only visible on some folios.

One curiosity is the imprint left on image number 22, from what would have been the first folio of the text proper (see figure 5).



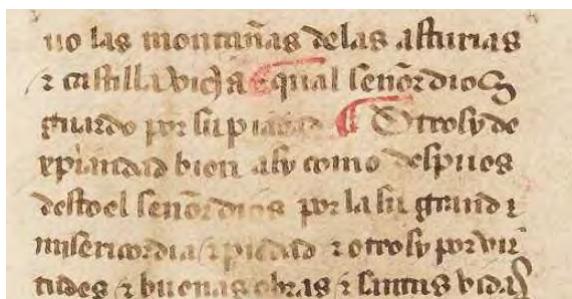
(Figure 5, image number 22)

There is a red pilcrow imprinted on to the mid-lower section of the folio, in the intersection of columns a and b of the other folios. If this missing folio would have had the same layout as the current existing folios, the centre margin would be left blank. Furthermore, on the right-hand lower section of the folio, there is an imprint of two lines adjacent to one another, one blue and the other red; blue ink is not used elsewhere in the manuscript. However, as this would have potentially been the title page, one can

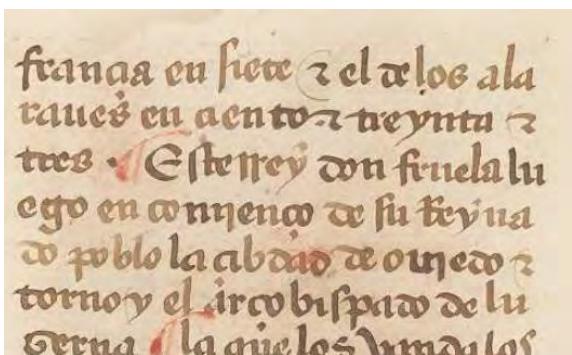
assume that the decorative quality of this folio would have been more extensive. Due to its positioning on image number 22 (it would have appeared on the mid to lower left-hand side of the missing folio) it would be reasonable to suggest that the blue and red ink may have belonged to a decorative initial. Thus, it is possible to imagine that the first folio of the preface may not have been divided into columns, and that it may have contained blue ink on a decorative initial on the left-hand side of the folio to begin the unique preface.

1.3 Copyists and Hands

Evidence suggests that *Min* was written by two hands: the first hand (scribe A) starts on image number 23 and continues through to image number 310; the second hand (scribe B) constructed the index (image numbers 1-22) and image numbers 311 to 480 (see figures 6 and 7).



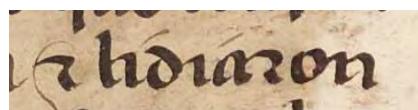
(Figure 6, image number 23)



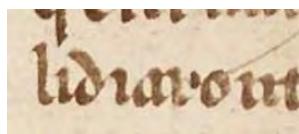
(Figure 7, image number 311)

The handwriting of both scribes is written in rounded cursive gothic, however there are clear differences between them. Firstly, it is evident that the scribes used different quills: scribe B wrote with a wider and flatter nib as the thickness of the letters fluctuates. This is particularly visible at the joints of the characters; when the nib changes direction, the nib-surface also oscillates between the vertical and horizontal positions of the nib, thus interchanging between thin and thick strokes. For example, the vertical stroke of the character ‘g’ is a lot thicker than the horizontal curved shoulders that link the bowl and the loop to the main stem. On the other hand, the nib of scribe A must have been shorter and more angled as the characters are thicker, and the thickness variation at the joints of the characters is less dramatic than those of scribe B. Moreover, scribe B has a wider kerning and tracking than scribe A, and scribe A has a shorter X height than Scribe B.

The joining of separate characters also varies between both scribes. Scribe B frequently joins characters together with a more cursive script, whereas the joining of the characters of scribe A is scarce. The tails of characters often seem to be linked to the following character of scribe A, due to their positioning, and the close tracking of the script often forces the characters to ‘touch’, whereas it is clearer that scribe B intentionally joins characters. For example, in the word ‘lidiaron’ the links between characters are clearly visible (see figure 8), while scribe A wrote the same word without any links to join the characters (see figure 9).



(Figure 8, image number 396)



(Figure 9, image number 36)

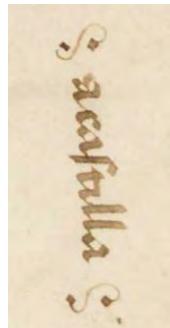
Nevertheless, not only is the typography of both scripts largely diverse, the characteristics and mannerisms in which they write also differ. For instance, the macron above the ‘m’ in ‘como’, to signify an abbreviated form of the expansion ‘commo’, is always used by scribe B, but not by scribe A. Scribe A begins the text on image number 23 without using the macron to signify an abbreviation and continues to do so until image number 29, where the macron is used to indicate the expanded form ‘commo’ (col.b, line 30). From here forth, scribe A proceeds to use the macron, although there are a few inconsistencies as ‘como’ is written without the macron in four instances: image number 75 (col.a, line 4), image number 76 (col.b, line 25), image number 79 (col.b, line 18), and image number 181 (col.b, line 22). Furthermore, scribe A stops using the macron altogether on image number 227 (col.a, line 32) and continues to not use it until image number 310 where there is a lacuna of numerous folios. However, commencing from image number 311, Scribe B uses the abbreviated form of ‘commo’ with the macron consistently until the end of Min.

However, it must be noted that the aforementioned analysis does not take into account the red rubrics; all of the legible chapter headings, written in red, retain the macron above ‘como’. The rubrics were written by the respective scribe of that part. It seems that scribe A failed to leave enough room for the rubrics between image numbers 23 and 310, and so most of the rubrics are crammed (see figure 10).



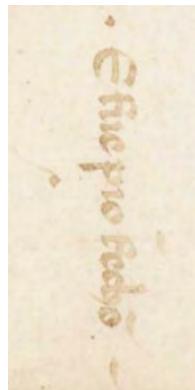
(Figure 10, image number 88)

The catchwords were also written by the corresponding scribe of that folio, and they adopt different styles for these. Scribe B has a more consistent style whereby the catchword is always written vertically on the bottom-right of the verso side of the folio, and it is inserted between two decorative ‘s’ characters (see figure 11).



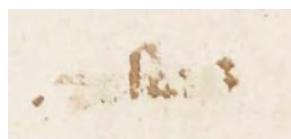
(Figure 11, image number 4)

Alternatively, scribe A tends to write the catchwords vertically in the bottom-right corner of the verso side of the folio with four tildes which surround it (see figure 12).



(Figure 12, image number 186)

However, there are two exceptions to this, where scribe A has written the catchwords ‘destas’ and ‘gunas’ horizontally (see figures 13 and 14).



(Figure 13, image number 102)



(Figure 14, image number 288)

1.4 Initials and Pilcrows

All of the initials have been executed on the existing folios of the *Min.* In general, the initials are in red ink and they alternate between flourished and coloured initials, although, most likely due to scribal error, this structure occasionally elapses (image numbers 311-312 have two consecutive flourished initials). They are often accompanied by a guide letter which can be seen in the left-hand top corner of the initial box (see figure 15).



(Figure 15, image number 38)

From image numbers 24 to 27 the initials have been numbered in pencil on the left-hand side: the first begins as number ‘2’ on image number 24, and the last is numbered ‘5’ on image number 27. Thus, there is one missing, which must have belonged to the folio that contained the beginning of the preface (between image numbers 22 and 23).

The style of the initials varies between scribes A and B, thus implying that each scribe carried out their own rubrications. The style of scribe B (image numbers 311-482) is more consistent: every set of rubrics is followed by one red initial, which has a height of three lines, and then the text continues in normal script. This same style is adopted by scribe A from image numbers 24 to 27, however, image number 28 contains a red flourished initial which does not follow a set of rubrics, despite belonging to a new chapter (chapter 4). The subsequent initial belongs to image number 31, and, from this point onwards all red initials are followed by a sequence of black coloured initials, of which the height is two lines, before returning to the original script. Apart from the beginning of the text (image numbers 24-28), there are only seven exceptions to this, where the red initial is followed by a normal typeface: image number 168, chapter 193; image number 170, chapters 194 and 195; image number 173, chapter

196; image number 175, chapter 197, image number 231, chapter 368; image number 237, chapter 374. Scribe A also uses the same black coloured initials unaccompanied by a red flourished or coloured initial. These often document the start of a new chapter of the *EE*, but these chapters are often shorter and have less importance than those that contain rubrics and red initials. And therefore, the chapters that document the reign of a new emperor always begin with red rubrics and initials, however some of the subsequent years of these emperors lack rubrics, unless the text reports an important event. For example, chapter 204 (image numbers 184-185) describes the beginning of emperor Claudio's rule, and thus red rubrics and initials are implemented, however, chapters 205 and 206 (image number 185), which are only 12 and six lines in length, commence with the word 'Enel', in black with a height of two lines, and they document the new pope of that year and the arrival of two princes in Rome. Thus, the smaller, black initials are used to inaugurate new years or chapters where no dramatic events take place.

Furthermore, the initials carried out by each scribe are also visibly different. The coloured initials completed by scribe B are darker and bolder in colour, and the flourished initials are often coloured in the middle with an ink which has now eroded (see figure 16), whereas the initials of scribe A are fainter, and the flourished initials are not filled (see figure 17).



(Figure 16, image number 347)



(Figure 17, image number 45)

The form of the initials also differs, which is particularly evident with the coloured initial 'E': the 'E' of scribe A is narrower with one horizontal line in the centre and a vertical line on the right-hand side

(see figure 18), whereas the ‘E’ of scribe B is more rounded with two horizontal lines in the centre and a curved line on the right-hand side (see figure 19).



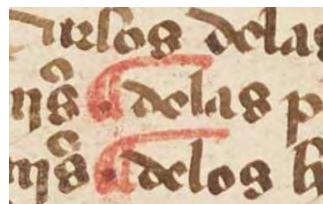
(Figure 18, image number 45)



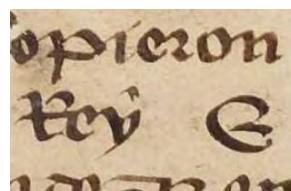
(Figure 19, image number 355)

On the following image numbers the coloured initials of scribe B can be seen on some of the folios of scribe A, as it is likely that they were left unexecuted: image numbers 189 to 209; image number 214; image numbers 248 to 308.

Pilcrows are also present throughout *Min*, however there does not appear to be any significant difference in appearance between the hands of the two scribes in regard to the pilcrows. They are all curved, rather than angled, and they are often followed by a capital letter. It would appear that scribe A occasionally used a dot, or a full-stop, to signal where a pilcrow needed to be placed (see figure 20), however the scribe often seems to mistake the position of the pilcrows. For example, on image number 25, line 12, a pilcrow is placed after the penultimate word of the sentence ‘por que pudiesen ¶ saber Otrosy’, with ‘Otrosy’ being the beginning of the next sentence. These errors are less frequent in Scribe B’s text, however both texts have an abundance of spaces left for uncompleted pilcrows (figure 21), which have probably been missed due to being left unseen.



(Figure 20, image number 25)



(Figure 21, image number 391)

Although it is unclear whether each scribe executed their own pilcrows, it is plausible to suggest that they also fulfilled this scribal role individually as they appear to have completed the rubrications in their respective ‘parts’, and the irregularities of scribe A’s pilcrows are not a regular occurrence in the scribe B’s text.

1.5 Index and Chapter Headings

An index precedes the text proper (image numbers 1-22), however it was previously unclear as to whether it corresponded directly to the text.²⁵ Appendix B contains a comparison of each title included in the index, in the current order in which they are conserved, with the equivalent title that is found within the text.²⁶ I have noted where folios are missing, where the rubrics are illegible as the ink has been distorted, and the corresponding chapter number of each title. At times, the text includes rubrics which are not included in the index, and I have highlighted where these are found in the manuscript. I have also noted where rubrics are not included in the text where one chapter jumps to another. From this comparison, it is clear that the index is in the wrong order despite its consecutive

²⁵ Ward explains that it is not clear that the index corresponds directly to the manuscript itself: ‘Manuscripts of the Estoria de Espanna, (n.d.), The Estoria de Espanna Digital Project blog <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=954> [accessed 15 July 2018].

²⁶ All quotations from the manuscripts retain the style and spelling as they appear in the text: expansions are written in italics.

foliation (it has been paginated by a later hand in black ink from ‘1r’ (image number 1) to ‘11v’ (image number 22).²⁷ The chapter numbers of the titles and the page numbers of the rubrics indicate that the original index would have been in the following order: image numbers 11/12; 15/16; 19/20; 17/18; 7/8; 5/6; 9/10; 13/14; 1/2; 3/4; 21/22.²⁸

It is also clear that the wording of the titles in *Min* does not follow that of the other manuscripts. On image number 147, chapter 183, the title ‘Commo el enperador oto se pagaua de afeytar commo si fuese muger’ is completely different from the corresponding title from *E₁* ‘De Oto ell Emperador’ (f. 80r), or from *Q* ‘De octo el enperador’ (f. 96v). However, the following chapters do follow those of *E₁*: 423-434; 437-438; 440-444; 470; 472-473; 475-487; 620-621. The work on manuscript families, carried out by Fernández Ordoñez and Catalán, illustrates that *Min* and manuscript *Z* derive from a common ancestor from the beginning of the *EE* until the reign of Alarico (chapter 439).²⁹ Fernández Ordoñez describes *Z* as having left spaces for the unfulfilled rubrics,³⁰ and thus, it is possible that these spaces were left due to either the illegibility, or absence, of rubrics from the common ancestor. As a result, it would seem that a subsequent ancestor of *Min* had filled in the gaps and created the descriptive chapter headings that are now conserved in *Min*. Catalán highlights the way in which the subsequent reproducers of the *EE* deprecate the Alphonsine original as they were only attentive ‘al efecto que las narraciones causaban o podían causa en los lectores’.³¹ Therefore, the dramatic change in tone, from the matter-of-fact chapter headings of *E₁* to the descriptive nature of the titles from *Min*, is likely due to the change of audience, which was determined by the period in which they were written. Although these chapter headings are conserved only in the Minnesota manuscript, it would seem that they must have been copied from its model. Firstly, in some instances, the titles of the index do not contain the exact wording of those in the text, which suggests that the index was a copy of a model index, rather than a copy of the rubrics contained in *Min*. This is particularly evident on image numbers 11/12 and

²⁷ This method of pagination continues until page 28, where the *verso* side of each folio is no longer marked, and the *recto* side continues to be paginated until page 39.

²⁸ From this point forth, any reference to the pages of the index will follow this order, unless stated otherwise.

²⁹ A full examination of this will be carried out in chapter two.

³⁰ Fernández Ordoñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p. 254.

³¹ Diego Catalan, *De la selva textual al taller historiográfico Alfonsí: Códices, crónicas, versiones y cuadernos de trabajo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal y Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1997), p. 29.

15 of the index, the only folios that also contain also a large quantity of missing rubrics from the text. On image number 137, chapter 176, the rubric states ‘De commo con las cruezas *que* auie el enperador nero se alçaron todas las tierras contra el sennorio de Roma e las espannas’, whereas the title on image number 11 on the index reads ‘Por las cruezas del enperador nero se alçaron todas las tierras’. This proves that scribe B could not have been transcribing this part of the index from the manuscript itself, but rather another source, meaning that the model must have also contained an index of some sort. Apart from image numbers 11/12 and 15, all of the conserved titles parallel those of the index; although, two exceptions occur in chapters 673 and 685. The chapter heading on image number 376, chapter 673, reads ‘Commo el rrey de frança enbio sus enbaxadores al santo padre e la carta quel santo padre enbio al Rey con ellos’, whilst the equivalent title on image number 2 of the index is written ‘Commo el Rey don alfonso enbaxadores al santo padre e la carta quel santo padre enbio al Rey con ellos’, however this could be due to an eyeskip as the title above it ‘Commo el Rey don alfonso [...’]. Similarly, on image number 381, chapter 685, the rubric refers to the battle that King Abdarramen has with King Ordoño, whereas the title on the index writes ‘rrey don alfonso’ in the place of King Ordoño. Once again, the scribe may have become confused to due to previous title also referring to King Alfonso. Thus, it can be concluded that from chapter 362 on image number 16 of the index, the wording of the titles agrees with those in the text, and that scribe B must have been transcribing the index from a model index due to the disagreements on image numbers 11-12 and 15, and the eyeskips which would have occurred from looking at the wrong heading.

1.6 Foliation

The way in which the manuscript is paginated is extremely confusing and erroneous due to the profusion of missing folios. Six methods of pagination can be found throughout *Min*, as it is conserved today. In Appendix C, I have designed a table which matches the Minnesota image number with each visible method of pagination. It also contains catchwords and blank rows where I have identified lacunae. The aforementioned method 1 is used from image number 1 to image number 29 and it is the most modern form of pagination on the manuscript. Method 2 is the most consistent, but also the most inaccurate form of foliation, this appears to be written in pencil on the top right-hand corner of each

recto side from image numbers 23 to 482. Method 3 is the most difficult to identify as the numbers have faded, however, upon close inspection they are occasionally visible on the top right-hand corner of the recto side of the folios; it is evident from image number 27 to image number 306 (within the part of the manuscript that was transcribed by scribe A). This method must have been implemented before method 2 as it sometimes recognises missing folios where method 2 fails to do so, thus denoting that the missing folios must have been separated at different times. Method 4 begins on image number 311 and is last noticeable on image number 411 (scribe B's portion of the text), it is written on the top right-hand corner of the recto side of the folios, however, this has been cut away on most of the folios, especially towards the end, due to a rebinding of the codex. Method 5 is rarely evident as it has often been cut away, this appears to have been written by the binder as it takes the form of quire numbers, and thus, it is one of the older methods of pagination. Method 5 is also written in the same ink as method 4, and so it is possible that the binder wrote both of these methods. Method 6 only occurs on a few of the folios (it is first evident on image number 128, and last visible on image number 218), this method uses Roman numerals written in red ink on the bottom left-hand corner on the verso side of the folio. The fact that it is written in red ink signifies that it must have been executed by the rubricator, and as it only occurs on those folios written by scribe A, it must have been this scribe who had written it.

With the collective use of these different methods, the catchwords, and the knowledge of which the folios are dismembered or remain a part of a bifolium, I would like to suggest that the manuscript would have consisted of the following gatherings (excluding the index): image numbers 23-42; 43-46; 47/48; 49-70; 71-90; 91-102; 103-120; 121-140; 141-162; 163-186; 187-210; 211-226; 227-246; 247-266; 267-288; 289-310; 311-324; 325-342; 343-358; 361-376; 379-398; 399-420; 421-444; 445-464; 465-482. These do not address any missing folios within each gathering or any missing gatherings, however, I will go through each gathering, explaining the rationale behind this structure. The index will be left until last, as it has already been established that this part of the manuscript was also put together at the end of *Min's* construction by scribe B.

The First Gathering (image numbers 23-42)

It has already been established that the first folio of the preface is missing from the codex. This is also recognised by method 3: the number 4 is written on the top right-hand corner of image number 27, above the number 3 of method 2. Therefore, image number 25 would have been number 3, image number 23 would have been number 2, and the missing folio would have been the first. Consequently, method 2 must have been implemented after the first folio of the preface was missing, and so at this point method 2 is one number behind method 2. From image numbers 23 to 42 the manuscript reads fluently without any break in material; together with the missing folio this adds up to eleven folios for this gathering. As it is impossible for a gathering to consist of an odd number, it must be the case that the last folio is also missing; and this would have formed a bifolium with the first missing folio. This last folio comes in a lacuna between image numbers 42 and 43: the content jumps from chapter 13 to chapter 15, and this material amounts to approximately one folio in length. This lacuna is unidentified by method 2 and method 3 is not visible on this folio, however it is reasonable to suggest that if it identified the first missing folio, method 3 would have also recognised this one. Furthermore, there are imprints of red pilcrows left on image number 42 which do not correspond with the positioning of the pilcrows on image number 43, therefore, they must have come from the recto side of the missing folio. This folio would have formed the last folio of the gathering, and it is likely that a catchword would have been present in the bottom right corner of the verso side. This would bring the sum total of the folios for this gathering as twelve, thus six bifolia.³²

The Second Gathering (image numbers 43-46)

Image number 43 can be determined as the first folio of the second gathering due to the presence of method 5; there is a quire number which reads ‘bi’. However, there are a large quantity of missing folios from this gathering due to a lacuna between image numbers 46 and 47. Method 2 suggests a gap of twenty-nine folios here, however, this method has proven to be unreliable. Nevertheless, considering that method three would have recognised the missing folio between image numbers 42 and 43 as number

³² It will become clear in this study that the average number of folios per gathering is twelve.

12, it would suggest that there are thirty-one missing folios in the lacuna between image numbers 46 and 47. By estimating that this gathering would have consisted of twelve folios, ten of the missing folios would have formed part of the second gathering.

The Third Gathering

There are twenty-one folios left over from the missing folios between image numbers 46 and 47. This suggests that none of the folios from the third gathering have been conserved in the manuscript today.

The Fourth Gathering (image numbers 47/48)

Assuming that the third gathering would have been comprised of twelve folios, this leaves nine folios that would have formed part of the fourth gathering. These nine folios would have preceded image numbers 47/48 of *Min*, making a total of ten folios. There is then one missing folio between images numbers 48 and 49, which is recognised by method 3, which suggests there were eleven folios. As a gathering cannot be formed of an odd number of folios, it must be assumed that method 3 failed to recognise a missing folio in the lacuna between image numbers 46 and 47.³³ Consequently, there must have been thirty-two missing folios, ten of which would have formed the beginning of the fourth gathering, image numbers 47/48 make up the eleventh folio, and finally the missing folio between image numbers 48 and 49 would have been the twelfth, and therefore the last, folio of this gathering.

The Fifth Gathering (image numbers 49-70)

The fifth gathering commences on image number 49 and ends on image number 70, which contains the catchword ‘Esto entiende’. There is one missing folio in this gathering, which comes in an undetected lacuna between image numbers 68 and 69. Although this is left unrecognised by the methods of pagination, there is a gap in material as chapter 90 and the majority of chapter 91 are missing. Moreover, there is also an imprint of a red initial ‘A’ at the top right-hand corner of column b on image number 68. Given that image number 69 does not contain this initial, it must be assumed that it would

³³ Method three also failed to recognise a missing folio between image numbers 68 and 69, therefore, this assumption does not go without reason.

have belonged to the recto side of the missing folio. As a result, this gathering would also have been comprised of twelve folios.

The Sixth Gathering (image numbers 71-90)

The catchword from the previous folio is not found on image number 71, which highlights the absence of a folio between image numbers 70 and 71. Methods 2 and 3 recognise one missing folio here, and this would have formed the first folio of this gathering. Image numbers 71-90 read fluently, without the absence of any textual material. Up until this point, there are eleven folios, however, there is a lacuna of five folios, which is recognised by methods 2 and 3, between image numbers 90 and 91. As a result, one of these folios would have formed the twelfth, and last, folio of this gathering.

The Seventh Gathering (image numbers 91-102)

The subsequent four missing folios, from the lacuna between image numbers 90 and 91, would have been the first four folios of the seventh gathering. Furthermore, image number 102 contains the catchword ‘destas’, confirming its position as the last folio of this gathering. This is the first gathering which contains an intact bifolium in *Min*; image numbers 93/94 and 95/96 are joined together, illustrating that they would have formed the middle pages of the gathering. Consequently, there must have been the same number of folios each side of this bifolium to have created the gathering. There is a lacuna between image numbers 100 and 101: method 2 identifies three missing folios, however method 3 recognises two. With the four missing folios at the beginning, and image numbers 91/92 and 93/94, there is a total of six folios before the centre of this gathering, therefore there must be six folios after the centre of this gathering to have created their respective bifolia. Consequently, it must be assumed that method 3 was correct in identifying two missing folios between image numbers 100 and 101, creating a total of twelve folios for this gathering.

The Eighth Gathering (image numbers 103 to 120)

The eighth gathering follows on consecutively from image numbers 103 to 120, and all of the bifolia are intact.³⁴ This is the first complete (and undamaged) gathering in the codex. The catchword from image number 102 can be found at the beginning of image number 103, confirming its position as the first folio. There is not a catchword on image number 120, however, this could have been trimmed off in the binding process. Curiously, this gathering is only formed of ten folios; method 3 recognises one missing folio between image numbers 110 and 111, however, there is no break in the content here and it follows *E₁*. Therefore, it must be assumed that this gathering was composed of ten folios.

The Ninth Gathering

Between image numbers 120 and 121 method 3 suggests that there is a lacuna of fourteen missing folios (twenty-four are recognised by method 2, however it is unreliable). Therefore, the ninth gathering would have been included in this lacuna.

The Tenth Gathering (image numbers 121-140)

Method six suggests that the first folio of the tenth gathering is missing: there is a red roman numeral ‘v’ on image number 128, and ‘vi’ on image number 130. Therefore, image number 126 would be ‘iv’, image number 124 would be ‘iii’, and image number 122 would be ‘ii’, meaning that number ‘i’ would have belonged to the missing folios in the lacuna between image numbers 120 and 121. However, this would imply that the ninth gathering would have been made up of thirteen folios. Therefore, it must be assumed that method 3 may have counted one folio too many, and there were actually thirteen missing folios between image numbers 120 and 121.³⁵ Therefore, it can be estimated that the ninth gathering would have comprised of twelve folios. Furthermore, image numbers 121 to 140 remain connected to their respective bifolia, and thus, as the first folio is missing, it must be assumed that the last folio is also missing to have formed a bifolium. This missing folio comes in n

³⁴ Two image numbers are missing from the digitised images on the Minnesota website: the verso side of image number 103 (103v) and the recto side of image number 104 (104r).

³⁵ It has already been established that method 3 has jumped a folio number before from image numbers 109/110 to 111/112.

lacuna between image numbers 140 and 141, which is left undocumented by method 2 (and method 3 is not visible here). Nevertheless, there is a gap in the content as it jumps from chapter 178 to chapter 181, which amounts to approximately one folio in length. As a result, the tenth gathering would have had a total of twelve folios.

The Eleventh Gathering (image numbers 141-162)

Method six implies that the first folio of the eleventh gathering has been conserved: there is a red Roman numeral ‘iii’ on image number 146, ‘v’ on image number 150, and ‘vi’ on image number 152. Therefore, image number 144 would be ‘ii’ and 142 would be ‘i’, demonstrating that image numbers 141/142 make up the first folio of this gathering. Furthermore, the last folio of this gathering is also present as it contains the catchword ‘conbidaua huespede’ on image number 162. All of the folios are still part of a bifolium with their respective folios, apart from one: image numbers 143/144. This folio is dismembered, which signifies that there should be another dismembered folio to have created a bifolium. The absence of another dismembered folio portrays that it must be missing, and as image numbers 143/144 make up the second folio of this gathering, it must have been inserted between image numbers 160 and 161. Method 2 does not recognise a missing folio here, and method 3 is not visible, however, the content jumps from chapter 186 to 188, and there are rubrics imprinted onto the top of column a on image number 161, which could not have come from image number 160. Therefore, there must have been a missing folio between image numbers 160 and 161. As a result, the eleventh gathering would have been made up of twelve folios.

The Twelfth Gathering (image numbers 163-186)

The twelfth gathering is complete with all the bifolia intact. Image numbers 166, 168, 170, 172, and 174 contain the Roman numerals from method 6. The last folio contains the catchword ‘E fue pio fecho’ on image number 186, and therefore the gathering is comprised of twelve folios.

The Thirteenth Gathering (image numbers 187-210)

The catchword from image number 186 can be found at the beginning of image number 187, and this gathering contains no missing folios. All of the folios remain part of the bifolia, apart from

image numbers 187/188 and 209/210, which would have previously formed part of the same bifolium. The last folio contains the catchword ‘sennalado de guisa’ on image number 210, and consequently the gathering consists of twelve folios.

The Fourteenth Gathering (image numbers 211-226)

Image number 221 does not follow on from the catchword on image number 210, and method 2 notes a missing folio between image numbers 220 and 221. Furthermore, method six is written on image number 212 as ‘ii’, meaning that number ‘i’ would have preceded image numbers 211/212. Consequently, the fourteenth gathering is missing the first folio. The last folio is also missing as image numbers 211 to 266 remain part of the bifolia, and therefore the last folio would have formed a bifolium with the first. As a result, it must be assumed that, along with the eighth gathering, the fourteenth gathering would have been comprised of ten folios.

The Fifteenth Gathering

The last missing folio of the fourteenth gathering comes from a large lacuna between image numbers 226 to 227. Method 2 recognises twenty-five missing folios, however method three suggests that there are twenty-six missing folios (if it is assumed that this method recognised the missing folio between image numbers 210 and 211). Previous to this lacuna, there was a three-folio difference between methods 2 and 3, however after this lacuna there is a two-folio difference. Thus, this suggests that method 3 has recognised one more missing folio than method 2. As method 3 has proven to be more reliable than method 2, it will be assumed that there are twenty-six missing folios between image numbers 226 and 227. As it has already been established that one of these missing folios belongs to the fourteenth gathering, this leaves twenty-five folios. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the fifteenth gathering would have consisted of twelve of these folios.

The Sixteenth Gathering

By subtracting the twelve folios of the fifteenth gathering, this leaves thirteen folios in the lacuna between image numbers 226 and 227. As a result, the sixteenth gathering would have also been part of this lacuna.

The Seventeenth Gathering (image numbers 227-246)

Assuming that the sixteenth gathering would have been made up of twelve folios, this leaves one more folio from the lacuna between image numbers 226 and 227, which would have formed the first folio of the seventeenth gathering. As the rest of the image numbers in this gathering remain part of their bifolia, it must imply that the last folio of this gathering is also missing to have formed a bifolium with the first folio. This is confirmed by the missing content between image numbers 246 and 247 (the text jumps from chapter 391 to 396), which would have made up one folio in length. Therefore, the seventeenth gathering would have consisted of twelve folios.

The Eighteenth Gathering (image numbers 247-266)

The last folio of the seventeenth gathering comes from a lacuna between image numbers 246 and 247; both methods 2 and three suggest that there are two missing folios here. Therefore, the second missing folio must have formed the first folio of the eighteenth gathering. As the rest of the folios in this gathering remain part of their bifolia, it must also be suggested that the last folio is missing to have formed a bifolium with the first folio. As a result, the eighteenth gathering would have comprised of twelve folios.

The Nineteenth Gathering (image numbers 267-288)

The last folio of the eighteenth gathering comes from a lacuna between image numbers 266 and 267; both methods 2 and 3 recognise two missing folios here. Consequently, the second missing folio would have been the first folio of the nineteenth gathering. This is also confirmed by method 5: the quire number ‘tv’ is present in the footer of image number 273. Therefore, image number 271 would be ‘tiv’, image number 269 would be ‘tiii’, and image number 267 would be ‘tii’, thus implying that ‘ti’ is missing. Furthermore, the rest of the bifolia remain intact apart from the last one, which is left dismembered. Image number 288 contains the catchword ‘gunas’, confirming its position as the last folio of the manuscript, consequently, this folio would have formed a bifolium with the first folio. As a result, the nineteenth gathering would have been made up of twelve folios.

The Twentieth Gathering (image numbers 289-310)

The twentieth gathering continues uninterrupted from the nineteenth gathering, as the catchword from image number 288 is present at the beginning of image number 289. The first folio is dismembered, and the rest of the folios remain part of their respective bifolia, therefore, this implies that the last folio is also missing. As a consequence, this gathering would have also consisted of twelve folios.

The Twenty-First Gathering

The last folio of the twentieth gathering belongs to the large lacuna between image numbers 310 and 311 (also the site where scribe A changes to scribe B). According to method 2, one-hundred and twenty-eight folios are missing. However, as this lacuna has such a large quantity of missing folios, it would be inaccurate to follow this method due to its tendencies to not recognise missing folios and skip numbers.³⁶ Method four begins on image number 311, and this appears to be in the same hand that wrote the quire numbers between image numbers 310 and 482. Therefore, it can be assumed that scribe B wrote these methods during the production of their respective part of the manuscript, and so this must be one of the most reliable methods of pagination in the manuscript. Thus, it could be assumed that the scribe of method 2 would have noticed the presence of method 3, prompting them to stop paginating the codex. As a result, this could suggest that the end of method 3's foliation may have matched up with the beginning of method 4. Consequently, by calculating the difference between these two methods at this point, a more reliable figure for the quantity of missing folios can be estimated. This suggests that there are fifty-nine folios missing, one of which belongs to the twenty-sixth gathering, leaving fifty-eight folios. Consequently, nearly five gatherings of twelve folios are lost in this lacuna.

The Twenty-Second Gathering

This gathering is missing between image numbers 310 and 311.

³⁶ Method 2 jumps from 229 on image numbers 293/294 to 300 on image numbers 295/296, and from 478 on image numbers 375/376 to 490 on 377/378, despite the fact there are no missing folios at these points in the manuscript.

The Twenty-Third Gathering

This gathering is missing between image numbers 310 and 311.

The Twenty-Fourth Gathering

This gathering is missing between image numbers 310 and 311.

The Twenty-Fifth Gathering

If there were four gatherings of twelve folios in the lacuna between image numbers 310 and 311, this would leave ten folios left. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that the twenty-sixth gathering is missing its first folio from this lacuna, leaving only nine folios. Therefore, it must be assumed that method 2 may have not recognised four missing folios, in order to make the twenty-fifth gathering correspond with the standard twelve-folio structure. As a result, it can be assumed that the lacuna between image numbers 310 and 311 would have amounted to sixty-two folios.

The Twenty-Sixth Gathering (image numbers 311-324)

Method six suggests that image numbers 313/314 make up the third folio of the twenty-sixth gathering, therefore, image numbers 311/312 make up the second folio, and the first is missing in the lacuna between image numbers 310 and 311. The last folio of the gathering is dismembered, and image number 324 contains the catchword ‘Ninguna’. Moreover, methods 2 and 4 recognise a lacuna of four folios between image numbers 316 and 317, which would have formed the centre bifolia. As the other folios of this gathering remain in their bifolia, this also proves that the first folio is missing to have formed a bifolium with the last folio. Therefore, the twenty-sixth gathering would have consisted of twelve folios.

The Twenty-Seventh Gathering (image numbers 325-342)

Methods 2 and 4 both recognise a lacuna of two folios between image numbers 324 and 325, which would have formed the first two folios of the twenty-seventh gathering. Image numbers 341/342 are dismembered and it would have formed a bifolium with one of the two missing folios at the beginning. As the rest of the folios remain in their bifolia, there must have also been another folio to

have formed a bifolium with the other missing folio at the start of the gathering. Consequently, the last folio must also be missing, and together with the other missing folios, this gathering would have been made up of twelve folios.

The Twenty-Eighth Gathering (image numbers 343-358)

The last folio of the twenty-seventh gathering comes from a lacuna between image numbers 342 and 343 of two folios (recognised by both methods 2 and 4). Therefore, the other folio would have formed the first folio of the twenty-eighth gathering. The rest of the bifolia remain intact in the twenty-eighth gathering, therefore, the last folio must also be missing to have formed the bifolium with the first missing folio. Furthermore, there are also two missing folios between image numbers 350 and 351, which is recognised by method 4, but not my method 2. As a result, the twenty-eighth gathering would have consisted of twelve folios.

The Twenty-Ninth Gathering (image numbers 359-379)

The last folio of the twenty-eighth gathering comes from a lacuna between image numbers 358 and 359 of two folios (recognised by both methods 2 and 4). Therefore, the other missing folio would have been the first folio of the twenty-ninth gathering. This is also confirmed by the presence of the Roman numeral ‘ii’ from method 6 on image number 360, thus number ‘i’ is missing. Image numbers 361/362 and 375/376 are dismembered, but they would have formed part of the same bifolium. The rest of the folios remain in their bifolia, and therefore, the last folio must also be missing to have formed a bifolium with the first missing folio. As a result, this gathering was also made up of twelve folios.

The Thirtieth Gathering (image numbers 379-398)

The last folio of the twenty-ninth gathering comes from a lacuna of two folios between images numbers 378 and 379, which is recognised by both methods 2 and 4. The other missing folio would have formed the first folio of the thirtieth gathering. Image numbers 379/380 and 397/398 are dismembered, and these folios would have formed a bifolium. Furthermore, methods 2 and 4 recognise a lacuna of one folio between image numbers 398 and 399, which would have been the last folio of this

gathering as it would have formed a bifolium. As a consequence, the thirtieth gathering would have been comprised of twelve folios.

The Thirty-First Gathering (image numbers 399-420)

The first folio of the thirty-first gathering is noted by method 5 as there is a quire number in the bottom right hand corner of image number 399 which reads ‘xi’. Furthermore, this folio is dismembered, and as the rest of the folios remain part of their bifolia this indicates that the last folio is missing to have formed a bifolium with the first. This is recognised by method 2, and method 4 is no longer visible to consult. Consequently, the thirty-first gathering would have been made up of twelve folios.

The Thirty-Second Gathering (image numbers 421-444)

The thirty-second gathering is complete with no missing folios. Image numbers 421/422 and 443/444 are dismembered, but they would have formed part of the same bifolium. Image numbers 421, 423, 425, 427, 429, and 431 contain the quire numbers ‘yi’ to ‘yvi’, and the catchword ‘muchos’ is present on image number 444. Therefore, this gathering consists of twelve folios.

The Thirty-Third Gathering (image numbers 445-464)

The first folio of the thirty-third gathering follows on from the catchword from image number 444, and the second folio contains the quire number ‘bii’ on image number 447. All of the folios remain part of a bifolium, apart from image numbers 445/446 and 463/464, which would have formed part of the same bifolium. Moreover, image numbers 463/464 confirm their position as the last folio with the catchword ‘altos omes’. However, there is a missing folio between image numbers 452 and 453, which is noted by method 2 and a gap in the content. Therefore, there must be another missing folio between image numbers 456 and 457 to have formed the bifolium. Although this is not noted by method 2, there is a gap in the content of approximately one folio in length here, and so there are two missing folios in this gathering. As a result, the thirty-third gathering would have been comprised of twelve folios.

The Thirty-Fourth Gathering (image numbers 465–482)

The first folio of the thirty-fourth gathering follows with the catchword from image number 464. Furthermore, image numbers 456, 467, 469, 471, 473, and 475 contain the quire numbers ‘Li’ to ‘Lvi’. All of the folios are dismembered, however, as the quire numbers of *Min* never seem to mark past the centre of the gathering, it can be assumed that there would have been six more folios after this point to have formed their bifolia. Therefore, as there are only nine folios left of this gathering, it can be assumed that three of the folios are missing in the lacuna after image number 482. Consequently, this gathering would have also been made up twelve folios.

The Gatherings of the Index

The order of the index has already been established as image numbers 11/12; 15/16; 19/20; 17/18; 7/8; 5/6; 9/10; 13/14; 1/2; 3/4; and 21/22. However, it is clear from the table in Appendix B, that there is missing material at the beginning of the index and between image numbers 4 and 21. The lacuna at the beginning would have contained the titles for chapters 1–121. As image numbers 11, 12 and 15 fail to include various rubrics that are present in the manuscript, it would be reasonable to assume that the folios that are missing from the beginning of the index would have followed suit. Image number 11 spans sixty chapters and image number 15 spans one-hundred and forty chapters, therefore, it would be difficult to provide an estimate of the average number of titles per folio at the beginning of the index. Nevertheless, image numbers 11 to 4 are comprised of ten folios, consequently, it can be assumed that two folios are missing in order to follow the standard structure of the twelve-folio gathering.

This gathering culminates with the catchword ‘a castilla’ on image number 4. This is not found at the beginning of image number 21, and so there must also be a lacuna here. From image number 16 onwards in the index, there are no occurrences of missing titles, and therefore, it can be assumed that that all of the rubrics in the text would have been included in this lacuna. As this section corresponds with the chapters of the *CVR* and the *Versión crítica*, the rubrics of manuscript Ss will be used to determine the missing rubrics in *Min*. The last title on image number 4 reads: ‘Capitulo .iii. de commo almançor vino con grant poder’, which corresponds with the rubric on image number 414. After this

point, there are fifty subsequent rubrics in the extant codex, of which the last rubric (on image number 481) corresponds with the second rubric on folio 155r of *Ss*: ‘del consejo que ouo el conde don sancho de castilla sobre fecho dela guerra con los moros’. Image number 21 recognises what would have been the final rubric in the manuscript: ‘Capitulo de commo lidaron eL Rey don bermudo de leon e el Rey don ferrando de castilla e fue muerto el Rey de leon’. This corresponds with the rubric on folio 174r of manuscript *Ss*: ‘de commo oviera batalla el rrey don bermudo de leon E los rreys don ferrando e don garcia su hermano E fue muerto el rrey don bermudo’. As a result, by calculating the rubrics in *Ss* from folio 155r to 174r, it would be reasonable to assume that there are thirty-one rubrics in the lacuna after image number 482. This figure, together with the number of folios that occur after image number 414 on codex, works out to eighty rubrics. By subtracting the number of titles from the last folio of the index, there is an estimated total of sixty-one rubrics missing from the lacuna between image numbers 4 and 21. The average number of titles per folio of the index is thirty-six, therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the sixty-one titles would have covered two folios. As a consequence, the index would have been comprised of approximately fifteen folios; its first gathering would have likely consisted of a standard twelve-folio structure, however, the final three folios of the index would have likely been inserted as loose sheets.

As a result, from the beginning of the index until the end of gathering number thirty-four, there are approximately one hundred and seventy-seven folios missing from *Min*. This, in turn, signifies that there would have been an estimate of four hundred and nineteen folios (excluding flyleaves) before the end of the manuscript was lost. Due to the inconsistencies of the different methods of pagination, it can be determined that these missing folios were lost at different points in time. Often, the missing folios occur at the beginning and end of a gathering, highlighting these sites as weaker than the other folios, and more susceptible to damage. It is unclear as to whether the missing folios were due to accidental damage or were forcefully removed from the manuscript,³⁷ nevertheless, it is now possible to imagine what the fifteenth-century codex may have looked like before it was bound.

³⁷ In chapter three it will be suggested that the lacuna between image numbers 310 and 311 may have been purposefully torn from the codex.

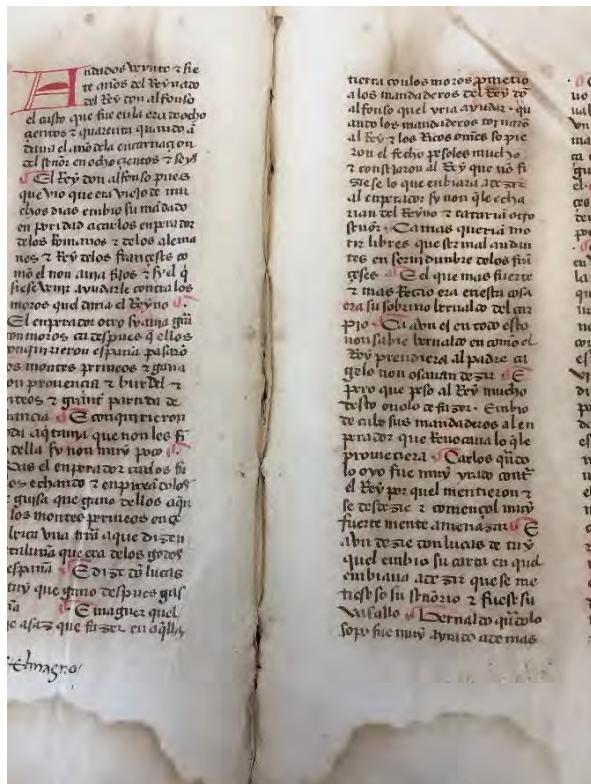
1.7 Binding

The binding of the codex is no longer extant, however, there is evidence which could illustrate the way in which it was put together. It is difficult to imagine *Min* as a unified object with a binding due to its current deteriorated and fragmented state (see figure 22).



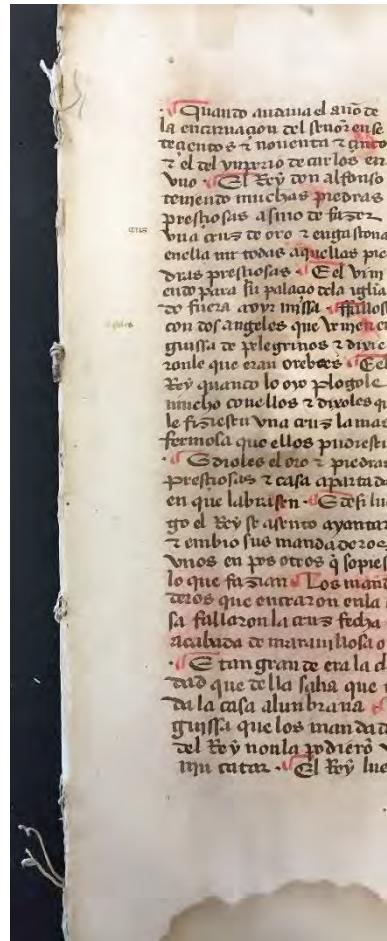
(Figure 22, the extant folios and gatherings of *Min*)

Despite this, it is clear from the previous study of the pagination and gatherings, that *Min* must have been a cohesive text surrounded by the protective layer of a binding. Furthermore, the gatherings were also individually sewn together in order to be collectively joined (see figure 23).



(Figure 23, the centre of gathering number seventeen)

Despite missing its first and last folios, this gathering is still held together by a double string. The two strings weave in and out of the front and back of the gathering four times, and it is clear from the twenty-seventh gathering how this string would have been used to bring all of the gatherings together (see figure 24).



(Figure 24, the binding of the twenty-seventh gathering)

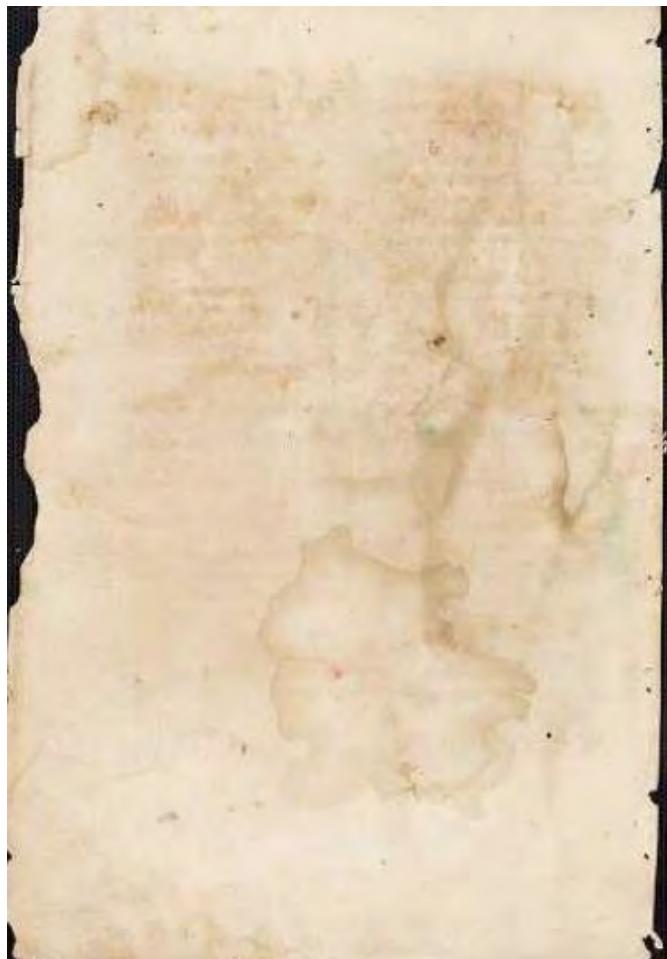
The strings penetrate through to the back of the gathering, where they are held together by a wooden cord (see figure 25).



(Figure 25, a wooden cord from the spine of the twenty-seventh gathering)

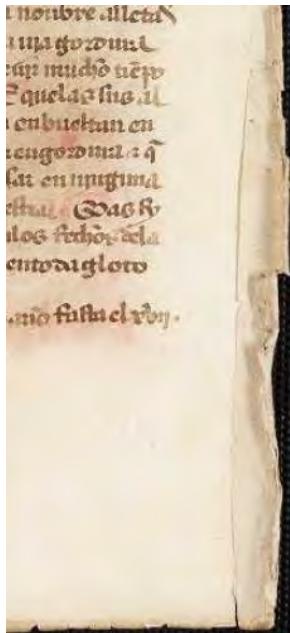
Each one of the four loop-holes made by the strings at the spine of the gatherings would have been connected by a long wooden cord to hold the gatherings in place. Here, the cord has been broken, and only this fragment remains in *Min.* The fact that it is broken could suggest that the binding was pulled apart by force, in order for the cords to break in this way. Nevertheless, it does indicate that the codex must have been bound.

However, the fact that not all of the folios are sewed in the same way, suggests that the codex was rebound. From image numbers 1 to 46 there are pin sized holes descending down the folio in the right-hand margin of the recto sides, and the left-hand margin of the verso sides (see figure 26).

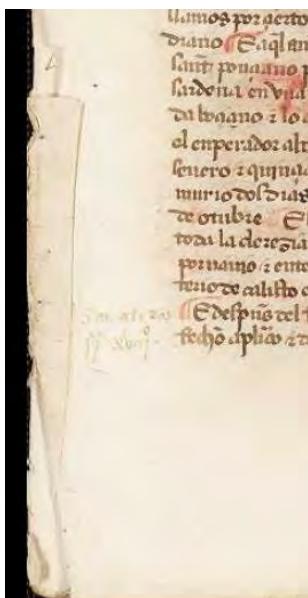


(Figure 26, image number 22)

This implies that the beginning of the codex must have fallen apart early on, and therefore, somebody has attempted to sew these folios together at the sides in an effort to rebind the manuscript. Moreover, some of the bifolios have been manually stuck together with some pasted-down paper (see figures 27 and 28).

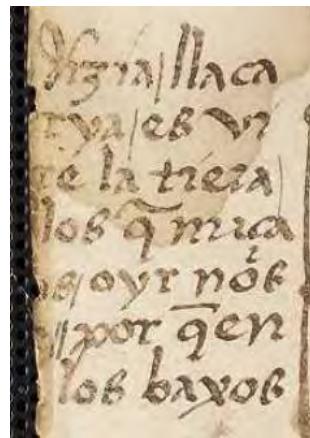


(Figure 27, image number 188)



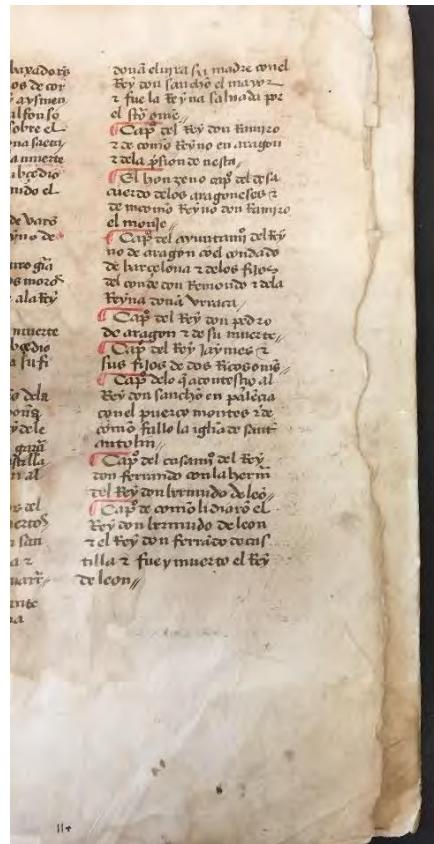
(Figure 28, image number 209)

These two image numbers would have originally formed the same bifolium in the thirteenth gathering, however, they must have fallen apart to provoke somebody to stick them back together again. Furthermore, the folios were also guillotined in this process, which is illustrated by the way in which the reader annotations are often guillotined (see figure 27).



(Figure 27, image number 248)

However, some of the sheets have been cut more than others (see figure 28).



(Figure 28, image number 21)

Here, it is clear that image numbers 21 and 22 have been guillotined a lot shorter at the side. Whilst the majority of the folios in *Min* retain the same dimensions, it is curious that this folio has been cut so much more dramatically than the others. Likewise, it is clear that the footer of the folios have also been subjected to the guillotine (see figure 29).



(Figure 29, image numbers 171/172)

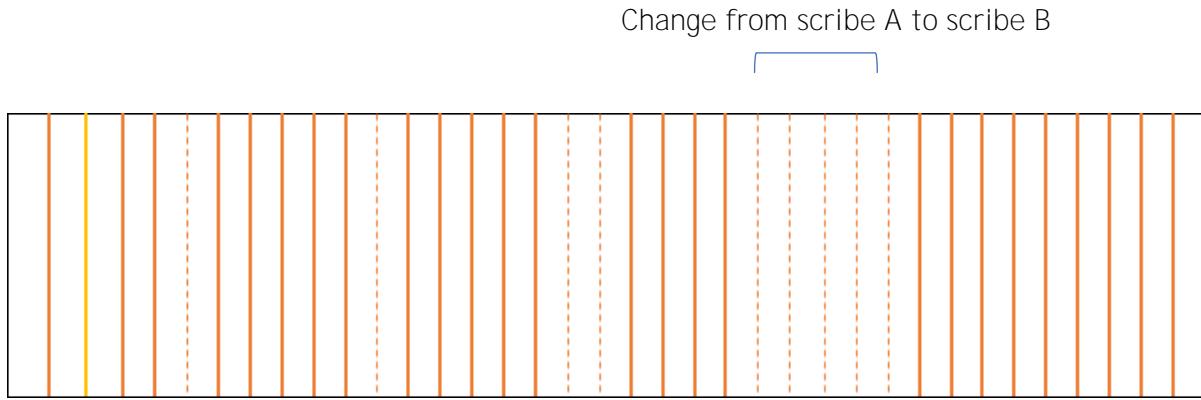
This extension of the folio was folded upwards, so that it could not be seen from the footer of the folio. Therefore, this illustrates that it must have been folded in this way before the rest of the footer was guillotined away.

As a result, due to the evidence of an alternative sewing method at the beginning of the manuscript, and the fact that the folios were guillotined after some of the readers' annotations were written, this implies that *Min* must have been subjected to a rebinding. This could suggest why the index is now in the wrong order, and why so many folios are now missing.

1.8 Conclusions

By analysing the physical structure of *Min* as it is conserved today, it is possible to conjure up an image of what it could have looked like during its production and thus, when it was first completed. The following diagram represents how *Min* may have been constructed towards the end of the fifteenth century (the period in which the codex was produced, as demonstrated by the watermark); the dashed orange lines depict the gatherings of the *Min* that are now lost, whereas the fixed orange lines represent

those gatherings where some of the folios (if not all) have been conserved, and the yellow line illustrates the three-folio insert of the index.



(Diagram 1: *Min* in the fifteenth century)

However, the rebinding of the manuscript does not allow us to visualise the dimensions of the codex due to the fact that they were guillotined at a later time. This rebinding could have also been partly the cause of *Min*'s deterioration and the disordered index, as it is clear that the beginning of the manuscript was resewn together with a different method. Nevertheless, due to the extant gatherings and different methods of pagination, it is possible to estimate how many folios and gatherings the codex would have had (excluding flyleaves and the end of the manuscript). Furthermore, the index does tell us that scribe B must have had a model index to copy from, which in turn, means that there was once another witness of the *EE* which would have contained the same textual thread as *Min*. This allows us to see *Min* not only as a product of the *EE*, but as a product of manuscript transmission, whereby one manuscript leads to another. The following chapter will discuss how this transmission can manipulate the text itself.

Chapter Two - Content Analysis

Due to the efforts of Fernández-Ordoñez and Catalán, the manuscripts of the *EE* have been divided into families that follow different traditions. *Min* belongs to five of these genealogical maps from the *EE*, and one from the *CVR* (which derives from the *Versión crítica*). The first groups together the manuscripts that follow the history of the first inhabitants of Spain until the end of Eurico's reign (chapters 1-438). The second outlines the families of manuscripts that contain the history of the Visigoths until the third year of Pelayo's rule (chapters 439-572). The third stemma assembles the manuscripts that compose the history of the Asturian kings from the fourth year of Pelayo's rule until the eighteenth year of Alfonso II (chapters 573-627). The fourth compiles the manuscripts that include the content from the eighteenth year of Alfonso II until the end of his reign (chapters 627-638). The fifth brings together the manuscripts that follow the history of the Asturian and Leonese kings from Ramiro I's reign until the end of Vermudo III's rule (chapters 639-812). The final family derives from the *Versión crítica*, and it outlines the subfamily of the *Crónica de veinte reyes*.

Furthermore, *Min* also has a unique preface that precedes the first stemma, and so this must be taken into account. Thus, the content of *Min* can be divided into seven parts, and I will use these parts to analyse the way in which it differs from the other manuscripts of the *EE*, and the *CVR*. By analysing the variants in the text, it will be possible to identify the scribal alterations made by human error and manual transmission, and those variations which may have been purposefully implemented by the scribe of a model text, or potentially the scribe of *Min*. There are three types of scribal variation that occur in *Min*: omission, addition, and alteration. There are three forms of omission: homeoteleuton, homeoarchy, and haplography. Homeoteleuton is used to describe when the scribe is transcribing the ending of a line, but their eyes skip to a later line which has the same ending, thus omitting those lines in between. Homeoarchy is an eye-skip due to the similarity of the beginning of two lines. Haplography describes the inadvertent omission of a repeated letter or word in the text. Furthermore, there are two types of addition: dittography and contamination. Dittography defines the mechanical duplication of a word due to its multiple previous occurrences, and contamination is an addition in the text which must have

derived from a different source. And finally, there are three types of alteration: unwitting mis-transcription, in which the scribe has misread the model text, and deliberate mis-transcription, where the scribe takes on the role of an editor in trying to improve the text. Lastly, transposition signifies alteration in word order, and this is most commonly defined by metathesis, which is a reversal in the order of two or more letters. However, *Min* is yet to receive an in-depth analysis of its contents, and whilst Catalán uses (or often misuses) certain quotations from *Min* to align its textual tradition of Z, its analyses have been quite fragmented. Thus, this study aims to provide an individual focus on *Min*'s own textual idiosyncrasies; those which were produced before codice's production i.e. by *Min*'s ancestors, and those which were made by scribes A and B. As a result, this will create the platform for chapter three (Reader Reception), which will then form a three-dimensional view of the manuscript's textual tradition.

2.1 Part One: The Preface

The unique nature of the preface (image numbers 23-24) means that it is impossible to fit *Min* into a stemma at this point. Despite missing the first folio of the preface,³⁸ this part of the manuscript has a religious and devotional tone; the end line reads ‘Pater noster ave maria por que le cunpla dios asy este libro’. It sets the codex up as a didactic piece of writing whereby ‘todos los omes naturales delos Reynos de castilla e de leon e de toda espanna deuen honrrar e preçiar las coronicas delos Reyes enperadores e leer enellas e tomar dellas doctrina e enxienplo’ (image number 24). This preface aims to promote the values of Christianity by condemning the Muslim rule of Spain and ‘los moros enemigos dela fee’ (image number 23). What is interesting about this material, is that despite preceding the text of the *EE*, which was, as the archetypal prologue tells us, originally devised by ‘Rey don alfonso que mando juntar quantas coronicas se pudieron auer para fazer este libro’ (image number 26), there is no mention of King Alfonso X in the preface of *Min*. Instead, the recognition of the codex’s brilliance is given to ‘sennor dios’ and ‘los fieles cristianos acabando los reyes de espanna muy granados e grandes fechos e sennalados los sus principales mostrando cada vno dellos ensy muy grand fee e amor de dios

³⁸ See chapter one.

e de sus dantos' (image number 23). Therefore, it might be worth considering to what extent the creator of this preface credited Alfonso X's authorship. The question of authorship is also applied to the author of the preface itself; the fact that this written material cannot be found in any of the other manuscripts has lead others to believe that it was constructed by the compiler of *Min.*³⁹ Whilst there is not a base text to compare this part of the text with, it is impossible to deduce whether there are omissions or alterations, nevertheless, there are dittographical additions, which suggest that it may have actually been copied from another text.

Additions

The most obvious case of repetition occurs on image number 23, column a. Lines 12-15 state: 'o qual plega al sennor dios deleuar syenpre adelante de bien ~~adelante~~ en mejor a su seruiçio'. In this instance, the repetition of 'adelante' was recognised by the scribe and crossed through, however, it does indicate that the scribe must have been reading from another script to have looked back onto the previous line and repeated this word. The more significant example of repeated material occurs in the majority of column a, on image number 23. From column a, line 3, *Min* reads:

Otrosy de xpiandad bien asy como despues desto el señor dios por la su grand misericordia e
piedad e otrosy por virtudes e buenas obras e santas vidas delos Reyes enperadores *que* fueron
despues delos godos Regnaron en *espanna* los quales comenzaron en *don* pelayo *que* fue el
primero dellos despues del Rey don Rodrigo fasta aqui

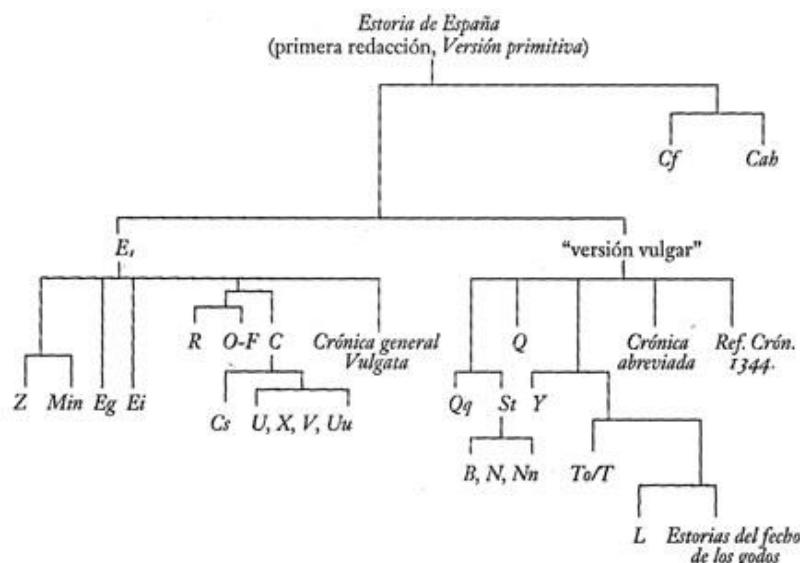
The text then continues to state how these kings were Catholic and how they had made many miracles, yet the Christian land was destroyed due to the sins of the Visigoths. The text then seems to repeat, but rearrange, the text above. From line 27, column a, *Min* reads:

asy plogo al sennor dios por la su grand piedad e misericordia e por virtudes buenas vidas e
santas delos Reyes enperadores *que* Regnaron en *espanna* despues delos godos los quales
comenzaron enel Rey don pelayo suso dicho

³⁹Collins, p. 51.

The second version of this text appears to be the more defective of the two as the line ‘por virtudes buenas vidas e santas’ is clearer in the first: ‘por la su grand obras e santas vidas’. However, the last line ‘delos Reyes enperadores que Regnaron en espanña los quales comenzaron en don pelayo’ is exactly the same in both versions. Thus, it can be assumed that the original version of this preface would not have repeated this same information twice, and it must be considered as a defect of scribe A, or the scribe of the model text itself. As a consequence, the preface shapes a pedagogic text specifically for a Christian audience, and although the origin of this unique material remains unknown, it is clear that it was not the innovative creation of scribe A.

2.2 Part Two: From the First Inhabitants of Spain Until the End of Eurico’s Reign (image numbers 24-292)



(Figure 1: Genealogy of manuscripts from the prologue until chapter 438)⁴⁰

Catalán notes that not only do different versions exist, but the manuscripts also follow the *tradición troncal* and the *Versión vulgar*.⁴¹ The first refers to those manuscripts that descend from the *E_l* manuscript, and the second are those which follow a different descendent. The *tradición troncal* consists of manuscripts *E_l*, *C*, *X*, *U*, *V*, *Uu*, *Z*, *Min*, *Cf*, *Cah*, *O-F*, *R*, *Ce*, *OI-ed* and its relatives *O-sl*

⁴⁰ Fernández-Ordoñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p. 224.

⁴¹ Catalán, pp. 66-67.

and *O-C*. The *Versión vulgar* is comprised of manuscripts *Y, L, To, Q, Qq, St, B, N, Nn*, and book one of *Man* (*manuscrito manuelino*). All of the manuscripts begin with the archetypal prologue or between this point and the end of Eurico's reign.⁴²

Min follows the *tradición troncal*, thus *E_I*, and is paired with *Z*, both of which are considered to be 'hermanos en todo'.⁴³ These two manuscripts seem to have inherited a profound alteration in the chapters that are dedicated to the consuls and emperors of Rome. Both *Min* and *Z* begin a new chapter in the middle of chapter 111,⁴⁴ continuing with the text 'Empos delos ordenamientos que auemos dicho delas [...]' (image number 100). After this point, there are two missing folios in *Min*, but it can be assumed that it would have continued with the same material as *Z*. *Z* deviates again in the chapter corresponding with chapter 113 of the *E_I*, according to Catalán, *Z* states:

Pues que contado auemos los primeros reyes, non queremos contar de los otros príncipes e cabdillos e sennores que ouo en Rroma fasta en tiempo de los enperadores por non alongar la estoria [...]⁴⁵

Therefore, rather than listing the consuls that are included in chapter 112, it numbers the emperors starting with Julius Caesar. After the lacuna in *Min* it joins with *Z* once again to highlight that there was a total of one hundred and three emperors that reigned collectively for one thousand one hundred and sixty-three years.⁴⁶ Subsequently, this is then awkwardly spliced with the material that proceeds the list of consuls in chapter 114:

⁴² *C, Cah*, and *Cf* begins with the prologue of the *General Estoria*; *Ce* begins with chapter 2 of the *EE*; *L* starts in the second part of the prologue; *Min* begins with its own preface before continuing with the archetypal prologue; *N* has an incomplete prologue; *O-F* begins with Domiciano's empire.

⁴³ Catalán, p. 72.

⁴⁴ The rubrics in *Min* are illegible here.

⁴⁵ Catalán, p. 73.

⁴⁶ *Min*, image number 101, '[...] contado de que la coronica fazeencion desde el emperador jullio cesar hasta el enperador enrique el quarto ciento e tres enperadores ¶ E el cuento delos annos que estos enperadores Reynaron en Roma segund el cuento delas heras de cesar e del nuestro salvador jhesu cristo fueron mill e ciento e sesenta e tres annos'.

Estos consules e dictadores e tribunos e otros caudillos e estados que dicho auemos *que* sennorearon a rroma e la gouernaron fasta el tiempo de jullio çesar enperador ouo y muchos dellos que fueron consules dos veces e tres e quattro⁴⁷

Furthermore, neither codice includes chapter 123, which contains the list of Roman emperors that ruled Spain until the invasion of the Barbarians. Instead, they conclude chapter 122 with ‘e torna a contar delos otros enperadores que vinieron enpos del ¶ E primera mente de octauiano çesar augusto que regno enpos del’, and continue directly to chapter 124 with ‘Despues que jullio çesar fue muerto’ (*Min*, image number 114).

These deviations that *Min* and *Z* share are apparent elsewhere in their manuscripts. In the fourth year of Augustus (chapter 127), *E₁* and the subsequent manuscripts (excluding *Min* and *Z*) conclude the chapter with ‘La tercera por ell anno en *que* nascio nuestro sen nor ihesu cristo. e esto del tiempo de la su nascencia adelante’ (*E₁*, f.62v). However, *Min* and *Z* continue with an addition which proceeds this:

E los mensajeros *que* octauiano çesar agusto enbio a fazer esto fallaron *que* enla partida dela tierra que es poblada ay çiento e veynte e cinco pueblos de nueuas guisas e nouenta mill e trezientas e setenta çibdades delo que saber pudieron⁴⁸ (image number 119)

Similarly, Catalán notes that in chapter 424 *Z* replaces the name ‘Marciano’ with ‘Anastasio’ when announcing the death of Atila: ‘Et aquella noche que el caso, apareció el Nuestro Sennor en suenos all emperador Anastasio et mostrol en uision que el archo de Athila era quebrado: et entendio luego Anastasio que era muerto’.⁴⁹ Catalán does not compare this to *Min* in this instance, however *Min* also reads ‘E aquella noche *quel* caso aparescio el nuestro sennor en suenos al enperador anastasyo mostrole en visyon *quel* arco de achillas era quebrado E entendio luego anastasyo *que* era muerto’ (image number

⁴⁷ After the list of consuls, *E₁* continues ‘Et destos ouo y muchos que fueron consules dos veces e tres e quattro’, f. 57r.

⁴⁸ Catalán misquotes *Min* here on p. 101 of *De la selva textual* when comparing this passage with *Z*: ‘E los mensajeros que Otauiano (Oct. *Min*) Çesar Agusto enbio a fazer esto fallaron que en la partida de la tierra que era (es *Min*) poblada auia (ay *Min*) çiento e veynte e cinco pueblos de señas (nuevas *Min*) guisas et nouenta mil e trezientas e setenta (sesenta *Min*) çibdades de lo (*omite Min*) que saber pudieron (supieron *Min*)’. The last three brackets are incorrect as *Min* follows *Z* exactly here, and whilst this does nothing more than strengthen the bond between the two manuscripts, it is worth noting the inaccuracies that *Min* has received in its previous analyses.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

280). It is curious that at the beginning of this chapter *Min* uses the name ‘Marciano, agreeing with the other manuscripts of the *tradición troncal*: ‘quando andaua el jnperio de marceliano en quatro’. Thus, it is unclear how this anthroponymic change came about in the space of twenty-two lines. Nevertheless, both *Min* and *Z* continue to repeat this variation at the end of chapter 425: ‘torna aqui la estoria a su orden a contar del sesto anno del jnperio de anastasyo que fue el primero enperador en cuyo tiempo los godos Reynaron enlas espannas’ (*Min*, image number 281). Moreover, Catalán notes that manuscripts *Ss* and those from the *versión vulgar* use the name ‘Marciano’ from the source text,⁵⁰ however, he assures us that there is no other reason to assume that *Min* and *Z* are independent from the codex from the Alfonsine scriptorium.

Therefore, it can be determined that *Min* and *Z* contain some of the same significant alterations from the beginning of the prologue until the end of Eurico’s reign. The nature of these alterations appears to have been intentional, and cannot be put down to scribal error, however despite the significance of these deviations, they remain descendants of the *E₁* manuscript, or the *tradición troncal*. Nevertheless, it does suggest that there must have been a common ancestor which predates both of these codices, despite being no longer extant today. Regardless of *Min*’s relationship with *Z*, it remains unique in itself, and the content of this individuality can be seen through its manual transmission and also the prototype which it must have been following.

Omissions

Chapters 1 to 438 contain at least thirty-two instances where text appears to be missing. Of course, due to the quantity of missing folios, there would possibly be a lot more. Six of these are physically missing in the form of an unfulfilled space; thus, scribe A must not have been able to read, or understand, the prototype. The following table show the lines from *Min* in the centre column with spaces left unfulfilled, and the right column displays the corresponding lines from the *E₁* manuscript with the words that should fill those spaces in bold:

⁵⁰ The source text is based on Sigebertus: ‘Martiano imperatori apparens Dominus in somnis, arcum Attilae fractum esse ostendit’, Catalán, p. 126.

<i>EE Digital Chapter Number</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>E₁</i>
1	Otrosy conoscer el saber dela arte dela gouernança <i>que</i> es de _____ (Image number 25)	otro si connoscer el saber dell arte de geometria <i>que</i> es de medir (f. 2r)
1	E los departimientos delos grandes e las alonganças delos _____ (Image number 25)	elos departimientos de los grados. e las alonganças delos puntos (f. 2r)
4	ala vna dizen lacariça que es la _____ (Image number 29)	all una dizen lotharingia <i>que</i> es loharennna (f. 3v)
78	otrosy fue el consul _____ (Image number 53)	Otrossi fue el consul rutilio (f. 36r)
186	E van a ferir muy de rrezio a manera de _____ (Image number 160)	E uan ferir muy de rezio a manera de madrazos (f. 83v)
287	e era natural de napol çibdad de palestina e fijo de _____ (Image number 185)	E fuera natural de napol cibdat de palestina. E fijo de crispo vachio (ff. 91v-92r)

Interestingly, three of these unfilled spaces should have been occupied by proper nouns: ‘loharennna’, ‘rutilio’ and ‘crispo vachio’. It will become clear that, particularly scribe A, often struggles to interpret anthroponyms and toponyms throughout their respective part of the manuscript. This can also be seen in the line above, where *E₁*’s ‘lotharingia’, has been altered to ‘lacariça’. Of course, it is also possible that some of the letters had been changed previously (although *Q* also retains ‘lotharingia’, f. 3r) in one of *Min*’s ancestors, however the proper noun has evolved to the point where it is completely

unrecognisable from its origin. Moreover, the first line of the table has also misinterpreted the noun ‘geometria’ for ‘gouernança’. As the text was previously referring to ‘las artes delas sciencias’ (*Min*, image number 25), ‘gouernança’ is not suited to the context, and thus it must have been misread.

The remaining omissions are as a result of an eyeskip. However, it is unclear as to whether scribe A was at fault for jumping from one line to the next, or whether the prototype also contained these same omissions.⁵¹ The table in Appendix D compares the contracted lines from *Min* with the original lines from *E₁* (the omitted material is highlighted in bold). Without the prototype to consult, it is impossible to distinguish between homeoteleuton and homeoarchy omissions as the start and end of those lines remain unknown. However, it is evident that the word(s) that precedes the omitted material in *Min* is concordant with the ultimate word(s) of that missing text, signifying that the scribe’s eyes must have skipped from the first instance of this word(s) to the next. Often, these eyeskips remain insignificant, only eliminating smaller details and so the sentence or clause still has meaning. For example, in *Min* the lines in chapter 121 state:

Quando quier que los huesos de capis fueren descubiertos mataran sus parientes a vno que
desçendera del su linaje ¶ E esto se entendia bien *que* fuera por julio cesar que desçendia del
linaje del fijo de heneas

Thus, the missing extra detail ‘e sera uengado por muchas pestilencias *que uernan* a tierra de ytalia. E esto se entendie bien *que* fuera dicho por iulio cesar *que descendie del linnage*’, does not distract the fact that Julius Caesar descended from Aeneas’ son’s lineage.

However, the eyeskips can also impede our understanding of the content of the text. In chapter 219, the missing material complicates the interpretation of the line: ‘a todas partes tremie la tierra e destruyense los panes e todas las otras frutas’. The reflexive verb ‘destruyense’ is in the passive voice and it should refer to ‘muchas cibdades’, however in *Min* it is applied to the bread and fruit, and so the impact of the earthquake diminishes. There are three other cases where not only is the understanding of

⁵¹ Perhaps by analysing whether manuscript Z contains these same eyeskips will reveal as to whether they were also present in the model transcript.

the line limited, but the fluidity of the sentence structure also suffers. The following examples are not cause by an eyeskip from one word to its repeated occurrence further on in the text, but rather from one part of the text to another. It is likely that the scribe paused and resumed their work without being fully aware of the point in the text they were transcribing.

<i>EE Digital chapter number</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>E₁</i>
81	Lo al por que vienen y rrazones en <i>que</i> puede aprender quien quisiere (Image number 58)	Lo al por <i>que</i> uienen y razones en que puede aprender quien quisiere ejemplos de castigos E en tod esto departiremos de los fechos de las espannas en sos logares o acaecieren (f. 37v)
198	E segund cuentan los escreuidores delas coronicas que lo fizó el senado (Image number 176)	E segund cuentan los escriuidores de las estorias. este Emperador tan sola mientre e no ninguno de los otros; fue soterrado de dentro delos adarues de la uilla depues de Julio Cesar. ¶ E fizó lo el senado (ff. 88v-89r)
373	Ca tanto <i>que</i> los vandalo asmando <i>que</i> alongandose desta guisa (Image numbers 236-237)	Ca tanto que los Vuandalos e los Silinges e los Alanos e los Sueuos uieron que Veriano e Didimo eran muertos. E que no auie quien uedalles la passada de los puertos; uinieronse todos para Espanna.

		Asmando que alongando se. Desta guisa (f. 128r)
--	--	---

The first example illustrates where *Min* concluded chapter 81; after this line, chapter 82 begins. Unlike the other chapters, this one does not seamlessly finish and so the reader is left to imagine what it is that the two consuls wished to find out. Similarly, in *Min*, chapter 198, it remains unclear what it is ‘que lo fizo el senado’. Finally, in chapter 373, the line completely ignores the death of ‘Veriano e Didimo’, and the merging of the two separate clauses does not make sense. Thus, unlike the previous eyeskips in which the fluidity of the text often remains unaffected, here the scribe’s lack of attention perhaps draws more of the reader’s attention to the awkward phrasing.

Additions

There are countless additions within this part of the codex; the majority of these are due to repeated words, phrases, or lines. Often this comes in the form of one word that is transcribed twice: on image 23, ‘huestes’ is written at the end of line 17 and again at the start of line 18. This type of dittotherapy is common and does not distract the reader from the content. However, the scribe’s habitual duplication of phrases and lines can create a staccato reading. This can be seen at the end of one page and the start of another: scribe A often repeats the last few words of the ultimate line on a page at the beginning of the next folio. The last line of image number 145 reads ‘Roma ¶ E aquél fue el primero que’, and the first line of image number 146 states ‘fue el primero que mostro en Roma’. As a consequence, it seems as though the function of the catchword has been internalised within the text itself, and rather than serving as a piece of paratextual apparatus, which is external to the reading of the integral text, it is brought to the forefront of the reader’s attention. In the words of Slights, catchwords

produce ‘a kind of stutter effect’ by repeating a word for non-grammatical purposes.⁵² Thus, rather than assuring the continuity of the text, these internalised ‘catchwords’ antithetically disrupt the flow of reading.

This notion of an inept reading of the text is also present with the repetition of larger content.

In chapter 72, image number 48, *Min* reads:

E fizolo todo ayuntar e dio muy grandes donas alos de çecilia e de ytalia que fizieron E vinieran en su ayuda ¶ E fizo luego en africa muy grandes donas alos de ytalia e de çecilia que fizieran e vinieran en su ayuda E fizo luego en africa muy grandes ~~donas~~ cortes

The scribe almost repeats the same line, ‘e dio muy grandes donas [...] E vinieran en su ayuda’ three times, however, the final ‘donas’ is crossed out after realising this mistake. Yet, it is interesting that the second repetition of the places, ‘çecilia e de ytalia’, is reversed. Thus, it is plausible that the scribe was actually copying this dittographical error from the model text, and then proceeded to reciprocate the same mistake twice, before realising and correcting it. Nevertheless, repeated lines such as this can distort and confuse the text, creating a disjointed interpretation.

Alternatively, the other cases of additions take the form of contamination, that is, it has been sourced from somewhere other than the urtext. These arguably enhance the text rather than disrupt its meaning. For example, in chapter 1, image number 26, Alfonso X’s father is described as ‘muy noble e santo e bien aventurado Rey don fernando’. In *E₁* he is only described as ‘muy noble Rey don Fernando’ (f. 2v), and so through the process of scribal transmission from this manuscript to *Min*, the modifiers ‘santo e bien aventurado’ have been added. This is most likely due to a scribe’s approval of King Fernando III, and so this contamination actually enhances the reader’s reception.

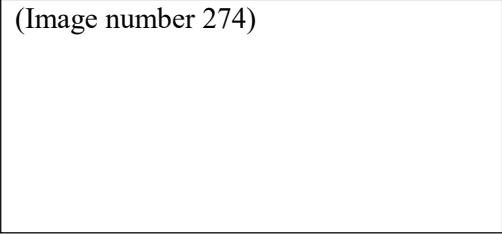
There are four other additions in this part that augment the reader’s understanding of the text.

The following table highlights in bold the part of the text which is not included in *E₁*:

⁵² William W. E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 176.

<i>EE Digital Chapter Number</i>	<i>Min</i>
5	<p>Este nonbre <i>quel</i> pusieron fue tomado delos nombres dellos Delas primeras quatro letras de tolemon e delas dos postrimeras de bruto ansy juntaron el nonbre Toledo (Image number 32)</p>
15	<p>E llamauanle dos hermanos fasta que los rromanos le pusieron nonbre Toledo quando fueron sennores en espanna (Image number 43)</p>
171	<p>E mato con el deso vno que lo guardaua enla carçel mientra que yoguiera preso por que lo conuertiera Santiago ala fe de nuestro señor jhesus cristo (Image number 130)</p>
421	<p>aqui se torna la coronica a su lugar donde la dexamos quando començaron a contar por menudo el fecho delos godos y delos otros linajes onde vinieron todos según la avemos oydo</p>

(Image number 274)



Whilst there are no dramatic changes to the material, these additions serve to support the interpretation of the reader. For instance, the first piece of contaminated material assists the understanding of how the city Toledo gained its name; rather than stating that it is composed of the names ‘tolemon’ and ‘bruto’, *Min* explains how these names were merged together. Subsequently, this second type of addition, despite being defined as contaminating the source text, it develops the way in which the text is understood.

Alterations

Due to the different periods in which manuscripts were transcribed, some alterations become a by-product of that period. As outlined by Wagner and others, scribes often standardised norms in a language.⁵³ This can be seen in common minor spelling changes, for example ‘cuemo’ in *E_l* becomes ‘como’ or ‘commo’ in *Min*. These are deliberate and conscious changes that scribes make in order to modernise the text. However, the majority of the alterations in *Min* do not seem to be deliberate as they appear to be due to the carelessness of the scribe. It has already been established that scribe A seems to have found difficulty in correctly transcribing proper nouns, and this is particularly evident in long lists of names, i.e. the names of saints. At the end of chapter 286, there is a long list of martyred saints, of which, *Min* imperfectly transcribes on image number 224:

ssant cabadian ¶ ssant proncho ¶ Sand bebino ¶ Sand presto ¶ Sand felix ¶ Sand fortinato ¶
 ssand achilleodiacono ¶ Sand andiacono ¶ Sand andocheo ¶ San torso ¶ Sand felix ¶ Sand
 synforiano e otros santos martires ¶ Sand reuenano obispo ¶ Sant quitino ¶ Sand tono ¶ Sand to
 cuticano ¶ Sand paulo obispo ¶ Diez santos martires ¶ Sant yrenediacono ¶ Sand espeosipan ¶

⁵³ Esther-Miriam Wagner and others (eds), *Scribes as Agents of Language Change* (Walter de Gruyter: Boston, 2013), p. 5.

Sand cleosypo ¶ Sand veonis ¶ ssand tripol ¶ Sand madgalo ¶ ssand caspasyo ¶ Sand mauees ¶
ssand agapito

Not only are these saints in a different order to those in *E₁*, San Terculino is missing, and the spelling of the names can be brought into question. For example, San Conon in the *E₁* manuscript is written as ‘tono’ in *Min.* It is almost unrecognisable, to the point where it can only be identified through the process of elimination. However, it is understandable that this long list of martyred saints, most likely unknown to the scribe, was easily misinterpreted. Nevertheless, some of the scribe’s misreadings are questionable. In chapter 89, image number 67, the scribe transcribes the King of Germany as ‘Rey de animalia’; the proposition that Julius Caesar was at war with an animal king, although entertaining, is rather doubtful. Still, the scribe’s intelligence is also brought into question when they transcribe their own country as ‘ezianan’ (image number 282). As it will become clear in the third chapter, most of the references to ‘espanna’ are highlighted in some way by the reader as an act of patriotism, and so it would be assumed that the scribe would have also had this sentiment. However, it seems that the potential exhaustion and mechanical rhythms of transcribing had definitely affected the quality of the transmission.

Fortunately, this is not the case with instances of transposition, that is, the change in word order. In chapter 121, the line in *Min* reads ‘E entre todo lo al fallaron vn luçillo mucho apuesto ensomo dela cobertura estauan escritas muchas letras que dezian aqui yaze soterrado capis el que pobla la çibdad de capia’ (image number 112), whereas the corresponding line in *E₁* states ‘E entre todo lo al fallaron un luziello much apuesto. E ensomo de la cobertura estaua escripto. Capis el que poble la cibdat de Capua yaze aqui soterrado’ (f. 60r). The words on the grave of Capis are altered slightly in *Min*, and although this does not distort the meaning of the line, it somewhat questions the veracity of what was physically written on Capis’ grave.

Up until now, none of the previous alterations have caused a dramatic impact on the chronology of the text. In this part, there are two cases whereby a large section of material or chapters have been completely rearranged. Chapters 218 and 219 have been swapped around so that the events sixth and seventh year of emperors Marco Aurelio and Lucio Vero have been reversed. This temporal abnormality

is only small, and it is easily identified by the beginning of the two chapters as the first reads ‘Enel seteno anno’ and the second states ‘Enel sesto anno’ (image number 192). However, the same cannot be said about the section that spans chapters 99 to 102. Chapter 99 begins normally on image number 79 as it precedes chapter 98. However, this chapter finishes abruptly on image number 82 as it is spliced with the end of chapter 100. The line ‘Mas desque se asentaron auer sus solares en vno’ from chapter 99 is followed by ‘dellos y ouo que luego comenzaron a ferir enlos dela otra parte’ from chapter 100 (image number 82). This chapter continues until the end ‘pero que los non matauan los otros de buena guisa’, which is then followed by the rubrics of chapter 101, and the first line ‘Non fue tenida por buena nin bien guisada cosa’ (image number 83). Chapter 101 is then cut off halfway through and merged with another part of chapter 100. The line ‘encabo tanto fueron apremiados dela grand sed que desmayaron todos los malos dela hueste e desesperauan’ from chapter 101 is followed by ‘quales vençeran oseran vençidos encabo ouieron su consejo’ from chapter 100 (image number 84). Chapter 100 then reads fluently until the line that comes before the last line of this chapter, which appears on image number 82, and is followed by the end part of chapter 99. Thus, the line ‘ya ellos tenian en coraçon de ganar y onrra’ from chapter 100 precedes the line ‘¶ Muchos departieron de muchas cosas fasta que ouieron rretraher delos fechos de su batalla’ from chapter 99 (image number 85). Chapter 99 is completed and the beginning of chapter 100 (with rubrics) commences. Subsequently, the last line of chapter 99, ‘ansy contesçio aqui alos Romanos’, comes appropriately before the commencement of chapter 100, ‘Despues que vio petreo commo pasauan los Romanos’ (image number 85). Chapter 100 is terminated halfway through and chapter 101 commences *in medias res*. Therefore, the line ‘E agora quando estades en hueste o en armas anda en dubda la suerte dela batalla’ from chapter 100 continues with the line ‘ya de poder escapar a uida e asmauan de fuyr su seles guisase’ from chapter 101 (image number 86). Finally, chapter 101 is completed and suitably followed with chapter 102, where the text continues chronologically.

Catlalán has not noted the same occurrence in Z, thus it can be assumed that this is unique to *Min.* An alteration of this scale completely changes the plot of this section. From the beginning of chapter 99 to the end of chapter 101 the original plot is as follows:

1. The men of both armies are sitting and talking with their families.
2. Petreo gives his army a pep talk about how they should fight for honour and for their land, against Cesar, and so they go into battle.
3. Petreo orders his armies to kill them whilst they are unarmed
4. Julius Cesar is infuriated and so he pushes Petreo and Affreneo's army back to the valley, where there is no water, but Petreo announces that it is better to die in battle than of thirst.
5. Cesar sees them coming but he does not want to kill them without honour, instead he intends to punish them.
6. This pushes Petreo and Affreneo back to the valley, where their thirst becomes uncontrollable.

The order of these events is altered in *Min*:

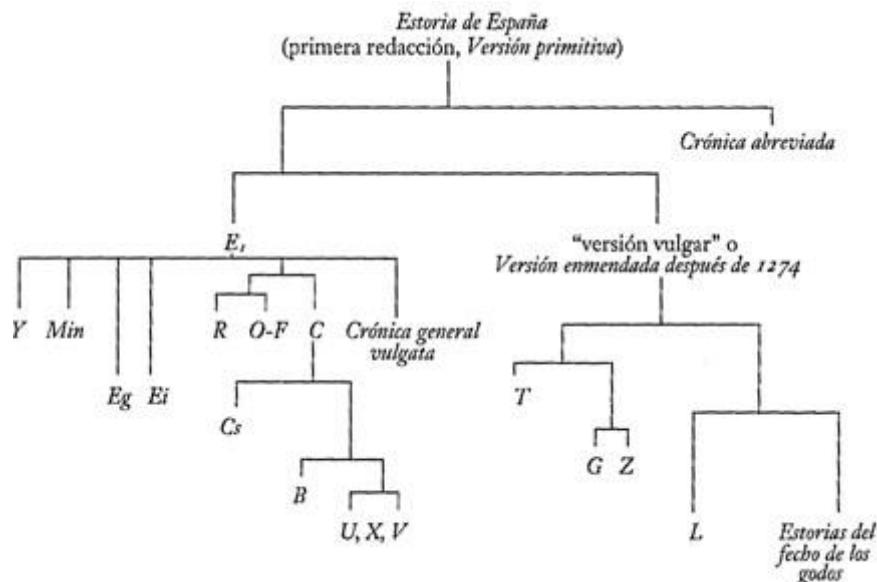
1. The men of both armies are sitting and talking with their families.
3. Petreo orders his armies to kill them whilst they are unarmed
4. Julius Cesar is infuriated and so he pushes Petreo and Affreneo's army back to the valley, where there is no water, but Petreo announces that it is better to die in battle than of thirst.
2. Petreo gives his army a pep talk about how they should fight for honour and for their land, against Cesar, and so they go into battle.
5. Cesar sees them coming but he does not want to kill them without honour, instead he intends to punish them.
6. This pushes Petreo and Affreneo back to the valley, where their thirst becomes uncontrollable.

Although the sequence of events appears to be coherent, the way in which the chapters are spliced together does not make grammatical sense. The line 'dela grand sed que desmayaron todos los malos

dela hueste e desesperauan quales vençeran oseran vençidos encabo ouieron su consejo' (image number 84) does not have a smooth transition from 'desesperauen', and there is no reference to 'su consejo' before this point. Consequently, it cannot be determined that this was a deliberate alteration, and thus, it is more likely that the model manuscript may have also fallen apart in this section and the folios were not in the correct order. Therefore, the points where one chapter is spliced with a different part of another could indicate the end of one folio of the model and the beginning of another. Nevertheless, this major rearrangement of material disrupts the reader's flow of events as it becomes confusing.

Subsequently, it can be established that there are many by-products of manual transmission in this part of the codex. Although occasionally the omissions, additions, and alterations do not distract the reader from the core text, the majority of them disrupt the reader's flow, causing a disjointed and awkward reading. Nearly all of the principal changes in the text are documented by Catalán for having a commonality with *Z*, however, there are instances of major alterations which appear to be unique to *Min*, and thus, it can be suggested that the two manuscripts cannot have derived directly from one model. This means that there must have been at least two more witnesses of the *EE* before the production of *Min* and *Z*. Whilst it seems that a large portion of *Min*'s deviations were as a consequence of these predecessors, a lot of the textual abnormalities can also be attributed to the scribe A; it would seem that scribe A had submitted themselves to the mechanics of transcribing. In turn, the beginning of *Min* is both characteristically associated and disassociated from the *tradición troncal*. Whilst it does follow this textual tradition, it also diverges from its strict structure, which creates an alternative reading of the *EE*.

2.3 Part Three: The History of the Visigoths until the Third Year of Pelayo's Rule (image numbers 293-310)



(Figure 2: Genealogy of manuscripts from chapter 439-572)⁵⁴

From the point of Alarico's reign (chapter 439), Catalán explains that there is a reorganisation of the manuscript tradition.⁵⁵ This section is composed by fewer manuscripts than the previous part, and those which do contain this content do not belong to the same families that were previously established. Manuscripts *Q*, *Qq*, *St*, *N*, and *Nn* have completely disappeared, and manuscript *T* now forms a part of this genealogy. Despite the close bond of manuscripts *Min* and *Z* in the previous part, they now belong to different branches. Whilst *Min* retains its position in the *tradición troncal*, *Z* now forms part of the *Versión vulgar*.

Min only contains a small part of this section due to the lacuna after image number 310, although there are no missing folios before this point. Also, despite beginning with the rubrics of chapter 444 on image number 297: ‘Delo que contesçio enel xviii. annos del Reynado del Rey alarico’, the text that follows actually belongs to chapter 469. Thus, the remaining part of this section is restricted to the

⁵⁴ Fernández-Ordoñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p. 226.

⁵⁵ Catalán, p. 132.

twentieth gathering of the codex,⁵⁶ and it is the last existing part of the manuscript written by scribe A.

Therefore, due to the small quantity of remaining

folios that form part of this textual reorganisation, it is difficult to create a rounded picture of *Min*.

Nevertheless, it is still full of idiosyncrasies which contribute to the unique nature of the codex.

Omissions

Within the existing nine folios there are three identifiable eyeskips:

<i>EE Digital</i> Chapter Number	<i>Min</i>	<i>E₁</i>
474	fue estonçes conel en su ayuda mito Rey delos sueuos e murió y luego en seuilla (Image number 300)	e fue estonces con ell en ayuda Miro rey de los Sueuos. ¶ Hermenigildo saliosse luego de Seuilla a ascuso del padre. con miedo que ouo dell. e fuesse desterrar. ¶ Miro rey delos Sueuos murió luego y en Seuilla (f. 162v)
483	e quanto el padre fue muy cruel alos dela fee de ihesu <i>cristo</i> ¶ Luego <i>que</i> començo a Reynar enbio por sant leandro e sant fulgençio (Image number 305)	¶ E quanto el padre fue muy cruel a los de la fe de xristo. e muy guerrero; tanto fue este Recaredo piadoso e de paz contra todos en amar los e querer los bien. ¶ El padre acrecento mucho el Regno por armas. e este exalçol mucho en la fe derecha de xristo. ¶ e luego <i>que</i> començo a regnar enuio por sant

⁵⁶ See chapter one.

		Leandro. ¶ e sant ffulgencio (f. 164r)
485	En el trezeno murió el papa gregorio e fue puesto en su lugar bonifas el terçero <i>que</i> fueron con el quarenta y quattro apostólicos (Image number 307)	En el trezeno murió el papa gregorio. ¶ e fue puesto en su logar Sabiniano el primero.e fueron con el sesenta e tres apostoligos ¶ e en el catorzeno murió este papa Sabiniano. ¶ e fue puesto en su logar Bonifaz el tercero. <i>que</i> fue el sesenta e quattro apostoligo (f. 165r)

These eyeskips are either homoleuton or homeoarchy, where the scribe has jumped from one line to another line with the same beginning or ending. The first and second examples omit some extra details. The first misses out the fact that Hermengildo left Seville for fear of desertion, and the second leaves out the warmonger attitude of King Recaredo, yet the lines still make sense without this material. On the other hand, the detail which is omitted from the third eyeskip completely changes the formation given to us by the urtext. It now reads that ‘bonifas el terçero’ replaced Pope Gregory rather than Sabiniano. Furthermore, there is an alteration here whereby the *E* states there are sixty-four apostles with ‘Bonifaz el tercero’, whereas *Min* writes that there are forty-four.

Whilst the above omissions do not drastically impact the text itself, the following three examples disrupt the chronological structure of the material. There are two instances where one chapter skips to another. The most significant of these has already been mentioned: chapters 444 to 495 are

missing. This occurs on image number 294 where the rubrics correspond with the *E₁* manuscript. However, the text that follows actually belongs to chapter 469: ‘Andados catorze annos del Reynado de Rey atamagildo’, which does not correspond to the eighteenth year of Alarico as the rubrics imply. Catalán explains that up until this point (chapter 444), *Min* was still in parallel with *Z*.⁵⁷ However, after this chapter skips ahead it no longer follows *Z*, but it continues following the *tradición troncal*. Thus, it suggests that perhaps at this point *Min* changes prototype due to either missing material from the model, or that the model also changed prototype at this section. Therefore, the new prototype may have begun at the fourteenth year of ‘Rey atamagildo’, leaving the scribe no other choice than to begin transcribing at this point. Due to the fact that there are a large number of missing chapters, this cannot be put down to an eyeskip, nor can the scribe have skipped this many folios without realising, thus, the above speculation seems to be the most plausible.

The second instance where one chapter skips ahead to another, occurs on image number 300. Chapter 473 begins ‘Andados seys annos del Reynado del Rey leouegildo que la era en sey cientos e desy nueue annos’, however, after this point it changes to chapter 474 ‘quando andaua el anno dela encarnaciōn en quinientos y sesenta y nueue annos’. As chapter 437 is only a small chapter, the missing material does not severely impact the content, and it is likely that the scribe accidentally starting transcribing from the following chapter.

Finally, there is a missing portion of the yearly computation from at the beginning of chapter 439. The end of image number 293 reads:

E el primero anno de su Reynado fue enla era de quinientos veinte y syete annos ¶ Quando andaua el anno dela encarnaciōn en quattro cientos y treynta e syete annos ¶ E el de zeno del enperador de Roma en desy syete ¶ Cuenta el arçobispo [...]

Whereas *E₁* continues dating the chapter on f. 153r:

E el primero anno del su regno fue. ¶ En la era de quinientos. e uenticinco Annos. ¶ Quando andaua ell anno de la encarnation en quatrocientos e ochenta siete. ¶ e el de zeno Emperador

⁵⁷ Catalán, p. 134.

de Roma en dizesey. ¶ e el del papa Gelasio el primero en tres. ¶ E el de Glodoueo Rey de frança en sex. ¶ e el de Guntamundo rey de los vuandalos en quatro. ¶ E el de los Reys Arrianos de los Sueuos. en uentisex. ¶ e el de Theoderigo Rey de los ostrogodos en dizesiete. ¶ E el de Zeliabes Rey de los vgnos en uentiseteno. ¶ Cuenta ell Arçobispo [...]

Despite the fact that the figures do not match up,⁵⁸ *Min* finishes dating the beginning of Alarico's reign with the year of Emperor Zeno's rule. It is likely that this was a deliberate omission whereby the sequential years seemed irrelevant, as this is the chapter with the longest list of the computation of years.

Additions

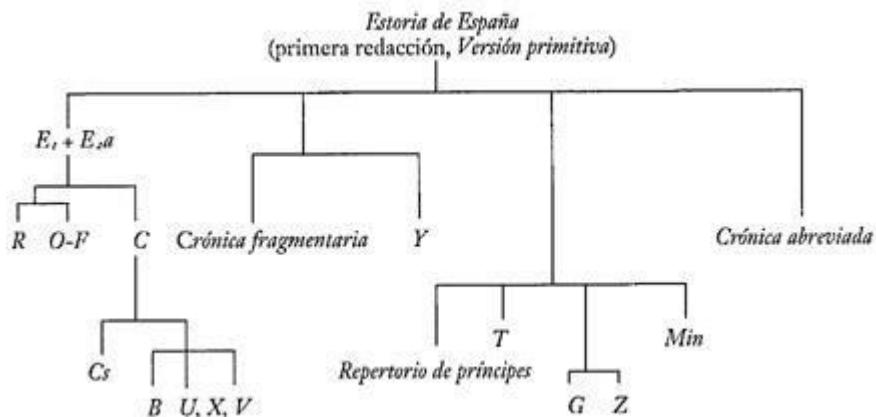
Dittography within this part of the text does not distract the reader from the content as the examples are only minor. These occur on pages 294 and 296. The first can be seen on line 27, column a: 'E por que gelo doneo avia grand sabor e grand sabor e gran cobdiçia'; it seems as though the repetition of the modifier 'grand' confused the scribe into repeating the noun 'sabor'. And the second can be found on lines 30-31, column b: 'Andados diez annos del Reynado del Reynado del Rey alarico'. Again, the repetition of the stem 'Rey' has caused the scribe to repeat the previous line. Nevertheless, these two instances of repetition do not cause major problems with the content of the text.

There is one contaminated addition in this part of the stemma, which comes in chapter 483, image number 305. The line 'E por ende la amaua bien e la tierra mucho' refers to King Recaredo's love for faith, however, *Min* also asserts his love for the earth. Thus, like the instances of contamination in the previous part, this does nothing but enhance the image of King Recaredo in a positive light.

Due to the large number of missing folios of this part, and the missing chapters from image number 294, there are fewer omissions and additions. However, it does seem that the missing chapters indicate the moment in which *Min* and *Z* separate and thus, it is possible that *Min*, or its predecessor, is transcribing from another model.

⁵⁸ *Min* rarely duplicates the yearly figures of *E₁* or the other manuscripts. Due to the persistent presence of reader interaction with the confusing dating of *Min*, this will be addressed in chapter three of the thesis.

2.4 Part Four: The History of the Asturian kings from the Fourth Year of Pelayo's rule until the Eighteenth Year of Alfonso II (image numbers 311-325)



(Figure 3: The genealogy of manuscripts from chapters 573-627)⁵⁹

This section bridges the part of the *E₁* manuscript which was added on to the beginning of the *E₂* codex (from the end of Pelayo's reign, until the beginning of Ramiro I's reign). It also highlights the second part of *Min*, signified by the commencement of scribe B. Thus, a portion of this part is lost in the lacuna between image numbers 310 to 311.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Catalán notes the division of the manuscripts which follow the text before the pages of *E₁* were attached to *E₂*, and those which reproduce the text after this union. This is determined by the errors which are retained by manuscripts *E* and *C*, but not *T*, *G*, *Z*, *Min*, and *Y*. For example, Catalán has highlighted the source text the *Historia Gothica* where the line reads ‘quod contra paternam iustitiam insolescebat’.⁶¹ *Min*, and the other manuscripts which follow *E₂* read ‘sobre rrazon que se le alçaua contra las justicia’ (chapter 608, image number 316), thus they in accordance with the *Historia Gothica*. Whereas manuscript *C* substitutes ‘justicias’ for ‘hueste’.

Apart from this alteration which portrays the division in the stemma, scribe B does not make any significant omissions, additions, or alterations. Due to the mass of missing folios, however, it is unknown whether scribe B had made any textual modifications. Nevertheless, this part of the codex

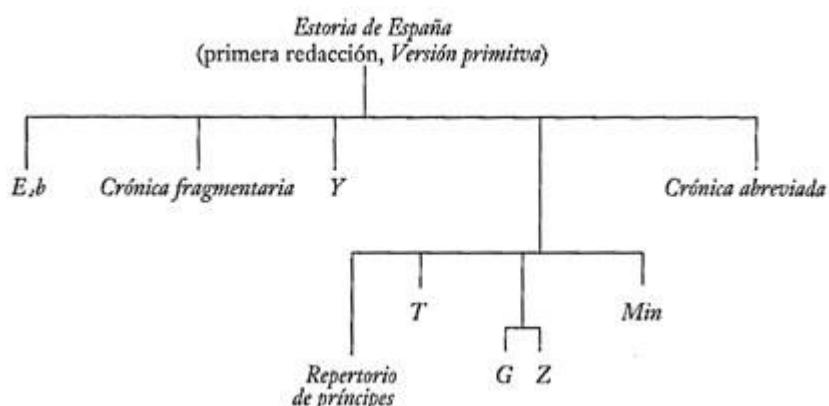
⁵⁹ Fernández-Ordoñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p. 227.

⁶⁰ Catalán notes the difficulty in analysing and describing *Min* due to the enormous quantity of missing folios, p. 190.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 185.

may tell us about the nature of the scribal change. From the titles in the index (see Appendix B), it is clear that all of the titles correspond with the chapters in the *EE*, and therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the content was definitely once present in *Min*. Furthermore, this content bridges the change from the *E₁* codex to the *E₂* manuscript. As *Min* is one of the manuscripts which follow the textual tradition after the folios of *E₁* were attached to *E₂*, it would be rational to suggest that scribe B began transcribing from the beginning of *E₂* (after the *E₁* was supplemented). As a result, scribe B would have begun at chapter 577: the beginning of Pelayo's rule. This would mean that the production of *Min* mirrors the structure of the royal codices, however, *E₁* and *E₂*, rather than being separate entities, were unified by *Min*.

2.5 Part Five: From the Eighteenth Year of Alfonso II until the End of His Reign (image numbers 325-341)



(Figure 4: The genealogy of manuscripts from chapters 627-638)⁶²

This section completes the end of the portion of folios which were added onto the beginning of the *E₂* manuscript. However, the reconstruction of the stemma is due to the fact that the end of the gathering from the *E₁* manuscript, which begins to detail the eighteenth year of Alfonso II, is incomplete.⁶³ This prompted a different hand, ‘mano *E₂(b)*’,⁶⁴ to write a gathering of only five folios in length to fill in the missing material. Thus, *Min*, which previously followed the *tradición troncal*, is

⁶² Fernández-Ordoñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p. 228.

⁶³ Catalán attributes this lack of text to Alfonso X himself, p. 257.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 258.

now a variant of that, due to the fact that it does not exist in *E₁*. Subsequently, it forms part of the *T, G, Z* family.

Additions

Using the gathering written by *E₂(b)*, it can be determined that there are at least two additions in the form of contamination in this section. The first occurs in chapter 629, image number 329:

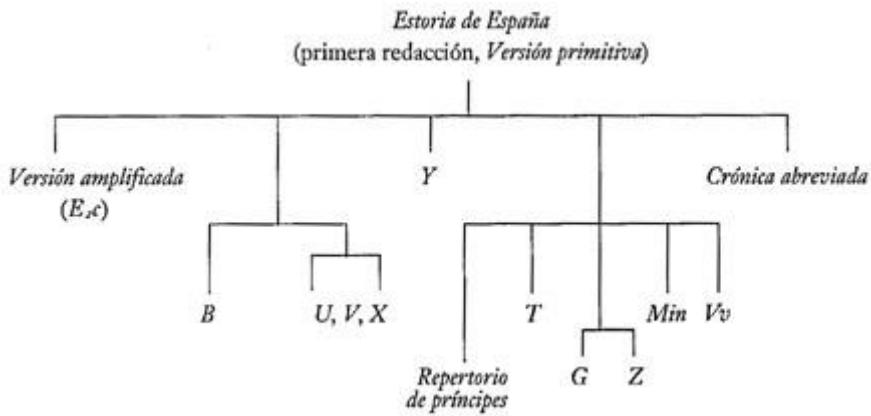
Embiaua a vosotros **para que me Recabdasesen las Rentas e las otras cosas que eran para mi e a vos otros que vos guardasen e mantouiesen en justicia e enel estado del amor que siempre touistes comigo e con v nuestros Reyes quelo non fazian ¶** Mas que nos fazian locamente algunas cosas que non deuien e que vos mal trayan de guisa que las Rentas del Rey son mucho menos cabadas oy en dia por ellos

The text highlighted in bold is not present in *E₂(b)*: ‘enbiaua a uos fazien loca miente fazer algumas cosas que non deuien e que uos maltrayen de guisa que las Rentas del Rey son mucho menoscabadas oy en dia por ellos’ (f. 18v). However, it is present in manuscript *T*:

enbiaua auos que me recabassen las rentas e las otras cosas que eran para mi r auos que uso guardassen e mantouissent en iusticia e enel estado del amor que siempre ouistes con uuestros reyes que los non fazien ¶ Mas que uos fazien loca ment fazer algunas cosas que non deuien e queuos maltrayen de guisa quelas rentas del rey son mucho. menos cabadas oy en dia por ellos (f. 116v)

The second addition in *Min* is less extensive, and it takes place in chapter 630, image 335: ‘Pero dize el arçobispo don Rodrigo que bernaldo siempre souo enla delantera delos franceses fueron vençidos asy commo deximos e acogieronse otro sy ala su hueste’. Again, the line highlighted in bold is not present in *E₂(b)*, but it is present in *T*: ‘Et pero dize el arçobispo don Rodrigo que bernaldo siempre estouo enla delantera olos franceses fueron uençudos assi commo deximos e cogieronse otrossi ala su hueste’ (f. 118v). As a result, the addition of the *T, G, Z, Min* family in this section amplifies the *E₂b* section. The extra detail enhances the reader reception here by explaining what King Alcaham said to the moor Anbros and clarifying that the French army caught up to Bernaldo.

2.6 Part Six: From the History of the Asturian and Leonese kings from Ramiro I's Reign until the End of Vermudo III's rule (image numbers 343-388)



(Figure 5: The genealogy of manuscripts from chapters 639-812)⁶⁵

This section is noted by Catalán as the part of the *EE* written under Sancho IV in 1289.⁶⁶ The family *T, G, Z, Min* remains the same, and until the second year of Alfonso III's reign, it appears to coincide with this part of *E₂*, the *Versión amplificada*. This differs from the manuscripts which follow the *Crónica fragmentaria* (manuscript *Xx* and its family *B, U, and X*), the *Crónica abreviada* by Don Juan Manual, and manuscript *Y*. Despite the fact that the family *T, G, Z, and Min* follow *E_{2(orig)}*, they do correct some of the mistakes from this 1289 codex. At the beginning of chapter 642, *E_{2(orig)}* states that Alfonso el Casto is the ‘padre’ of Ramiro I (f. 25r), however *Min* and its family read: ‘Mas cuenta así la estoria que quando fino el Rey don alfonso tio deste Rey don Ramiro’ (image number 347). This is a deliberate alteration from the stemma of this family which coincides with the rest of the content of the *EE*. Fifteen chapters after this occurrence (chapter 657), this family of manuscripts begin to coincide with manuscript *Y*, leaving *E_{2(orig)}*. Thus, *Min* belongs to two different families in this section.

Omissions

⁶⁵ Fernández-Ordoñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p. 229.

⁶⁶ This part of the *E₂* manuscript is denoted as *E_{2(Orig)}* by Catalán, whilst parts three and four were written after this part by a later hand, pp. 294-95.

There is one significant omission in *Min* and it is also the case in *T*: the absence of chapter 682 from the text. Both *Min* and *T* conclude chapter 681 with the line ‘Otrosy luego que començo a Reynar saco su hueste e fue acercar a talauera’ (image number 379). Thus, completely omitting the rest of the chapter that follows in *E₂*:

Et quando lo oyeron los moros de Cordoua e de los otros logares a derredor; uinieron a acorrer los. Mas assi fue. que por la merced de dios. assi los que uinien en acorro como los que yazien en la villa atendiendo su ayuda; que todos fueron metudos a espada. ¶ Et el Rey don Ordonno entro luego la uilla. e robo quanto y fallo. e derribo los adarues e la uilla. e preso al Cabdiello de los de Cordoua. e aduxol catiuo. e torno muy onrrado a so Regno. e con grand prez. e grand prea. e con muchos catiuos. ¶ Pero dize don Lucas de Tuy. que ante que Regnasse que fizó ell esto en el tiempo del Rey don Garcia. Et que despues que el Rey don Garcia fue muerto que se ayuntaron todos los altos omnes de Espanna. Obispos. Condes e Ricos omnes en la Cibdad de Leon. e alli le alçaron Rey. ¶ e fueron en ponerle la corona del Regno .x. Obispos. ¶ Del segundo anno del Regnado deste Rey don Ordonno non fallamos cosa granada que de contar sea en esta estoria de Espanna. (f. 44v)

It is unclear as to why chapter 681 remains unfinished, however, chapter 682 appears to have been purposefully omitted from the text. Its content is digressional as it narrates about Abdalla the King of Cordoba, which does not continue with King Ordoño’s reign, thus its absence enhances the focus of the plot. Also, from the analysis of the preface, it is clear that the content of the moors, as ‘los enemigos dela fee’ (image number 23), may have been an unwanted section of this material.

Additions

All of the added material in *Min* (in comparison to *E_{2(orig)}*) is replicated in the manuscripts *T*, *G*, and *Z* apart from one. This occurs in chapter 665, image number 363: after the line ‘Despues desto fuese yendo con su caualleria e eran por cuenta’, the chapter begins to repeat itself from the line ‘Despues desto fuese yendo con su caualleria e eran por cuenta trezientos caualleros de lineaie ¶ E dixoles bernaldo los dozientos de vos finquen aqui en çeleta’. This line is first written on image number 362

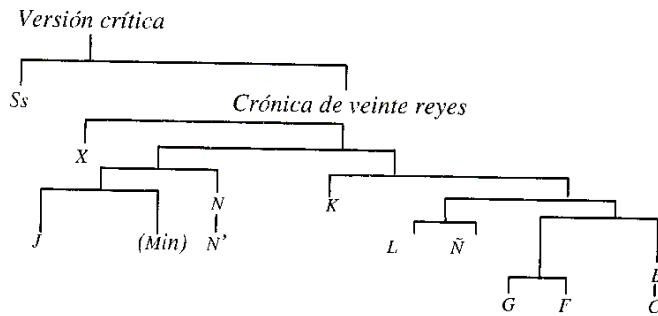
as ‘ellos eran por todos trezientos caualleros de linaie ¶ E dixoles bernaldo los dozientos de vos finquen aqui en çelada’. The same line from manuscript *T* states: ‘Et ellos eran por cuenta .ccc. caualleros de linage e dixoles bernaldo. los .cc. deuos finquen aqui en çelada’. Interestingly, the repeated line in *Min* retains the beginning of the line as it is written in *T* ‘eran por cuenta[...]’, whereas its first appearance in *Min* reads: ‘ellos eran por todos [...’]. Consequently, if the scribe had accidentally begun to transcribe that part again, it would have retained the same word structure. This implies that this repetition was also present in the model text, which scribe B was copying from. Furthermore, the repetition is never recognised by the scribe and the text continues until the end of the chapter, and the complete part of the text that is repeated in this chapter is as follows:

e eran por cuenta trezientos caualleros de linaie ¶ E dixoles bernaldo los dozientos de vos finquen aqui en çelada ¶ E los çiento vayan comigo a salamanca e si plogiese a dios que pudiese entrar dentro Recabdaria quanto quisiese ¶ Pues que bernaldo ouo partida su çelada fuese para salamanca E el yendo por el camino caualleros del Rey don alfonso que venien de çaga e venien de caça commo vieron las armas del consçieronlas e ouieron grant miedo e quisieronse acoier ala villa. Mas bernaldo non los dio vagar e lidio con ellos e mato bien sesenta caualleros ¶ El Rey quando lo sopo mando armar toda su caualleria a grant priesa que salisen alla ¶ bernaldo quando vio venir el poder de Rey contra sy derranchada mente fizó ynfinta que fuya ¶ Los del Rey yendo el pos el salieron los dela çelada e dieron enellos e boluieron vna grant batalla e murieron y muchos de cada parte ¶ Mas al cabo vençio bernaldo e priso y otros grandes e al conde nobalot ¶ los otros que pudieron fuyr desanpararon el canpo e acogieronse a salamanca ¶ Mas non pudo llegar al Rey e dizen que nunca se partie de guerrearle que ansy lo juro de fazerle quanto mal pudiese fasta que le diese su padre ¶ Despues desto fuese el yendo con su caualleria tormes ayuso

This text does not follow exactly the same text which precedes it. One principal example of this is the name of the count, which is written in the repeated section as nobalot (with the first ‘l’ crossed out). In the section that precedes this on image number 362, it reads: ‘Mas al cabo vençio bernaldo e prisoy a orios godos e al conde chibante’. Thus, the two lines are completely different, and the name of the

count ‘chibante’ is closer to the original name written in *T*: ‘chilaba’ (before it was changed to thiobala). As a result, it is unknown where the name ‘nobalot’ came from, or what exactly scribe B was following. However, it is likely that the model text was written in the same way.

2.7 Part Seven: The *Versión Crítica* and the *Crónica de veinte reyes* (image numbers 389-482)



(Figure 6: The genealogy of the manuscripts of the *Crónica de veinte reyes*)⁶⁷

Gómez Peréz describes the *Crónica de veinte reyes* as a version or re-elaboration of the *EE*.⁶⁸

It is clear from the stemma above that the *CVR* comes from the *Versión crítica* of the *EE*, that is, manuscript *Ss*. According to Mariano de la Campa, *Ss* is superior to the manuscripts of the *CVR* due to the errors conserved in *Ss* that were implemented by the scribe, or the scribe of its prototype, and the errors that are present in the other manuscripts of the *CVR* but not in *Ss*.⁶⁹ For these reasons, *Ss* does not seem to have any relations and it has been determined that none of the manuscripts have been copied from it. The manuscripts of the *CVR* can be divided into two families: *K*, *L*, *N̄*, *G*, *F*, *B*, and *C*, and *J*, *Min*, *N*, and *N'*. The first group begins, or intended to begin, their material from the reign of Fruela II, and the latter begin their texts from the sixth year of Alfonso IV's reign.

Min does not fluidly change from *E₂* to the *Versión crítica*, rather it duplicates the material of the two accounts of the last year of Alfonso IV's reign: the first comes on image number 388 (chapter 693 of the *EE*), and the second begins on image number 389. Thus, it presents us with the version of

⁶⁷ Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez, *La estoria de España de Alfonso X: Estudio y edición de la Versión Crítica desde Fruela II hasta la muerte de Fernando II* (Malaga: Analecta Malactiana, 2009) p. 85.

⁶⁸ Gómez-Peréz, p. 408.

⁶⁹ Mariano de la Campa, p. 69.

the text from the *E₂*, and a version from the *Versión crítica*. There is a comparison below between the text that comes before the change in prototype, and after this variation:

ANdados çinco annos del Reynado del Rey don alfonso que fue enla Era de nueue çientos treynta e siete annos Quand andaua ele anno dela encarnacion del senyor en ocho çientos e nouenta e nueue ¶ E el del ynperio de loys en tres Este Rey don alfonso quiso escoger carrera de penitencia mas por la liuiandard de su coraçon que por otra santidad ninguna E fiz o voto de entrar en horden e puso de fazer Rey en su logar a su hermano Ramiro ¶ E asy commo lo penso asy lo fizio ¶ Enbio luego mandado a su hermano que era en viseo que viniese a el ca se querie partir del rreyo e darlo a el ¶ E don Ramiro luego que lo oyo vinose para çamora con grant caualleria ¶ E el rrey don alfonso diole luego el Reyno e alçolo alli por Rey E pues que esto ouo fecho fuese para vn monesterio que Era Ribera de çoyan e auia estonçes nonbre domus santos e este es el que agora llaman sant fagunt e metiose alli monje para seruir a dios

ENel sexto anno del Reynado del rrey don alfonso ¶ Que fue enla era de nueueçientos e treynta e ocho annos ¶ Quando andaua el anno dela encarnacion en nueue çientos ¶ E del ynperio de loys en quattro ¶ El Rey don alfonso aiiendo sabor de seruir a dios e de fazer pro de su alma escogio carrera de penitencia ¶ Pero mas con liuiandard de coraçon que por otro sentido bueno e fiz o voto de entrar en horden ¶ E propuso de dexar el Regno e darlo a su hermano don Ramiro ¶ E enbio luego por el a viseo onde moraua *que* es en portogal ¶ Don rramiro quando lo oyo fue muy alegre e vinose quanto mas ayna pudo con grant caualleria para çamora donde el Rey don alfonso estaua ¶ E el Rey don alfonso diole estonçes el rregno e alçolo por Rey e fuese luego para vn monesterio que era en Ribera de caya *que* aquella sazon damies ¶ E agora dizen sant fagunt e metiose y monje para seruir a dios

Whilst it is clear that both chapters contemplate the same events, the second realises this one year in advance of the first. This is also in accordance with one of the changes that the *Versión crítica* makes to the *EE*.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Collins states that there is an *empalme artificial* that bridges these two

⁷⁰ *Ss* also recounts the sixth year of Alfonso IV, f. 120r.

chapter.⁷¹ However, this portion of text is actually a version of the chapter that precedes chapter 693 (chapter 692, on image numbers 387-388) that begins ‘Pues quel rrey don fruela fue muerto quarto fijo del rrey don ordonno cinco annos e ocho meses’. The corresponding line of the ‘empalme artificial’ reads ‘DEpues que murio El rrey don fruela Reyno don Alfonso fijo del Rey don ordonno que fue hermano del Rey don fruela Regno cinco annos e ocho meses’ (image number 389). Thus, whilst Collins goes on to say that the chronology continues uninterrupted and the ‘empalme’ serves to make a smooth transition to the *CVR*, this does not seem to be the case. It would appear that after the fifth year of Alfonso, the prototype material had ended, thus the scribe, having read ‘Enel sexto anno[...]’, may have thought the rest of this new material would have fitted chronologically. Of course, the material recites the same events, but a year in advance, however, with the mechanical transcription of a scribe, this may have gone unnoticed. As a result, this would indicate why *Min* seems to ‘splice’ the *CVR* at the end of its manuscript.

This textual tradition is examined by Collins, in what Catalán describes as ‘su extraordinariamente confusa e incompleta descripción del ms. *Min*’,⁷² as he attempts to prove that *Min* and *J* descend from the same prototype. Whilst his evidence is rather spontaneous and limited,⁷³ it will have to be assumed that *Min* and *J* are ‘brothers’.⁷⁴ However, there are some flaws: by using what Mariano de la Campa determines about manuscript *J*, it is clear that *Min* is often not in accordance with *J*. In the reign of Sancho I, there is a small lacuna in *J*, which is not present in *N*, that reads: ‘[...] e amigos lo que yo vos digo todos lo entendedes, e sy por pecados esta ves nunca ya mas cobraremos’ (f. 10r). Whilst *N* provides the full text: ‘[...] amigos lo que yo vos digo todos vos otros lo entendedes e ssi por pecados esta vez somos desbaratados, nunca mas cobraremos’ (f. 14r). Thus, *J* misses out ‘somos desbaratados’. If we look at *Min*, it says: ‘amigos lo que yo vos digo todo lo entendedes e sy por nuestros

⁷¹ Collins, p. 52.

⁷² Catalán, p. 432.

⁷³ Collins attempts to give a ‘record’ of the abbreviation system used in *Min* as a comparison with *J*. However, it would appear that *Min*’s use of abbreviations in the manuscript are random and used for convenience rather than abiding by a system. For example, the abbreviations that Collins provides: ‘don, alfonso, encarnacion, commo, fue, grandes, tres, mientras, mas, quemo[...]’, are not always implemented and there is a large quantity of abbreviations that could be supplemented to his list. Thus, this does not give an accurate representation as to why *Min* and *J* are compatible, p. 54.

⁷⁴ Both Mariano de la Campa and Catalán also assume this, p. 62; p. 432.

pecados fueremos vençidos perderemos la tierra nunca jamas la cobraremos' (image number 414).

There are a lot of differences between this example and those of *J* and *N*. Firstly, *Min* includes the pronoun 'nuestros' before 'pecados', secondly, the phrase 'perderemos la tierra' is not present in the other manuscripts, and *Min* uses 'jamás' instead of 'mas'. However, Mariano de la Campa also notes that the original text of the manuscripts of the *CVR* uses 'somos vençidos' in place of 'somos desbaratados' (as it states in *X* and *Ss*).⁷⁵ If we look at *Ss*, it reads: 'amigos lo que vos yo digo todos vos lo entendedes sy por malos de pecados agora fueremos vençidos nunca mas cobraremos' (f. 130v). Therefore, both *Min* and *Ss* use the verb 'fueremos' and the past participle 'vençidos'. As a result, if it were the case that the 'original' texts of the *CVR* contained this phrasing: could it be possible that *Min* is not as close to *J* as was previously thought?

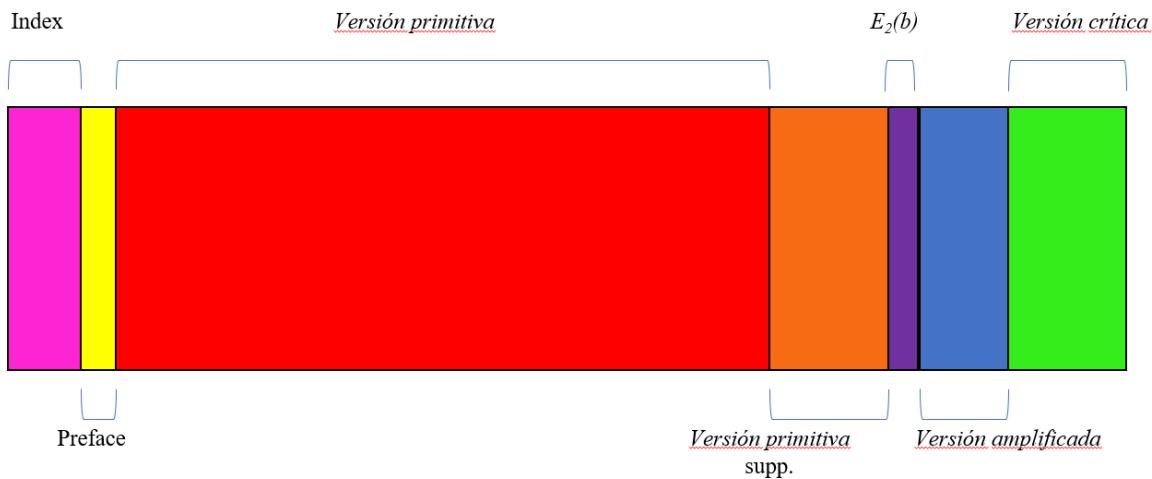
One other curiosity comes on image number 455 of *Min*. The word 'armas' in the line 'Ruy blasques quando se vio tan mal trecho cometio a meter bozes e a dezir armas armas' is repeated. This is exactly the cast in *Ss*: 'rruy j velazquez quando se vyo tan mal trecho començo ameter bozes e adezir armas armas' (f. 145v). Thus, if *Ss* had no relatives in the stemma, it would not have been possible for this repetition to have been conserved. Another similarity occurs on image number 403 of *Min*: the line 'luego desenboluer su pendon e fue ferir enlos moros mucho esforçada mente e yua llamando castilla castilla los castellanos fueron ferir enlos mos', where there is the repetition of 'castilla'. On f. 126r, *Ss* reads: 'luego desboluer su pendon e fue ferir enlos moros j muy esforçada mente e yua llamando castilla ayuda ayuda santiago e los castellanos con el fueron fueron ferir enlos moros'. In the place of the repeated 'castilla castilla', *Ss* also repeats 'ayuda ayuda'. These similarities cannot be written off as coincidences, and whilst they do not imply that *Min* and *Ss* are entirely related,⁷⁶ they do seem to have a connection which has been left unnoticed.

⁷⁵ Mariano de la Campa, p. 63.

⁷⁶ There are lacunae in *Ss* which are not present in the other manuscripts of the *CVR*, nor *Min*, that are identified with blank spaces on ff. 131v; 142v-143r; 169r-169v.

2.8 Conclusions

It can be determined that *Min* can be textually fragmented into seven parts:



(Diagram 1: The textual tradition of *Min*)

Whilst its preface stands alone within the families of manuscripts, *Min* belongs to a series of different prototypes through the course of its transcription: it follows the *tradición troncal* until chapter 577 which is missing from *Min* between image numbers 310 and 311, however, it is probable that scribe B began writing at this point. From chapter 627 it follows the later hand *E₂(b)* (which supplements the missing text from the *Versión primitiva*). From chapter 639 it follows the *Versión amplificada*; and finally, from image number 389 it follows the *Versión crítica* with the *Crónica de veinte reyes*. There are various modifications to these prototypes which are unique to *Min*, and others which are also present in *Min*'s relatives. Nonetheless, it is established that *Min* contains a large quantity of idiosyncrasies which segregates it from the other manuscripts: one of which is the way in which it splices the *Versión crítica* towards the end of the manuscript. This text is assumed to be close with *J*, however, it does not always agree with *J*, and it also retains some dittographical errors, and textual variations that are also present in *Ss*. Considering that *Ss* does not appear to have any relatives in its stemma, *Min*'s similarities with it are curious. On the other hand, it does not contain the same large lacunae that are in *Ss*, and so it can be concluded that it cannot have been copied directly from it. As a result, the product of *Min* appears to be a concoction of prototypes which have been compiled together. *Min*'s fragmented state

parallels its disjointed textual traditions. Nevertheless, although *Min* appears to be a fractured account(s) of the *EE*, the way in which it brings together the different traditions and stemma also unifies it. It is a microcosm of the ‘bitty’ divisions of the text, and by juxtaposing them within one manuscript, it also creates a unification of the *EE*. Similarly, although through manual transmission the text can appear incoherent in places, as a whole this is left unnoticed by the readers, as the next chapter will demonstrate that the different reading practices also divided the codex into sections.

Chapter Three – Reader Reception

In the words of Robert Scholes, reading ‘allows the minds of two people to be more intimately joined than any form of social contact’.⁷⁷ However, manuscript transmission complicates this relationship; the author, scribe, reader, and potential future readers become entwined within the same space. Essentially, the word of the author, projected through the lens of the scribe, can be commented on by the reader, and this comment may also provoke a response from a future reader. This four-way interaction creates a palimpsestic matrix whereby different periods of time are able to occupy the same space. Thus, the manuscript literally becomes a transhistorical artefact; it is a product of both history and futurology. The way in which this concept can be measured is through the examination of the marginalia and annotations, i.e. the material which interacts with the written text.

Min contains an abundance of marginalia from different periods, which has been previously left unnoticed. According to Jackson, the past readers have annotated the codex ‘as a way of learning and remembering what they contain, and improve them by correcting errors and adding useful relevant information’.⁷⁸ This type of evidence demonstrates that the reception of *Min* had an extensive reader interaction. It gives us an insight into the dynamic response to the *EE* and the scribes of *Min*, and the acquisition of the codex, that is, its provenance. The reader interactions take many forms: glosses, scholia, highlighted text, manicules, drawings, and marks of ownership. These were written by at least nine identifiable hands; the following table highlights the different hands (in order in which they appear on the manuscript as it is conserved today), and the image numbers that they appear on:

Hand	Image Numbers
1	1
2	1
3	29; 30; 33; 41; 91; 92

⁷⁷ Robert Scholes, *Protocols of Reading* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. x.

⁷⁸ H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 51.

4	30; 32; 33; 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39; 40; 41; 42; 44; 45; 46; 48; 54; 55; 57; 96; 103v; 104; 113; 116; 117; 118; 120; 169; 176; 183; 222; 223; 230; 236; 238; 239; 241; 243; 244; 245; 246; 248; 253; 256; 260; 262; 266; 270; 271; 272; 273; 280; 281; 282; 284; 285; 286; 287; 288; 292; 293; 297; 298; 299; 300; 301; 303; 304; 305; 306; 307; 308; 309; 310; 316; 322; 329; 332; 334; 348; 353; 363; 377; 378; 384; 389; 391; 393; 394; 397; 408; 411; 414; 436; 443; 445; 446; 467; 468; 472; 473; 475; 479
5	106; 118; 131; 138; 153; 154; 162; 163; 164; 166; 168; 171; 173; 175; 176; 177; 181; 183; 184; 185; 186; 187; 189; 190; 191; 192; 194; 197; 198; 201; 204; 206; 207; 209; 211; 212; 213; 214; 215; 216; 218; 219; 223; 224; 225; 226; 228; 229; 230; 231; 232; 235; 249; 269; 326; 369; 386; 449
6	130; 213; 231; 324; 450
7	284
8	311; 316; 317; 325; 344; 345; 346; 360; 361; 366; 368; 370; 372; 374; 385; 386; 396
9	479; 480; 481

There is an obvious correlation between the quantity of appearances of the hand and the interest of that reader: hands 4 and 5, in particular, are the most consistent in the manuscript. That being said, the multiple lacunae would have also contained an array of marginalia, which are now inaccessible to this study. Furthermore, the rebinding of the codex often guillotines parts (if not all) of some of the annotations, making them difficult to read and interpret. Nevertheless, the analysis of the vast amount of existing and legible marginalia continues to create previously unknown conclusions of *Min.*

3.1 Provenance

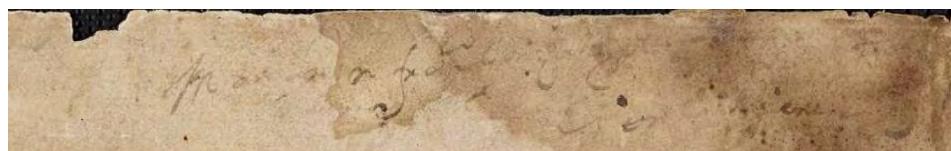
The principal, and if not arguably the most interesting, deduction that can be drawn from reader remarks, is the journey that the manuscript has taken from its point of origin to the University of Minnesota. It is possible to attempt to establish the previous possession of *Min* through the analysis of the ownership marks – one of the most common forms of annotation. Only one vital apparatus of origin has been established in the codex up until this point: the watermark (Briquet 4846). However, this has only been used to estimate *Min*'s date of production rather than its place of origin. Two other medieval Iberian manuscripts, dated in the late fifteenth-century, also use this same watermark. The first is one of the testimonies of the *Estoria del hecho de los godos* (call number: MSS/9559), held in the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*.⁷⁹ The owner of this codex has been established as Jerónimo Zurita, a chronicler of Aragon who was born and died in the city of Zaragoza.⁸⁰ The second manuscript is titled *Poesias morales de Juan de Mena Obispo de Santiago* from the fifteenth-century, copied by Pedro de Zúñiga from Palencia.⁸¹ Both of these codices seem to have been copied, and remained a substantial amount of time, in the north of Spain, which could indicate the region where the paper was being produced at that time. The ownership marks, and various examples of annotations, would suggest that *Min* also derives from this area of Spain. The preliminary material, that is the first folio, would have been the first blank space that a reader would have encountered in the manuscript. Unfortunately, the first folios (and potential flyleaves) are missing from *Min*, however, the first image number contains at least two indications of the codex's provenance. Hand 1 is present in the header of the folio, it is extremely faded,

⁷⁹ This is testimony D of the *Estoria del hecho de los godos*; it is described a representative of the *Estoria amplia del hecho de los godos refundida después de 1455* by Manuel Hijano Villegas, 'Estoria del hecho de los godos', *Revista de Literatura Medieval*, 20 (2008), p. 213.

⁸⁰ Faulhaber, Charles B., *PhiloBiblon* (Berkeley: University of California, 1997), <<http://philobiblon.upf.edu/saxon/SaxonServlet?source=BETA/Display/2452Person.xml&style=BETA/templates/Person.xsl&gobk=http%3A%2F%2Fphilobiblon.upf.edu%2Fxtf%2Fservlet%2Forg.cdlib.xtf.crossQuery.CrossQuery%3Frmode%3Dphilobeta%26everyone%3Dcancionero%20de%20baena%26creator%3D%26title%3D%26incipit%3D%26explicit%3D%26assocname%3D%26daterange%3D%26placeofcomposition%3D%26subject%3D%26textjoin%3Dand%26browseout%3Dwork%26sort%3Dmoniker>> [accessed: 23 July 2018].

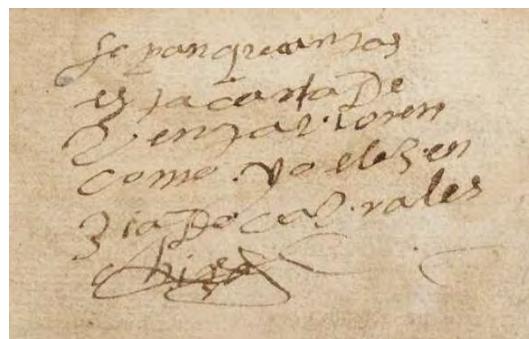
⁸¹ Ibid., <<http://pb.lib.berkeley.edu/xtf/servlet/org.cdlib.xtf.dynaXML.DynaXML?source=/BETA/Display/192BETA.MsEd.xml&style=MsEd.xsl&gobk=http%3A%2F%2Fpb.lib.berkeley.edu%2Fxtf%2Fsearch3Fname%3Dcarrillo%26textjoin%3Dand%26rmode%3Dphilobeta%26browseout%3Dperson%26sort%3Didno>> [accessed: 23 July 2018].

and due to impairment (possibly water damage), it is very difficult to construe the whole text. It begins ‘Mando a Francisco Gonzalez [...]’, and the rest of the text is unclear (see figure one).



(Figure 1, image number 1)

Furthermore, a different hand, hand 2, is present on the footer of the image number, which reads ‘sepan quanto esta carta de venta vieren como yo elizeniado cavrales’, followed by a signature (see figure 2).



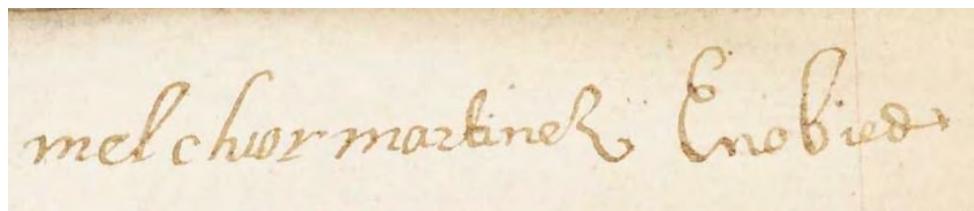
(Figure 2, image number 1)

This is the way in which most public documents begin. It is clearly a document of sale, which normally identifies the grantor of the document in the header. Therefore, it is possible that the manuscript was actually sold to Francisco Gonzalez and signed for by the ‘lizeniado cavrales’. The most interesting conclusion that can be drawn from these two different hands, is the fact that they indicate that *Min* was already in a deteriorated state at the time that this transaction took place. It is unlikely that a receipt of sale would have been written on the eleventh page of the index,⁸² and so it is plausible that image number 1 would have been at the beginning of the index at that point. Thus, it would have been the first point of contact for the hands to have written a receipt of sale. It is also worth noting the place Cabrales, which is positioned in Asturias, but also close to the border of Cantabria.⁸³ The regions of Asturias and Cantabria are highlighted by the other ownership marks in the text. The only surviving example of hand

⁸² See Chapter one: image number 1-2 would have initially been the eleventh folio of the index.

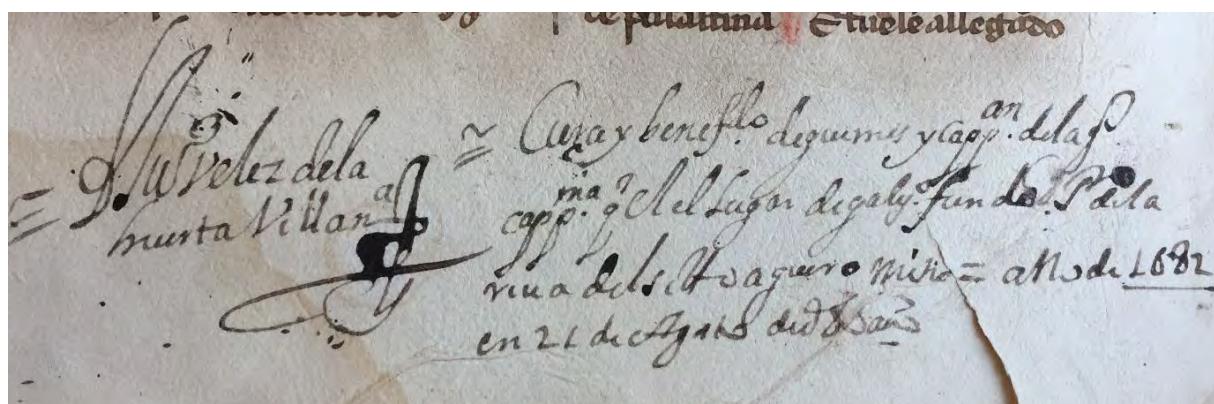
⁸³ It will become clear that Cantabria is a place of interest in the manuscript.

7 can be found at the top of image number 284: ‘melchior martinez En obiedo’, with Oviedo being only approximately eighty kilometres from Cabrales (see figure 3).



(Figure 3, image number 284)

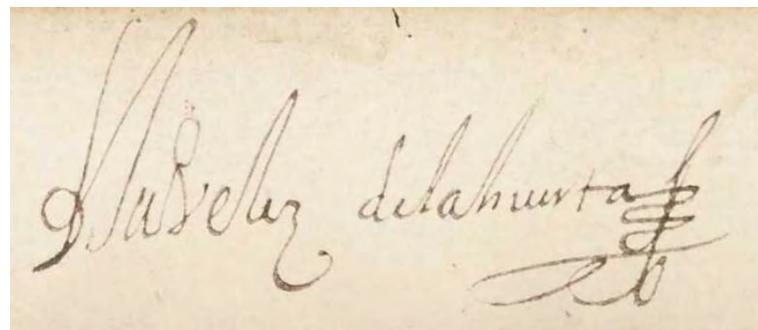
This little information that is provided by hands 1, 2, and 7, allows us to assume the buying and selling processes that *Min* was once subjected to, and the locations in which this occurred. However, hand 6 seemed to have been concerned with marking *Min* as their property, and they write ownership marks and signatures throughout the manuscript. Image number 130 in particular, provides us with a lot of information of this owner (see figure 4).



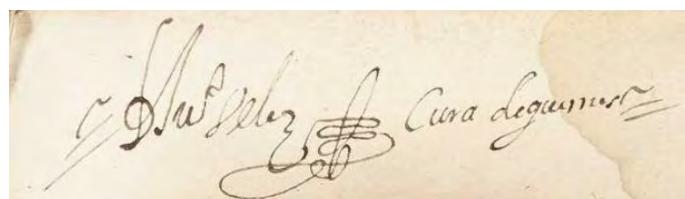
(Figure 4, image number 130)

This note appears at the footer of the folio, and it begins with a signature. The abbreviation of the name on signature is difficult to decipher, however, it is plausible to suggest that it expands to ‘Don Juan Velez’, with the remaining text reading ‘dela huerta villanueva’. The rest of the note reads: ‘Cura y beneficiado de guemes y cappellan dela cappellania que en el lugar de galyzano fundo despues dela villa de pueblo aguero metio = ano de 1682 en 21 de Agosto dese anno’. This hand gives us a lot of information, including profession, multiple locations, and a date. Research of this person has proven to be quite difficult, as there does not appear to be any record of a priest and benefactor of Güemes who

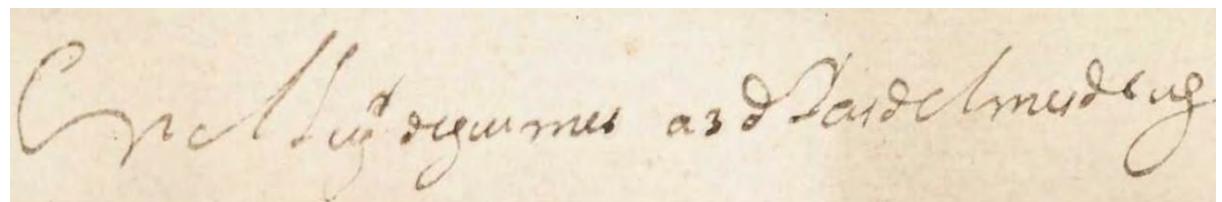
funded the chaplaincy of Galizano in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the areas mentioned – Villanueva, Güemes, Galizano, and Agüero – are all within twenty-eight kilometres of each other in the region of Cantabria. Moreover, there are four other instances of hand 6 in the remaining folios of *Min* (see figures 4, 5, 6, and 7).



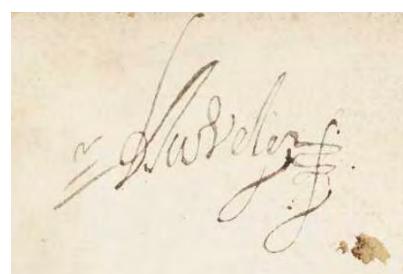
(Figure 4, image number 213)



(Figure 5, image number 231)



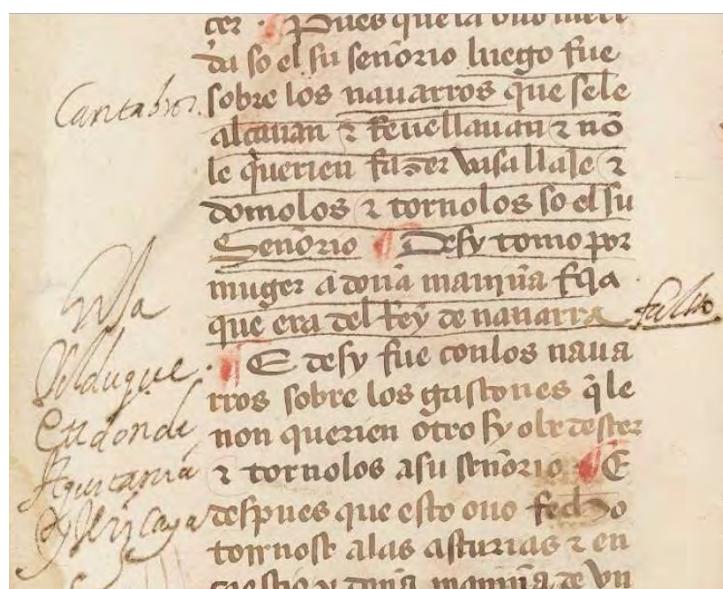
(Figure 6, image number 324)



(Figure 7, image number 450)

There does not appear to be any significant reason, or highlighted content, on the image numbers that contain these signatures. Therefore, it would seem that this hand may have been using the manuscript to practice their signature. Interestingly, Güemes is consistently emphasised; figure 6 acknowledges it as the location in which the notes were written: ‘en el lugar de guemes [...] del mes de ag’. As a result, it is a reliable source of evidence to assume that *Min* was in this Cantabrian town in the seventeenth century.

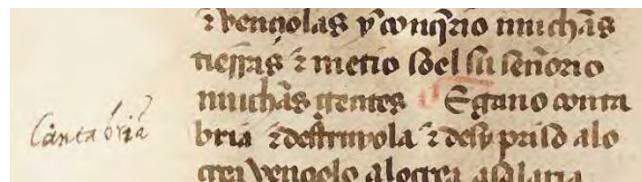
Although hand 6 does not materialise elsewhere in the manuscript, there are other unidentifiable hands which appear sporadically on the manuscript in order to place emphasis on the region of Cantabria in the content of *Min* (see figure 8).



(Figure 8, image number 312)

This hand is concerned with the veracity of this section of the text (chapter 604). The content describes how, in the second year of King Fruela of Asturias, he conquered Navarre and was recognised as king, then he took the daughter of the previous king as his wife. This hand however, believes that Fruela actually went ‘sobre los cantabros’ and continues to note that this section is ‘falso’, as Menina was actually the daughter of the Duke Eudon from Aquitania rather than the previous King of Navarre (as the text suggests). The *Chronica de los principes de Asturias y Cantabria*, written by Fray Francisco Sota and published in 1681, confirms that ‘Donna Munia, hija del Duque Eudon [...] que fue vnos de

los tres Duques de Cantabria'.⁸⁴ Thus, this reader was clearly aware of the history of Cantabria, and draws attention to this in the text. Furthermore, image number 299 also highlights the existence of Cantabria within the text (see figure 9).



(Figure 9, image number 299)

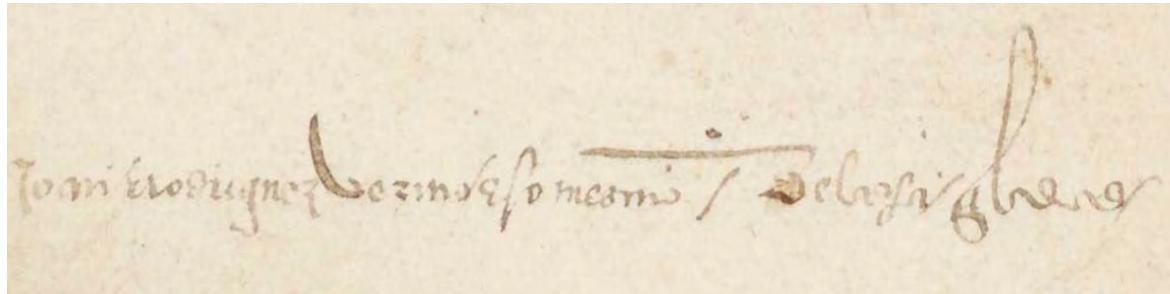
This hand (possibly the same hand as figure 8) corrects the text 'E gano contabria' to 'cantabria'. Thus, there is a heightened response to the content which mentions, or fails to mention, the region of Cantabria.

One of the principal moments of Cantabrian history is highlighted by Alfonso Moure Romanillo as the Muslim invasion, in particular, 712 AD when Tarik ben Ziyal arrived in Asturias. This, in turn, paved the way for 'uno de los personajes más importantes' of Cantabrian history: Pelayo.⁸⁵ If this is the case, it would be assumed that this part of the text (chapters 520-588) would have attracted an abundance of attention from the established Cantabrian readers. Unfortunately, this entire section is missing from the lacuna between image numbers 310 and 311, thus, it may be the case that this section was purposefully removed for this reason. One speculation might be that the reader removed this section as a vital part of their history, perhaps to be copied as part of another chronicle, or to be kept separately as a form of homage to Pelayo. Nevertheless, it is clear from the ownership marks and annotations that the readership derived from the areas of Asturias/Cantabria.

⁸⁴ Francisco Sota, *Chronica de los príncipes de Asturias y Cantabria* (Madrid: Juan García Infançon, 1681), p. 423.

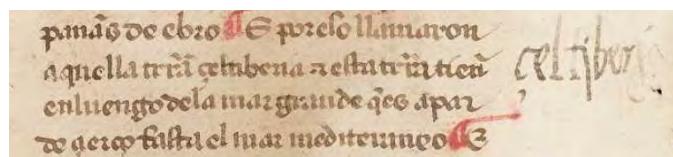
⁸⁵ Alfonso Moure Romanillo, 'Cantabria en la alta edad media', in *La edad media en Cantabria* (Santander: Institución Cultural de Cantabria, 1973), p. 32.

The only hand which claims ownership of the manuscript, but does not specify a place or origin, is hand 3. On image number 41 they write: ‘Joan Rodriguez vezino e so mesmo dela dicha cibdad’ (see figure 10).



(Figure 10, image number 41)

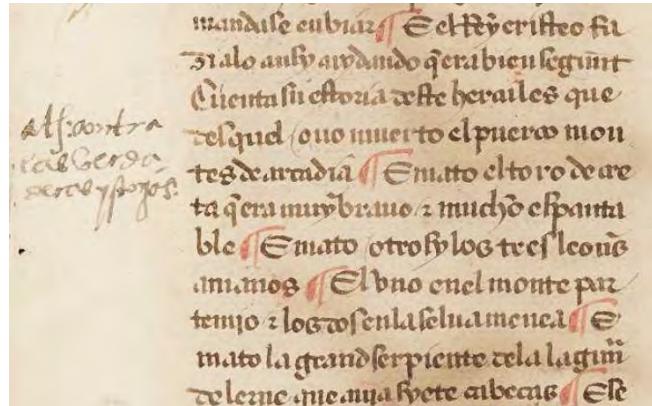
However, there is no evidence of the ‘dicha cibdad’ on this folio. Nevertheless hand 3 is very frequent in the first gathering (after the index) between image numbers 23 and 42, and there is a one toponym that is highlighted from the text in this hand: Celtiberia (see figure 11).



(Figure 11, image number 30)

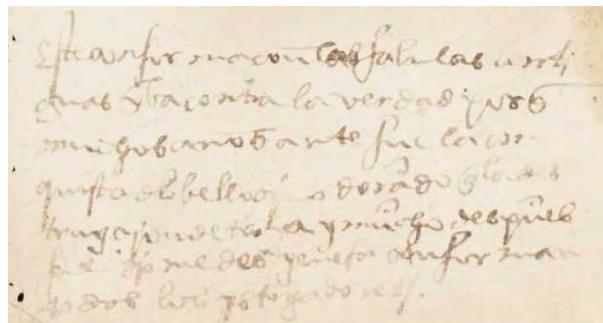
As Celtiberia does not denote a city, but rather the whole of Spain above the river Ebro, this cannot represent ‘la dicha cibdad’ of hand 3. Therefore, it is likely that Joan Rodriguez (hand 3) had already written a signature with a provenance on another folio which is now lost. Image number 30 has already been determined as part of the first gathering of the codex (starting from the preface). This gathering has one folio missing at the beginning, i.e. the title page. Consequently, this may have been the place where hand 3’s city of origin was written.

This reader seems to have been concerned with providing *Min* with scholia to create a truthful representation of history. On image number 33, the reader writes ‘contra de las verdaderas ystorias’ next to part of the text which explains that Hercules ‘ouo muerto el puerco’ (see figure 12).



(Figure 12, image number 33)

Further down the text, four lines are highlighted in the left-hand margin. The reader then explains the reason for this at the footer of the page, which reads: ‘Esta confirma con las fablas antiguas yba contra la verdad puso antigos como ante fue la conquista del beleocjno dorado que la destruyeron de troya [...] despues fue diomedes y en esto confirman todos los ystoriadores’ (see figure 13).



(Figure 13, image number 33)

Hand 3 explains that, although this part of the text (chapter 5) agrees with the other historical accounts of Jason and the Argonauts, it is ‘contra la verdad’. However, they do not explain what the truth of the tale actually is. Nevertheless, like the previous hand in figure 8, hand 3 also seems to have been preoccupied with the accuracy of the *EE*.⁸⁶

As a result, the collective evidence of the previous readers and owners of *Min* suggests that its interest was rather diverse. Whilst some hands were preoccupied with scrawling their name all over it

⁸⁶ David Graham Pattison addresses the way in which the respect for historical accuracy often diminishes with the treatment of epic material in his book *From Legend to Chronicle: The Treatment of Epic Material in Alfonsoine Historiography*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1983).

as a potential declaration of ownership, others had a more scholarly curiosity with its content. Due to the abundance of missing folios it can be assumed that there would have been more enthusiastic interactions with the manuscript, and possibly more concrete examples of ownership and provenance. One can only speculate how the codex found its way to the United States of America; the first acknowledgement as a testimony of the *EE* can be found in a catalogue by H P Krauss booksellers in 1950.⁸⁷ However, this does not give us any clue as to where the codex was previous to this. Nevertheless, the other hands in *Min* do allow us to assess its readership through their reader responses to the text, and the different methods that are used to interpret the manuscript.

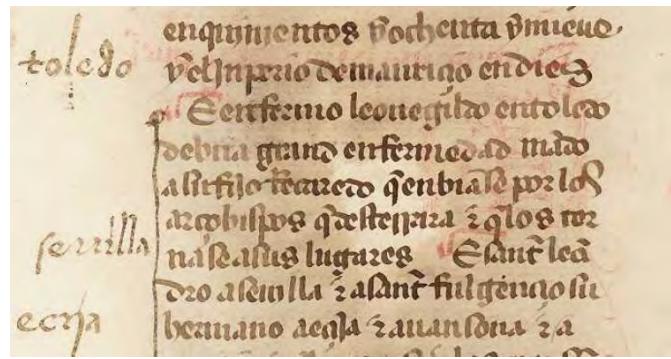
3.2 Hand 4

There is not a mark of ownership for hand 4 on the extant manuscript, however, it is the most prevalent hand within the margins. The annotations range from one-word observations between the columns, to lengthy glosses at the footer of the folio. Thus, it would appear that this was quite an educated reader, who must have read *Min* in great depth. The comments themselves can be organised into three categories: an onomastic index of toponyms and anthroponyms; recapitulations of the content; critical explanations of the text, i.e. scholia.

Onomastic Index

The process of noting the toponyms which occur in the *EE* is not uncommon in the readers of the codices; a personal examination of manuscripts *B*, *C*, *L*, and *V₁* show that they also include this type of annotation. It seems to be a logical way in which to systematise the material; a value of a place is often defined by what took place there. Chapter 482 describes the death of Leovigildo, the first King of the Visigoths. This small chapter contains three toponyms: Toledo, Sevilla, and Écija, which are all noted by hand 4 (see figure 13).

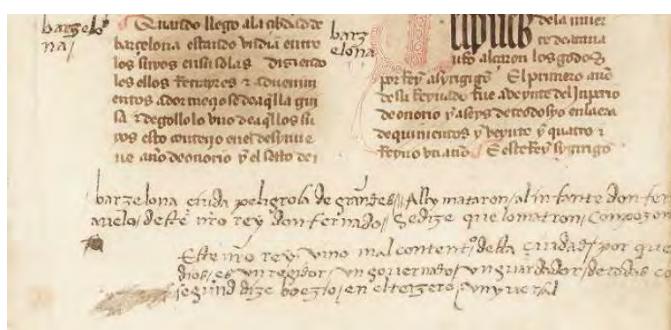
⁸⁷ See Appendix E.



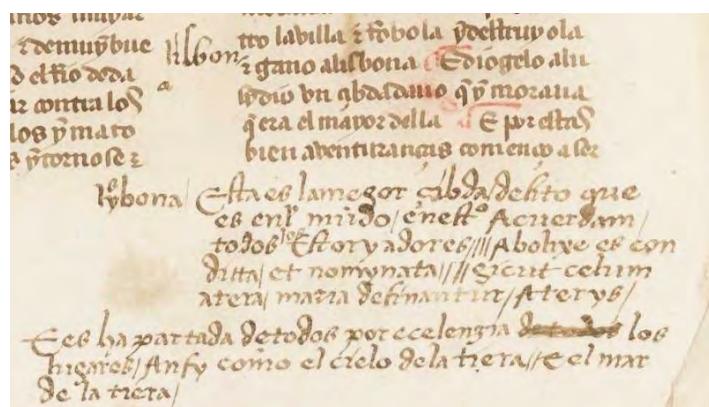
(Figure 13, image number 305)

Here, Toledo represents the deathplace of Leovigildo, and Sevilla and Écija become associated with the Christian people that the King had banished from the land. Thus, this trio of toponyms become interlinked with this particular passage in the text.

Hand 4 also uses the toponymic notes in order to offer personal, and contemporary, reflections of a specific place. There are two instances where this occurs, and they seem to have a binary significance (see figures 14 and 15).



(Figure 14, image number 271)



(Figure 15, image number 286)

Figure 14 highlights Barcelona on either side of column a as the place in the text where the Visigoth King Ataúlfo went. This reader then provides a commentary at the footer of the folio explaining that Barcelona is a very dangerous city, as it was here that ‘el infant don fernando, auelo de nuestro rey don Fernando se dize que lo mataron con pozon’. The reader then states ‘Este nuestro rey vino malcontento desta ciudad por que dios es vn regidor vn gobernador vn guardador de todos como segund dize boezio en el tercero vnyversal’. A lot of information can be inferred from this statement. Firstly, it is clear that the King at the time of the reader was the catholic monarch Fernando II of Aragon. This can be determined from the *Crónica de Juan II* (1415), which confirms that Fernando I of Aragon (the grandfather of Fernando II of Aragon) drank henbane water, from the advice of others, as a way to cure his kidney infection, this, in turn, poisoned him and he died on 2 April 1416 in Barcelona.⁸⁸ Therefore, this places hand 4 between the completion of *Min* and 1504, when Queen Isabella I died. This would suggest that hand 4 would have been one of the first readers to have acquired the manuscript. Furthermore, the fact that the reader believed Barcelona to be such a dangerous city, due to its significance as the deathplace of Fernando I of Aragon, may also imply that this was a general consensus in Castile at this time. Finally, the reference to Boethius assures us that hand 4 was a learned reader, and this will become clearer when analysing the scholia that were also written in this hand.

The alternative view is given to Lisbon (see figure 15); it reads:

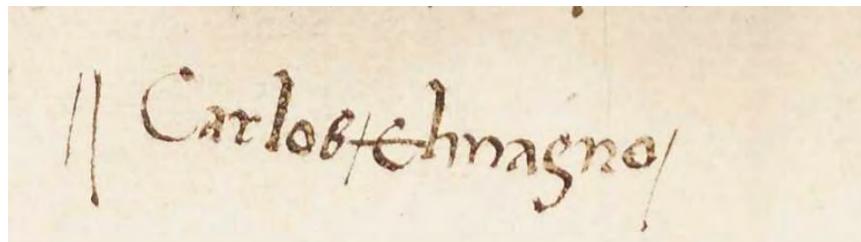
Lysbona Esta es la mejor çibdad e sito que es Enel mundo en esto Acuerdam todos los Estoryadores Abolixe es conditta et nomynata Sicut celum atera maria de sinantia Arterys E esta partida de todos por ecelenzia los lugares Ansy commo el cielo dela tiera E el mar de la tiera

This positive description of Lisbon as the best city in the world is justified by hand 4 due to the fact that all of the historians agree with this view. There is then a Latin note, which the reader translates as ‘out of all other places this place is better, like the sky of the Earth or the Sea of the Earth’. Although it is

⁸⁸ Margarita Cabrera Sánchez, ‘La muerte de los miembros de la realeza hispánica medieval a través de los testimonios historiográficos’, *España Medieval*, 34 (2011), pp. 107-109.

not established where this has been sourced from, the fact that the reader can read and translate Latin demonstrates a level of learned competency.

Hand 4's systemisation of toponyms can, thus, provoke private and contemporary views of the aforementioned places in the text. Nevertheless, the reader also uses anthroponyms as a way of organising their thoughts. The noting of anthroponyms is not as consistent as the index of toponyms, however, it does highlight the significant people in *Min* for this particular reader. In chapter 630, King Alfonso asks the Emperor Carlos for help against the moors. Hand 4 highlights this at the footer of column b, image number 332, with the note 'Carlos El magno' (see figure 16).



(Figure 16, image number 230)

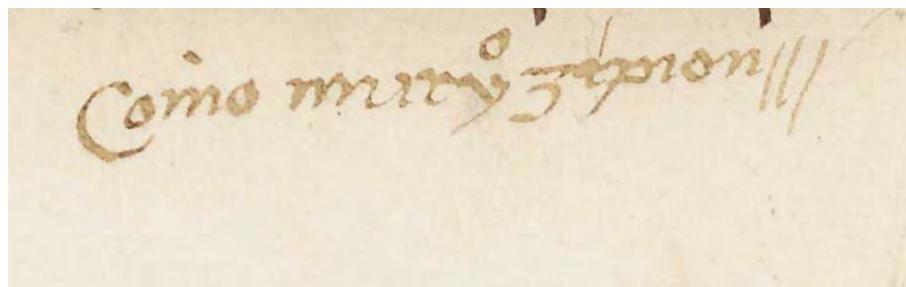
Despite the fact that the scribe A does not use the epithet 'el Magno' in the text, the reader felt it necessary to include it, thus it is obvious that Carlos was an important figure to the reader, hence the emphasis of this appellation.

As a result, the presence of an onomastic index functions as a mnemonic device in *Min*, as each proper noun represents an important event for the reader. It also systematises the text by dividing up the text into its references to places or people. Sometimes this is developed by hand 4 with the inclusion of a private commentary on the place or person in question, or the highlighted proper noun can sometimes have personal significance to the reader.

Recapitulations

The space at the end of a chapter often invites the reader to recapitulate the content or express a view on that particular section. Like the onomastic index, hand 4 summarises certain chapters as a

way to remember the content of that chapter. These recapitulations often have the same function as the rubrics at the start of a chapter, and thus the chapter becomes enclosed between two summaries of its content. In chapter 72, on image number 48, hand 4 writes at the footer of column b ‘commo muryo zipion’ (see figure 17).



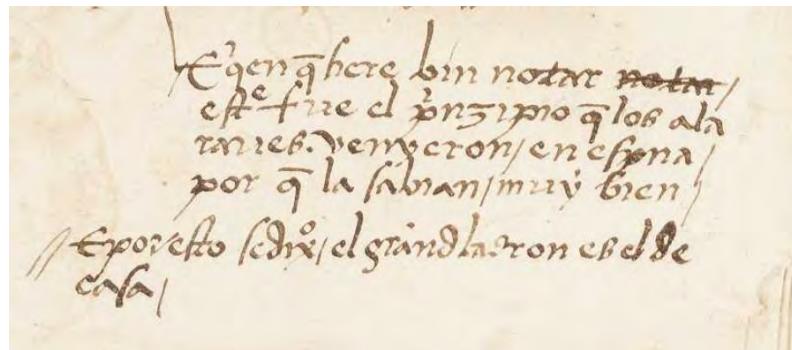
(Figure 17, image number 48)

The rubric for this chapter is illegible in *Min*, however *E₁* includes the rubric ‘De cuemo fue Scipion a Roma despues que destruxo Carthago e dend a Espanna e cuemo murio despues’ (f. 34r). Therefore, hand 4 repeats the subject matter of the second half of this rubric in the recapitulation. This process of segregating the chapter, or section of the text, orders the text by its significant events. Carruthers explains that this is a crucial mnemonic device as order is the key to memory training.⁸⁹ Thus, hand 4’s preoccupation with ordering and dividing the text becomes a heuristic scheme which enables the reader to learn and develop through the progression of reading.

Scholia

The notion of the maturation of the reader through the course of reading is definitely established by the scholia of hand 4. The first instance of a lengthy gloss textual criticism can be noted on image number 238 (figure 18).

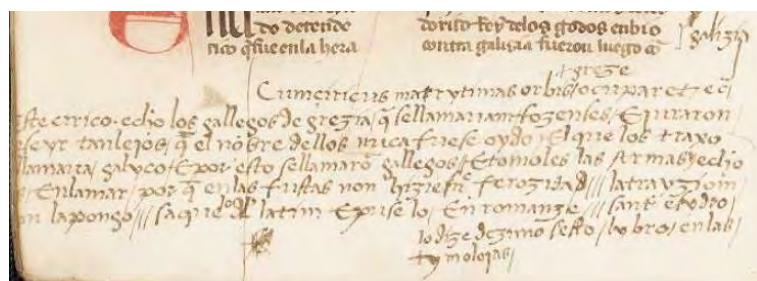
⁸⁹ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 183.



(Figure 18, image number 238)

This comes in chapter 374, and reads: ‘E quien que liere bin notar este fue el principio que los alaraues venyeron en espana por que la sabian muy bien E por esto se dixo el grand ladron es el de casa’. This comment bridges the relationship between the author/scribe and future readers; it is a comment on the authorial/scribal text which is clearly directed at a future audience, i.e. ‘quien que liere’. It is directing the future readers to note that this year (the era 453) was the first instance that the Moors came to Spain. This is not referenced in the text, in fact, the text describes how the Barbarians entered Spain and divided up the lands between them. However, the comment seems to be followed by a proverb: ‘the big thief is from home’. This would appear to suggest that the reader has reason to believe that Moors came peacefully to Spain before the invasion in 711 AD, and thus, made this their settling place, hence the notion that they became thieves of their own home.

These extra details, from this point onwards, are characteristic of hand 4. Their purpose seems to enrich the learning of future readers; on image number 284 there is an extensive note about the origin of Galician people (see figure 19).



(Figure 19, image number 284)

It is provoked by the reference to Galicia in the text; the first line is in latin: ‘Cumçiricus marytimas orbis greze ocupar et ect’. This is then explained in Castillian:

Este enrico echo los gallegos de grezia *que* se llamauan fozenses E juraron ese yr tan lejos *que* el nonbre dellos nunca fuese oydo El que los traxo llamaua galyco E por esto se llamaron gallegos E tomoles las Armas y echo las Enla mar por *que* enlas fustas non hiziesen ferozidad la trayzion [...] la pongo saquelos la tiera E puse lo En romanze sant esydro lo dize dezimo sesto lybro enlas tymolojas

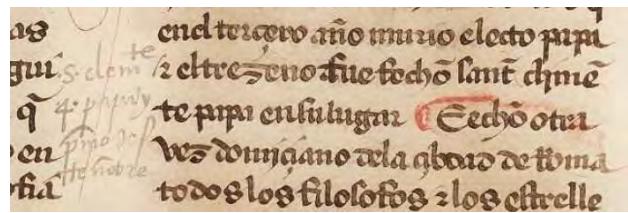
The reader explains the Greek origin of the ethonym ‘Galician’, which is sourced from the sixth book of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies*. Thus, the role of hand 4 develops from using the mnemonic device of a reader/learner, and it progresses into a reader/author, whereby the extensive commentaries and glosses become part of the text itself.

3.3 Hand 5

Hand 5 is the second most frequent hand that is present in the manuscript. Like hand 4, hand 5 also orders *Min* via heuristic schemes; from image number 166 to image number 226, the reader notes the successor of the pope. However, rather than supplementing the text with additional information, hand 5 manipulates the text by providing corrections. These amendments exist in two forms: grammatical alterations and computational modifications.

Papal Succession

It is not uncommon for the readers of the manuscripts of the *EE* to order the Roman part into by the succession of emperors: the emperor is written in the header of each folio in manuscript *O-F*. This method follows the way in which the text itself divides up the material of the *EE*; it notes the events from the beginning of one emperor’s reign to the next. However, a pope’s tenure is briefly documented by the text within the reign of an emperor. Thus, it seems an innovative way to systematise the text in this way. Hand 5 documents the first pope mentioned in *Min*, San Clement (see figure 20).

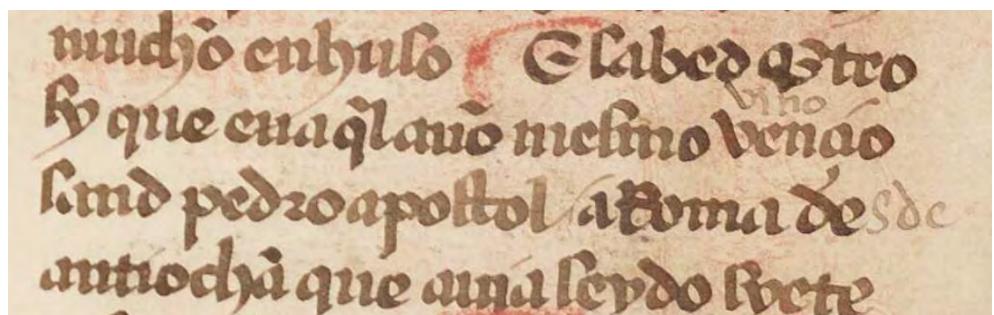


(Figure 20, image number 166)

The reader notes that this was the fourth pope and the first of his name. Curiously, hand 4 stops noting the succession of popes after Pope Agallo, the twenty-seventh pope, on image number 226. However, the text also begins to reference the papal succession less frequently from this point onwards, so perhaps the reader also lost interest. Nevertheless, hand 4 is able to recognise the text from image numbers 166-226 by the ruling pope, and thus it can be established as a mnemonic method.

Linguistic corrections

Hand 5 begins to take on the role of the author/scribe by making corrections of the grammar or syntax of *Min*. On image number 131, lines 26-27, the original line in *Min* reads: ‘en aquel anno mesmo vençio sand pedro apostol a Roma de antiocha’ (chapter 172). However, hand 4 changes ‘vençio’ to ‘vino’ and ‘de’ to ‘desde’ (see figure 21).



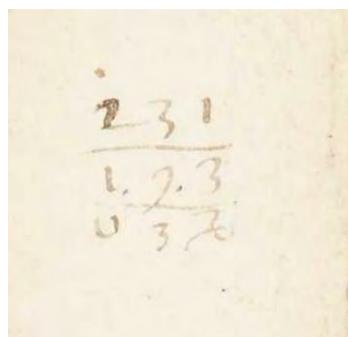
(Figure 21, image number 131)

*E*₁ also reads ‘vino’ (f. 74v) but retains ‘de’ and not ‘desde’. It is clear that the original sentence in *Min* is incorrect as it is very unlikely that Saint Peter defeated Rome, thus the reader seems to have corrected the verb on the premise of this common sense. Furthermore, the alteration of ‘de’ to ‘desde’ does not change the sentiment of the line, however it does give the preposition a sense of direction; Saint Peter

is going from Antioch to Rome. As a result, the reader becomes a textual editor, and this modification of the text, in turn, improves the way in which future readers will perceive the text.

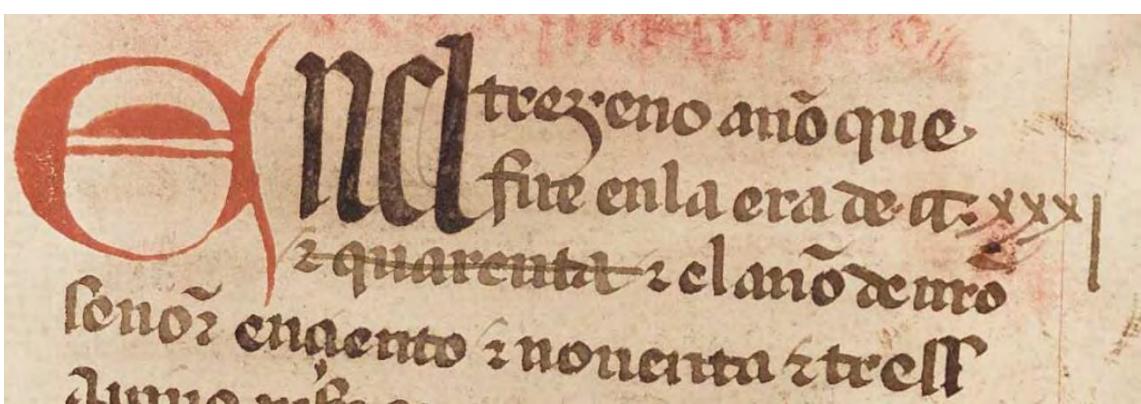
Computation

This editorial role is complicated further in the alterations of the dates provided in *Min*. It establishes the readers own aptitude; Wakelin confirms that the craft of correcting in medieval manuscripts is not an automatic or unreflective process as it witnesses processes of thinking consciously, it is analogous to the practice of literary criticism.⁹⁰ The conscious thought processes of hand 4 are physically manifested in the margins of the codex (see figure 22).



(Figure 22, image number 198)

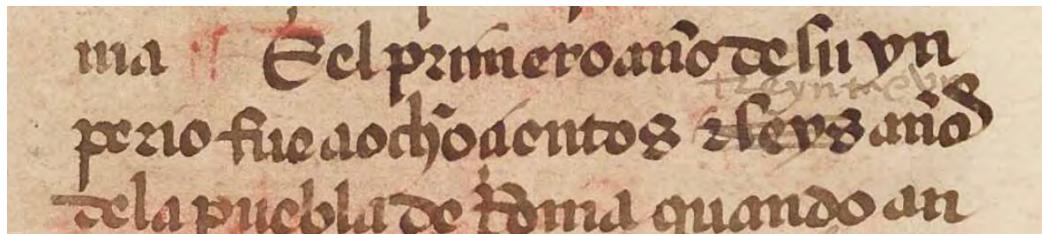
This appears to be a formula for working the era of chapter 232. *Min* originally states the era as ‘.cc. e quarenta’, however, hand 4 crosses out ‘e quarenta’ and writes ‘xxxii’ (see figure 23).



(Figure 23, image number 198)

⁹⁰ Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375-1510* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 4.

Thus, it is clear that the numerator of the formulaic table, on figure 22, corresponds with this correction. Hand 4's correction also agrees with the *E₁* manuscript; however, this is not always the case. The table in Appendix E illustrates the three different forms of calculating dates in the manuscript, and compares what *Min*, *E₁*, and hand 4 document as the correct figure (where present) from chapters 185 to 232. It can be seen that hand 4 often corresponds with *E₁*, implying that *Min* has a tendency to be inaccurate when computing the dates. However, there are also occasions where hand 4 does not agree with either *Min* or *E₁*. For example, in the first year of Emperor Vespasian's rule (chapter 185), *Min* incorrectly writes the number of years, after the population of Rome, as 'ocho cíentos treynta e tres' (image number 153), Hand 4 corrects this to 'ocho cíentos veinte y dos', which parallels *E₁*. The second year of Vespasian (chapter 186) is left uncorrected by *Min* as it agrees with *E₁*, which reads 'ocho cíentos e veinte e tres' (image number 154). However, the first year of Vespasian's successor, Titus, is dated by both *Min* and *E₁* as 'ocho cíentos e seys' (image number 162) years after the population of Rome. It is impossible that the years would have reduced in the chronology, and so both *Min* and *E₁* are incorrect. Having noticed this error, hand 4, realising that Vespasian ruled as emperor for nine years, they must have added nine to eight hundred and twenty-two (from chapter 185) to calculate 'ocho cíentos treynta e vn annos dela puebla de Roma' (see figure 23).

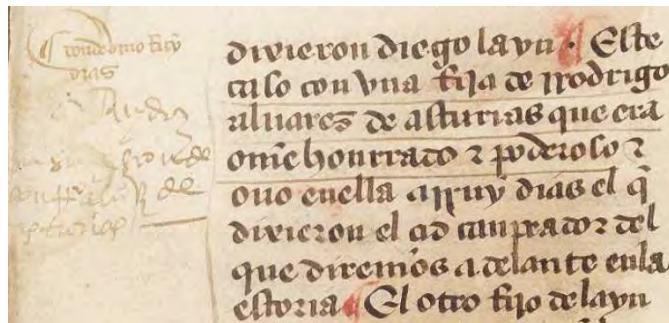


(Figure 23, image number 162)

Consequently, it is clear that hand 4 is thinking critically about both the accuracy of *Min* (and the *EE*) as a whole. Whilst the reader attempted to absorb the contents by ordering and systematising the Roman part of *Min*, they were also inclined to correct grammatical errors, and exercising their mathematical astuteness by recognising the numerical mistakes. These intertextual corrections transform hand 4 from a mere lector of *Min* to an authorial reader.

3.4 Hand 8

Hand 8 reverses the ‘reader to author’ paradigm as it is evident that this hand is actually scribe B. This hand is only present in the manuscript after the change from scribe A to scribe B in the lacuna between image numbers and 311. Furthermore, the palaeographical similarities between the original text of *Min* and the text that is presented in the margin is uncanny, and thus it must be determined that hand 8 and scribe B are the same (see figure 24).



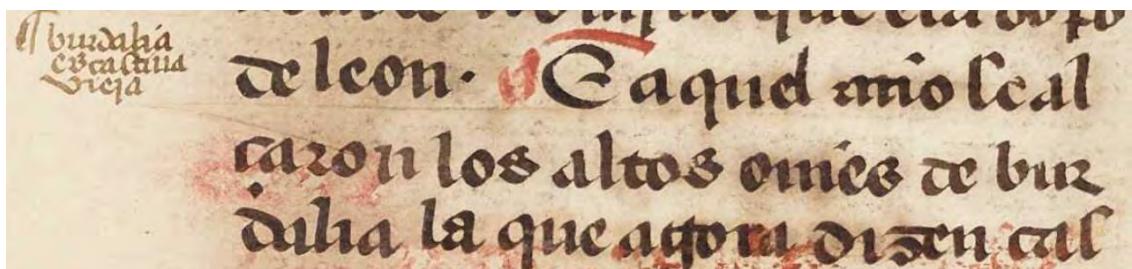
(Figure 24, image number 386)

The fact that the pilcrow exists in this piece of marginalia highlights the scribal tendencies of this reader. Moreover, it has the same rounded style as the pilcrows in the text. Also, the ‘z’ at the end of ‘diaz’ in the margin is written exactly like the ‘z’ in the word ‘aluarez’ in the text. The nib of the pen is clearly smaller in the marginalia, and the ink itself is a different colour to that in the text, which suggests that scribe B annotated the text after having written it. Dagenais confirms that scribes are the first readers due to their ‘complex psychological and mechanical act of transforming one scriptum into another’ which ‘sets the stage for future readings’.⁹¹ As a consequence, scribe B is both a reader of *Min*’s prototype and of *Min* itself; the very act of reading the prototype and transcribing it creates a platform for future readers. This notion is enhanced with scribe B’s annotations: figure 24 demonstrates that hand 5 is not only provoked by the text, but also by scribe B’s comments. It is clear that by highlighting ‘Ruy diaz’, scribe B has triggered a response from hand 5, who also comments on this figure.⁹²

⁹¹ Dagenais, p. 153.

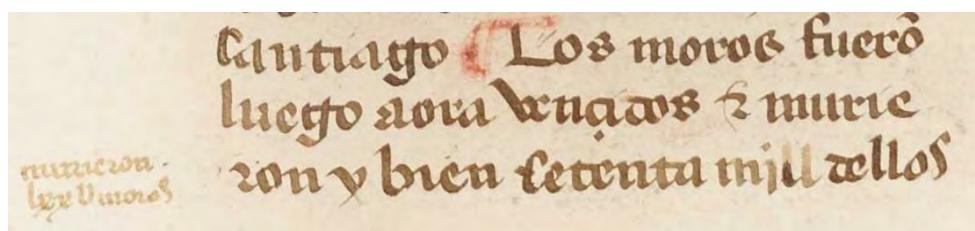
⁹² The note itself is illegible.

Thus, the comments that hand 8 makes reflect a process of learning. In chapter 689, *Min* reads: ‘E aquel anno se alçaron los altos omnes de burdalia la que agora dizen castilla vieja’. Scribe B annotates this with ‘¶ burdalia es castilla vieja’ (see figure 25).

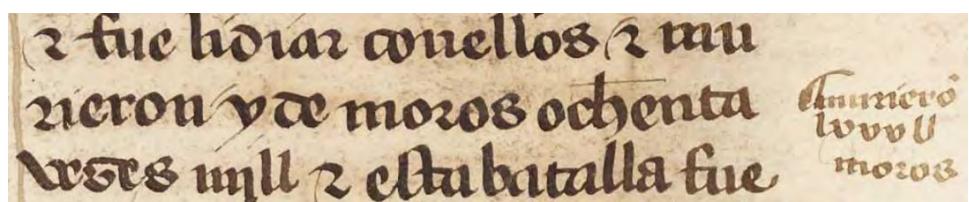


(Figure 25, image number 385)

Therefore, it is clear that scribe B desired to remember this piece of information. Scribe B also highlights the number of Moors that died on two occasions (see figures 26 and 27).



(Figure 26, image number 345)



(Figure 27, image number 396)

Given that it has already been established that *Min* was produced towards the end of the fifteenth century, in a time of profound transformation in regard to religious and cultural attitudes,⁹³ this acknowledgement of a large quantity of Muslim deaths is hardly surprising. It is rather a manifestation

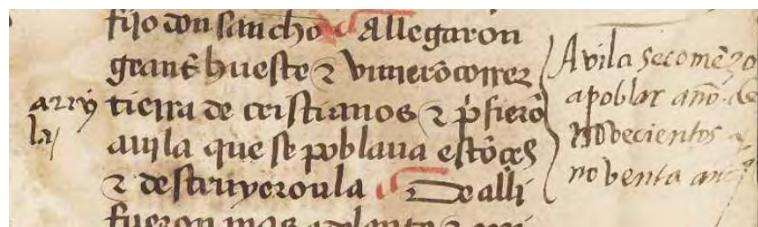
⁹³ Barbara Fuchs, ‘1492 and the Cleaving of Hispanism’, *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 37, 3 (2007), p. 497.

of a contemporary social change on the cusp of the *Reconquista* by the Spanish Monarchs.⁹⁴ It can be determined that the perception of *Min*, and thus the *EE*, is very much dependent on the period in which it is read.

Consequently, scribe B evolves from a mechanical reader to a critical one. They illustrate the same reader/learner processes of the previous hands by highlighting material, which is intended to be memorised, and this information is then used as a platform for future readers to learn from and develop. Furthermore, some of the annotations have a social undercurrent which reveals possible contemporary attitudes towards race, this in turn, illustrates how time periods affect the reading of manuscripts.

3.5 Hand 9

Hand 9 is only visible on the last image numbers of the codex. The first example appears on image number 479 (see figure 28).

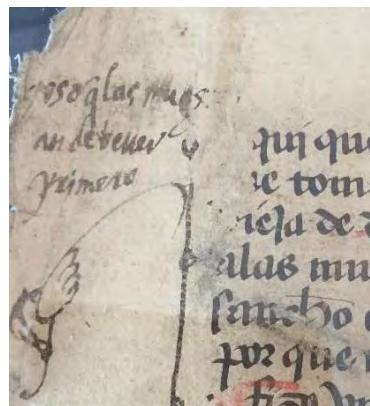


(Figure 28, image number 479)

Perhaps hand 4's notation of the toponym 'auyla' prompted the response of hand 9: 'Avila se comenzó a poblar anno de novecientos y noventa annos'. It can be assumed that Ávila is of particular interest to this reader; they have taken the incarnation year of Alfonso's tenth year of reign, at the start of the chapter, and applied it to the founding of Ávila. Hand 9 also notes the reference to Peñafiel (a municipality in northern Valladolid) in *Min* after Count Sancho attained it (image number 480). Thus, it would seem that hand 8 begins to order the text by toponyms in a similar, but microcosmic, way to hand 4.

⁹⁴ It is also worth noting that it has already been established that hand 4, an early reader of *Min*, creates a positive image of King Fernando I of Argon on image number 289. Thus, this coincides with this sense of patriotism that seems to be harboured by scribe B.

The final instant of hand 9 on the extant codex is present on image number 481 (see figure 29).



(Figure 29, image number 481)

The reader has not only annotated this part of the *Min*, but they have also highlighted it with a vertical line and drawn a manicule which points to the text.⁹⁵ This quantity of interaction with the text signifies a great level of interest; the comment itself is concerned with the notion that ‘las mugeres an de beuer primero’. However, this observation is not a chivalric gesture towards women as it may suggest; the text in question describes how the mother of Count Sancho plotted to poison his wine for allowing his daughter to marry Sancho ‘el mayor’ instead of a powerful Moor. Sancho then forced his mother to drink the wine before him, and so she died. The text then explains that the allegorical tale created ‘vn vso en castilla uieja de dar primero a beuer alas mugeres’ (image number 481). The reader is thus stressing the importance of this passage for its sententious value and perhaps as an exemplar or guide to live by. This type of reader reception is frequently addressed in fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts; *El libro de buen amor*, for example, has received a lot of attention from its readers for its maxims and proverbs.⁹⁶ Whilst hand 9 may have had anxieties concerning women, the attention with this part of the text may have also been considered light-heartedly. Nykrog explains that, often, misogyny in medieval texts were designed to provoke laughter:

⁹⁵ This is not visible in the digitised images of *Min* as the corner of the page is folded over.

⁹⁶ Dagenais, pp. 153-170.

the very topic of women's nastier sides was apparently a standard joke in the Middle Ages, a joke enjoyed by many women, too, and – what is more – not infrequently indulged by men who were really fond of women.⁹⁷

Whatever the intention behind this reader's comment, it divides it from the nature of the other annotations in the manuscript, which appear to be more pedagogic.

Consequently, hand 9, although fragmented in terms of its position in the codex, is rather diverse in their approaches to the text. Whilst they do point out places of interest, they also have an inclination to point out, literally with a manicule, life principles. It would be plausible to assume that, if the end of *Min* would have survived, there would be more examples in this hand.

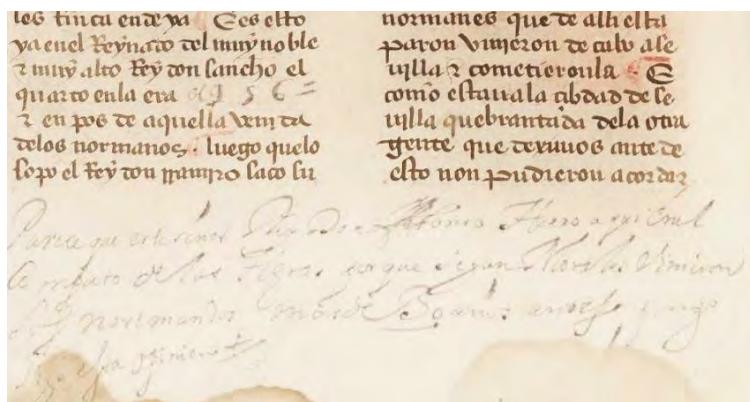
3.6 Miscellaneous

There is an array of hands in the *Min* which are difficult to identify due to their palaeographic idiosyncrasies or the fact that some annotations come in the form of illustrations. Therefore, this study will regard them as isolated occurrences, or 'miscellaneous' hands. These examples do not take one form; they are presented as *notas*, glosses, sketches, and manicules, which underline subject matters in the text. Collectively, these hands can be used to interpret medieval and early modern readership in Spain.

Glosses

The glosses vary in length and tone. Image number 350 contains an extensive comment on the era that is given in the text (see figure 30).

⁹⁷ Per Nykrog, 'Playing Games with Fiction: *Les Quinze Joyes de Manage*, *Il Corbaccio*, *el Arcipreste de Talavera*', in *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics*, ed. by Leigh A. Arathoon (Rochester: Mich, 1984), p. 447.



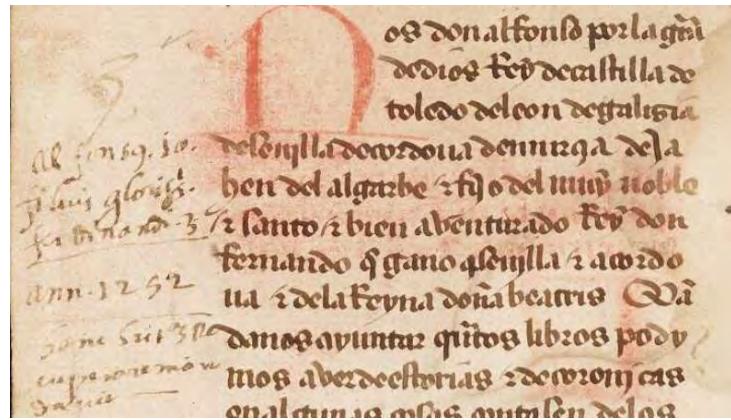
(Figure 30, image number 350)

It reads: ‘Parece que este señor Rey Don Alfonso Hera aqui enel computo delas Heras por que segun Morales vinieron dos nortmandos mas de 30 anos parafo sigo esta opinion’. It would appear as though this is a response to the date which has been inserted by another reader in the blank space left by scribe B, as ‘956’. The line before this gap refers to ‘el Reynado del muy noble e muy alto don sancho el quarto’, in which the *E₂* codex writes the era as ‘mill. e. ccc. e xxvij. annos’. The reader who inserted the era as ‘956’ then, completely disregards King Sancho IV, and instead, it would seem as though the reader may have got confused with the reign of Sancho I; chapter 716 addresses the era as nine-hundred and forty-nine, and chapter 717 begins with the era nine-hundred and fifty-seven, thus the era ‘956’ would come between these two chapters. This proposes a question of authorship for the *EE*: Bautista recognises the ambiguity surrounding the authorship of the *EE*’s historiographical production by Alfonso X. He justifies this as the *Versión amplificada* fails to mention Alfonso X as an authorial figure, and rather, it is Sancho IV who is alluded to as ‘rey don Sancho’ (as can be seen in the chapter in question).⁹⁸ However, although this is very clear and evident to modern critics of the *EE*, the idea the readers of the manuscripts were aware of, or gave credit to, Sancho IV’s involvement and authorship in the text seems unlikely; especially in the case of *Min*’s readers, where neither the hand who fills in the era, nor the hand at the footer of the folio address any concern with Sancho IV at all. The extensive gloss is more troubled by the inaccuracy of the era, to which Alfonso el Casto belonged.⁹⁹ Furthermore,

⁹⁸ Francisco Bautista, *La Estoria de España en época de Sancho IV: Sobre los reyes de Asturias* (London: Department of Hispanic Studies Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2006), p. 55.

⁹⁹ Chapter 637 belongs to the lacuna between image numbers 342 and 343, however *E₂* writes that the fortieth year of King Alfonso el Casto was in the era of nine hundred and fifty-six (f. 22r).

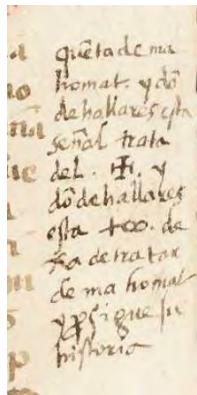
at the beginning of *Min*, in the archetypal prologue of the *EE*, a different hand does seem to recognise Alfonso X's authority in the text (see figure 31).



(Figure 31, image number 26)

Here, the recognition of Alfonso X as author at the beginning of the text – ‘nos don alfonso’ (chapter 1) – has provoked a positive image of the Learned King by an unidentified hand. The Latin annotation reads: ‘alfonsus .10. filius gloriosus fernando .3. ann. 1252 [...]''. Thus, this demonstrates not only a recognition of Alfonso’s participation in the production of the *EE*, but the knowledge of the date of his kingship (and kinship), which, as we have seen, cannot be said for Sancho IV. The *EE* then, despite its fragmented nature in terms of the versions and hands that collectively complete the work, seems to be solely attributed to Alfonso X.

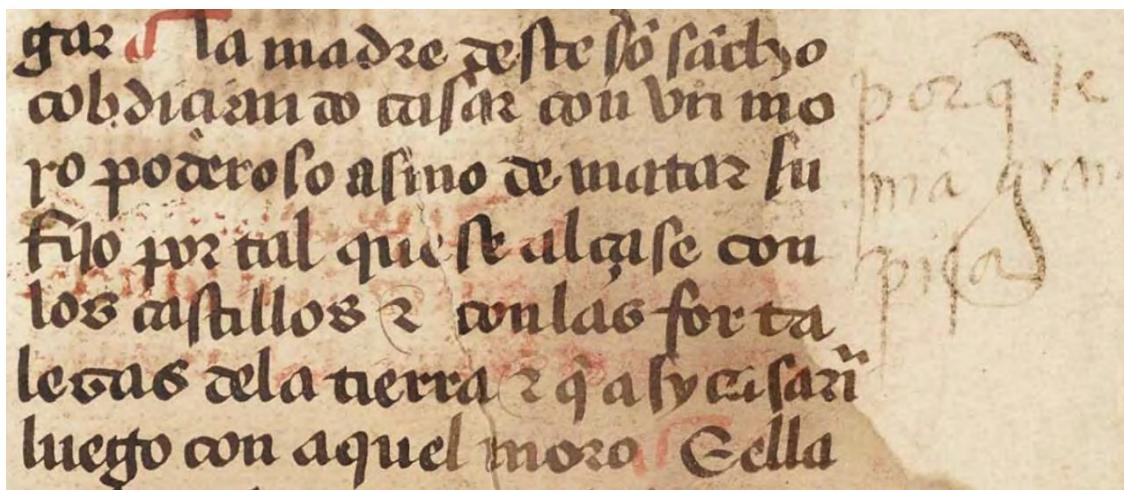
Figure 29’s reference to Morales, that is, Ambrosio de Morales the sixteenth-century chronicler of King Felipe II, emphasises the astuteness of the reader. Hands 4 and 5, too, have demonstrated a scholarly attitude towards the text through their scholia and ability to correct the text. Nevertheless, the following hand portrays an intelligent way in which to mark parts of the text, and writes their methodology in the right-hand margin on image number 300: ‘quenta de mahomat. Y donde de hallares esta sennal trata del .+. y donde hallares esta .+oo. dexa de tratar de mahomat y & sigue su historia’ (see figure 32).



(Figure 32, image number 300)

This comes at the beginning of chapter 475: ‘Del linaje donde vino mohamad’. This semiotic approach to reading the text creates a metalanguage whereby the symbols define the text itself. Moreover, rather than replicate the same approach as hand 4, who extracts the toponyms from the text as a way to highlight them, this reader uses signs in order to describe a specific point in the text. Therefore, the reader has developed their own code, which is clearly accessible to future readers; the use of ‘tú’ form in the verb ‘hallares’ clearly acknowledges an audience. As a result, not only has this reader developed their own heuristic method of reading and learning from the text (or this specific part of the text), but they also intended to educate a future audience how to do the same. This multifaceted role of the reader seems to apply to the majority of *Min’s* readership as there seems to be a double purpose behind the glosses of the codex.

However, the same scholastic attitude to the text cannot be said for all of the readers of the manuscript. The following reader illustrates a satirical and uncensored attitude towards the text (see figure 33).



(Figure 33, image number 480)

This piece of marginalia accompanies the same content with which hand 9 also addressed. However, there is a large difference between the two responses. Whilst hand 9 is concerned with the maxim of the allegorical tale, this hand speculates, or more appropriately ridicules, that the reason as to why the mother of Sancho wanted his daughter to marry a powerful Moor is because ‘tenia gran pija’. Carruthers reminds us that ‘what is unusual and marvellous strikes us and is retained in memory’.¹⁰⁰ This comment is definitely striking, and is likely to be remembered by future readers, even today. Thus, this increases *Min’s* longevity through its ability for future readers to be able to interact with earlier reader responses. It bridges the medieval and early modern periods with our own, as we too can find humour in its margins.

Sketches

There are three sketches that are conserved within *Min*. The first two, like the previous hand, manipulate the symbol of the phallus (see figures 34 and 35).

¹⁰⁰ Carruthers, p. 176.



(Figure 34, image number 170)



(Figure 35, image number 171)

These images seem to depict the same figure. They can be found at the footers of the folios which describe the reign of the Spanish Emperor Trajano (chapter 195). In both of the drawings, the figure stands erect. Freidman notes the paradoxical entity of the penis; it is simultaneously a part of, and apart from, the rest of the body.¹⁰¹ Whilst we have already seen the ‘pija’ isolated from the corporal body, and materially segregated from the corpus of the text, on image number 489, here the phallus becomes the defining feature of the body. It seems to depict the Emperor himself, who is described to

¹⁰¹ David M. Freidaman, *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008), p. 62.

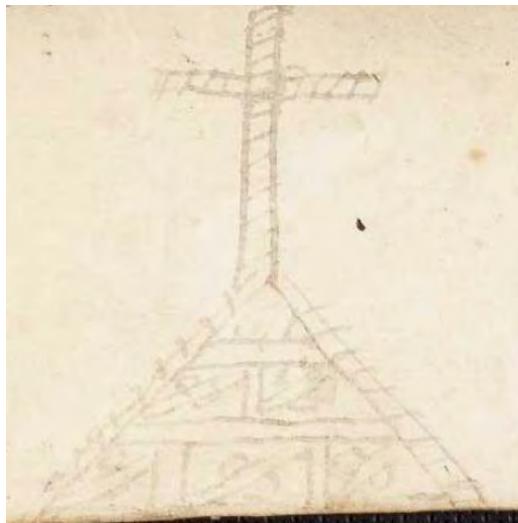
have conquered Germany and to have killed many people; a chivalric image of Trajano is portrayed as ‘yua a vna batalla’ (image number 171). This depiction is transposed onto the sketches, and thus, it seems that the inclusion of the phallus is a positive symbol of strength and knighthood. Furthermore, there seems to be a shift in the image of male sexuality in the text and its perception in the margin. In chapter 199, after the death of Trajano, the content addresses the rule of Emperor Adriano. In this section, there is a tale of a philosopher who lay with his own mother:

E metiose la cabeça entrelas tetas e durmio cerca della toda la noche bien commo con su madre
 ¶ E quando vio la mannana leuantose por yr su via e ella trauo del e dixole commo por me
 prouar feziste esto e el dixo non madre sennora mas non es derecho que yo ensuzie el vaso onde
 sali ¶ E ella preguntole quien era e el dixo yo so segundo el tu fijo e ella quando lo vio començo
 a pensar e non lo pudo sofrir el su grand confondimiento e cayo en tierra muerta (Image number
 178)

Here, the philosopher explains to his mother that they cannot have intercourse because it is not right that ‘ensuzie el vaso onde sali[ó]’, and upon discovering that she was laying with her son, she dies. This imagery of filth connected with the male phallus, and the fact that it provoked the death of the philosopher’s mother, contrasts the image that is presented to us on the two drawings of Trajano. Thus, we can trace, what Freidman terms as, ‘the gear shift’ of the fifteenth century; the perception of the penis undergoes a cultural advance in the sixteenth century.¹⁰² As a result, it straddles the two worlds in *Min* – the medieval and the modern – as it begins as a ‘demonic rod’ which causes dirt and death, to a symbol of strength and masculinity in the drawings of Trajano. As a result, *Min* can be seen as a microcosm of the manuscript as a culturally dynamic object; the core text and the peripheral text can juxtapose social and temporal views.

The final sketch, which seems to be in the same hand, is on image number 229 (see figure 36).

¹⁰² Ibid., p.69.



(Figure 36, image number 229)

As the previous two drawings were related to the context on the folios on which they were drawn, it can be assumed that this sketch must also have some relation to text. The text above the drawing comes from chapters 363, 364, and 365. The content of this section of the *EE* is extremely religious and devotional; in particular it describes five saints:

auia por todo el mundo muchos omnes buenos y sabios y muy santos asy como sant juan crisostomo [...] y sant donato [...] e en aquitania seuero sulpiçio [...] ¶ Otrosy aquella sazon en franca sant seuerino [...] ¶ E sant seruiçio (chapter 363, image number 229)

The drawing itself depicts a gravestone with the symbol of the Christian cross above it. Moreover, the grave seems to be divided into five tomb-like compartments, with what seems to be bodies in each section. Therefore, it would not be unreasonable to assume that this hand has sketched a grave to pay homage to those five saints, in the same way that the previous drawings (figures 33 and 34) respected the bravery of the Spanish Emperor Trajano.

As a result, the marginal illustrations depict a visual representation of the text itself. They are positive in tone and seem to project an admiration of the figures which they represent. The first two sketches help us understand the transformation of the attitude towards the phallus from the medieval to the early modern period, and the last drawing demonstrates compassion and piety from the reader. Consequently, the drawings represent a creative response to the text by the reader/artist.

Manicules and Notas

Whilst manicules and *notas* illustrate the same function within a text, that is, they both highlight passages or lines of importance, the manicules (literally) point out specific instances in the text, whilst *notas* often highlight larger portions of the text. *Notas* in *Min*, take the form of a vertical line which brackets off a fragment of the text, and they can be accompanied by an ‘n’ with a large macron above it to signal the abbreviation of ‘nota’, or three smaller vertical lines. They can be found on the majority of the extant folios of the manuscript, and it is not uncommon for them to highlight both columns on one side of a folio (see figure 37).



(Figure 37, image number 107)

Often it is unclear as to which hand implemented these signs, due to the different shadings of ink or pencil. However, a lot of the vertical lines usually come with comments from hand 5, and they both seem to have the same colour of ink (see figure 38).

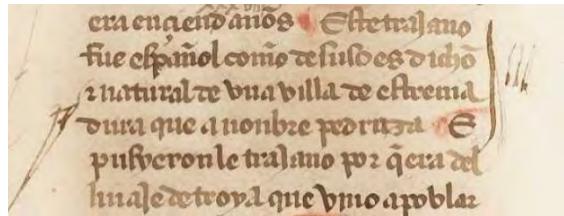


(Figure 38, image number 236)

In this case, hand five writes ‘el primero rey que ouo en espanna’ on the right-hand margin, and there is an emphasising bracket with a head growing out of the top of it in the left-hand margin. Carruthers notes that heads are very common in the margins of medieval manuscripts, possibly because the head is the sight of memory, and thus they form part of a mnemonic apparatus.¹⁰³ As a consequence, the bracketing line reminds the reader to remember this passage. The content of which, describes how the Visigoths invaded France before they entered Spain, which leads onto the rise of Gunderic as king of the Visigoths, before becoming the king of Spain (chapter 373).

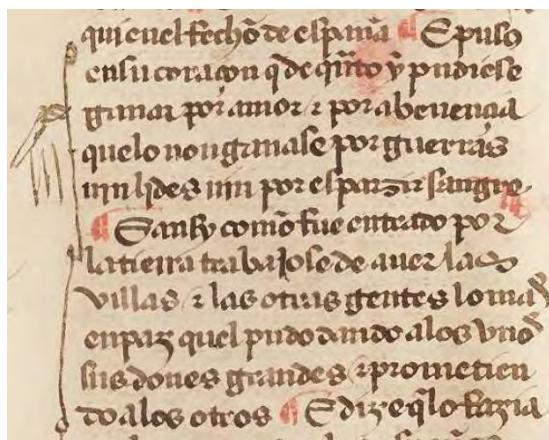
The readers of *Min* clearly demonstrate a preoccupation with boasting Spain’s reputation within the text. In chapter 195, one hand brackets the text which reads: ‘Este trajano fue espaniol commo desuso es dicho e natural de vna villa de estremadura que a nonbre pedruza’ (see figure 39).

¹⁰³ Carruthers, p. 324.



(Figure 39, image number 170)

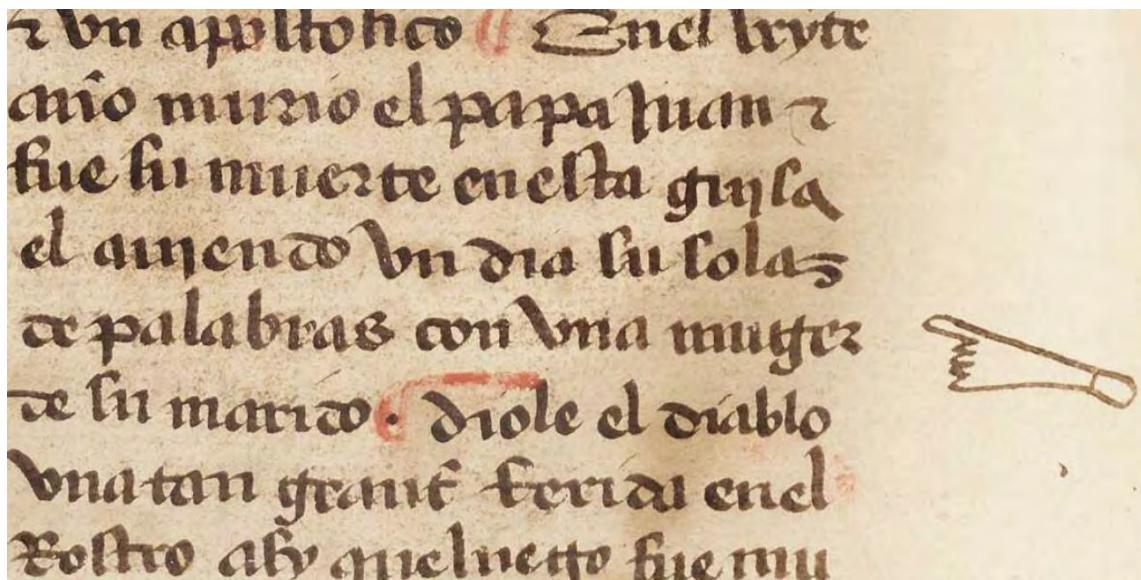
This is also highlighted by another hand, who has drawn a manicule in the centre margin. The manicule, rather than the bracket, points to the specific part of the text which explains that Trajano is from a town in Extremadura. Rather than noting the whole portion of the text, this reader is specifically interested where in Spain Trajano came from. The nature of the manicules in *Min* often seem to disregard the rest of the text, and the highlighted section can be taken out of context. On image number 27, both a bracket and a manicule isolate a portion of the text (see figure 40).



(Figure 40, image number 76)

Whilst the bracket marks out the whole passage which describes how Spain cannot be taken by war nor by spilling blood, but by love and agreement, and it continues to highlight how Brutus entered the towns peacefully, offering favours to the people (chapter 98). Therefore, the bracket provides the whole context, whereas the manicule solely points to ‘por amor e por abenençia’, isolating only these traits. The manicule’s function then, takes certain parts of the text out of context, and they can be read as examples or guidelines for the reader.

One particular hand isolates part of the text which states that Pope John found his solace in the words of a married woman (see figure 41).



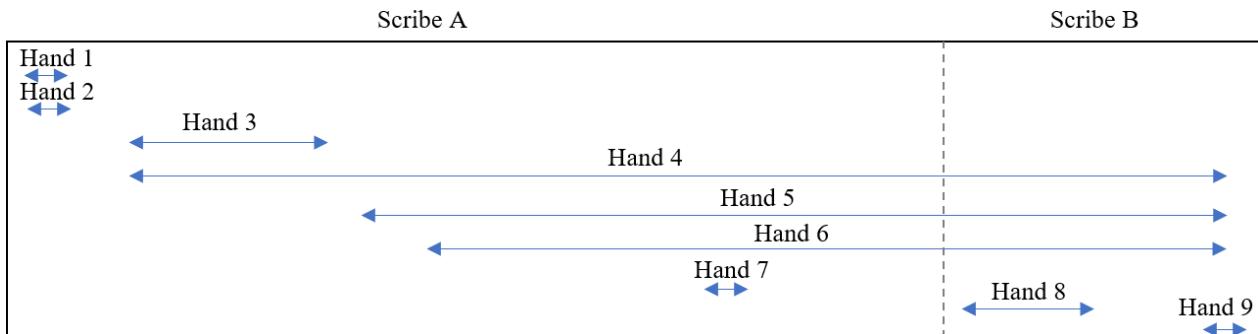
(Figure 41, image number 448)

The whole passage describes how Pope John died because he sought comfort from a married woman, and so the Devil injured his face, causing him to die. The reader however, seems to be more concerned with the married woman: Pope John's punishment is clear in the text; however, the married woman seems to be left with impunity. This hand, then, also finds 'su solaz' by isolating the figure of the married woman, and thus also emphasising her wrongdoing.

Therefore, it can be determined that whilst manicules and *notas* both emphasise the importance of certain parts of *Min*, the *notas* often draw attention to the context, which justifies the significant part of the passage. On the other hand, the mancules isolate a principal concept, which can be read away from the context of the text. This notion that the mancules can be read separately from the text, provides us with an untainted insight to what the reader was really concerned with. From the examples above, it is clear that specific details such as the origin of important individuals, personality traits, and unfulfilled justice, are just a few of the principles of *Min*'s readership.

3.7 Conclusions

By amalgamating the different hands, it is possible to see the way readers fragmented the *EE* into parts or sections (see diagram 1).



(Diagram 1: The positioning of the different hands in *Min*)

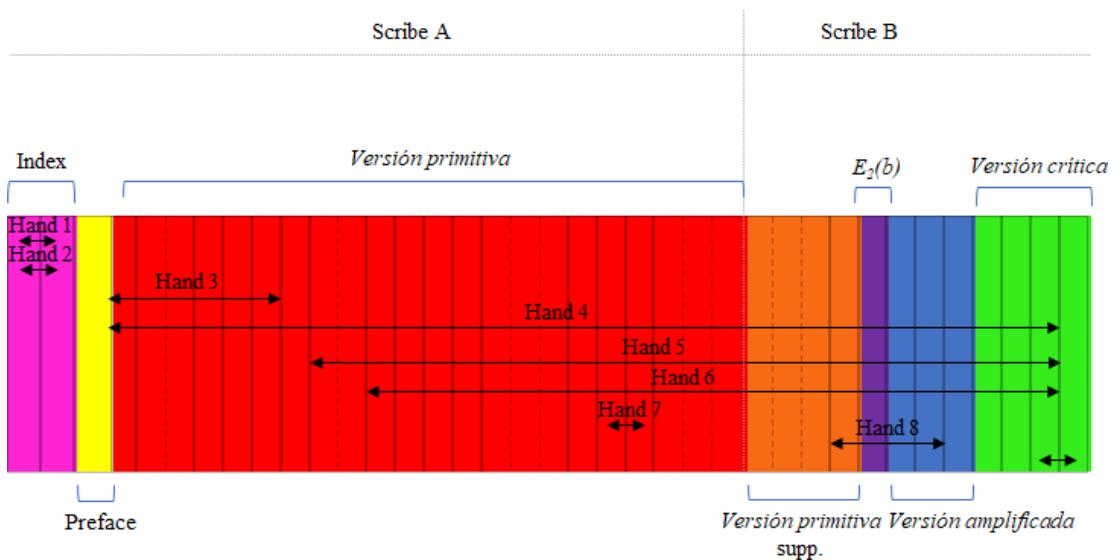
The arrows depict the location in the extant codex where the hand first occurs and the position where it is last found, and the dotted vertical line represents the change from scribe A to scribe B. Of course, it is possible that the missing folios would alter this diagram slightly, however, these readers seemed to be concerned with one part of the manuscript. Perhaps this reveals the way in which manuscripts were read; rather than reading a book cover to cover, they concentrated on a certain portion of the codex. Of course, this is also reflected in the way that the manuscript has fallen apart; it would have been impossible for some of the readers to have had a complete text in the first place. As a result, the condition of the manuscript did not seem to affect its reader reception; *Min* was still able to create an effect on its reader.

It can be determined that by studying the marginalia in *Min*, and medieval manuscripts as a whole, we have access to a resource which allows us to understand medieval and early modern approaches to texts. The provenance of the readers themselves, tell us a lot about the type of reader responses that are extant in *Min*; there is an intense interaction with Cantabria and the northern provinces of Spain. These readers assume a scholarly attitude towards the text through the presence of extensive scholia, which enhances the content within the columns. This notion that the reader can improve or develop a text enables them to take on a multifaceted role within the codex; they are not solely subjected to reading the text as they create a platform for future readers of *Min*. In turn, this

creates an intermingling of relationships in the manuscript; the author, scribe, reader, and future readers are able to communicate, and if the conservation of manuscripts were not a priority in this age, the presence of this communication would definitely still be live. This creates a temporal thread, which begins with Alfonso X and ends with the present; the codex is not a static object, rather its interpretations change depending on the time and the subject. Whilst some readers read *Min* as a book of knowledge, taking the fruits of this knowledge for their own learning, others emphasise the inaccuracy of the text itself. This demonstrates a process of learning through the ages, and that the veracity of history is definitely considered as a static concept; our ideas of what is factual can change from one moment to the next, with the revelation of new facts. These readers use different sources to create an intertextual web within the margins of this manuscript, sometimes contradicting, but often developing the text itself. However, reader responses are not always refined to the peripheries of the margins. Hand 4, for example, modifies the text to create a more coherent reading, and therefore, the reader can also adopt an authorial role. But who is to say that all of the readers of manuscripts are not authors themselves? The physical act of writing reflects the subconscious presence of an audience. This suggests that there are no parameters on the medieval folio; the writing space, as implied in chapter one, does not occupy the follow dimensions: 225 x 170mm. Nor does it limited to the 335 x 225 mm size of the extant codex, due to the copious amount of marginalia which has been cut from a rebinding of the manuscript. The textual space, then, cannot be measured. As a result, neither can the computation of the manuscript; whilst the date of its production can be estimated at towards the end of the fifteenth-century, *Min* as an object is timeless.

General Conclusion

The Minnesota manuscript is a deteriorated unification of fragments. As an object today, it exists as sheets of paper that once bound together several textual traditions of the *EE*, which, in turn, were divided up by the readers of the codex (see diagram 1).



(Diagram 1: A three-dimensional diagram of *Min*)

This diagram illustrates the palimpsestic interpretation of how, through the lens of the *Estoria de Espanna*, *Min* has changed from the end of the fifteenth-century until now. Although it currently exists as loose sheets of paper inside a protective storage box within the James Ford Bell collection of the Meredith Wilson Library, it was once comprised of approximately four hundred and nineteen folios (excluding the final lacuna and flyleaves), separated into thirty-five gatherings and a three-folio insert, that were unified into a book and bound with cords. This book was composed by two scribes, who transcribed from a model which bound together the different versions of the *EE*, creating a mosaic of its textual traditions. The reception of these traditions fragmented them further, as the readers of *Min* dissected different sections of the codex for their own use, and also for the use of future readers. These three layers of *Min*: its pre-life, its contemporary life, and its post-life, questions the true authorship of the manuscript; a temporal thread is traced from the very beginning with Alfonso X, through to Sancho

IV (and the anonymous hand, *E₂(b)*), the scribes of its predecessors, scribes A and B, and finally all of the extant hands that are present in the codex.

These three layers inherently define manuscript culture. Whilst it is easy to attribute a codex to its ‘original’ author, the other writers are often marginalised. However, it is the margins where the most creative activities take place; they change the way in which future readers read the text through time. This dynamic characteristic of the manuscript complicates the question: ‘what period does it belong to?’. Of course, the customary response is to reply with an estimated production date, however, this creates the notion of a static, untouched object that appears as it did centuries ago. But this is not the case, manuscripts tell their own stories, and these stories are developed through time, to the extent where it is no longer the same book that was produced all those years ago. In the case of *Min*, every folio, and every missing folio, illustrate an interesting trajectory of how it was used and read. The folios offer a space, a medieval ‘social network’ if you will, for authors and readers of different periods to interact, thus they overcome temporal boundaries. When we read *Min*, we are not just reading the text of the *EE*, we read through the lens of the scribes, we ingest the intertextual web from the scholia and glosses, we visualise the illustrations in the footer of the folios, and we laugh at the obscene witticisms in the margins. Of course, this all derives from Alfonso X’s innovative idea; however, it is not Alfonso’s text that we read in *Min*, it’s ours.

Appendix A: A comparison of the *PCG* chapter numbers with the *EE Digital* chapter numbers and the *Min* image numbers where these chapters begin

<i>PCG</i> Chapter Number	<i>EE Digital</i> Chapter Number	<i>Min</i> Image Number
Prólogo	1	24
1	2	27
2	3	27
3	4	28
4	5	31
5	6	33
6	7	34
7	8	35
8	9	37
9	10	38
10	11	39
11	12	40
12	13	41
13	14	
	I	
14	15	
15	16	43
	II	43
16	17	43
17	18	45
18	19	45
19	20	46
20	21	
21	22	
22	23	
	III	
No chapter	24	
23	25	
24	26	
25	27	
26	28	
27	29	
28	30	
29	31	
30	32	
31	33	
32	34	

33	35	
34	36	
35	37	
36	38	
37	39	
38	40	
39	41	
40	42	
41	43	
42	44	
43	45	
44	46	
45	47	
46	48	
47	49	
48	50	
49	51	
50	52	
51	53	
52	54	
53	55	
54	56	
55	57	
56	58	
57	59	
58	60	
59	61	
60	62	
61	63	
62	64	
63	65	
64	66	
65	67	
66	68	
67	69	
68	70	
69	71	
70	72	47
71	73	
72	74	
73	75	
74	76	49

75	77	51
76	78	52
77	79	53
78	80	55
79	81	57
80	82	58
81	83	58
82	84	60
83	85	61
84	86	63
85	87	64
86	88	65
87	89	66
88	90	68
89	91	
90	92	70
91	93	
92	94	71
93	95	73
94	96	74
95	97	74
96	98	76
97	99	79
98	100	85
99	101	83
100	102	88
101	103	
102	104	
103	105	
104	106	
105	107	
106	108	91
107	109	95
108	110	95
109	111	100
110	112	
111	113	
112	114	101
113	115	101
114	116	103
115	117	103

116	118	
117	119	104
		109
118	120	109
119	121	111
120	122	112
121	123	
122	124	114
123	125	115
124	126	116
125	127	116
126	128	119
127	129	
128	130	119
129	131	120
130	132	120
131	133	
132	134	
133	135	
134	136	
135	137	
136	138	
137	139	
138	140	
139	141	
140	142	
141	143	
142	144	
143	145	
144	146	
145	147	
146	148	
147	149	
148	150	
149	151	
150	152	
151	153	
152	154	
153	155	
154	156	
155	157	
156	158	

157	159	
No chapter	160	
158	161	
159	162	
160	163	
161	164	
162	165	
163	166	
164	167	
165	168	121
166	169	122
167	170	126
168	171	129
169	172	130
170	173	132
171	174	132
172	175	133
173	176	137
174	177	139
175	178	
176	179	
177	180	
178	181	
179	182	145
180	183	147
181	184	148
182	185	153
183	186	154
184	187	
185	188	
186	189	162
187	190	163
188	191	164
189	192	166
190	193	168
191	194	170
192	195	170
193	196	173
194	197	175
195	198	175
196	199	176
197	200	181

198	201	181
199	202	183
200	203	184
201	204	184
202	205	185
203	206	185
204	207	185
205	208	186
206	209	187
207	210	187
208	211	189
209	212	189
210	213	190
211	214	190
212	215	191
213	216	191
214	217	191
215	218	192
216	219	192
217	220	192
218	221	194
219	222	194
220	223	195
221	224	196
222	225	196
223	226	197
224	227	197
225	228	197
226	229	197
227	230	197
228	231	197
229	232	198
230	233	198
231	234	199
232	235	200
233	236	200
234	237	200
235	238	200
236	239	201
237	240	201
238	241	201
239	242	201

240	243	201
241	244	201
242	245	202
243	246	202
244	247	202
245	248	202
246	249	203
247	250	203
248	251	203
249	252	203
250	253	204
251	254	204
252	255	204
253	256	205
254	257	205
255	258	206
256	259	207
257	260	208
258	261	208
259	262	208
260	263	209
261	264	210
262	265	211
No chapter	266	211
263	267	211
264	268	211
265	269	213
266	270	213
267	271	214
No chapter	272	214
268	273	215
269	274	215
270	275	215
271	276	216
No chapter	277	217
272	278	218
273	279	219
274	280	219
275	281	220
276	282	221
277	283	222
278	284	222

279	285	223
280	286	224
281	287	224
282	288	225
283	289	226
284	290	226
285	291	226
286	292	226
	IV	
287	293	226
288	294	
289	295	
290	296	
291	297	
292	298	
293	299	
294	300	
295	301	
296	302	
297	303	
298	304	
299	305	
300	306	
301	307	
302	308	
303	309	
304	310	
305	311	
306	312	
307	313	
308	314	
309	315	
310	316	
311	317	
312	318	
313	319	
314	320	
315	321	
316	322	
317	323	
318	324	
319	325	

320	326	
321	327	
322	328	
323	329	
324	330	
325	331	
327	332	
328	333	
329	334	
330	335	
331	336	
332	337	
333	338	
334	339	
335	340	
336	341	
337	342	
338	343	
339	344	
No chapter	345	
340	346	
341	347	
342	348	
343	349	
344	350	
345	351	
346	352	
347	353	
348	354	
349	355	
350	356	
351	357	
352	358	
353	359	
354	360	227
355	361	227
356	362	227
357	363	229
358	364	229
359	365	229
360	366	230
361	367	230

362	368	231
No chapter	369	232
363	370	232
364	371	232
	V	232
No number	372	
365	373	233
366	374	237
367	375	239
368	376	239
369	377	240
370	378	241
371	379	241
372	380	242
373	381	243
374	382	243
375	383	244
376	384	244
377	385	244
378	386	244
379	387	245
380	388	245
381	389	246
382	390	246
383	391	246
384	392	
385	393	
	VI	
No number	394	
386	395	
387	396	247
388	397	247
389	398	248
390	399	249
391	400	252
392	401	253
393	402	256
394	403	256
395	404	257
396	405	258
397	406	259
398	407	260

399	408	260
400	409	262
401	410	263
402	411	264
403	412	265
404	413	266
405	414	
406	415	
407	416	267
408	417	268
409	418	270
410	419	271
411	420	272
412	421	273
413	422	274
414	423	278
415	424	280
416	425	280
417	426	281
418	427	283
419	428	284
420	429	284
421	430	284
422	431	285
423	432	286
424	433	287
425	434	288
426	435	288
427	436	290
428	437	292
429	438	292
430	439	293
431	440	294
432	441	295
433	442	296
434	443	296
435	444	298
436	445	
437	446	
438	447	
439	448	
440	449	

441	450	
442	451	
443	452	
444	453	
445	454	
446	455	
447	456	
448	457	
449	458	
450	459	
451	460	
452	461	
453	462	
454	463	
455	464	
456	465	
457	466	
458	467	
459	468	
460	469	297
461	470	298
462	471	299
463	472	299
464	473	300
465	474	300
466	475	300
467	476	301
468	477	302
469	478	302
470	479	303
471	480	304
472	481	304
473	482	305
474	483	305
475	484	305
476	485	306
477	486	307
478	487	308
479	488	310
480	489	
481	490	
482	491	

483	492	
484	493	
485	494	
486	495	
487	496	
488	497	
489	498	
490	499	
491	500	
492	501	
493	502	
494	503	
495	504	
496	505	
497	506	
498	507	
499	508	
500	509	
501	510	
502	511	
503	512	
504	513	
505	514	
506	515	
507	516	
508	517	
509	518	
510	519	
511	520	
512	521	
513	522	
514	523	
515	524	
516	525	
517	526	
518	527	
519	528	
520	529	
521	530	
522	531	
523	532	
524	533	

525	534	
526	535	
527	536	
528	537	
529	538	
530	539	
531	540	
532	541	
533	542	
534	543	
535	544	
536	545	
537	546	
538	547	
539	548	
540	549	
541	550	
542	551	
543	552	
544	553	
545	554	
546	555	
547	556	
548	557	
549	558	
550	559	
551	560	
552	561	
553	562	
554	563	
555	564	
556	565	
557	566	
558	567	
559	568	
560	569	
561	570	
562	571	
563	572	
564	573	
565	574	
No number	575	

No number	576	
566	577	
567	578	
568	579	
569	580	
570	581	
571	582	
572	583	
573	584	
574	585	
575	586	
576	587	
577	588	
578	589	
579	590	
580	591	
581	592	
582	593	
583	594	
584	595	
585	596	
586	597	
587	598	
588	599	
589	600	
590	601	
591	602	
592	603	311
593	604	311
594	605	312
595	606	313
596	607	314
597	608	316
598	609	
599	610	
600	611	
601	612	
602	613	
603	614	317
604	615	318
605	616	318
606	617	319

607	618	319
608	619	320
609	620	321
610	621	322
611	622	323
612	623	323
613	624	324
614	625	
615	626	
616	627	325
617	628	326
618	629	328
619	630	332
620	631	335
621	632	336
622	633	337
623	634	338
		338
624	635	341
625	636	
626	637	
627	638	
	VII	
628	639	
629	640	343
630	641	345
631	642	347
632	643	348
633	644	349
634	645	
635	646	
636	647	
637	648	
638	649	351
639	650	351
640	651	353
641	652	353
642	653	354
643	654	354
644	655	355
645	656	357
646	657	

647	658	
648	659	
649	660	
650	661	
651	662	359
652	663	359
653	664	361
654	665	361
655	666	365
656	667	366
657	668	370
658	669	371
659	670	372
660	671	373
661	672	374
662	673	376
663	674	377
664	675	378
665	676	
666	677	
667	678	
No number		
668	679	
669	680	
No number		
670	681	378
671	682	
672	683	379
673	684	380
674	685	381
675	686	382
676	687	382
677	688	384
No number		
678	689	384
679	690	386
680	691	387
No number		
681	692	387
682	693	388

Appendix B: A comparison between the titles in the index and the titles in the text

Index title	Text title	Min image number	EE Digital chapter
Image number 1			
Dela batalla que ouo el Rey don rramiro con los normanos e los vençio e destruyo la flota que trayan	Dela batalla que ouo el Rey (2 lines are illegible)	349	644
Commo el rrey don rramiro mando fazer las iglesias de santa maria e sant miguel cerca de ouiedo	(Missing folios between image numbers 350-351)	N/A	645
Commo fue muerto el Rey don Ramiro e enterrado enla iglesia de sant çaluador de ouiedo	(Missing folios between image numbers 350-351)	N/A	646
Commo despues dela muerte del Rey don rramiro alçaron por Rey a su fijo don ordonno	(Missing folios between image numbers 350-351)	N/A	647
Commo abdarramen fizó enpedrar a cordoua e de commo murio	(Missing folios between image numbers 350-351)	N/A	648
Commo mahomad Rey de cordoua vino sobre los de Toledo e los metio so el su sennorio	(Missing folios between image numbers 350-351)	N/A	649
Commo muça abentaçin se alço contra mahomad rrey de cordoua e delas çibdades quele fizo perder	Commo muça abentaçin se alço contra mohamad Rey de cordoua e delas çibdades que le fizo perder	351	650
Commo lope era dichoso en batallas especial mente contra moros	Commo lope era dichoso en batallas especial mente contra moros	353	651

Commo arribaron en espanna vna flota de normanes en que auia setenta naues	Commo arribaron en espanna vna flota de normanes en que auia setenta naues	353	652
Commo el Rey don ordonno adolescio de podraga e murio de esta dolencia e fue enterrado en la yglesia de santa maria de ouiedo	Commo el Rey don ordonno dolescio de podraga e murio desta dolencia e fue enterrado en santa maria ouiedo	354	653
Commo despues dela muerten del Rey don ordonno fue alçado por Rey el jnfante don alfonso su fijo	Commo despues dela muerte del Rey don ordonno fue alçado por Rey el jnfante don alfonso su fijo	354/355	654
Commo mahomad rrey de cordoua saco su hueste e fue contra los nauarros	Commo mahomad Rey de cordoua saco su hueste e fue contra los nauarros	355	655
Commo el Rey don alfonso fue alçado por Rey e se alço contra el don fruela bermudes	Commo el Rey don alfonso fue alçado por Rey e se alço contra el don fruela bermudes	357	656
Commo vino vna hueste moros sobre leon e los vençio el Rey don alfonso	(Missing folios between image numbers 358-359)	N/A	657
Commo el Rey don Alfonso saco su hueste contra moros e fiz la iglesia de santiago	(Missing folios between image numbers 358-359)	N/A	658
Commo vino grande hueste de toledo sobre los cristanos e el rrey don alfonso ouo batalla con ellos e los vençio	(Missing folios between image numbers 358-359)	N/A	659
Commo el Rey de merida estaua sobre benauente e commo el rrey don alfonso ovo batalla con el e los vençio	(Missing folios between image numbers 358-359)	N/A	660
Commo entraron moros a correr la tierra e se fizieron dos partes e bernaldo vençio la vna e el rrey la otra	(Missing folios between image numbers 358-359)	N/A	661

Commo entraron franceses a correr la tierra del Rey e bernaldo lidio con ellos e los vençio	(Missing folios between image numbers 358-359)	N/a	662
Commo el rrey don alfonso [...]	Commo el rrey don alfonso [...]	359	663
Image number 2			
fizo cortes en leon e commo bernaldo desafio el rrey e a todos los suyos por que le non quiso dar su padre	[...] fizoo cortes en leon e commo bernaldo desafio al Rey e a todos los suyos por que le non quiso dar su padre	359	673
Commo los de toledo se alçaron otra vez contra mahomad Rey de cordoua	commo los de toledo se alçaron otra vez contra mahomad Rey de cordoua	361	674
Commo el rrey don alfonso fizoo sus cortes en salamanca e el estando enellas bernaldo ouo batalla con los suyos	commo el Rey don alfonso fizoo en salamanca e el estando en estas bernaldo ouo batalla con los suyos	361	665
Commo bernaldo entregoo al rrey el castillo del carpio por que soltase al conde sant dias su padre el qual era muerto	commo bernaldo entregoo al Rey el castillo del carpio por que soltase al conde sandias su padre el qual era muerto	365	666
Commo el Rey don alfonso çego a fruela e alos otros sus hermanos por la traycion que le tenian tratada	Commo el Rey don alfonso çego a fruela e alos otros sus hermanos por la traycion que le tenian tratada	368	667
Commo trimio toda la tierra de espanna e estando mahomad rrey de cordoua enla mezquita cayo vn Rayo que mato dos onbres	(15 characters are illegible) la tierra (2 lines are illegible) mezquita cayo vn Rayo que mato dos onbres	370	668
Commo el Rey don Alfonso fue sobre coyubra e la tomo e poble algunas çibdades en portogal	Commo el Rey don alfonso fue sobre coyubra e la tomo e poble algunas çibdades de portugal	371	669
Commo omar abenhaze se alço contra el rrey e se alçaron con el algunos delos principales de cordoua	Commo omar abenhaze se alço contra el Rey e se alçaron con el algunos delos principales de cordoua	372	670

Commo el Rey don alfonso fue sobre toledo e la estrago fasta que le ouieron de dar parias por que le dio treguas por tres annos	Commo el rrey don alfonso fue sobre toledo e la astraga fasta que le ouieron de dar partes por que treguas por tres annos	373	671
Commo el Rey don alfonso poble a çamora e por que causa ovo este nonbre	Commo el rrey don alfonso poble a çamora e por que causa ouo este nonbre	374	672
Commo el Rey don alfonso enbaxadores al santo padre e la carta quel santo padre enbio al Rey con ellos	Commo el rrey de françia enbio sus enbaxadores al santo padre e la carta quel santo padre enbio al Rey con ellos	376	673
la carta quel santo padre enbio al rrey delos gallegos en rrespuesta de otra e pidiendole algunas cosas para contra los moros	la carta quel santo padre enbio al rrey delos gallegos en rrespuesta del otra e pidiendola algunas cosas para contra los moros	377	674
Commo el Rey don alfonso fizó consagrar la iglesia de santiago	Commo el rrey don alfonso fizó consagrar la iglesia de santiago	378	675
Commo el Rey don alfonso fizó concilio en ouiedo e fizieron arçobispado a ouiedo e fizieron arçobispo dende	(Missing folios between image numbers 378-379)	N/A	676
Commo el Rey don alfonso prendio en çamora al jnfante don garçia su fijo e le echo en fierros	(Missing folios between image numbers 378-379)	N/A	677
Commo el Rey don alfonso dexo el Reyno e lo dio a don garçia su fijo	(Missing folios between image numbers 378-379)	N/A	678
Commo el Rey don garçia en comienço de su Reynado entro en tierra de moros e delas entradas que enella fizó	(Missing folios between image numbers 378-379)	N/A	679
Commo el Rey don garçia murio [...]	(Missing folios between image numbers 378-379)	N/A	680
Image number 3			
[...] E fue enterrado en ouiedo con los otros rreyes	(Missing folios between image numbers 378-379)	N/A	680

Commo el Rey don ordonno diera al Rey don alfonso su padre a galizia para que la guardase	(Missing folios between image numbers 378-379)	N/A	681
Commo el Rey don alfonso corrio a merida e delas parias que le dieron por que les dio treguas por vn tiempo	Commo el Rey don ordonno torno a merida e delas parias <i>que</i> le dieron por que les dia megua por vn tiempo	380	684
Commo abdarramen Rey de cordoua fue correr tierra de cristianos e dela batalla que ouo con el rrey don alfonso	Commo abdarramen Rey de cordoua fue a correr tierra de cristianos e dela batalla que ouo con el el Rey don hordonno	381	685
Commo abdarren salio de cordoua con grande hueste e fue cercar a najara	Commo abderramen Rey de cordoua salto de cordoua con grande hueste e fue acerco a najara	382	686
Commo el Rey don hordonno saco su hueste e fue correr tierra de moros	commo el Rey don ordonno saco su hueste e fue a correr tierra de moros	382	687
Commo el Rey don ordonno murió e fue enterrado enla iglesia de santa maria de leon	Commo el Rey don ordonno murió e fue enterrado enla iglesia de santa maria de leon	384	688
Commo despues dela muerte del rrey don ordonno fue alçado por rrey su hermano don fruela	Commo despues dela muerte del rrey don ordono fue alçado por Rey su hermano don fruela	384	689
Commo despues dela muerte de nunno Rasbira subçedio en su lugar gonçalo nunnes su fijo que fue muy buen omne de armas	commo despues dela muerte de nunno subçedio en su lugar gonçalo nunnes su fijo que fue muy buen omne de armas	386	690
De commo don fruela engafesçio e murió desta dolençia E fue enterrado enla iglesia de leon	Commo el Rey don fruela engafeçio e murió dela dolençia e fue enterrado enla iglesia de leon	387	691
Commo despues dela muerte del Rey don fruela subçedio enel rreyno don alfonso eL casto fijo del Rey don ordonno	commo despues dela muerte del Rey don fruela (8 characters and 2 lines are illegible)	387	692
Commo el Rey don alfonso se metio monje enel monesterio de sant fagun e dio el Reyno a don Ramiro su hermano	Commo el Rey don alfonso se metio monje enel monesterio de sant fagunt e dio el rreyno a don rrramiro su hermano	388	693

Commo (3 lines are left blank)	(4 lines are left blank)	389	N/A
Commo (3 lines are left blank)	(3 lines are left blank)	389	N/A
Capitulo primero commo el Rey don Ramiro priso a su hermano don alfonso el monje	Capitulo primero de commo el Rey don Ramiro priso a su hermano don alfonso el monje	389/390	N/A
Capitulo .ii. de commo el Rey don Ramiro prendio a su hermano don alfonso e alos fijos del Rey don fruela	Capitulo .ii. de commo el rrey don rramiro prendio a su hermano don alfonso e alos fijos del Rey don fruela	391	N/A
El terçero capitulo de commo el Rey don Ramiro prendio alos altos omnes que se alçaron e a su hermano el Rey don alfonso	El .iii. capitulo de commo el Rey don rramiro prendio alos altos omnes que se alçaron e a su hermano el Rey don alfonso	392	N/A
Commo alguno delos altos omnes del Reyno se alçaron contra el Rey rramiro e commo el asosego el Reyno	commo algunos delos altos omnes del rreyno se alçaron contra el Rey don Ramiro e commo el Rey asosego el Reyno	392	N/A
El quarto capitulo de commo los altos omnes de castilla alça [...]	El quarto capitulo de commo los altos omnes de castilla alça [...]	393	N/A
Image number 4			
[...] ron conde a fernant gonçales	[...] ron conde a fernant gonçales	393	N/A
El quinto capitulo de commo el Rey Ramiro e eL conde fernant gonçales lidiaron con los moros e vençieron	El .v. capitulo de commo el Rey don rramiro e el conde fernant gonçales lidiaron con los moros e vençieron	395	N/A
El sexto capitulo de commo el Rey de çaragoça se torno vasallo del rrey don Ramiro	El sexto capitulo de commo el Rey de çaragoça se torno vasallo del Rey don Ramiro	396	N/A
Capitulo .viii. dela muerte del Rey don rramiro	Capitulo .viii. dela muerte del Rey Don Ramiro	397	N/A
Capitulo .ix. de commo vinieron sobrel Rey don ordonno para tollerle el Reyno su hermano don sancho e eL rrey don garcia de nauarra e del conde fernant gonçales	(13 characters and 4 lines are illegible) del conde fernant gonçales	398	N/A

Capitulo .x. de commo el Rey don ordonno fue sobre los gallegos e corrio la tierra fasta lixbona	(Missing folios between image numbers 398-399)	N/A	N/A
Capilo .iii. de commo el conde fernant gonçales priso el castillo de caraço	(Missing folios between image numbers 398-399)	N/A	N/A
Capitulo .iv. de commo el conde fernant gonçales llamo a sus vasallos a consejo e delo que dixo y gonçalo dias	(Missing folios between image numbers 398-399)	N/A	N/A
Capitulo .v. de commo el conde fernant gonçales esforçaua sus vasallos para la batalla	(11 characters and 2 lines are illegible)	399	N/A
Capitulo .vi. de commo frey Pelayo fablo con el conde ferrnant gonçales e le dixo que vençeria la batalla	Capitulo .vi. commo frey pelayo (20 characters and 2 lines are illegible)	400	N/A
Capitulo .vii. de commo el conde fernant gonçales lidio con almançor e lo vençio	Capitulo de commo el conde fernant gonçales lidio con almançor e lo vençio	402	N/A
Capitulo .viii. del amor que pusieron entre sy el rrey don ordonno e el conde ferrnant gonçales	Capitulo .viii. del amor que pusieron entresy el Rey don ordonno e el conde ferrnant gonçales	404	N/A
Capitulo .ix. dela muerte del Rey don ordonno	(20 characters and 1 line are illegible)	405	N/A
Capitulo .ix. de commo eL conde ferrnant gonçales enbio desafiar al Rey don sancho de nauarra	Capitulo .x. de commo conde ferrnant gonçales enbio desafiar (2 lines are illegible)	405	N/A
Capitulo .xi. de commo el conde ferrnant gonçales enbio desmato al Rey don sancho de nauarra	(10 characters and 3 lines are illegible)	407	N/A
Capitulo .xii. en commo el conde ferrnand gonçales mato al conde de tolosa	(16 characters and 2 lines are illegible)	408	N/A

Capitulo primero de commo los rricos omnes ouieron su acuerdo de echar aL rrey don sancho del Reyno E de commo se fue este Rey don sancho para el rrey de cordoua	(15 characters and 5 lines are illegible)	411	N/A
(4 lines are left blank)	(4 lines are left blank)	413	N/A
Capitulo iii. de commo almançor vino con grant poder [...]	<i>Capitulo .iii. de commo almançor</i> vino con grant poder [...]	414	N/A
Image number 5			
Commo el Rey sisuando fizo conçilio en toledo e quien estouieron enel	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	506
Commo murio el rrey sisuando	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	507
Despues dela muerte del Rey sisuando alçaron los godos por Rey acentilla	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	508
Commo murio sant Ysidro arçobispo de seuilla	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	509
Commo el Rey çentilla fizo fazer el sesto conçilio en toledo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	510
Commo fue alçado por rrey tulgas fijo del Rey çentilla	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	511/512
Commo tomo por fuerça sindasundo el Reyno e fue muy buen Rey	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	513
Commo el rrey sindasundo fizó en toledo el ocho conçilio e lo que enel se hordenno	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	514
Commo murio el Rey sisuando	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	515
Despues dela muerte de eugenio arçobispo de toledo alçaron por obispo a sant alfonso	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	519
Commo murio sant alfonso arçobispo de toledo e fue enterrado en santa locadia alos pies de sant engenio	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	520

Commo murio Reçesundo e fue enterrado en banba	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	521
Despues dela muerte del Rey del Rey Reçesundo fue alçado por Rey banba	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	522
Commo el Rey enbio su hueste sobre nemis e enbio por cabdillo a paulo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	523
Commo paulos se alço contra el Rey banba e se hizo el llamar Rey	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	524
Commo allegaron nueuas al Rey banba que se auia alçado contra el paulo e vlderigo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	525
Commo el Rey corrio a cascuenña e la destruyo toda	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	526
Commo el Rey banba partio de girona con su hueste e vino sobre collibe e la combatio e mi tomo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	527
Commo vitimiro desanparo el castillo e se fue para narbona a paulo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	528
Commo el Rey banba cerco a nenis donde estaua paulo e la tomo e destruyo a paula	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	529
Commo los dela hueste dieron combate ala villa e la entraron por fuerça	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	530
Commo el arçobispo por Ruego de todos salio a pedir merçed al Rey los perdonase e commo el Rey por rruego suyo los per dono	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	531
Commo el Rey banba fizó leer ante todos los altos omnes los capitulos que paulo tenia fechos contra el	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	532
Commo sonaron nueuas que los franceses venian en ayuda [...]	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	533
Image number 6			

[...] de paulo e non salieron verdaderas	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	533
Commo el Rey banba fiz en toledo rrenouar los muros e las puertas e otras cosas	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	535
Commo el Rey banba fiz fazer concilio en toledo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	536
lo que se hordeno en enel concilio que fuese sojebto al obispado de leon	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	537
la tierra que ha de tener el arçobispado de braga	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	542
Las cosas que se acordaron enel concilio quel Rey banba con todos los perlados fiz en toledo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	545
Commo murio moabia Rey delos alaraues e Reyno en su lugar su fijo yzid	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	546
Commo aportaron en espanna dozientas e setenta naues de alaraues e el Rey banba los corrio e mato los mas e los otros prendio	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	546
Commo fue alçado por rrey ornigio sobrino del Rey Reçundo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	547
Commo el rrey ornegio fiz concilio en toledo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	548
Otro concilio que fiz el Rey ornegio en toledo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	549
Commo murio el Rey ornegio	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	551
Commo el Rey egica fiz concilio en toledo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	552
Otro concilio que fiz el Rey egica en toledo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	553
Commo el Rey egica echo en toledo destierro a don fauila padre de don pelayo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	555
Commo murio el Rey egica e fue enterrado honrrada mente	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	556

Despues dela muerte del rrey egica fue alçado por rrey vitiza	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	557
De commo el rrey vitiza echo del reyno a don pelayo fijo del conde don fauila	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	558
Commo murio gunderigo arçobispo de toledo e fue puesto en su lugar senderedo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	559
Commo el rrey vitiza mando desfazer todas las armas	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	560
Commo el Rey vitiza prendio ateudefredo e le fizó sacar los ojos	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	561
Commo el rrey don Rodrigo mando abrir la cueua de hercules que es en toledo e lo que ende fallo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	562
Commo el Rey don Rodrigo tomo por fuerça acaba e yogo con ella	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	563
Commo el conde don jullian ouo la fabla con muça diciendo que le daria a espanna	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	564
Commo vlid Rey delos alaraues dexo en africa por Rey atarif	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	565
Image number 7			
[...] e los godos que pasaron la mar e se torno teodomiro Rey 1 delos sueuos e ellos con el ala ffe de <i>ihesu cristo</i>	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	462
De commo alçaron los godos por Rey ateodisco e delo que fizó cotila Rey delos astrogodos en ytalia	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	463
De commo mataron al Rey teodisco sus vasallos e dela muerte de valesario	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	464
De commo aguila fue a guerrear alos de cordoua e fue y desbartado	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	465

De commo nasis fue a ytalia e ouo su batalla con los astrogodos e los vençio e mato a totila su Rey	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	466
De commo los godos matara a aguila su Rey en merida	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	467
De commo fizó atauagildos por tomar el Reyno de espanna	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	468
De commo murio atauagildo e delo que acaesçio enel catorzeno anno del su rreyrado	(Chapter 444 jumps to chapter 469)	297	469
De commo el Rey luyba tomo por conpannero enel rreyno consigo a leouegildo su hermano	De commo el Rey luyba tomo por conpannero enel Reyno consigo a leouegildo su hermano	298	470
De commo despues dela muerte del Rey luyba ouo leouegildo todo el Reyno de espanna	De commo despues dela muerte del Rey luyba ouo leouegildo todo el Reyno de espanna	299	471
De commo mataron a sigibérico por consejo dela reyna donna fraueguida	De commo mataron a sigberto por conseio dela Reyna donna frajegida	299	472
De commo miro rrey delos sueuos guerreo alos <i>que</i> estauan enlos montes Ruçones	De commo miro Rey delos sueuos guerreo alos <i>que</i> estaua enlos montes rruçones	300	473
De commo leouegildo priso a su hermeuegildo e dela muerte de miro Rey delos sueuos	(Eyeskip from chapter numbers 473-474)	300	474
Del linaje onde viene mahomad	Del linaje donde vino mahomad	300	475
De commo nasçio mahomad e delo que dixo el judío estrellero	De commo nasçio mahomad e delo <i>que</i> dixo el judío estrellero	301	476
De commo leouegildo metio el Reyno delos sueuos so su poder	De commo leougildo metio el Reyno delos sueuos so su poder	302	477
De commo dixo el judío estrellero que sacaron el coraçon a mahomad dos angeles	De commo dixo el judío estrellero <i>que</i> sacaran el coraçon a mahomad dos angeles	302	478
De commo leouegildo mato a su fijo hermeuegildo e delos males que fizó contra la cristiandad	De commo leouegildo mato a su fijo ermengildo e delos males que fizó contra la cristianidad	303	479

De <i>commo</i> murio la madre de mahomad	De como murio la madre de mahomad	304	480
De <i>commo</i> mahomad fue puesto a leer	De <i>commo</i> mahomad fue puesto a leer	304	481
De <i>commo</i> murio el rrey leouegildo	De <i>commo</i> murio el Rey leouegildo	305	482
De <i>commo</i> el rrey Recaredo enbio por los arçobispos <i>que</i> su padre echara de en desterramiento	De <i>commo</i> el Rey Recaredo envio por los arçobispos <i>que</i> su padre echara en desterramiento	305	483
De <i>commo</i> mahomad moro con hadaya su tia	De <i>commo</i> mahomad moro con hadaya su tia	305	484
Del concilio que hizo el Rey Recaredo en toledo sobre fecho [...]	Del concilio que hizo el Rey Recaredo en toledo sobre fecho [...]	306	485
Image number 8			
[...] dela creençia delos cristianos	[...] dela creençia delos cristianos	306	485
De <i>commo</i> murio el Rey Recaredo	De <i>commo</i> murio el Rey Recaredo	307	486
De <i>commo</i> mahomad caso con la Reyna cadiga e de <i>commo</i> torno muchos a su ley por su pedricaçon	De <i>commo</i> mahomad caso con la Reyna cadiga e de <i>commo</i> torno muchos a su ley por su pedricaçon	308	487
De <i>commo</i> despues dela muerte del Rey Recaredo fue puesto en su lugar loyba e de <i>commo</i> fue muerto	De <i>commo</i> despues dela muerte del Rey Recaredo fue puesto en su lugar loyba e de <i>commo</i> fue muerto	310	488
De <i>commo</i> el Rey vitirico prendio vnos caualleros e los troxo a siguença e de sus malas costumbres	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	489
De <i>commo</i> mataron al rrey vitirico	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	490
Del Rey gunemaro e de <i>commo</i> destruyo alos gascones	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	491
De <i>commo</i> mahomad puso la tierra ymante ensomo dela <i>eglesia</i>	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	492
Dela muerte de gumaredo el Rey	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	493

De commo el Rey sysebuto fizó tornar los judíos ala ffe de ihesu cristo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	494
De commo mahomad priso alos coraxinos e delo que mando fazer alos moros	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	495
De commo mahomad lidio con el poder del enperador araclio e vençio e fue alçado por Rey	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	496
De commo mahomad dixo que fallara a abraham e a moysen e a juan en yherusalem	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	497
De commo mahomad dixo que subiera hasta los syete cielos e delo que dixo que viera en cada vno	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	498
De commo el Rey sisebuto fizó concilio en seuilla e de commo lidio con los Romanos	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	499
De commo el Rey sisebuto adolecio de vna enfermedad de que murio	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	500
De commo el Rey sinçilla vençio los gascones e gano delos Romanos quanta tierra auie en espanna	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	501
De commo mahomad pedrico su seta e se amortesçie e dizie quel angel fablaua con el e de commo les diolas rrazones delas zahoras que los moros llaman leyes	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	502
De commo murio mahomad e dixo a sus desçiplos que aL terçero dia Resuçitaria	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	503
De commo murio el Rey sençilla e fue alçado en su logar Ratimiro su fijo	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	504
Despues dela muerte del Rey Ratimiro subçedio enel Reyno sisuando	(Missing folios between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	505
Image number 9			

Commo muça dio al conde don jullian otra hueste muy mayor	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	566
Commo es espanna mas abondada tierra que otra enel mundo	(Missing between image numbers 310-311, although a fragment remains at the bottom of image numbers 139 and 140)	139/140	567
Recuenta commo espanna se quexa delas cosas que perdio	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	568
Commo tarif fue corriendo los cristianos fasta eçija	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	569
Commo la gente que tarif enbio tomo a malaga e a granada e a murçia e a otros lugares	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	570
Commo muça por enbidia delos fechos que fazia en espanna tarif paso en espanna con grande hueste	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	571
Commo muça demando cuenta a tarif delas cosas que auia ganado asy de Riquezas e tesoros commo dela masa verde	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	572
Commo muça enbio con enbaxada a don pelayo a cordoua e en tanto trato commo caso con su hermana	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	574
Commo fue alçado rey don pelayo e delas batallas que ouo con los moros	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	577
Commo don pelayo se metio en vna cueua por miedo delos moros	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	578
El milagro que fio dios con don pelayo e con los que esteuan enla cueua	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	579
Commo muça yua fuyendo con el miedo de don pelayo e commo le alcançaron los suyos e le mataron	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	580

Commo se partieron de costantinopla todos los moros e fueron muertos en la mar de tempestad	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	581
Commo quedaron en toledo cristianos entre los moros e por eso le llaman oy en dia los de aquel lugar moçaraues	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	582
Commo yzid Rey delos alaraues tenia el Reyno e se leuanto contra el otro yzid que era su pariente	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	583
Commo yzid amiramolin enbio a espanna por Rey ahacam fijo de melic	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	584
Commo hacam rrey de cordoua fue sobre taraçona e destruyo toda la tierra	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	585
Commo don alfonso el catolico ayudaua a don pelayo e commo don pelayo le caso con su fija donna ormesenda	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	586
Commo se leuantaron contra ysta amiramolin muchos delos que eran sujetos por que les despechaua	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	587
Commo ambiza rrey de cordoua yua sobre los franceses e enel camino murio	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	587
Image number 10			
Commo murio el Rey don pelayo enla villa de cangas	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	588
Como fue alçado por rrey don faula fijo del Rey don pelayo	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	589
Commo vn oso mato al Rey don faula	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	590
Commo el rrey don alfonso rrenouo muchas çibdades e otros lugares en castilla	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	591
Commo el Rey don alfonso gano a toro e a otros lugares en portugal	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	592

Commo ysta amiramolin despues dela muerte de mahomad aben abdalla enbio por Rey a espanna a abdarramen	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	593
Dela batalla que ouo abdarramen con los franceses e commo fueron desbaratados los franceses	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	594
Commo abdarramen fue sobre los franceses e delas batallas que en vno ouieron fasta que murio abdarramen	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	595
Commo muchos delos cristianos se allegaron al Rey don alfonso por causa que eran sus naturales	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	596
Commo ysta amiramolin enbio abdemelic por Rey e Reyno quattro annos	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	597
Commo despues dela muerte de abdemelic fue alçado oca por Rey de espanna	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	598
Commo despues dela muerte del Rey oca fue muerto alçaron a abdemelic	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	599
Commo fue alçado por miramolin alubic el fermoso	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	600
Commo muchos moros de tierra de espanna fue leuantaron contra yuçaf Rey de cordoua	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	601
Commo e Rey don alfonso procura de seruir a dios e delos fijos que ouo	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	602
Commo rreyo don fruela e poble la çibdad de ouiedo e delas cosas que hordeno en comienço de su reynado	(Missing between image numbers 310-311)	N/A	603

Commo yuçaf Rey de cordoua fue sobre galizia e commo el Rey don fruela ouo batalla con el e lo vençio	Commo yuçaf Rey de cordoua fue sobre galizia e commo el Rey don fruela (7 characters are illegible) lla con el e lo v (5 characters are illegible)	311	604
Commo abdalla benabezir se alço contra moro an miramamolin e lo echo dela tierra e lo corrio e mato e fue alçado el por miramamolin	Commo abdalla benabezir se alço contra moro an miramamolin e lo echo dela tierra e lo corrio e mato e fue alçado el por miramamolin	312	605
Commo los alaraues asy los de allende commo los de aquende todos obedesçian vn senyor fasta que murio mahomad que fueron departidos	Commo los alaraues asy los de allende commo los de aquende todos obedesçian vn senyor fasta que murio mahomad que fueron departidos	313	606
Commo abdarramen echo del Reyno a yuçaf e fue alçado el por Rey	Commo abdarramen echo Del Reyno a yuçaf e fue alçado el por Rey	314	607
Commo carlos fijo del Rey [...]	Commo carlos fijo del Rey [...]	316	608
Image number 11			
[...] Çesar enel capitulo de Roma e fue matado	De commo fue muerte jullio çesar de (6 characters and 4 lines are illegible)	113	122
Commo el enperador octauiano çesar lidio con antonio e delas marauillas que acaesçieron	Despues dela muerte de jullio çesar fue alçado por enperador en Roma octauiano su sobrino (11 characters are illegible) e delas sennales que antes su muerte apresçieron	114	124
Commo el enperador octauiano mando escreuir todas las personas de todos los Regnos e se vino a escreuir santa maria	(23 characters and 3 lines are illegible)	116	127
Commo atigon Rey de judea e despues del nunca ouo Rey de judios	De commo atigon Rey de judea (16 characters and 1 line are illegible)	120	132
Commo antonio dexo a octauia su muger e caso con cleopatra	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	135

Commo el enperador octauiano hordeno çiertas leyes en espanña	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	138
Commo el enperador jullio çesar mando hordenar el libro virgilio que fizó aeneas	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	145
Commo aparesçio el angel azacarias e le dixo commo con çebiria su muger	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	152
Commo en este tiempo nasçio nuestro senyor ihesu cristo e delas marauillas que fizó	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	153
Commo vinieron los rreyes magos adorar a nuestro senyor e delos dones quel ofresçieron	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	154
Commo el Rey erodes fizó matar alos ynoçentes	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	155
Commo bautizo sant juan a nuestro senyor e desçendio el spiritu	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	161
Del milagro que nuestro senyor fizó del agua vino	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	162
Commo fue crucificado nuestro senyor	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	164
El primero obispo que fue fecho en iherusalem e fue santiago el menor	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	165
Commo erodes vino a Roma e pilato se mato con su mano	(Missing folios between image numbers 120-121)	N/A	166
(Not included in the index)	Commo luego que regno gayo lleuo a su (7 characters are illegible) e Roma e lo fizó en (2 characters and 1 line are illegible)	121	168
Commo el enperador gayo salio luxurioso e malo	(13 characters and 2 lines are illegible)	122	169
(Not included in the index)	Commo fue amado por enperador claudio e delas cosas que fizó	126	170

(Not included in the index)	de commo claudio dio liçençia a erodes agripa para que se fuese para su tierra	129	171
Commo el enperador agripa mando prender a sant pedro e se fue dela prision	De commo herodes agripa mando prender a sant pedro e commo se fue dela prision e delo que despues fizó	130	172
(Not included in the index)	Despues dela muerte de herodes agripa paso el enperador claudio en su lugar a (4 characters are illegible) su fijo	132	173
(Not included in the index)	(7 characters are illegible) dor claurio (18 characters are illegible) des (5 characters are illegible) de que lo (18 characters are illegible) commo murio	132	174
(Not included in the index)	De commo despues dela muerte del enperador claudio alçaron los Romanos por enperador nero su yerno	133	175
Por las cruezas del enperador nero se alçaron todas las tierras	De commo con las cruezas que auie el enperador nero se alçaron todas las tierras contra el sennorio de Roma e las espannas	137	176
Commo el enperador nero se mando llamar dios e por que su madre gelo contrastaua mandola matar	De commo nero se (damage) (11 characters illegible) el mu (damage) por que su madre (damage) (7 characters are illegible)	139	177
Commo mataron en iherusalem a santiago el menor	(Damage to the folio)	139	178
Commo mando nero quemar a toda Roma e ardio seys dias	(Missing folio between image numbers 140-141)	N/A	179
Commo el senado de Roma veyendo el grant gasto que fazia nero le pusieron tasa	(Missing folio between image numbers 140-141)	N/A	180
Commo el enperador neromato a sant pedro e a sant pablo	(Missing folio between image numbers 140-141)	N/A	181

Despues quel enperador [...]	(Missing folio between image numbers 140-141)	N/A	181
Page 12			
[...] nero auia fecho tanto mal se mato con vn cuchillo	(Missing folio between image numbers 140-141)	N/A	181
Commo fue cortada la cabeza de galba e leuada por la çibdad	Commo fue muerto galba e cortau la cabeza e leuada cortada la çibdad	145	182
Commo el enperador oto se pagaua de afeytar commo muger	Commo el enperador oto se pagaua de afeytar commo si fuese muger	147	183
Commo vaspasiano mato a vitelio que era muy tragon de viandas e mugeres e enbeudauase	Commo vaspasiano mato a vitelio que era muy tragon de viandas e mugeres e enbeudauase muchas veces e presçiauase de muchos juglaes	148	184
Commo alçaron en rrroma por enperador a vaspasiano	Commo alçaron en Roma a vaspasiano por enperador e fue omne muy apreçiado de todos	153	185
Dela grant destruycion que fue fecha en iherusalem e dela matança dentro	Dela grant destruycion que fue fecha en jherusalem por tito çesar e commo ellos se mataua de traycion	154	186
Commo tito çesar traxo de iherusalem el arca del testamento e el candelero e la mesa e otras cosas sanctas del templo	(Missing folios between image numbers 160-161)	N/A	187
Commo el enperador vaspasiano se cobdicio mucho en llegar aueres	(Missing folios between image numbers 160-161)	N/A	188
Commo el enperador tito era muy franco en dar e el dia que non dava non estaua bien	Commo el enperador tito fue muy franco en dar a todos e ay quando (12 characters are illegible) el lo el (21 characters are illegible) a que (1 line is illegible)	162	189
En tiempo del enperador tito salio del fue çielo fuego e quemó mucho	En tiempo del enperador tito salio de (11 characters are illegible) sierra grant fuego (12 characters are illegible)	163	190

De commo el enperador maçiano se pagaua de tirar de vallesca e fizoo a vn ninno parar la mano	Commo el enperador domaçio se pagaua mucho de tirar de vallescas e fizoo a vn ninno parar la mano por cuarenta (8 characters are illegible)	164	191
Commo el enperador domaçiano era muy cruel e fazia muertes desuariadas	Commo el enperador domiçiano fue muy cruel e tan cobdiçioso que fazia muertes muy crueles e desuariadas	166	192
En tiempo del enperador nerma fizieron lo quatro euangelios los euangelistas	En tienpo deste enperador nerua se (9 characters and 3 lines are illegible)	168	193
(Not included in the index)	Este enperador nerua en todo su tienpo aderesço mucho en todas las cosas de Roma e biuio poco	170	194
Commo el enperador trajano yendo ala guerra le demando vna biuda justicia	Commo el enperador trajano yendo ala guerra le demando vna biuda que le fiziese justicia	170	195
Este enperador trajano era de castilla e mando fazer la puente de alcantara	Este enperador trajano era de castilla e mando de fazer la puente de alcantara (9 characters are illegible) enel (15 characters are illegible)	173	196
Commo lidiauan los judios con los gentiles e les enbio trajano capitán	Commo lidiaron los judios con los gentiles e les enbio trajano vn capitán (7 characters illegible) ellos	175	197
Commo trajano fallescio e fueron sus huesos soterrados en medio dela plaça de Roma	Commo fallescie trajano e leuaron a Roma sus huesos en vna arca e soterraronla en medio dela plaça	175	198
Commo el enperador adriano prouo a vn filosofo e otro a su madre	Commo el enperador adriano prouo a vn filosofo e delas preguntas quele fixo e otro prouo a su madre	176	199
(Not included in the index)	Commo (16 characters are illegible) stre fue el (16 characters are illegible) dela ley de mor	181	200
Commo el enperador adriano hordeno que dixesen la misa antes de natal	Commo el enperador adriano hordeno (27 characters and 1 line are illegible)	181	201

En tiempo del enperador adriano se leuantaron los judios que eran derramados	En <i>tiempo</i> del enperador adriano se le mataron los judios que eran de Ramados	183	202
Commo el enperador adriano torno a poblar iherusalem de cristianos	(19 characters and 3 lines are illegible)	184	203
(Not included in the index)	Deste antonio enperador fue muy piadoso a todas las gentes e a todas las cosas	184	204
(Not included in the index)	avn que justiniano era (6 characters are illegible) sienpre (9 characters and 2 lines are illegible)	185	207
Commo el papa pao hordeno que toda via fuese la pascua en domingo	Commo el papa pao hordeno (1 line is illegible)	186	208
Image number 13			
[...] de françia se fue a seruir a galafre rrey de toledo	[...] de françia se fue a seruir a galafre Rey de toledo	316	608
Commo desperto maynete e galiana le dio aderescio de cauallero e fue a correr a los suyos	(Missing folios between image numbers 316-317)	N/A	609
Commo el jnfante maynete se fue e fizò herrar los cauallos al Reues	(Missing folios between image numbers 316-317)	N/A	610
Commo el Rey don fruela fue muerto por matio delos parientes de vimarano e fue enterrado en ouiedo con su muger	(Missing folios between image numbers 316-317)	N/A	611
Commo fue alçado por Rey aurelio e rreyno seys annos	(Missing folios between image numbers 316-317)	N/A	612
Commo murio el Rey aurelio e fue enterrado en cangas	(Missing folios between image numbers 316-317)	N/A	613
Commo murio este Rey silo e fue enterrado en la iglesia de sant juan	Commo murio este Rey silo e fue enterrado en la iglesia de sant juan	318	615
Commo fue alçado por rrey don alfonso con conseio dela Reyna donna ysenda	Commo fue alçado por Rey don alfonso con conseio dela Reyna donna ysenda	318	616
Commo murio mauregato e fue enterrado en ydrania	Commo murio mauergato e fue enterrado en ydrania	319	617

Commo fue alçado por rrey don bermudo el adriano	Commo fue alçado por Rey don bermudo (9 characters are illegible)	319	618
Commo ysen rrey de cordoua enbio dezir a çuleman su hermano que le comprarie quanto auia en espanna por que se pasase allen mar	Commo ysen Rey de cordoua enbio a dezir a çuleman su hermano que lo comprarie quanto auia en espanna por que se pasase allen mar	320	619
Commo el Rey don bermudo dexo el rreyno e lo dio a don alfonso su sobrino	Commo el Rey don bermudo dexo el Reyno e lo dio a don alfonso su sobrino	321	620
De commo ysen rrey de cordoua enbio quebrantar a narbona e a girona	De commo ysen Rey de cordoua embio quebrantar a narbona e a girona	322	621
Capitulo commo el rrey don bermudo fino e fue enterrado en ouiedo con su muger donna ymenola	Capitulo commo el Rey don bermudo fino e fue enterrado en ouiedo con su muger donna ymenola	323	622
Capitulo primero commo en rreyno del rrey don alfonso el casto e ouo muchas batallas con moros	Capitulo primero commo en rreyno del Rey don alfonso el casto e ouo muchas batallas con moros	323	623
Capitulo .ii. commo los altos omes del rreyno echaron al rrey don alfonso del Reyno e se metio en vn monesterio	Capitulo .ii. commo los altos omes del Reyno echauan al Rey don alfonso del Reyno e se metio en vn monesterio	324	624
Capitulo .iii. en commo el Rey don alfonso fiz vnos palaçios e iglesias en ouiedo e puso muchas Reliquias en sant çaluador	(Missing folios between image numbers 324-325)	N/A	625
Capitulo .iv. en que fabla commo abdalla e çuleman pasaron en espanna por quitar el Reynao a alhacam	(Missing folios between image numbers 324-325)	N/A	626
Capitulo .v. que fabla commo fue fecha la cruz de ouiedo por mano delos angeles e de otras cosas	(Missing folios between image numbers 324-325)	N/A	627
Capitulo .vi. seys commo caso donna ximena con sandias a escuso del Rey don alfonso su hermano	Capitulo .vi. Commo caso donna cimena con sandias a escuso del Rey don alfonso su hermano	326	628

Capitulo .vii. commo los de toledo se alçaron contra el [...]	Capitulo .vii. de commo los de toledo se alçaron contra el [...]	328	629
Image number 14			
[...] Rey de cordoua e commo el Rey enbio a toledo a anbros con enganno	[...] Rey de cordoua e commo el Rey enbio a toledo a anbros con enganno	328	629
Commo el rrey don alfonso enbio dezir al enperador carlos que le daria el rreyno sy le viniese ayudar contra los moros	Commo el Rey don alfonso enbio a dezir al enperador carlos que le daria el Reyno sy le viniese a ayudar contra los moros	332	630
Commo los moros del arraual de cordoua se alçaron contra alhacam e la justicia que el enellos fizo	Commo los moros del arraual de cordoua se alçaron contra alhacam e la justicia que el enellos fizo	335	631
Commo bernaldo supo dela prision del conde sant dias su padre que gelo dixeron dos duennas estando jugando	Commo bernaldo supo dela prision del conde sandias su padre que gelo dixieron dos duennas estando jugando	336	632
Commo alhacam firmo sus pazes con sus tios e commo murio e delos fijos que dexo	Commo alhacam firmo pazes con sus tios e commo murio e delos fijos que Reyno	337	633
Commo el Rey de françia murio e fue enterrado honrrada mente	Commo el Rey de françia murio e fue enterrado honrrada mente	338	634
Dela batalla quel Rey carlos ouo con los moros e commo los vençio	Dela batalla quel Rey carlos ouo con los moros e commo los vençio	338	634
Commo alhacam Rey de cordoua fue muerto e fue alçado por rrey en su lugar su fijo abdarramen	Commo alhacam Rey de cordoua fue (9 characters are illegible) alçado por Rey en su lugar su fijo abdarramen	341	635
Commo mahomad se fue a meter so el poder del Rey don alfonso	(Missing folios between image numbers 342-343)	N/A	636
Commo mahomad se alço contra el Rey don alonso e commo el rrey don alfonso le corrio fasta que lo mato	(Missing folios between image numbers 342-343)	N/A	637

Commo murio el Rey don alfonso e fue enterrado en la iglesia de santa maria e fue alçado por Rey rramiro fijo del Rey don bermudo ante que muriese el Rey don alfonso	(Missing folios between image numbers 342-343)	N/A	638
Commo se alço contra eL Rey don Ramiro el conde nepoçiano e el Rey fue sobre el e lo siguio fasta que le sacaron los ojos	(Missing folios between image numbers 342-343)	N/A	639
Commo los moros enbiaron pedir al Rey don Ramiro donzelladas e dela Respuesta quel Rey les dio	(Missing folios between image numbers 342-343)	N/A	640
Commo el Rey don Ramiro con acuerdo delos perlados del Reyno hordeno que fuesen dadas premincias alas clérigos dela iglesia de santiago	Commo el rrey Ramiro con acuerdo delos (14 characters are illegible) no hordeno que (11 characters are illegible) premenrias alas (8 characters are illegible) dela iglesia santiago	345	641
Commo dexo encomendado el Rey don alfonso a don garcia al Rey don rramiro por el grant amor que con el tenia	Commo dexo encomendado el el Rey don alfonso a don garcia al Rey don rramiro por el gran amor que con el tenia	347	642
Doman Reyna donna vrraca muger del Rey don Ramiro dio muchos ornamentos e otras cosas ala yglesia de sant çaluador de ouiedo	Commo la Reyna donna vrraca muger del del Rey rramiro dio muchos ornamentos e otras cosas ala iglesia de sant çaluador de ouiedo	347	642
Commo arribaron al puerto de lixbona çinuenta e quatro naues e çinuenta e ocho galeas e las batallas que ouieron con los de abdarramen	Commo arribaron al puerte de lisbona çinuenta e quattro naues e las batallas que ouieron con los de abderramen	348	643
Image number 15			
Commo los dos hermanos enperadores tolleron todas las malas leyes	(4 lines are illegible)	190	214
Commo vn filosofo llamado pelegrino sopo como auia de auer pestilencia en Roma e quemose	Vn filosofo que llamaua peregrino sopo auia de aver pestilencia quemose en Roma	191	217

Commo el enperado marco antonio non teniendo dineros para la guerra mando sacar sus Ropas alas vender	Commo el enperador marco antonio non teniendo (7 characters are illegible) dineros para la guerra mando sacar sus ropas alas vender	192	220
(Not included in the index)	Co (16 characters are illegible) aurelio vn (21 characters are illegible) esçio	194	221
(Not included in the index)	(2 lines are left blank)	194	222
Commo el enperador marco antonio en vna fiesta mando Matar çient leones	Commo marco antonio enperador fizó matar en vna fiesta que fizó çiento leones e murio de vna enfermedad en panonia	195	223
(Not included in the index)	(2 lines are left blank)	197	224
Commo se encendio fuego en vnos palaçios en Roma	Commo se encendio (12 characters are illegible) enlos palaçios de (5 characters are illegible) que eran de (15 characters and 1 line are illegible)	198	232
(Not included in the index)	Commo elio peranax el enperador e fiziera a su muger augusta	198	233
Commo el enperador seuero fizola quinta persecucion enlos cristianos	Commo el enperador seuero mantouo todo el senorio en paz en sosega quinto libro	199	234
(Not included in the index)			247
Commo el enperador alixandre fizó vnos bannos en rroma	(No rubrics are included)	203	249
(Not included in the index)	(2 lines are left blank)		252
(Not included in the index)	(3 lines are illegible)	206	258
(Not included in the index)	(4 lines are illegible)	206	258
(Not included in the index)	Cuenta de alpino sabio (1 line is illegible)	207	259
(Not included in the index)	(3 lines are left blank)	208	260
(Not included in the index)	De commo despues dela muerte del enperador maximino fue alcado enperador godiano	209	263

Commo felipo adelantado delos judios mato al enperador gordino a traycion	(3 lines are illegible)	209	264
ffelipo e su fijos fueron los primeros cristianos que ouo en Roma	(4 lines are illegible)	210	265
(Not included in the index)	(14 characters are illegible) toda la caualleria (2 lines are illegible)	211	267
(Not included in the index)	De <i>commo</i> despues dela muerte delos dos felipos fue alçado por enperador de Roma deçion	211	268
(Not included in the index)	De <i>commo</i> despues dela muerte de deçio fueron enperadores gallo e volusyano sus fijos	213	269
(Not included in the index)	De <i>commo</i> emiliano vn principe poderoso de Roma se alço contra los enperadores gallo e balusiano e ovo su batalla conellos e los mato	213	270
(Not included in the index)	De <i>commo</i> fueron alçado por enperadores gallo e volusiano	214	271
(Not included in the index)	Commo sapor Rey de persia se alço contra el (5 characters are illegible) de Roma e fue con (1 line is illegible)	215	273
(Not included in the index)	De <i>commo</i> el enperador galieno se alço (3 characters are illegible) e a folgarla e a todas malas costumbres e se al (13 characters illegible) çias contra Roma	215	275
(Not included in the index)	De <i>commo</i> se (15 characters are illegible) las prouincias (4 characters are illegible) Roma enel dezeno anno del enperador galieno	216	276
(Not included in the index)	Commo los Romanos fizieron a palmerino vn cauallero e tomo gente e fue a tierra de praçia	217	277

Commo el enperador galieno fue muerto delos suyos por que non se queria castigar de sus malas costumbres	Commo el enperador galieno fue muerto por los suyos en milan por que non se queria castigar de sus costumbres	218	278
(Not included in the index)	De commo despues dela muerte del enperador galieno fue alçado por enperador de Roma claudio	219	279
(Not included in the index)	De commo murio el enperador claudio enla çibdad de serino	219	280
(Not included in the index)	Despues dela muerte de claudio fue tomado por enperador aureliano	220	281
Commo el enperador aureliano peleo con vna Reyna e la vençio	De commo el enperador aureliano peleo conla Reyna zenobia e la vençio e la prendio	221	282
(Not included in the index)	De commo se alço en <i>tierra</i> de dalmacia vn omne muy poderoso por enperador e lo mataron los suyos	222	283
El primero que fizò corona de oro e la puso enla cabeza fue el enperador avrelio	De commo el enperador avreliano fizò fazer corona de oro e la puso enla cabeza	222	284
(Not included in the index)	De commo el enperador avreliano fue muerto por mano de sus caualleros dentro de costantinopla e eraclea que se auia tornado malo	223	285
(Not included in the index)	Commo el enperador (4 lines are illegible)	224	286
(Not included in the index)	Commo (1 line and 13 characters are illegible) en su <i>tiempo</i> contra los barbaros	224	287
(Not included in the index)	Commo alçaron por enperador a caro e commo puso por eguales desy enel ynperio a sus dos hijos	226	293
El primero enperador que fizò jura fue diocleçiano	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	295

Commo diocleçiano enperador Renunçio e ynperio e fueron muertos muchos martires en su tienpo	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	311
Commo el enperador costantino era muy gafo e mando fazer vna albuhera de sangre de ninnos	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	322
Commo liçino procuro de matar al enperador costantino e del mal que fizó a los cristianos	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	323
Dela disputa que ouieron los cristianos con los judíos sobre la fe	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	324
Commo arrio se leuanto contra la fe e ouieron asaz disputas	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	325
Commo nuestro senñor dixo a elena en suenos que fuese a iherusalem e fallaria la cruz	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	326
Commo arnobio se torno cristiano e fizó libros dela fe	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	329
Commo costantino poble la çibdad de costantinopla por que le vino en suenos que lo fiziese	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	331
Commo los judíos mataron en tierra de judea todas las gerdas hasta los ninnos	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	349
Commo el enperador juliano [...]	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	354
Page 16			
[...] prometio que sy torna se dela batalla mataria todos los cristianos e le mato vn santo omne	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	354
Commo julliano llego a vna aldea e durmiendo en vna camara encalada mando fazer fuego e afogose	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	355

Commo valentiano era fijo de vn soguero que fazia sogas	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	356
El enperador valentiano tenia dos mugeres e por <i>que</i> non le dixesen mal puso por ley que todos pudiesen tener dos	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	359
Commo el Rey atamarico mato muchos cristianos	(Missing folios between image numbers 226-227)	N/A	359
Commo vna nuue cargada de fuego aparescio sobre costantinopla <i>que</i> pensaron todos ser quemados e <i>commo</i> todos fizieron penitencia e se desfizo la nuue	Commo vn nuue cargada de fuego aparescio sobre costantinopla que pensaron todos ser <i>quemados</i> e <i>commo</i> fizieron penitencia e se desfizo la nuue	227	362
Commo seuero sulpiçio fue buen cristiano e la penitencia que hizo	Commo seuero suLpiçio fue buen cristiano e la penitencia <i>que</i> hizo	229	363
Commo sant paulino era obispo e quanto tenia dava a los pobres e dio su cuerpo por amor de vna viuda que non tenia que dar	Commo sant paulino era obispo e quando tenia dava a los pobres dio su cuerpo por amor de vna cuida ca non tenia quedar	230	366
Commo theodosio quedo de ocho annos e encomendado a sigisergis	Commo teodosio quedo de ocho annos encomendado a sigisergis	230	367
los vuandalos andauan destruyendo las iglesias e matando muchos cristianos	Los vuandalos andauan estruyendo las iglesias e matando muchos cristianos	231	368
Commo se alçaron con las prouinças muchos e el enperador onorio los vençio	Commo se alçaron con las prouinças muchos e el enperador onorio los vençio	232	371
Commo los alanos e los selingos fueron alas francesas con el enperador onorio	Commo los alanos e los selingos fueron alas francesas con el enperador onorio	233	373
Commo los baruaros fizieron grant estruycion enlas espannas e dela grant fanbre que ouo	Commo los barbaros fizieron grant estruycion enlas espannas e dela gran fanbre <i>que</i> ouo	237	374

E el Rey atacio enbio a Rogar a vualia que le viniese ayudar esta fue la primera vez que los godos vinieron a espanna	El Rey ataco enbio Rogar a vualia que le viniese ayudar esta fue la primera vez que los godos vinieron a espanna	239	375
Commo vualia con el grant temor delos godos quiso foyr de espanna e non se le guiso	Commo vualia con el grant temor delos godos quiso fuyr de espanna e non se le guiso	239	376
De commo el Rey gondorico cerco alos suenos de guisa que non lo pudieron sofrir	De commo el Rey gunderico cerco alos sueuos de guisa que los non pudieron sofrir	240	377
Commo el Rey gondorico fue a conquistar ala prouinçia de cartagena	Commo el rey gunderico fue a conquistar ala prouinçia de cartajena	241	378
De commo fue repartido espanna alos alanos e sueuos e vuandalos e selingos	De commo fue repartido espanna alos alanos e sueuos e vandalo e selingos	242	380
De commo los Romanos vinieron cercar a seuilla que [...]	De commo los Romanos vinieron açercar seuilla que [...]	243	382
Image number 17			
[...] anno quel Reyno	[...] anno quel Reyno	280	425
Delos fechos que acaesçieron alos godos e alos estrogodos e alos sueuos e alos vuandalos e alos vgnos enel primero anno del Reyno de teuderico rrey delos godos	delos fechos que acaesçieron alos godos e los estrogodos e alos sueuos e alos vuandalos e a los hugos enel primero anno del Reynado de teuderico Rey delos godos	281	426
Commo genseric rrey delos vuandalos quebranto a rroma	de commo genseric Rey delos vuandalos quebranto a Roma	283	427
De commo hermat rrey delos vgnos fue vençido e salio ardarico Rey delos godos de so el sennorio suo	De como hermat Rey de vgnos fue vençido e salio ardarico Rey delos godos de so el sennorio no suo	284	428
Delo que contesçio enel segundo anno del rreynado de teuderico e de commo gano narbona	delo que contesçio enel segundo anno del Reynado de teoderico e de commo gano narbona	284	429
De frantan e de mason Reyes delos sueuos	De frantan e de mason Reyes delos sueuos	284	430

De commo los estrogodos vençieron alos vgnos e puso el enperador su amor conel Rey hualamer	De commo los estrogodos vençieron alos vgnos e puso el enperador su amor conel Rey vualamer	285	431
Delos fechos del anno .xiii. en que murio el Rey teuderico	Delos fechos del anno .xiii. En que murio el Rey teuderico	286	432
De commo fue alçado por Rey delos godos hurico e delo que contesçio enel primeroanno de su Reynado	Commo fue alçado por Rey delos godos heurico e delo <i>que contesçio</i> enel primero anno de su Reynado	287	433
Delos fechos <i>que acaesçieron</i> enel segundo anno	Delos fechos <i>que acaesçieron</i> enel segundo anno	288	434
De commo el enperador zeno enbio por el Rey theodorico <i>que se viniese</i> para el e delos fechos que acaesçeron enel quinto anno	Commo el enperador zeno envio por el Rey teodorico que se viniese para el E delos q fechos que acaesçieron enel quinto anno	288	435
De commo por la grant cuya de fanbre en que se vieronlos estrogodos les ouo a dar el enperador zeno tierra en que biuiesen	de commo por la grant cuya de fanbre en <i>que</i> se vieron los astrogodos les ovo a dar el enperador zeno tierra en que biuiesen	290	436
Delos fechos <i>que acaesçieron</i> enel noueno anno	Delos fechos que acaesçieron enel noueno anno	292	437
De commo teodorico vençio dos batallas e adoazer Rey delos herules cerca dela çibdad aquileya	De commo teodorico vençio dos batallas e a doazer Rey delos hercules cerca la çibdad aquileya	292	438
De commo despues dela muerte de eurico alçaron los godos por Rey a alarico e delo que le contesçio enel primero anno de su Reynado	De commo despues dela muerte de eurico alçaron los godos por Rey a alarico e delo <i>que</i> le contesçio enel primero anno de su Reynado	293	439
De commo gutamundo Rey delos huualdalos enbio por eugenio arçobispo de cartago	De commo guntamundo Rey delos huuandalos enbio por eugenio arçobispo de cartago	294	440
De commo el Rey teoderico mato adohazer el rrey delos herulos e fue sennor de ytalia	De commo el Rey teodorico mato a doazer el Rey delos heruos e fue el sennor de ytalia	295	441

De commo teoderico Rey delos estrogodos mantouo el sennorio de yitalia e el de Roma	De commo teodorico Rey delos astrogodos mantouo el sennorio de yitalia e el de Roma	296	442
Delo que contesçio eneL [...]	delo que contesçio enel [...]	296	443
Image number 18			
[...] diez anno del Reynado del Rey alarico	[...] diez anno del Reynado del Rey alarico	296	443
Delo que contesçio enel .xviii. annos del Reynado del Rey alarico	Delo que contesçio enel xviii. annos del Reynado del Rey alarico	297	444
Dela batalla que ouieron el Rey alarico e el Rey glodoneo e dela muerte de alarico	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	445
De commo fue alçado por rrey gisalaigo e delo que hizo la Reyna aluiala suerte	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	446
De commo el Rey teoderico enbio a espanna su fijo e con el alcon de yuan que conqueriesen la tierra quel Rey glodoneo ganara delos godos e tornasen al sennorio el Rey delas espannas	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	447
De commo el Rey gisalaygo fuxo dos vegadas	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	448
De commo teodorico rrey delos estrogodos Reyno en espanna e dela muerte del Rey gisalaygo	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	449
Delo que conesçio enel quinto anno del Reynado de teodorico	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	450
De commo liderigo rrey delos vuandalos hizo venir para los logares los obispos e los otros clericos que trasimundo echara en desterramiento e del astragamiento del Rey delos vgnos	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	451
De commo teoderico dio el Reyno delas espannas a su nieto amalarigo e se fue el para yitalia e delo que y fizó	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	452

De commo el enperador justino mando desterrar e matar todos los arianos e del Rey teoderico	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	453
De commo el Rey amalarigo fue muerto	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	454
De commo teodlisto vençio alos franceses en batalla e mato muchos dellos	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	455
De commo gilimer tomo ayderio rrey delos vuandalos	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	456
De commo el Rey tendio fizó matar ala Reyna malasuente	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	457
De commo valesario tomo la çibdad de cartago e por que arteria e mato quantos enella fallo	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	458
De vitigis Rey delos astrogodos çero a rroma e de commo la tomo valesario	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	459
De commo valesario tomo a giluuer e toda tierra de africa	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	460
Del commo totila Rey delos astrogodos veyendo la fanbre que los de Roma pasauan la çero e la tomo	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	461
De commo murio tendio [...]	(Eyeskip from chapters 444 to 469)	297	462
Image number 19			
[...] Se llamaua betica la çerco andebolo e fueron perdidas	[...] se llamaua betica e la çerco andebolo e fueron perdidos	243	382
Commo Reliquia Rey era omne mucho atreuido en armas e gano toda la prouinçia de luçena	Commo Requilia Rey era omne mucho atreuido en armas e gano toda la prouinçia de luçena	244	383
Commo el Rey genseric quebranto la jura e pazes que tenia con cartago e la estruyo a salua ffe que les dio	Commo el Rey genseric quebranto la jura e pazes que tenie con cartago e la destruyo a salua fe que les dio	245	388

Commo el Rey genserico tomaua todas las vestimentas e ornamentos delas <i>yglesias</i> e fazian Ropas para sy	(Missing folios between image numbers 246-247)	N/A	392
Commo entraron los godos en <i>espanna</i> e fueron seniores della algunt tiempo	(Missing folios between image numbers 246-247)	N/A	394
Commo claudio tolomeo departe todas las tierras e terminos e los nonbres de las gentes	(Missing folios between image numbers 246-247)	N/A	395
Commo el Rey filomer fijo del Rey gadaric fue a conquerir tierra de <i>sicilia</i> e pasando toda la gente por vna puente e se quebro por medio	(Missing folios between image numbers 246-247)	N/A	396
Commo godos fazian sacreficio de sangre de omnes a sus dioses que dezian dios delas batallas	Commo los godos fazian sacreficio de sangre de omes a sus dioses que dezian dios delas batallas	247	397
Commo veloso peleo con atanamuso Rey delos godos e fue fuyendo vesoso	Commo vesoso peleo con atanamuso Rey delos godos e fue fuyendo vesoso	248	398
Commo se leuantaron las amazonas e de que linaje vinieron e lo que fizieron	Commo se leuantaron las amazonas e de que linaje vinieron e lo que fizieron	249	399
Commo tamares ouo batalla con çero e vençio e cortole la cabeça e metio la en vn odre de f sangre	Commo tamaras ouo batalla con caro e vençio e cortole la cabeça e metio la en vn odre de sangre	252	400
Commo ayunto dario sete çientos mill omnes de armas e mill e dozientas uaos para yr contra ançiro Rey delos godos	Commo ayunto dario .dccU. omes de armas e .lU cc. naos para yr contra ançiro Rey delos godos	254	401
Commo gineo filosofo mostro alos godos todas las scienças e buenas costumbres e se mandauan todos por El	Commo gineo filosofo mostro alos godos todas las sciencias e buenos costumbres e se mandauan todos por el	255	402
Dize jullio cesar ser vençido nin ponpeyo supo vençer e delas gentes que conellos yuan	Dize jullio cesar v ser vençido nin ponpeo supo vençer e delas gentes que con ellos yuan	256	403

El enperador domiçiano quebranto las pazes que con los Romanos tenia e corto la cabeza a cipion sabino adelantado delos Romanos	El enperador domiçiano quebranto las pazes que con los Romanos tenia e corto la cabeza al cipion sabino adelantado delos Romanos	257	404
Commo ouo batalla el enperador con con priso e fue muerto su fijo tanton	Commo ouo batalla el enperador con pristo e fue muerto su fijo tanton	258	405
Commo los godos destruyeron e Robaron e despues quemaron el templa dela dehesa diana	Commo los godos destuyeron e Robaron e despues quemaron el templa dela deesa diana	259	406
Commo cesar ouo su batalla [...]	Commo cesar ouo su batalla [...]	260	408
Image number 20			
[...] Con costantino e fue vençido e vençieron los Romanos	[...] con costantino e fue vençido e vençiolos Romanos	260	408
Commo ouo su batalla el Rey armanico con los godos e fueron vençidos	Commo ouo la batalla el Rey armanarico con los godos e fueron vençidos	262	409
Commo el Rey filomer echo dela tierra vnas mugeres encantadores alas montannas e engendradon fijos saluajes	Commo el Rey filemer echo dela tierra vnas mugeres encantadores alas montannas e engendradon fijos saluajes	263	410
Commo enreynaron vualamer Rey delos estrogodos e adarico Rey egepidas ouieron sus conquistas con los vesegodos	Commo enReynaron vualamer Rey delos estrogodos e adarico Rey de egepidas ouieron sus conquista de los vesegodos	264	411
Commo los godos enbiaron al enperador valente que les enbiasen quien les ensennase la fe e les enbio vn obispo que los fizos erejes con maldad	Commo los godos enbiaron al enperador valente que les enbiasen quien les ensenasen la fe e les enbio vn obispo que los fizos erejes con maldad	265	412
Commo el enperador valente ouo su batalla con los godos e fue vençido e fuxo e se metio en vna casa pobre e fue quemada la casa con el	Commo el enperador valente ouo su batalla conlos godos e fue vençido e fuxo e se metie en vna casa pobre e fue quemada la casa con el	266	413

Commo el enperador e gracián ouo su batalla con frodigernis e vençiolos	(Missing folios between image numbers 266-267)	N/A	414
Commo estudieron los estrogodos quarentos annos sin Reye commo el enperador theodosio vengo la muerto de gracián	(Missing folios between image numbers 266-267)	N/A	415
Commo los godos ouieron su batalla con los Romanos e fueron desbaratados los Romanos	(Missing folios between image numbers 266-267)	N/A	416
Commo el Rey alarigo tomo la çibdad de Roma e la destruyo e toparon con vna virgen e preguntaronle sy tenia algunt auer ella dixo por saluar su alma que tenia	Commo el Rey alarigo tomo la çibdad de Roma e la destruyo e tonparon con vna virgen e preguntaronle si tenia algunt aver e ella dixo por saluar su alma que lo tenia	269	417
Commo ataulfo fue a barçelona estando adormesçido se degollo vno delos suyos	Commo ataulfo fue a barçelona e estando adormesçido le degollo vno delos suyos	270	418
Commo el Rey sigirigon ouo seys fijos e trabajose en dexarlos en paz asosego la tierra	Commo el Rey sigirigon ovo seys fijos e trabajose de dexarlos en paz asosego la tierra	271	419
Commo vuala Rey delos godos caso con pladia hermana del enperador onorio	Commo vuala Rey delos godos caso con pladia hermana del enperador onorio	272	420
Teuderedo Rey delos godos teniendo el Rey vuala sus pazes con los Romanos quebrantolas este e comenzó a guerrear con ellos	theuderedo Rey delos godos teniendo el Rey vuala sus pazes con los Romanos quebranto este e comenzó a guerrear con ellos	273	421
Commo el Rey atila ouo el espada de vlcan que estaua soterrada enel campo e la fallo vn pastor	De commo el Rey atila ouo el espada de vlcan que estaua soterrado enel campo e fallo la vn pastor	274	422
Del Reyno de turismundo e de commo el Rey achilla destruyo toda la tierra de espanha ytalía	Del Reyno de turismundo e de commo el Rey achilla destruyo toda tierra de ytalía	278	423

Del segundo anno del Reynado del Rey turismundo en que murio el Rey achilla	Del segundo anno del Reynado del Rey turismundo en <i>que</i> murio el Rey achilla	280	424
Dela muerte del Rey turismundo que fue enel terçero	Dela muerte del Rey turismundo <i>que</i> fue enel terçero	280	425
Image number 21			
que era entre los enbaxadores del Rey de granada los de cordoua alçaron por Rey aysmen	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Commo el Rey don alfonso fue cercar a viseo e sobre eL cerco fue muerto de vna saeta	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Commo despues dela muerte del Rey don alfonso subçedio en su lugar don bermudo eL terçero	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Commo por defecto de varon legitimo torno el Reyno de castilla a mugeres	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Commo estando seguro garcia yuigues le mataron los moros e firieron de muerte ala Reyna dona teresa	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Commo despues dela muerte del Rey don sancho subçedio en su lugar don garcia su fijo	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Commo los altos omnes dela tierra enbiaron pedir a donna sancha hermana del Rey de leon para <i>que</i> casase con don garcia e <i>que</i> se llamase Rey de castilla	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Capitulo de commo mataron al jnfante garcia en leon	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Capitulo de commo los fijos del conde vela fueron muertos	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
Capitulo de commo el Rey don sancho fue senor de castilla e del linaje delos Rey de nauarra	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A

<i>Capitulo de commo el jnfante don garcia mezclo ala Reyna donna eluira su madre con el Rey don sancho el mayor e fue la Reyna saluada por el santo omne</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>Capitulo del Rey don Ramiro e de commo Reyno en aragon e dela prision de nesca</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>El honzeno Capitulo del desacuerdo delos aragoneses e de m commo Reyno don Ramiro el monje</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>Capitulo del ayuntamiento del Reyno de aragon conel condado de barcelona e delos hijos del conde don Remondo e dela Reyna donna vrraca</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>Capitulo del Rey don pedro de aragon e de su muerte</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>Capitulo del Rey jaymes e sus hijos de dos Ricos omes</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>Capitulo delo que acontesçio al Rey don sancho en palençia con el puerco comtes e de commo fallo la iglesia de sant antolin</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>Capitulo del casamiento del Rey don ferrando con la hermana del Rey don bermudo de leon</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A
<i>Capitulo de commo lidaron eL Rey don bermudo de leon e el Rey don ferrando de castilla e fue muerto el Rey de leon</i>	(Missing folios after image number 482)	N/A	N/A

Appendix C: A table of the different pagination methods in *Min*

<i>Min</i> image number	Method 1	Method 2	Method 3	Method 4	Method 5	Method 6	Catchword
Lacuna							
1	1r						
2	1v						
3	2r						
4	2v						a castilla
Lacuna							
5	3r						
6	3v						
7	4r						
8	4v						
9	5r						
10	5v						
11	6r						
12	6v						
13	7r						
14	7v						
15	8r						
16	8v						
17	9r						
18	9v						
19	10r						
20	10v						
21	11r						
22	11v						
Lacuna							
23	12r	1					
24	12v						
25	13r	2					
26	13v						
27	14r	3	4				
28	14v						
29	15r	4					
30							
31	16r	5					
32							
33	17r	6	7				
34							
35	18r	7	8				
36							

37	19r	8						
38								
39	20r	9	10					
40								
41		10						
42								
Lacuna								
43		11			bi			
44								
45		12			bii			
46								
Lacuna								
47		42	46					
48								
Lacuna								
49		43						
50								
51		44	49					
52								
53		45	50					
54								
55		46	51					
56								
57		47	52					
58								
59		48	53					
60								
61		49	54					
62								
63		50	55					
64								
65		51	56					
66								
67		52	57					
68								
Lacuna								
69		53	58					
70								Esto entendie
Lacuna								
71		55						
72								
73		56						

74							
75		57	62				
76							
77		58	63				
78							
79		59	64				
80							
81		60	65				
82							
83		61	66				
84							
85		62	67				
86							
87		63	68				
88							
89		64	69				
90							
Lacuna							
91		70					
92							
93		71					
94							
95		72	77				
96							
97		73	78				
98							
99		74	79				
100							
Lacuna							
101		78					
102							destas
103		79					
103v							
104r		80					
104							
105		81	85				
106							
107		82					
108							
109		83	87				
110							
111		84	89				
112							

113		85	90				
114							
115		86	91				
116							
117		87	92				
118							
119		88					
120							

Lacuna

121		113	108				
122							
123		114	109				
124							
125		115	110				
126							
127		116	111				
128						v	
129		117	112				
130						vi	
131		118	113				
132							
133		119	114				
134							
135		120	115				
136							
137		121					
138							
139		122					
140							

Lacuna

141		123					
142							
143		124					
144							
145		125					
146						iii	
147		126					
148							
149		127					
150						v	
151		128					
152						vi	

153		129					
154							
155		130					
156							
157		131					
158							
159		132					
160							
Lacuna							
161		133					
162							Conbidaua huespede
163		134					
164							
165		135					
166						ii	
167		136					
168						iii	
169		137					
170						iiii	
171		138					
172						v	
173		139	136				
174						vi	
175		140	137				
176							
177		141					
178							
179		142					
180							
181		143					
182							
183		144					
184							
185		145					
186							E fue pio fecho
187		146					
188							
189		147					
190							
191		148					
192							
193		149					

194							
195		150	147				
196							
197		151	148				
198							
199		152					
200							
201		153					
202							
203		154					
204							
205		155					
206							
207		156					
208							
209		157					
210							Sennalado de guisa

Lacuna

211		159					
212						ii	
213		160					
214						iii	
215		161					
216						iiii	
217		162					
218						v	
219		163					
220							
221		164					
222							
223		165					
224							
225		166					
226							

Lacuna

227		192					
228							
229		193	191				
230							
231		194	192				
232							
233		195	193				

234							
235		196					
236							
237		197	195				
238							
239		198	196				
240							
241		199	197				
242							
243		200	198				
244							
245		201	199				
246							
Lacuna							
247		204	202				
248							
249		205					
250							
251		206					
252							
253		207	205				
254							
255		208	206				
256							
257		209					
258							
259		210					
260							
261		211	209				
262							
263		212	210				
264							
265		213	211				
266							
Lacuna							
267		216	214				
268							
269		217	215				
270							
271		218	216				
272							
273		219	217		tv		

274							
275		220	218				
276							
277		221	219				
278							
279		222	220				
280							
281		223					
282							
283		224	222				
284							
285		225	223				
286							
287		226	224				
288							gunas
289		227					
290							
291		228					
292							
293		229	227				
294							
295		300	228				
296							
297		301	229				
298							
299		302	230				
300							
301		303					
302							
303		304	232				
304							
305		305	233				
306							
307		306	234				
308							
309		307					
310							
Lacuna							
311		436		295			
312							
313		437		296			
314							

315		438		297			
316							
Lacuna							
317		443		302			
318							
319		444		303			
320							
321		445		304			
322							
323		446		305			
324							Ninguna
Lacuna							
325		449		308			
326							
327		450		309			
328							
329		451		310			
330							
331		452		311			
332							
333		453		312			
334							
335		454		313			
336							
337		455		314			
338							
339		456		315			
340							
341		457					
342							
Lacuna							
343		460					
344							
345		461		320			
346							
347		462		321			
348							
349		463		322			
350							
Lacuna							
351		464		325			
352							

353		465		326			
354							
355		466		327			
356							
357		467		328			
358							
Lacuna							
359		470		331			
360						ii	
361		471		332			
362							
363		472		333			
364							
365		473		334			
366							
367		474					
368							
369		475		336			
370							
371		476		337			
372							
373		477		338			
374							
375		478		339			
376							
377		490					
378							
Lacuna							
379		493		343			
380							
381		494		344			
382							
383		494		345			
384							
385		496		346			
386							
387		497		347			
388							
389		498		348			
390							
391		499		349			
392							

393		500		350			
394							
395		501					
396							
397		502					
398							
Lacuna							
399		504			bi		
400							
401		505					
402							
403		506					
404							
405		507					
406							
407		508		358			
408							
409		509					
410							
411		510		360			
412							
413		511					
414							
415		512					
416							
417		513					
418							
419		514					
420							
Lacuna							
421		516			yi		
422							
423		517			yii		
424							
425		518			yiii		
426							
427		519			yiiii		
428							
429		520			yv		
430							
431		521			yvi		
432							

433		522					
434							
435		523					
436							
437		524					
438							
439		525					
440							
441		526					
442							
443		527					
444							muchos
445		528					
446							
447		529			bii		
448							
449		530					
450							
451		531					
452							
Lacuna							
453		533					
454							
455		534					
456							
Lacuna							
457		535					
458							
459		536					
460							
461		537					
462							
463		538					
464							altos omes
465		539			Li		
466							
467		590			Lii		
468							
469		541			Liii		
470							
471		542			Liiii		
472							

Appendix D: A table of *Min's* eyeskips from chapter 1 to chapter 438

<i>EE Digital chapter number</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>E_I</i>
1	por los estudios delos fechos tan bien delos locos como delos sabios (Image number 25)	Mas por que los estudios de los fechos de los omnes se demudan en muchas guisas; fueron sobresto apercubudos los sabios ancianos. E escriuieron los fechos tan bien de los locos cuemo de los sabios (f. 2r)
5	sidon <i>que</i> fue padre de heuropa ¶ E segundo hercules llamaron le por su nonbre (Image number 32)	sidon. e fue padre de europa la que leuo robada el Rey Jupiter. e de Cadino el que poble Thebas que es en europa. y este segundo hercules llamaron le por sobrenombe (f. 4v)
6	es agora seuilla poblada ¶ E estonçes demando hercules (Image number 34)	es agora Seuilla poblada. e siempre yuan catando por la ribera o fallarien buen logar o poblasen una grand cibdat. e no fallaron otro ninguno tan bueno cuemo aquel o agora es poblada Seuilla. Estonce demando Hercules (f. 5r)
7	ansy mete la <i>tierra</i> so su poder e seria sennor de todo el mundo ansy commo su estoria lo cuenta (Image number 35)	assi metrie toda la tierra en so poder e serie sennor de todo. Desdalli mouio e tornos para Roma. e fue depues sennor de tod el mundo. Assi cuemo la su estoria lo cuenta (f. 5v)
8	e poble otra villa <i>que</i> dizen cartajena espartera (Image numbers 36-37)	e poble otra uilla <i>que</i> dicen Carthagena. e solien le llamar antigua mientre. Carthagena espartera (f. 6r)
85	desta vez el rrio de efrates e otro que dizen en axarases (Image number 62)	desta uez el rio eufrates de orient. que es ell uno de los mayores quatro rios del mundo. E corre entre Siria e armenja Et este Rio eufrates. E otro que dizen araxes (f. 39r)

89	desy mando traher foçes muy agudas e ataron las vnas cuerdas de aquellas naues e cortaronlas (Image number 68)	Desi mando adozir foces muy agudas. e ataron les unas cuerdas e alançaron las con ellas en las cuerdas daquellas naues de los de uenecia. E aquellas foçes no las auien en uso en los nauios fasta aquel tiempo ni sabien aun dellas. E mando alos omes que tirasen con las cuerdas de las foçes. e las foçes prisieron en las cuerdas daquellas naues e cortaron las (f. 41v)
119	los temen ya cerca vençidos e los que entendien que non querien tener con el e andauan faziendo vandos (Image number 107)	los tenien a ellos cerca de uencidos. A los malfechores. escarmentaua los de buena manera. E perdonaua a aquellos que entendie que non auien tamanza culpa. E a los que non querien tener con ell. E andauan faziendo uandos (f. 59r)
119	se corto la cabeza ¶ E su madre conociola e dixo esto solo pari para las aguas e lo al para las llamas (Image number 109)	se le corto la cabeza. E acabo de muchos dias. uino su madre a coger agua en una orça muy grand. E cogio y en uuelta dell agua la cabeza de su fijo. E connosciola e dixo. esto solo pari para las llamas e lo al todo para las aguas (f. 59v)
121	Quando quier que los huesos de capis fueren descubiertos mataran sus parientes a vno que desçendera del su linaje ¶ E esto se entendia bien que fuera por julio cesar que desçendia del linaje del fijo de heneas (Image number 112)	Quando quier que los huessos de Capis fueren descubiertos. mataran sus parientes a uno que descendra del linnage de Julio e sera uengado por muchas pestilencias que uernan a tierra de ytalia. E esto se entendie bien que fuera dicho por julio cesar que descendie del linnage de Julio el fijo de Eneas (f. 60r)
169	e non fiziese ¶ ca antes se dexarian todos matar que lo non fiziesen (Image number 124)	no fiziesse ande al. ¶ E petronio fu luego alla para poner la y. mas salieron a el los Judios e rogaron le que lo no fiziesse. ca antes se dexarien todos matar que lo suffriessen (f. 72v)

181	non le quiso abrir ninguno ¶ Otrosy ninguno non se fiaua enel e los que enel mas se fiauan eran dos viles omnes ¶ El vno auia nonbre e el otro gomelio (Image number 143)	nol <i>quiso abrir ninguno. E con grand cueyta tornosse para su casa. E no fallo y ninguno de todas sus guardas. ca fuxieran todas. Ca assi cuemo el non se fiaua en ninguno;</i> otrossi ninguno non se fiaua en el. E los en qui el mas se fiaua. eran dos uiles omes. ell uno auie nonbre Nymphidio; e ell otro Gemellio (f. 78v)
199	Que es el suenno imagen de muerte folgura de trabajos cobdicia delos deseos deseo delos mezquinos esperanca de muerte (Image number 180)	Que es el suenno? ¶ Ymagen de muerte. Folgura de trabajos. Cobdicia de los enfermos. Desseo de los mezquinos. ¶ Que es la uida. ¶ Alegria de los bien auenturados. Tristeza de los mezquinos. esperanca de muerte (f. 90r)
219	a todas partes tremie la tierra e destruyense los panes e todas las otras frutas (Image number 192)	E atodas partes tremie la tierra. E destruyense por y muchas cibdades. e auinien los rios. e fazien muy esquiuos dannos en muchos lugares. La lagosta era tanta que destruye los panes e todos los otros fruytos (f. 94r)
373	vna tierra <i>que</i> es llamada suauiia ¶ E estos <i>que</i> vieron <i>que</i> los godos (Image number 234)	duna tierra <i>que</i> es llamada Sueuia. E salieran de su tierra con brio darmas. E fueran conquerir tierra de Scicia; e prisieran una partida della en que morauan aquella sazon. E del nombre dellos que llamados Sueuos; pusieron le nombre Suauiia. E aun agora assi es llamada. ¶ E estos <i>que</i> uieron <i>que</i> los godos (f. 127r)
388	la <i>que</i> poblara la Reyna dido ante <i>que</i> Roma fuese poblada (Image number 245)	<i>que</i> poblara la Reyna dido. E por que uio que la no podie tomar por fuerça; punno de los engannar. E guiso que lo acogieron a salua fe. E des que fue dentro; destruyo la toda. assi que no dexo y sennal de todo quanto y fuera refecho; depues del destruymjento de Scipio africano. Ca sabet que aquella Carthago setaenta e dos annos la poble la Reyna dido ante que Roma fuese poblada (f. 131v)

399	con muchos omnes de armas guisados para lidiar e dudulos e acogios en grecia después de oridia Reyno pantasylea (Image number 252)	con muchos omnes darmas guisados pora lidiar. ¶ E desque llegaron al regno delas Amazonas; sopo hercules del grand poder que traye. Et cuemo uinien guisados pora lid; et dubdolos e cogios a Grecia ¶ Despues de Oridria regno pentesilea (f. 137v)
405	E fue y ferido de vna saeta el fijo de decio dixoles por los esforçar amigos el fecho de Romanos se deuie menguar por perdida de vn cauallero ¶ Pero con todo eso doliose el coraçon dela muerte de su fijo <i>que</i> vençieron sus enemigos (Image number 259)	E fue y luego ferido duna saeta el fijo de decio de guisa que murio dello. E començauan por ende a desmayar los dela hueste. Et ueyendo esto ell emperador decio; dixo les por los conortar et por los esforçar. Amigos el fecho de Roma non se deue minguar por perdida dun cauallero. Pero con tod esto dolie se ell enel coraçon dela muerte de so fijo. cuemo se deuie doler padre. Et començo a lidiar mas derrezio por uengar la muete de so fijo. tanto que uencio sos enemigos (f. 139v)
412	Mas el enperador Valente andaua desuiando dela verdad dela iglesia trabajauase dela erégia ¶ E los trastornaron (Image number 266)	Mas ell enperador Valent andaua desuiando de la uerdat de la eglesia. E trabaiauasse de la heregia de Arrio. E quando oyo que los godos tomauan la fe de nuestro sennor; mostro quel plazie. E enuioles cligos de missa hereges que les enseñaron la heregia e los trastornaron (f. 142r)
418	e non fincara dellos linaje ca non ouieron fijo nin fija (Image number 271)	E no fincara dellos linage. E llaman rey de medio dia a theodosio. E rey de aguilon a Athaulpho. E no finco dellos linage. ca no ouieron fijo ni fija (f. 145r)
422	tomaron con eçio partiose delos suyos con la tiniebra dela noche (Image number 277)	tomara con Ecio. teniendo que yua alos sos fue a sus enemigos. E ellos firieron enel. E ell enellos. Lidiando muy derrezio. E firiol uno de los dela otra part en la cabeça e llagol e derribol del cauallo. Mas acorriero le los sos e alçaron le. τ no lidio dalli adelant. ¶ Otrossi Ecio partios de los sos con la tiniebra de la noche (f. 147r)

423	E estouo ally quantos dias e fuese con los suyos (Image number 279)	e souo allí ya quantos dias ¶ E desque sopo por cierto que eran idos mando alçar sus tiendas e fue su uia con los suyos (f. 148r)
-----	---	---

Appendix E: The entry of *Min* in H. P. Krauss' catalogue number 54¹⁰⁴

2. CHRONICLE OF HENRY IV OF CASTILE.—ENRIQUEZ DEL CASTILLO, DIEGO. Comiesa la caronica del Rey dom emrique ell quarto hecha por el Lisenceado diego emRiquez del Castilho su coronista y capelan y del su consejo. Manuscript on paper, written in a calligraphical late XVth century scribe's hand. 134 ff. Sm. folio. Contemp. limp vellum (loose). Galicia (?), about 1500.	
	\$125.00
cf. Ticknor, <i>Hist. of Spanish Lit.</i> , I p. 169-170.	
A fine manuscript copy of the chronicle of the reign of King Henry IV, the brother and predecessor of Queen Isabella, written by his chronicler Diego Enríquez del Castillo. The chronicle was not published before 1787 (in vol. VI of the Colección de Crónicas y Memorias de los Reyes de Castilla).	
The present manuscript is written in a dialect showing strong Galician influence.	
PROBABLY AN UNPUBLISHED VERSION OF THE FIRST SPANISH CHRONICLE	
3. CRONICA GENERAL DE ESPANA. Manuscript on paper (watermark crown: Briquet 4846), in a calligraphical Gothic bookhand of the XVth century. 2 cols. 231 of about 500 leaves partly foliated (in two different old hands), after portions of the book were lost. Chapter headings in red (on some pages faded by exposure to water). Folio. Unbound.	
Spain, XVth century.	\$85.00
cf. Menéndez Pidal, <i>Crónicas generales de España</i> , pp. 17-58; <i>Crónica general de España</i> , ed. by Florián de Ocampo, Zamora, 1541, also Alcalá, 1578.	
A copy of a Crónica general de España which, though preserved in an incomplete and damaged state, has considerable importance as a link in the various derivations from the first Spanish chronicle.	
The text follows the general outline of the <i>Primera Crónica General</i> (begun around 1270) which was composed by order of Alfonso el Sabio. It would seem to derive from some unknown manuscript of the <i>Crónica general de 1344</i> . The events chronicled begin with the sons of Japhet and go to the 14th year of the reign of Alfonso V (999-1028). According to the index, it should take as far as the battle of Bermudo de León and Fernando I, "El Magno" (1037-1065)—chapter 801 in the edition of Menéndez Pidal, <i>Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles</i> , Vol. V. Therefore, it was possibly the first volume of a series of two. The second volume would have contained the reigns of the Castilian kings at least to Alfonso X. There is also considerable material on Fernán González, the hero of the oldest Spanish epic.	
The first chapter of the text starts on fol. 1 v, "Los sabios antiguos que fueron en tiempos pasados." It is preceded by an introduction which seems to be written by the compiler of the codex and has apparently never been published. On fol. 2 r follows the second chapter which begins "Nos Alfonso por la gracia de dios rey de Castilla, de Toledo, de León . . ."	
ALLOCATION OF THE NEWLY CONQUERED MOORISH LAND IN ANDALUSIA.	
4. SPAIN. ALLOCATION OF LANDED PROPERTY IN ANDALUSIA. Repartimiento de las Tierras de Ecija quando segano delos moros. Manuscript on thick soft rag paper, in the hands of three scribes of the late XIIIth century (the general title put on the fly leaf by a registrar of the XVIIth century). 18 ff. (including one blank). Partly rubricated in red and blue. The leaves have been folded vertically and a hole goes through most of them in the center, causing but insignificant loss of text. Sm. folio. XVIIth cent. limp vellum.	
Ecija (Andalusia), last quarter of the XIIIth century.	\$185.00
A manuscript of great historical interest for the history of Spain in the period of the conquest of Andalusia. It consists of two lists containing the names of persons who	

¹⁰⁴ H. P. Krauss, *Catalogue No. 54: Spain, Italy, France Choice Books and Manuscripts Recently Purchased in Europe* (New York: Krausbooks, 1950), p. 7.

Appendix F: A comparison of the different computation figures from chapter 185 to 371

Image number	Chapter number	Years since the population of Rome	Era	Years since Jesus Christ
153	185	<i>Min:</i> 833 <i>E_I:</i> 822 Hand 5: 822	<i>Min:</i> 92 <i>E_I:</i> 100 Hand 5: 109	<i>Min:</i> 64 Hand 5: 71
154	186	<i>Min:</i> 823 <i>E_I:</i> 823	<i>Min:</i> 110 <i>E_I:</i> 110	<i>Min:</i> 72 <i>E_I:</i> 72
162	189	<i>Min:</i> 806 <i>E_I:</i> 806 Hand 5: 831	<i>Min:</i> 113 <i>E_I:</i> 113 Hand 5: 118	<i>Min:</i> 75 <i>E_I:</i> 75 Hand 5: 83
163	190		<i>Min:</i> 115 <i>E_I:</i> 115 Hand 5: 120	
164	191	<i>Min:</i> 809 <i>E_I:</i> 809 Hand 5: 833	<i>Min:</i> 116 <i>E_I:</i> 116 Hand 5: 121	<i>Min:</i> 78 <i>E_I:</i> 78
166	192	<i>Min:</i> 823 <i>E_I:</i> 823 Hand 5: 847	<i>Min:</i> 135 <i>E_I:</i> 135	<i>Min:</i> 97 <i>E_I:</i> 97

168	193	<i>Min:</i> 824 <i>E_I:</i> 824 Hand 5: 848	<i>Min:</i> 136 <i>E_I:</i> 136	<i>Min:</i> 98 <i>E_I:</i> 98
170	194		<i>Min:</i> 137 <i>E_I:</i> 137	
170	195	<i>Min:</i> 826 <i>E_I:</i> 826 Hand 5: 850	<i>Min:</i> 100 <i>E_I:</i> 138 Hand 5: 138	
173	196		<i>Min:</i> 144 <i>E_I:</i> 144	
175	197		<i>Min:</i> 144 <i>E_I:</i> 154 Hand 5: 154	
175	197		<i>Min:</i> 150 Hand 5: 155	

175	198		<i>Min:</i> 156 <i>E_I:</i> 156	
176	199	<i>Min:</i> 845 <i>E_I:</i> 845 Hand 5: 869	<i>Min:</i> 119 <i>E_I:</i> 157 Hand 5: 157	<i>E_I:</i> 119
181	200		<i>Min:</i> 159 <i>E_I:</i> 159	
181	201		<i>Min:</i> 170 <i>E_I:</i> 169	
183	202		<i>E_I:</i> 174 Hand 5: 174	<i>Min:</i> 174
184	203		<i>Min:</i> 177 <i>E_I:</i> 177	

185	204	<i>Min:</i> 866 <i>E_I:</i> 866 Hand 5: 891	<i>Min:</i> 178 <i>E_I:</i> 178	<i>Min:</i> 140 <i>E_I:</i> 140
185	207		<i>Min:</i> 181 <i>E_I:</i> 181	
186	208	<i>Min:</i> 898 Hand 5: 895	<i>Min:</i> 182 <i>E_I:</i> 182	<i>Min:</i> 144 <i>E_I:</i> 144
187	210	<i>Min:</i> 803 Hand 5: 903	<i>Min:</i> 187 <i>E_I:</i> 187 Hand 5: 190	
189	211	<i>Min:</i> 910 Hand 5: 918	<i>Min:</i> 194 <i>E_I:</i> 194 Hand 5: 195	
189	212		<i>Min:</i> 195 <i>E_I:</i> 195	

190	213		<i>Min:</i> 199 <i>E_I:</i> 199	
191	214	<i>Min:</i> 816 Hand 5: 913	<i>Min:</i> 200 <i>E_I:</i> 200	<i>Min:</i> 62 <i>E_I:</i> 62
191	216		<i>Min:</i> 202 <i>E_I:</i> 202	
192	217		<i>Min:</i> 203 <i>E_I:</i> 203	
193	220	<i>Min:</i> 813 <i>E_I:</i> 913 Hand 5: 920	<i>Min:</i> 207 <i>E_I:</i> 207	<i>Min:</i> 169 <i>E_I:</i> 169
194	221		<i>Min:</i> 208 <i>E_I:</i> 208	

194	222		<i>Min:</i> 209 <i>EI:</i> 209 Hand 5: 211	
195	223	<i>Min:</i> 833 <i>EI:</i> 933 Hand 5: 930	<i>Min:</i> 218 <i>EI:</i> 218	<i>Min:</i> 180 <i>EI:</i> 180
196	224	<i>Min:</i> 835 <i>EI:</i> 935 Hand 5: 831	<i>Min:</i> 219 <i>EI:</i> 219	<i>Min:</i> 189 <i>EI:</i> 181 Hand 5: 181
196	225		<i>Min:</i> 220 <i>EI:</i> 221	
197	226		<i>Min:</i> 221 <i>EI:</i> 222	
197	227		<i>Min:</i> 122 <i>EI:</i> 222	

198	232	$E_I: 947$ Hand 5: 231	$Min: 240$ $E_I: 231$	$Min: 193$ $E_I: 193$
198	233	$Min: 948$ $E_I: 948$ Hand 5: 945	$Min: 232$ $E_I: 232$	$Min: 194$ $E_I: 194$
199	234	$Min: 849$ $E_I: 949$ Hand 5: 946	$Min: 233$ $E_I: 233$	$Min: 195$ $E_I: 195$
201	245		$Min: 147$ $E_I: 247$ Hand 5: 247	
201	247	$Min: 873$ $E_I: 966$ Hand 5: 963	$Min: 249$ $E_I: 249$	$Min: 212$ $E_I: 212$
203	248	$Min: 862$ $E_I: 967$ Hand 5: 963	$Min: 250$ $E_I: 250$	$Min: 213$ $E_I: 213$ Hand 5: 212

203	251	<i>Min:</i> 872 <i>E_I:</i> 972 Hand 5: 968	<i>Min:</i> 255 <i>E_I:</i> 255	<i>Min:</i> 218 <i>E_I:</i> 218
204	252	<i>Min:</i> 863 <i>E_I:</i> 973 Hand 5: 969	<i>Min:</i> 256 <i>E_I:</i> 256	<i>Min:</i> 219 <i>E_I:</i> 219 Hand 5: 218
204	253	<i>Min:</i> 863 <i>E_I:</i> 973 Hand 5: 969	<i>Min:</i> 256 <i>E_I:</i> 256	<i>Min:</i> 220 <i>E_I:</i> 220 Hand 5: 218
205	256	<i>Min:</i> 877 <i>E_I:</i> 977 Hand 5: 972	<i>Min:</i> 259 <i>E_I:</i> 259	<i>Min:</i> 23 <i>E_I:</i> 223
205	257	<i>Min:</i> 978 <i>E_I:</i> 978	<i>Min:</i> 260 <i>E_I:</i> 260	<i>Min:</i> 224 <i>E_I:</i> 224
207	259	<i>Min:</i> 890 <i>E_I:</i> 990 Hand 5: 980	<i>Min:</i> 263 <i>E_I:</i> 273 Hand 5: 273	<i>Min:</i> 237 <i>E_I:</i> 237 Hand 5: 235

208	260	<i>Min:</i> 891 <i>E_I:</i> 991 Hand 5: 987	<i>Min:</i> 274 <i>E_I:</i> 275	<i>E_I:</i> 237
208	261		<i>Min:</i> 275 <i>E_I:</i> 275	
208	262	<i>Min:</i> 993 <i>E_I:</i> 993 Hand 5: 990	<i>Min:</i> 276 <i>E_I:</i> 277	<i>Min:</i> 239 <i>E_I:</i> 239 Hand 5: 238
209	264	<i>Min:</i> 999 <i>E_I:</i> 993 Hand 5: 996	<i>Min:</i> 283 <i>E_I:</i> 283	<i>Min:</i> 245 <i>E_I:</i> 245
210	265	<i>Min:</i> 1000 <i>E_I:</i> 1000 Hand 5: 997	<i>Min:</i> 284 <i>E_I:</i> 284	<i>Min:</i> 246 <i>E_I:</i> 246
211	267	<i>Min:</i> 1006 <i>E_I:</i> 1006 Hand 5: 1003	<i>Min:</i> 290 <i>E_I:</i> 290	<i>Min:</i> 267 <i>E_I:</i> 252 Hand 5: 252

211	268	<i>Min:</i> 1007 <i>E_I:</i> 1007 Hand 5: 1004	<i>Min:</i> 291 <i>E_I:</i> 291	<i>Min:</i> 298 <i>E_I:</i> 253 Hand 5: 253
213	269	<i>Min:</i> 1008 <i>E_I:</i> 1008 Hand 5: 1006	<i>Min:</i> 293 <i>E_I:</i> 292	<i>E_I:</i> 254
213	270	<i>Min:</i> 1900 <i>E_I:</i> 1009 Hand 5: 1007	<i>Min:</i> 294 <i>E_I:</i> 293	<i>Min:</i> 278 <i>E_I:</i> 255 Hand 5: 256
214	271	<i>Min:</i> 1010 <i>E_I:</i> 1010 Hand 5: 1008	<i>Min:</i> 294 <i>E_I:</i> 294 Hand 5: 295	<i>Min:</i> 295 <i>E_I:</i> 256 Hand 5: 297
215	273	<i>Min:</i> 1016 <i>E_I:</i> 1016 Hand 5: 1015	<i>Min:</i> 300 <i>E_I:</i> 300 Hand 5: 302	<i>Min:</i> 299 <i>E_I:</i> 262 Hand 5: 264
215	274		<i>Min:</i> 301 <i>E_I:</i> 301 Hand 5: 303	

215	275		<i>Min:</i> 302 <i>E_I:</i> 302 Hand 5: 304	
216	276		<i>Min:</i> 303 <i>E_I:</i> 303 Hand 5: 305	
218	278	<i>Min:</i> 1024 <i>E_I:</i> 124 Hand 5: 1023	<i>Min:</i> 308 <i>E_I:</i> 308 Hand 5: 310	<i>Min:</i> 270 <i>E_I:</i> 270 Hand 5: 272
219	279	<i>Min:</i> 1025 <i>E_I:</i> 1025 Hand 5: 1024	<i>Min:</i> 309 <i>E_I:</i> 309 Hand 5: 311	<i>Min:</i> 271 <i>E_I:</i> 271 Han 5: 273
219	280		<i>Min:</i> 310 <i>E_I:</i> 310 Hand 5: 312	
220	281	<i>Min:</i> 1027 <i>E_I:</i> 1027 Hand 5: 1026	<i>Min:</i> 311 <i>E_I:</i> 311 Hand 5: 313	<i>Min:</i> 273 <i>E_I:</i> 373 Hand 5: 375

221	282	<i>Min:</i> 1028 Hand 5: 1027	<i>Min:</i> 313 <i>E_I:</i> 312 Hand 5: 312	
222	283		<i>Min:</i> 313 <i>E_I:</i> 313 Hand 5: 315	
222	284		<i>Min:</i> 314 <i>E_I:</i> 314 Hand 5: 316	
223	285	<i>Min:</i> 1027 <i>E_I:</i> 1027 Hand 5: 1030	<i>Min:</i> 315 <i>E_I:</i> 315 Hand 5: 317	<i>Min:</i> 277 <i>E_I:</i> 227 Hand 5: 229
224	286	<i>Min:</i> 1028 <i>E_I:</i> 1028 Hand 5: 1031	<i>Min:</i> 316 <i>E_I:</i> 316 Hand 5: 318	<i>Min:</i> 278 <i>E_I:</i> 278 Hand 5: 280
225	287	<i>Min:</i> 1029 <i>E_I:</i> 1029 Hand 5: 1032	<i>Min:</i> 326 <i>E_I:</i> 317 Hand 5: 319	<i>Min:</i> 279 <i>E_I:</i> 279 Hand 5: 281

225	288		<i>Min:</i> 328 <i>E_I:</i> 318 Hand 5: 320	
226	289		<i>Min:</i> 319 <i>E_I:</i> 319 Hand 5: 321	
226	290		<i>Min:</i> 320 <i>E_I:</i> 320 Hand 5: 322	
226	291		<i>Min:</i> 321 <i>E_I:</i> 321 Hand 5: 323	
226	292	<i>Min:</i> 1028 <i>E_I:</i> 1028	<i>Min:</i> 322 Hand 5: 324	<i>Min:</i> 279 <i>E_I:</i> 274 Hand 5: 287
227	361		<i>Min:</i> 416 <i>E_I:</i> 415 Hand 5: 409	

228	362	<i>Min:</i> 1152 <i>E_I:</i> 1152 Hand 5: 1124	<i>Min:</i> 436 <i>E_I:</i> 436 Hand 5: 411	<i>Min:</i> 398 <i>E_I:</i> 398 Hand 5: 373
229	363	<i>Min:</i> 1133 <i>E_I:</i> 1153 Hand 5: 1125	<i>Min:</i> 437 <i>E_I:</i> 437 Hand 5: 412	<i>E_I:</i> 399
229	364		<i>Min:</i> 438 <i>E_I:</i> 438 Hand 5: 413	
229	365		<i>Min:</i> 439 <i>E_I:</i> 439 Hand 5: 414	
230	366		<i>Min:</i> 440 <i>E_I:</i> 440 Hand 5: 416	
230	367	<i>Min:</i> 1164 <i>E_I:</i> 1164 Hand 5: 1136	<i>Min:</i> 440 <i>E_I:</i> 448 Hand 5: 423	<i>E_I:</i> 410

231	368	<i>Min:</i> 1165 <i>E_I:</i> 1165 Hand 5: 1132	<i>Min:</i> 449 <i>E_I:</i> 449 Hand 5: 424	<i>Min:</i> 411 <i>E_I:</i> 411 Hand 5: 486
232	370		<i>Min:</i> 451 <i>E_I:</i> 451 Hand 5: 426	
232	371		<i>Min:</i> 452 <i>E_I:</i> 452 Hand 5: 427	

Bibliography

Altschul, Nadia, ‘The Genealogy of Scribal Versions: A “Fourth Way” in Medieval Editorial Theory’, *Textual Cultures*, 1:2 (2006), pp. 114-136

Bautista, Francisco, *La Estoria de España en época de Sancho IV: Sobre los reyes de Asturias* (London: Department of Hispanic Studies Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2006)

Briquet, Charles M., *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. by Allen Stevenson, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968)

Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Catalán, Diego, *De la selva textual al taller historiográfico Alfonsí: Códices, crónicas, versiones y cuadernos de trabajo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal y Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1997)

Collins, Larry L., ‘An Unknown manuscript of the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*’, *Scriptorium*, 28 (1974), pp. 51-60

Dagenais, John, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the "Libro de Buen Amor"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)

Freidaman, David M., *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008)

Fuchs, Barbara ‘1492 and the Cleaving of Hispanism’, *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 37, 3 (2007), pp. 493-510

Faulhaber, Charles B., *PhiloBiblon* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1997),

<<http://pb.lib.berkeley.edu/xtf/servlet/org.cdlib.xtf.dynaXML.DynaXML?source=/BETA/Display/192BETA.MsEd.xml&style=MsEd.xsl&gobk=http%3A%2F%2Fpb.lib.berkeley.edu%2>

Fxtf%2Fsearch3Fname%3Dcarrillo%26textjoin%3Dand%26rmode%3Dphilobeta%26browseout%3Dperson%26sort%3Didno> [accessed: 23 July 2018]

_____ Charles B., *PhiloBiblon* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1997),
<[Fernández-Ordoñez, Inés, *Las estorias de Alfonso El Sabio* \(Madrid: Istmo, 1992\)](http://philobiblon.upf.edu/saxon/SaxonServlet?source=BETA/Display/2452Person.xml&style=BETA/templates/Person.xsl&gobk=http%3A%2F%2Fphilobiblon.upf.edu%2Fxtf%2Fservle%2Forg.cdlib.xtf.crossQuery.CrossQuery%3Frmode%3Dphilobeta%26everyone%3Dcancionero%20de%20baena%26creator%3D%26title%3D%26incipit%3D%26explicit%3D%26assocname%3D%26daterange%3D%26placeofcomposition%3D%26subject%3D%26textjoin%3Dand%26browseout%3Dwork%26sort%3Dmoniker> [accessed: 23 July 2018]</p></div><div data-bbox=)

_____ Inés, ed., ‘La transmisión textual de la *Estoria de España* y de las principales ‘Crónicas’ de ella derivadas’, in *Alfonso X el Sabio y las crónicas de España* (Valladolid: Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000), pp. 219-260

Gutiérrez, Mariano de la Campa, *La estoria de España de Alfonso X: Estudio y edición de la Versión Crítica desde Fruela II hasta la muerte de Fernando II* (Malaga: Analecta Malactiana, 2009)

Jackson, H. J., *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

Jímenez, Manuel González, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2004)

Martínez, H. Salvador, *Alfonso X el Sabio: Una biografía* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2003)

Moure Romanillo, Alfonso, ‘Cantabria en la alta edad media’, in *La edad media en Cantabria* (Santander: Institución Cultural de Cantabria, 1973), pp. 25-36

Nykrog, Per, ‘Playing Games with Fiction: *Les Quinze Joyes de Manage, Il Corbaccio, el Arcipreste de Talavera*’, in *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics*, ed. by Leigh A. Arathoon (Rochester: Mich, 1984), pp. 423-51

O’Callaghan, Joseph F., *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)

Pattison, David Graham, *From Legend to Chronicle: The Treatment of Epic Material in Alphonsine Historiography*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1983)

Pérez, José Gómez, ‘La Estoria de Espana Alfonsí de Fruela II a Fernando III’, *Hispania*, 25 (1965), pp. 485-520

Porto, Rosa M. Rodriguez, ‘The Pillars of Hercules: The Estoria de Espanna (Escorial, Y-I-2) as Universal Chronicle’, in *Universal Chronicles in the High Middle Ages*, ed. by Michele Campopiano and Henry Bainton (York: York Medieval Press, 2017), pp. 223-234

Sánchez, Margarita Cabrera, ‘La muerte de los miembros de la realeza hispánica medieval a través de los testimonios historiográficos’, *España Medieval*, 34 (2011), pp. 97-132

Scholes, Robert, *Protocols of Reading* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989)

Slights, William W. E., *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2001)

Sota, Francisco, *Chronica de los principes de Asturias y Cantabria* (Madrid: Juan Garcia Infançon, 1681)

Villanueva, Francisco Márquez, *El Concepto cultural Alfonsí* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1994)

Villegas, Manuel Hijano, ‘Estoria del hecho de los godos’, *Revista de Literatura Medieval*, 20 (2008), pp. 211-241

Wagner, Esther-Miriam and others (eds), *Scribes as Agents of Language Change* (Walter de Gruyter: Boston, 2013)

Wakelin, Daniel, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375-1510* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Ward, Aengus, ‘Manuscripts of the Estoria de Espanna, (n.d.), The Estoria de Espanna Digital Project blog, <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=954> [accessed 15 July 2018]

Manuscripts Cited

- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna B (Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, MS 2022)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna C (Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 12837)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Cah (Biblioteca Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), Ms 9/5651)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Cf (Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna E₁ (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS Y-i-2)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna E₂ (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS X-i-4)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna F (Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, MS 2628)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna G (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS X-i-11)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna L (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 1298)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Min (University of Minnesota, MS Z946.02)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna N (Real Biblioteca (Madrid), MS 11/2063)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Nn (Real Biblioteca (Madrid), MS 11/1264)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna O-F (Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 828)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Q (Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 5795)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Ss (Caja de Ahorros de Salamanca, MS 40)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna T (Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo (Santander), MS 550)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna U (Biblioteca Universidad Compultense (Madrid) MS 158)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Uu (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 645)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna V₁ (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 1343)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna X (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 10213)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Y (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS Y-ii-11)
- Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna Z (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS X-i-7)
- Crónica de tres reyes, S (Biblioteca Nacional, MS 9233)
- Crónica de veinte reyes B (Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, MS 549)
- Crónica de veinte reyes C (Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 1.507)
- Crónica de veinte reyes F (Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 1.501)

Crónica de veinte reyes G (Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 18.416)

Crónica de veinte reyes J (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS X-I-6)

Crónica de veinte reyes K (Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, MS 2.211)

Crónica de veinte reyes L (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS X-TI-24)

Crónica de veinte reyes N (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS Y-I-12)

Crónica de veinte reyes N' (Real Biblioteca (Madrid), MS 11-2347)

Crónica de veinte reyes Ñ (Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, MS 159)