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**Publication Date**

2014-01-16

## Preface

Dr. Paula K. Rodgers' dissertation is a remarkable achievement in textual criticism and deserves a wider public than it has had hidden away, as it were, in a university archive. Let it be noted here that one major scholar expressed great appreciation of her work, Manuel González Jiménez, professor of history at the University of Seville, in the introduction to his edition of the *Crónica de Alfonso X* (1998:ix-xvi). Dr. Rodgers published a detailed study and critical edition of a crucial document contained in the aforesaid *Crónica* (Rodgers 1991-1992).

Dr. Rodgers has kindly consented to allow me to place an electronic reproduction of her dissertation online in the company of my own works on Alfonso X el Sabio. Ms. Daryl Morrison, Head, Special Collections, General Library, University of California, Davis, kindly gave permission for this publication.

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January 16, 2014

## References

González Jiménez, Manuel, ed. 1998. *Crónica de Alfonso X según el Ms. II/2777 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio.

Rodgers, Paula K. "Alfonso X Writes to His Son: Reflections on the *Crónica de Alfonso X*". *Exemplaria Hispanica: A Journal on Alfonso X and Alfonsine Iberia*. Vol. 1 (1991-1992):58-79.

Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the *Crónica de Alfonso X*

By

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B.A. (Dominican College of San Rafael) 1964

M.A. (University of California, Davis) 1967

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Spanish

in the

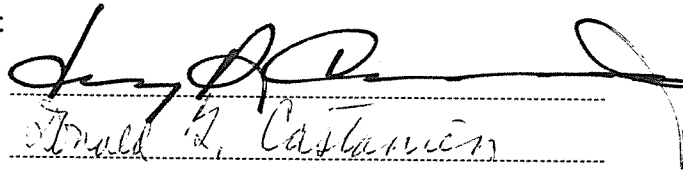
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## Preface

In the spring of 1979, Professor Jerry Craddock first mentioned to me that a dissertation contributing to a reliable edition of the Crónica de Alfonso X would be a worthwhile rite of initiation to the field of medieval Hispanic textual criticism. A collation of a few MSS in a brief passage captured my interest, and a plan was formed to edit as a dissertation a group of chapters from the later years of Alfonso's reign. However, within the first six months of serious work the handful of MSS known to me mushroomed to thirty-four, and the material originally intended to occupy an introduction grew to displace all else. The redefined dissertation concerns exclusively the textual tradition of the Crónica.

Part I is a catalogue of the MSS. The MS descriptions are based on my own notes on the originals backed up by microfilms and published descriptions. I was unable to examine the actual MS in only two cases: MS. B1489, Hispanic Society of America, and MS. 336, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma. Part II consists of studies of the two editions, the princeps, printed in Valladolid in 1554, and the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles edition, 1875; the MSS underlying each edition are identified, and the merits and defects of each edition are discussed. In Part III, I develop independent stemmata for the Prologue and for a three-chapter segment from the body of the text in order to isolate the most promising base MSS for a new edition.

I recognize that the reader who works his or her way through the stemmata may feel cross upon finding no edited text at the end of

the study. Offering these preliminaries to a critical edition without a culminating sample of edited text has been compared by Professor Craddock to serving one's guests the hors d'oeuvres and then sending them off home without dinner. Although my feelings toward the initial metaphor are mixed, I might reply that for my part the hors d'oeuvres proved filling and that it is the role of the cook to plan the appropriate pauses between courses.

I am grateful to a number of generous individuals who have given both time and expertise to bring this project to its present state. At UCD, my thanks go to Professors Donald Castanien, Samuel Armistead, Máximo Torreblanca and to my fellow graduate student, Carol Anne Copenhagen. I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of a UCD Graduate Research Grant which enabled me to purchase a substantial number of MS microfilms. A second UCD Graduate Research Grant afforded me the opportunity to travel to Europe and examine the original MSS. Professors Antonio Sánchez-Romeralo, Colbert Nepaulsingh and Miguel Quintanilla acquired for me a number of MS microfilms that I had been unable to obtain. Professor John Ward described for me Parma MS. 336, which I could not get to. The necessarily rapid pace of my visit to Spanish libraries from Santander to Seville would have been beyond me without the help and company of María-Josefa Ruiz-Morcillo. At UCB, Professor Charles Faulhaber has been a constant source of enlightenment on matters ranging from paleography to bibliography and MS description. I especially thank my director, Professor Jerry Craddock, who showed me every step of the way. I liked him when we began; what's more, he has steered the dissertation to completion and I still like him.

## I. The Manuscripts

The descriptions of the thirty-four MS known to me that contain the Crónica de Alfonso X are organized first alphabetically by the host city of the library; second, within a given city, alphabetically by library; and third, within a library, in numerical or alphabetical order according to shelf mark, as follows:

Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya

1. MS. 1159

El Escorial, San Lorenzo de: Biblioteca del Real  
Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

2. MS. M.II.2

3. MS. N.III.12

4. MS. Y.I.5

5. MS. Y.II.13

6. MS. Y.II.15

7. MS. Y.III.11

8. MS. Z.III.7

9. MS. Z.III.12

London: British Library

10. MS. Egerton 289

Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional

11. MS. 642

12. MS. 829

13. MS. 1342

14. MS. 1775

15. MS. 2880

16. MS. 5775

17. MS. 6410

18. MS. 7403

19. MS. 9233

20. MS. 10132

21. MS. 10195



22. MS. 10277

23. MS. 13002

Madrid: Biblioteca del Palacio de Oriente

24. MS. 2777

Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia

25. MS. 9-4761

26. MS. 9-28-3-5509

New York: Hispanic Society of America

27. MS. B1489

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale

28. MS. Esp. 327

Parma: Biblioteca Palatina

29. MS. 336

Salamanca: Biblioteca Universitaria

30. MS. 1742

31. MS. 2091

Santander: Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo

32. MS. M563

33. MS. 321 (= catalogue number; current shelf mark unknown)

Seville: Biblioteca Capitular Colombina

34. MS. 84-7-34

Within each description, the information is divided according to specific headings, each of which refers to a MS characteristic. The arrangement is intended to facilitate the rapid isolation of items of particular interest to the individual reader. In a few instances the heading refers to a MS characteristic that may appear nonessential in a general description. However, each heading in the descriptions has been included in the belief that it could conceivably contribute a bit of data that might prove significant in the analysis of a given text or

MS. Within a description where information pertaining to a particular heading is incomplete or lacking, I nevertheless include the heading with the intention of filling the lacuna when it is possible to do so.

The information in the descriptions is drawn mainly from my own notes on the MSS, made in the spring of 1981 when I examined all but two of the originals, and completed and corroborated, where applicable, by microfilm copies of the MSS. The descriptions of the two MSS that I have been unable to examine directly (MS. 336, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma; MS. B1489, Hispanic Society of America) are based primarily on microfilms. For the latter two descriptions I am indebted to Professor John Ward, who took time from his own work at the Biblioteca Palatina to do a physical description of MS. 336, and to Professor Charles Faulhaber, whose recent description of MS. B1489 in his Medieval Manuscripts: The Hispanic Society of America is a model to be emulated. For all MSS, in those instances where a published MS description gives information that is not provided by the MS itself or offers a judgement that I have been unable to verify, the published description is quoted. Abbreviated references to works that provide full or partial descriptions of the MS in question are given under the heading Bibliography, which appears toward the end of each description. A shortened form for references is used to avoid repetition. The complete references are given in the bibliography at the end of the paper.

The common denominator for the MSS that appear in the catalogue is that they all contain the Crónica de Alfonso X. However, the Crónica de Alfonso X appears alone in only two MSS. It is most frequently accompanied by both the Crónica de Sancho IV and the Crónica

de Fernando IV, forming in a total of fourteen MSS what is commonly known as the Crónica de tres reyes. In six MSS the Crónica de Alfonso X is followed by the chronicles of Sancho IV and Fernando IV and by the Crónica de Alfonso XI as well; the latter collection is usually referred to as the Crónica de cuatro reyes. In six MSS a combination of the Crónica de Alfonso X with one or more of the three chronicles that most often follow it is appended to a general chronicle or to a Crónica de Fernando III taken from the Estoria de España. The Prologue, which introduces the chronicles of Alfonso X, Sancho IV and Fernando IV, precedes the Crónica de Alfonso X in twenty-one MSS. The Crónica de Alfonso X appears grouped with disparate texts (e.g. letters, short treatises, the chronicles of Pero López de Ayala) and together with those texts forms a combination unique to a MS in only three cases. These facts strongly suggest that the Crónica de Alfonso X in its three most common MS contexts may have a great deal to tell us about the development of medieval Spanish historiography. Furthermore, these facts make it abundantly clear that the Crónica de Alfonso X as an object of study in itself is best approached from a broad codicological perspective. This in mind, and in deference to the integrity of the individual MSS, I have attempted to describe each MS in its entirety and have therefore given the incipits and explicits of all texts that in each MS accompany the Crónica de Alfonso X.

Because I am a great deal more familiar with the Crónica de Alfonso X than with the texts that appear with it in the various MSS, the reader will notice a certain imbalance between the amount of information given regarding that chronicle and the information describing

the remaining texts in a MS. However, that imbalance is limited to areas concerning internal, textual questions, such as lacunae and redactional differences. The decision to describe all texts in each MS has also resulted in an occasional minor inconsistency between the transcription of passages from the Crónica de Alfonso X and the transcription of passages from the other texts in a given MS. The decision was made after I had examined the original MSS and after I had ordered microfilms of the Crónica de Alfonso X alone in a number of MSS. The incipits and explicits of all texts in each MS were transcribed at the time the original was examined. However, line divisions were not marked; they were added later through recourse to the microfilms. Line divisions, therefore, are marked in all transcriptions of texts that I have on microfilm. The transcriptions of passages from texts I do not have on microfilm lack the slashes indicating line divisions and are preceded by the note "line divisions unmarked."

Several entries for the description of the external aspects of the MSS are likewise less than ideal. In a number of instances I have been unable to follow Professor Faulhaber's helpful suggestions for the appropriate extent and form of description of quire structure and watermarks; my notes on the original MSS are sometimes inadequate, and the information is not to be gleaned from microfilms. In those cases I have reproduced my original notes rather than risk misrepresenting the facts by forcing the notes to fit a method. Here, as with the sporadic lacunae throughout the descriptions, and the missing line divisions, there is work for the future.

For those MSS that lack a dated colophon, the entry for the heading Date is generally based on the hand. If a published description's

dating of a MS by the hand has raised a question for me, I quote the description and note my objection. I have included the incipits and explicits for the Prologue that introduces the chronicles of Alfonso X, Sancho IV and Fernando IV under the heading Introductory material. The heading Probatoria refers to the first few words of the second folio of text within a MS and is traditionally used as an aid in identifying specific MSS. I believe the remaining headings are self-explanatory.

In the textual transcriptions, % represents a calderón, and scribal abbreviations are expanded within the symbols < > . I transcribe ñ as n<n> throughout, except in marginalia added after the sixteenth century. My editorial interventions appear in brackets. The roman letter Q represents the Greek letter Phi, which appears within the title inscribed on the fore edges of a few MSS of the Escorial library. Finally, throughout the MS descriptions and in the remaining two sections of this paper, I resort to the abbreviations listed on the following page.

## List of Abbreviations

BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles ( <u>Crónica de Alfonso X</u> , ed. Cayetano Rosell, vol. 66)
BCB	Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona
BCC	Biblioteca Capitular Colombina, Seville
BES	Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de El Escorial, San Lorenzo de El Escorial
BL	British Library
BMP	Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, Santander
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BPM	Biblioteca del Palacio de Oriente, Madrid
BPP	Biblioteca Palatina, Parma
BUS	Biblioteca Universitaria, Salamanca
CAX	<u>Crónica de Alfonso X</u>
CAXI	<u>Crónica de Alfonso XI</u>
CFIV	<u>Crónica de Fernando IV</u>
CSIV	<u>Crónica de Sancho IV</u>
HSA	Hispanic Society of America
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid

Barcelona: Biblioteca Central de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona  
(Biblioteca de Catalunya)

1. MS. 1159 (olim 7-IV [?])

Provenience: The MS was purchased 9/II/1931 from Pereira Barrajo,  
Madrid (?), bookseller.

Date: 16th c., CFIV 17th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The MS now lacks introductory material.

A short first quire suggests that originally the MS may have contained introductory material, perhaps a table of chapter headings as in its relative, MS. Y.III.11. See Quires, Decoration, Notes.

Contents:

1. CAX: ff. 1r-119v (lacking the first lines of chapter 1 as provided by the majority of witnesses)
2. CSIV: ff. 119v-158v
3. CFIV: ff. 159r-290v

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1r: "La hera de çesar en mill y dozientos y ochenta y nueve an<n>os. . . ." CAX ends f. 119v: ". . . enterraronlo en sancta maria / de SeVilla cerca del rey don fernando su pad<re> y de la reyna / don<n>a beatriz su madre."
2. CSIV begins f. 119v: "Capit<ul>o 78 de como murio / el rey don A<lons>o. / y finco por rey el infante do<n>/ Sancho y de las otras [sic] / que acaescieron / En los treinta e dos an<n>os del reinado deste rey do<n> / A<lons>o. . . ."

CSIV ends f. 158r (line divisions are not marked): ". . . en el mon<umento> de piedra que el se mandara fazer en su vida cerca del rrey don alonso / [f. 158v] emperador de espan<n>a el qual plega a n<uest>ro sen<n>or dios poner en su Sancta gloria do el bibe y rreyna con todos los sanctos por siempre jamas. Amen. fin."

3. CFIV begins f. 160r (line divisions are not marked): "En el an<n>o an<n>o [sic] q<ue> andaua la era de adan en çinco mill. . . ." CFIV ends f. 290r (line divisions are not marked): ". . . E vino el infante don pedro E quando le fallo muerto fizo muy gran llanto por el y este dia y nasçio en el mes . . . / [f. 290v] . . . En paraíso sea su alma. amen. [later hand] fin de la coronica de el rrey don fer<nan>do el quarto." (The phrase "fin de . . . el quarto" is repeated in a second later hand.)

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "fuendo casado desde"

Number of folios: 2 + 1-290 + 2

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown, corrosive

Watermarks: There is only one watermark visible in the MS: a vertical column of three circles surmounted by a crown. The uppermost circle is inscribed with a cross, the second with the initials "CD," and the third with the initial "G." The watermark is found on the first and penultimate guard leaves only, and the guard leaves are of a thinner paper than that of the body of the



MS. The watermark is not discussed in Briquet, but his general discussion of the type of mark is helpful; see "Trois cercles," 1, 217. No watermarks are discernible within the body of the MS, possibly due to the extensive browning of the paper by the corrosive ink.

Foliation: Arabic, modern and in pencil

Quires: Quire signatures usually occur every eight folios:

a (f. 1) to z (f. 175), aa (f. 183) to oo (f. 287). Exceptions: signature s (f. 137) is a quire of four. F. 141 shows a change of hand, mid CSIV. Signature v (f. 157) seems to be another short quire of five, or of four + one, of which two folios following f. 158, at the conclusion of CSIV, have been torn away. F. 159, a title page for CFIV, is missing its lower half. F. 160 is unsigned but begins a regular quire of eight corresponding to the signature x; it shows a change of hand beginning CFIV. F. 167, opening a regular quire of eight, is signed y. The final quire, oo (f. 287), is a quire of four, ending the MS on f. 290. The first signatures, a (f. 1) and b (f. 9) do not correspond to the actual quires. The first quire apparently consists of only one remaining folio, the last of the original first quire. There is a large space in the binding between ff. 1 and 2, but no text is missing. F. 1v carries a catchword matching f. 2r, but catchwords are usual on all rectos and versos throughout the MS. The second quire contains six folios. The third seems to be of nine folios. Regular quires of eight begin on f. 17, signature c, and subsequently correspond to the signatures. Señor Amadeu J.

Soberanas I Lleó, Conservador de la Secció de Manuscrits, believes that the signatures (all in the same later hand) were added after the MS reached its present form. His conclusion is supported by the fact that f. 1 bears the signature a and yet is evidently the last folio of the original first quire rather than the original first folio of the MS. See Decoration, Notes.

Dimensions of the leaf: 320 x 220 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 230 x 145 mm

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 22-34

Ruling: no visible ruling

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are catchwords on the rectos and versos of nearly every folio. The catchword position is occasionally occupied by one or two words needed to complete the sense of the preceding line.

Marginalia: There are several notes in a seventeenth-century hand summarizing and commenting the text; there are pentracings and signatures on ff. 157v, 158v, 159v, 290v.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-140v (CAX, CSIV)
2. ff. 141r-158v (CSIV)
3. f. 159r (title page of CFIV)
4. ff. 160r-290r (CFIV)

CAX and CSIV to f. 140v are in the same hand. The second hand, beginning a new quire and completing the CSIV, is similar to the

first and may be by the same scribe. It is, however, smaller and more compact. F. 159r, the title page for CFIV, is in the same hand as the chapter titles accompanying the first hand. CFIV is in the same hand throughout. The CAX and CSIV (hands 1 and 2) were evidently joined to CFIV (hand 4) by a scribe who added the CFIV title page and the chapter titles to CAX and CSIV (hand 3).

Hands:

1-2. 16th c. procesa/italic

3-4. 17th c. italic

Decoration: The MS begins on f. 1r at the upper left margin with a simple filigree "L" consisting of the vertical stroke only and occupying an unusually narrow indentation of the text. Because the MS begins within the chronological note of CAX chapter 1 rather than with the usual first line of the chapter, one is tempted to conclude that one of the lost initial folios (see Quires) contained the normal beginning of chapter 1 and that the filigree "L" was added after the loss of those folios. However, the slim indentation within an otherwise justified left margin and the fact that there is another filigree "L" consisting of only the vertical stroke on f. 30 indicates that whatever introductory material may have been lost, this CAX copy probably began originally as it now stands. The subsequent initials and chapter headings for the first two chronicles are in a hand much larger than that of the body of the text and are reminiscent of those seen in sixteenth-century printed books.

Condition: The MS is easily legible. In some places the ink of the initials has badly corroded the paper; the ink has also extensively browned the text page. F. 159, the title page to CFIV, is torn horizontally, and the lower half of the folio is missing. F. 202 is torn.

Dimensions of the binding: 337 x 225 mm

Binding: The MS is bound in heavy parchment with two knot and loop closures. Soberanas I. Lleó dates the binding in the seventeenth century. Spine: 133. CRONICA DELS. REYES D. ALONSO D. FERNANDO Y D. SANCHO.

Bibliography: Guía de la Biblioteca Central de la Diputación Provincial, p. 97.

Notes: CAX and CSIV have a continuous chapter numeration and no special separation between them. As noted, the two hands in CAX, CSIV may actually be by the same scribe. The chapter titles to the first two chronicles and the title page for CFIV seem to be in the same, third hand. It is fairly clear that MS. 1159 is a composite of two separate MSS. The unusual incipit of CAX, "La era de çesar en mill y dozientos y ochenta y nueve an<n>os . . .," was probably original in this MS. A second MS, sixteenth-century MS. Y.III.11, BES, closely related to MS. 1159, has the identical incipit but, unlike MS. 1159, shows no sign of the loss of folios at the beginning. MS. Y.III.11 contains a table of chapter headings which was rebound into the middle of the MS. Inasmuch as the variants provided by the two MSS suggest that neither was a direct descendant of the other, the common source

of the two MSS most likely contained the initial lacuna that both MSS show. See Part III, stemma for chapters 64, 65 and 75.

MS. 1159 concludes CFIV with Ferdinand IV's death and a chronological note on the reign. The final chapter does not narrate how the dead king's brother, Don Pedro, took up the royal standard and declared Alfonso XI the new king. According to Diego Catalán, the episode of the standard and the declaration of the new king appear in the tres reyes MSS in the last chapter of CFIV. The conclusion of CFIV in MS. 1159 is identical to that of MS. N.III.12, BES. Catalán noted that in the latter MS the episode involving the royal standard and the proclamation of Alfonso XI as king is lacking in the final chapter of CFIV but appears in the first chapter of CAXI. He deduced that the final chapter of CFIV as it appears in MS. N.III.12 is typical of the cuatro reyes collection. (See La tradición manuscrita en la Crónica de Alfonso XI, p. 401 and chapters VII, a-d; IX, b-c.) MS. 1159, therefore, shows a cuatro reyes structure in the conclusion of CFIV, though it lacks CAXI.

El Escorial, San Lorenzo de: Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

## 2. MS. M.II.2

Provenience: The MS belonged to the Biblioteca del Conde-Duque (14.21); see Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 2, 277; and Gallardo, Ensayo, 4, col. 1487.

Date: 15th c.

Scribe: ferr<ando> g<ome>z esc<ri>uano

Title: none

Introductory material: F. 1r (upper margin): "Rey don alfon<so>

[f. 1r a] % Libro de la Coronjca del muy no / ble Rey don alfonso el sabio . . . çibdat de seuilla." The Prologue begins f. 1r a: "Por que / en muchas / guisas / e en mu / chas ma / neras / . . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1v a: ". . . e comjença luego / la coronjca deste Rey don alfonso / q<ue> es este q<ue> eneste libro es contenido / enla man<er>a que adelante diremos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1r a-1v a, text: ff. 1v a-77r a, testaments: ff. 77r a-82v b and 83r a-88v a
2. CSIV: ff. 88v a-123r a
3. CFIV: ff. 123r a-236r b

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1v a: "de com<m>o despues de la muerte . . . dixieron el Sabio % / cuenta la estoria que / despues que fue mu<er>to / el santo Rey don ferr / nando. . . ." CAX ends f. 77r a: ". . . en / terraronlo en santa maria de / seuilla çerca del Rey don ferra<n>do / su padre e de la Reyna don<n>a beat<ri>z / su madre." The first testament begins f. 77r a: "del p<ri>mero testame<n>to / q<u>el Rey don al<fons>o fizo en q<ue> maldixo al / Rey don sa<nc>ho Su fijo / [E]nel nonbre del pad<r>e / . . . / [f. 77r b] . . . % E Remenbrandonos / otrosy del aq<ue>lla palabra que / dixo segun q<ue> te fallare

asi te / judgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 82v b:  
 ". . . e Juan andres esc<ri>uano del Rey / esc<ri>pto [sic]  
 este dicho testame<n>to por / mandado deste dicho sen<n>or  
 Rey / don alfonso e so testigo % este / traslado fue con-  
 çertado de otro / traslado que fue sacado del / testamento  
 prencipal conçer / tado." The second testament begins f. 83r a:  
 "del segundo testame<n>to quel / Rey don alfon<so> fizo  
 enq<ue> ordeno / su alma. / [E]nel nonbre de dios e / del fijo  
 . . . / [f. 83r b] . . . por end<e> / despues que oujmos  
 fecho n<uest>ro / testamento en q<ue> mostramos / e ordenamos  
 conplidame<n>te / n<uest>ra postrimera voluntad. . . ." The  
 second testament ends f. 88v a: ". . . yo juan andres su  
 esc<ri>uano e su / not<ari>o escreuj este testamento / por  
 mandado deste sen<n>or."

2. CSIV begins f. 88v a: "CORONJCA DEL RREY DON SANCHO /  
 [f. 88v b] El Rey don sancho [upper margin] / de com<m>o el  
 jnfante don sancho / fizo duelo . . . segun q<ue> adela<n>t<e>  
 lo co<n>tara / [A] los treynta e / dos an<n>os del Rey / nado  
 deste Rey / don alfon<so>. . . ." CSIV ends f. 123r a:  
 ". . . el monume<n>to de / piedra q<ue> el Rey don sancho  
 mandara / fazer en su vida çerca do estaua en / terrado el  
 enperador de espan<n>a don / alfon<so> e enterraron y el  
 cuerpo del / Rey don sancho % / aq<ui> acaba la coronjca del  
 Rey don sancho e comjença la del Rey don ferra<n>do su fijo"

3. CFIV begins f. 123r b: "El Rey don ferrna<n>do [upper margin] / coronjca del Rey don ferra<n>do / [E]nel an<n>o que an / daua la era de / adan en çinco / mill e seSenta / e quatro an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 236r b: ". . . e fizo por el / gran llanto sobeJament<e>."

Colophon: f. 236r b: "El libro es acabado dios Sea loado. / ferr<ando> g<ome>z esc<ri>uano"

Probatoria: f. 2r: "Reyno de granada"

Number of folios: 2 + 1-236 + 1

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks:

1. open scissors, of the general type described in Briquet, "Ciseaux," 2, 235, 3652-3689 (guard leaves and the body of the MS)
2. two circles, each inscribed with a cross and a smaller circle
3. two circles, each inscribed with a cross, at either extremity of a horizontal bar intersecting a vertical staff which is surmounted by a crown and ends in a triple-pronged foot, of the general type described in Briquet, "Char à deux roues," 1, 228, 3548, and in Valls I Subirà, "Carro," 2, 37 [1416], 39 [1418], 42 [1453]
4. a hand or glove surmounted by a star, of the general type discussed in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544
5. a body of an animal, the identity of which is difficult to decipher but which may fall within the general type of "Ours," Briquet, 3, 614



6. three differing but similar versions of a goat or bull's head

7. ROMEV, as in Valls I Subirà, 3, 247, 90 (1723) (guard leaves)

Foliation: There is a modern Arabic foliation in pencil, showing no lacunae, as well as remnants of a Roman foliation on the versos at the lower margin. The Roman foliation is frequently visible from f. 8v. Occasionally, both the Roman foliation and the smaller Roman quire notation have escaped trimming. See, for example, f. 13v, foliated XIII and showing the quire number, ii.

Quires: The quires are of twelve ff.; the first six folios of each quire are numbered i-vi. The second quire is missing the first and last folios (see ff. 12-13, 22-23). From f. 127 the quire numbers are often trimmed. The MS ends 6 + 6 + 2.

Dimensions of the leaf: 291 + 215 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 185 x 65, per column. There are remnants of pencil outlining the column space.

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 30-37. The majority of columns show 32-34 lines.

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than the pencil outline of the column block.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: Catchwords are usual every twelve folios after f. 34. The catchword at the conclusion of the second quire is missing because of the loss of the folio. (See Quires.)

Marginalia: none

Number of hands: The MS is in the same hand throughout.

Hand: 15th c., round Gothic

Decoration: On f. 1r the initial "P" beginning the text is ten lines high and three-quarters of the column wide. The initial "P" is in red and lavender ink and is contained by a rectangle decorated with a regular, red roping of a wave effect. The portions of the rectangle not occupied by the "P" are infilled with circular, fan-like motifs. The left margin of f. 1r is delineated by a column consisting of four parallel lines enclosed within roping of a wave effect. The roped column ends at the upper margin in irregular tendrils. Decorated initials are to be found only to f. 12. The decorated initials subsequent to the "P" opening the text average four to six lines in height and one-third of the column in width.

Condition: The MS is in good physical condition. However, CAX is missing one folio between ff. 12 and 13, which contains the conclusion of BAE chapter 18 and the beginning of BAE chapter 19. According to the quire count, there is another folio missing between ff. 22 and 23. However, the amount of text missing (the conclusion of BAE chapter 25, all of BAE 26 and the beginning of BAE chapter 27) indicates that there was a textual lacuna in the original MS before the folio was lost. At f. 36v, the latter half of BAE chapter 45 is missing as well as the beginning of BAE chapter 46. There are no folios missing. The two chapters were apparently collapsed in the original MS. In CFIV at f. 154r

there is a lengthy lacuna involving several BAE chapters: the conclusion of 4, all of 5, 6, 7, and the beginning of 8. No folios are missing. The remainder of BAE chapter 8 is divided into two chapters.

Dimensions of the binding: 300 x 218 mm

Binding: El Escorial, 18th c.

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 581-82.
2. Llacayo y Santa María, Antiguos manuscritos, p. 141.
3. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 2, 277-81.

Notes: In CFIV the second to last chapter is the usual final chapter to CFIV in the tres reyes MSS. (See Notes to MSS. 1159, BCB, N.III.12, BES.) The chapter ends f. 236r a: "e / veno y luego el jnfante don / pedro e quando lo fallo muerto fizo / muy gran llanto porel e tomo / luego ala ora el pendon del / Rey e llamo Rey al jnfante don / alfonso Su fiJo primero heredero / del Rey don ferrando que estaua / en avila que lo dexo y el Rey / don ferrando Su padre." The MS provides an additional short chapter which narrates the burial of the king and concludes the chronicle.

3. MS. N.III.12

Provenience: According to Zarco Cuevas, the MS belonged to the Biblioteca del Conde-Duque (D.29.40 [?]); see Catálogo, 2, 321.

Date: 15th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: f. Ir (upper margin): "AQUI COMJENCA LA  
CORONJCA DEL MUY / noble Rey don alfon<so> fijo del muy noble E  
muy catoljco santo Rey do<n> ferrn<an>do q<ue> / gano a seujlla."  
The Prologue begins f. Ir a: "[P]or muchas graçias E por /  
muchas man<er>as los antigu / os. . . ." The Prologue ends  
f. Ir b: ". . . Sepa<n> en com<m>o pasa / ro<n>las cosas en  
t<ien>po de los Rey<e>s sobre / dichos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. Ir a-b, text: ff. Ir b-LVIIr a
2. CSIV: ff. LVIIr a-LXXVr b
3. CFIV: ff. LXXVr b-CXLVr b
4. CAXI: ff. CXLVr b-CLIXv b (incomplete, concluding in chap-  
ter XXXI, the tenth year of the reign)

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. Ir b: "[C]uenta la estoria q<ue> despu<e>s  
q<ue> / fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. LVIIr a: ". . .  
enterraro<n>lo en s<an>ta m<ar>ja de / Seujslla çerca del Rey  
do<n> ferrn<an>do Su padre / e dela Reyna don<n>a Beatriz Su  
madre."
2. CSIV begins f. LVIIr a: "[E]n los treynta e dos an<n>os del  
Reyna / do deste Rey do<n> alfon<so>. . . ." CSIV ends  
f. LXXVr b: ". . . monjme<n>to de piedra q<ue> / el Se  
fizjera fazer en Su vida / çerca de do<n> alfon<so> enperador  
de espa / n<n>a."

3. CFIV begins f. LXXVr b: "[E]n el an<n>o q<ue> andaua la  
era de / adan en çinco mjll e sesenta / e q<ua>t<r>o  
an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. CXLVIr a: ". . . e q<ua>ndo  
le / fallo muerto fizo muy gra<n>d llanto por / el E este  
dia do<n> ferrn<an>do naçio en<e>l mes de / dizje<n>bre . . .  
[f. CXLVIr b] . . . Asj fue el t<ien>po / q<ue> Regno  
q<ui>nze an<n>os e q<ua>t<r>o meses e / onze dias en parayso  
Sea la Su / alma ame<n>."
4. CAXI begins f. CXLVIr b: "[E]l Jnfant<e> do<n> pedro hermano /  
deste Rey do<n> ferrrn<an>do que es / taua allj en Jahe<n>  
al t<ien>po q<ue> el Rey fi / no Segu<n>d q<ue> la estoria  
lo ha co<n>tado / luego en ese dia tomo el pe<n>do<n>. . . ."  
CAXI ends f. CLIXv b: ". . . E don<n>a m<ar>Ja / fuese  
p<ar>a ellos E todos tres enbiaro<n> A / afincar a la Reyna  
q<ue> oto<r>gase este pl<e>ito."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. IIr: "tan gra<n>de contia"

Number of folios: 3 + I-CLIX + 3

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown, corrosive

Watermarks: There is only one watermark in the MS, and I am unable to decipher it. The mark appears to represent the upper half of a circle. The line delineating the curve is saw-toothed. The semicircle is dissected diagonally from lower left to upper right by two parallel lines which come together forming the throat of a V at the upper right, as a trimmed ribbon or a bird's tail.

Foliation: Roman, in ink, at the upper right

Quires: 12 ff.

Dimensions of the leaf: 275 x 205 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 200 x 63 mm, per column. The columns are blocked out in brown ink.

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 37-39

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than the outline of the column space.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are catchwords every twelve folios beginning on f. XVIIv.

Marginalia: There are frequent marginal notes commenting the text in a court hand similar to that of the body of the MS.

Number of hands: The MS is in one hand throughout.

Hands: 15th c., court

Decoration: The MS is not decorated. However, spaces three lines in height were left for chapter titles and for decorated chapter initials.

Condition: The early folios of the MS are badly torn. There is a significant amount of damage due to the corrosive ink, and a number of folios are torn along the text-page lines.

Dimensions of the binding: 290 x 210 mm

Binding: El Escorial binding, 18th c.

Bibliography:

1. Catalán, La tradición manuscrita, chapters VII, a-d, and IX, b-c.

2. Catalán, ed., La gran crónica de Alfonso XI, 1, 242-50.
3. del Rivero, "Indice," 582-83.
4. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 2, 321-22.

Notes: The CFIV in MS. N.III.12 ends in the sixteenth year of the reign with the untimely death of the young king. The dead king's brother, Don Pedro, arrives and the mourning begins. The chapter concludes with a chronological note on the birth, reign and death of Fernando IV. The following chapter opens the CAXI with the narration of how Don Pedro takes up the royal standard and declares Alfonso XI king. Diego Catalán observed that the declaration of Alfonso XI as king occurs in the last chapter of CFIV in the tres reyes MSS. The final chapter of CFIV as it appears in MS. N.III.12 is according to Catalán typical of the cuatro reyes MSS. Catalán states: "A pesar de lo poco que nos conserva de la crónica de Alfonso XI, [MS. N.III.12] tiene el interés de ser el mejor representante conocido de la 'Crónica de cuatro reyes.'" (La tradición manuscrita, p. 401; see also Notes for MS. 1159, BCB.)

4. MS. Y.I.5 (olim I.N.8 and I.D.3)

Provenience: unknown

Date: Del Rivero and Zarco Cuevas date the MS between 1400 and 1450 ("Indice," 583; Catálogo, 3, 5). However, del Rivero's descriptions of the El Escorial MSS are taken directly from those of Zarco Cuevas. It is therefore doubtful that del Rivero's dating of the MS is based on an independent judgment.

Llacayo y Santa María dates the MS "fines del siglo XIV"  
(Antiguos manuscritos, p. 140).

Scribe: unknown

Title: On the verso of the first guard leaf, a later, italic hand has added the title: "chronica delos Reyes D. Alonso el sabio, do<n> sancho el brabo, y D. Her<nan>do el emplaçado. J. Y. S." Above and below the title a similar hand has added the former signatures, "I.N.8" and "I.D.3," respectively, which have been crossed out.

Introductory material: f. 1r (upper margin): "ihs/[f. 1r a]  
[A]quj Comjença la coronjca del muy no / ble Rey don alfonso.  
enperador En la / qual Se contiene la coronjca del Rey do<n>/  
Sancho Su fijo e del Rey don ferrn<an>do su nje / to fasta  
q<ue>l dicho Rey don ferrn<an>do ouo vn fijo / que llamaron don  
Alfonso." The table of chapter headings begins f. 1r a:  
"% Capitulo p<ri>m<er>o de com<m>o Regno el Rey do<n> alfo<n>so /  
e de las monedas q<ue> andaua<n> en<e>ste tienpo." The table of  
chapter headings ends f. 2v b: "% Capitulo C.VI. de com<m>o  
la Reyna dixo al Rey / su fijo en com<m>o auja sosegado al jnfante  
do<n> jua<n> / en Su Serviçio delo qual plogo mucho Al Rey."  
F. 3r (upper margin): "ihs." The title on f. 1r a is repeated  
on f. 3r a with orthographic variations. The Prologue begins  
f. 3r a: "[P]or muchas guisas e por muchas ma / neras los  
Sabios. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 3r b: ". . . Sepan com<m>o  
pasaron las cosas delos Reyes So / bredichos."



Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 3r a-b, text: ff. 3r b-42r b
2. CSIV: ff. 42r b-51v-b
3. CFIV: ff. 51v b-89v b (incomplete, ending at the conclusion of the chapter dedicated to the fifteenth year of the reign, BAE chapter 18)

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 3r b: "Capitulo p<ri>mero de com<m>o Regno el Rey don / alfon<so> e de las monedas que andauan eneste / tienpo / [C]uenta la ystoria que despues q<ue> fue / finado el Rey don ferrn<an>do. . . ." CAX ends f. 42r b: ". . . enterraronle en Santa maria de seulla / açerca del Rey don ferrn<an>do su padre e dela / Reyna don<n>a beatriz su madre."
2. CSIV begins f. 42r b: "% C<apitul>o LXXVII de / com<m>o el jnfante don sancho troxo sus . . . / co<n> los de las çibdades e villas del Reyno e Se / llamo Rey / [E]n los XXXII an<n>os del Reynado deste / Rey don alfon<so>. . . ." CSIV ends f. 51v b: ". . . enterraron el cuerpo en vn mo / njmento de piedra q<ue> el se fiziera en su vida / çerca de don alfon<so> enperador de espan<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. 51v b: "Capitulo XC de com<m>o Regno el Rey do<n> ferrn<an>do / fijo deste Rey don Sancho e delas cosas que / acaesçiero<n> en<e>l comjenço de su Regnado / [E]n el an<n>o q<ue> andaua la era de adan / en. vUdc. iiii an<n>os. E la era del / diluujo. en. iiii U ccc xc vi. an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 89v b: ". . . ma<n> / dado de

com<m>o encaesçiera la Reyna don<n>a costa<n> / ça Su muger de  
fijo varon."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "% Capitulo LXIIII de co<m>o ouo pelea"

Number of folios: 3 + 1-89 + 41 bis, 56 bis + 3

Writing material: parchment

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks: On the paper guard leaves there is a fleur de lis  
surmounted by a bunch of grapes and flanked by the initials "B" and  
"G." See Briquet, "Raisin," 4, 13172 (Narbonne, 1569).

Foliation: Arabic, modern and in ink. Ff. 41 and 56 are repeated  
in the numeration. There are no lacunae in the numeration,  
which suggests that it was added after the loss of several folios.  
See Condition.

Quires: The first quire appears to be of eleven folios. There is  
a catchword on f. 11v. However, the quire string is not  
visible. The majority of the remaining quires are of eight  
folios. The quire string is usually visible. There are page  
stubs following ff. 11, 35. A quire of 2 + 2 begins on f. 42,  
and a quire of 5 + 5 begins on f. 77. The MS ends: 6 ff. +  
quire string + 1 f. + page stub.

Dimensions of the leaf: 364 x 285 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 310 x 105, per column. There are  
remnants of an outlining of the column space in brown ink.

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 51-52

Ruling: There is no evidence of ruling other than that outlining the column space.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are catchwords on ff. 11v, 27v, 35v, 45v, 53v, 60v, 68v, 76v, 86v.

Marginalia: none

Number of hands: The MS is in the same hand throughout.

Hand: small and compact round Gothic, 15th c.

Decoration: The chapter titles are in red ink. Spaces three lines in height and one-quarter of a column in width were left for the decorated chapter initials.

Condition: The MS is generally legible. The scribe occasionally left lines or portions of lines blank, evidently in response to illegible words and phrases in his source. See ff. 3r, 18v, 23r and v, 27v and 47r. In CAX, f. 35v, the catchword provides the clue to missing folios. The end of CAX BAE chapter 67, all of chapters 68 and 69 and the beginning of chapter 70 are missing. In CSIV there are a few folios missing following f. 43. The latter half of CSIV BAE chapter 2, all of chapter 3 and most of chapter 4 are missing. F. 44 continues with the conclusion of chapter 4. Both of the lacunae occur between the catchwords on ff. 35v and 45v. Inasmuch as the normal quires consist of eight folios and f. 41 bis falls between ff. 35 and 45, there are evidently five folios missing, one of which carried a catchword. According to the foliation, there would seem to be another folio missing between ff. 53 and 60. However, f. 56 bis accounts for

the eighth folio. The quire is regular; no text is missing.

See Quires, Catchwords.

Dimensions of the binding: 406 x 297 mm

Binding: El Escorial, 18th c. The cut edges are gilded, and the fore edges are inscribed: "5. Q. [= Phi] R. D. ALFONSO EMPERADOR. 8."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 583.
2. Llacayo y Santa María, Antiguos manuscritos, p. 140.
3. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 3, 5-6.

Notes: The CFIV and the MS end on f. 89v, within column b, in the fifteenth year of the reign. The lack of the conclusion of CFIV is not due to the loss of folios at the end of the MS.

5. MS. Y.II.13 (olim III.N.13 and V.A.19)

Provenience: Zarco Cuevas believes the MS belonged to Ambrosio de Morales; see Catálogo, 3, 32 and Marginalia, below.

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material:

1. There is a table of contents in a later, italic hand on guard leaf 2v:  
 "..Algunos fragmentos dela historia del Rey don Alonso el sabio, Impresa en valladolid año 1554. J. Z. S.

- ..Apuntamientos y censura de Alonso de Santa Cruz sobre los annales dela chronica de Aragon que compuso Hieronimo Curita chronista de aquel reyno;
- ..Libro dela orden dela vanda que hizo el rey don Alonso de castilla establecedor dela dicha orden,
- ..Epistola del almirante de castilla don fadrique Enriquez al auctor delas respuestas quinquagenas, en que trata de los males de espana; dela causa dellos con la respuesta del mismo auctor;
- ..Declaracion del estandarte de la armada turquesa por Luis de marmol;"

Above and below the table of contents, the former shelf marks, "III.N.13" and "V.A.19," respectively, have been crossed out.

2. The Prologue begins f. 1r: "CAPITULO PRIMERO QUE FABLA DEL / COMIENCO DELA CORONJCA, DEL / MUY BIENAVENTURADO SE / NOR DON ALFONSO X / DESTE NOBRE, REY DE / CAST<sup>a</sup> E DE L<sup>e</sup>ON / En muchas guisas E por muchas razones los antiguos. . . ."
- The Prologue ends f. 1v: ". . . sepan en como pasaron las cosas en tiempo delos / Reyes sobre dichos."

Contents:

1. CAX: ff. 1v-100v (incomplete, ending in the thirtieth year of the reign, BAE chapter 76)
2. "Apuntamientos": ff. 101r-110r
3. "Libro dela vanda": ff. 111r-120r
4. "Epistola": ff. 121r-148v

5. "Declaracion": f. 149r, followed by a detailed illustration of the standard of the Turkish fleet, appearing on the final, oversized folio, which has been folded to coincide with the remaining folios.

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1v: "Capitulo segundo, de como fue alçado en / seuilla . . . que gano a Seuilla / Cuenta la historia que despues de finado. . . ." CAX ends f. 100v: ". . . fuesse para Auila, e para Segouia, e pusieron todos / sus pleitos conel, e dende fuese para Burgos, E fablo co<n> / ellos, e pusieron su pleito conel, E estando ende fallo q<ue>" (incomplete)
2. The "Apuntamientos" begin f. 101r: "Muy Poderoso sen<n>or [upper margin] / Porq<ue> .V. al. los dias passados fue seruido de me re / mitir los diez libros delos an<n>ales dela coronica de Ara / gon. . . ." The "Apuntamientos" end f. 110r: ". . . se deue de mandar que no se bendiessen los dichos / libros so grave pena. Y este es mi parecer / Alonso de Santacruz."
3. The "Libro dela vanda" begins f. 111r: "Estos son los capitulos del libro dela vanda [upper margin] / % capitulo primero. que fabla por qual rraçon se fiço este libro dela / orden dela vanda. . . / [f. 112r] Aquj comienca el libro dela vanda que fiço el Rey don alfonso / de castiella E de leon E es fundado sobre dos Raçones. . . ." The "Libro dela vanda" ends f. 120r: ". . . gutier fernandez fijo de don fernan sanchez de vall<adol>id / Juan sanchez su hermano."

4. The "Epistola" begins f. 121r: "Esta es vna muy notable y moral epistola quel muy y<lustr>e / sen<n>or almirante don fadrique Enrriquez ymbio al / autor delas Respuestas qujnca-xenas hablando delos / males despan<n>a y dela causa dellos con la rrespuesta / del mjsmo autor / prologo En la ep<isto>la / Reuerendo sen<n>or quien tan m<a>l saue obrar no deuja de gastar tienpo / En aconsejar. . . . % Capitulo primero / Los grandes cargos En que soy. . . ." The "Epistola" ends f. 148v: ". . . % acabase la rrespuesta del autor delas qujncaxenas ala epistola del / sen<n>or almirante delos males despan<n>a y dela causa dellos / Deo gracias."
5. The "Declaracion" begins f. 149r: "Relaçion que dio Luys del Marmol para declaraçion del estandarte dela armada Turq<ue>sca / Este estandarte es aquel que los Turcos llaman sanJac que es la vandra. . . ." The "Declaracion" ends f. 149v: ". . . y enesta Real que los turcos perdieron la auia de auer, Mas el estandarte q<ue> / esta aquj aora es el principal como esta d<ic>ho."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "En el qual an<n>o"

Number of folios: 2 + 1-150 + 2 blank, unnumbered following  
f. 148 + 4

Writing material: The different texts show different papers.

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks:

1. a medallion containing a pilgrim carrying a staff, of the general type discussed in Briquet, "Pèlerin," 2, 415, similar

to 7582 (Milan, 1570), but showing no hat on the pilgrim and the initials "BRP" below the medallion

2. an ovoid inscribed with a cross and the initials "IH" (guard leaves) and a second ovoid inscribed with a cross and the initials "BE" or "BF" (body of the MS), of the general type described in Briquet, "Sphère," 4, 689 and Valls I Subirà, "Cruz," 2, 128
3. three versions of a hand or glove: a lace-cuffed glove surmounted by a crown (to f. 99); a lace-cuffed glove alone (ff. 100-122); a simple glove surmounted by a star (at the end of the MS), of the general type discussed in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544
4. a serpent (from f. 122), of the general type discussed in Briquet, "Serpent," 4, 676

Foliation: Arabic, modern. There are two blank, unnumbered folios following f. 148. The "Libro dela vanda" shows an additional, separate foliation in Arabic, 1-10. There are also remnants of an independent Arabic foliation within the "Epistola."

Quires: 8 + 8, 8 + 8, 8 + 8 (-6) (?), 8 + 8 (-6) (?), 8 + 8 (-1), 8 + 8, 8 + 8, 5 + 5 (?), 5 + 5, 15 + 15; f. 148 is followed by two blank, unnumbered folios, two stubs, f. 149, the quire string, f. 150 (blank), the large, folded folio containing the illustration of the Turkish standard and three final guard leaves.

Dimensions of the leaf: 288 x 198 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 240 x 145 mm. The text page is outlined in dry-point ruling.



Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 26-35

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than the dry-point outlining of the text page.

Running headlines: ff. 121v-124v: "Epistola del almirante;"  
ff. 125r-148v: "rrrespuesta del autor"

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: F. 1r (CAX) shows the following note: "Esta hize trasladar de . . . [trimmed] coronica antigua porq . . . [trimmed] tenia hartas cosas mas . . . [trimmed] la impresa." Zarco Cuevas attributes the hand, and therefore the commission of the CAX copy, to Ambrosio de Morales (Catálogo, 3, 32). There are a few additional notes in the same hand on the early folios of the chronicle; the majority of these notes call attention to the chronology. A number of other notes in a different hand and a few crossed-out passages indicate that the MS was corrected in the early chapters against the 1554 edition. Zarco Cuevas suggests Manuel Abella as the possible author of the latter corrections (Catálogo, 3, 32).

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1r-100v (CAX)
2. ff. 101r-110r ("Apuntamientos")
3. f. 110r ("Apuntamientos")
4. ff. 111r-148v ("Libro dela vanda," "Epistola")
5. f. 149 ("Declaracion")

Hands:

1. italic
2. italic
3. italic (The signed, final statement of the "Apuntamientos" is apparently in the hand of Alonso de Santa Cruz.)
4. humanistic
5. italic

Decoration: CAX shows no decorated chapter initials. The chapter headings are in a bold, humanistic hand and are reminiscent of early printed books. The CAX chapter titles are lacking after f. 16v. There are simply decorated chapter initials from f. 111r through f. 148v. On f. 148v at the conclusion of the "Epistola" there is a horizontal border inscribed with geometric leaf and rope motifs. The border appears above a medallion containing a geometric floral motif. At the end of the MS the illustration of the standard of the Turkish fleet consists of a careful representation of concentric circles and squares bearing a translation of the prayers that appear on the original.

Condition: The MS is legible. However, CAX shows several lengthy lacunae because of the loss of folios. CAX is missing folios following f. 32. The end of BAE chapter 23 and the beginning of chapter 24 are lacking. Folios have also been lost following f. 44. The end of BAE chapter 31 and all of chapters 32, 33, 34, 35 are missing. Following f. 48 the folios containing the end of BAE chapter 40, all of chapters 41 and 42 and the beginning of chapter 43 have been lost. Following f. 52 the folios

containing the end of BAE chapter 45, all of 46 and most of 47 are missing. CAX is also lacking the last half of BAE chapter 76 and all of the final chapter, BAE 77.

Dimensions of the binding: 306 x 206 mm

Binding: El Escorial, 18th c. The fore edges read: "13. R.  
D. ALFONSO EL SABIO. 19."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 584.
2. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 3, 32-34.

Notes: The language of CAX is generally modernized and frequently altered. In the first six chapters the alterations are extensive and the chapter divisions are often unique. Thereafter the text is somewhat more faithful to that provided by the majority of CAX MSS. However, the modernizations and alterations are found throughout. This fact, together with the numerous and significant textual lacunae, render the MS of less interest for the study of CAX than for the study of the additional texts the MS contains.

6. MS. Y.II.15 (olim ii.c.22 and III.N.9)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 16th c. (1574?). See Marginalia.

Scribe: unknown

Title: guard leaf 3r: "CORONICA DEL REY / DON ALONSO EL DE / ZENO." A later hand added: "q<sup>ue</sup> llamaron el sabio, y del Rey / don sancho el 4o q<sup>ue</sup> llamaro<sup>n</sup> el brabo su hijo / Ympresas en Valladolid an<sup>o</sup> 1554. j. Z. S." The title is

immediately followed by the former shelf marks, "ii.c.22" and "III.N.9," which have been crossed out.

Introductory material: f. 1r: "IhS" (upper margin). The table of chapter headings begins f. 1r a: "Tabla dela presente obra llamada coronjca del / Rei don Alfonso deçeno . . . el qual rrei / don Alfonso fue elegujdo por enpera / dor derroma / capitulo p<ri>m<er>o que habla de como fue Al / çado por Rei en castilla E en leo<n> E en se / uilla este Rei don alfonso. . . ." The table of chapter headings ends f. 5r b: "Capitulo noventa y ocho de / como estando el rrei don / sancho en toledo murio / fojas CCLIII." The Prologue begins f. 7r a: "Chronica del Rey don / alfonso el deçeno . . . fue Elegido por enperador de / Roma / Prologo. por muchas guisas / E por muchas maneras los an / tiguos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 7v a: ". . . E comiença luego la / coronica deste Rey don / alfonso el sabio que es / esta que eneste libro / es contenjda en la ma / nera q<ue> aqui adelante / diremos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 7r a-7v a, text: ff. 7v a-90r b, testaments: ff. 90r b-96r b and ff. 96r b-101v a
2. CSIV: ff. 101v a-131r b

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 7v a: "Capitulo primero que / habla de como fue alça / do por Rei en castilla / y en leon en seuilla este rrey / don alfonso. / [f. 7v b] Cuenta la istoria q<ue> despues que / fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. 90r b:

". . . Enterraronlo En / santa maria de sevilla / çerca del Rey don fer / nando Su padre e de la Re / yna dona beatriz Su madre." The first testament begins f. 90r b: "Capitulo Ochenta E qua / tro de como El rrey don al / fonso hizo testamento / Enel nonbre del padre. . . / [f. 90v a] . . . e rremenbrando / nos otrosi de aquella pa / labra quel dixo segun que / te fallare ansy te juzga / re. . . ." The first testament ends f. 96r b: ". . . e yo Juan andres / escrivano del Rey escrevi / este testamento por mandado / deste d<i>cho sen<n>or rrey don al / fonso e so testigo . . . [illegible] / e fue sacado del testamento / prinçipal e original del / d<i>cho sen<n>or rey. don alfonso." The second testament begins f. 96r b: "Capitulo LXXXV del tras / lado del testamento del Rey / don alfonso / Enel nonbre del padre. . . / [f. 96v a] . . . por ende des / pues que ovimos hecho n<uest>ro / testamento Enq<ue> mostramos / Complidamente n<uest>ra postrime / ra voluntad. . . ." The second testament ends f. 101v a: ". . . Yo Juan Andres escri / vano. del rrey e su nota / rio escrevi este testamento / por mandado deste mes / mo Sen<n>or."

2. CSIV begins f. 101v a: "Capitulo LXXX VI como es / tando el ynfante don san / cho En avila. supo com<m>o / El rrey don alfonso murio / En seVilla E dixo A todos quel / hera heredero del rrey. E se llamo Rey de castilla / Enlos treynta e dos an<n>os del / Reynado deste rrey don alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. 131r b: ". . . En el mo / numento. de piedra quel man / dara fazer En su vida çerca / del rrey don Alfonso."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "capitulo XXII como el rrei salio"

Number of folios: 4 + 1-131 + 1

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks:

1. a hand or glove surmounted by a star (initial guard leaves) and a second version of the same (to f. 123), of the general type described in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544
2. a serpent (from f. 123), of the general type discussed in Briquet, "Serpent," 4, 676

Foliation: Arabic, modern and in pencil

Quires: 12 + 12, 12 + 12, 5 + 5, 10 + 10, 12 + 12, 10 + 10, 5 + 5.

There are remnants of Arabic quire signatures on the lower rectos from f. 49r (signature 3). F. 59r is signed "4," and f. 79r is signed "5." Ff. 103r and 123r appear to be signed "6" and "7" respectively.

Dimensions of the leaf: 291 x 217 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 268 x 75 mm, per column. The text page is outlined in dry-point ruling.

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 34-55

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than the dry-point outline of the text page.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are catchwords on the versos of every folio from f. 7 through f. 48.

Marginalia: f. 1r (lower margin): "Con este libro sirbio a su mag<estad> el doctor Burgos de Paz V<ecin>o de Valladolid por prinçipio del mes de Otubre de 1574 an<n>os." The note is in a hand very similar to or one and the same with that of the table of contents and CAX to f. 45v.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1r-45v (CAX)
2. ff. 46r-47r (CAX)
3. ff. 47v-48r (CAX)
4. ff. 48v-131r (CAX, CSIV)

Hands:

1. seated procesal with italic influence
2. small, compact italic
3. small, compact procesal
4. procesal

Decoration: none

Condition: good

Dimensions of the binding: 299 x 214 mm

Binding: El Escorial, 18th c. The cut edges are gilded, and the fore edges read: "19. Q [= Phi] R. D. ALFONSO X. 22."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 584-85.
2. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 3, 35.

Notes: Zarco Cuevas states: "Este ms., defectuoso y apresurado en la parte material, es bastante fiel y exacto en el texto y conviene, salvo ligeras variantes, con la edición de Rivadeneyra,

t. LXVI" (Catálogo, 3, 35). Del Rivero repeats Zarco Cuevas' observations ("Indice," 585 ). The hands and a number of segments of text that are crossed out contribute to the impression that the MS is "defectuoso y apresurado." However, MS. Y.II.15 provides a redaction (long version) of CAX that is different from that of the BAE edition (short version). For a discussion of the long and short redactions of CAX, see Part III of this paper.

7. MS. Y.III.11 (olim III.N.17 and ij.c.26)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: Guard leaf 2r shows the following title in a cursive hand later than those of the body of the MS: "Cronica del Rey D. alonso X. y el Rey / Don sancho. 4o. y el Rey Don fernando." A second later hand added "el deçimo o el sabio" and "el 4<sup>o</sup>" above the original "Alonso X" and following the original "Don fernando," respectively. The latter hand also added the following note below the title: "La de D<sup>n</sup>. Alonso impresa en / Valladolid año 1554. B<sup>a</sup>. j. Z. S. / La de D<sup>n</sup>. Sancho: Valladolid / año 1554. j. Z. S. / La de D. Fernando: Valladolid / 1554. j. Z. S." The former signatures, "III.N.17" and "ij.c.26," appear above and below the title respectively and have been crossed out.



Introductory material: The MS contains a table of chapter headings that is bound mid-MS, ff. 353r-357v, toward the end of CFIV. The table begins at the upper left margin of f. 353r with the heading for CAX BAE chapter 2, "Capitulo de como este rrei don alfonso gano A tejada . . .," and ends on f. 357v with the heading for the last chapter of CFIV, "Capitulo CVI de como el rrey don fernando . . . e en como morio el rrey en Jahan / e el ynfante dom pedro gano A alcavdete." The CAX copy in this MS begins within the chronological note early in BAE chapter 1. The first heading in the table (corresponding to BAE chapter 2) gives no chapter number. However, the second heading is numbered chapter III. There is no evidence to conclude that the table originally contained a heading for chapter 1.

Contents:

1. CAX: ff. Ir-CXXXIVv (lacking the first few lines of BAE chapter 1)
2. CSIV: ff. CXXXIVv-CLXXIXr (incomplete, ending in the eleventh year of the reign, BAE chapter 11)
3. CFIV: ff. CLXXIXr-352v, 367r-371v
4. table of chapter headings: ff. 353r-357v
5. testaments of Alfonso X: ff. 357v-361r, ff. 361r-366r

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. Ir: "la era de çesar En mil. E dozientos. E ochenta. E nueve años rromanos. çiento. E çin / quenta dias mas. . . ." CAX ends f. CXXXIVv: ". . . e<n>terraronlo En santa maria de seuilla çerca del rrei don fernando / Su padre e dela rreina don<n>a veatriz su madre."

2. CSIV begins f. CXXXIVv: "Capitulo LXXXVIII de como murio El rrei don alfonso E / finco por rrei El infante don sancho e delas otras / cosas que Acaesçieron. / En los treinta E dos an<n>os del rreinado deste rrei don / Alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. CLXXIXr: ". . . y enbio A dezir a alfonso perez / q<ue> le diese la villa si non q<ue> le mataria el hijo q<ue> le / tenja e don alfonso perez le dixo q<ue> la / villa que se la non daria" (incomplete).
3. CFIV begins f. CLXXIXr: "Capitulo LXXXVIII En como Reyno el rrei dom/Fernando E d<e>las cosas q<ue> Acaesçieron En / tiempo del su rreinado. / En el an<n>o q<ue> Andava la hera de adan En çinco / mjll e setenta An<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 371v: ". . . e asi fue el t<iem>po q<ue> Reino qujnze a<nn>os / e q<ua>tro meses e honze dias e<n> paraíso sea la su alma Amen."
4. For the table of chapter headings, see Introductory material.
5. The first testament of Alfonso X begins f. 357v: "% testamento del rrey don alonso / que fue a ser Emperador. / En el nonbre de dios padre . . . Acordando / nos otrosj dela palabra que el dixo segun te fallare / asj te juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 361r: ". . . yo J<ua>n Andres escri<van>o del rrey Escrivi este testam<ent>o por mandado dese mjsmo sen<n>or y fui testigo. Este traslado y conçertado [sic] conel testamento prinçipal J." The second testament begins f. 361r: "Enel nonbre del padre . . . / [f. 361v] ". . . por q<ue> despues q<ue> aviamos f<e>cho n<uest>ro

testam<ent>o e<n> / q<ue> mostramos e hordenamos cunplidam<ent>e  
 n<uest>ra voluntad. . . ." The second testament ends f. 366r:  
 ". . . yo J<ua>n Andres notario / del Rey Escriu j este testa-  
 mento por mandado deste mj / Sen<n>or conçertose conel  
 original."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. Iir: "E hermano del rrei"

Number of folios: 2 + 372 (f. 372, blank) + 4 (See Foliation.)

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks:

1. a fleur de lis above an "H" (guard leaf 2 and second guard leaf at the end of the MS)
2. a serpent, of the general type described in Briquet, "Serpent," 4, 676 (the only watermark to f. CXLVI)
3. a hand or glove surmounted by a star, of the general type described by Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544 (alternates with the serpent from f. CXLVI)
4. a second, larger version of the hand or glove surmounted by a star (guard leaves at the end of the MS)

Foliation: There is an original Roman foliation throughout. From f. CCLXXIII a modern, Arabic foliation, beginning 273, appears together with the Roman. The Arabic foliation is consecutive from f. 273 and shows no lacunae; it was evidently added because numerous folios were bound out of sequence, mainly after f. CCLXXIII (273). Within CFIV the folios following f. CCVII (quire z) should be read as follows: CCIX, CCX, CCVIII, CCXIII,

CCXI, CCXII, CCXIV, CCXV, in sequence to f. CCLXXIII. After f. CCLXXIII the folios should be read in the following order: 333-352, 322-332, 316-321, 304-315, 296-303, 295, 284-294, 276-283, 274-275, 367-371. The table of chapter headings and the testaments of Alfonso X show only the Arabic foliation, ff. 353-356.

Quires: Remnants of the quire notation a i-v are visible on ff. Ir-Vr, b i-v on ff. VIr-Xr. Ff. XI-XV are unsigned. The quire string is not visible. Regular quires of ten begin on f. XVIr (signature c): c-z, A-d<sup>10</sup>, E<sup>8</sup>, F<sup>10</sup>. The folios within quire z (f. CCVI) are bound out of order; see Foliation. After f. CCLXXIII, the folio on which the Arabic foliation begins, the quires are frequently bound out of sequence, and a number of folios are bound outside the quires to which they originally belonged. Quire notation appears as follows: Qi (f. 275, CCCLII), O (f. 284, CCCXXXII), P (f. 294, CCCXLII), M (f. 305, CCCXII), N (f. 315, CCCXXII), Ii (f. 322, CCXCIII), Ii (f. 332, CCCIIII), Gi (f. 333, CCLXXIIII), Hi (f. 343, CCLXXXIIII), Qii (f. 367, CCCLIII). F. 275 is clearly the first folio of quire Q. F. 332's signature Ii, which duplicates that of f. 322, is almost certainly an addition subsequent to the original quire notation. The quires O, P, M, N show the quire initial on the first folio of the quire only and show no internal numbering.

Dimensions of the leaf: 281 x 202 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 240 x 170 mm

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 26-35

Ruling: none

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: none

Number of hands:

1. ff. Ir-CXLVIr, CXLVIIr-CLXIr, CLXIIr-357v, 367r-371v (CAX, CSIV, CFIV, table of chapter headings)
2. f. CXLVIv, f. CLXIV (conclusion of CSIV BAE chapter 3, central portion of CSIV BAE chapter 6, respectively)
3. ff. 357v-366r (testaments of Alfonso X)

Hands 2 and 3 are similar and may be by the same scribe, who filled in the lacunae in CSIV in the spaces left in the original copy and who added the testaments of Alfonso X, beginning on f. 357v., the same folio on which the original table of chapter headings concludes.

Hands:

1. humanistic/procesal
2. procesal/italic
3. procesal/italic

Decoration: none

Condition: The MS is easily legible.

Dimensions of the binding: 293 x 208 mm

Binding: El Escorial, 18th c. The cut edges are gilded, and the fore edges are inscribed: "11. Q. [= Phi] R. D. ALFONSO. X. 26."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 585-86.
1. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 3, 50-51.

Notes: The altered order of the folios, mainly after f. CCLXXIII (f. 273), renders the text difficult to follow without a key. (For a key, see Foliation.) CAX begins within the chronological note early in chapter 1 rather than with the first line of that chapter as provided by the majority of CAX witnesses. The MS shows two additional textual lacunae that are not due to the loss of folios. In CAX, f. XIIr, the chapter dedicated to the eleventh year of the reign (BAE chapter 12) concludes with the lines usually found at the end of that chapter and continues immediately with the final lines of the chapter dedicated to the fourteenth year (BAE chapter 16). CAX BAE chapters 13, 14, 15 and most of 16 are missing. CSIV is missing the second half of the chapter dedicated to the eleventh year of the reign and the following two chapters, the last chapters of the chronicle (CSIV BAE 12, 13) in the majority of MSS.

Although the MS does not contain CAXI, the conclusion of CFIV is typical of the cuatro reyes MSS; it lacks the episode of Don Pedro taking up the royal standard and declaring Alfonso XI king, which precedes the chronological note on the reign in the tres reyes MSS. See Notes in the descriptions of MSS. N.III.2, BES, and 1159, BCB.

## 8. MS. Z.III.7 (olim v.N.13 and iii.c.8)

Provenience: According to Zarco Cuevas, the MS belonged to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (Catálogo, 3, 136).

Date: Zarco Cuevas dates the MS in the fifteenth century, but del Rivero dates it in the sixteenth century (Catálogo, 3, 136; "Indice," 586). Inasmuch as del Rivero's MS description is clearly a resumé of that of Zarco Cuevas, del Rivero's dating "XVI" rather than "XV" may be the result of a typographical error. The hand is round gothic, similar to that found in fifteenth-century CAX MSS M.II.2, 829, M563, Y.I.5, 327, Z.III.12. It is therefore quite certain that MS. Z.III.7 is fifteenth-century.

Scribe: unknown

Title: A later, italic hand added the title to guard leaf 3v: "chronica de los Reyes. d. Alonso el sab, D. Sancho el / brabo, d. fernando el quarto." The former signatures, "v.N.13" and "iii.c.8," appear above and below the title respectively and have been crossed out.

Introductory material: F. 1r (upper margin): "Jhs Maria / [f. 1r a] Enel nonbre dela santa trinjdad e / dela eterna vnjdad que bibe y / rreyna por Sienpre . . . comjença el ljbros Dela coronjca del muy al / to e muy noble rrey don alfonSo el Sabio / fiJo del muy noble Rey don fernando que ga / no ala muy noble çibdad de Seujslla." The Prologue begins f. 1r a: "Por muchas guisas / e por muchas ma / neras fueron [sic] enlos / tçien>pos primeros. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1v a:

" . . . e comjença luego la / coronjca deste rrey don alfonSo  
el Sabi / o que es esta que eneste libro es contenj / Da enla  
manera que adelante direm / os."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1r a-1v a, text: ff. 1v a-76v a, testa-  
ments: ff. 76v a-80v b and 80v b-84v b
2. CSIV: ff. 84v b-110r a
3. CFIV: ff. 110r a-208v a

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1v a: "de como despues dela muerte del / rrey  
santo don fernando que gano a Seujslla / alçaron los del rreyno  
a don alfonSo Su / hijo por rrey el que dixieron el Sabio /  
Cuenta la ystoria despues / que fue finado. . . ." CAX ends  
f. 76v a: ". . . enterraronlo en santa ma / rja de seujslla  
gerca del rrey don fernando Su padre E dela rrey / na dona  
beatriz su madre." The first testament begins f. 76v a:  
"del p<ri> / m<er>o testamento quel Rey don / alfonso fizo  
en q<ue> maldixo a do<n> / sancho su fijo / Enel nonbre del  
padre . . . E rremenbrandonos / otrosi de aquella palabra  
que / dixo segund que te fallare ansi te / juzgare. . . ."  
The first testament ends f. 80v b: ". . . E yo Juan andres  
escruiua / no del rrey escriuj este testamento / por mandado  
deste dicho Sen<n>or rrey / don alfonso E soy testigo % este  
tr<e>s / lado fue conçertado de otro tres / lado que fue  
sacado del testamento / prinçipal conçertado." The second  
testament begins f. 80v b: "del Segundo / testamento que el



rrey don alfonso / so [sic] fizo en que hordeno sus debdas  
 e / f<ec>ho de su . . . [?] / Enel nonbre de dios padre . . . /  
 [f. 81r a] . . . % E por ende despues que / ovimos fecho  
 n<uest>ro testamento en / que mostramos E hordenamos /  
 cunplidamente n<uest>ra postrimera vo / luntad. . . ." The  
 second testament ends f. 84v b: ". . . % yo J<ua>n andres  
 escrivano / del rrey E su notario escrjuj este / testamento  
 por mandado deste / mjsmo sen<n>or rrey."

2. CSIV begins f. 84v b: "de como el yn / fante don sancho fizo  
 duelo por el / rrey don alfonso su padre. . . . / En los  
 treynta E dos An<n>os / del rreynado deste rrey / don alfon-  
 so. . . ." CSIV ends f. 110r a: ". . . % enel / monjmento  
 dela piedra que / el mandara fazer en Su Vjda / çerca del  
 rrey don alfonSo Su / padre del [sic] enperador de espan<na>."

3. CFIV begins f. 110r a: "de como despues dela muerte del /  
 rrey don sancho Reyno don ferrando [?] su fijo / En el  
 an<n>o [?] de la era de adan. . . ." (The lines are partially  
 illegible because the ink has bled through from one side of the folio  
 to the other.) CFIV ends f. 208v a: ". . . vjno y el ynfante  
 don pedro E / qua<n>do lo fallo muerto fizo muy / gra<n>d  
 llanto por el E tomo luego / a la ora el pendon del rrey E  
 llamo / rrey al ynfante don alfonSo fijo / del rrey p<ri>m<er>o  
 hered<e>ro deste rrey / don f<e>rna<n>do que estava en avila  
 que lo / dexo y el rrey don ferrando a crjar."

Colophon: f. 208v a: "Este libro es acabado dios Sea loado por  
 sienpre jamas Amen"

Probatoria: f. 2r a: "vn linaje de moros"

Number of folios: 3 + 1-209 (f. 23 skipped; f. 209, blank) + 2

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown, corrosive

Watermarks: The guard leaves show a hand surmounted by a star, and the body of the MS shows a larger version of the same watermark throughout. For a discussion of the type of watermark, see Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544.

Foliation: There are remnants of an original, Roman foliation in ink which is often visible from f. XX. An Arabic foliation in pencil has been added. The Arabic foliation skips from f. 22 to f. 24.

Quires: 16 ff. per quire, unsigned, throughout

Dimensions of the leaf: 274 x 199 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 253 x 79, per column

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 34-46

Ruling: no visible ruling

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are catchwords, enclosed in a box and accompanied by a pointing hand, every sixteen folios, ff. 16-193 (f. CXCII).

Marginalia: There are a few brackets, checks and proper names added in the margins.

Number of hands: Although there are some changes in size, the hand appears to be the same throughout.

Hand: round Gothic, 15th c.

Decoration: Crudely decorated initials, averaging four lines in height and one-third of the column in width, begin most chapters. The chapter initials, chapter headings and calderones are in red ink.

Condition: The corrosive ink has bled through numerous folios and rendered much of the MS illegible, especially from f. 83. F. 122 was torn and mended by sewing. The repair is in poor condition. The binding is precariously loose.

Dimensions of the binding: 283 x 204 mm

Binding: El Escorial, 18th c. The cut edges are gilded, and the fore edges read: "R. D. ALFON. EL SAB. 8."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 586.
2. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 3, 136. The MS is also mentioned in Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica de la literatura española, 4, 368, n. 1.

Notes:

Zarco Cuevas states that MS. Z.III.7 ". . . se conforma en todo con el Z.III.12 [BES], . . . de tal modo que deben de ser copia ambos de un original análogo; sólo se diferencian en que el que ahora describo moderniza algunas frases" (Catálogo, 3, 136). The two MSS do in fact contain the same redaction (long version) of CAX in the body of the text. However, the collation of the two MSS indicates that they cannot have descended from an immediate common source. Furthermore, MS. Z.III.7 shows a long-

version Prologue and a long-version CAX text while MS. Z.III.12 provides the unusual combination of a short-version Prologue with a long-version CAX text. The atypical combination of the two redactions in MS. Z.III.12 is clearly due to contamination; a corrector of MS. Z.III.12 attempted to replace lost folios, including the Prologue, and copied the Prologue from a MS belonging to a different redaction than the source of the original MS. Z.III.12. See the description for MS. Z.III.12 and the stemmata for the Prologue and CAX chapters 64, 65, and 75 in Part III of the present study.

9. MS. Z.III.12 (olim IV.z.5 and IV.B.2)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 15th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: A later, italic hand has added the title to guard leaf 3v:

"chronica de los Reyes do<n> Alonso el sabio, don sancho el brabo, / y do<n> ferna<n>do el quarto / la historia del Rey don sancho comie<n>ça a las .133. hojas / y la de don ferna<n>do comiença a .169. hojas." The former signatures, "IV.z.5" and "IV.B.2," appear above and below the title respectively and have been crossed out.

Introductory material: A later, italic hand has added "cronica del Rey Don Alfonso fijo del Rey Don fernando q<ue> gano / a seuilla" in the upper margin of f. 1r. The table of chapter headings begins f. 1r: "aquj comjença la tabla delos titulos

deste ljbros / Cap<itulo> primero de como rreyno este rrey don alfonso despues de / la muerte del rrey don fernando su padre." The table of chapter headings ends f. 5r: "Cap<itulo> CXXIII de como los cavalleros de çamora acogiero<n> a don Juan en el al / çazar y como los de çamora pelearo<n> conel." The Prologue begins f. 6r: "aquj comjença la cronjca del muy noble rrey don a<lfonso>o fijo / del muy noble y muy catoljco Santo rrey don fer / nando q<ue> gano a Seuilla [upper margin] / por muchas gujsas y por muchas maneras los antiguos q<ue> / ante fueron en los t<ien>pos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 6v: ". . . por que los que / adelante venjeren sepan en com<m>o pasaron las cosas en / tiempo delos rreys. Sobred<ic>hos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 6r-v, text: ff. 6v-117r, testaments: ff. 117r-125r and 125r-133v
2. CSIV: ff. 133v-169v
3. CFIV: ff. 169v-347v

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 6v: "Capitulo prjmero de com<m>o rreyno este rrey / don alfonso despues dela muerte del / Rey don fernando su padre / Cuenta la estorja q<ue> despues que fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. 117r: ". . . enterraro<n>lo en s<an>ta m<ar>ja de seuilla / çerca del rrey don ferrna<n>do su padre e dela rreyna / don<n>a beatriz su madre." A heading for the testaments was added in a later, italic hand f. 117r: "estos

testam<sup>e</sup>ntos fizo el Rey don a<sup>l</sup>fons<sup>o</sup>; estando desave[nido] [trimmed] / y enojado con el jnfa<sup>n</sup>te don sancho los q<sup>u</sup>a<sup>-</sup>les Reye [sic]. . . [trimmed]." The first testament begins f. 117r: "En<sup>e</sup>l no<sup>n</sup>bre de dios e del fijo . . . e rreme<sup>m</sup> / brando nos ot<sup>r</sup>osi de aq<sup>ue</sup>lla palabra q<sup>ue</sup> el dixo segun / q<sup>ue</sup> te fallare Asi te Julgare [sic]. . . ." the first testament ends f. 125r: ". . . yo jua<sup>n</sup> andres esc<sup>r</sup>iuano del rrey esc<sup>r</sup>uj este te / stame<sup>n</sup>to por mandado deste dicho sen<sup>n</sup>or rrey / don Alfon<sup>s</sup>o e so testigo E este traslado fue co<sup>n</sup> / çertado de otro traslado q<sup>ue</sup> fue sacado del test<sup>a</sup>ment<sup>o</sup> p<sup>r</sup>in / çipal conçertado." The second testament begins f. 125r: "[E]n<sup>e</sup>l no<sup>n</sup>bre del padre . . . / [f. 125v] . . . por ende despues q<sup>ue</sup> ovjmos fecho n<sup>uest</sup>ro / testame<sup>n</sup>to enq<sup>ue</sup> mostramos e ordenamos co<sup>n</sup>plida / mente n<sup>uest</sup>ra voluntad postrimera. . . ." The second testament ends f. 133v: ". . . yo Jua<sup>n</sup> andres esc<sup>r</sup>iuano del rrey e su Not<sup>a</sup>ri<sup>o</sup> / esc<sup>r</sup>uj este testame<sup>n</sup>to por mandado deste mesmo / sen<sup>n</sup>or."

2. CSIV begins f. 133v: "Capi<sup>t</sup>ulo LXXVIII como el Jnfante don sancho se llamo / Rey despues dela muerte del Rey su padre et delos fechos q<sup>ue</sup> acaes / çieron en este an<sup>n</sup>o / [E]nlos treynta e dos an<sup>n</sup>os del rreynado / deste rrey don Alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. 169v: ". . . enterraro<sup>n</sup> luego el cuerpo del rrey don sancho en<sup>e</sup>l / monjmje<sup>n</sup>to de piedra q<sup>ue</sup> el mandara fazer en su / vida çerca del rrey don Alfonso su padre enperad<sup>o</sup>r / de espan<sup>a</sup>."

3. CFIV begins f. 169v: "Capitulo XCI de com<sup>m</sup>o alçaro<sup>n</sup>  
 por Rey al Jnfan / te don ferna<sup>n</sup>do e com<sup>m</sup>o le tomaro<sup>n</sup>  
 por Rey y por sen<sup>n</sup>or natural / de los Reynos de castilla e  
 delas nuevas q<sup>ue</sup> oviero<sup>n</sup> de don / ju<sup>a</sup>n e de otros /  
 [E]<sup>n</sup>e l an<sup>n</sup>o q<sup>ue</sup> andaua la era de adan en çinco / mjll  
 e sesenta e q<sup>ua</sup>tro an<sup>n</sup>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 347r:  
 ". . . E veno y el jnfante don pedro / E qua<sup>n</sup>do lo fallo  
 muerto fizo muy grande lla<sup>n</sup>to por [el] / [f. 347v] E tomo  
 luego ala ora el pendon del rrey / e llamo rrey al jnfante  
 don Alfonso fiJo del / rrey p<sup>ri</sup>mero heredero deste rrey don  
 Alfonso q<sup>ue</sup> / estaua en avila q<sup>ue</sup>lo dexo y el rrey don  
 ferrna<sup>n</sup>do / su padre a criar."

Colophon: f. 347v: "Este libro es acabado el nonbre de dios sea  
 bendito / e loado Amen por sienpre Jamas."

Probatoria: f. 2r: "Capitulo XXIX q<sup>ue</sup> las cosas"

Number of folios: 4 + 1-347 (f. 8 bis, blank; f. 26 bis) + 1

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks:

1. a small hand surmounted by a star (guard leaves) and a larger version of the same (body of the MS), of the general type described in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544
2. an ovoid inscribed with a cross and the initials "LM," of the general type described in Briquet, "Sphère," 4, 689 and Valls I Subirà, "Cruz," 2, 128 (guard leaves)

3. a circle inscribed with a crown surmounted by a cross within a smaller circle, similar to Briquet, "Couronne," 2, 4692 (Venise, 1482)
4. a second version of the crown, lacking the cross and circles
5. open scissors of the general type described in Briquet, "Ciseaux," 2, 235
6. the frontal view of the head of a horned animal, which appears to be of the general type of Briquet's "Tête de boeuf," 4, 715

Foliation: There are remnants of a Roman foliation (f. 85 ff.), in addition to one Arabic foliation throughout and the remnants of two further Arabic foliations.

Quires: The early quires are irregular, and the quire structure is difficult to ascertain because the MS is tightly bound; numerous folios are fragile along the text-page lines. From f. 102 quires of twelve are frequent.

Dimensions of the leaf: 251 x 185 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 200 x 135 mm, with remnants of pencil outlining the text page

Numbers of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 25-33

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than that in pencil outlining the text page.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: 102v, 114v, 126v, 178v, 184v, 189v, 202v, 214v, 220v, 226v, 238v, 262v, 274v, 286v, 298v, 310v, 334v



Marginalia: A pointing hand in the margin is used to highlight items of interest in the text. There are marginal notes in several hands, one of which seems to be that responsible for the first seven folios of the body of the text.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1r-7v (table of chapter headings, Prologue, CAX)
2. ff. 8r-75v (CAX)
3. ff. 75v-144v, 169r-173v, 178r-347v (CAX, CSIV, CFIV)
4. ff. 145r-168v, 174r-177v (CSIV, CFIV)

Hands:

1. late 15th or early 16th c. court/procesal
2. 15th c. round Gothic
3. 15th c. cursive, transitional Gothic
4. late 15th c. seated court

The second and third hands, the oldest, appear to be those of the original MS. The second hand leaves the copy in the middle of f. 75v, and the third hand follows immediately on the same folio. The folios that preserve remnants of the Roman foliation fall within hand three. The scribes responsible for the later hands, one and four, evidently attempted to correct the numerous lacunae in the original MS. However, a number of the folios by the latter scribes are bound out of order.

Decoration: Spaces three lines in height were left for decorated chapter initials. Simple chapter headings in the same hand as ff. 1-7 (table of chapter headings, Prologue, CAX) were added to the original MS. The second hand frequently decorates the

tall strokes of the letters of the first line of text on each folio with tendrils, faces and geometric motifs.

Condition: The MS has been repaired, but is nevertheless fragile and in poor condition. Numerous folios are torn. The outer edge of f. 28 is missing. In spite of the efforts of the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century correctors to restore the text which was lost to the original MS, numerous lacunae remain, and several folios are bound out of order. Between ff. 6 and 7, the majority of CAX BAE chapter 1 and the first half of chapter 2 are lacking. Between ff. 7 and 8, the end of chapter 3, all of chapters 4, 5 and the first half of chapter 6 are missing. Following f. 8, chapter 7 and the beginning of chapter 8 are missing. Between ff. 24 and 25, the middle portion of chapter 20 is missing. A section of chapter 23 is lacking following f. 30. Yet another lacuna is found at the conclusion of f. 57 (chapter 45). All the foregoing lacunae appear to be due to missing folios. A portion of CAX BAE chapter 55 is missing on f. 73. However, no folio is missing. Ff. 168-78 (CSIV, CFIV) are bound out of order and should be read as follows: 168, 174-75, 143-44, 169, 170, 176-77, 171-73, 178. Following f. 168 a lacuna consisting of the conclusion of CSIV BAE chapter 9 and the beginning of chapter 10 remains. On f. 171 a middle portion of CFIV BAE chapter 1 is lacking, but no folio is missing.

Dimensions of the binding: 256 x 205 mm

Binding: El Escorial, 18th c. The cut edges are gilded, and the fore edges are inscribed: "12 Q. [= Phi] R. D. ALFONSO. 2."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 587-88.
2. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo, 3, 142-43.

Notes: MS. Z.III.12 is unusual among the extant CAX witnesses in that it combines a short-version Prologue with a long-version text. The anomaly is explained by the fact that the Prologue together with the table of chapter headings and the beginning of CAX itself was apparently added later, together with a number of other folios, to the original MS in order to restore lost text. The source of the replacement text provided a redaction that is different from that of the original MS. The conclusion is supported by the fact that the original MS evidently lacked CAXI, but the table of chapter headings includes fourteen CAXI chapter titles. For a discussion of the long and short redactions in CAX, see the stemmata in Part III of the present study. The conclusion of CFIV in MS. Z.III.12 is typical of the tres reyes MSS; see the description of MS. N.III.12, BES, Notes.

London: British Library

10. MS. Egerton 289

Provenience: A few MS fragments in poor condition are mounted on the first two unnumbered folios. The largest fragment (f. 2r) contains an ex libris and a genealogy of the owner: "Esta corona jca general des. . . es de fer. . . / mesya de luna. vezino dela

. . .bdad de Jah. . . / timo de fer. . n mesia baz[?]oa. veynte  
 y . . . / cho çjbdad y . . .pitan de gente darmas [?] . . . /  
 rrique . . . y njeto de gonçalo mesia . . . / otrosi es fijo el  
 dicho fernan aryas mesia de la . . . / dona mart[?]a de  
 f. . .zia. muger del dicho fernan. . . ." Dr. Brian Powell

completes the transcription as follows: "Esta coronica general  
 d'Es[paña] es de Fe[rnan Aryas] Mesya de Luna vezino de la  
 [çib]dad de Jah[en hijo legi]timo de Fer[nan] Mesia Bazoa (?)  
 veynte [y cuatro de la di]cha çibdad [ca]pitan de gente d'armas  
 [. . .] y nieto de Gonçalo Mesia [. . .]" Powell points out  
 that Nicolás Antonio mentions two authors of the name Fernán  
 Mejía, one of whom was known to be from Jaen and wrote at the  
 end of the fifteenth century, both of whom wrote genealogies.  
 Nicolás Antonio was unsure whether the two are one and the same  
 (Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, 2, 336). Powell suggests the possi-  
 bility that they were father and son, the son owner of Eg. 289,  
 and concludes: ". . . Fernán Arias Mejía, author, inhabitant of  
 Jaén and active circa 1500 makes a perfect compiler for the text,  
 and owner of the manuscript." (Dr. Powell's article, "British  
 Library MS Egerton 289 and Santa Casilda," will appear in the  
 forthcoming volume dedicated to Pedro Sainz Rodríguez [Madrid].  
 The author has generously shared with me the section of the  
 article in which he describes Eg. 289.)

Date: 15th and 16th c. (See Hands.)

Scribe: unknown

Title: The MS in its present form shows no title.

Introductory material: In addition to the fragments mounted on the first two unnumbered leaves of the MS, there is a deteriorated illustration of two seated figures, perhaps the kings Ordoño and Fruela, with whom the narration begins, or, as Powell believes, the first judges of Castile, Nuño Rasura and Laín Calvo. F. Ir (3r) begins: "Aqui comienza la tercera parte de / la coronica general de espan<n>a / que comienza desde don nun<n>orra / Sura y lain caluo Su yerno q<u>e / fueron Sacados por Juezes en ca / stilla por la crueldad del Rey do<n> / ordon<n>o segundo deste nonbre y d<e>l / Rey don fruella su hermano. y va / contando los fechos delos Reyes que susçedieron / en castilla y en leon hasta el Rey don fernando que / murio enla çibdad de Jahen hijo del rrey don sancho / quarto y dela noble rreyna don<n>a maria hija del ynfa<n> / te don alonso de molina. es de muchos actores prin / çipalmente de don rrodrigo arçobispo de toledo / y de don lucas obispo de tuy y de otros . . . s antiguos / y de otros actores mas."

Contents:

1. a General Chronicle, from Kings Ordoño and Fruela in Leon and the judges Laín Calvo and Nuño Rasura in Castile through Ferdinand III: ff. Ir-CXCIIIIr (3r-238r)
2. CAX: ff. Ir-LVIr (240r-295r)
3. "Yo sali de mi tierra," (a verse composition attributed to Alfonso X in the Estoria del fecho de los godos [Cuarta crónica general]): f. LViv (295v)
4. testaments of Alfonso X: ff. LViv-LIXr (295v-298r) and LIXr-LXIV (298r-300v)

5. CSIV: ff. Ir-XXIIIv (302r-324v)

6. CFIV: ff. Ir-LXVIv (327r-392v)

Incipits/explicits:

1. The General Chronicle begins f. 3r: "Es de saber que en el t<ien>po antiguo los / rreyes godos Se llamauan reyes de / espan<n>a donde entrauan muchas proujn / çias y rreynos. . . ." The General Chronicle ends f. 238r: ". . . y despues de muerto vieron que hizo / algunos mjlagros y por esta causa. le llamaron de / ay adelante. el rrey don fernando el santo. y por / tal es tenjdo. y se cree q<ue> goza dela gloria del çielo / fin deo graçias."
2. CAX begins f. 240r: "Aqui comiença la cronica del Rei don alonso El sabio hiJo del rey / don fernando el sancto que gano a cordoua a Jahan y a seuilla / y atoda andaluzia / Cuenta la historia que despues de muerto El rrey don fernando. . . ." CAX ends f. 295r: ". . . y fue enterrado en sancta maria / de seuilla çerca del rrey don fernando su padre y de la rreyna / dona beatriz su madre / fyn: deo graçias."
3. The poem, "Yo sali . . .," begins f. 295v: "% este rrey don alonso de que avemos tratado como se viese deseredado de / sus rreynos . . . con gran tristeza hizo este rromance / % yo sali dela mi tierra / para ir a dios servir / y perdi quanto yo avia. . . ." The poem ends f. 295v: ". . . apo- lonjo fuera aqueste / yo hare otro q<ue> [sic] tal / finis."
4. The first testament begins f. 295v: "% testamento primero del rrey don alonso el sabio que hizo las siete partidas /

. . . [?] maldixo al ynfante don sancho su hijo y lo dese-  
 redo / % en el nonbre de dios padre y hijo . . . menbrandonos  
 de aquella palabra que dixo segun q<ue> / te hallare asi te  
 juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 298r: ". . . e  
 yo juan andres escriuano del rrey escreui este testamento por  
 mandado del d<ic>ho / sen<n>or rrey don alfonso y soy tes-  
 tigo." The second testament begins f. 298r: "% este es el  
 segundo testamento que hizo el Rey don alonso . . . por el  
 qual ordeno sus deudas y las cosas de su anima y asi mismo  
 otras mandas q<ue> hizo / En el nonbre de dios padre . . .  
 porende despues que ovimos fecho n<uest>ro testamento en  
 q<ue> / [f. 298v] mostramos y ordenamos cumplidamente  
 n<uest>ra postrimera voluntad. . . ." The second testament  
 ends f. 300r: ". . . mandamos sellar este n<uest>ro testa-  
 mento con n<uest>ro Sello de plomo: que es fecho en la /  
 [f. 300v] . . . [illegible]."

5. CSIV begins f. 302r: "AQVI COMIENCA LA CRONICA DEL / Rei  
 don sancho quarto hijo del Rey don alonso el Sabio q<ue> /  
 fizo las siete partidas / En las treynta y dos an<n>os del  
 Reynado del Rey don alonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. 324v:  
 ". . . en / terraron el cuerpo del rrey don sancho en . . .  
 [el monumento] / de piedra quel auia mandado hazer en su vida  
 cerca del / rrey don alonso . . . [?] emperador."
6. CFIV begins f. 327r: "AQVI COMIENCA LA CORONICA / Del rrey  
 don fernando terçero deste no<n>bre delos Reyes de castilla /  
 y quarto delos Reyes de leon que murio en Jahen Hijo del

rrey / don Sancho quarto / Començo a rreynar el . . . [?] fernando en el An<n>o . . . [?] la era de adan en çinco mjll setenta y quatro an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 392v: ". . . luego vino el ynfante / don pedro y los otros rricos omes y hizieron gran llanto sobre el cuer / po del rrey: y luego el ynfante don pedro tomo el pendon del rrey dizi / endo por las calles biua el rrey don alonso Rey de castilla y de leon / y esto hecho lleuaron el cuerpo del rrey a enterrar ala çibdad / de cordoua: por que por la gran calor que hazia no lo pudieron lleuar ala çibdad de toledo."

Colophon: f. 392v: "FIN DEO GRACIAS"

Probatoria: f. 4r (IIr): "miro vino sobre"

Number of folios: 2 (upon which several illegible fragments of the MS have been mounted) + 3-394 + 1

Writing material: paper

Ink: dark brown, extremely corrosive

Watermarks: not observed.

Foliation: There is a modern consecutive Arabic foliation in pencil beginning on f. 3, which also shows a Roman I. The General Chronicle shows two Roman foliations: I-XXXVI (kings of León, judges of Castile), and I-CXCIIII (kings of Castile). CAX, CSIV and CFIV have independent Roman foliations. Powell describes the foliation as follows: "The old numeration on the section of earlier date [ff. 66-208] begins on f. 66 with XXV, and the preceding section counts back from this to I, which falls at an odd point in the reign of Fernando I, and counts



Number of hands:

1. ff. 66-208 (General Chronicle)
2. ff. 3-65, 209-238r (General Chronicle)
3. ff. 240-392 (CAX, CSIV, CFIV)

Hands:

1. small, compact round Gothic
2. a similar but larger round Gothic
3. italic

Powell believes the hand of ff. 66-208 to be the oldest, probably of the early fifteenth century, "whilst ff. 3-65 and 209-239 are in the same later hand, probably of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries" ("British Library MS Egerton 289"; see Provenience). The first two hands are very similar in style. However, the text recorded by the second hand reveals numerous features of sixteenth-century orthography. Thus Powell's conclusion for the General Chronicle in Eg. 289 that ff. 66-208 constitute a fragment completed at the beginning and end by a later compiler is consistent with positing a sixteenth-century compiler/scribe who consciously imitated the style of the hand he was to continue. We may recall here that the folio bearing the ex libris naming Fernán Mejía falls within those added by the second hand. The Crónica de tres reyes, which is in an entirely different and clearly sixteenth-century hand, may have existed as a separate copy and may have been appended to the General Chronicle at the time the latter was completed by the second hand.

Decoration: Glued to the inside of the front and back covers are pen and ink biblical drawings over a color wash in red, green, purple and yellow. The illustration on the back cover bears the following note in a modern, italic hand: "See II kings IV, 3 & 4." There is also a series of unusual portraits that represent many of the monarchs whose reigns are narrated in the chronicles. Each portrait, in black/brown ink, precedes the text dedicated to the king and/or queen depicted. See ff. 2, 27, 31, 63, 137, 149, 189, 239, 301, 325, 326, 393. Powell believes the portraits to be late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Inasmuch as the folios containing the portraits do not carry the old Roman foliation and the portraits appear in the Crónica de tres reyes as well as in the General Chronicle, we might conclude that the portraits were added at the time the original fragment of the General Chronicle, ff. 66-208, was completed and the Crónica de tres reyes was added. The last portrait in the MS (f. 393) represents Alfonso XI, but CAXI is not included. There are ornate chapter initials, chapter headings and calderones in red to f. 208 (the General Chronicle). Within the Crónica de tres reyes there are pen and ink drôleries decorating the initials that begin each chronicle.

Condition: There is a great deal of ink damage that renders numerous passages of the General Chronicle illegible, especially on the versos of the early folios. The fragments mounted on the unnumbered leaves at the beginning of the MS are also minimally legible. Within the Crónica de tres reyes there is some amount

of ink damage and fading. However, this portion of the MS is generally legible. Several folios are torn, and in some cases a bit of a folio has been lost. The MS was repaired by the British Library in 1978 but remains exceedingly fragile.

Dimensions of the binding: 220 x 310 mm

Binding: The binding is brown leather over wood boards, tooled with geometric designs within concentric rectangles. Marks remain indicating that there were at one time two clasp closures. The binding appears to be of the sixteenth century and is in excellent condition.

Bibliography:

1. Gayangos, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum, 1, 193.
2. Powell, "British Library MS Egerton 289 and Santa Casilda," to appear in the forthcoming volume dedicated to Pedro Sainz Rodríguez (Madrid).

Notes: The question as to the type of General Chronicle contained in the first part of MS. Eg. 289 is addressed by Powell in his article on Santa Casilda. He finds that MS. Eg. 289's version of the third and fourth parts of the Estoria de España is fundamentally an idiosyncratic abbreviation of the Alphonsine text. In the reigns of Fernando I, Sancho II and Alfonso VI, MS. Eg. 289 is most reminiscent of the Primera crónica general but shows points of contact with both the Crónica de veinte reyes and the Crónica de los reyes de Castilla. For the latter three reigns ". . . Eg. 289 refuses to conform to any one source, and thus to

any one pattern, except to the pattern whereby variability is typical of many manuscripts of the Alphonsine chronicles." Powell concludes that Eg. 289 is not a fundamentally important witness for the history of the Alphonsine chronicles.

In the reign of Fernando I, Powell discovered an interpolated episode that narrates the story of Santa Casilda; the interpolation is apparently unique to MS. Eg. 289 and is the subject of Powell's forthcoming article, "British Library MS Eg. 289 and Santa Casilda."

Gayangos states that the CFIV announced in the introductory rubric on f. 3r (I) is not contained in the MS. The latter chronicle, complete, is in fact present, following CAX and CSIV, thus providing a normal Crónica de tres reyes. The conclusion of CFIV is typical of the tres reyes MSS; see Notes in the descriptions of MSS. 1159, BCB, and N.III.12, BES. The CAX is a long version; see Part III of this study. However, MS. Eg. 289 is not a reliable witness for CAX. For a sample of unique variants provided by a significant sample of the MS, see Part III.2, the stemma for chapters 64, 65 and 75.

Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional

11. MS. 642 (olim E.114 and G.170)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 15th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: A later hand has added the following title to guard leaf 6r (unnumbered): "Chronica de los Reyes / D. Fernando el Santo ...Fol...1<sup>o</sup> / D. Alonso el X ...Fol...32 / D. Sancho el IV ...Fol...98 / D. Fernando el IV ...Fol...124. / Tiene 207 Folios."

Introductory material: F. 1r (CLXVr), later hand, upper margin: "es la historia del . . . D. fernando 3<sup>o</sup> llamado el Santo nacio año de 1201."

Contents:

1. Crónica de Fernando III (from the king's second marriage): ff. 1r-31v (incomplete, ending in the last chapter)
2. CAX: ff. 32r-97v (from CAX BAE chapter 2 [1253])
3. CSIV: ff. 97v-124r
4. CFIV: 124r-207v (incomplete, ending CFIV BAE chapter 15)

Incipits/explicits:

1. The Crónica de Fernando III begins f. 1r (CLXVr) (line divisions unmarked): "E avia la donzella nonbre don<n>a Johana. . . ." The Crónica de Fernando III ends f. 31v (CCVIIIv): ". . . vio q<ue> era co<n>plido el t<ien>po de su vida e q<ue> era llegada" (incomplete).
2. CAX begins f. 32r (CCIXr): "[E]nel p<ri>mero an<n>o del Reynado d<e>ste rrey don a<l>fons>o. . . ." CAX ends f. 97v (CCCIV): ". . . E enterraro<n>lo en S<a>n<a> m<a>ri<a> la mayor de Seujlla ç<e>rca / del rrey don ferrna<n>do Su padre e dela Reyna don<n>a beatriz su / madre. E aq<ue>ste noble Rey don a<l>fons>o es el q<ue> fizo las siete par / tidas E el fuero de

Castilla E ot<r>osi fizo t<ra>sladar la briuja / en latyn e  
despu<e>s en rroma<n>çe E fizo ot<r>os muchos fechos / buenos  
e fue om<n>e muy sabio e bien entendido E dios / p<er>done su  
anjma ame<n>."

3. CSIV begins f. 97v (CCCIV): "otro Rey / D. Sancho el 4 [later  
hand] / [E]n los XXXII an<n>os del Reynado deste Rey don  
a<lfonso>. . . ." CSIV ends f. 124r (CCCXXXIIr) (line divi-  
sions unmarked): ". . . monjme<n>to de piedra q<ue> el  
mandara fazer en Su vida çerca de don alfon<so> enperador de  
espan<n>a.
4. CFIV begins f. 124r (CCCXXXIIr) (line divisions unmarked):  
"D<o>n Fernando el IV [later hand] / [E]nel an<n>o q<ue> andaua  
la era de adan en çinco mjll E SeSenta e q<ua>tro an<n>os. . . ."  
CFIV ends f. 207v (CCCCXVv) (line divisions unmarked):  
". . . era Serviçio de dios e del Rey e pro de la g<ue>ra  
[sic] % E moStraronlo al Rey" (incomplete).

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r (CLXVIr): "[E]stando el Rey don ferrna<n>do"

Number of folios: 11 + 1-207 + 7 + 2 marbled end papers, one at  
the beginning and one at the end of the MS

Writing material: heavy paper

Ink: black and brown, varying with the hand

Watermarks:

1. an oval inscribed with floral motifs and the initials "RAM"  
(guard leaves)
2. a column of three circles surmounted by a cross, the middle  
circle containing the initials "SA" above the initials "DP," and

the lower circle containing the initial M, of the general type described in Briquet, "Trois cercles," 1, 217, cf. 3246 (guard leaves)

3. two versions of the cart, of the general type described by Briquet, "Char à deux roues," 1, 228, and similar to but not a duplicate of 3542

Foliation: The original Roman foliation, beginning f. CLXV

(f. 1), has been lost to a number of folios by trimming. There is a later, independent and complete Arabic foliation in ink.

Quires: The quires are irregular; the binding string is visible following ff. 7, 17, 23, 29, 35, 44, 50, 57, 66, 77, 83, 88, 98, 107, 111, 129, 139, 151, 163, 169, 174, 182, 193, 199.

Dimensions of the leaf: 260 x 190 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 200 x 133 mm. There are remnants of ruling outlining the text page.

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 26-28

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than that outlining the text page.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There is only one catchword in the MS, on f. 154v.

The catchword is underlined in red, corresponds to the text beginning the following folio but does not fall at the end of a quire as the MS is now bound.

Marginalia: There are a very few marginal notes in a later hand.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1r-97v (Crónica de Fernando III, CAX, CSIV)
2. ff. 98r-207v (CSIV, CFIV)

Hands:

1. round Gothic, 15th c.
2. smaller, more compact round Gothic, very similar in style to the first hand

Both hands show elements of the court style and may be by the same scribe. The change in hand corresponds to a change in ink; the change of ink, and perhaps of pen, may account for the difference in size between the two hands.

Decoration: Spaces four lines in height and one-quarter of a column in width were left for decorated chapter initials.

Calderones in red accompany the second hand.

Condition: There are some water stains in the MS, but it is legible throughout. In CAX the original Roman foliation suggests that one folio is missing following f. 32; f. 32 is numbered CCIX, and f. 33 is numbered CCXI. The amount of text missing could not be accommodated by one folio alone. The end of CAX BAE chapter 3, all of chapters 4, 5, 6 and the beginning of chapter 7 are lacking. Therefore, there would seem to have been either an error in the Roman foliation or a textual lacuna in the original MS that was not due to the loss of folios. Following f. 44 the Roman foliation skips ff. CCXXIII-IV; no text is missing. There is a lacuna following f. 73, evidently of four folios, involving chapters 50-57. Another lacuna involving chapters 58-63



follows f. 75; seven folios are apparently missing. Following f. 84 there is a lacuna consisting of the end of chapter 72, all of 73 and the beginning of chapter 74. The Roman folio numbers have been partially trimmed. However, four folios appear to have been lost (CCLXXXIIII-VII). The Roman folio number on f. 85 has been partially trimmed, but would seem to have been CCLXXXVIII. The original f. CCLXXXIX, which contained the end of chapter 74 and the beginning of chapter 75, has been lost following f. 85. F. 86 bears the Roman foliation CCXC and resumes early in chapter 75. The scribe left the lower portion of f. 89r and all of 89v blank, noting on f. 89r: "aquí fallése vna foja e q̄daron estos espaçios en q̄ se esc̄riujese." A portion of chapter 76 is missing. Sixteenth-century MSS. 321 (BMP) and 13002 (BNM) both show the lacuna and, but for orthographic variations, identical notes calling attention to the lacuna. (The missing text was later added to MS. 13002). In CSIV following f. 97v, at the change of hands, there is a lacuna consisting of the majority of CSIV BAE chapter 1 and the beginning of chapter 2. Ff. 97 and 98 show no trace of the original Roman foliation. Several folios are torn, but relatively little text is missing or illegible on those folios. Menéndez Pidal noted that eleven folios are lacking in the Crónica de Fernando III (Primera crónica general [1955], 1, LIX). The fact that the MS as it now stands begins within the Crónica de Fernando III and the first folio shows the Roman foliation CLXV suggests that the MS at one time

contained the complete chronicle of Ferdinand III.

Dimensions of the binding: 273 x 195 mm

Binding: According to the Inventario general (2, 141), the binding is "Pasta española, con hierros dorados en el lomo, cortes jaspeados, s. XIX." The cut edges read: "CRONICA DE SAN FERNANDO Y OTROS REYES."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 561-62.
2. Inventario general, 2, 141-42.
3. Menéndez Pidal, Primera crónica general (1955), 1, LIX.

Notes: The numerous lacunae in CAX, the majority of which are due to lost folios, render the copy difficult to follow and of secondary importance for the study of that chronicle. Fortunately, in CAX the MS is closely related to numerous other copies which preserve the majority of the variants characteristic of the family (short-version family T; see the stemmata in Part III of this paper).

12. MS. 829 (F. 31)

Provenience: Following the colophon (f. 278v) a note in an italic hand states that the MS belonged to Doña Violante de la Quadra (see Marginalia). According to the published descriptions, it also belonged to José Pellicer and to the Biblioteca de Felipe V (Inventario general, 2, 426; Catalán, La tradición manuscrita, 387). The Marqués de Mondejar owned the MS at the time he wrote the Memorias históricas (see p. 572).

Date: March 20, 1489

Scribe: unknown

Title: A later, italic hand, which may be that of José Pellicer, has added the following title to guard leaf 10r: "CRONICA DE / los Reyes / Don Alonso el X. D<sup>n</sup>. Sancho el Bra / vo: D. Fernando el IV. y D. Alonso el XI / Por / Don Fernan Sanchez de Tovar / tiene 278 fol."

Introductory material: The table of chapter headings is incomplete. The first five folios are unnumbered and bear the mounted remains (columns a of the rectos and b of the versos) of the original initial folios of chapter headings. The remnant of the first extant chapter heading (CAX chapter L), f. 1r (unnumbered), reads: "enbio sus mensajeros a los rricos om<n>es q<ue> esta / ua<n> en granada." From f. 6r, the first numbered folio, CAXI chapter CCII, the complete folios containing the chapter headings are preserved. The table of chapter headings concludes f. 8v: "CCLXXIIIII % Capitulo. CCCXLVI. Com<n>o / haze fyn la coronjca / % Explicit %." A later hand has added: "diezisiete capitulos faltan aqui enesta coronica." A second later hand continued: "Son añadidos los que andan / Impresos." The Prologue begins f. 9r a: "Por muchas gujsas e / por muchas man<er>as / los . antiguos q<ue> ante / fuero<n>. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 9r b: ". . . por q<ue>los q<ue> adela<n>te vinjere<n> sepa<n> / en com<m>o pasaro<n> las cosas en t<ien>po delos Re / yes sobre dichos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 9r a-b, text: ff. 9r b-61v b
2. CSIV: ff. 61v b-79r a

3. CFIV: ff. 79r a-135r a
4. CAXI: ff. 135r b-278v b

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 9r b: "% Capitulo p<ri>mero de com<m>o Reyno /  
el Rey don a<l>fons>o e delas monedas q<ue> andaua<n> en /  
ese t<i>en>po / Cuenta la estoria q<ue> despues q<ue> fue  
fi / nado. . . ." CAX ends f. 61v b: ". . . enterraro<n>lo  
en sa<n>ta m<ari>a de seujlla / çerca del rrey don ferna<n>do  
Su padre / e dela Reyna don<n>a beatriz su madre."
2. CSIV begins f. 61v b: "Aq<ui> comjença la coronjca del Rey /  
don sancho el brauo fijo deste Rey / don alfonso / % Capitulo.  
LXXIX. de com<m>o: el Rey do<n> / sa<n>cho se llamo Rey des-  
pu<e>s dela muerte / de su padre e de com<m>o Reuoco todas  
las merçedes q<ue>/ auja fecho fasta alli e dela Respu<e>sta  
q<ue> dio al me<n>saje / ro del Rey abe<n> / yuçaf e de /  
otras cosas / En los XXXII a/ n<n>os del Reyna / do deste  
rey don / alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. 79r a (line divisions  
unmarked): ". . . enterraro<n> luego el cuerpo enel monu-  
me<n>to de piedra q<ue> el ma<n>dara faz<e>r en su vida  
Açerca del rrey don alfonso enperador de espan<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. 79r a (line divisions unmarked): "Coronjca  
del Rey don ferna<n>do % Aq<ui> comjença el Reynado del Rey  
don ferna<n>do fijo del Rey don sancho e njeto del dicho  
sen<n>or Rey don alfonso enperador / [f. 79r b] Capitulo  
p<ri>mero de com<m>o lo alçaron por Rey e por sen<n>or de  
Castilla e de leon E ot<r>osi las nuevas q<ue> oujeron del

Rey don deonis Rey de portogal e de otras muchas cosas de trabajos. En el An<n>o q<ue> andaua la era de ada<n> en JU LXX IIII an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 135r a (line divisions unmarked): ". . . e vjno el jnfante don pedro e quan<n>do lo fallo muerto fizo muy gra<n>d llanto por el % E este Rey don ferrna<n>do nasçio en el mes . . . Asy fue el tie<n>po que Reyno q<ui>nze an<n>os e quatro meses e honze hias en parayso Sea la su alma. AMEN."

4. CAXI begins f. 135r b (line divisions unmarked): "Coronjca del noble Rey don alfo<n>so / [f. 135v a] Aq<ui> Comjença el Reynado del muy noble e bien aue<n>turado Rey don alfonso q<ue> vençio la batalla del Salado . . . % Capitulo p<ri>mero. Com<m>o se desabinjero<n> los Rycos om<n>es de castilla sobre la g<ua>rda e tutoria del Rey. El jnfante don pedro herna<n>o deste Rey don ferna<n>do q<ue> estaua alli en jahren a t<ien>po q<ue> el Rey fino segu<n>d q<ue> la estoria lo ha contado luego eneste dia tomo el pendon. . . ." CAXI ends f. 278v a (line divisions unmarked): ". . . e despues por t<ien>po fue lleuado a cordoua e fue enterrado en la yglesia mayor segu<n>d q<ue> lo el mandaua qujera lo dios p<er>donar. AMEN. % Capitulo CCCXLVI. Com<m>o haze fin la coronjca. Bien es de creer e non de dubdar. . . / [f.278v b] % Murio este sen<n>or a veynte e siete de marzo An<n>o de nuestro Saluador ihu xpo de mjll e trezie<n>tos e çinque<n>ta an<n>os an<n>o del jubileo de roma. Ad<qua>m gloriam nos p<er>ducat. Amen. DEO GRAS."

Colophon: f. 278v b (line divisions unmarked): "Ihs Acabose de  
 escreujr esta estoria vjernes xx dias de março An<n>o de  
 JU CCCC LXXXIX An<n>os" followed, in red, by: "Quj me scripsit  
 sc<ri>bat cum d<omi>no sit semp<er> ujuiat. AMEN."

Probatoria: f. 10r: "della enbio sus ma<n>daderos"

Number of folios: 10 + 1-278 + 9 + 2 marbled end papers, one at  
 the beginning and one at the end of the MS

Writing material: heavy paper

Ink: brown to black

Watermarks:

1. The guard leaves of this MS show a watermark identical to that on the guard leaves of MSS. 642, 1775, also of the Biblioteca Nacional: a column of three circles surmounted by a crown, the middle circle containing the initials "SA" above the initials "DP," the lowest circle inscribed with the initial "M," similar to Briquet's 3246 ("Trois cercles," 1).
2. a crown surmounted by a circle of the general type described in Briquet, "Couronne," 2, 287 (f. 6, table of chapter headings)
3. a ring surmounted by a star inscribed with a circle, similar to 10 (15th c.) in Valls I Subirà, 2, 179 (throughout the body of the MS)

Foliation: In the upper margin are remnants of a Roman foliation which has been mainly lost in trimming. The fragment of the folio containing chapter headings that is mounted on the unnumbered f. 2r bears the Roman foliation "iii." The modern, Arabic

foliation, in ink, that begins on f. 6 counts the five previous folios containing the mounted fragments and is complete and independent from the Roman foliation.

Quires: 12 ff., from f. 6

Dimensions of the leaf: 392 x 270 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 276 x 91 mm, per column, ruled in pencil

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 40-56, average 46

Ruling: Ruling is limited to the outlining of the text page.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: Catchwords enclosed in red and brown tracery are the rule every twelve folios from f. 29. F. 17, which appears to be the last folio of the first regular quire (ff. 6-17), lacks a catchword.

Marginalia: There are numerous marginal notes in a variety of hands. Several notes appear to be in the hand of the original scribe; see for example the lengthy commentary on the papal interdict during Sancho's reign, f. 60v. José Pellicer most likely contributed the marginal notations of the family names of the noteworthy personages in the text that are found throughout the MS. The latter notes are in the same italic hand as the title containing the attribution of the chronicles to Fernán Sánchez de Tovar (guard leaf 10r). On the first folio of text (f. 9r), there is a second attribution of the chronicles to Fernán Sánchez de Tovar in the same italic hand: "El Auctor

destas Cronicas fue / Don Fernan Sanchez de Tovar / que llamaron de Valladolid / Canciller Mayor, e Notario Mayor / de Castilla."

On f. 278v, a sixteenth-century hand wrote, in black ink: "este ljbro hes de vjolante de la quadra." Below that latter note a second sixteenth-century hand added in brown ink: "Y la tengo yo d<e> heredar despues q<ue> ella pasare dela . . . vida."

The remainder of the note has been lost in trimming.

Number of hands: Although there is some variation of size and spacing, the hand appears to be the same throughout the MS.

Hand: round Gothic, 15th c.

Decoration: Each chronicle begins with large and intricately decorated chapter initials in red and brown-to-black ink. The initial "P" opening the Prologue is ten lines in height and one-half the column in width. The P, itself decorated with tracery and infilled with geometric motifs, is enclosed in a rectangle delineated by roping. Subsequent chapter initials are smaller and simpler in decoration. The calderones, chapter initials and chapter titles are in red ink.

Condition: The MS has been repaired (see ff. 1-17) and is generally legible. Other than the chapter headings lost to ff. 1-5, there is little text missing. On the repaired f. 17, a small portion of text from CAX BAE chapter 18 has been lost.

Dimensions of the binding: 410 x 275 mm

Binding: According to the Inventario general, the binding is "Pasta española, con hierros dorados en el lomo, cortes jaspeados, s. XIX." The cut edges read: "CRONICA DE D. ALONSO X Y OTROS."



Bibliography: MS. 829 is the most often consulted copy of CAX;

descriptions or partial descriptions appear in the following:

1. Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica, 4, 368, n. 1.
2. Beer, Handschriftenschatze Spaniens, p. 295.
3. Catalán, La tradición manuscrita, pp. 387-88, 400.
4. del Rivero, "Indice," 562-64.
5. Inventario general, 2, 426.
6. Mondéjar, Memorias históricas, pp. iii, 571-72.

Notes: MS. 829 is the base for the BAE edition of CAX; see the study of that edition in this paper. The MS shows the conclusion of CFIV which is typical of the Crónica de cuatro reyes; however, the MS' version of CAXI is cuatro reyes only to the third year of the reign, at which point the copy switches to the redaction that Diego Catalán has named the versión vulgata (La tradición manuscrita, p. 387; see also Notes to MS. N.III.12, BES).

If the italic hand which in two instances attributes the authorship of the chronicles to Fernán Sánchez de Tovar may be ascribed to José Pellicer (1602-1679), it is reasonable to conclude that the protracted confusion of the author of the chronicles, Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, with the separate and later figure, Fernán Sánchez de Tovar, originated with Pellicer. In "El presunto cronista Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid," Julio Puyol recounts his understanding of the origins and subsequent generalization of the confusion and irrefutably establishes that Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid and Fernán Sánchez de Tovar are not one and the same. Puyol believed that the confusion originated with Nicolás

Antonio's Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, 1696. Assuming that the hand responsible for the attribution of the chronicles to Tovar in MS. 829 is Pellicer's, his death in 1679 suggests that the confusion predates the Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus. It would seem significant that the hand which attributes the chronicles to Tovar also consistently noted throughout the MS the family connections of the principal characters in the narration, that José Pellicer put together a number of genealogies, some of which are false, and that Pellicer's complete name is Pellicer de Ossáu y Tovar. (For Pellicer as a falsifier of genealogies, see Cotarelo y Mori, "El supuesto libro de las Querellas del Rey D. Alfonso el Sabio," pp. 5-31.)

In 1976 Diego Catalán promised a study of the ". . . segura autoría de Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid. . . ," to appear in Catalán's forthcoming edition of CAXI. (See Gran crónica de Alfonso XI, 1, 15, n. 3.) Earlier, in 1957, Catalán found the evidence insufficient to conclude that the four chronicles in question were by that author. (See Un cronista anónimo, pp. 124-29.) However, in the same study he provided a summary of the history of the question of the authorship of the chronicles and of the confusion of Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid with Fernán Sánchez de Tovar. In the course of his discussion (p. 125), Catalán states: "Una confusión acerca de la personalidad de Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid vino a producirse cuando Pellicer . . . le identificó con Fernán Sánchez de Tovar." The statement is followed by the footnote: "'Fue su autor [de las Tres Crónicas]

don Fernan Sanchez de Tovar, llamado de Valladolid, rico-hombre y canceller mayor y notario mayor de Catilla.'" Catalán gives no source for the quote; it is similar but not identical to the attribution on the first page of text in MS. 829. In spite of the incomplete nature of the reference, Professor Catalán's belief that Pellicer rather than Nicolás Antonio was the source of the confusion is consistent with the data that have come to my attention.

Professor Catalán's reticence to decide for Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid as author of CAXI and of CAX, CSIV, CFIV in Un cronista anónimo is based on his close examination of a marginal note attributed to Ambrosio de Morales in Memorial de todas las personas que en la Crónica del Rey Don Alonso se nombran (MS. 1223, olim F. 163, BNM, f. 54). Since Amador de los Ríos, said marginal note had afforded the primary evidence for the attribution of the authorship of the chronicles to Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, who was almost immediately confused with Fernán Sánchez de Tovar. Catalán points out that Amador's transcription of the note is such that the reader is led to believe that Jerónimo de Zurita told Morales that Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid wrote the CAXI. However, Amador failed to indicate that the name Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid appears in the note as an interlinear correction of an original "Aluar García de Toledo," which was crossed out. Furthermore, Amador added and completed the illegible words and phrases in the note; there is in the uncorrected note a mention of the Coronica de

Castilla which makes no sense at all but which raises serious questions as to what Zurita actually told Morales. In the same MS, on f. 60, there is a second note in Morales' hand in the margin next to the entry for CAXI for Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid. The note reads: "Este es el autor desta Coronica como diximos en VillaSanct." Thus, while it is perfectly clear that Ambrosio de Morales believed that Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid was the author of CAXI, and it is fairly clear that Morales' opinion was based on that of Zurita, just what Zurita told Morales is less evident.

13. MS. 1342 (olim F.57)

Provenience: According to the Inventario general (4, 196), the MS belonged to the Duque de Uceda and to the Biblioteca Real (2.1). Guard leaf 2r provides the following note in an italic hand below the title: "Nota: este codice procede de la primitiva biblioteca de / Felipe V."

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: An italic hand added the following title to guard leaf 2r: "Chronica de los Reyes de Castilla / Alonso el Sabio o el X. / Sancho el Brabo o el IIII / Fernando el IV. / Alonso el XI. / tiene 368 folios."

Introductory material: F. Ir (upper margin): "FIA . . . [illegible] C. M." A Prologue, which summarizes the contents of the MS and is unique among the known MSS containing CAX, begins

f. Ir: "% Por lo escripto en los cinco libros que la primera Parte de las / coronicas despana que tratan de lo pasado enella espacio de / iiiUd.Lvii a<ñ>os tendra V<uest>ra mag<estad> entera notiçia. . . ." The Prologue ends f. IIIIv: ". . . teniendo cer[ca] / da a gibraltar murio de pestilença y su cuerp[o] / fue lleuado a sepultar a cordoua con su padre."

Contents:

1. CAX: ff. IIIIv-106v (CIIIv)
2. CSIV: ff. 106v (CIIIv)-150r (CXLVIIr)
3. CFIV: ff. 150r (CXLVIIr)-244r (CCXLr)
4. CAXI: ff. 244r (CCXLr)-372r (CCCLXVIIIr)

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. IIIIv: "% CAPitulo primero como rreyno en la mayor parte despana don al<ons>o hijo de don fernando / a los treynta dias del mes de mayo de los j U cc Lii a<ñ>os / de xpo murio en la ciudad de seuj<ll>a el catolico y gran rey / don fernando terçero deste nonbre y fue sepultado su cue[rpo] / [f. Vr] en la sancta yglesia de seVilla y enel mismo dia los gran / des y nobles rricos honbres e ynfançones que alli se hallaron. . . ." CAX ends f. 106v: ". . . en fr[ancia] / Reynaron san Luis y filipo en ynglaterra enrrico y . . . [trimmed] en Vngria Velayes . . . [illegible] y dadislao en costant[inopla] / ynperaron valdoyno y miguel paleogolo."
2. CSIV begins f. 106v: "COMienca El setimo libro / CAPitulo primero Como Reyno don sancho en cast[illa] estando el ynfante en la çiudad de avila. . . ." CSIV ends f. 150r: ". . . en

constantinopla. miguel paleologo y su her / hermano [sic]  
andronico."

3. CFIV begins f. 150r: "Octavo libro / CAPitulo Primero de lo  
pasado en espana este an<n>o / sepultado el cuerpo del rrey  
don sancho. . . ." CFIV ends f. 244r: ". . . y conesto doy  
fin al otavo libro dela / presente."
4. CAXI begins f. 244r: "Comjença el libro nono / Capitulo  
primero como fue alçado por rrey el ynfan / te don alonso  
primogenito del rrey don fernando / Grand llanto hizieron los  
Grandes en Jaen porel rrey don fer / nando . . . el ynfante  
don pedro Con los Ricos hombres y / Grandes que enla corte  
estavan tomaron luego el pendon Real / y fueron se por las  
calles. . . ." CAXI ends f. 372r: ". . . en ynglaterra  
reynaron eduardo Segundo y eduar / do terçero Su hijo en  
oriente o Costantinopla ymperaron an / dronjco y Juan paleologo  
[sic] y en turquja otomano su origen y su / hijo orcano."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. Iir: "mas todavia este prinçipe"

Number of folios: 11 + 372 + 13

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks

1. the body of a bird above three half circles arranged in a  
pyramid, all contained in a medallion surmounted by the ini-  
tial E; similar to Briquet, "Oiseau," 2, 12250 (Rome, 1572)  
(guard leaves)

2. a pilgrim within a medallion above the initials "AB," of the general type described in Briquet, "Pèlerin," 3, 415 (first hand)
3. a hand or glove surmounted by a star and showing two ovals on the palm, similar to Briquet, "La Main," 3, 10754 (Gênes, 1509; also appears in MS. 1775, BNM (third hand)
4. a smaller version of the hand or glove surmounted by a star, also showing two ovals on the palm, similar to Valls I Subirà, 2, 196 (1567) (second hand)

Foliation: The original Roman foliation, I-CCCLXVIII, is legible on the majority of the folios; a later Arabic foliation, in pencil, begins on f. 7; the last folio of the MS, CCCLXVIII, shows the Arabic 372. The difference between the Roman and Arabic foliations is accounted for by the following: (1) the original f. CCLXXIX is missing; (2) five folios were added to the MS after the Roman foliation and before the Arabic: ff. 10, 19, 21, 22, 261.

Quires: The quires are signed with Roman numerals as follows: i<sup>10</sup>, ii<sup>12</sup>, iii-XV<sup>10</sup>, XVI<sup>8</sup>, XVII<sup>10</sup>, XVIII<sup>8</sup>, XIX-XXIII<sup>10</sup>, XXIII<sup>8</sup>, XXV<sup>6</sup>. From f. 244, on which a new hand begins the copy of CAXI, the quires are unsigned. The first quire after f. 244 appears to be of 8 + 1; the remaining quires appear to be of 10 ff. each.

Dimensions of the leaf: 302 x 215 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 253 x 155 mm

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 28-35

Ruling: none

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: There are numerous marginal notes and corrections in the second hand.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-9, 11-18, 20, 23-243 (CAX, CSIV, CFIV)
2. ff. 10, 19, 21-22, 261 (corrections in CAX, CAXI)
3. ff. 244-60, 262-372 (CAXI)

Hands:

1. italic
2. smaller, more compact italic
3. cursive humanistic

Decoration: The MS is undecorated, but contains on f. 386v a drawing representing the succession of the kings of Morocco.

Condition: good

Dimensions of the binding: 312 x 220 mm

Binding: According to the Inventario general (4, 196), the binding is "Pergamino verde, con hierros dorados, cifra del Duque de Uceda, lomo cuajado, cortes jaspeados, s. XVII."

Bibliography:

1. Catalán, Un cronista anónimo, p. 235.
2. Inventario general, 4, 196.

Notes: The distribution of the three hands, the double foliation and the quire signatures suggest that CAX, CSIV and CFIV (first hand) formed the original MS and that the CAXI was added later



(third hand). The second hand subsequently emended the four chronicles, adding a few folios. The Arabic foliation was added last. In Un cronista anónimo (p. 235), Diego Catalán observed that the copy of CAXI in MS. 1342 is a free résumé, often expanded, often abbreviated. In CAX the copy is reworked to such an extent as to render its collation with the other witnesses pointless and usually impossible. I have therefore omitted MS. 1342 from the remaining sections of the present study. The unique additions of interest in the MS include a lengthy genealogical note on Alfonso X at the beginning of CAX, formulaic conclusions to each chronicle that list monarchs of other nations, and the frequent recourse to numerous authorities as documentation for additions to and corrections of the text as it appears in the majority of witnesses.

14. MS. 1775 (olim G.30)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: A later hand has added the following title to guard leaf 2r: "Chronica de los Reyes / D. Alonso el X / Testamento de este Rey. fol. 131. b. y 140 / D. Sancho el IV. y / D. Fernando el IV / Tiene 329. Folios." Above the title, a second later hand repeated the note: "Tiene 329 folios."

Introductory material: F. 1r (upper margin): ".ihus.maria." The Prologue begins f. 1r: "% Libro dela coronica del muy noble Rey

don alfonso el sabio. / fijo del muy noble rrey don fernando  
 que gano a seuilla / Por muchas guisas E por muchas maneras los  
 antigos que / ante fueron. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1v:  
 ". . . E comiença luego la coronica deste Rey don alfon<so> / el  
 sabio que es esta.que eneste libro es contenjda.enla ma / nera  
 q<ue> de aqui adelante diremos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1r-v, text: ff. 1v-131v, testaments:  
 ff. 131v-140v and 140v-149r
2. CSIV: ff. 149r-193v
3. CFIV: ff. 193v-329v

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1v: "% De como despues dela muerte del santo  
 Rey don / fernando que gano a sevilla alçaron a don alfonso /  
 su fijo por rrey los del Reyno.E fue el q<ue> dixeron el /  
 Sabio / Cuenta la ystoria. que despues. que el s<an>to Rey  
 don / fernando fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. 131v: ". . .  
 enteRaronlo. / en santa maria de sevilla çerca d<e>l Rei don  
 fernan / do su padre e dela Reina don<n>a veatriz su madre."  
 The first testament begins f. 131v: "% Del primer testamento  
 q<ue> hizo El Rey / don alfonso en que maldixo a don san / cho  
 su hijo / Enel nonbre d<e>l padre e d<e>l hijo e d<e>l espi-  
 ritu san / to . . . / [f. 132r] . . . Remenbrandonos otrosi  
 de aq<ue>lla / palabra q<ue>l dixo Segund que te fallare asi  
 te / juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 140v:  
 ". . . E yo juan andres escriuano d<e>l / Rei escrevie [sic]

este testamento por mandado de es / te d<i>cho sen<n>or Rey don alfonso e so t<e>stigo. este tres / lado fue conçertado. de otro treslado q<ue> fue sacado. / d<e>l testamento prencipal conçertado." The second testament begins f. 140v: "% Del segundo testamento q<ue> hizo. el / Rei don alfonso en que hordeno sus. / mandas e fecho de su anjma / Enel nonbre d<e>l padre . . . por ende despues que obimos fecho nues / [f. 141r] tro testamento en que mostramos e hordenamos. . . ." The second testament ends f. 149r: ". . . Yo juan andres escriu<an>o d<e>l Rey / e su notario escrevi este testamento p<o>r manda / do deste mjSmo."

2. CSIV begins f. 149r: "% de como el ynfante don sancho hizo due / lo por el Rei don Alfonso su padre / E como tomo titulo e voz de Rey de cas / tilla E de leon / en los treynta e dos an<n>os d<e>l Reinado deste Rey / [f.149v] don Alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. 193v: ". . . enteRaron luego el cuerpo d<e>l Rei don sancho / enel monjmento de piedra q<ue>l mandara hazer en su bida / çerca d<e>l Rei don alfonso su padre enperador de espa / n<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. 193v: "% Despues. de los fechos que pasaron des / pues que començo Reinar el ynfante / e rey don fernando. fijo d<e>l Rey / don sancho. / Enel an<n>o que andava la hera de adan en çinco mjll e se / tenta E quatro an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 329v: ". . . y quando lo hallo / muerto hiço muy gran llanto por el y este Rey don / fernando nacio en el mes de diciembre dela hera . . . asi fue el tiempo q<ue> Reyno

quinçe an<n>os y quatro messes y honçe dias. en parayso sea /  
su alma amen. Laus Deo."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: F. 2r: "e ocho dias mas"

Number of folios: 5 + 1-329 + 6 + 2 marbled end papers, one at the  
beginning and one at the end of the MS

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown, grainy

Watermarks:

1. a column consisting of three circles, the uppermost circle surmounted by a cross, the middle containing the initials "SA" above the initials "DP," and the lowest circle containing the initial "M"; of the general type described in Briquet, "Trois cercles," 1, 217 (guard leaves; found also in MSS. 642, 829, BNM)
2. a hand or glove surmounted by a star showing two ovals or two initials on the palm, of the general type described in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544; similar to Valls I Subirà, 2, 227, 197 (1568)

Foliation: There are remnants of a Roman foliation. A modern Arabic foliation, in ink, is complete.

Quires: The binding is too tight to ascertain the quire count. However, the internal numbering 1-12 on the versos of ff. 255-66, 279-90, 303-14 suggests quires of twelve at least for the latter groups of folios.

Dimensions of the leaf: 290 x 210 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 240 x 160 mm

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: first hand: 26-32, second hand: 32-43

Ruling: none

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: none

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1r-255r
2. ff. 255r-313r, 314v-328v
3. ff. 313v-314r, 328v-329v

Hands: The first two hands, those of the original MS, are seated procesal/humanistic and may be by the same scribe. The third hand is later, more cursive, and filled in lacunae in the original MS.

Decoration: There are calderones and simply decorated chapter initials in the same ink as the body of the text.

Condition: The MS is generally in good condition, although there is some damage due to ink that has bled through from one side of a folio to the other.

Dimensions of the binding: 305 x 214 mm

Binding: According to the Inventario general (5, 177), the binding is "Pasta española, cortes jaspeados, s. XIX." The spine reads: "ALONSO X. / SANCHO IV. / FERNANDO IV./"

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 565-66.
2. Inventario general, 5, 176-77.

Notes: MS. 1775 is closely related to sixteenth-century MS.

B1489, HSA. Both MSS show the long redaction of the Prologue as well as of the body of the text in CAX.

15. MS. 2880 (olim I.254)

Provenience: An ex libris and coat of arms mounted on f. 1r indicates that the MS belonged to Fernando José de Velasco, "In Aula Criminali / Sup.<sup>mi</sup> Castellae Senatus.Fiscalis." See also Marginalia.

Date: 15th c.

Title: none

Introductory material: A later hand added the following note in the upper margin on f. 1r: "A folio 175. Comienza la Cronica del Rey don Alonso X el Sabio." The Prologue to the chronicles of Pedro López de Ayala begins f. 1r a: "La memoria d<e>los / om<n>es es muy fla / ca. . . ." The Prologue to the Ayala chronicles ends f. 1v b: ". . . la q<ua>l tabla / esta aq<ui> de yuso deste prologo an / tes dela estoria delos fechos E / los Capitulo so<n> estos q<ue> Se sy / gue<n>" (table missing).

Contents:

1. Prologue to the chronicles of Pedro López de Ayala: f. 1r a-1v b
2. Crónica de Pedro I: ff. 1v b-92v b
3. Crónica de Enrique II: ff. 92v b-109r a
4. Crónica de Juan I: ff. 109r b-174v a
5. CAX Prologue: ff. 174v b-175r a, text: ff. 175r b-230v a, testaments ff. 230v b-234v a and 234v a-236v b (incomplete)

Incipits/explicits:

1. For the incipit and explicit of the Prologue to the chronicles by Ayala, see Introductory material.
2. The Crónica de Pedro I begins f. 1v b: "El muy alto e muy nob / le Cauallero Rey / do<n> al<fon>so fijo del Rey / do<n> ferrna<n>do. . . ." The Crónica de Pedro I ends f. 92v b: ". . . e ot<r>os / q<ue> co<ne>l Rey do<n> pedro avia<n> Saljdo del / caStillo de mo<n>tiel."
3. The Crónica de Enrique II begins f. 92v b: "El Rey do<n> enrriq<ue> luego / q<ue> Rey do<n> pedro fue / muerto p<ar>tio de ally. . . ." The Crónica de Enrique II ends f. 109r a: ". . . Jnfant<e> don Jua<n> de arago<n> Casado / co<n>la d<i>cha Su fiJa don<n>a bla<n>ca q<ue> / fuera Reyna de çeçilja com<m>o di / cho es."
4. The Crónica de Juan I begins f. 109r b: "Despu<e>s q<ue>l rey do<n> enrriq<ue> fino / Segu<n>d avemos co<n>tado Re / yno el Jnfa<n>t do<n> Jua<n> Su fijo. . . ." The Crónica de Juan I ends f. 174v a: ". . . aq<ui> Se acaba / la coronjca del Rey do<n> Jua<n> dios por Su / merçed lo q<ui>era p<er>donar ame<n>."
5. The Prologue to CAX begins f. 174v b: "Por muchas g<ui>sas e por mu / chas man<er>as los antiguos / q<ue> fuero<n>. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 175r a: ". . . comje<n>ça luego / la coronjca deSte Rey do<n> alfon<so> el / Sabjo q<ue>es eSta q<ue> eneSte libro es / co<n>tenjda e<n>la man<er>a q<ue> adelant<e> dire / mos." CAX begins f. 175r b: "Cuenta la

estoria q<sup>ue</sup> despu<sup>e</sup>s / q<sup>ue</sup> fue finado el s<sup>an</sup>to Rey do<sup>n</sup> / ferr<sup>and</sup>o. . . ." CAX ends f. 230v a: ". . . ente / rraro<sup>n</sup>lo en S<sup>an</sup>ta m<sup>ari</sup>a de Seu<sup>j</sup>lla çerca / del Rey do<sup>n</sup> ferr<sup>and</sup>o Su padre e dela Reyna / don<sup>a</sup> beatriz su madre." The first testament begins f. 230v b: "En<sup>e</sup>l no<sup>n</sup>bre d<sup>e</sup>l padre e d<sup>e</sup>l / fijo . . . acorda<sup>n</sup>donos ot<sup>r</sup>osy d<sup>e</sup>la / palabra q<sup>ue</sup>l dixo segu<sup>n</sup>d q<sup>ue</sup> te fallare / asy te Judgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 234v a: ". . . yo Jua<sup>n</sup> andr<sup>e</sup>s / esc<sup>ri</sup>uano del Rey esc<sup>ri</sup>uj eSte testame<sup>n</sup>to por ma<sup>n</sup>dado deste dicho Sen<sup>or</sup> e so testigo / E eSte t<sup>re</sup>slado fue co<sup>n</sup>çertado de ot<sup>r</sup>o t<sup>re</sup>s / lado q<sup>ue</sup> fue Sacado d<sup>e</sup>l teStame<sup>n</sup>to p<sup>ri</sup>nçî / pal co<sup>n</sup>çertado." The second testament begins f. 234v a: "En<sup>e</sup>l no<sup>n</sup>bre de dios pa / dre e del fijo . . . por end<sup>e</sup> despu<sup>e</sup>s / q<sup>ue</sup> oujmos fecho n<sup>uest</sup>ro testame<sup>n</sup>to enq<sup>ue</sup> mos / tramos e ordenamos co<sup>n</sup>pljdame<sup>n</sup>te / n<sup>uest</sup>ra poStrimera volu<sup>n</sup>tad. . . ." The second testament ends f. 236v b: ". . . ma<sup>n</sup>damos ot<sup>r</sup>osy / q<sup>ue</sup> todos los Cauall<sup>er</sup>os e Ricos om<sup>n</sup>es de n<sup>uest</sup>ra" (incomplete).

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r a: "E aymo<sup>n</sup>te e pin<sup>n</sup>a e matrera"

Number of folios: 1 + 1-237 (f. 237, blank)

Writing material: parchment and paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks: The only watermark in the body of the MS is a ring set with a stone flanked by three smaller stones, of the general



type described in Briquet, "Anneau," 1, 48, similar to but smaller than 689 (Cologne, 1457).

Foliation: Arabic, modern and complete

Quires: The MS shows regular quires of twelve throughout to f. 229, opening the last quire, which is of eight folios. There are a few remnants of quire signatures; see f. 85r (signature "g").

Dimensions of leaf: 300 x 220 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 37-39

Ruling: no visible ruling

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are catchwords every twelve folios from f. 12v.

Marginalia: There are frequent marginal notes in the MS that correct, add to and summarize the text and call attention to the year in which a given event occurred. In a lengthy note (signed) on the first guard leaf, Velasco attributes the marginal notes to Jerónimo de Zurita. Velasco believed the MS was one of those consulted by Zurita ". . . p<sup>a</sup>. las emiendas de esta obra que / publicó Dormer en Zar<sup>za</sup>. año de 1683." Velasco states that he had seen a number of MSS in Zurita's hand and therefore was able to attribute the marginal notes to the latter historian.

Number of hands: The MS is in the same hand throughout.

Hand: 15th c. court

Decoration: There are decorated chapter initials, averaging four lines in height and one-third of the column in width, in red and lavender or red and black ink. Spaces were left for chapter titles.

Condition: The MS is in good condition. However, a few folios are faded, and the binding is loose.

Dimensions of the binding: 310 x 230 mm

Binding: The binding is of parchment and shows remnants of two leather closures. The spine bears the faded title: "CRONICAS / DE / LOS REYES / DE CASTILLA / D<sup>n</sup>. PEDR<sup>o</sup>. EL JUSTIC<sup>o</sup>. D. HENRRIQUE. III / D. JUAN I . . ." [illegible].

Bibliography: Inventario general, 9, 50-51.

Notes: There is no special separation, or change of hand, between the chronicles of Ayala and CAX. The consistency of the hand and the regular quire count indicate that the MS originally contained CAX. MS. 2880 is the only known extant CAX witness to combine the latter chronicle with those of Ayala. MS. 2880 belongs to a family of CAX MSS that provides a long-version Prologue and a short-version text of that chronicle. For a discussion of the probable reasons for the unusual combination, see the stemmata in Part III of this paper.

16. MS. 5775 (olim Q.86)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The MS begins f. 1r (upper margin): "Aqui comienza la tabla de los Capítulos / del presente libro con la tabla de los Capítulos de la Corona / nica del Rey don Sancho el bravo quarto deste nombre que / aqui va incorporada." The segment "presente . . . incorporada" was crossed out, and the following substitution was added above the cancelled lines: "[del]a cronica del rey don a<sup>o</sup> el Sabio y la tabla de los / capítulos de la cronica del rey don sancho el bravo esta en fin / [deste] libro." (The word "deste" was lost in trimming, but is supplied by a duplicate of the rubric provided by the 1554 edition.) The table of chapter headings begins f. 1r a: "Cap. primero q<sup>ue</sup> trata como des / pues q<sup>ue</sup> fue muerto el Rey don Fer / nando. . . ." The table of chapter headings ends f. 4r b: "Cap. XII. como el Rey se hizo / llevar en andas a la çudad de / Toledo, y de como allí murio. fo. 76 / Fin de los Capítulos / de la Cronica / del Rey do<sup>n</sup> / Sancho." An introduction to the Prologue, which is a brief summary of that document, begins on f. 4v: "% Aqui comienza la Cronica del muy alto / y muy noble sen<sup>or</sup> don Alonso de zeno deste nombre. . . ." The introduction ends f. 4v: ". . . mandolos poner / y escrebir, por que los q<sup>ue</sup> adelante vinjessen sepan en como pas / saron las cosas en tiempo de los Reyes suso dichos." The Prologue begins f. 4v a: "Por muchas guisas y por mu / chas maneras los antiguos q<sup>ue</sup> / fueron en los tienpos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 5r: ". . . por que los que adelan / te vinjeren sepan en como / passaron las cosas en t<sup>ien</sup>po de los Reyes suso d<sup>ic</sup>hos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: ff. 4v a-5r b, text: ff. 5r b-154r b, testaments: ff. 154v a-164r a and 164r a-173v b
2. CSIV: ff. 174r a-224v b
3. CFIV: ff. 227r a-366r b

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 5r b: "% Cap. i. q<ue> comiença a / contar como despues q<ue> fino / el noble Rey don Fernan / do . . . y començo a reynar en los / veynte y nueue dias del / mes de Mayo dela Era del / an<n>o de mjll and dozientos y nouen / ta an<n>os. / Cuenta la historia q<ue> despues / q<ue> fue finado el Rey don Fer / [f.5v a] nando. . . ." CAX ends f. 154r b: ". . . enterraronlo en Sancta / Maria de Seuilla çerca del Rey / don Fernando su padre, y dela Rey / na don<n>a Beatriz su madre." The first testament begins f. 154v a: "% Cap. LXXVI. q<ue> cuenta el Testamento q<ue> hizo este / noble Rey don Alonso / al tienpo de su muerte. / Testamento. / Enel nonbre de Dios Padre. . . / [f. 154v b] A / cordandome assi mesmo dela / palabra que el dixo, segun / que te halle, asi te Juzgue. . . ." The first testament ends f. 164r a: ". . . E yo Juan Andres Escribano del Rey escrebi este testamento por / mandado del dicho sen<n>or Rey / E soy testigo. Este traslado / fue conçertado de otro treslado / q<ue> fue sacado del testamento / prinçipal conçertado." The second testament begins f. 164r a: "Enel non / bre del padre y del hiJo . . . / [f. 164v] Poren / de despues que ouimos he / cho

este n<uest>ro testamento, en / q<ue> mostramos, y ordenamos /  
 cumplidamente n<uest>ra pos / trimerá voluntad. . . ." The  
 second testament ends f. 173v b: ". . . Yo Juan An / dres  
 Escribano del Rey y su / Notario escrebi este testamento /  
 por mandado deste mesmo sen<n>or. / Fin de la histo / ria  
 del no / ble Rey don / alonso de / zeno de / este / nonbre."

2. CSIV begins f. 174r: "Aqui comienza la Coronica del muy  
 noble / Rey don Sancho . . . q<ue> murio en la çuidad / de  
 Toledo martes a veynte y çinco dias del mes de abril / del  
 dicho an<n>o. / % Cap. I. de como el Rey do<n> / Sancho  
 despues de muerto / su padre . . . hizo coronar a su muger /  
 por Reyna, delos perlados / q<ue> y eran. / En los treynta  
 y dos an<n>os del / Reynado deste Rey don alonso. . . ."

CSIV ends f. 224v b: ". . . enterra / ronlo luego enel  
 monjmen / to de piedra, que el hiziera / hazer en su vida  
 çerca / de don alonso el Enperador / de Espan<n>a. / Fin de  
 la Cronica / del muy noble / Rey don / Sancho. / laus deo."

3. CFIV begins f. 227r: "Aqui comienza la coronica del muy noble  
 rey don / fernando quarto deste nombre hijo del Rey do<n>  
 Sancho y padre / del Rey don Alonso XI que gano las algeçiras /  
 [f. 227r a] Enel An<n>o que Andaua la hera de / adan en çinco  
 mill y setenta y qua / tro An<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 366r a:  
 ". . . E bino / [f. 366r b] El ynfan . . . [torn] / dro y  
 quando lo allo / muerto hizo muy / gran llanto por el . . .  
 fue el tienpo / que rreyno quinze an<n>os / y quatro meses  
 y hon / ze dias en parayso sea / su alma amen."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "estaba, y fue el Rey"

Number of folios: 1 + 1-366 + 1 (ff. 225-26, blank, preceding the first folio of CFIV)

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks:

1. a column of three circles, the uppermost circle containing a cross and flanked by lions and surmounted by a crown, the middle circle containing the initials "CAB," and the lower circle containing an initial, perhaps a "Q"; Valls I Subirà, 3, 24 (Toledo, 1669) (guard leaves)
2. a sphere containing a cross above the initials "PM," similar to Valls I Subirà, 2, 85 (1562) (throughout CAX, CSIV)
3. three slightly differing versions of the hand or glove surmounted by a star, of the general type described in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544 (CFIV)
4. a serpent, of the general type described in Briquet, "Serpent," 4, 676 (CFIV)

Foliation: There are two independent Arabic foliations in the MS. The CAX and CXIV show a continuous foliation in ink through the end of CSIV (1-224). A second Arabic foliation in ink begins with the first folio of CFIV (1-140). The first foliation, that of CAX and CSIV, was continued in pencil on the two blank folios following the latter chronicle (225-26) and throughout CFIV (227-366).

Quires: The CAX and CSIV show consistent quires of sixteen, ending on f. 224, the last folio of CSIV. Within CFIV there is no regular quire pattern.

Dimensions of the leaf: 280 x 213 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: CAX, CSIV: 21-33; CFIV: 19-44

Ruling: There are remnants of ruling in pencil delineating the right margin of column a and the left margin of column b.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: There are marginal notes and corrections in a hand more cursive than that of the body of the MS. The notes and corrections result in a few segments of CAX text unique among the known extant CAX MSS but that appear verbatim in the princeps, printed in 1554 at Valladolid. A salient example is the corrected rubric (f. 1r) for the table of chapter headings, cited above in Introductory material. There is also the lengthy note at the conclusion of the table of chapter headings for CAX and CSIV (f. 4r), which appears as the colophon in the V1554 edition: "Aqui se acaban las dos cronicas. la primera del esclares / cido principe y rey don alonso el sabio q<ue> fue par de / emperador el qual hizo el libro delas siete part / [i]das y la 2<sup>a</sup> cronica es del rey don sancho el br / [a]uo su hijo fueron impresas en vall<adol>id a cos[ta] / y en casa de sebastian m<a>r<ti>n<e>z acabaronse a 18 . . ." [trimmed].

The quire signatures, Ap-A16, Bp-B16, Cp-C16, etc. (p = "primero"), were added in the margins of MS. 5775 and correspond to the quires in V1554. The marginalia led del Rivero ("Indice," 567) to conclude that ". . . este manuscrito ha sido la copia que sirvió para la referida impresión."

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-224 (CAX, CSIV)
2. ff. 227-234 (CFIV)
3. ff. 235-258 (CFIV)
4. ff. 259-366 (CFIV)

Hands:

1. italic
2. italic
3. italic
4. seated procesal

Decoration: The chapter titles for CAX are introduced by a simple calderón. Titles and calderones are in the same hand and ink as the body of the text. The chapter initials are enlarged but undecorated. CFIV shows no decoration.

Condition: The MS is in good condition. The last folio is damaged but almost entirely legible. F. 316 is torn and a small amount of text is missing. There is a significant textual lacuna beginning on f. 39r a, which consists of the second half of CAX BAE chapter 22. However, no folios are missing in MS. 5775. The V1554 princeps perpetuates this lacuna. El Escorial MS. N.III.12 is the only additional known CAX witness to show



the lacuna and provides unequivocal signs of having lost the folio containing the missing text. The latter MS is therefore the ultimate source of the lacuna in MS. 5775 and in V1554.

Dimensions of the binding: 287 x 223 mm

Binding: The MS is bound in parchment and shows the remains of two leather closures. The spine bears the title: "CORON DE 4 REYES DE ESPANA."

Bibliography: del Rivero, "Indice," 566-71.

Notes: The physical evidence (foliation, hands, quire count) provided by MS. 5775 confirms del Rivero's belief that the MS is a composite of two separate MSS, the first consisting of CAX, CSIV and the second composed of CFIV. His opinion that the MS served as the base for the printing of the CAX, CSIV princeps is also corroborated, both by the marginalia provided by MS. 5775 and by a textual comparison of the two witnesses. For a detailed discussion of the relationship of MS. 5775 to the princeps and to MS. N.III.12, BES, see the analysis of V1554 in Part II of this paper.

17. MS. 6410 (olim R.281)

Provenience: The verso of the third guard leaf provides the following ex libris: "Fama uolat libris spiritus astra tenet / es de don pero lopez de aiala. 4 Conde / de Fuensalida / JU D LXVI / an<n>os." The colophon (f. 168v) is followed by the note: "este libro es de don pe<sup>o</sup> lopez de ayala / Cuarto conde de fuensalida. / 1552." See also Colophon.

Date: March 20, 1550

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The MS begins f. 1r: "Aqui Comiença la Coronica del muy noble Rey / Don alonso q<ue> fue a ser emperador . . . e del muy noble Rey don sancho su fijo q<ue> dezian / el brauo fasta q<ue> murio en toledo." The Prologue begins f. 1r: "[P]or muchas guisas por muchas ma / n<er>as los antiguos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1v: ". . . por q<ue> los q<ue> adelante vinieren sepan como / pasaron las cosas en tiempo delos Reyes sobredi / çhos [sic]."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1r-v, text: ff. 1v-114r, testaments: ff. 114r-121r and 121v-128v
2. CSIV: ff. 128v-168v

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1v: "Capitulo primero de como Reino este Rey don al / fonso despues dela muerte del Rey don fernan / do su padre / Cuenta la istoria que despues q<ue> fue / finado el Rey don fernando. . . ." CAX ends f. 114r: ". . . enteraronlo en sancta maria de / sevilla çerca del Rey don fernando su padre e / dela Reyna don<n>a beatriz su madre." The first testament begins f. 114r: "Capitulo LXXIII. de como el Rey don alfonso / fizo su testamento. / [E]n el nombre del padre e del fi / jo. . . / [f. 114v] . . . acordarnos otrosi de / la palabra quel dixo segun q<ue> te fallare asi

te juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 121r:  
 ". . . yo joan andres escrivano del Rey escriui este / testa-  
 mento por mandado deste dicho sen<n>or e so / testigo este  
 traslado fue conçertado de otro tras / lado de [sic] q<ue> fue  
 sacado del testamento prinçipal / conçertado." The second  
 testament begins f. 121v: "En el nombre del padre e del  
 fijo . . . por ende depues q<ue> ovimos fecho n<uest>ro /  
 testamento en q<ue> mostramos e ordenamos cum / plida mente  
 n<uest>ra postrimera voluntad. . . ." The second testament  
 ends f. 128v: ". . . Yo joan andres escrivano del / Rey e su  
 notario escribi este testamento por ma<n> / dado deste mesmo  
 sen<n>or."

2. CSIV begins f. 128v: "% aqui comienza a Reynar des / pues  
 dela muerte del Rey / don alfonso el Rey don san / cho su  
 fijo. que llamaron el / brauo. / Capitulo LXXIIII. de como el  
 Rey don sancho se llamo Rey despues dela muerte del Rey su  
 padre [E]n los treinta e dos an<n>os del Rey / nado deste  
 Rey don alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. 168v: ". . . enterraron  
 luego el cuer / po en el monumento de piedra q<ue> el se  
 fiziera / fazer en su vida çerca de don alfonso empe / rador  
 de espan<n>a."

Colophon:

f. 168v: "% Aqui se acaban dos istorias delos dos muy no / bles  
 Reyes de castilla la primera del muy no / ble Rey don alfonso  
 dezeno Rey de castilla e de leon q<ue> fue a ser emperador fijo  
 del muy / noble e muy catholico sancto el Rey don fer / nando

que gano a sevilla. E la segunda del / muy noble Rey don  
 sancho fijo deste dicho / Rey don alfonso. Mandolas esCrivir el  
 muy / jll<sup>e</sup> sen<n>or don pero lopez de ayala quarto / conde de  
 fuensalida. son del dicho sen<n>or / conde. Acabaronse de  
 escribir a veinte / Dias del mes de março. de 1550. anos [sic]."

Probatoria: f. 2r: "don alfonso su"

Number of folios: 3 + 1-168 + 2

Writing material: paper

Ink: brown

Watermarks:

1. an eagle with spread wings above three smaller birds, all within a sphere above the initials "IM" (inside front cover and guard leaf 1)
2. a hand or glove surmounted by a star, of the general type described in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544 (inside back cover)
3. a serpent, which appears to be identical to Briquet's "Serpent," 4, 13766 (Valladolid, 1554) (guard leaf 3 and throughout the MS)

Foliation: Arabic, in ink, apparently original

Quires: The majority of the quires appear to be of twelve folios.

Dimensions of the leaf: 269 x 200 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 31-38

Ruling: none

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: The presence of a catchword on the verso of each folio after f. 66 is characteristic of the first hand. The second hand frequently uses the catchword position to complete a word or line of the preceding text page.

Marginalia: There are very few marginal notes. However, a drawing of a pointing hand is frequently used to indicate points of interest in the text.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-6v, 60-168v (CAX, CSIV)
2. ff. 6v-59v (CAX)

Hands:

1. italic
2. seated procesal

The chapter titles accompanying the second hand are by the first hand.

Decoration: Spaces averaging five lines in height and one-third of the text page in width were left for decorated chapter initials.

Condition: The MS is in good condition. There is a textual lacuna on f. 60r involving two chapters (CAX BAE 47 and 48), at the change of hand, which is not due to the loss of folios.

Dimensions of the binding: 277 x 202 mm

Binding: The MS is bound in black leather over cardboard. The front and back covers show floral motifs in the corners, and the edges of the covers are bordered by double parallel lines; both decorations are stamped on the leather.

Bibliography: Sánchez Alonso mentions the MS in Fuentes (1, 1307). However, I am aware of no MS description.

Notes: MS. 6410 provides a short redaction of CAX in both the Prologue and the body of the text. In itself, the MS is not an especially important witness for CAX. However, together with its relatives, MS. N.III.12, BES, and MS. 9233, BNM, MS. 6410 explains the anomalous combination of long-version Prologue and short-version CAX text in the remaining members of the MS family, MSS. 2880, BNM; 9-4761, RAH; and 1742, BUS. See the stemmata in Part III of this paper.

18. MS. 7403 (olim T. 186)

Provenience: F. 1v provides the following note in a seated procesal hand which is different from that of the body of the MS: "este lbro no sabe yn<n>jgo de zumel Cuyo es aunq<ue> sospecha q<ue> fue del C. d. p<sup>o</sup> de V<sup>o</sup> / hijo legitimado y erede<r>o . . . [illegible] del . . . [illegible] don p<sup>o</sup> f<ernande>z de Vel<sup>o</sup>. . . ." Amador de los Ríos expands the initials of the note to "Condestable don Pero Fernandez de Velasco" (Historia crítica, 4, 387, n. 3).

Date: According to Menéndez Pidal, the MS dates from "principios del s. XVI" (Primera crónica general [1955], 1, LXI).

Scribe: unknown

Title: F. 1r shows the following title in the same hand as the note on provenience: "Chronjca delos Reyes de castilla desde el Rey don fr<sup>do</sup> el prim<e>r<sup>o</sup> / deste nombre q<ue> llamaron El Magno q<ue> fue el prim<e>r<sup>o</sup> Rey de Castilla / y en qujen Se juntaron los Reynos de castilla y de leon / fasta El Rey don fr<sup>do</sup> El 4<sup>o</sup>

que llamaron el emplazado que . . . [illegible] / padre del . . . [illegible] y don alf<sup>o</sup> que gano las algeciras y abuelo delos Reyes don . . . [illegible] y don Enrrique."

Introductory material: none

Contents:

1. Crónica de Castilla: ff. 2r a-220r a
2. a short verse composition beginning "Miraglos que dios fizo por el sancto Rey don fernando . . .": f. 220r a-b
3. CAX: ff. 220v a-314r b (beginning BAE chapter 2)
4. CSIV: ff. 314r b-344v a
5. CFIV: ff. 344v a-450r a

Incipits/explicits:

1. The first folio of text (f. 2) of the Crónica de Castilla is in a sixteenth-century hand different from that of the body of text as well as from that of the title and note on provenience (f. 1). There are notes in the upper margin of f. 2r and in the lower margin of f. 2v, in the same hand as the text of the remainder of the folio, which indicate that the contents of the folio were added to replace text which was lost at the beginning of the original MS. F. 2r begins (upper margin): "esto sea anadido de otra cronica / [f. 2r a] AQUI SE comiença a contar E deçir delos / Reyes de castilla y de Leon e delos hechos del mui / noble e Vienaumenturado cauallero Bençedor / de Vatallas don Rui diaz el çid / e otros que aconten / çieron en espana / CAP<sup>o</sup>. CCCLXXV<sup>o</sup>. como el rrei don / fernando de castilla peleo conel rrey don bermudo /

de leon su cun<n>ado . . . Dicho es como despues dela muerte  
 del rrei don / sancho de nauarra El mayor sen<n>or de cas-  
 tilla e de / aragon obo el rreino de castilla su fijo el  
 ynfante / don fernando. . . ." F. 2v ends: ". . . Luego des-  
 posados por mano del / obispo de palençia como manda la madre /  
 sancta yglessia E mandoles El rrey / gran docte dandoles desus  
 tesoros / a tanto segun quienellos heran / Para . . . [illeg-  
 ible] de su cassamiento / [lower margin] lo contenido en los  
 dos capitulos / de arriba se saco de otra cronica y . . .  
 [illegible] / que faltaua en esta el prjncipio del Capitulo  
 siguj[ente]." On f. 2r there is a marginal note in the same  
 hand as the title and comment on provenience: "Coronica del Cid."

The original MS begins mid-sentence at the top of f. 3r a:  
 "a su mandado E gujsa E muy bien Apuesta / mente con muchos  
 caualleros de sus / parientes E de sus Amjgos E Armas / nuevas.  
 E llogo Al Rey a palençia con / dozientos pares de Armas en  
 fiestas / E El Rey saliolo A Reçibir E fizole / mucha honrra  
 deq<ue> peso Alos condes E / desq<ue> el Rey tovo por bien  
 q<ue> lo con / seJauan dixo el. com<m>o don<n>a ximena fija /  
 del conde don gomez q<ue> El matara. / le venja pedir por  
 marido. . . ." The Crónica de Castilla ends f. 220r a:  
 ". . . Aquj dexa de Con / tar la estoria del noble / E Santo  
 Rey don fer<sup>do</sup> / delos trabajos que el en / este mundo sufrio  
 por / S<er>viçio de dios El qual el le / de su Regno  
 p<er>durable . . . por que / merezcamos aver p<ar>te co<n>el /  
 En aquella Santa folgança / q<ue> nunca escureçe mas siem /  
 pre es plazer E dulçor E alegria Amen."



2. The "Milagros" begin f. 220r a: "Miraglos q<ue> dios fizo  
por / [f. 220r b] el sancto Rey don ferna<n>do . . . Rey  
abenturado don fer / nando onrrado dios te qujera / p[er]donar.  
. . ." The "Milagros" end f. 220r b: ". . . seras siempre  
loado / E delas gentes deseado / por tu gran ardidez."
3. CAX begins f. 220v a: "Enel primero an<n>o del / Reynado  
deste Rey / don alfonso que fue / Rey en la era de mjll e  
do / zientos e noventa e vn / an<n>o [sic]. . ." CAX ends  
f. 314r b: ". . . enterraron lo en / Santa maria la mayor  
de / Seuilla çerca del rrey don / fernando su padre e dela /  
Reyna don<n>a beatriz Su madre."
4. CSIV begins f. 314r b: "De como el ynfante don / Sancho sopo  
la muerte del / Rey don alfonso Su padre e / fizo duelo por  
el E de como Se / alço Rey. / En los treynta e dos an<n>os /  
del Reynado deste Rey / don alfonso. . ." CSIV ends  
f. 344v a: ". . . enterraron lo e<n> el / monumento de  
piedra q<ue>el / mandara fazer en su vida / çerca de don  
alfonso enpe / rador despan<n>a."
5. CFIV begins f. 344v a: "Enel an<n>o q<ue> andava la era /  
de adam en çinco mjll e se / senta E quatro an<n>os. . ."
 

CFIV ends f. 449v b: ". . . E vino y el ynfan / te don pedro  
e quando lo fallo / muerto traxo muy grant llan / to porel  
E este Rey Don fer<sup>do</sup> / nasçio en el mes de diziembre . . . /  
[f. 450r a] . . . E fino / a Siete dias andados del mes / de  
Setiembre era de mill E / trezientos E quarenta E ocho /  
an<n>os E quatro meses E honze / dias en parayso sea la Su /  
Anjma Amen."

Colophon: f. 450r a: "Aqui se Acaba la segunda / parte dela coronjca de / espan<n>a E viene luego en / pos della la coronjca del / Rey Don AlfonSu Su / fiJo del Rey Don fer<sup>do</sup> / E padre q<ue> fue del Rey / Don pedro."

Probatoria: f. 3r a: "a su mandado"

Number of folios: 1 + 1-450 + 1 unnumbered folio between ff. 10 and 11

Writing material: paper

Ink: black

Watermarks:

1. a serpent, of the general type described in Briquet, "Serpent," 4, 676 (throughout the MS from f. 3)
2. a small hand or glove with a band at the wrist containing an inverted heart, all surmounted by a star inscribed with a small circle, Valls I Subirà, "Mano," 1, 182 (Madrid, 1542) (throughout the MS)
3. a second, similar but different version of the hand or glove surmounted by a star (throughout the MS)

Foliation: The foliation is Arabic, modern and in pencil; one folio between ff. 10 and 11 is unnumbered.

Quires: There are remnants of both Arabic and Roman internal quire numberings; see ff. 50-61 (I-XII), ff. 98-109 (1-12), ff. 170-81 (1-12), ff. 218-29 (1-12). There is some irregularity in the early quires: the first quire appears to be of 4 + 16; the second and third appear to be of sixteen folios each, and the fourth quire is of fourteen folios. Thereafter, quires of twelve are the rule.

Dimensions of the leaf: 220 x 297 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 33-44

Ruling: none

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: none

Number of hands:

1. f. 2 (Crónica de Castilla)
2. ff. 3r-79v (Crónica de Castilla)
3. ff. 79v-450r (Crónica de Castilla, CAX, CSIV, CFIV)

Hands: All three hands are seated procesal with italic influence.

Decoration: none

Condition: good

Dimensions of the binding: 308 x 220 mm

Binding: The binding is modern, in light brown marbled leather over cardboard with gold floral designs on the spine, which reads: "CORONIC / DE LOS REI / D. CASTILL."

Bibliography:

1. Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica, 4, 387-88, n. 3; 390, n. 1; 392, n. 2.
2. Menéndez Pidal, Crónicas generales (1918), 135-36.
3. Menéndez Pidal, Primera crónica general (1955), 1, LXI.

Notes: Both Menéndez Pidal and Amador de los Ríos cite MS. 7403 as a typical Crónica de Castilla. Neither scholar discusses the

MS' copy of CAX. Amador transcribes the "Milagros" (4, 387-88, n. 3); he believed the verses were the introduction to a longer composition which was omitted in MS. 7403. CAX in this MS begins with the first lines of BAE chapter 2: "En el primero an<n>o. . . ." The Prologue and the first chapter of the chronicle, which begins "Cuenta la historia . . .," were most likely omitted as preliminaries when the CAX was appended to the Crónica de Castilla. The omission of the Prologue and chapter 1 is typical of the MSS that precede CAX with another chronicle. In MS. 7403 the conclusion of CFIV is typical of the MSS that contain a Crónica de cuatro reyes, but the MS does not contain CAXI; see Notes for MS. N.III.12, BES, and MS. 1159, BCB.

19. MS. 9233 (olim Bb.79)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 15th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: A court hand, which added the chapter headings to the MS, also added the following introduction to f. 1r a: "[A]q<ui> comjença la coronjca delas / cosas q<ue> acaesçiero<n> en t<ien>po del / Rey don ferrando fijo del / Rey don alfonso de leon e / dela Reyna don<n>a beringela su madre." The same court hand added a table of chapter headings for CAX and CSIV beginning on f. 38r a and following the conclusion of the Crónica de Fernando III: "aq<ui> se comjença los capjtulos dela estoria / delas cosas q<ue> acaesçieron en<e>l t<ien>po del rrey / don

alfonso> . . . Capitulo p<ri>m<er>o com<m>o el rrey de grana / da  
 daua parias al rrey don alfonso. . . ." The table of CAX and  
 CSIV chapter headings ends f. 40r b: "% Capitulo LXXXIX com<m>o  
 gano a tarifa e ot<r>as cosas q<ue>la estoria cue<n>ta."

Contents:

1. Crónica de Fernando III: ff. 1r a-37v b
2. CAX and CSIV table of chapter headings: ff. 38r a-40r b
3. CAX text: ff. 41r a-100r a, testaments: ff. 100r a-104v a  
 and 104v a-108v b
4. CSIV: ff. 109r a-126r a (incomplete, ending in BAE chapter 9)

Incipits/explicits:

1. The Crónica de Fernando III begins f. 1r a: "Capitulo  
 p<ri>m<er>o com<m>o los estremadanos / e Castellanos Resçi-  
 biero<n> por Reyna ala / Reyna don<n>a beri<n>guella E en  
 com<m>o el / Rey don ferrando Resçibio el Regno / dela d<ic>ha  
 reyna su madre . . . E com<m>o partio de leo<n> e veno pa<ra> /  
 Castilla e delas ot<ra>s cosas q<ue>la estoria / cuenta /  
 [A]cabadas las Razo / nes del rrey don enrri<ue> / E delos  
 otros rreyes q<ue> / rreygnaron antedel / entra agora la  
 estoria a contar de como rrey / no este rrey don ferrnan / do.  
 . . ." The Crónica de Fernando III ends f. 37v b: ". . . por  
 que merescamos auer p<ar>te conel en / aquella su Santa  
 folgança de claridat q<ue> nu<n>ca / escureçe . . . mas  
 sie<n>pre plazer e dulçor e alegria amen."
2. For the incipit and explicit of the CAX and CSIV table of  
 chapter headings, see Introductory material.

3. CAX begins f. 41r a with the chapter heading: "Capitulo p<ri>m<er>o com<m>o el rrey de granada daua parias al rrey don alfonso. . . ." (The heading is in the same court hand responsible for the title, for the chapter headings throughout the MS and for the table of chapter headings for CAX and CSIV. The remainder of the folio is blank; f. 41 was apparently added by the corrector who added the title, chapter headings and table of chapter headings.) The first folio (42) of the original copy of CAX begins early in the chronological note opening chapter 1: "dozientos e ochenta e siete dias mas e / la era del deluujo en mjll e trezientos / e çinq<ue>nta e tres an<n>os Romanos e çinen / to [sic] e çinco dias mas. . . ." CAX ends f. 100r a: ". . . enterraronlo en santa maria de seujlla çer / ca del rrey don ferrnando su padre e dela / rreyna don<n>a beatriz su madre."

The first testament begins f. 100r a: "Capitulo / LXXVIII com<m>o el rrey don alfon<so> ordeno Su / testamento en quanto al cuerpo e al alma / en lo q<ue> tan<n>ja a sus rregnos / jn nomjne domjne jesu <chri>sto rredentor mundj / [E]nel nonbre del padre / e del fijo. . . / [f. 100r b] . . . acordaron otrosi / la palabra que el dixo segunt que te / fallare asi te judgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 104v a: ". . . yo ioh<a>n andres escriuano del rrey / escrevi este testamento por mandado / deste dicho Sen<n>or e so testigo este tr<es>/ lado fue conçertado de otro treslado / de que [sic] fue sacado del testamento prin / çipal conçertado."

The second testament begins f. 104v a: "Capitulo LXXIX<sup>o</sup>  
 com<m>o / el rrey don alfonso ordeno su testamento / en quanto  
 al alma e alas debdas / [E]nel nonbre del padre / e del fijo  
 . . . / [f. 104v b] . . . por ende depues q<ue> oujemos / fecho  
 nuestro testamento en que mos / tramos e ordenamos cunplida  
 mente / nuestra postrimera voluntad. . . ." The second testa-  
 ment ends f. 108v b: ". . . yo ioh<a>n andres / escriuano  
 del rrey e su notario escrevi este / testamento por mandado  
 dete mesmo / Sen<n>or."

4. CSIV begins f. 109r a: "Capitulo LXXX com<m>o el jnfante  
 do<n> sancho sopo / com<m>o era finado el rrey don alfonso  
 . . . [E]nlos treynta e dos an<n>os / del rregnado deste rey /  
 don alfon<so>. . . ." CSIV ends f. 126r a: ". . . contra  
 estos jnfantes do<n> / ioh<a>n e do<n> ioh<a>n nun<n>ez que  
 eran en t<ie>rra de / trevino con su asonada e desque  
 sopiero<n> / quel rrey salia de burgos contra ellos bol /  
 ujeron se luego co<n> grant mjedo que oujero<n>" (incomplete,  
 ending shortly before the conclusion of BAE chapter 9).

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2ra: "que ella traye"

Number of folios: 3 + 1-126 + 3 (ff. 28, 35-36 are blank)

Writing material: heavy paper

Ink: brown-black

Watermarks: I was unable to discern any watermarks in the MS,  
 perhaps because of the compact nature of the hands.

Foliation: There are independent Roman foliations in ink for  
 the Crónica de Fernando III (I-XXXVII, upper margin) and for

CAX, CSIV (I-LXXXI, lower margin). There is a modern, consecutive Arabic foliation in pencil at the upper right throughout the MS. Ff. 38 through 41, which contain the table of chapter headings for CAX and CSIV and the first chapter heading for CAX, all in the same court hand, lack a Roman foliation. The three foliations suggest that the Crónica de Fernando III and the CAX, CSIV formed two independent MSS, which were joined by the court hand before the Arabic foliation was added.

Quires: The MS is tightly bound, and a good deal of glue was added at some point in time; the quire strings are not visible.

Dimensions of the leaf: 310 x 235 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 215 x 79, per column

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 35-41

Ruling: There are remnants of lead or dry-point ruling outlining the column space in all three chronicles.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: A pointing hand in the margin is used to mark points of interest in the text.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-37v (Crónica de Fernando III)
2. ff. 38r-41r (table of chapter headings for CAX and CSIV, first chapter heading for CAX)
3. ff. 42r-126r (CAX, CSIV)



Hands: The second hand is responsible for the title and the chapter titles throughout the MS; it is a typically court hand.

The first and third hands, those of the texts of the chronicles, are round Gothic but are clearly by different scribes.

Decoration: Spaces were left for decorated initials; the spaces average eight lines in height for the Crónica de Fernando III and three lines in height for CAX, CSIV.

Condition: The MS has been extensively repaired and is generally legible. The upper corner of f. 65 is torn away, and the last lines of CAX BAE chapter 32 and a portion of chapter 33 are missing. The remaining textual lacunae in the MS are not due to missing or torn folios. Ff. 28, 35, 36 (Crónica de Fernando III) were evidently left blank in response to lacunae in the source of the copy. F. 87v (CAX) is almost entirely blank; the end of CAX BAE chapter 67 and all of chapter 68 are missing. In CSIV f. 121v is blank; the textual lacuna involves the middle portion of CSIV BAE chapter 6. The MS ends on f. 126r, within column a. It is therefore clear that the conclusion of the MS within CSIV BAE chapter 9 is not due to the loss of folios. The copy was originally incomplete.

Dimensions of the binding: 325 x 248 mm

Binding: The binding is modern, green and brown leather over cardboard with a green spine and gold decoration. The spine reads: "CRONICAS DE FERNANDO 3<sup>o</sup> Y ALFONSO DECIMO."

Bibliography: Menéndez Pidal, Primera crónica general (1955), 1, LX.

Notes: All the external features of MS. 9233 are consistent with the conclusion that the Crónica de Fernando III and the two following chronicles, CAX and CSIV, originally formed two separate MSS. A later redactor apparently combined the two MSS and added the title, chapter headings and table of chapter headings for CAX, CSIV. It should be noted that the MSS that follow other chronicles with CAX typically lack the Prologue and the first chapter of CAX ("Cuenta la historia. . ."), beginning the copy of CAX with the second chapter, which begins "En el primer año . . . ." the only exception among the known extant witnesses is MS. 2880, BNM, which appends CAX, with the Prologue and usual first chapter, to the chronicles of Pero López de Ayala. The fact that MS. 9233 begins early in chapter 1 at the top of column a and within a sentence probably indicates that the original first folio of the copy was lost (in spite of the fact that the existing first folio bears the Roman foliation I). Given the characteristic beginning of CAX in MSS in which other chronicles precede it, the beginning of CAX in MS. 9233 seems to confirm the deduction that CAX and CSIV originally formed a separate MS.

20. MS. 10132 (Ii.174)

Provenience: The MS may have been commissioned by Juan Fernández de Heredia (1310-1396); it may have belonged to the Marqués de Santillana and was among the codices belonging to the Ducal house of Osuna that were purchased by the Biblioteca Nacional in 1884; see Schiff, La Bibliothèque, p. 401. Schiff comments: "Ce

manuscrit présente les caractères extérieurs des manuscrits exécutés pour Juan Fernández de Heredia, mais les places des rubriques et celles des miniatures sont restées en blanc. La table de ce volume manque ainsi qu'un feuillet où se trouvait peut-être l'encadrement, les armes et le portrait qui ornent les autres manuscrits du grand-maître." The first folio of the MS is badly faded. Nevertheless, one can make out the Osuna shelf mark in the upper margin, "Plut. I. Lit. M. N<sup>o</sup>. 5," and in a different, cursive, hand, "Fernandez de Heredia." Schiff includes the former shelf mark in his description: "Osuna: Plut. I. Lit. M, n<sup>o</sup> 5; Rocam. [Rocamora] n<sup>o</sup> 79; Biblioth. Nat. Madrid, Ii-174."

Date: Schiff dates the MS in the fourteenth century, which is consistent with his attribution of the commission of the copy to Juan Fernández de Heredia; see above, Provenience. Diego Catalán, on the other hand, dates the MS in the fifteenth century; see La tradición manuscrita, p. 389.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: There is no introductory material in the MS in its present form. However, it lacks an original foliation, and f. 1r, although faded, without doubt begins with the opening lines of CAX chapter 1. The MS may have lost a first folio or folios that contained the Prologue and other preliminaries before the modern Arabic foliation was added (to f. 50). For Schiff the explanation accounts for the lack of Santillana's arms and portrait, found in his other MSS. (See Provenience.)

Contents:

1. CAX: ff. 1r a-63r b
2. CSIV: ff. 63v a-84v a
3. CFIV: ff. 84v b-162v b
4. CAXI: ff. 164r a-389v b

(The folios are unnumbered after f. 50.)

Incipits/explicits:

1. The majority of the first folio is illegible; words and short phrases can be discerned, but large blocks of text have been lost because of fading. According to Schiff, CAX begins f. 1r a: "Aqui comiença la coronica del muy noble rey don Alfonso, fijo del muy noble rey don Fernando que gano a Seuilla, que fue a ser emperador." The first three words of the incipit of chapter 1 are visible: "[C]uenta la estoria. . . ." CAX ends f. 63r b: ". . . E / enterraro<n>lo en S<an>ta maria la mayor / de seuilla çerca del Rey don fer<sup>o</sup> su pa / dre e dela Reyna don<n>a beatriz su ma / dre."
2. CSIV begins f. 63v a: "De como el Jnfante do<n> sancho sopo la / muerte del Rey do<n> a<sup>o</sup> su pad<sup>e</sup>. e de como se / alço / rey. / [E]nlos treynta e dos / an<n>os del reynado des / te rey don alfonso q<ue> fu / e enel mes de abril. . . ." CSIV ends f. 84v a: ". . . enterraro<n> el cuerpo en vn / monu-mento de piedra q<ue> el mandar<a> / fazer en su vida çerca de don alfonso / enperador de espan<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. 84v b: "[E]nel an<n>o q<ue> andaua la era / de adam en çinco mill e / sesenta e q<u>atro an<n>os. . . ."

CFIV ends f. 162v b: ". . . e vino / y el Jnfante do<n> pedro.  
e q<ua>ndo lo fallo / muerto traxo muy gra<n>d llanto por el. /  
E este Rey do<n> fer<sup>o</sup>. naçio enel mes de se / tie<n>bre . . . en  
para / yso sea la su anima. Ame<n>."

4. CAXI begins f. 164r (upper margin): "Aq<ui> comiença la coro-  
nica del muy noble Rey do<n> alfon<so> el onzeno. q<ue> comyença  
enla muerte del noble Rey do<n> fer<sup>o</sup>. / su padre. / [f. 164r a]  
[E]nel diez e sezeno a / n<n>o del Reygnado deste / Rey do<n>  
fer<sup>o</sup> q<ue> fue enel / an<n>o dela era de vn mil / e trezientos e  
q<u>arenta e siete an<n>os. . . ." CAXI ends f. 389v b:  
". . . E yua<n> seguros los vnos delos otros. / a dios e a  
s<an>ta maria demos gr<aç<i>as. Ame<n>."

Colophon: There is no colophon at the end of CAXI. However,  
f. 163, following the last folio of CFIV, is blank except for  
the following note, which may have been a colophon to CAX, CSIV,  
CFIV: "Aqui se acaba la segunda parte de / la coronica de  
espan<n>a. E viene luego en post della la coronica del Rey don /  
alfonso su fijo del Rey don fernando / E padre que fue del Rey  
don pedro."

Probatoria: The first words of f. 2r a are illegible because of  
fading. F. 3r a begins: "llego a toledo."

Number of folios: 1 + 389 + 1 (unnumbered)

Writing material: parchment

Ink: brown

Foliation: A modern, Arabic foliation, in pencil, has been added  
through f. 50.

Quires: The MS shows regular quires of ten through CFIV, with the following exceptions: quires six and twelve are of ten folios plus one, and the last quire, beginning on f. 150, is of fourteen folios, ending on f. 163, which is blank but for the note-colophon discussed above (Colophon). The first quire shows the remnants of quire signatures on the lower right rectos. Beginning with f. 164r a, the first folio of CAXI, regular quires of ten resume.

Dimensions of the leaf: 452 x 340 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 258 x 82 mm

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 35

Ruling: The column space is outlined by lead ruling and pen-pricking.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: Catchwords, in the center of the lower margin, occur every ten folios with few exceptions.

Marginalia: Marginal notes are rare. However, a cursive hand added the following note at the conclusion of CAX (f. 63r b): "Aqui pone la de molde el testame<n>to." The note indicates that the MS was compared to, if not corrected against, the princeps, printed at Valladolid, 1554.

Number of hands: The MS is in the same hand throughout.

Hand: Gothic

Decoration: The chapter titles, in the same hand as the body of the text, are in red ink. Spaces averaging four lines in height

and one-third of the column in width were left for decorated chapter initials. Larger spaces, twelve lines in height, were left, apparently for miniatures. at the beginning of CAX and CSIV. A similar large space for a miniature was left after the first lines of the chronological note opening CFIV. There is no such space at the beginning of CAXI.

Condition: Although the first five and last nine folios are badly faded, the remainder of the MS is generally in good condition and among the extant CAX MSS provides perhaps the best example of the more typical physical characteristics of a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Spanish MS. There is a textual lacuna involving CAX BAE chapters 3, 4, 5 following f. 2v. However, the last lines of f. 2v involve a chapter heading that is illegible, and the first lines of f. 3r also involve a chapter heading. It is therefore impossible to say with certainty that the lacuna is due to the loss of folios in MS. 10132. The regular first quire suggests that it is not.

Dimensions of the binding: 468 x 340 mm

Binding: The binding is of brown leather, decorated with black and gold rectangular motifs, over cardboard. The spine reads: "HEREDIA / CRONICA / DE ESPANA."

Bibliography:

1. Catalán, La tradición manuscrita, pp. 389-90.
2. Schiff, La Bibliothèque, p. 401.

Notes: According to the criteria established by Diego Catalán, the conclusion of CFIV in this MS is typical of the Crónica de

cuatro reyes. Nevertheless, the copy of CAXI which follows CFIV is not of that redaction, but is rather a versión vulgata. (See La tradición manuscrita and Notes to MS. N.III.12, BES, and to MS. 1159, BCB.) This fact would seem to contribute to Catalán's conclusion that in MS. 10132 the first three chronicles originally formed one MS and CAXI formed a separate MS. In spite of the fact that MS. 10132 shows one hand and a similar format throughout, a few physical details of the MS are consistent with Catalán's opinion. First of all, while CAXI, as well as CAX, CSIV, CFIV, shows regular quires of ten, there is the unusual long quire concluding CFIV, the last folio of which shows a colophon to CAX, CSIV and CFIV. It may also be significant that in MS. 10132, the folio on which CAXI begins lacks the large space that was left, apparently for miniatures, at the beginning of the previous three chronicles.

21. MS. 10195 (Ii.128)

Provenience: The MS belonged to the Marqués de Santillana and to the Duque de Osuna; it was acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional when that library purchased the Osuna library in 1884. See Schiff, La Bibliothèque, pp. 393-35, and del Rivero, "Indice," 571.

Date: At the conclusion of his critical comments at the end of the MS, Juan Salcedo wrote (line divisions unmarked): "% este libro mando prestar mj Sen<n>or yn<n>jgo lopez a mj johan de salzedo en bujt<ra>go E di conosçim<ient>o del a a<sup>o</sup> de torde-sillas moço de la camara an<n>o de JU CCCC XLIII) (f. 160r,



unnumbered). The terminus ante quem, 1443, suggests the dating 1400-1443 for the MS.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: After three guard leaves, the MS begins with two unnumbered folios that contain a table of chapter headings. The first begins: "[A]quj comje<n>ça la coronjca d<e>l muy noble rrey don alfon<so> en<er>ador e<n> la q<ua>l se co<n>tjene / la coronjca d<e>l Rey don sa<n>cho su fijo e del rey don f<e>rrn<an>do su njeto fasta q<ue>el dicho / rrey don f<e>rna<n>do ouo vn fijo q<ue> llamaro<n> don alfon<so>." The table of chapter headings begins on the recto of the first of the two unnumbered folios: "Cap<itul><sup>o</sup> p<ri>mero de com<m>o rreyno el rrey don alfon<so> e d<e>las mon<e>das q<ue> andaua<n> en su t<ien>po. . . ." The table of chapter headings ends on the verso of the second of the unnumbered folios: "Cap<itul><sup>o</sup>. LXXI. de com<m>o el Rey do<n> a<sup>o</sup> e<n>bio ge<n>t<e>s desus rreg<no>s p<ar>a q<ue> çercasen a / algezjra e les dio por capita<n> al jnfa<n>te don pedro su fijo" (incomplete). The general heading on the recto of the first unnumbered folio is repeated on f. Ir. The Prologue begins f. Ir: "Por muchas gujSas E por muchas man<er>as. . . ." The Prologue ends f. Ir: ". . . com<m>o pasaro<n> las cosas d<e>los rreyes sobredichos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. Ir, text: ff. Ir-LXIIIv
2. CSIV: ff. LXIIIv-XCIIv

3. CFIV: ff. XCIIv-CLIXv (incomplete, ending in the fifteenth year of the reign)

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. Ir: "% Cap<itul><sup>o</sup>. I. de com<m>o Regno El rrey don alfonso E delas monedas q<ue> anda / ua<n> en este t<ien>po / [C]uenta la ystoria q<ue> despues q<ue> fue fjnado. . . ." CAX ends f. LXIIIv: ". . . enterraro<n>le en S<an>ta m<ari>a de Seujlla açer / ca d<e>l Rey don ferra<n>do su padre e d<e>la Reyna don<n>a beat<ri>z su madre."
2. CSIV begins f. LXIIIv: "C<apitul><sup>o</sup> LXXVII de com<m>o el jnfant<e> don Sancho . . . / En los XXXII an<n>os del Reynado deste Rey don alfon<so>. . . ." CSIV ends f. XCIIv (line divisions unmarked): ". . . enterraro<n> el cuerpo en vn monjme<n>to de piedra q<ue> el se fiziera en Su vjda Cerca de don alfon<so> enperador de espan<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. XCIIv (line divisions unmarked): "% Capitulo XC de com<m>o rregno el Rey don ferra<n>do fijo deste Rey don Sancho e delas cosas q<ue> acaesçiero<n> en<e>l comje<n>ço de su rreynado / [E]nel an<n>o q<ue> andaua la era de adam en V U D CIIII an<n>os E la era del diluujo. . . ." CFIV ends f. CLIXv (line divisions unmarked): ". . . llego al Rey ma<n>dado de com<m>o encaesçiera la Reyna don<n>a costança su muger de fijo varo<n>" (incomplete, no folios missing).

Colophon: The MS shows the following colophon on f. CLIXv:

"finito libro sit laus et gloria XPO." The colophon was crossed out, in red, by the corrector of the MS, Juan de Salcedo, who

added, also in red, "restose por q<ue> no<n> es feneçido este libro," and then continued with a list of the errors and the omissions he found in the chronicles, concluding with the note in which he identifies himself and the year. See Date.

Probatoria: The second unnumbered folio begins: "Cap<itul><sup>o</sup>

XXXVII de com<m>o se apartaro<n>. . . ."

Number of folios: 3 (blank guard) + 2 (unnumbered, containing the table of headings) + I-CLXIX + 1 (containing the conclusion of Juan de Salcedo's remarks)

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks:

1. a cross within a sphere above the initials "LAG," with different initials but similar to Valls I Subirà, "Cruz," 1, 80 (Toledo, 1496) (first unnumbered folio)
2. a char à deux roues, which appears to be surmounted by a crown, similar to Briquet, 1, 3542 (Genes, 1414) and to Valls I Subirà, "Carro," 1, 37 (1416) (throughout the MS)
3. an anchor, similar to Briquet, "Ancre," 1, 439 (Naples 1443) (throughout from f. XCIII and final, unnumbered folio)
4. a circle inscribed with a smaller circle which is dissected vertically with a bar (f. XLV)

Foliation: The foliation is Roman, complete and in red ink.

The color of the ink suggests the possibility that the foliation may have been added by Salcedo, whose notes to the MS are in red.

Quires: The two unnumbered folios at the beginning of the MS form a separate quire. The majority of the remaining quires are of twelve folios to f. LXXIIII, which concludes the seventh quire and carries a catchword. (The third and fourth quires are of eight and six folios respectively, each showing a catchword.) F. LXXX carries a catchword, but there is a quire string between ff. LXXX and LXXXI. The catchword on f. LXXX looks as if someone may have attempted to rub it out. Six folios later, on f. LXXXVI, there is another catchword, which is where it should be if one ignores the catchword on f. LXXX. The next two quires consist of ten folios each, followed by a quire of fourteen folios and finally by a quire of eight plus eight less one.

Dimensions of the leaf: 283 x 213 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 36-48

Ruling: There is no ruling, and the margins are irregular.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: Catchwords occur at the end of each quire, except for the catchword on f. LXXX, which falls within a quire. See Quires.

Marginalia: There are a few marginal notes throughout the MS and a consistent (but inaccurate) correction of chapter headings in the same hand as the observations by Juan de Salcedo at the conclusion of the MS. In the latter commentary, Salcedo mentions that in the copy of CAX in this MS the episode of Alfonso pawning

his crown to Abenyucaf and the verses lamenting Alfonso's disinheritance by Sancho, as well as Alfonso's wills, are missing. The episode of the crown and the verses are characteristic of the Estoria del fecho de los godos (Cuarta crónica general), not of CAX, but were interpolated into CAX in MS. M563, BMP. MS. M563 also contains the testaments. It therefore seems likely that the MS against which Salcedo corrected MS. 10195 was either MS. M563 or a MS related to it. (For a discussion of the interpolated version of CAX and its debt to the Estoria del fecho de los godos, see Catalán, "El Toledano romanzado," 74-77; see also Part III, the stemmata, in this paper.)

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-2 (unnumbered) (table of chapter headings)
2. ff. Ir-XXXVIIIv (CAX)
3. ff. XXXIXr-LXIIv (CAX)
4. ff. LXIIIr-XCVIv (CSIV, CFIV)
5. ff. XCVIIr-CXVIv (CFIV)
6. ff. CXVIIr-CXXXVIIv (CFIV)
7. ff. CXXXVIIIr-CXLVv (CFIV)
8. ff. CXLVIr-CLIXv (CFIV)

Hands: court

Decoration: Spaces averaging two lines high were left for chapter initials. The initials beginning the MS and the Prologue are blocked in red.

Condition: The MS is in good condition. However, f. CI is torn, but no text is missing, and f. CXXIX shows a small amount of text obscured by a tear.

Dimensions of the binding: 289 x 224 mm

Binding: The MS is bound in parchment, and the spine reads:

"CORONICA DEL REY DON ALFONSO EMPERADOR. DE MANO."

Bibliography:

1. Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica, 4, 368, n. 1.
2. del Rivero, "Índice," 571-72.
3. Schiff, La Bibliothèque, pp. 393-95.

Notes: No folios were lost at the end of the MS. Although CFIV ends early, in the fifteenth rather than in the sixteenth year of the reign, the colophon and the last chapter announced in the table prove that the original MS ended as it does now. Other than providing a terminus ante quem for the copy of the MS, the notes of Juan de Salcedo do not contribute a great deal of information on the chronicles or on the MS. However, Salcedo's notes appear to be the oldest critical evaluation of the Crónica de tres reyes.

22. MS. 10277 (olim Ii.116)

Provenience: The MS may have belonged to the Marqués de Santillana; it belonged to the Duque de Osuna and was acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional when the latter library purchased the Osuna library in 1884; see Schiff, La Bibliothèque, p. 400.

Date: 15th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The first folio(s) of the original MS have been lost. There is no introductory material in the MS as it now stands. However, there is a heading in the upper margin of f. 2r (f. IIIr), the first folio of the MS, in a later hand: "don alfonso X.<sup>mo</sup> fijo del Rey don fer<sup>do</sup>. que gano a sebilla."

Contents:

1. CAX text: ff. 2r a-71v a (ff. IIIr a-LXXIIIv a) (beginning toward the end of BAE chapter 2), testaments: ff. 71v a-76v a (ff. LXXIIIv a-LXXVIIIv a) and 76v a-81r a (LXXVIIIv a-LXXXIIIr a)
2. CSIV: ff. 81r a-106r a (ff. LXXXIIIr a-CVIIIr a)
3. CFIV: ff. 106r a-197r b (ff. CVIIIr a CCIr b)

Incipits/explicits:

1. The copy of CAX begins f. 2r a with the last lines of BAE chapter 2: "vos avemos contado como este / rrey don alfonso ovo fecho es / ta conquista diremos agora comole truxeron la fija del / rrey de nuruega. . . ." CAX ends f. 71v a: ". . . enterraronlo enla / yglesia de seujlla çerca del Rey do<n> / ferna<n>do su padre e dela Reyna / don<n>a beatriz su madre." The first testament begins f. 71v a: "% del prjmer testamento que / el Rey don alfonso fizo enq<ue>/ maldixo a don sancho su fijo / Enel nonbre del padre . . . / [f. 71v b] . . . Remen / brandonos otrosi de aquella pa / labra que dixo segunt que te / fallare ansi te juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 76v a: ". . . yo ju<an> andres escrjvano del Rey es / crjuj este testamento por mandado /

deste dicho Rey don alfonso e soy / testigo % este treslado  
 fue saca / do e conçertado de otro treslado / que fue sacado  
 del testamento p<ri> / nçipal conçertado." The second testa-  
 ment begins f. 76v a: "% del segundo testamento q<ue>el /  
 Rey don alfonso fizo en que hor / deno sus debdas . . . Enel  
 nonbre de dios padre. . . / [f. 76v b] . . . E por ende despues  
 que ovi / mos fecho n<uest>ro testamento en que / mostramos  
 e hordenamos conpli / damente n<uest>ra postrimera volun /  
 tad. . . ." The second testament ends f. 81r a: ". . . yo  
 ju<an> andres esçrjvano del Rey E / su notario esçrjuj este  
 testame<n>to / por mandado deste mjsmo sen<n>or / Rey."

2. CSIV begins f. 81r a: "% de como el ynfante don sancho /  
 fizo duelo por el Rey don alfon<so> / su padre e despues como  
 tomo / titulo e boz de Rey de castilla e de leo<n> / [f. 81r b]  
 Enlos treynta E dos An<n>os del / Reynado del Rey don  
 alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends f. 106r a (line divisions  
 unmarked): ". . . enterraro<n> lo luego el cuerpo del Rey  
 don sancho en<e>l monjmento dela piedra que el mandara fazer  
 en su vida çerca del Rey don alfonso su padre del [sic]  
 emperador de espan<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. 106r a (line divisions unmarked): "% de como  
 despues dela muerte del Rey don sancho Reyno don fe<r>na<n>do  
 su fijo. Enel an<n>o que andava la hera de adan en çinco  
 mjll e setenta e quatro. . . ." CFIV ends f. 197r b (line  
 divisions unmarked): ". . . E vjno ay el ynfante do<n> pedro  
 E quando lo fallo muerto fizo muy grant llanto por el E tomo



luego a la ora el pendon del Rey E llamo Rey al ynfante don alfonso fijo prjmero heredero deste Rey do<n> fernando que estava en avila que lo dexo ay el Rey don ferna<n>do a crjar."

Colophon: f. 197r b (CCIr b), in red: "Este libro es acabado dios Sea loado por syenp<r>e jamas ame<n>"

Probatoria: f. 3r a (IIIIr a): "e otrosi porque"

Number of folios: 2 + 2-197 + 2

Writing material: paper

Ink: brown

Watermarks: a hand or glove with a band at the wrist surmounted by a star which is inscribed with a circle, similar to Valls I Subirà, "Mano," 1, 158 (Seville, 1491; Valencia, 1495)

Foliation: There is a Roman foliation beginning with the first folio of text, f. III, and ending on the last folio of text, f. CCI (skipping f. XXV), and a later Arabic foliation in pencil, 1-198, in which the second guard leaf at the beginning of the MS is numbered 1, and the first of two guard leaves at the end of the MS is numbered f. 198.

Quires: Quires of twelve are usual; however, ff. I, XXV, CXCIII, CXCV are missing; therefore quires one and three are of twelve folios less one, and the last quire (the eighteenth) consists of twelve folios less two.

Dimensions of the leaf: 296 x 210 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 226 x 70 mm, per column

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 36-50

Ruling: none

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: Following the Roman foliation, there are catchwords every twelve folios: ff. XIIv, XXIVv, XXXVIv, XLVIIIv, LXv, LXXIIv, etc. The catchwords are set off in boxes and are occasionally in red as well as brown ink.

Marginalia: There are a few pentracings on the last folio of text, f. 197r, which are in the same ink as the body of the text.

Number of hands: Although there is some variation in size and spacing, the hand appears to be the same throughout the MS.

Hand: Del Rivero describes the hand as "Buena letra de juros del siglo XV" ("Indice," 572).

Decoration: Simply decorated initials in red, three lines high, begin each chapter. Chapter headings, calderones, and occasionally the catchwords, are also in red ink.

Condition: There is a good deal of damage where the ink has bled through from one side of the folios to the other, especially from f. 69 to f. 109. The microfilm of the MS is difficult to read; however, the majority of the MS is legible in the original.

F. I (involving CAX BAE chapters 1, 2) and ff. CXCIII and CXCv (involving CFIV BAE chapters XVI, XVII) are missing. The three missing folios and the fact that f. XXV was skipped in the Roman foliation account for the discrepancy between the Roman and Arabic foliations in the MS and at the same time indicate that the folios were lost before the Arabic foliation was added.

Dimensions of the binding: 301 x 230 mm

Binding: The MS is bound in parchment, and there are remnants of two leather ties. The title reads: "H<sup>a</sup> DEL R. D. A. EL PRIM<sup>o</sup>. The first two guard leaves are from an early printed work in Latin. The first of the two leaves is inverted, and the first legible words of the leaf are: "abbat Et respo<n>dens. . . ."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 572-73.
2. Schiff, La Bibliothèque, p. 400.

Notes: Schiff calls the MS a "Chronique des quatre rois," although he does not omit to note that "celle [chronique] d'Alphonse XI manque" (La Bibliothèque, p. 400). However, within the context of the criteria established by Diego Catalán for the Crónica de cuatro reyes as opposed to the Crónica de tres reyes, the conclusion of CFIV clearly classifies this MS with the witnesses for the latter redaction. See Notes for MS. N.III.12, BES, and for MS. 1159, BCB.

23. MS. 13002 (olim Dd.21)

Provenience: The inside cover of the MS bears the ex libris: "P<sup>e</sup> Burriel." Del Rivero notes that the MS is part of the "colección del P. Burriel" ("Indice," 573).

Date: The portion of the MS containing the Crónica de Fernando III, CAX, CSIV and CFIV was finished January 31, 1534; the copy of the two privileges granted by Alfonso X to the city of Toledo and CAXI was completed May 1, 1535. See Colophon.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The recto of the third guard leaf shows a table of contents in a later, cursive hand: "Indice de lo contenido en este Volumen / Continuacion de la Chronica de S. Fernando de donde la dexo / el Arzobispo D. Rodrigo \_\_\_\_\_ 1 / Chronica de Alonso X \_\_\_\_\_ 12.b / Chronica de D. Sancho IV \_\_\_\_\_ 82.b / Chronica de D. Fern<sup>do</sup>. IV \_\_\_\_\_ 98. / Dos Privilegios de Alonso X. concedidos a la Ciudad de Toledo, el uno en 22 de Mayo Era 1293. haciendola gracia de dos / montadgos; y el otro de 6 de Febrero Era 1298. confirmando / otros de sus antecesores, que mandavan no fuesem [sic] obligados / los de Toledo a dar posada contra su voluntad \_\_\_\_\_ 148.b / Chronica de D. Alonso XI \_\_\_\_\_ 149."

Contents

1. the Crónica de Fernando III, from the beginning of the Estoria de España's continuation of Ximénez de Rada's history: ff. 1r-12r
2. CAX: ff. 12v-82v (beginning with an abbreviated version of BAE chapter 2)
3. CSIV: ff. 82v-98r
4. CFIV: ff. 98r-148r
5. two privileges granted by Alfonso X to Toledo in 1293 and 1298: ff. 148v
6. CAXI: ff. 149r-202v

Incipits/explicits:

1. The Crónica de Fernando III begins f. 1r: "% Sigujendo la ystorja delas Cronjcas y fechos delos Reyes despan<n>a e

delas sus vidas lo qual el / arçobispo don Rodrigo de toledo  
 . . . se despidio eneste lugar dela Cronjca mas / por q<ue>la  
 Razo<n> delos sus fechos deste Rey don fern<sup>do</sup> se Cumpla hasta  
 el aCabamj<ent>o dela / su vida tomando eneste lugar el  
 sigujmj<ent>o della y asj comiença eneste lugar do finco /  
 % Cuenta la ystorja. . . ." The Crónica de Fernando III  
 ends f. 12r: ". . . y este santo Rey hizo despu<e>s muchos  
 milagros y fino an<n>o / de JU CC LIII a<nno>s."

2. CAX begins f. 12v: "% Muerto el santo Rey don fern<sup>do</sup>.  
 fue alçado por Rey el Rey don alonso su hijo. x<sup>o</sup>. deste  
 no<n>bre / enel an<n>o del S<sup>or</sup> de JU CC LIII a<nno>s. era  
 Casado en vida de su padre con don<n>a violante. . . ." CAX  
 ends f. 82v: ". . . y enteRaro<n>le / en Santa marja la  
 mayor en Sevilla cerCa del Rey don f<sup>o</sup> su padre e dela Reyna /  
 dona beatriz su madre y este noble Rey don a<sup>o</sup> es el q<ue>  
 hizo las sjete p<ar>tidas / y el fuero de Castilla y hizo  
 trasladar la brjvja en latjn e despu<e>s en Romance / e fizo  
 otros buenos hechos y fue onbre muy sabjo y djos p<er>done su  
 anjma ame<n>."
3. CSIV begins f. 82v: "% muerto el Rey don a<sup>o</sup> como abeys oydo  
 luego lo supo el ynfante don s<sup>o</sup> estando / enla çibdad de  
 avjla. . . ." CSIV ends f. 98r: ". . . hasta q<ue>le  
 aCabaro<n> de enteRar en vn monjme<n>to de piedra q<ue> avja  
 el mandado / hazer çerCa de don a<sup>o</sup> enperador despan<n>a."
4. CFIV begins f. 98r: "% enel an<n>o dela creaçio<n> del  
 mu<n>do de. VU LXIIII a<nno>s y del djluvjo. . . ." CFIV ends

f. 148r: ". . . e vino ay el ynfante don p<sup>o</sup> e com<m>o lo hallo muerto hizo muy gran / llanto por el. este Rey don f<sup>o</sup> nasçio . . . en parayso sea la su anjma."

5. The first privilege begins f. 148v: "este es el treslado de vn previlegio q<ue> el Rey don / a<sup>o</sup> deçimo deste no<n>bre djo ala çibdad de toledo / % conosçida Cosa sea a todos los omes q<ue> la presente vjese<n> . . . q<ue> aya por toledo dos mo<n>tadgos. . . ." The first privilege ends f. 148v: ". . . XXII / djas de mayo era de JU CC XCIII an<n>os. mjllan perez de aellon [?] la / hizo por ma<n>dado del arçediano m<sup>e</sup> fern<sup>do</sup> e de don m<art>jn p<ere>z de t<sup>o</sup> nota / rjos del Rey." The second privilege begins f. 148v: "otro previlegio del d<ic>ho Rey dado a toledo / % sepan quantos esta ca<rta> vjese<n> . . . tovjm<sup>os</sup> por bjen de hazer n<uest>ras Cortes en la noble çibdad de t<sup>o</sup> sobre fecho del ynperjo / e a estas Cortes vinjero<n> a<sup>o</sup> de moljna n<uest>ro tio e n<uest>ros h<e>r<man>os e los arçobispos . . . a quje<n> convjen de av<er> buenas / posadas . . . ma<n>damos e otorgamos e defendemos q<ue> de aq<ui> a / delante njng<sup>o</sup> no sea osado de posar en sus Casas si ellos no qujsjere<n>. . . ." The second privilege ends f. 148v: ". . . fecha la carta en toledo por n<uest>ro mandado. vjernes. vj. djas de hebr<sup>o</sup> era de. JU CC / XCVIII an<n>os. ju<an> f<e>rr<ande>z de segovja la escrjvjo el an<n>o octavo q<ue> el Rey don a<sup>o</sup> fino [?]."
6. CAXI begins f. 149r: "comjença la Coronjca del Rey don a<sup>o</sup> el onzeno hijo del Rey don fer<sup>do</sup> q<ue> murjo enplazado / % el

Rey don a<sup>o</sup> onzeno deste no<n>bre enpeço a Reynar. vjernes  
 Nueve djas del mes / de setjenbre an<n>o del nasçimj<ent>o de  
 n<uest>ro Salvado ih<es>u <christ>o de JU CCC IX an<n>os. . . ."  
 CAXI ends f. 202v: ". . . de dolençia murjero<n> los  
 sig<uiente>s el m<aestr>e de santiago . . . ju<an> arjas de  
 abiero / portugues."

Colophon: There is a colophon at the conclusion of CFIV (f. 148r):

"aCabose de escrevj r a. 31. de enero de 1534 an<n>os." Preceding  
 the colophon and immediately following the last lines of CFIV,  
 the hand responsible for both the text of CFIV and the Colophon  
 also wrote: "Enpos desto vjene la Coronjca del Rey don a<sup>o</sup>  
 onzeno / q<ue> fue padre del Rey don p<sup>o</sup> el cruel." There is a  
 second colophon on the last folio of the MS (f. 202v): "aCabose  
 prjm<sup>o</sup> dja de m<a>y<sup>o</sup> de JU D XXXV a<nno>s / deo graçias." The  
 same hand added: "murjo este Rey don alonso onzeno en viernes  
 santo. an<n>o de JU CCCL a<nno>s / tenjendo çerCo sobre gibraltar."

Probatoria: f. 2r: "fue a CoRida la Condesa"

Number of folios: 3 + 1-202 + 1

Writing material: paper

Ink: brown to black, grainy and corrosive

Watermarks: Throughout the MS there are two differing versions of  
 the hand or glove surmounted by a star, of the general type  
 described in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544. The larger of the  
 two watermarks is similar to Valls I Subirà, "Mano," 1, 183  
 (Barcelona, 1546). The guard leaves at the beginning and end  
 of the MS show an oval medallion surmounted by a triple-pronged

crown. The central prong of the crown is a fleur de lis.

There appear to be initials within the oval and an inverted fleur de lis below the oval. The watermark is not catalogued in either Briquet or Valls I Subirà.

Foliation: There is a Roman foliation through f. XIII and a later and complete Arabic foliation at the upper right of the rectos.

Quires: Three different colors of strings (blue, red, beige) are visible in the binding, and the quires are extremely irregular.

Dimensions of the leaf: 295 x 211 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 29-41

Ruling: none

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: In the lower margin of f. 13v a cursive hand different from that of the body of the text added: "Este Rey de Aegypto embio a demandar al Rey don alonso <ue> le embiase su fija por muger e dixeron <ue> el Rey / don al<sup>o</sup>. sela queria embiar. y la Infanta gn<sup>o</sup>. lo supo no consintio en ello, y dixo a su padre <ue> al Can embiasse por muger / vna Cadela que es una perra. assi nose hablo mas en ello." The note was evidently prompted by a mention of the king of Egypt (eighth year of the reign, CAX BAE chapter 9). The following passage appears in the Estoria del fecho de los godos del siglo XV (Cuarta crónica general) in



the first chapter dedicated to the reign of Alfonso X: "Esta don<n>a Berenguela envió pedir el grand Kan. E el rey queria gela dar. Ella dixo al rey su padre que al grand Kan, que le diesen grand cadena . . ." (Colección de documentos inéditos, 106, 13). Two MSS of the Estoria confirm the association; MS. 9563, BNM, agrees fundamentally with MS. 13002's cadela, giving cadiella (f. 96v 21), while MS. 9559, BNM, reads cadena (f. CLXXVv a36). Cadiella/cadela is clearly the original reading, providing the basis for both the explanation in MS. 13002 and the euphemism in MS. 9559 and the printed version. Given the content of the note, it may imply no more than a recollection of a memorable passage in the Estoria on the part of the reader who added the note to MS. 13002. Nevertheless, there is an additional marginal note in MS. 13002 which leads to the discovery of an association between the latter MS and a MS of CAX which contains interpolations from the Estoria.

In the lower margin of f. 77r (CAX BAE chapter 76) the hand responsible for the copy of the remainder of the folio (the first hand of the MS) wrote: "aq<ui> falto vna hoJa y q<ue>da este espaçio / en q<ue> se escriba." The note is crossed out and no spaces now exist in the MS. Within the text on the folio, there is no physical indication of the beginning of a lacuna. However, the same hand wrote at mid f. 78r (set off slightly from the preceding and following text): "aunq<ue> esta esto en blanco no falta nada y esto q<ue> esta aq<ui> abaxo no vje / ne conesto sino lo dela hoJa adela<n>te desta." The same hand then copied

the poem "yo sali de mi tierra," which is characteristic of the Estoria. The verso of the same folio bears a second copy of the poem in a cursive hand very similar to that of the cadela note on f. 13v. The recto of the following folio (f. 79r) resumes the text of CAX BAE chapter 76: "a todos los ynfantes e Ricos ombres asj com<m>o las Soljan aV<er>. . . ."

Evidently the lacuna signalled by the note on f. 77r existed originally in the source of MS. 13002 but was filled in before the latter MS was copied. In any case the note, with minimal variation, is found in two additional MSS: MS. 321, BMP, and MS. 642, BNM. The latter two MSS show the actual lacuna as well, which begins following the line "Et llegolo ay a Vna puerta" (MS. 642, f. 89r 10); the text resumes: "A todos los ynfantes e rricos om<ne>s asi com<m>o las solian aver" (MS. 642, f. 90r 1). It may be deduced that the basic copy in MS. 13002 is related to MSS. 321 and 642. Furthermore, the latter two MSS define the beginning of the segment of text that was originally missing and later added to the source of MS. 13002.

In MS. 13002 that segment shows extensions of text that also appear in MS. M563, BMP, i.e. the names of the judges who pronounced sentence against Alfonso at Valladolid in 1282. Diego Catalán noted that the names of the judges and a few other extensions of text in MS. M563 are interpolations in CAX that were provided by the Estoria ("El Toledano romanizado," 74-80; see also n. 55 to Part III). The poem "yo sali de mi tierra" is found among the other interpolations in MS. M563. However,

MS. M563 includes the poem within a passage borrowed from the Estoria that consists of three consecutive chapters, and that lengthy interpolation in MS. M563 occurs at a point in the narration that is later than the occurrence of the poem in MS. 13002. Apparently MS. M563 or a MS related to it was the ultimate source of the passage containing the names of the judges and corresponding to the missing text in the source of MS. 13002. Because the first transcription of the poem follows a note remarking that the poem interrupts the copy and because the poem is in the same hand as the body of the text and the notes calling attention to the exceptions in the passage, it seems likely that the first copy of the poem in MS. 13002 also proceeded from the CAX expanded with text from the Estoria that provided the passage containing the names of the judges. Given the probable physical limits of the space left in the source of MS. 13002, it is not surprising that of the three chapters interpolated into MS. M563 only the poem was copied into MS. 13002's source.

Inasmuch as none of the other Estoria interpolations in MS. M563 appears in MS. 13002, the influence of the former MS on the latter would seem to be limited to these two items. Nevertheless, the marginal note on f. 13v containing the reference to cadela, clearly taken from the Estoria, is curiously coincidental. There is also the second copy of the poem "yo sali de mi tierra" (f. 78v), almost certainly in the hand responsible for the cadela note. Given that the chapter showing the cadela note

in MS. 13002 (CAX BAE ch. 9) is lacking in MS. M563, there is no way of knowing whether that note found its way into MS. 13002 through a CAX expanded with passages from the Estoria. Finally, the cadela note is indeed marginalia, the second transcription of the poem (f. 78v) is most probably also marginalia, and the hand responsible for both is more cursive and apparently later than that which copied the body of the text. It therefore seems most reasonable to conclude that the cadela note and the second transcription of "yo sali de mi tierra" were the results of an intervention in MS. 13002 that occurred after the completion of the copy and was totally unrelated to the presence in that MS of the passages containing the information on the judges and the first copy of the poem "yo sali de mi tierra," although all three items were ultimately provided by the Estoria.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1r-2v, 4r-15r, 40r-v, 62r-202v
2. ff. 3r-v, 15r-39v, 41r-61v

Hands: The first hand, responsible for the copy of the major portion of the MS, is a small compact procesal. The second hand is similar, also procesal, but much larger and less careful. The change of hands in this MS in no case corresponds to the beginning of a new chronicle.

Decoration: The MS is undecorated. There are no spaces left for decorated initials, and each chapter begins with a simple calderón in the same ink as that of the body of the text.

Condition: There is some amount of damage from the corrosive ink.

The ink has also bled through from one side of some folios to the other and in some cases is simply flaking off the paper. The combination of the inferior ink and the sprawling procesoal of the second hand render portions of the MS exceedingly difficult to read. CAX shows a lacuna from the second to the sixth year, but no folios are missing. At the change of hand on f. 41r the mid portion of CAX BAE chapter 29 is recopied and was crossed out. CAX BAE chapters 31-35, involving Alfonso's correspondence to the nobles in exile in Granada, are reduced to a résumé (ff. 42-43); no folios are missing.

Dimensions of the binding: 302 x 215 mm

Binding: According to del Rivero, the binding is "pasta italiana" ("Indice," 573). The binding bears the title "CHRONICAS / DE / SAN FERNANDO / III / D. ALONSO X<sup>o</sup> / D. SANCHO IV / D. FERNANDO IV / D. ALFONSO XI<sup>o</sup>."

Bibliography:

1. Catalán, Un cronista anónimo, p. 236.
2. del Rivero, "Indice," 573-74.
3. Menéndez Pidal, Primera crónica general (1955), 1, LX.

Notes: Menéndez Pidal states: "Este ms. altera libremente el lenguaje, abreviando mucho la frase y suprimiendo construcciones difíciles" (Primera crónica general [1955], 1, LX). Referring to the copy of CAXI, Diego Catalán observes: "Es un resumen rápido de la versión impresa" (Un cronista anónimo, p. 236). The collation of the witnesses in a three-chapter segment of CAX indicates that MS. 13002 is not closely related to the 1554 edition

of that chronicle. However, the results of the collation in CAX are consistent with Menéndez Pidal's opinion of the MS in general; the copy of CAX is corrupt. For a list of variants that demonstrate the unreliability of MS. 13002, see Part III of this study.

CAX in MS. 13002 begins in BAE chapter 2, as do MSS. 642 and 7403, BNM, and 321, BMP, all of which precede CAX with other chronicles, and all of which are related; see Part III. MSS. Eg. 239, BL; 2880 and 9233, BNM, also precede CAX with other chronicles. Only MS. 2880 includes the Prologue to CAX. MS. 9233 begins early in CAX BAE chapter 1 but appears to be a composite of two MSS and also shows evidence of having lost the first folio of the original copy of CAX; see Notes to MS. 9233. MS. Eg. 289 begins with the first line of CAX chapter 1 as provided by the majority of the witnesses: "Cuenta la historia. . . ." In sum, the only generalization that may be made from those MSS that append CAX to other chronicles is that the Prologue was usually omitted. The shared beginning of CAX in MSS. 13002, 642, 321 and 7403 may not be assumed to reflect anything other than a family relationship between the MSS.

Madrid: Biblioteca del Palacio de Oriente

24. MS. 2777 (olim 2-C-10)

Provenience: unknown

Date: Del Rivero states: "Letra del siglo XV, o ocaso del XIV" ("Indice," 577).

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The MS is missing the original first folios. There is therefore no introductory material in the MS as it now stands.

Contents:

CAX: ff. 1r-189r (beginning early in BAE chapter 2 due to the loss of folios)

Incipits/explicits: CAX begins f. 1r: "Casamje<n>to E por q<ue> avia muy poco t<ien>po q ue / el Rey do<n> fern<an>do Su padre ganara la çibdat de Seujslla. . . ." CAX ends f. 189r: ". . . enterraro<n> / lo en santa maria de Seujslla çerca / del rrey don ferra<n>do Su padre e dela / Reyna don<n>a beat<ri>z Su madre."

Colophon: f. 189r: "DEO GRACIAS." There appears to be another "A" following "GRACIAS"; if a final "AMEN," in abbreviated form, is present, only vestiges of the "A" are now visible.

Probatoria: f. 2r "mjll e dozientos e çinq<uen>ta"

Number of folios: 1 + 1-190 + 1

Writing material: paper

Ink: brown to black

Watermarks: not observed

Foliation: There is an Arabic foliation, in ink, on the lower right rectos. On several folios preceding f. 103, the number has been lost in trimming. Following that folio, only infrequent remnants of the numbers are visible. A second, complete Arabic foliation, in pencil, is at the upper right.

Quires: A quire string is visible following f. 2. There are remnants of letters at the lower margin on f. 10v, which may indicate a catchword (the hand is unidentifiable). There is a second quire string following f. 18. Folios are missing following f. 4 (involving CAX BAE chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and part of 9) and f. 8 (involving BAE chapters 12, 13, 14, 15 and part of 16). It is difficult to deduce from these facts the sequence of events involving subsequent bindings and the loss of folios, evidently on different occasions. The first two quire strings suggest a first quire of sixteen folios, and the loss of the initial six folios of that quire. Given the incipit of the MS, the size of the hand and of the folios, such a loss is plausible. This conclusion involves the assumptions that the present binding is not the original binding and that the folios missing after ff. 4 and 8 were lost before the MS was bound in its present form. It seems exceptional that internal folios would be lost before initial and more vulnerable folios; however, the explanation is a definite possibility.

The second quire, also of sixteen folios, bears no catchword on the last folio of the quire (f. 16), but shows a catchword, in the same hand as that of the text, within the quire on f. 19v. The third quire contains six folios and has an original catchword on f. 32v. The fourth quire also contains six folios but shows no catchword on f. 38v. The fifth quire ends with f. 53 but shows an original catchword on f. 45v. In the lower margin of f. 53v there are remnants of a flourish which may indicate the



original presence of a catchword. Quire five returns to the pattern of sixteen folios per quire. The quire shows a stub following f. 48 and therefore, according to the foliation, appears to be one folio short. The sixth quire is of ten folios, ending on f. 63 and lacking a catchword on the final folio. There are, however, original catchwords on each of the first five folios of the quire. The seventh quire begins on f. 64 and consists of twelve folios, ending with f. 75, which shows no catchword. However, a textual lacuna involving CAX BAE chapters 36 and 37 indicates that at least one folio of the original MS is missing following f. 64. Quire eight consists of eight folios, ending on f. 83; there is no catchword. The ninth quire contains ten folios and shows catchwords on the third and fourth folios of the quire but not on the final folio, f. 93v. There is a stub following f. 93. Within quire nine, following f. 85 there is a textual lacuna due to the loss of folios and involving BAE chapters 48 and 49. As with the folios missing following ff. 4 and 8, the loss appears to have taken place before the MS was bound in its present form. The tenth quire consists of sixteen folios and shows catchwords on the first, second, third, fifth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth folios of the quire. The tenth quire ends with f. 109. The eleventh quire appears to consist of twenty-four folios, ending on f. 133, and shows catchwords on the versos of the majority of the folios. The twelfth quire is similar, consisting of twenty-four folios and showing catchwords on most of them. Quire twelve ends on

f. 157. The thirteenth quire also consists of twenty-four folios and again catchwords on the majority of the folios are usual. One folio, following f. 175, was lost after the MS was bound in its present form. The lacuna involves the mid portion of BAE chapter 76. The quire ends on f. 180. There is no quire string visible to indicate how the final ten folios of the MS were bound.

The lower margins of ff. 53r and 92r show remnants of what may be the original quire signatures. F. 53r shows an "h," and f. 93r shows what appears to be an "n" and the Roman "iii." Furthermore, f. 58r shows at the lower right margin the Roman "xii," which, given the number of folios of text preceding its presence in the MS, must be part of a quire notation and cannot reflect an early Roman foliation in the MS. In any case, the irregularity of the quires, the evidence for the loss of folios from successive bindings and the frequently random distribution of the catchwords strongly suggest that the MS was rebound at least once.

Dimensions of the leaf: 198 x 132 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 162 x 100 mm

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 19-23

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than the lead outlining of the text page.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are catchwords throughout the MS in the same

hand as the text. The original scribe also used the catchword position to complete a word or phrase on one folio before continuing to the next. Because of the very close trimming of the lower margin on numerous folios and because of the use of catchwords on virtually every folio in the latter part of the MS, it is difficult to ascertain what the catchwords imply for the original binding of the MS. It is, however, quite clear that the catchwords have nothing to do with the quire structure of the MS as it is now bound.

Marginalia: There is a pointing hand on f. 143v that draws attention to don Manuel's speech in favor of don Sancho's right to inherit the throne following the death of Fernando de la Cerda. The pointing hand is accompanied by the marginal note: "no<te> bie<n> / estas / pala / bras," and both the illustration of the hand and the script of the note appear to be very nearly contemporary to the copy of the text. The same early hand is responsible for a lengthy note at the inner margin of f. 145r. The note is largely illegible owing to the binding. However, it clearly comments the flight to Aragon of Queen Violante and her daughter-in-law Blanca with the de la Cerda princes. The notes on ff. 143v and 145r describe the interest of an early reader in the problem of succession. There are a number of marginal notes in a later, italic hand, many of which have been largely lost in trimming. On ff. 189v and 190r there are notes in two sixteenth-century hands on the judges and counts of Castille and on the 1272 revolt of the nobles against Alfonso. At the top of

f. 190r there are pentracings, including the first line of the "Ave Maria," drôleries and a signature beginning "como yo fernando de . . . ab . . . v," the remainder of which is illegible.

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-4v, 9r-189r
2. ff. 5-8v

Hands: Both hands are round Gothic. The chapter titles appear to be in the second hand. The fact that the two lengthy lacunae in the MS occur following ff. 4 and 8 is most likely related in some way to the change of hands.

Decoration: There are simple, blocked chapter initials averaging three lines in height and one-third of a column in width. Chapter titles are in red ink, and the initials are in red or lavender.

Condition: F. 86 is torn but legible. F. 34 is almost entirely torn away; part of BAE chapter 23 is missing. On numerous folios a few words of the last line of text have been lost in the extremely close trimming for binding; ff. 184-88 are those most affected. Many folios of the original MS have been lost; there are lacunae involving all or significant sections of chapters 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 36, 37, 48, 49, 76.

Dimensions of the binding: 204 x 140 mm

Binding: The binding is modern; there are red and blue marbled end papers. According to del Rivero, the binding is "pasta española con hierros dorados" ("Indice," 577). The spine reads "CRONICA / DE / D. AL. EL SAB."

Bibliography: del Rivero, "Indice," 577.

Notes: In spite of the serious lacunae in MS. 2777, it is one of the oldest witnesses for CAX. For the establishment of the critical text of the short redaction, MS. 2777 will most certainly prove to be an important complement to its frequently defective relative, MS. 829, BNM.

Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia

25. MS. 9-4761 (olim 12-23-1= A-10)

Provenience: Del Rivero notes that the MS belongs to the Academia de la Historia's "colección Muñoz"; see "Indice," 578.

Date: Del Rivero dates the MS in the fourteenth century; see "Indice," 578.

Scribe: unknown

Title: A later hand added the following title and list of contents to guard leaf 1v: "Cronicas / De d. Alonso el sabio desde el fol. 1 hasta el de 52 / De d. Sancho 4<sup>o</sup> desde 53 hasta el de 67 / De d. Fernando 4<sup>o</sup> desde 67 hasta el de 117 / De d. alonso 11 desde 118 hasta 251."

Introductory material: A later hand added the following in the upper margin of f. 1r: "Los Reies de Castilla e Leon tenian en su Camara las historias de los reies de Hespania." On f. 1r the hand responsible for the body of the MS introduced the Prologue with the following rubric in red ink: "Comiença la coronica del muy / esclareçido y Sabio Rey don / alonso deçimo fiJo del Santo / y bien auenturado Rey don fern<an>do / que gano la muy

noble çibdad / de Seujlla Cordoua y otras / çibdades y villas  
 del andaluzia / Prohemjo." The Prologue begins f. 1r a: "Por  
 muchas gujsas E por muchas / maneras los antiguos. . . ."  
 The Prologue ends f. 1r b: ". . . e Comjença / luego la coronjca  
 de este rrey don alfon / so el Sabio que eS esta q<ue> eneste  
 libro / es contenjda enla manera q<ue> adelante / diremos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: ff. 1r a-b, text: ff. 1r b-46v a, testaments:  
 ff. 46v a-49v a and 49v a-52r b
2. CSIV: ff. 52v a-66v b
3. CFIV: ff. 67r b-117v b
4. CAXI: ff. 118r a-251r a

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1r b: "Capitulo primero Com<m>o deSpue>s /  
 dela muerte del Rey don fernando / fue alçado por rrey de  
 castilla el yn / fante don AlonSo Su fiJo / Cuenta la his-  
 toria que des / pues que fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. 46v a:  
 ". . . enterraronlo enla igl<es>ia de santa maria / de Seujlla  
 çerca del rrey don fernando / Su padre e dela Reyna don<n>a  
 beatriz / Su madre." The first testament begins f. 46v a:  
 "Cap<itu>lo LXXIIII del testamento que / fizo el rrey don  
 alfonSo / enel nonbre de dios padre . . . acordan / donos  
 otroSi dela palabra q<ue> el di / Xo Segundo q<ue> te fallare  
 asi te Judgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 49r b:  
 ". . . Yo Juan andres / eScriuano del rrey eScreuj este  
 testam<ent><sup>o</sup> / por mandado deste dicho Sen<n>or e So tes / tigo

e este traslado fue concertado de / otro traslado q<ue> fue  
 Sacado del testamento / [f. 49v a] principal Concertado."  
 The second testament begins f. 49v a: "Cap<itu>lo LXXV<sup>o</sup> del  
 codiçillo que / fizo el rrey despues de su / testamento / enel  
 nonbre de dios padre . . . porende despues / que ovimos fecho  
 n<uest>ro testamento en / que moStramos e hordenamos conpli /  
 damente n<uest>ra postrimera voluntad. . . ." The second  
 testament ends f. 52r b: ". . . yo juan andres escriuano del  
 rrey e Su notario es / creuj este testamento por mandado /  
 deste mesmo Sen<n>or / Acabase la coronjca del muy / noble  
 rrey don alonso deçimo / deste nonbre."

2. CSIV begins f. 52v a (line divisions unmarked): "don sancho  
 [upper margin] / comjença la coronjca del muy noble rrey don  
 fernando [corrected to "sancho"] terçero deste nonbre fijo  
 del rrey don alonso / capitulo primero de como fue enterrado  
 el rrey don alonso y començo a rreynar Su fijo el rrey don  
 fernando [corrected to "Sancho 4"] / en los XXXII an<n>os  
 del rreynado deste rrey don alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends  
 f. 66v b (line divisions unmarked): ". . . enterraronlo  
 luego en el monumento de piedra Cabo de don alfonso enperador  
 de espanna."
3. CFIV begins f. 67r b (line divisions unmarked): "Don Fernando  
 [later hand, upper margin] / Cronica del noble rei D. Fer-  
 nando Quarto el emplaçado [later hand] / enel An<n>o que  
 andaua la era de adan en çinco mjll e setenta e quatro  
 an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 117v b (line divisions unmarked):

"... e vino y el ynfante don pedro e quando lo fallo muerto fizo y muy grande llanto por el y tomo y luego a la hora El peñdon del Rey e traxolo por la villa llamando Castilla Castilla por el Rey don alfonso su fijo primero heredero deste Rey don fernando que el dejara En avila e de aqui adelante la historia yra contando los fechos que acaesçieron en Reynando este muy alto e muy noble e esclareçido Senor Rey don alonso de Castilla e de leon."

4. CAXI begins f. 118r a (line divisions unmarked): "En el nonbre de dios padre e fijo y Spiritu santo Aquj comjença la coronjca del noble Rey don alonso vndeçimo deste nonbre fijo del Rey don fernando de qujen la historia A Contado / Capitulo primero de como acordaron de llevar a enteRar el Cuerpo del Rey don fernando a la çibdad de cordoua . . . / En el comjenço del Reynado deste noble Rey don alfonso que començo en el mes de septiembre del año de las Eras sobredichas. . . ." CAXI ends f. 251r a (line divisions unmarked): ". . . y a la Su anjma deste tan noble e virtuoso rey don alonso e la lleve a Su gloria amen Ca muy buen Rey fue."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "e omes fijos dalgo"

Number of folios: 1 + 1-251 + 1

Writing material: heavy paper

Ink: black

Watermarks: The MS shows one watermark throughout: a medallion inscribed with a figure difficult to identify but which shows



the fundamental configuration of the pilgrim as in Briquet's "Pèlerin," 2, 415.

Foliation: There are remnants of a Roman foliation, and there is a later and complete Arabic foliation in ink.

Quires: A<sup>10-1</sup>, B-T<sup>10</sup>, U<sup>4</sup>, X-Z<sup>10</sup>, Aa-Bb<sup>10</sup>, Cc<sup>8</sup>

Dimensions of the leaf: 414 x 272 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 286 x 81 mm per column, with remnants of an outlining in lead of the column space

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 44-58

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than that outlining the column space.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: Marginal notes in a later, italic hand summarize several passages.

Number of hands: Although there is some variation in size and spacing in the hand, it appears to be one and the same throughout the MS.

Hand: round Gothic of transition

Decoration: The rubric at the beginning of the MS and the chapter headings in all chronicles except CAXI are in red ink. The chapter headings for CAXI are in the same hand as the remainder of the MS, but are in black.

Condition: good

Dimensions of the binding: 423 x 280 mm

Binding: According to del Rivero, the MS is "Encuadernado en holandesa antigua, lomo de piel con el título: 'Coronicas,' y tapas forradas con papel, siglo XVIII" ("Indice," 578).

Bibliography: del Rivero, "Indice," 578-79.

Notes: My work with this comparatively old witness for CAX has yet to uncover any significant lacunae in the text of that chronicle. The MS is not representative of the textual tradition of CAX in that it combines a long-version Prologue with a short-version text; see Part III below. However, the age and the completeness of the MS indicate that it is of fundamental importance for the establishment of the critical text of the short version of the body of the text. Furthermore, MS. 9-4761 is the oldest MS that contains a long-version Prologue. If we may assume that the Prologue and CAX text together underwent the redactional changes leading to the long-version CAX, and if the dating of the MS in the fourteenth century is correct, MS. 9-4761's long-version Prologue proves that the redaction existed in the fourteenth century. See Part III.

The group of chronicles contained in the MS suggests that it is a Crónica de cuatro reyes. However, according to the criteria established by Diego Catalán, the conclusion to CFIV is typical of the tres reyes MSS; see Notes for MS. N.III.12, BES, and for MS. 1159, BCB.

26. MS. 9-28-3-5509 (olim 12-25-5= C-88 and 9-25-5= C-88)

Provenience: unknown. In the upper margin of f. IIr, the first extant folio, there is an attribution of ownership in a cursive hand which appears contemporary or nearly contemporary to that of the body of the text. The attribution begins "este libro es de don fr<sup>o</sup>. . . ." I am unable to decipher the remainder of the name.

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: Guard leaf 5r shows two titles, each followed by a list of contents, in two different later hands. The two titles vary minimally; the second reads "Cron<ica> de cinco reyes / D<sup>n</sup>. Alonso el Sabio folios 1 al 58v<sup>o</sup> / D<sup>n</sup>. Sancho IV folios 59 al 95 / D<sup>n</sup>. Fernando IV folios 95 al 166 / D<sup>n</sup>. Alonso XI folios 166 al 367 / y la de D<sup>n</sup>. Enrique IV escrito por / Diego Enriquez del Castillo / folios 367 al 469."

Introductory material: The MS is missing its original first folio. The text begins on f. IIr, within CAX BAE chapter 1. If the MS originally preceded f. I and the beginning of CAX chapter 1 with introductory material, the folios bearing that material were unnumbered. A small, inserted leaf, guard 3, bears a note in a later hand to the effect that the MS contains the works announced on the binding. The following guard leaf, 4, shows a list, in a different later hand and ink, of passages of interest in the text and gives the folio number of each.

Contents:

1. CAX text: ff. IIr-64v (beginning in the second half of BAE chapter 1 owing to the loss of an initial folio), testaments: ff. 64v-69r and 69r-73r
2. CSIV: ff. 73r-95r
3. CFIV: ff. 95r-165r
4. CAXI: ff. 166r-366r
5. Crónica de Enrique IV: ff. 367r-469v

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. IIr: "de los otros lugares del Reyno Contra vn linaje de moros. . . ." CAX ends f. 64v: ". . . enterrarlo en Santa maria de Seuilla cerca del Rey don fernando Su padre / e de la Reyna donna beatriz Su madre." The first testament begins f. 64v (line divisions unmarked): "del primer testamento que el rey don alonso hizo en que maldixo al ynfante don sanch o su hijo / En el nombre del padre. . . / [f. 65r] . . . e Remembra donos otrosj de aquella palabra que el dixo segund que te fallare asy te judgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 69r (line divisions unmarked): ". . . yo Juan andres escriuano del Rey escrivi este testamento por mandado [?] de este senor Rey don alonso e So tuestiguo este traslado fue concertado de otro traslado que fue sacado del testamento principal concertado." The second testament begins f. 69r (line divisions unmarked): "% del segundo testamento que el Rey don alonso hizo

enq<ue> ordeno Sus debd<a>s y f<e>cho de su alma / Enel  
no<m>bre d<e>l padre . . . por ende despues q<ue> ovjmos  
f<e>cho n<uest>ro teStam<ent>o en q<ue> mostramos y hordenamos  
Co<m>plidame<n>te n<uest>ra postrjm<er>a voluntad. . . ."

The second testament ends f. 73r (line divisions unmarked):

". . . yo Ju<an> andr<e>s escrj<uan>o d<e>l Rey e su not<ari>o  
escrevi eSte teStam<ent>o por man<da>do [?] d<e>l mjSmo."

2. CSIV begins f. 73r (line divisions unmarked): "% de Com<m>o  
el ynfante don S<anch>o fizo duelo por el Rey don al<ons>o  
Su padre e despues tomo titulo e boz e Rey de castilla e de  
leo<n> / En los trey<n>ta e dos an<n>os del Reynado deSte Rey  
don al<ons>o. . . ." CSIV ends f. 95r (line divisions  
unmarked): ". . . e<ne>l monume<n>to de piedra q<ue>l  
ma<n>do faz<e>r en Su vida çerca del Rey don al<ons>o Su  
ahuelo emp<er>ador despan<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. 95r (line divisions unmarked): "de Como  
despues d<e>la muerte del Rey don S<anch>o Reyno don  
f<e>r<nan>do Su hijo / en el an<n>o q<ue> andava la era de  
adan en 5074 an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 165r (line divi-  
sions unmarked): ". . . e vjno y el y<n>fante don p<edr>o e  
qua<n>do lo hallo muerto hizo muy gra<n>d lla<n>to por el y  
tomo luego ala ora el pe<n>don del Rey e llamo Rey al  
y<n>fante don a<lons>o hijo del Rey p<ri>m<er>o herede<r>o  
deste Rey don f<e>r<nan>do q<ue> eStaba en avila q<ue> lo  
dexo el Rey don f<e>r<nan>do su padre a crjar."

4. CAXI begins f. 166r (line divisions unmarked): "Coronica del Rey don a<lons>o El XI q<ue> gano las algeziras / Enel nonbre de dios e de la muy alta e muy noble e muy s<an>ta. . . ."
- CAXI ends f. 366r (line divisions unmarked): ". . . e yba<n> seguros los vnos a los otros."
5. The Crónica de Enrique IV begins f. 367r (line divisions unmarked): "Siguese la Historia del Rey don enrique . . . Por el liçentiado enrriq<ue>z Del Castillo s<an>to capella<n> y coronista / Quanto mas alta Cosa es aq<ue>lla de q<ue> se deve tratar . . . cap<sup>o</sup> pm<sup>o</sup> d<e>la filosomya [sic] del Rey don enrriq<ue> hijo del Rey don Juan El segundo % Que era p<er>sona de larga statura. . . ." The Crónica de Enrique IV ends f. 469v (line divisions unmarked): ". . . Se muestre mas alegrja ny por las adversydades sen<n>alada tristeza."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. IIIr: "e abbad de Cuevas Rubjas"

Number of folios: 5 + II-XXIX, 30-469 + 3 (unnumbered, following CFIV)

Writing material: paper

Ink: black to brown

Watermarks: not observed

Foliation: There is a Roman foliation beginning on the first folio of text, f. II, through f. XXIX. An Arabic foliation continues from f. 30 to the end of the MS. There are remnants of a second Arabic foliation from the later CFIV through CAXI. For the Crónica de Enrique IV there are two Arabic foliations,

one in pencil and one in ink, for that chronicle alone, in addition to the Arabic foliation that continues the numbering of the previous chronicles.

Quires: The majority of the quires contain twenty folios and show remnants of signatures: letters and internal numbering i-x on the first ten folios of the gathering. The first quire begins on f. II and consists of twenty folios less one, the first. The second quire, signed "B," is regular. Quire C begins with the signature "Cii" and consists of nineteen folios, but no text is missing. The quires are regular to quire Z, which consists of eight folios, ending f. 165, the folio on which CFIV concludes. The following three folios are unnumbered, contain pentracings and do not belong to either the preceding or the following quire. The CAXI begins on f. 166, which opens a new quire of twenty folios, the first ten of which bear quire numbers in Arabic. The final folio of the quire shows a catchword. The next quire returns to the letters and Roman numerals used throughout the quires in the first three chronicles of the MS. The last quire of CAXI consists of twelve folios, the first six of which are numbered i-vi. CAXI concludes on the eighth folio of the quire (f. 366r); the verso of the folio bears pentracings. The following four folios have been torn out. The first quire of the Crónica de Enrique IV consists of twenty folios but is not signed. The last folio of the quire shows a catchword. The second quire of the Crónica de Enrique IV contains twenty-two folios and does not show a catchword. The following two quires are each of

twenty folios and do not bear catchwords. A quire of twenty-two folios follows. The final gathering begins on f. 455 and consists of fifteen folios plus a stub following f. 456. The quire string is not visible. The disposition of the quires suggests the possibility that the CAX together with CSIV and CFIV formed originally one MS while CAXI and the Crónica de Enrique IV each also formed separate MSS.

Dimensions of the leaf: 294 x 201 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not measured

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 37-39

Ruling: none

Running headlines: CAX shows the headline "don al<ons>o el sabio" or "sauio," in the hand responsible for the copy of the body of the text. There is also a running headline for CSIV from f. 59 to f. 69, which begins before the conclusion of CAX. The latter headline reads: "Coronica del Rey don sancho"; it is in a hand different from that of the body of the text but appears to be sixteenth-century.

Catchwords: Catchwords are usual but sometimes lacking.

Marginalia: Marginal notes are rare. However, there are pen-tracings on the portions of the folios left blank at the conclusion of the individual chronicles. Guard leaf 4's list of events selected from the text reflects the interests of a relatively early reader. Del Rivero noted that at the conclusion of CFIV there is a note in a later cursive hand commenting the execution of the Carvajales ("Indice," 580).



Number of hands:

1. ff. II-165 (CAX, CSIV, CFIV)
2. ff. 166-366 (CAXI)
3. ff. 367-469 (Crónica de Enrique IV)

Hands: All three hands are court/procesal but appear to be by different scribes. The distribution of the hands is consistent with the possibility that the MS is a composite of three originally separate MSS.

Decoration: There are no decorated chapter initials. Chapter titles usually show simple calderones.

Condition: The first folio of the MS has been lost, and the first half of CAX BAE chapter 1 is missing. I have yet to discover further lacunae. The MS is legible throughout.

Dimensions of the binding: 305 x 208 mm

Binding: According to del Rivero, the MS is "encuadernado en holandesa, tapas papel, tejeulo: 'Cronicas / de los Reyes / D. Alonso el Sabio / D. Sancho IV. / D. Fernando IV. / D. Alonso XI. / D. Enrique IV'" ("Indice," 579).

Bibliography: del Rivero, "Indice," 579-80.

Notes: The MS contains CAXI and would therefore seem to be a Crónica de cuatro reyes to which the Crónica de Enrique IV was added. However, according to the criteria established by Diego Catalán, the conclusion of CFIV is typical of the Crónica de tres reyes. (See Notes to MS. N.III.12, BES, and MS. 1159, BCB.) The quire structure and the hands in the MS, however, suggest the definite possibility of three separate MSS later bound

together into one, in which case the combination of chronicles from different redactions is perfectly understandable. This MS is a rather late but decent witness for the long redaction of CAX; see Part III of this paper.

New York: Hispanic Society of America

27. MS. B1489

Provenience: unknown

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: f. 1r: "% libro dela coronjca del muy noble rrey. don alonso el sabio / hijo del muy noble rrey don fer<nan>do que gano a seuylla."

Introductory material: The Prologue begins f. 1r: "Comjença La Coronjca. / Por muchas gujsas. y por muchas maneras los antiguos q<ue> / Ante fueron. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1v: ". . . y ordenose. En tres Coronjcas. de cada Vno destos. / Reyes la suya. puestas en tres tratados. E comjençan [sic] Luego la coronjca. deste don alonso el sabio. ques esta q<ue> eneste libro es con / tenjda En la manera q<ue> de aquj Adelante diremos."

Contents: CAX Prologue: f. 1r-v, text: ff. 1v-140r, testaments: ff. 140v-152r and 152r-160r

Incipits/explicits: CAX begins f. 1v: "Esta ystoria es de<e>l rrey don Alonso el deçimo que / llamaron el sabio copilose por mandado del / rrey don alonso el honzeno biznjeto / de como d<e>spues dela muert<e> del santo rrey don hern<an>do que gano

a / [se]ujlla alçaron. a don alonso su hijo por Rey los del  
 reyno E / [f]ue. el que dixeron el Sabio. / quenta la ystoria  
 que despues que el Santo Rey don hernando. . . ." CAX ends f. 140r:  
 ". . . enterraronlo / en santa maria de seVilla çerca del Rey /  
 don hernando Su padre e dela Reyna / don<n>a beatriz Su madre."  
 The first testament begins f. 140r: "del primero testamento  
 q<ue> hizo el Rey don alonso En que mal dixo a don sancho / Su  
 hijo / [f. 140v] Enel nonbre del padre e del hijo . . . Remen-  
 brandonos otroSy / de aquella palabra que el dixo Segun / que te  
 fallare ansi te juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 152r:  
 ". . . yo juan andres escrjvano del Rey escrebi / este testa-  
 mento por mandado deste d<ic>ho sen<n>or / Rey don alfon<so> e  
 so testigo este treslado fue con / çertado de otro treslado que  
 fue sacado del / testamento prinçipal conçertado." The second  
 testament begins f. 152r: "del segundo testamento que fizo el  
 Rey / don alfonso En q<ue> hordeno sus mandas / E fecho de su  
 anjma / Enel nonbre del padre e del fijo . . . / [f. 152v] . . .  
 porende despues q<ue> ovimos fecho n<uest>ro testa / mento En  
 q<ue> moStramos e hordenamos conplida / ment<e> n<uest>ra.  
 postrimera voluntad. . . ." The second testament ends f. 160r:  
 ". . . yo Juan andres esc<ri>vano del Rey E su no / notario escrebi  
 este testamento por mandado / de este mismo."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "ble. çiudad. de sevilla"

Number of folios: I have seen this MS on microfilm only. Accord-  
 ing to Charles Faulhaber, the folios are as follows: "3 f. 1. +

1-160 (= 161: f. 90bis; ff. 15, 90bis, 118-9, 144-5, 150-1 clipped) + 2 f.1." (Medieval Manuscripts: The Hispanic Society of America, 1, 493).

Writing material: paper

Ink: Faulhaber states that the MS shows a variety of inks as well as of hands.

Watermarks: "Ovoid, pointed, inscribed with cross, Latin, and 'BF' (Briquet, 5681-2 [1561-82]; Gayangos, 100-1 [1553-68]; ovoid, pointed, above 'FB' and inscribed with crowned eagle (cf. Gayangos, 143-4 [1545-53]; cf. Bofarull, F. de, Los animales en las marcas del papel, 459 [1561])" (Medieval Manuscripts, 1, 493).

Foliation: An Arabic foliation, in pencil, was added by Faulhaber in the mid right margin.

Quires: "Gatherings a-e signed (to f. 39) but apparently with errors; vol. too tightly bound to ascertain" (Medieval Manuscripts, 1, 493). Remnants of the interior numbering of the quires, i-iiii, are visible on the microfilm, ff. 119v-122v.

Dimensions of the leaf: 310 x 209 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 231 x 140 mm

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 36, average

Ruling: No ruling is visible on the microfilm copy.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: On ff. 139v and 149v a hand different from that responsible for the text on those folios added words that appear to function as catchwords.

Marginalia: Several marginal notes summarize and comment the text.

The hand of these marginalia is similar to and may be the same as that which added the catchwords on ff. 139v and 149v.

Number of hands:

1. f. 1r-v
2. ff. 2r-v
3. ff. 3r-160r

From f. 3r through f. 160r there is variation in the size and spacing of the hand. However, the style of the hand is the same throughout those folios.

Hands:

1. court/humanistic
2. court
3. a more cursive court

Decoration: none

Condition: The beginning folios show waterstains, but the legibility of the text is not affected. F. 1 was torn and has been mended; the first letters of a few words that begin at the left margin on f. 1v are missing. The copy of BAE chapter 55 was interrupted at mid f. 91v; one-half of that chapter is missing. The text resumes at the top of f. 92r with the last section of BAE chapter 6. There is no change of hand, and the unfinished f. 91v suggests that the lacuna existed in the source of MS. B1489.

Dimensions of the binding: not observed

Binding: "Bound (19th c.?) in pasta española over cardboard with gold-tooled ribs; glazed marbled endpapers. Same binding on

MSS New York HSA B1498 (entry 494), B1499 (entry 465), and B1500 (entry 466). Red morocco spine label: CRONICA / DEL REY / D. ALONSO / EL SABIO. Price ('4000') in red pencil f. \*3v" (Medieval Manuscripts, 1, 493).

Bibliography:

1. Faulhaber, Medieval Manuscripts: The Hispanic Society of America, 1, 493.
2. Serís, Nuevo ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos, 1, 48-49.

Notes: Serís states that this MS is believed to have served as the base for the princeps (Valladolid, 1554). He does not state who suggested the relationship or whether he shared that opinion. However, he compares MS. B1489's Prologue with that of the princeps and notes numerous differences. The MS, in fact, is not closely related to the princeps. The two witnesses show long and short versions, respectively, of CAX; see the stemmata in Part III of this paper. I have not examined MS. B1489 directly.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale

28. MS. Esp. 327 (S. Germ. fr. 1574, n. 2236)

Provenience: unknown

Date: 1458

Scribe: unknown

Title: A hand different but similar in style to that of the body

of the MS wrote on f. 1r: "Ihs [upper margin] / [in red] La  
 Chronica Del Sa / bio E noble Rey Don / Alfonso Que fue Empe /  
 rador Fijo del S. Rey / Don Ferrando Que ga / no a Seuilla / E  
 Dè / Don Sancho, E Don ferrando, E Don Alfonso El XI." The  
 numeral "IIII," in black, was added following "ferrando." Above  
 the title a late, cursive hand added the location of the MS:  
 "S. Germ. fr. 1574, n. 2236." The same hand added below the  
 title: "La Chronique De D. Alfonso XI n'est pas icy."

Introductory material: The hand responsible for the title on  
 f. 1r continued on f. 1v with the following introductory material,  
 which is found in no other MS: "Reyno En Castilla y en Leon El  
 muy noble / Rey Don Alfonso que por las muchas vitorias que /  
 tuuo Contra Moros por gracia y merced de Dios Es lla / mado El  
 Conquistador El qual Entro a rreynar an<n>o de / JUCCC y VIII  
 E fue fijo del noble Rey Don Fernando / quarto E fue nieto del  
 Rey Don Sancho El Brauo / E visnieto del Rey Don Alfonso llamado  
 El Sabio / que fue Emperador E Este Emperador fue fijo del / Mui  
 Santo E muy Sabio E muy novle Rey Don Fernando Que gano a Seuilla  
 E a Cordoua E a / Jaen E a Murcia E a sus tierras El qual yaze  
 sote / rado [sic] En la Ciudad de Seuilla don faze dios por el /  
 muchos miraglos / An<n>o de JUCCC XXVII / Mando El Rey Don Alfonso  
 XI. Escreuir Estas / Historias que se Siguen que fueron del  
 Reverendo Don / Alfonso de Cartagena Obispo de Burgos fijo del  
 R<sup>do</sup> / Don Pablo Obispo assimesmo de Burgos." The table of  
 chapter headings begins f. 2r: "lybro dela coronjca del muy  
 novle Rey don alfon<so> El Sabjo fiJo del Santo e / noble Rey

don ferrna<n>do q<ue> gano a Seujslla / de com<m>o despues dela  
 muerte del Santo Rey do<n> ferrna<n>do q<ue> gano a Seujslla al /  
 çaro<n> a don alfon<so> Su fijo. . . ." The table of chapter  
 headings ends f. 5r: "de los fechos del Sesto An<n>o del Reynado  
 deSte Rey do<n> ferrna<n>do" (incomplete). The main hand of the  
 MS begins on f. 6r a with a rubric that introduces the Prologue:  
 "% libro dela coronjca del muy / noble Rey don alfon<so> el  
 Sabio. . . ." The Prologue begins f. 6r a: "prologo / E por  
 muchas / gujsas e por / muchas mane / ras los antiguos que ante  
 fuero<n>. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 7r a: "% E / Comjença  
 luego la coronjca / deste Rey don alfon<so> el sabio / que es  
 esta que eneste lib<sup>o</sup> / es contenjda enla manera / que aquj  
 adelant<e> diremos." At the foot of f. 6r the hand responsible  
 for the title page wrote "La vanda del Rey / Don alfonso mjo  
 Sen<n>or" and drew the coat of arms.

#### Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: ff. 6r a-7r a, text: ff. 7r a-108r a, testaments: ff. 108r b-114v a and 114v b-122r a
2. CSIV: ff. 122r a-160v a
3. CFIV: ff. 160v a-286v b

#### Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 7r a: "% de com<m>o despues dela mu / erte del  
 santo Rey don f<sup>o</sup> / q<ue> gano a seujslla alçaro<n> a do<n> /  
 a<sup>o</sup> su fiJo por Rey los del / Reyno e fue el q<ue> dixiero<n>  
 el sabio / Cuenta la estoria q<ue> / despues q<ue> el santo /  
 Rey don ferna<n>do fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. 108r a:



- ". . . enterraronlo en santa m<ari>a / de seujlla çerca del Rey don fernando su padre e dela Rey / na don<n>a beatriz su madre." The first testament begins f. 108r b: "Enel nonbre del padre e del fiJo . . . / [f. 108v a] . . . E Re / menbrandonos otrosy de a / q<ue>lla palabra q<ue> el dixo segu<n> / q<ue> te fallare asy te Juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 114v a: ". . . yo ioh<a>n andres esc<ri>p / uano del Rey esc<ri>puj este / testamj<sup>0</sup> por mandado des / te dicho sen<n>or Rey don al / fon<so> e so testigo este tres / lado fue conçertado de ot<sup>0</sup> / treslado q<ue> fue sacado del / testamj<sup>0</sup> prinçipal co<n>çertado." The second testament begins f. 114v b: "En<e>l nonbre del padr<e> / e del fiJo . . . / [f. 115r a] . . . por ende despues q<ue> ouj / mos fecho n<uest>ro testamj<sup>0</sup> en / que mostramos e ordena / mos co<n>pli- dam<en>te n<uest>ra postr / ymera voluntad. . . ." The second testament ends f. 122r a: ". . . yo io / h<a>n andres esc<ri>puano del / Rey e su notario esc<ri>puj es / te testamj<sup>0</sup> por mandado / deste mjsmo."
2. CSIV begins f. 122r a: "Enlos treynta e doss / an<n>os del Regnado / deste Rey do<n> alfon<so>. . . ." CSIV ends f. 160v a: ". . . enter / raron luego el cuerpo el Rey / don sancho enel monjm<en>to de / piedra q<ue> el mandara fazer / en su vida çerca del Rey do<n> / alfon<so> su padre enperador / de espan<n>a."
3. CFIV begins f. 160v a: "de los fechos / q<ue> pasaron despues q<ue> come<n>ço / [R]eynar el Jnfant<e> Rey don /

ferrna<n>do fiJo del Rey don sa<n> / cho / Enel an<n>o q<ue>  
 andaua la er<sup>a</sup> / de adan en çinco mjll e setenta e q<ua>tro  
 an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 286v b: ". . . e vjno y el  
 Jnfante don / pedro e q<ua>ndo lo fallo muer / to fizo muy  
 grand llanto por / el. E tomo luego ala ora / el pendon del  
 Rey e llamo / Rey al Jnfante don alfonso / fizo [sic] del  
 Rey don fernã<n>do / p<ri>mero heredero destes / Reynos q<ue>  
 estaua en aujla / q<ue> lo dexo y el Rey don fer / nando su  
 padre acriar E / este fue el Rey don alfon<so> / el que gano  
 a algezjra."

Colophon: f. 286v b: "% El libro es acabado / dios Sea loado. /  
 En<e>l mess de Junjo enla vylla de / medyna del campo an<n>o  
 de mjll / E CCCC L VIII an<n>os Reynant / en castilla EL noble  
 Rey don En / rriq<ue> e la rreyna su muger don<n>a Joa / na  
 h<e>rm<an>a del rrey de portugal."

Probatoria: The first words of f. 2r are: "lybro dela coronjca."  
 F. 7r bears a faded Arabic "2" at the upper right, next to the  
 later Arabic foliation. The latter folio is the second folio  
 of text in the main hand of the MS; it contains the conclusion  
 of the Prologue and the beginning of CAX chapter 1 and could be  
 the second folio of the original MS. The first words of f. 7r  
 are: "en este libro."

Number of folios: 2 + 1-286 + 2

Writing material: paper

Ink: The ink used by the main hand of the MS is brown.

Watermarks:

1. a pointed ovoid inscribed with a Latin cross, above what appears to be an inverted crown, of the general type described in Valls I Subirà, "Cruz," 2, 128 (f. 1 [title page] only)
2. two different versions of a tulip, the smaller divided horizontally into two parts and bearing two leaves, the larger divided horizontally into three parts and bearing one leaf, of the general type described in Briquet, "Fleur," 2, 376, and similar to 6647-52 (throughout the text)
3. ornate, upper-case letters "I" and "R," the first, of the general type described in Briquet, "Lettre I," 3, 445; the second, similar to "Lettre R," 3, 8938 (Palerme, 1456-58) (rare, body of the text)
4. Throughout the text two versions of the two-wheeled cart alternate. Each version is surmounted by a different crown or mitre, and each crown or mitre is in turn surmounted by a different, smaller crown. One version ends in a triple-pronged foot; the latter watermark is similar to Valls I Subirà, "Carro," 187, 44 (Cáceres, 1464). The second version also ends in a triple-pronged foot, but the right and left prongs are curved inward to meet the central prong; the version is similar to Briquet, "Char à deux roues," 1, 3536 (Pignerol, 1464; Provence, 1448 [?]; Perpignan, 1464; Lyon, 1469-72), and is found on f. 2 (table of chapter headings) as well as in the body of the text.

Foliation: In the middle of the upper margin of the rectos there are remnants of a Roman numbering in an ink and hand that seem to be the same as those of the body of the MS. However, the correspondence between the Roman numbers and the later Arabic foliation escapes me. F. 36, for example, bears the Roman "XIV," and f. 45 bears the remnants of what appears to be the Roman "XV." F. 55 also bore a Roman number, which has been almost entirely lost in trimming. F. 60 shows the Roman "XX," while f. 70 shows "XXX," and f. 75 shows "XXXV."

There are also two additional Roman numbers, in a different ink and style, on f. 66 (LXI) and f. 83 (LXXVIII). The position in which the latter numbers appear on ff. 66 and 83 is not affected by trimming in the remaining folios of the MS. More numbers in the same position, ink and style nevertheless fail to appear. If the first five folios, which are in hands different from that of the bulk of the MS, are removed from the foliation, the latter two numbers correspond to the folios on which they appear. The two Roman numbers may have been added in response to the confusion in foliation from f. 60. If this is the case, we would assume that the first five folios were added after the addition of the Roman numbers on ff. 66 and 83.

An Arabic foliation begins on the first folio showing the main hand of the MS (f. 6) and is clearly visible through f. 14.

There is a second, complete Arabic foliation in ink.

Quires: The majority of the quires consist of twelve folios. However, the MS is tightly bound, and the precise disposition of each quire is difficult to ascertain.

Dimensions of the leaf: 270 x 197 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 183 x 60, per column, with lead ruling outlining the column space

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 27-31

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than that outlining the column space.

Running headlines: Headlines for CAX and CFIV appear on the first few folios only; for CSIV there are headlines throughout. The headlines appear to be in the same hand as that which added the title page. The headlines may have been added in response to the confusion, mainly in the early chapters of CSIV, caused by the incorrect placement of numerous chapter headings.

Catchwords: ff. 27v, 38v, 50v, 62v, 74v, 86v, 98v, 110v, 121v, 133v, 134v (bound out of sequence, follows f. 181), 146v, 158v, 170v, 193v, 205v, 217v, 229v, 241v, 264v

Marginalia: There are several pointing hands. The hand that added the title also added a number of marginal notes. On f. 114v, between the two testaments of Alfonso X, the same hand added: "% Fallaras Este Testamento Enel Sagrario Conla Biblia y el Salam<er>o / que deyo Este Rey Aella [sic] Iglesia de Seuilla E conlos libros de Partidas / Elas Tablas delas Estrellas Queste Rey Compuso E Ordeno muy / Sabia E Conplidamente faras le onrra por Ello E Reuerençia a su / memoria. E que Dios le de Santo Paraiso Amen."

Number of hands:

1. f. 1 (title page)
2. ff. 2r-5v (table of chapter headings)
3. ff. 6r-286v (CAX, CSIV, CFIV)

Hands:

1. a round Gothic hand with upper-case letters consistently rendered with a double vertical stroke
2. 15th c. court
3. 15th c. round Gothic of transition

The first hand may be a later, conscious imitation of the round Gothic hand of the majority of the MS.

Decoration: Several irregular decorative motifs in red ink on f. 2r have been partially trimmed away. Decorated chapter initials three lines high and one-third of the column in width show tendrils and harping. The initials are usually red while the tendrils and harping are in lavender. A few chapter initials show the reverse color scheme. The chapter headings in red do not correspond to the chapters from CAX BAE 63 to CSIV BAE 7.

Condition: Folios are missing following f. 16; the end of CAX BAE chapter 9, all of chapters 10-18 and the first half of 19 are missing. Following f. 36 there is apparently only one folio missing; the middle of CAX BAE chapter 29 is lacking. On f. 68r the scribe left a small space, evidently in response to a lacuna in his source; the last half of CAX BAE 55 and almost all of 56 are missing. F. 134 is bound out of sequence and should follow f. 181. There is a folio missing following f. 264; the middle

of CFIV BAE 15 is lacking. The scribe left f. 268v blank; another section of CFIV BAE 15 is missing. F. 271 is blank, but no text is missing. A folio was lost between ff. 274 and 275; the end of CFIV BAE 16 and the beginning of 17 are missing.

On a number of folios the ink has bled through from one side of the folio to the other, but the MS is entirely legible.

Dimensions of the binding: 280 x 205 mm

Binding: The binding is modern, marbled leather over cardboard with a gold filagree border. The leather cover on the spine is missing, revealing portions of a newspaper covering the binding cords. An article in the newspaper contains the date 1841, but that is not the date of the issue of the newspaper.

Bibliography:

1. Morel-Fatio, Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais, pp. 49-50.
2. Proctor, Curia and Cortes in León and Castile: 1072-1295, p. 230, n. 28.

Notes: The differing hands and their respective folios suggest that the hand that wrote the title added that page (f. 1), added numerous marginal notes and the running headlines and incorporated the folios (which are in a different hand) that contain the table of chapter headings (ff. 2-5), all in the process of correcting the original MS (ff. 6-286). The title at the beginning of the MS announces CAXI. However, the colophon at the conclusion of CFIV indicates that CAXI was never included in the MS.

On f. 84 (CAX BAE chapter 67) a lengthy interpolation begins, which consists of an extension of the Infante Don Manuel's

speech in behalf of Sancho's rights to inherit the throne and a speech by Alfonso declaring his acceptance of Sancho as his heir. The presence of the passage was noted by Morel-Fatio, who compared MS. Esp. 327 to the BAE edition. It was Evelyn Proctor, however, who referred to the passage as an interpolation and recognized its interest for the study of the question of the succession. The majority of the interpolation, i.e. Alfonso's speech, was taken directly from Alfonso's first will. The interpolation is found in ten other MSS and appears to be one of the more significant variants characteristic of the long version of CAX. See the stemma for chapters 64, 65 and 75 in this paper.

The conclusion of CFIV in MS. Esp. 327 is typical of the tres reyes MSS; see Notes to MS. 1159, BCB, and MS. N.III.12, BES.

Parma: Biblioteca Palatina

29 MS. 336

Provenience: unknown

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The table of chapter headings begins f. 1r: "AQVI COMIENCA LA TA / BLA DE LOS TITVLOS / DESTE LIBRO / cap<sup>o</sup> primero de como Reyno este Rey don alfonso despues / dela muerte de don fernando Su padre." The table of chapter headings ends



f. 6v: "cap<sup>o</sup> CXXIII de como los caualleros de çamora acogieron / a don juan enel alçazar y como los de çamora pelearon / conel / Acauase la tabla." The Prologue begins f. 1r (a new Arabic foliation begins at the conclusion of the table of chapter headings): "AQVI COMIENCA LA CORO / NICA DEL MVI NOBLE / REI DON ALONSO / HIIIO DEL MVI / NOBLE E MVI/ CATHOLICO / SANCTO / REI DON / Hernando. que. / gano A seuilla / Por muchas guisas E por muchas maneras los antigos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1v: ". . . por que los que adelante vinje / ron Sepan En como pasaron las cosas en t<iem>po delos rreyes sobre / d<ic>hos."

#### Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1r-v, text: ff. 1v-81v, testaments: ff. 81v-86r and 86r-90v
2. CSIV: ff. 90v-116v
3. CFIV: ff. 117r-207v

#### Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1v: "cap<sup>o</sup> primero de como rreino este rrey don alfonso despues dela / muerte del rrey don f<e>rnanado Su padre / Cuenta la historia que despues que fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. 81v: ". . . enterrarlo en santa maria de seujlla cerca del rrey / don f<e>rnanado su padre E dela rreina dona beatriz Su madre." The first testament begins f. 81v: "Enel Nombre de dios E del fijo . . . rremembrandoNos otrosi de aquella palabra que el / dixo Segun que te fallare ansi te juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 86r: ". . . yo Juan andres es / criuano del rrey escriuj este testam<ent>o

por mandado deste d<ic>ho / sen<n>or rrey don alfonso E So  
 testigo E este treslado fue con / çertado de otro treslado que  
 fue sacado del t<e>stamento prin / çipal conçertado." The  
 second testament begins f. 86r: "Enel Nombre del padre E del  
 fijo . . . / [f. 86v] . . . porende despues que ovimos  
 f<ec>ho n<uest>ro tes / tamento en q<ue> mostramos E hordena-  
 mos complidamente / n<uest>ra voluntad postrimera. . . ."

The second testament ends f. 90v:

". . . yo Juan andres Scriuano / del rrey E Su notario  
 Scriuj este t<e>stam<ent>o por mandado des / te mesmo Sen<n>or."

2. CSIV begins f. 90v: "Cap<sup>o</sup> LXXVIII como el ynfante don /  
 Sancho Se llamo rrey despues ela muerte / del rrey Su padre.  
 E delos f<ec>hos que Acae / çieron Eneste an<n>o / Enlos  
 treinta E dos an<n>os del Reinado deste Rey don alfonso. . . ."

CSIV ends f. 116v: ". . . Enterraron luego el cuerpo del  
 rey don Sancho enel monum<en>to / de piedra q<ue> le [?]  
 mandara fazer en su vida çerca del rrey don al / fonso Su  
 padre emperador de espan<n>a."

3. CFIV begins f. 117r: "HISTORIA DEL REI / DON / FER / NA<N>DO /  
 Cap<sup>o</sup> XCI de como alçaron por Rey al ynfante don f<e>rnanando . . .  
 E delas Nuevas que o / vieron de don Juan E de otros / Enel  
 an<n>o que andaua La hera de adan En çinco mjll E SeSenta / E  
 quatro an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 207v: ". . . E vino y el  
 ynfante don pedro en quanto lo fallo / muerto fizo muy grande  
 llanto por el E tomo luego ala ora el / pendon del rrey E  
 llamo rrey al ynfante don alfonso hijo del / rrey primero

Herederro deste rrey don alfonso q<ue> estaua en aVila /  
 q<ue> lo dexo E [sic] el Rey don fernando Su padre A criar."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "Cap<sup>o</sup> XXIIII de como los rricos omes"

Number of folios: 1(?) + 1-6 + 1-208 = 214

Writing material: paper

Ink: The ink on many folios has bled through from one side of  
 the folio to the other.

Watermarks: not observed

Foliation: There are two consecutive Arabic foliations: 1-6  
 followed immediately by 1-208.

Quires: Sets of Arabic numbers, 1-6, on the versos of folios  
 are visible in the microfilm copy of the MS in my possession.  
 The numbers themselves and their disposition in the MS sug-  
 gest quires of twelve.

Dimensions of the leaf: not observed

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 41

Ruling: no visible ruling

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: none

Number of hands: The MS is in the same hand throughout.

Hand: humanistic

Decoration: The MS is undecorated. Spaces similar to those occupied by decorated chapter initials in other MSS were left at the beginning of Alfonso's two wills.

Condition: The microfilm copy in my possession suggests that the MS is in good condition. However, the ink, which tends to bleed through the folios, has damaged a few passages.

Dimensions of the binding: not observed

Binding: not observed

Bibliography: Jones, Harold G., "Early Spanish Manuscripts in Public Libraries," 44.

Notes: I have been unable to examine this witness directly. The MS is a copy of MS. Z.III.12, BES, and as such may be set aside as secondary in the process of establishing the critical text of CAX. MS. 336 is primarily of interest because it has apparently not yet been thoroughly described.

Salamanca: Biblioteca Universitaria

### 30. MS. 1742

Provenience: The MS. belonged to the Biblioteca del Palacio de Oriente, signatures 2'-B-2 and 16; see Fink-Errera, "A propos des bibliothèques d'Espagne," 112.

Date: Del Rivero dates the MS in the fifteenth century; Catalán dates it in the sixteenth ("Indice," 575; Un cronista anónimo, p. 243; and La tradición manuscrita, p. 404).

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The Prologue begins f. 1r a: "Comiença la coronjca del / muy esclarecido y Sabio Rey Don Alonso deçimo fijo del / Santto y bien auenturado / Rey Don fernando: que gano la / muy noble çibdat de Seuilla / Cordoua y otras çibdades y villas del andaluzia / % prohemio / Por muchas guisas E por muchas / maneras Los Antiguos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1r b: ". . . comiença / luego la Coronica deste Rey don Alfon / so El Sabio que es esta que E neste libre / es Contendida. En la manera que adelante / diremos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1r a-b, text: ff. 1r b-XLIIv b, testaments: ff. XLIIv b-XLVv b and XLVv b-XLVIIIv a
2. CSIV: ff. XLVIIIv b-LXIIIr a (65r a)
3. CFIV: ff. LXIIIv a (65v a)-CXXXr b (135r b)
4. CAXI: ff. CXXXv a (135v a)-340r a

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 1r b: "% Capitulo primero como des / pues dela muerte del Rey don / fernando fue alçado por rey de cas / tilla el ynfante don al<sup>o</sup> su fiJo. / Cuenta. La historia que des / pues que fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. XLIIv b: ". . . enterraronlo en la ygl[es]ia / de sancta Maria de seuilla. çerca del / Rey Don fernando su padre e dela Reyna / Don<n>a Beatriz Su madre." The first testament begins f. XLIIv b: "% Cap<itu>lo LXXIII<sup>o</sup> del testamento q<ue> fizo /

- el Rey Don alfonso / Enel. Nonbre de dios padre e fijo . . .  
 E acordan / donos otrosi dela palabra que El dixo / Segund  
 que te fallare asi te Judgare. . . ." The first testament  
 ends f. XLVv b: ". . . Yo. Juan Andres escriuano del Rey /  
 escreui este testamento por mandado / deste dicho Sen<n>or E  
 so testigo e este / traslado fue conçertado de otro trasla / do  
 que fue Sacado del testamento / prinçipal conçertado." The  
 second testament begins f. XLVv b: "Cap<itu>lo LXXV<sup>o</sup>. del /  
 codiçillo q ue fizo el Rey despues de su test<sup>o</sup> / Enel nonbre  
 de dios Padre e fijo . . . Por ende despues q<ue> / ouimos  
 fecho n<uest>ro testamento enque / mostramos e ordenamos  
 complidamente / n<uest>ra postrimera voluntad. . . ." The  
 second testament ends f. XLVIIIv a: ". . . Yo Juan Andres  
 escriuano del / Rey e su Notario escreui este testa / mento.  
 Por mandado deste mesmo se / n<n>or. % Acabase la coronjca  
 del muy noble / Rey Don Alonso Deçimo deste nonbre."
2. CSIV begins f. XLVIIIv b: "% Comjença la coronjca del muy  
 no / ble Rey Don Sancho quarto fijo del Rey Don Alonso el  
 Sabio / deçimo deste nombre. / % Cap<itu>lo p<ri>m<er>o de  
 com<m>o fue enterrado / el Rey Don Alonso y començo a Reynar /  
 su fijo el Rey Don Sancho / [f. XLIXr a] Enlos XXXII. An<n>os  
 del / Reynado deste Rey Don Alfonso. . . ." CSIV ends  
 f. LXIIIr a (65r a) (line divisions unmarked): ". . .  
 enterraron lo luego Enel monumento de piedra. Cabo de Don  
 Alfonso Emperador de Espan<n>a."

3. CFIV begins f. LXIIIv a (65v a) (line divisions unmarked):  
 "cronica del noble Rey Don fernando 4<sup>o</sup> el emplazado. En el  
 An<n>o que andaua la era De Adam En çinco mill e Sete<n>ta E  
 quatro An<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. CXXXr a (135r a) (line  
 divisions unmarked): ". . . E vino y El jnfante Don pedro e  
 quando lo fallo muerto fizo muy grande llanto por el y tomo  
 luego ala hora el pendo<n> Del Rey y truxole por la villa  
 llamando. Castilla. Castilla por el Rey Don Alonso su hijo  
 primero heredero Deste Rey Don fernando que el Dexara en  
 Auila E De aqui aDelante la historia yra Contando los fechos  
 q<ue> / Acaescieron en Reynando este muy alto e muy noble y  
 esclarecido Sen<n>or Rey Don Alonso De Castilla e De Leon."
4. CAXI begins f. CXXXv a (135v a) (line divisions unmarked):  
 "% Enel nombre de Dios padre y fijo y Sp<irit>u Sancto.  
 Aquj comjença la Coronjca del noble Rey Don Alonso vndeçimo  
 deste nonbre . . . Cap<itu>lo primero. De como acordaron de  
 lleuar a enterrar El cuerpo del Rey Don fernando a la Çibdad  
 de Cordoua e delas otras Cosas que aCaescieron Enel an<n>o  
 primero Del Reynado Deste noble Rey Don Alfonso / Enel comienzo  
 Del Reynado Deste noble Rey Don Alfonso que començo enel mes  
 De septiembre Del An<n>o delas Eras Sobre Dichas Enel Dia  
 que lo alçaron e nonbraron e Recibiero n por Rey e por  
 Sen<n>or. . . ." CAXI ends f. 340r a (line divisions  
 unmarked): ". . . E despues desto fue lleuado el cuerpo de  
 el Rey Don Alonso a Cordoua e lleuolo El Rey Don Enrriq<ue>  
 su fijo muy honrradamente e fizolo enterrar en la dicha

Capilla con el dicho Rey Don fernando su padre En el año de  
 la Era de çesar De mill CCCIX años . . . E Dios aya la  
 su anima deste tan noble e virtuoso Rey Don Alonso e la lleue  
 a la su gloria AMEN. Ca muy buen Rey fue."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "En el primero Año"

Number of folios: 2 + 1-340 + 1

Writing material: paper

Ink: variety of inks, brown to black

Watermarks:

1. a circle, the upper half of which is divided in two horizontally, of the general type described in Briquet, "Cercle," 1, 205
2. a circle surmounted by a Latin cross and bisected horizontally by a curved line, similar in style to Valls I Subirà, "Cruz," 2, 53 (Valencia, 1547)

Foliation: The original Roman foliation was lost by trimming on the first twenty-eight consecutive folios and on several additional folios throughout the remainder of the MS. A later Arabic foliation, in pencil, has been added to ff. 1 through 28 and to the majority of other folios lacking the Roman numbers.

Quires: The first three quires of the MS are signed, "a" through "c," and consist of ten folios each (ending f. 30). The following two quires are unsigned, but the quire strings are visible after ff. 35 and 45, indicating two more quires of ten. The next quire appears to consist of ff. 51-58. Quire strings are



again clearly visible at ff. 63, 73, 83 and 93, which indicates a return to quires of ten. The pattern of quires of ten continues through f. CCXVIII. (F. CCXXII bears the signature "Y" and the quire notation "iiii"; the quire string is visible after the following folio.) The following quire (beginning f. CCXXIX) consists of eight folios, ending on f. CCXXXVI. The next quire returns to the pattern of ten folios; the string is visible following f. CCLI. Quires of ten continue until f. CCLX, which begins a quire of eight. Quires of ten follow until f. CCCXXXV, which begins the last gathering of the MS, 2 + 3.

Dimensions of the leaf: 383 x 263 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 311 x 85 mm, per column, outlined  
in lead ruling

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 45-56

Ruling: There is no visible ruling other than that outlining  
the column space.

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: none

Number of hands: There is variation in spacing and size in the  
hand, but it appears to be the same throughout the MS.

Hand: humanistic

Decoration: The chapter initials, averaging four lines in height,  
are usually infilled and surrounded by delicate tracery,  
tendrils, florals and harping in red, blue and lavender. A

rectangle usually encloses the initial and the accompanying decoration except for a few tendrils with florals that stray into the margin. The calderones are in blue ink and are often framed in red.

Condition: On f. 3r b there is a lacuna consisting of the end of CAX BAE chapter 6 and all of 7. No folios are missing. On several occasions chapters follow one another without the usual divisions. No text is missing. The outer edges of the first three folios have been reinforced. The ink has corroded the paper in a few places. F. CCCXXV was torn in half vertically and has been repaired by sewing. The early folios of the MS show some waterstains, but the text is completely legible.

Dimensions of the binding: 398 x 278 mm

Binding: The binding is modern, and the spine reads: "CRONICA / DE VARIOS / REYES."

Bibliography:

1. Catalán, Un cronista anónimo, pp. 243-44.
2. Catalán, La tradición manuscrita, 7, nn. 24-26, 64; and p. 404.
3. Fink-Erretera, "A propos des bibliothèques d'Espagne," 112.
4. del Rivero, "Indice," 575-76.

Notes: MS. 1742 is closely related to MS. 9-4761, RAH, and somewhat less closely to MS. 2880, BNM. The three MSS combine a long-version Prologue with a short-version CAX (see the stemmata in Part III).

The different dates proposed by del Rivero and Catalán for the MS are probably both defensible. The hand itself is perhaps more suggestive of the sixteenth century than of the fifteenth, but it is not in the italic or procesal styles typical of the majority of CAX MSS of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, no extant CAX MS of the sixteenth century shows decoration as extensive, careful and involved as that of MS. 1742. The style of decoration of MS. 1742, however, is found often in the CAX MSS of the fifteenth century.

31. MS. 2091

Provenience: The MS was formerly MS. 1703 of the Biblioteca del Palacio de Oriente (see Fink-Errera, "A propos des bibliothèques d'Espagne," 117) and, according to a note on the title page of the MS, belonged earlier to the Biblioteca del Colegio Mayor de Cuenca (no. 315).

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: A title page (guard leaf 3r), bordered in two parallel lines, bears the following: "CORONICA / de Tres Reyes Catholicos / de Castilla y Leon que son / El Rey D. Alonso El sabio / El Rey Don Sancho / El Rey Don fernando." A different hand added "el Brabo" and "el emplaçado" after "Sancho" and "fernando," respectively. Del Rivero believes the title to be in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand (see "Indice," 577).

Introductory material: F. 1r introduces CAX and summarizes the Prologue: "Coronica Del muy Escla / resçido prinçipe y Rey don / Alonso q<ue> fue par de Empe / rador E hizo El libro delas / Siete partidas / Aqui comiença la coronica del muy alto y muy noble sen<n>or. don alonso dezeno . . . en com<m>o pasaronlas Cossas en tiempo delos / Reyes Susod<ic>hos." The Prologue begins f. 1v: "Por muchas vias E maneras los Antiguos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 2r: ". . . por q<ue> los que adelante vi / nieren Sepan En como pasaron las Cossas En tiem / po delos rreyes Susod<ic>hos."

Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1v-2r, text: ff. 2r-66r, testaments: ff. 66v-71v and 71v-77r
2. CSIV: ff. 77r-104r
3. CFIV: ff. 104v-204v

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 2r: "An<n>o primero del / Rey don alonso El / sabio / Capitulo primero q<ue> comiença / a contar. com<m>o despues q<ue> fino / El noble Rey don f<e>rnanado q<ue> gano a SeVilla. Alçaron por rrey . . . E comenco a rreinar Enlos / Veinte E nueVe dias del mes de m<a>yo / E era del an<n>o de JUCCXC. an<n>os. / quenta la ystoria q<ue> despues q<ue> fue finado El / Rey don f<e>rnanado. . . ." CAX ends f. 66r: ". . . enterraro<n> lo en sancta Maria de sevilla çerca del Rey / don fernando su padre y dela Reyna don<n>a blanca su madre." Following the last lines cited, which conclude CAX

in the majority of the witnesses, MS. 2091 shows an additional short chapter: "Dela muerte del Rey Don Alfonso / Enlos treynta e dos an<n>os del Reynado deste Rey don alfonso . . . E de aqui adela<n>te contaremos aqui el testamento q<ue> / fue fallado q<ue> fizo el d<ic>ho Sen<n>or Rey ante de Su muerte porque per / tenesçe aesta historia como quier es contrario al perdon q<ue> se falla / en todas las Coronicas despan<n>a q<ue> fablan dela muerte deste Rey don / Alfonso que el fizo al t<iem>po desu muerte, segun suso es escripto E pareçe que al t<iem>po desu muerte obo contriçion mas que al t<iem>po q<ue> fizo / el testame<n>to que estaua sano si assi passo la cosa como en las Coro / nicas dize." The first testament begins f. 66v: "Del testamento q<ue> el Rey don Alfonso fizo ante / de su muerte. / Enel nombre de dios padre e fijo . . . Acordandonos otrosi dela pala / bra q<ue> Ih<es>u chr<is>to dixo segund te fallare assi te juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 71v: ". . . E yo Joan Andres escriuano del Rey escreui este testam<en>to. / por mandado del dicho sen<n>or Rey e Soy testigo Este treslado fue tirado / de otro treslado q<ue> fue sacado del testame<n>to principal conçertado e ottrossi / fue sacado otro traslado que dize assi." The second testament begins f. 71v: "Enel nombre del padre y del / fijo . . . / [f. 72r] . . . Porende despues que obimos / fecho n<uest>ro testamento en que mostramos e ordenamos cumplidamente n<uest>ra postrimera / boluntad. . . ." The second testament ends f. 77r: ". . . yo Joa<n> m<a>r<tine>z

escruiano del Rey e su notario es / creui este testame<n>to por mandado del dicho sen<n>or Rey."

2. CSIV begins f. 77r: "COMIENÇA LA / coronica del muy noble Rey don sancho / % Capit<sup>o</sup> de como el Rey don sancho . . . / [f. 77v] . . . fizo coronar a la Reyna don<n>a Maria su muger . . . Estando el jnfante do<n> sancho en Auila. . . ." CSIV ends f. 104r (line divisions unmarked): ". . . enterraron el Cuerpo enel monume<n>to de piedra que el se mandara hazer en su vida çerca del Rey don Alonso emperador despan<n>a, el qual plega a n<uest>ro sen<n>or dios poner en su sancta gloria do el vive y Reyna con todos sus sanctos por siempre jamas ame<n>. FIN"
3. CFIV begins f. 104v (line divisions unmarked): "COMIENCA LA CORONICA del muy noble Rey Don Fernando. Cap<sup>o</sup>. como Reyno y delas cosas que en su Reynado hizo . . . Enel an<n>o que andaua la Era de Adan en çinco mill y setenta an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 204v (line divisions unmarked): ". . . y vino el jnf<an>te don p<sup>o</sup> y quando lo hallo muerto hizo muy gran llanto por el y este Rey don f<e>r<nan>do nascio e<n>el mes de diziembre . . . / [f. 204v] . . . tenga en su s<an>ta gloria Amen."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "Entendiendo q<ue> aquellos"

Number of folios: 3 + 1-204 + 1 stub (following f. 196) + 2

Writing material: paper

Ink: brown

Watermarks:

1. The third guard leaf, which bears the title, shows a coat of arms inscribed with a crowned eagle and banded diagonally. The watermark does not appear in Briquet or Valls I Subirà.
2. a hand or glove surmounted by a star, of the general type described in Briquet, "La Main," 3, 544
3. a pointed ovoid inscribed with a Latin cross and the initials "MT," of the general type described in Valls I Subirà, "Cruz," 2, 128
4. a serpent or seahorse, of the general type described in Briquet, "Serpent," 4, 676

Foliation: Arabic, complete and in ink

Quires: The MS is tightly bound, and the quire strings are most often not visible. The majority of the quires appear to consist of ten folios; there are a few quires of twelve; see

Catchwords.

Dimensions of the leaf: 289 x 207 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 31-37

Ruling: no visible ruling

Running headlines: Headlines appear throughout the MS; the rectos show the year of the reign and the versos name the king.

Catchwords: 22v, 32v, 40v, 50v, 60v, 70v, 80v, 90v, 102v, 112v, 123v, 132v, 142v, 152v, 162v, 172v, 182v, 194v

Marginalia: The title page shows the following note: "Este libro parece q<ue> fue de Geronymo de Zurita / porq<ue> es de su letra la nota q<ue> esta fol. 7. i la de fol. 36. / i la de fol. 52. i otras, i de la letra colorada tambien / se conoçe porq<ue> es la misma q<ue> esta en las notas / a la Hist<or>ia de mano q<ue> yo tengo del Rey D. P<sup>o</sup> i La escribio D. P<sup>o</sup> Lopez de Ay<al>a anotada / por Ger<sup>mo</sup>. de Zurita escribilo a XXX de / Mayo Vispera del Corpus CHRISTI an<n>o 1646." The note is signed with initials. The marginalia that the note attributes to Zurita are in a careful humanistic hand. The longest of the notes, on f. 52r, reads: "En la historia del rey / don Ju<an> el primero / enel cap<sup>o</sup>. v. del an<n>o / VII [?]. se dize q<ue> fuero<n> / muertos asco<n>dida / me<n>te. sin ser oydos / ni mostrando el rey / razo<n> porq<ue> los mato. / e q<ue> en la sentencia q<ue> / fue dada en vall<adol>jd / q<ue> tirassen al rey do<n> Alfonso la adminis / traçion, vna de tres razones q<ue> fuero<n> puestas / contra el fue esta, que / le deuia ser tirada la Justiçia dela mano proq<ue> no usaua bien / della por qua<n>to auia matado al infante / don fadrique y a do<n> symo<n> delos cameros / sin ser oydos."

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1-4, 11-14, 197-204
2. ff. 5-10, 15-196

Hands:

1. procesal
2. italic/procesal



Decoration: The MS is undecorated. However, red ink was used for the calderones, running headlines and a number of the marginal notes attributed to Zurita.

Condition: The initial folios show water damage but the MS is nevertheless legible. A few lines at the bottom of f. 4v were lost in trimming (CAX BAE chapter 5). The outer edges of ff. 10 and 11 are torn away; no text is missing. F. 88 is partially torn at the outer edge; a few words are damaged. F. 74 is torn; no text is missing.

Dimensions of the binding: 300 x 215 mm

Binding: modern, spine: "CRON DE / LOS TRES / R. CAT."

Bibliography:

1. del Rivero, "Indice," 576-77.
2. Fink-Errera, "A propos des bibliothèques d'Espagne, 117.

Notes: The passages transcribed above convey the general impression that the MS has been rather extensively altered. That impression is confirmed by the collation of the witnesses for CAX. MS. 2091 is one of the more unreliable MSS of the tradition and has been excluded from the stemma for CAX chapters 64, 65 and 75 (see Part III). However, the MS is of interest in its own right, both because of the critical spirit evident in such unique passages as that added at the conclusion of CAX (see above, Incipits/explicits) and because of the marginalia.

Santander: Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo

32. MS M563 (catalogue number: 317)

Provenience: Guard leaf 1v shows the modern addition: "Gabriel Sánchez librería / 21, Carretas, 21 / Madrid." The price "1000," in blue pencil, follows. Guard leaf 2r, the first folio of the table of chapter headings to CAX, CSIV and CFIV, bears a note, in a hand different from that of the body of the text, in the lower margin: "Capitulo de don fernando de madrid casa de pero fernandez / de mendoza y sobre todo esto pediam e ciertas cosillas que no son / hic liber est Joanes fernandez de madrid quod / dominus indicat eius ESTO. MANDO. HAZER / MAR. Tin de Segura no ay mas que pedir."

Date: Artigas dates the MS in the fourteenth century (Catálogo de los manuscritos de la Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo, p. 376). Catalán agrees with that dating in Un cronista anónimo (p. 241) and in "El Toledano romanizado" (75, n. 248). However, in La tradición manuscrita, Catalán qualifies the early date: "s. XIV?" (p. 394).

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The table of chapter headings to CAX, CSIV and CFIV begins on f. 2r (with the heading for chapter XXVII, indicating the loss of a preceding folio): "% Capi<tu>lo XXVII. de otras Razon<e>s que en las c<art>as quel Rey de benamarin enbiaua / dezir. . . ." The table of chapter headings ends

f. 6r: "% Capitulo CXLIIII. delas cortes de medina del canpo E delo q<ue> y se hordeno en / Razon delos rricos om<e>s E de com<m>o murio el Rey de granada" (CFIV). (A second table of chapter headings, for CAXI alone, is bound preceding that chronicle at the conclusion of CFIV; the incipit and explicit of the second table are found below with those of CAXI.) The Prologue begins f. Ir a: "Capitulo primero q<ue> fabla del comienço / dela coronica del muy bien abe<n>turado sen<n>or don alfonso rrey de castilla e de leon / En muchas guisas e por / muchas maneras los / antiguos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. Ir b: ". . . por q<ue> los q<ue> de ag<ui> adela<n>te / vinjeron Sepan en com<m>o paSaron las cosaS / en t<ien>po delos Rey<e>s Sobr<e>dichos."

#### Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. Ir a-b, text: ff. Ir b-LXVr a, testaments ff. LXVr a-LXIXr a and LXIXr b-LXIXv b (incomplete)
2. two décimas, "quando vi q<ue> fenecian" and "es tan dulce mj penar": f. LXXr
3. a Latin prayer (perhaps a psalm): f. LXXIr
4. CSIV: ff. LXXIv b-XCIv a (incomplete, ending early in the eleventh year of the reign, BAE chapter 11)
5. CFIV: ff. XCVIr a-CXXXVIv a (incomplete, ending toward the conclusion of BAE chapter 10, dedicated to the ninth year of the reign)
6. CAXI: eleven unnumbered folios of chapter headings, text (independently foliated): ff. Ir a-CLXIIIv b

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. Ir b: "Capitulo se / gundo de com<m>o fue alçado en seujlla por Rey don alfon<so> fiJo del Rey don ferrna<n>do que gano a seuilla / Cuenta la eStoria q<ue> deSpu<e>s q<ue> fue finado. . . ." CAX ends f. LXVr a: ". . . enterraronlo en Santa maria / de Seuilla çerca del Rey don ferna<n>do Su padr<e> e dela Reyna don<n>a beat<ri>z Su madr<e>." The first testament begins f. LXVr a: "Traslado del teStame<n>to q<ue> / fizo el Rey don alfonSo / fiJo del muy noble Rey don ferrnando . . . Capitulo CII del traslado del tes / tamento . . . / [f. LXVr b] En el nonbr<e> del padr<e> e del / fiJo . . . e acor / dando nos otroSy dela palabra q<ue> El / dixo Segun<t> q<ue> te fallare aSy te Judga / re. . . ." The first testament ends f. LXIXr a: ". . . yo ioh<a>n an / dres eSc<ri>uano de Rey eSc<ri>uj eSte testa / me<n>to por ma<n>dado de eSte mjSmo Se / n<n>or e Soy testigo eSte traslado fue / Sacado e co<n>çertado con<e>l testm<sup>o</sup> pri<n>çipal." The second testament begins f. LXIXr b: "Capitulo çiento e tres del traslado del co / diçillo q<ue> fizo el Rey don alfonSo e / de Sus mandas / Enel nonbre del padre e del / fiJo . . . Por ende despu<e>s / q<ue> ovimos fecho n<uest>ro testame<n>to enq<ue> mos / tramos e ordenamos conplidament e / n<uest>ra poStrimera voluntad. . . ." The second testament ends f. LXIXv b: ". . . q<ue> el / n<uest>ro Cuerpo Sea en n<uest>ro monest<sup>o</sup> de santa / maria la rreal de murçia (incomplete).

2. The décimas on f. LXXr read:

quando vi q<ue> fenecian  
 mjs djas ansi enpleados  
 aunq<ue> ellos bien . . . [?]  
 llame a todos mjs Cuydados  
 y dixeles si Consyntian  
 y hecho mj llam[am]j<sup>0</sup>  
 todos delante de mj  
 Con mucho Contentamj<sup>0</sup>  
 cada qual dixo por ssy  
 Consjento mj perdimj<sup>0</sup>.

es tan dulce mj penar  
 q<ue> jamas piensso hartarme  
 y finjo de desConfiar  
 syn de penar apartarme  
 y por mas de Refrezco entrar  
 djzeme El contentamj<sup>0</sup>  
 asy fu[e]sse qujen te djo  
 Contenta de tu tormento  
 El djezmo d<e>lo q<ue> yo  
 de mjs males soy contento.

3. The first line of the Latin prayer on f. LXXIr is badly faded; the first legible sequence of words is ". . . In morte neCando dicit<ur> / ynimiCos meos preVallid[os] ad versus ob m<e> In man<ib>us tuos domjne. . . ." The prayer ends ". . . en generacione et generacionem."

4. CSIV begins f. LXXIV b: "Capitulo çiento e quat<sup>0</sup> De com<m>o / Don Sancho heredo los Reg / nos de caStilla E de leon e Se fi / zo llamar Rey. / [f. LXXIIr a] Ene l mes de abril de la era de mill e trezientos e veynt<e>e dos an<n>os estando el Jnfa<n> / te don Sancho en la çibdat / de aujla llegole mandado. . . ." CSIV ends f. XCIV a: ". . . en q<ue> le enbio fazer sab<e>r que se / yua para el e el Rey abenyacob le en / bio [a later hand added:] dezjr que le plaçia" (incomplete).
5. CFIV begins f. XCVIr a: "Cap<sup>0</sup> CXIIII<sup>0</sup> de com<m>o despu<e>s dela muert<e> del / Rey don Sancho Reyno don ferrn<an>do Su fijo / Desque fue enterrado / eSte Rey don Sancho / en la çibdat de toledo / tomaron luego al Jnfa<n> / te don ferna<n>do. . . ." CFIV ends f. CXXXVIV a: ". . . e q<ua>ndo el / Rey vio q<ue> en njnguna man<er>a les / non podia vençer" (incomplete).
6. The table of chapter headings to CAXI begins on the first of eleven unnumbered folios following CFIV and preceding CAXI (line divisions unmarked): "horden . . . [?] de los cap<itu>los de la Coronjca del muy noble Rey don alfonso . . . % Cap<itu>lo primero de como el muy noble Rey don alfonso . . . mando trasladar esta coronjca." The table of chapter headings to CAXI ends on the eleventh unnumbered folio preceding CAXI (line divisions unmarked): "% Cap<itu>lo CCCXLIII de los nonbres de los condes e rricos om<e>s de cuenta que murieron en la çerca de algezira." CAXI, independently foliated, begins f. Ir a (line divisions unmarked): "En el nonbre de

la muy alta e muy Santa trenjdat . . . / [f. Ir b] % Capitulo  
 p<ri>mero de com<m>o el muy noble rey don alfonso . . . /  
 [f. Iv a] . . . Esta es la muy alta e muy noble e mucho  
 onrrada E muy nonbrada E muy uertuosa e muy santa coronjca  
 del muy noble Sen<n>or Rey don alfon<so>. . . ." CAXI ends  
 f. CLXIIIv b (line divisions unmarked): ". . . Sus almas Son  
 del todo perdonados e Seguras de yr a la gloria del parayso  
 . . . gloria nos perducat: amen."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. IIr a: "q<ue> la eStoria trae"

Number of folios: 1 + 5 (unnumbered, table of headings) +

I-CXXXVI (-ff. XCIII-XCV) + 11 (unnumbered, table of CAXI head-  
 ings + I-CLXIII + 1 = 314

Writing materials:

Ink: brown to black

Watermarks:

1. a pointed ovid inscribed with a Latin cross and above the initials "IRI," of the general type described in Valls I Subirà, "Cruz," 2, 128 (first guard leaf)
2. a three-part crown, similar to Briquet, "Couronne," 2, 4650 (Gênes, 1450), but in this MS surmounted by a simple Latin cross (CAX)
3. a two-wheeled cart with a triple-pronged foot, the wheels of the cart inscribed with two diagonally crossed spokes, of the general type described in Briquet, "Char à deux roues," 1, 228 (guard leaves 5 and 6 [table of headings for CAX, CSIV, CFIV])

4. a second version of the two-wheeled cart, also with a triple-pronged foot but showing horizontal and vertical rather than diagonal spokes (CAXI)

Foliation: independent Roman foliations for (1) CAX, CSIV, CFIV and (2) CAXI

Quires: The binding of CAX, CSIV and CFIV is loose and fragile; the quires appear to be consistently of eight folios. CAXI shows quires of ten and twelve folios, with remnants of quire signatures.

Dimensions of the leaf: 379 x 275 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 263 x 86, per column

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: CAX, CSIV, CFIV: 40-43; CAXI: 46-50

Ruling: no visible ruling

Running headlines: none

Catchwords: There are no catchwords for CAX, CSIV and CFIV. CAXI, however, shows them every ten or twelve folios throughout, decorated with filagree.

Marginalia: The MS shows a few marginal notes consisting of text taken from the Estoria del fecho de los godos (Cuarta crónica general); see n. 55 to the stemma for CAX chapters 64, 65 and 75 in Part III and Catalán, "El Toledano romanizado," 74-77.

Number of hands:

1. guard leaves 2-5 (table of headings), ff. I-LXIX, LXXIV-LXXII, LXXIII-CXXXVI (CAX, CSIV, CFIV)



2. ff. LXX-LXXIr (décimas, Latin prayer)
3. f. LXXIII (CSIV)
4. CAXI table of headings (unnumbered), CAXI ff. I-CLXII
5. f. CLXIII (CAXI)

Hands: The first and fourth hands are the main hands of the MS and are both round Gothic, similar in size and style. The décimas and the Latin prayer are in bastardilla española (hand 2). The majority of f. LXXIII is in an italic hand (CSIV), and the final folio of CAXI (f. CLXIII) is in a round Gothic that is different from the earlier two round Gothic hands in the MS.

Decoration: The table of chapter headings for CAX, CSIV and CFIV shows a calderón in red or lavender before each heading. The first folio of CAX bears an intricately decorated upper-case "E" which begins the Prologue. The initial is seven lines high, decorated within as well as without; the decoration extends as a tendril border down the left margin into the lower margin and ends in a drôlerie, perhaps a man in the moon, at the left of a coat of arms. The initial is in gold; the filagree within is lavender and the tendrils bordering the left margin are in red. The coat of arms in the lower margin is divided into four fields by a cross, the four points of which end in smaller crosses similar to fleurs de lis. Each of the fields also contains a fleur de lis, and the central petal of each lily is pointed toward the point of intersection of the staff of the cross with the arms. The coat of arms is in gold, red and grey. The chapter titles throughout the first three chronicles are in red.

The chapter initials after f. I are in red and lavender but are smaller and simpler than the first initial of the MS. In CAXI the chapter initials for the first few chapters are decorated in a style similar to that of the first initial of the MS. Subsequent initials in CAXI are likewise similar in style to the initials in CAX, CSIV and CFIV that follow the Prologue initial. The chapter titles in CAXI are in red. There is a drôlerie in CAXI on f. XIVv.

Condition: F. IIII is almost entirely blank; CAX BAE chapter 9 is lacking. The end of CAX BAE chapter 15 and the beginning of chapter 16 are also missing; no folios are missing. Following Alfonso's second will, f. LXIXr is partially blank. The next two folios contain the décimas and the Latin prayer, which were probably added to folios originally left blank. F. LXXiv is blank except for the chapter heading for CSIV chapter 1. Chapter 1 is transcribed in the main hand on f. LXXIIr-v. A later, italic hand filled in text from CSIV BAE chapter 2, which was missing in the original MS, on f. LXXIIIr-v. In CSIV, f. XCiv is almost entirely blank; f. XCII is blank. The end of CSIV BAE chapter 11, all of chapters 12 and 13 are missing. The first folio of CFIV has lost its number. The preceding folio is numbered XCII and the following is numbered XCVII. There is no text missing between the unnumbered folio and f. XCVII; it would therefore appear that the unnumbered folio is f. XCVI and that either there was an error in the original foliation or three blank folios were lost preceding f. XCVI. There are

several partially blank folios in the MS. Furthermore, many folios are entirely free from the binding, and a number of folios have been repaired and reinforced. These facts and the fact that ff. XCII-XCVII involve a change from one chronicle to another obscure the sequence of ff. XCII-XCVII in the original MS. F. XCVIII is torn. F. CVII is torn away, causing a lacuna in CFIV BAE chapter 2. A folio may have been torn out between the 1st unnumbered folio of the CAXI table of headings and the first folio of text. The folios dedicated to CAXI are in better condition than those of CAX, CSIV and CFIV. The ink is darker, and there is less damage. F. CLXIII is free from the binding.

Dimensions of the binding: 395 x 278 mm

Binding: leather, spine: "Cronica de D. Alonso 11 [?]"

Bibliography:

1. Artigas, Catálogo de los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo, p. 376.
2. Catalán, "El Toledano romanzado," 74-80.
3. Catalán, La tradición manuscrita, pp. 394-95.
4. Catalán, Un cronista anónimo, pp. 241-42.

Notes: The physical aspects of the MS., e.g. the separate foliations and separate tables of chapter headings for CAX, CSIV and CFIV together, and for CAXI leave little doubt that MS. M563 is a composite of two MSS. The similarities of hand and decoration, however, indicate that the two individual MSS could have been produced by the same scribe.

MS. M563 is one of the oldest witnesses for CAX. It is of particular interest both because of the series of interpolations it shows from the Estoria del fecho de los godos (see Marginalia), which led Diego Catalán to discuss the relationship of dependency between that chronicle and the Crónica de tres reyes ("El Tolemano romanzado"), and because the MS virtually stands alone in the stemma developed for CAX chapters 64, 65 and 75.

33. MS. 321 (catalogue number; shelf number = M7 [?]) (olim R-II-11-10)

Provenience: Diego Catalán believes the MS to be one of those described by the Marqués de Mondéjar in Corrupción de las crónicas impresas and in Memorias históricas del rei D. Alsono el Sabio; see De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos, p. 332, n. 28.

Date: The hand is fifteenth century. However, the MS described by Mondéjar that Catalán believes to be MS. 321 showed a colophon with the date 1553 at the time Mondéjar examined it. The last chronicle in MS. 321, CFIV, is incomplete. However, the copy ends at the end of the second column of the recto of the last folio. It is therefore not certain that the lack of the conclusion of CFIV and of any other text at the end of the MS was due to the loss of folios.

Scribe: The colophon in the MS described by Mondéjar gives the name Juan Gomez de Silva.

Title: none

Introductory material: none

Contents: Crónica de once reyes: ff. 1r a-284v b (beginning with

- the death of Ferdinand I and the partition of the realm),  
 "Milagros" of Ferdinand III: f. 284v b
2. CAX: ff. 285r a-423r b (beginning in BAE chapter 2)
  3. CSIV: ff. 423r b-474v a
  4. CFIV: ff. 474v a-652r b (incomplete, ending in the last chapter [BAE chapter 20] but before the account of the king's death)

Incipits/explicits:

1. The Crónica de once reyes begins f. 1r a (line divisions unmarked): ". . . partyçion e a muchos plogo mas todavia. . . ." The Crónica de once reyes ends f. 284v a (line divisions unmarked): ". . . Syenpre en plazer e dulçor e alegria Amen." The "Milagros" of Ferdinand III follow on f. 284v b (line divisions unmarked): "miraglos que dios fizo por este Santo Rey don ferrando despu<e>s q<ue> fue Reynado [sic] por la q<ual> Razon las ge<n>t<e>s no<n> deue<n> dudar q<ue> no<n> Se a coronado en<e>l coro celeStial en co<n>pan<n>a delos Sus Santos Syeruos. Rey avent<ura>do do<n> ferr<ando> ho<n>rrado dios te q<ui>era perdonar. . . ." The "Milagros" end f. 284v b (line divisions unmarked): ". . . Seras Sienpre loado e de las gent<e>s deSeado por la tu S<ant>a ardideza."
2. CAX begins f. 285r a: "[E]nel p<ri>m<er>o / An<n>o d<e>l Re / ynado de / Ste Rey don alfon<so>. . . ." CAX ends f. 423r b: ". . . enterraronlo en / Santa M<ari>a la mayor de / SeuJlla çerca del Rey don / ferrna<n>do Su padre e dela / Reyna don<n>a beatriz Su ma / dre."

3. CSIV begins f. 423r b: "[E]n los treynta e dos / an<n>os del Reynado deSte Rey don Al / fon<so>. . . ." CSIV ends f. 474v a: ". . . enterrarlo / en<e>l monjmjento de piedra / q<ue>l ma<n>ara faZer en Su / vida çerca de don Al / fon<so> enperador de es / pan<n>na."
4. CFIV begins f. 474v a: "en el An<n>o q<ue> Andava la / era de Adan en çinco myll / e Sesenta e quatro an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 652r b: "el Rey los ma<n>do matar veye<n>do" (incomplete).

Colophon: If the MS described by Mondéjar is in fact MS. 321, the MS showed the conclusion to CFIV and a colophon. Catalán states: ". . . la historia seguía hasta la muerte de Fernando IV, acabando con la cláusula final: 'ex labore quis (sic) Juan Gomez de Silva an<n>o de 1553.'" (De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos, p. 333, n. 28). The date 1553, which seems late for the hand of the MS, was remarked by Catalán, who comments that Mondéjar in a separate reference to the same MS stated that it was copied in 1515. Catalán asks whether Mondéjar perhaps believed that 1553 referred to the era de César.

Probatoria: f. 2r: "eSto co<n> que"

Number of folios: 2 + 1-652 + 2

Writing material: heavy paper

Ink: variety of corrosive brown inks

Watermarks: Three versions of an animal, which may be a lion, appear throughout. Two versions of a three-part crown, or perhaps a flower, also alternate throughout. All watermarks are faint and difficult to decipher.

Foliation: An Arabic foliation, modern, complete and in pencil, was added at the upper right after the first folios of the MS were lost. The original Roman foliation is usually visible in the center of the upper margin.

Quires: The first quire consists of ten folios and is unsigned.

F. 11 is signed "b" and appears to begin a quire of 6 + 6 + 1; the quires continue as follows: c-q<sup>12</sup>, r<sup>10</sup>, s-t<sup>12</sup>, u-x<sup>10</sup>, y<sup>12</sup>, z<sup>10</sup>. On f. 268 a second series begins: a<sup>12</sup>, b<sup>10</sup>, c-d<sup>12</sup>, e<sup>10</sup>, f-h<sup>12</sup>, j<sup>10</sup>, k<sup>12</sup>. A third series of quires of twelve, alphabetically signed as before, begins on f. 537. Given the Roman foliation on the first two folios, f. 1=XIII and f. 2=XXVII, and the first line of the MS, which indicates the loss of preceding folios, the MS was most likely rebound after the loss of the majority of the folios preceding f. 1 and after the loss of those that fell between ff. 1 and 2.

Dimensions of the leaf: 292 x 203 mm

Dimensions of the text page: 205 x 60 mm, per column, with remnants of lead ruling outlining the column space

Number of columns: 2

Number of lines/column: 25-33

Ruling: no visible ruling other than that outlining the column space

Running headlines: A hand different from that in the body of the text occasionally added the chronicle titles as running headlines.

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: rare

Number of hands:

1. ff. 1r-116v, 118r, 120r-652
2. f. 117
3. ff. 118v-119v

Hands: court

Decoration: Spaces were left for decorated chapter initials and for chapter headings.

Condition: The original Roman foliation indicates a lacuna between f. 1 (XIII) and f. 2 (XXVII) that consists of thirteen folios and involves the narration of the death of Sancho II. A lacuna in CAX beginning on f. 287 (CCCXIII) involves BAE chapters 4-6; no folios are missing. On f. 399r the scribe left column b blank but no text is missing. F. 411v is almost entirely blank; the same hand as that in the body of the text wrote: "aquí falleçena vna foja e quedarón estos espacios en que se escriptujese." The lacuna and the note appear also in MSS. 642 and 13002, BNM, which strongly suggests filiation of the three MSS. F. 412r is blank; the mid section of CAX BAE chapter 76 is missing. There is worm damage throughout the MS. The ink has badly corroded f. 105.

Dimensions of the binding: not observed

Binding: modern, parchment over boards with two small brass closures

Bibliography:

1. Artigas, Catálogo de los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo, pp. 378-79.
2. Catalán, De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos, pp. 332-33, n. 28.



3. Menéndez Pidal, Crónicas generales de España, p. 136.

4. Mondéjar, Memorias históricas, p. 527.

Notes: MS. 321 has been mentioned relatively often in the studies of general chronicles. However, its variants for CAX were not considered for either the princeps or the 1875 edition of that chronicle. The MS, together with the MSS. 10132, 7403 and 642, BNM, belongs to CAX family T<sub>2</sub>, which among the short-version families shows the most extensive innovation (see the stemma for chapters 64, 65 and 75 in Part III). MSS. 321, 7403 and 642 all append CAX to other chronicles. MS. 10132 is the only MS of the family that does not.

Seville: Biblioteca Capítular Colombina

34. MS. 84-7-34 (olim B<sup>4a</sup> 449-4 [guard leaf 1r])

Provenience: unknown

Date: 16th c.

Scribe: unknown

Title: none

Introductory material: The Prologue begins f. 1r (unnumbered):

"PROLOGO DE LAS HISTORIAS DE LOS TRES SERENI/ simos Reyes de castilla y de leon Don alfonso llamado por sobreno<m>bre el sabio Don San / cho su hijo y Don Ferna<n>do su njeto escritas y recolhidas de las memorias y hazanas de aq<ue>llos / tiempos por mandado del sen<n>or rey do<n> alfonso hijo de aq<ue>l

Sen<n>or rey do<n> ferna<n>do. / PROLOGO / POR muchas grandes causas y por muchas otras maneras los antiguos. . . ." The Prologue ends f. 1r: ". . . por<ue> los que / adelante vinjere<n> sepan como pasaro<n> las cosas en tiempo de los reyes sobre dichos." A passage in Latin on Alfonso's candidacy for the imperial crown follows: "Joanes caspinianus in magna historia de caesarib<us> Rom. ad sua usq<ue> te<m>pora / ALPHONSUS dissentientibus principibus vt paulo ante meminimus ab electoribus absens electus est Rex Rom . . . [?] ex / eode<m> an<n>o quo Richardus. 1257. Pridie kal<enda>s aprilis. missi ita<ue> ad en Burges episcopi. . . ." The passage ends: ". . . assentiens ita<ue> vt Rodolphus comes Habspurgensis rex eligeretur co<n>cessit in hispan . . . [?] etc."

F. 1v contains three brief entries, in the style of anales, dedicated to events of 1453, 1441, 1445, respectively. The first begins: "en<e>ste an<n>o de. 1453 aco<n>tesciero<n> en los reynos de castilla y de leo<n> tres cosas dignas de gran memoria . . . primerame<n>te la muerte deste cauallero co<n>destable do<n> aluaro de Luna . . . La segunda quel principe don Enrri<ue> fijo del rey n<uest>ro sen<n>or don Jua<n> el segu<n>do / e dela reyna don<n>a maria su muger se quito dela princesa su muger fija del rey don Jua<n> de nauarra . . . e se desposo con la hermana del rey don alonso de portogal fija del rey duarte . . . La tercera cosa fue q<ue> en este dicho an<n>o fue tan gra<n> carestia de / pan en todos estos reynos qual nu<n>ca se sabe q<ue> otra tal fuese. . . ." The entry for 1453 ends: ". . .

nuevecie<n>tos marauedis de aque>ste t<iem>po e en algunos a  
 mjll marauedis e la dela . . . [?] a quatrocie<n>tos e a quatro-  
 cie<n>tos y cinq<uen>ta." The second entry begins: "Otra /  
 Miercoles 28. dias de Junjo de. 1441. an<n>os dia de sam pedro  
 enla villa de medina del campo el rey do<n> jua<n> de Nauarro e  
 su h<e>rma<n>o el infante / don enrriq<ue> e el almjra<n>te do<n>  
 fadriq<ue> e do<n> alonso pime<n>tel conde de benaue<n>te e don  
 diego gomez de sandoual conde de castro e la reyna don<n>a Maria /  
 . . . entraro<n> la dicha villa . . . donde estaua el / rey  
 n<uest>ro sen<n>or e co<n> el el condestable do<n> aluaro de Luna  
 . . . e fue / tomado el rey e robada su camara . . . ." The  
 entry for 1441 ends: ". . . e fue entrada la villa por fabla  
 de algunos delos de dentro / q<ue> era<n> conel rey q<ue>  
 diero<n> lugar a ello." The third entry begins: "Otra / Miercoles.  
 16. dias de maio de. 1445. an<n>os ouo el rey n<uest>ro sen<n>or  
 don Jua<n> el segundo batalla en olmedo contra el rey do<n>  
 Jua<n> de nauarra. . . ." The entry for 1445 ends: ". . . fue  
 dado el maestrado despues del al dicho condestable do<n> aluaro  
 de Luna."

#### Contents:

1. CAX Prologue: f. 1r, text: ff. 2r-28v, a copy of Alfonso X's confirmation of the donation of Fermosel: f. 28v, testaments: ff. 29r-30v and 30v-32v
2. CSIV: ff. 33r-41v
3. CFIV: ff. 42r-75r
4. a transcription of a treaty (1304) between Fernando IV and Alfonso de la Cerda: ff. 75r-76r

5. "Declaracion de quien fue la Reyna don<n>a Maria de Meneses [Molina], madre del rrey don Ferna<n>do": ff. 76r-v
6. CAXI: ff. 77r-160v
7. "Relacion breve . . . de como acaescio la muerte del buen sen<n>or rey don Alfonso" (by Pero López de Ayala): ff. 160v-161r
8. "Ordenamiento [libro] dela Vanda": ff. 161r-163r
9. Crónica de Enrique III: ff. 164r-183v
10. Crónica de Enrique IV: ff. 184r-225v
11. "Prologo de Fernando de Pvlgar en la Historia qve compuso delos . . . Reyes Don Fernando e don<n>a ysabel": f. 225v

Incipits/explicits:

1. CAX begins f. 2r: "COMIENCA LA HISTORIA DEL SEN<N>OR REY DON ALFON / SO fijo del sen<n>or Rey don Fernando que gano a cordoua y a Seujslla . . . DESPVES que fue finado el Rey don fernando. . . ." CAX ends f. 28v: ". . . enterraro<n> lo en sancta maria de seujslla cerca d<e>l rey do<n> ferrando su padre e cerca d<e>la reyna dona be / atriz su madre. / FIN DELA CRONICA DEL REI DON ALFONSO EL SABIO." The confirmation of the donation of Fermosel follows immediately: "Era. 1243. en diez y siete dias de diziembre dio el rey do<n> alonso [IX] de leo<n> la villa de fermosel . . . Era. 1293. a 14 dias de abril en soria el rey don alfonso juntame<n>te co<n> su muger la reyna don<n>a violante . . . torna a dar la villa e castillo de fermosel. . . ." The passage ends f. 28v: ". . . Dio el rey lice<n>cia q<ue> fuese mercado Todos los sabados en fermosel." The first testament begins f. 29r

- (line divisions unmarked): "TESTAMENTO q<ue> fizo el sen<n>or Rey don alfonso . . . EN EL no<m>bre de dios padre . . . Acorda<n>donos otrosi de la palabra q<ue> el dixo, segun q<ue> te alçare ansi te juzgare. . . ." The first testament ends f. 30v (line divisions unmarked): ". . . E yo Jua<n> andres escriuano del rey escreuj este testeme<n>to por mandado del sen<n>or rey e so testigo." The second testament begins f. 30v (line divisions unmarked): "EN EL NONBRE del padre . . . por ende despues q<ue> oujmos fecho nuestro testame<n>to. . . ." The second testament ends f. 32v (line divisions unmarked): ". . . yo jua<n> andres escriuano del rey e su notario escreuj este testame<n>to por mandado deste mismo Sen<n>or rey. FIN DEL TESTAMENTO. DEL REY DON ALFONSO."
2. CSIV begins f. 33r: "COMIENCA la historia d<e>l Rey don sancho quarto deste nonbre . . . EN EL mes de abril quando andaua la era de cesar en mjll y trezientos y veinte y dos an<n>os. e el an<n>o d<e>la nas / cencia de Jesu chr<ist>o en mjll e dozientos e ochenta e quatro an<n>os. . . ." CSIV ends f. 41v: ". . . enterraro<n> le enel monume<n>to de piedra q<ue> el feziera fazer en su vida cerca de don alfonso el empera / dor despana. njeto del que gano a toledo delos moros. FIN DELA CORONICA DEL REY DON SANCHO EL BRAVO."
3. CFIV begins f. 42r: "COMIENCA. LA historia d<e>l muj esclarescido rey don fernando quarto deste nombre . . . EN EL AN<N>O q<ue> andaua la era de ada<n> en cinco mjll e setenta an<n>os e la Era d<e>l diluujo en quatro mjll e trezi / entos e

nouenta e seis an<n>os. . . ." CFIV ends f. 75r: ". . . e vieno y el infante don Pedro su / hermano, e quando l fallo muerto fiz muy gra<n> llanto por el. e este mesmo dia el rey don ferrando nascio en el mes / de deziembre en la era de mjll e trezientos e veinte e tres an<n>os . . . asi fue el t<iem>po que reyno quinze an<n>os e quatro meses / e honze dias. in paraiso sea la su alma Ame<n>. FIN DELA HISTORIA."

4. The treaty between Fernando IV and Alfonso de la Cerda begins f. 75r: "EN EL NONBRE DE DIOS. Sepan quantos esta carta viere<n> q<ue> en presencia de mj Andres perez dela Cor / uera publico notario dela cibdad de Zaragoza . . . Don Alonso dela cerda rey que se llama / de Castiella e de Leo<n>. . . por si d<e> la vna parte / e el infante don Jua<n> fijo del dicho sen<n>or rey do<n> Alfonso de Castiella e de Leo<n> por parte del rey don ferrna<n>do fijo d<e> l rey / do<n> Sancho . . . sobre guerras e discordias que / son estadas luengame<n>te, e aun son. . . ." The treaty ends f. 76r: ". . . e todo esto fiz escreujr en esta forma publica. FIN."
5. The "Declaracion" begins f. 76r: "Declaracion de quien fue la reyna don<n>a Maria de Meneses, madre del rrey don Ferna<n>do cuya es la coro / njca precedente . . . y dela suçession y alto linaje donde proçedio esta sen<n>ora reyna, asi de parte de su padre como / de parte de su madre. . . ." The "Declaracion" ends f. 76v: ". . . y ahuela del / rey don Alonso cuya historia se sigue luego tras las pasadas."

6. CAXI begins f. 77r: "COMIENCA LA HISTORIA Del buen sen<n>or Rey don Alfonso . . . EN EL NONBRE de dios e de la mui alta e mui noble . . . sen<n>ora virgen santa maria . . . COMIENCA LA HISTORIA. / LUEGO QVE FVE MVERTO el rey don ferra<n>do en jaen el infante do<n> pedro herma<n>o del rey / tomo luego a la ora el pendo<n> del rey e llamo rey al infante do<n> alfonso su fijo. . . ." CAXI ends f. 160v: ". . . e yua<n> seguros los vnos / delos otros. / ESTOS son los condes e rricos homes caualleros . . . q<ue> moriero<n> en la çerca de algezira . . . FASTA aqui escreujo el coronista del sen<n>or rey do<n> alfonso, e no pudo pasar adelante enbargado de vna dole<n> / çia quel vieno en el çerco de algezira donde el fu presente . . . santo parayso / aya la su buen alma pues fu tan praziente rey, e tan buen Sen<n>or, amjgo leal e verdadero de los sus naturales e vasallos."

7. The "Relacion breve" begins f. 160v: "RELACION BREVE Y SVMARIA DE COMO / acaescio la muerte del buen sen<n>or rey don Alfonso . . . escrita por . . . pero lopez de ayala . . . puso por principio de las coronicas q<ue> ordeno de los reyes / de castiella Don pedro, e don Anrrique, e don Jua<n> el primero deste no<n>bre, e / don Anrrique el terçero / DESPVES DELAS CONQVISTAS E BATALLAS QVE EL NOBLE PRINCIPE / rey don Alfonso de castiella e de leon ouo fecho. . . ." The "Relacion breve" ends f. 161r: ". . . e de margayn e sen<n>or de longavila / en françia."

8. The "Ordenamiento de la Vanda" begins f. 161r: "ORDENAMIENTO DE LA VANDA, E DEL TORNEO . . . AQVI SE COMIENÇA EL LIBRO DE LA VANDA QUE FIZ EL REY DON ALFONSO . . . e la razon porq<ue> moujo al fazer es porq<ue> la mas alta e mas preçiada orden q<ue> dios en el mundo fizo es la caualleria. . . ." The "Ordenamiento" ends f. 163r: ". . . porque den la meJoria a los caualleros que justaron meJor. / FIN del ordenamiento de la vanda, e del torneo e de la justa que / fizo el noble rey don Alfonso de castiella e de leon En la era. 1368. an<n>os." The "Ordenamiento" is followed by a brief list of Alfonso XI's activities from era de 1384 to 1386. A table of correspondence for the era, year of Our Lord and the year of the reign of Alfonso XI follows on f. 163v.
9. The Crónica de Enrique III begins f. 164r: "COMIENCA LA CORONICA DEL SEN<N>OR REY DON ENRIQUE / de Castiella e de leon fijo del rey don jua<n> primero . . . LVEGO QUE SE supo la muerte del rey don jua<n> primero deste nonbre fue tomado por rey. . . ." The Crónica de Enrique III ends f. 183v: ". . . e q<ue> qua<n>do el dicho cauallero llegara al co<n>de el le ma<n> / dara pre<n>der e q<ue> esto ujera en presio<n> gran tie<n>po e q<ue> esto no fuera bie<n> fecho."
10. The Crónica de Enrique IV begins f. 184r: "COMIENCA la coronica del serenissimo Rey don Enrrique quarto deste nombre com / puesta por su coronista el licenciado diego hernandez del castillo su capellan y del su consejo. / PROLOGO / TANTO los principes sen<n>alados e antiguos varones delas edades



pasadas. . . ." The Crónica de Enrique IV ends f. 225v:

". . . se mues / tre muy alegre ni por lo otro delas aduersi-  
dades sen<n>alada tristeza. FIN."

11. The "Prologo" of Fernando de Pulgar begins f. 225v: "CON EL  
AYVDA DEL MVI ALTO DIOS E DE LA REYNA CELESTIAL / entendemos  
escreujr la coronica dela muy alta e muy excelente princesa  
Don<n>a ysabel. . . ." The "Prologo" ends f. 225v: ". . .  
loable fama dela qual es razo<n> que gozen sus descendientes.  
FIN DEL PROLOGO."

Colophon: none

Probatoria: f. 2r: "COMIENCA LA HISTORIA"

Number of folios: 2 + 225 + 2

Writing material: paper

Ink: dark brown

Watermarks: The guard leaves at the beginning and end of the MS  
show an oval inscribed with a cross over a column of two circles,  
the first containing the initials "SR" and the second contain-  
ing the number "4." The column of all three medallions is sur-  
mounted by a crown, and the uppermost oval is flanked by griffins;  
see Briquet, "Trois cercles," 1, 217. The only watermark to  
appear throughout the body of the text is a filagree upper-case "P."

Foliation: none

Quires: not observed

Dimensions of the leaf: 383 x 272 mm

Dimensions of the text page: not observed

Number of columns: long lines

Number of lines/column: 56-62

Ruling: no visible ruling

Running headlines: The king, era de César and the year of Our Lord are given in headlines throughout. The headlines in CAX are written on a label that is glued to the upper margin of the verso of each folio.

Catchwords: none

Marginalia: The text is extensively glossed in the margins (which are generous) by the original scribe. Among the notes are excerpts from documents, critical observations, several drôleries and a few carefully drawn maps; see for example f. 107r (Gibraltar), f. 115v (Ebro), f. 119r (Burgos and surroundings). Diego Catalán notes a curious marginal note regarding Alfonso X's will: "Este testamento se ha de empremir luego tras la historia deste rey don Alonso, pero sea de letra algo menor que la de la historia" (see La tradición manuscrita, p. 396). The note implies that MS. 84-7-34 served as a basis for a printing of the chronicle. The collation of the witnesses, however, indicates no close relationship between MS. 84-7-34 and the princeps, at least for the Prologue and for chapters 64, 65 and 75. Catalán also remarked on the two most interesting notes of the MS: "Hablando de 'don Apostol,' hijo de don Pedro de Castilla y de la reina, el autor comenta: 'al Apostol conosco yo siendo nino en casa del duque del Infantazgo.'" Otra nota nos precisa la personalidad del autor: 'En este año 1474 por el mes de hebrero murio el mariscal Diego de Valencia mi ahuelo, primo hermano del maestre

don Juan Pacheco. Su madre, llamada dona Beatriz de Acuña, y el padre del maestro don Juan Pacheco, llamado don Alonso Tellez, eran hermanos, hijos del conde don Martin Vazquez de Acuña, conde de Valencia'" (La tradición manucrita, p. 396). On another occasion, Catalán observed: "El interés de este ms. estriba en las notas marginales . . ." (Un cronista anónimo, p. 246).

Number of hands: Except for ff. 56-57, the MS is in one hand throughout; the vast majority of the marginal notes are in the same hand as that of the body of the text.

Hand: small and careful italic; ff. 56-57, larger italic with procesal traits

Decoration: The chapter initials are not decorated. The marginalia by the original scribe provides several drawings but few traditional decorative motifs. The rubrics introducing the individual chronicles and the majority of chapter headings are in red ink.

Condition: CAX BAE chapter 16 is lacking, but no folios are missing. The MS is fragile because of the corrosive ink. Numerous folios have been repaired by gluing new paper over the original. This technique was also used by the original scribe; it appears to have been his manner of correcting his text. The folios containing Alfonso's will, ff. 29-32, are loose from the binding.

Dimensions of the binding: 386 x 282 mm

Binding: parchment with two leather knot and loop closures,

spine: "VARIAS Chron<sup>s</sup> de España M. S."

Bibliography:

1. Catalán, Un cronista anónimo, p. 246.

2. Catalán, La tradición manuscrita, pp. 396-97.

3. Fink-Errera, "A Propos des bibliothèques d'Espagne," 106.

Notes: The critical remarks and the complementary passages from other documents that are interpolated in the body of the MS together with the marginalia indicate that the compiler of the text was thoughtful and informed. The MS shows a short-version CAX related to MS. 1159, BCB, and MS. Y.III.11, BES; see Part III, the stemmata.

## II. Previous Editions

The survey of the witnesses that precedes a new edition necessarily includes a thorough study of all previous editions whereby the merits, defects and base MS(S) of each are identified. Until such investigations are carried out, the textual critic's belief in the necessity of a new edition rests at best only on a well-informed assumption. If an edition is in fact flawed in the transcription of its base MS, the identification of the base MS and a comparison of it to the edition will precisely define those defects, justify a new edition and recommend specific improvements. Furthermore, once the base MS of an edition is identified, that MS may be compared to the remainder of the known extant witnesses and evaluated as a representative of the tradition.

CAX has been edited twice, first by Miguel de Herrera in 1554 at Valladolid and again, over three hundred years later, by Cayetano Rosell for the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (BAE). The following studies reveal that each edition is fundamentally a transcription of one MS. The MS that served as the base for the princeps was faithfully reproduced in the printing. However, that base MS is a sixteenth-century copy in which the language was carefully polished to contemporary standards. Rosell's transcription of his base, on the other hand, is capricious. Furthermore, his base MS is one of the more unreliable MSS of the tradition, and the flaws of the source are either perpetuated in the edition or tacitly emended to readings that generally lack textual authority. I first examine the BAE edition, the only version available to the majority of scholars since its appearance in 1875:

1. Rosell y López, Cayetano, ed. Crónica del rey don Alfonso décimo. In Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel. BAE, 66. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1875, pp. 3-66.

Rosell announces his editorial criteria on page vi of the Introduction:

Hemos, pues, deducido el texto de las Tres Corónicas, la de Alfonso X, la de su hijo don Sancho y la de Fernando IV, su nieto, del códice de las mismas, que se conserva entre los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional, copiándolo con la mayor escrupulosidad, . . . porque sin duda es el más genuino y correcto de todos, tanto, por lo ménos, como el más suntuoso y perfecto de los cuatro del Escorial, con el cual lo hemos cotejado, y como el perteneciente al señor Duque de Osuna, de que otros se han valido, y de que, por consiguiente, aunque de un modo indirecto, nos hemos aprovechado. Aludimos á la edición de la Crónica de Fernando IV, que el año 1860 publicó la Real Academia de la Historia, . . . ilustrada por el señor don Antonio Benavides. . . . De manera que el [texto] que nosotros damos en la Crónica de este Rey y de la de sus dos predecesores es una copia del manuscrito de la Biblioteca Nacional, colacionado con el del Escorial, con el del señor Duque de Osuna, segun el académico Benavides, y con la impresion, por fin, de Sebastián Martínez.

Earlier in his Introduction Rosell identifies the first MS mentioned: ". . . otro que poseyó Pellicer, de cuya mano lleva en sus márgenes algunas notas, y se guarda en la Biblioteca Nacional" (p. vi). This is clearly MS. 829, BNM (Part I, #12). The MS that belonged to the Duke of Osuna and earlier to the Marquis of Santillana is MS. 10195, BNM (Part I, #21).

The identification of the Escorial MS that Rosell claims to have consulted is more problematic. There are now eight MSS containing CAX in the Escorial. The majority of these may be set aside for external reasons. MS. Y.II.13 is a late and physically undistinguished copy combining only an incomplete CAX, in altered and modernized

language, with a number of unrelated texts. MS. Y.II.15, also late and physically undistinguished, contains only CAX and CSIV. MSS. M.II.2, N.III.12, Y.I.5, Y.III.11, Z.III.7 and Z.III.12 all carry the three chronicles, but CFIV in MS. Y.I.5 is incomplete, and MSS. Y.I.5, Y.III.11 and Z.III.12 all have several lengthy lacunae. MSS. Y.III.11 and Z.III.12 also have numerous folios out of order, which causes difficulties in reading. MS. Z.III.7 is somewhat later than the remaining two--N.III.12 and M.II.2--and is a much less physically attractive copy with a good deal of damage due to corrosive ink. MSS. N.III.12 and M.II.2 are both good possibilities, but the elaborately decorated M.II.2 (Part I, #2) is the only copy which could be called "suntuoso."

Zarco Cuevas does not say when MS. M.II.2 was acquired by El Escorial,<sup>1</sup> but Llacayo's 1878 list of Escorial MSS contains a summary description of a MS containing CAX that is most probably M.II.2.<sup>2</sup> We may therefore be reasonably sure that MS. M.II.2 was among the holdings of the Escorial when Rosell did his edition. Rosell's fourth witness, "la impresion . . . de Sebastian Martínez," is the princeps done in 1554 in Valladolid (V1554).

The following analysis of the edition is based on examples provided by a study of these four witnesses in the Prologue and chapters 1, 64, 65, 75. Occasional examples from other chapters are included in the section on orthographic modernization, and evidence from the larger textual tradition is given when deemed appropriate. Throughout the analysis, in those examples involving several lines of text or numerous variants, I generally transcribe one representative witness in contrast to the BAE reading and Rosell's preferred MS. 829, BNM.

Variants of MS. 829 are given in brackets, and variants of the remaining contrasting witnesses are given in the accompanying endnotes.

Rosell's handling of the variants of MS. 829 indicates that his edition is fundamentally a transcription of that MS. If Rosell did in fact collate MS. 829 with MS. M.II.2, V1554 and possibly MS. 10195,<sup>3</sup> he failed to use the results to substitute majority readings for those of MS. 829:

<u>BAE/MS. 829</u>	<u>Other witnesses</u>
1. BAE p. 51a 49 mandó	encomendo (V1554, 10195) mandaua e encomēdaua (M.II.2)
2. p. 51b 13 é andudo cuanto [q̃nto] pudo	e anduuo lo mas que pudo (V1554) <sup>4</sup>
3. p. 52a 17 que lo farian muy de talante	que lo harian de buen talāte (V1554) <sup>5</sup>
4. p. 52a 59 fasta entōnces [entōce] E agora	hasta entonces, y alli se estuuo que nō se halla que desta vez otro mal y daño hiziesse en la frontera. Y agora (V1554) <sup>6</sup>
5. p. 59a 53 la otra costanera	la vna costanera (ceteri)
6. p. 59b 7 cibdad [çibdad]	villa (ceteri)
7. p. 60a 45 que ficiera [fiziera] en él escarmiento	que escarmiento hiziera en el (V1554) <sup>7</sup>



8. p. 60a 24

pleito

obispo

(ceteri)

This last is a particularly revealing example in light of the context:

É el Rey dijo al infante don Sancho que enviaria al obispo don Frédulo de Oviedo al Papa á le demandar las gracias para la guerra de los moros, é el Rey enviólo al Papa porque el Papa trojiese el pleito con el rey de Francia en pleito de don Alfonso; é este obispo don Frédulo era toscano. É el infante don Sancho sospechó luégo esta mandareria deste pleito que non era su natural. . . . (BAE, p. 60a 17ff.)

It is difficult to imagine that Rosell would have preferred pleito if he had been aware of the reading obispo.

On one occasion in the chapters considered, Rosell's preference for the MS. 829 reading perpetuates a historical inaccuracy unique to that MS:

9. p. 59a 27

para la tierra

para la guerra

que avie [auj]

que avia

en Normandía

en lombardia

(ceteri)

The context of the passage gives no clue that normandia is not the correct reading. The unanimous agreement of the other witnesses on lombardia, however, proves that no collation was used at this point.

Because the variant is rather significant, it is worth noting that within the larger textual tradition of thirty-five witnesses, the reading tierra/normandia is unique to MS. 829. MSS. 2777, 84-7-34, 1159 read tierra/lombardia. The remaining witnesses agree with the reading of V1554, MS. M.II.2 and MS. 10195 (guerra/lombardia), which is no doubt the correct one.<sup>8</sup>

The passage containing the reading refers to the request for aid in the guerra of lombardia made by the Marquis of Monferrat to

Alfonso X in 1281 on the occasion of the marriage in Burgos of the Marquis' daughter to the Infante Don Juan. Ballesteros-Beretta discusses the event and quotes the CAX passage with the combination tierra/lombardia.<sup>9</sup> He does not specifically discuss tierra/guerra in lombardia, but he quotes a letter from Alfonso X to the leaders and people of Genoa, written in Burgos and dated February 27, 1281, which leaves little doubt as to the historically appropriate reading:

Cum virum egregium marchionem Montisferati, generum nostrum karissimum, tanquam filium, remittamus in Lombardiam ad presens, sociatum trescentis militibus et centum balistariis, ad unum annum solutis, ad honorem et exaltacionem vestri et vestrorum precipue, ac omnium aliorum fieelium [sic] et amicorum nostrorum, et inimicorum ubilibet exterminium et ruinam.<sup>10</sup>

The source of Ballesteros' reading tierra/lombardia is another matter. The quotation containing the reading is not footnoted. The reader first suspects that Ballesteros consulted one of the MSS that contain the reading, but no MSS containing CAX appear in his bibliography or in the índice de documentos. V1554 as well as the BAE edition appears in the bibliography,<sup>11</sup> but Ballesteros' quotation agrees with BAE against V1554 and against all three MSS containing tierra/lombardia in orthography and in all other variants. Furthermore, throughout the book those citations of CAX that are footnoted invariably refer the reader to the BAE edition. Ballesteros apparently corrected the BAE reading tacitly to coincide with lombardia provided by V1554 and suggested by the documentary evidence.

In a significant number of instances also Rosell follows MS. 829 to the extent of preserving its haplographies. The texts omitted by haplography in MS. 829 and the BAE edition are underlined in the citations from the other witnesses:

BAE/MS. 829Other witnesses

10. BAE p. 51b 5  
 deste infante a lo  
 facer [fazer] enterrar
11. p. 59b 28  
 fortalezas, que lo farie
12. p. 60b 35:  
 que se vernia para Córdoba  
 [cordoua], é que él  
 les mandaria
13. p. 59b 57  
 conquistas que fizo  
 en el reino de Murcia
- del infante don fernando a  
burgos a lo hazer enterrar (V1554)<sup>12</sup>
- fortalezas que auia que  
 lo haria (V1554)<sup>13</sup>
- quiso venirse para cordoua,  
 y ellos que fuessen para el  
a cordoua, y que el  
 les mandaria (V1554)<sup>14</sup>
- conquistas que hizo en los  
 reynos de Seuilla y de cor-  
doua y de jaen. E otrosi en lo  
suyo por el gran menester que  
ouo en las conquistas que hizo en  
el reyno de niebla y en el  
reyno de murcia (V1554)<sup>15</sup>

In the last case, a comparison of BAE/MS. 829 to V1554 suggests a haplography reynos/reyno<sub>2</sub>. The addition of the reading of MS. 10195 to the comparison, however, suggests a second and more complex interpretation:

MS. 10195

- f. LVIIv, 18  
 costas q̄ fizo eñl  
 Rõ de njebla e eñl  
 Reño de murçia
- conquistas que hizo en los reynos de  
Seuilla y de cordoua y de jaen. E  
otrosi en lo suyo por el gran menes-  
ter que ouo en las conquistas que  
hizo en el reyno de niebla y en  
 el reyno de murcia (V1554)

MS. 10195 agrees for the most part with MS. 829 but returns to the reading of V1554 and MS. M.II.2 at the first recurrence of reyno preceding niebla. It would seem, then, that two separate but related haplographies are involved. The first, hizo/hizo, is shared by MSS. 829 and 10195. MS. 829 seems to have immediately committed a second, reyno/reyno:

BAE/MS. 829

p. 59b 57

conquistas que fizo  
en el reino de Murcia

conquistas que hizo en los reynos  
de Seuilla y de cordoua y de jaen.  
E otrosi en lo suyo por el gran  
menester que ouo en las conquistas  
que hizo en el reyno de niebla y  
en el reyno de murcia (V1554)

The readings of the remaining witnesses of the textual tradition support the latter interpretation. The first and more extensive haplography is found in MSS. 829, 642, 7403, 10132, 10195, 13002 and Y.I.5. The second occurs in MSS. 2777, M563, Y.II.13 and 829. Only MS. 829 shows both. It may be argued that it is impossible to prove whether the omission in MS. 829 is due to one or two scribal lapses, but the fact remains that MS. 829 is the most defective of all witnesses for this passage.

In the list given above, the readings of MS. 829 that contain haplographies are comprehensible, and in the absence of an editorial policy based on a collation the omissions would pass undetected. There are, however, two examples of awkward readings in MS. 829 that resulted from haplographies and required editorial emendation. The

normal editorial procedure would be to consult additional witnesses.

The first example offers no evidence that Rosell did so:

<u>BAE</u>	<u>MS. 829</u>	<u>V1554</u>
14. p. 59b 16		
que por el	q̃ <u>sy nõ fuera</u> por	que si no fuera por el
su esfuerço	el su esfuerço q̃	su esfuerço <u>solo toda</u>
se guardó todo	se guardo todo	<u>la gente de su hueste</u>
		<u>fuera en gran peligro.</u>
		<u>Assi que quiso dios que</u>
		<u>por el su esfuerço se</u>
		guardo todo. <sup>16</sup>

Rosell evidently simply eliminated sy nõ fuera and  $\tilde{q}_2$  in order to make the sentence comprehensible although those elements clearly indicate that the segment in MS. 829 is incomplete. The emendation was carried out tacitly, and the resulting BAE reading lacks MS authority within the larger tradition as well as among Rosell's group of four. As elsewhere, the MS. 829 haplography is preserved, but here it is augmented in the BAE version.

The second example does show that Rosell was capable of employing additional witnesses in the process of emendation. The BAE reading, nevertheless, preserves substantially the haplography of MS. 829:

<u>BAE</u>	<u>MS. 829</u>	<u>MS. 10195</u>
15. Prologue p. 3a 13		
Dios se contienen.	djos se contienē	dios se contienē
É conviene que	que los fechos	<u>Et otras muchas q̃</u>
los fechos de	de los Reyes	<u>acaescierõ en el mūdo</u>
los reyes		<u>antiguamēte. conbjene</u>
		q̃ los fechos de los
		reyes <sup>17</sup>

Rosell has partially corrected the haplography contiene/  
conbjene by inserting É conviene and dividing one impossible sentence  
into two. The inclusion of É conviene in the BAE reading proves that  
Rosell consulted some MS(S) in addition to MS. 829 for the emendation.

At line 2 of the BAE Prologue in the only footnote of the edi-  
tion calling attention to a departure from MS. 829 (p. 3, n. 1),  
Rosell states that he used MS. 10195 and V1554 to correct lines 1-3 of  
the Prologue as they appear in his base MS. The fact that V1554 omits  
lines 8-18, within which the above passage occurs, and that Rosell's  
division of the passage into two sentences is reminiscent of the punc-  
tuation and spacing of the MS. 10195 version suggests that Rosell  
continued to use that MS for his emendation of the passage. MS. M.II.2,  
however, as well as MS. 10195, contains the complete segment omitted  
in MS. 829. Therefore, regardless of the source of BAE É conviene,  
Rosell must have been aware of the extent of the omission. He never-  
theless chose to respect as far as possible the integrity of his base  
MS and did not include in his edition the greater part of the addi-  
tional text provided by both MS. 10195 and MS. M.II.2. The correction,  
as in example 14, was carried out tacitly; the resulting BAE reading  
lacks MS authority within the larger tradition and once again sub-  
stantially preserves the haplography of MS. 829.

While the above examples prove conclusively that the BAE edi-  
tion is basically a transcription of MS. 829, they also reveal a  
characteristic of MS. 829 that, uncorrected, must seriously flaw any  
edition based on it. The frequent incidence of haplography in the  
relatively small sample of text considered hints at the existence of

dozens of such omissions throughout the MS. The fact that Rosell filled in none of the haplographies in the above examples suggests the perpetuation of numerous others in a similar fashion in the BAE edition.

It should also be noted that MS. 829 shares the above haplographies with relatively few of the thirty-four other witnesses. The first haplography of example 13 occurs with most frequency and, as noted above, is found in a total of seven MSS. The second occurs in four. The haplography of example 10 is found in MS. 829 and in MSS. 2777, 84-7-34 and Eg. 289. That of example 11 is found in MS. 829 and in MSS. 2777, 84-7-34, 1159 and 9-28-3-5509. In example 12 the haplography occurs in MS. 829 and in MSS. 9-4761, 1742 and 2091. The haplography of example 14 occurs in MS. 829 and in MSS. 2777, 84-7-34, 1159 and Y.III.11. Example 15 is drawn from the Prologue, which is contained in twenty-two witnesses other than BAE. Thirteen of the twenty-two contain the segment contiene(n) . . . conbjene. The segment is complete in all thirteen. Five MSS share the haplography with MS. 829: N.III.12, Z.III.12, 84-7-34, 6410 and 336. Three witnesses, including V1554, omit a much larger passage.

We may now proceed to the first category of conscious departures from readings of MS. 829, that which involves Rosell's efforts to improve his transcription by substituting readings from other MSS and V1554 for those of his base MS. Of the thirty-five footnotes accompanying the text, eighteen provide variants from V1554, seven contrast readings of the base MS with those of V1554, three comment on base MS readings, one calls attention to the differences in chronology among the textual witnesses,

five interpret the text, and only one, the first footnote of the edition, announces an emendation of the base MS drawn from the other witnesses. This is to say that all but one of the numerous nonorthographic departures from the base MS were carried out tacitly. Moreover, the one emendation footnoted is so described as to leave the reader without a clear idea of either the precise extent of the eliminated base MS reading or the exact contribution to the reconstructed text of each of the two confessed sources. The first lines of the BAE Prologue and the accompanying footnote appear as follows:

BAE p. 3a

1. Por muchas guisas é por muchas maneras los sa-
2. bios que fueron en los tiempos pasados (1) quisieron
3. que las cosas que fueron falladas é pasaron, se pu-
4. diesen saber, é por nobleza de sí mesmos seyéndoles
5. a los que eran de venir ejemplo, ficiéronlas escre-
6. bir entendiendo que por esta guisa las podrian
7. mejor saber los que viniesen en pos dellos

(1) En el Códice de la Biblioteca Nacional que nos sirve de texto, se leen viciadas estas primeras líneas. "Por muchas guisas, dice, é por muchas maneras los antiguos que ante fueron en los tiempos quisieron que las cosas que eran falladas fallaronse, etc." Salvamos este defecto, teniendo presentes el Códice del Duque de Osuna [MS. 10195] y la edición de 1554.

Rosell's footnote transcription of the passage from MS. 829 leads the reader to assume that the texts coincide at the words fallaronse. The fact is that MS. 829's fallaronse does not occur in the BAE edition and therefore provides no point of coincidence. If MS. 829's fallaronse is to be equated with BAE's é pasaron, the following BAE segment, se pudiesen saber, is without a coincident segment in MS. 829. Furthermore, after a stretch of basically coincident text, MS. 829 omits the crucial word ejemplo:



MS. 829 f. 9r a1  
 Por muchas guisas e  
 por muchas mañas  
 los antiguos q̄ ante  
 fuerō en los t̄pos q̄sie  
 ron q̄ las cosa q̄ eran  
 falladas fallaronse e  
 por nobleza desi meS  
 mos seyendoles alos  
 q̄ erã de venir fizierō  
 las escreujr entendiē  
 do q̄ por esta guisa las podriã mejor sa  
 ber los q̄ vinjesen despues dellos

Of the two sources Rosell claims to have consulted, V1554 shows an omission, which begins after BAE's en pos dellos, amounting to one-quarter of the Prologue as it appears in MSS. 829 and 10195. Rosell would quite naturally have employed a witness in addition to V1554 for the edition of the Prologue. The combination of elements from MS. 10195 and V1554 for the emendation was made as follows:<sup>18</sup>

BAE line

1. sabios (10195)] antiguos 829, V1554, antiguos M.II.2
2. que (V1554, 10195) + ante 829, M.II.2; pasados (10195)  
om. 829; primeros V1554, M.II.2
3. fueron (V1554, M.II.2)] eran 829, 10195; é (10195, M.II.2)]  
 y (V1554), om. 829; pasaron (10195), passarō (V1554)] fallaron 829, pasadas M.II.2; podiesen (10195), pudiessen (V1554),  
 podiesen (M.II.2), om. 829
4. saber (V1554, 10195, M.II.2) om. 829
5. ejemplo (V1554) om. 829, 10195, M.II.2
7. enpos (V1554)] despues 829, 10195, M.II.2

The footnote is, at best, inadequate.

In all but two cases the BAE reading agrees with that of V1554. In the four instances where Rosell chose a reading provided by one witness over a reading on which two agree, he shows a preference for V1554. In the cases of ejemplo and en pos, his preference for V1554 is striking. This example together with the external evidence that all variant readings provided in the footnotes are from V1554 alert the reader to Rosell's preferred witness in the emendation process.

I divide the remaining departures from MS. 829 that have textual authority, all of which are tacit, as follows: (1) emendations of readings in MS. 829 that do not recur in the additional witnesses Rosell claims to have consulted; (2) emendations of MS. 829 readings that are shared by at least one of these additional witnesses.

(1)

BAE page

- 3a 12  $\acute{e}_2$  (10195, M.II.2), om. 829  
 3a 14 conviene (M.II.2), conbjene (10195), om. 829  
 52a 6 entenderia (V1554, M.II.2)] entēdia 829, ternja 10195  
 3b 18 cuatro, quatro (V1554, 10195, M.II.2), om. 829  
 4a 3 fecho, hecho (V1554), puesto (10195), puesto e fecho (M.II.2), fecho + posturà 829  
 51b 34 Alfonso (V1554, 10195, M.II.2) +  $\bar{q}$  829  
 4a 30 Aben-Alhama (V1554, 10195, M.II.2)] Abēalhaua 829  
 51a 25 honra (V1554), onra (M.II.2), om. 829; MS. 10195 omits the clause in which the variant occurs.  
 59a 48 reinasen (10195, M.II.2), reynassen (V1554)] reynos 829

The readings of MS. 829 are unique among the witnesses Rosell claims to have consulted, and they were all replaced by readings on which more than one of those witnesses agree. The first two BAE solutions have been discussed above and partially remedy a haplography. The

third corrects verb tense. Others correct obvious scribal errors of omission or repetition in MS. 829.<sup>19</sup> The last two emendations involve rare cases of readings of MS. 829 that present no apparent problems of comprehension within the text and that were nevertheless emended.<sup>20</sup> The evidence, however, does not warrant the conclusion that the emendations were made on the basis of a collation of the witnesses. The use of V1554 alone in all but the first two examples can account for the corrections.

A small number of MS. 829 readings that do not appear in any of the three secondary witnesses and that were replaced by readings offered by one of these witnesses also points to V1554:

BAE page

- 3b 18 É la era de los hebraicos del diluvio (V1554),  
 la era de los hebraicos om. M.II.2,  
 de los hebraicos om. 10195,  
 la era de los om. 829
- 59b 10 é dos tantos, y (V1554)] e muchos 10195,  
 e tantos M.II.2, e al tãtos 829
- 59b 34 golfines (V1554)] golljnes M.II.2, ladroñs 10195,  
 holgajnes 829

(2) MS. 829 readings confirmed by at least one of the other three witnesses and rejected by Rosell confirm this finding:

BAE page

- 3a 28 corónicas, cronicas (V1554, M.II.2)] coronjca 829, 10195
- 51b 11 sabido (V1554, 10195) + de 829, M.II.2
- 51b 32 crianza, criança (V1554, M.II.2)] criazō 829, 10195
- 60a 1 echar (V1554, 10195)] enbiar 829, M.II.2
- 4a 6 trabajo (V1554) + Se 829, 10195, M.II.2
- 51b 20 llegado (V1554)] llegando 829, M.II.2, llego 10195

Three readings of this group prove irrefutably that only V1554 was used for emendation:

BAE page

- 4a 34 de parias (V1554), de + auer de 829, 10195, M.II.2  
 59b 24 comenzóle, començole (V1554)] cometirole 829, 10195, M.II.2  
 60a 58 desheredaria (V1554)] desfarie 829, desfaria 10195, M.II.2

A second category of tacit departures from MS. 829 involves the emendations that Rosell made on his authority alone. They are almost exclusively corrections of grammar and were apparently made according to a principle of internal cohesion. The BAE readings with coincidental textual authority within the larger tradition carry an asterisk:

- 3a 11 \*falló] falla 829, 10195, M.II.2; om. V1554  
 3a 14 \*É, om. 829, 10195, M.II.2, V1554  
 3a 20 echádoles] echandolos 829, 10195, M.II.2, V1554  
 4a 4 \*diesen] diese 829, 10195, M.II.2; diesse V1554  
 4a 37 \*valia] valian 829, 10195, M.II.2, V1554  
 4a 41 \*ovo de dar] ovo a dar 829, 10195, M.II.2, V1554  
 51a 36 venía] vino 829, 10195, V1554; veno M.II.2  
 52a 34 \*Fernando, + e 829, 10195, M.II.2; y V1554  
 60a 11 á cabo] acabado 829, 10195, M.II.2, V1554  
 60a 15 \*este] deste 829, 10195, M.II.2, V1554

The passage containing the MS. 829 haplography esfuerço/ esfuerço (ex. 14 above) falls within this category.

The last category of departures from MS. 829 involves Rosell's modernizations of orthography. He claims to have faithfully transcribed MS. 829, "copiándolo con la mayor escrupulosidad" (Introduction, p. vi). He offers no additional information in the Introduction regarding his handling of Old Spanish orthographic features. His

transcription of MS. 829, however, reveals that the use of the Old Spanish letters b, x, z + e/i, ç + a/o, qu + a/o, consonant u, vocalic j and y, initial and post-consonantal rr and R has been systematically altered. Nasal consonants, both abbreviated and written out, are given as m before bilabial obstruents. The y and j are exclusively consonantal and ç + e/i is represented as c. Rosell follows modern conventions of capitalization and punctuation:

1. c for O.Sp. z:

	<u>MS. 829</u>	<u>BAE</u>
f. 9r	a32 algezira	Algecira
	b32 galizianos	galicianos
	b38 dezeno	deceno
9v	a5 vezes	veces
	a41 faziã	facian
50v	a1 plazeriã	placeria
	a22 dizẽ	dicen

2. z for O.Sp. ç:

f. 9r	b15 alçaro	alzaron
	b16 alçado	alzado
	b40 comjẽço	comienzo
9v	a7 alcãçaua	alcanzaba
	b18 coraçõ	corazón

3. y for O.Sp. b:

f. 9v	a22 beujr	vevir
	b16 biujan	vivian
10r	a2 enbio	envió
	a2 enbiase	enviase
10v	b26 abinjese	aviniese
58v	b6 boz	voz

4. b for O.Sp. u[v]:

f. 9r	a10 escreujr	escribir
	a30 cordoua	Córdoba
	b3 fincauan	fincaban
	b19 andaua	andaba
	b34 araujgos	arabigos

5. j for O.Sp. x:

f. 9v a30	dixeron	dijeron
10r a26	dexase	dejase
b14	truxerō	trujeron
b31	dexar	dejar
10v a29	lebrixa	Lebrija
48v b39	aqxado	aquejado
but:		
10v a27, 29 passim:	xerez	Xerez

Rosell consistently modernized:

f. 10v a44	muger	mujer
56v b40	muger	mujer
59r a25	muger	mujer

6. cu for O.Sp. qu:

f. 9v b2	cinq̃nta	cincuenta
b6	q̃ntias	cuantías
b13	q̃les	cuales
b19	q̃ndo	cuando
b21	q̃nto	cuanto
10r b4	quatro	cuatro

7. r for O.Sp. R/rr:

f. 9r a20	Reyes	reyes
a43	Regno	regno
b13	Romanos	romanos
b5	rreynar	reinar
a27	onrrado	honrado
10v b40	enrriq̃	Enrique

## 8. Nasal consonants are assimilated to the following obstruents:

f. 9r a4	ḡpos	tiempos
b39	nōbre	nombre
9v a31	siempre	siempre
a40	conpras	compras
48v b21	cūplia	cumplia
b24	conpañas	companas
b32	anp̃aria	ampararia

9. i for O.Sp. y as a simple vowel and as a diphthongal glide:

f. 10v a13	ynfante	infante
a16	ysabel	Isabel
b5	fyncar	fincar
48v b22	yda	ida

9r b18	rreyнар	reinar
b19	veynte	veinte
b37	treÿta	treinta
9v a3	meÿtad	meitad

A second and significant group of Old Spanish features is only irregularly modernized:

1. Omission of h is usually respected, in particular with forms of haber, but there are frequent exceptions:

	<u>MS. 829</u>	<u>BAE</u>
f. 9r a27	onrrado	honrado
b21	ebraycos	hebraicos
9v b15	om̄s	homes
49r b5	onrrado	honrado
b12	onrras	honras
10r b13	auja enbiado	habia enviado
10v b44	auja cobrado	habia cobrado

In the text sample considered, I found no examples of h in MS. 829 that were omitted in the BAE equivalent.

2. Verb morphology is general respected, with sporadic exceptions:

- (a) O.Sp. imperfects in -ie are usually maintained, but:

f. 50r a3	auje gastado	avia gastado
a37	sabie	sabia
59r a2	auje ydo	avia ido

- (b) Verbs with o/u and e/i stem alternations are occasionally modernized:

f. 10v a5	venjera	viniera
58v a6	Resçibirien	rescibirien
a30	Sopo	supo
b24	sopo	supo

- (c) Three cases of discrepancy as to tense and mood arise and have been discussed above in the first and second categories of departures:

f. 48v b36	vino	venia
9r a16	falla	falló
49r b42	entēdia	entenderia

The BAE solution venia has no textual authority. Only the sixteenth-century MS. Y.II.15, BES, confirms falló. The third BAE solution replaces a reading unique to MS. 829 with one supported by V1554, M.II.2 and the majority of the witnesses.

3. The editor occasionally generalized one spelling of a word that appears in more than one form in the MS, but does not alter it to the modernized form:

f. 9r a35	estorias	estorias
10v a25	ystoria	estoria
10v a31	Regnado	regnado
9v a26	Reyno	Regno
a37	Reynado	regnado

In this case the solution ey > eg competes with the usual pattern of the modernizing ey > ei:

f. 48v b14	Reynos	reinos
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With one form Rosell vacillated before the possibilities:

f. 10r b16	esta ynfantē	infanta
b18	la jnfantē	infanta
b20	la ynfante	infante
b23	la ynfante	infanta
b34	conesta ynfāē	infanta
10v a7	aq̄lla ynfāte	infante

Rosell footnotes the last example on p. 5: "Asi casi siempre nuestro Códice, haciéndolo comun de dos. Alguna vez dice 'infanta.'" I have not yet found an instance of infanta in MS. 829.

4. A number of spelling departures seem to obey no general rule other than that of erratic, in some cases perhaps unintentional, modernization:



f.	9r a30	gallizia	Galicia
	9r b18	començo	comienzo
	10r a47	passaron	pasaron
	b39	portadgo	portazgo
	50r a6	catalueña	cataluña
	50v a11	cõsejauã	aconsejaban
	9v a19	rredrar	arredrar
	9v a30	primero Rey	primer rey
	but:		
	9v b6	ẽmero año	primero año
	10v a31	terçero año	tercero año
	49r a13	leuarõlo	lleváronlo
	but:		
	59r b28	leuarõla	leváronla
	9r a39	fasta	hasta
	49r b9	fijo	hijo
	but:		
	9r a41	fasta	fasta
	10r b20	fija	fija

In one highly visible case, however, the editorial emendation is more archaic than the MS:

f.	9r a21	escripto	scripto
	a24	escripto	scripto
	a36	escripto	scripto
	passim		

5. Finally, common abbreviations are expanded as follows:

f.	9r a4	ẽpos	tiempos
	9v a5	mrs	maravedis
	a22	ferrãdo	Ferrando
	a24	ferrñdo	Ferrnando
	10r a10	fernãdo	Fernando
	but:		
	48v b12	ferrn <sup>o</sup>	Fernando
	49r a6	fernãdo	Fernando
	9v b38	iñu xpo	Jesu Christo
	10v b20	ẽpianos	crístianos
	49v b16	ẽanos	crístianos
	b3	algũ	algund
	passim		é
	passim	comõ	commo
	passim	nõ	non
	passim	nĩ	nin

There are very rare, perhaps inadvertent, cases of como, no, ni.

While a number of isolated forms attesting to Rosell's modernizations have MS authority, the vast majority are his own. In spite of the fact that V1554 was the witness most often consulted for the clarification and correction of MS. 829, the modernizations characteristic of that edition, many of which would still have been appropriate in the nineteenth century, overlap very little with those of Rosell. The substantial number of Old Spanish orthographic features respected by Rosell and his avoidance of high-frequency modernized forms of V1554 (historia, conjunction y, crónica, ciudad, hizo, etc.) make it certain that Rosell did not slavishly imitate his predecessor. The reader is tempted to conclude that Rosell ignored the orthography of V1554 in order to offer a more medieval-looking edition.

In Rosell's transcription the orthographic changes were made without a general introductory statement of procedure, without explanatory notes (except for the inadequate observation regarding infante/infanta) and, most important, without consistency. The modernizations are not exactly pervasive, but they are sufficiently frequent and unpredictable as to result in a transcription that falls far short of reproducing the orthography of MS. 829.

In summary, the BAE edition can be described as an extremely defective transcription of MS. 829, BNM, occasionally corrected by V1554 and, in the Prologue, by MS. 10195, BNM. There is no evidence to indicate that a formal collation of the claimed witnesses was employed at any point in the edition or that MS. M.II.2, BES, or any Escorial MS was consulted.

Historians, who for the most part have had to rely on the BAE edition for more than a century, should also note that the foregoing

study has revealed as a by-product that both MS. 829 and V1554 are defective. We have examined the BAE handling of MS. 829 in five of seventy-seven chapters, and in that small sample have seen that the BAE edition perpetuates one item of misinformation that is unique to MS. 829 and that Ballesteros-Beretta corrected in part with V1554 or, more probably, with documentary evidence. We have seen that haplography is characteristic of MS. 829, a discovery of far-reaching implications, and that V1554 is extensively modernized and contains at least one lengthy omission.

We have not thus far unearthed variants of historical significance that, because of the defective nature of MS. 829 and V1554, have been condemned to scholarly oblivion via the BAE edition, but the case of guerra/lombardia might be termed a near-miss. However, there is one significant variant that was lost to the BAE because Rosell based his edition on only two witnesses among a possible thirty-five. The variant was spotted in MS. 327, BNP, by Evelyn S. Proctor,<sup>21</sup> who, let it be noted, did not depend exclusively on the BAE edition for her work with CAX. The variant exists in a total of eleven MSS, is an interpolation but an early one,<sup>22</sup> and is of interest to historians with regard to the problem of succession. The passage involved appears in BAE chapter 67 following the representations of Lope Diaz de Haro and the Infante Don Manuel on behalf of Sancho's right to succeed. The BAE edition and the majority of the witnesses follow Don Manuel's words with "É en el escripto que se falla desde aquel tiempo, non dicen que en aquel consejo fuesen dichas mas palabras destas."<sup>23</sup> MS. 327, BNP, and ten additional MSS--Z.III.7, M.II.2, Y.II.15,

Z.III.12, BES, 1775, 10277, BNM, B1489, HSA, 336, BPP, Eg. 289, BL, and 9-28-3-5509, RAH--omit this sentence, extend Don Manuel's speech and add a long speech by the king in which he accepts and elaborates Sancho's rights to succeed him.<sup>24</sup> In the discussion of the variants for the stemmata in Part III of this paper, we will see that the interpolation constitutes a redactional variant and is yet another piece of significant evidence to indicate that an edition based on MS. 829 alone cannot adequately represent the CAX tradition.

## Notes to Part II.1

<sup>1</sup> Eusebio Julián Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, 2 (Madrid, 1924-26), 277-81.

<sup>2</sup> Augusto Llacayo y Santa María, Antiguos manuscritos de historia, ciencia y arte militar, medicina y literarios existentes en la biblioteca del monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial (Seville: Est. tip. de F. Alvarez, 1878), p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Recall that Rosell writes that he used MS. 10195 indirectly, by adopting Antonio Benavides' edition of CFIV: Memorias de D. Fernando IV de Castilla (Madrid: Impr. de J. Rodríguez, 1860). However, he used MS. 10195 directly for his emendation of the first lines of the Prologue. See BAE, p. 3, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> V1554 anduuo] andovo M.II.2, 10195.

<sup>5</sup> V1554 harian] farian M.II.2, 10195; de + muy M.II.2.

<sup>6</sup> V1554 hasta] fasta M.II.2, 10195; entonces] entonçe M.II.2, estōçes 10195; y<sub>1</sub>] E M.II.2, 10195; se om. M.II.2, 10195; estuuo] estouo M.II.2, 10195; que<sub>1</sub>] E M.II.2; halla] falla M.II.2, 10195; vez + los moros M.II.2, desta vez om. 10195; y<sub>2</sub>] njn M.II.2, 10195; daño + desta vez 10195; hiziesse] fiziesen M.II.2, fiziese 10195; y<sub>3</sub>] E M.II.2, 10195.

<sup>7</sup> V1554 hiziera] fiziera M.II.2, 10195.

<sup>8</sup> MS. 2091, BUS, reads guerra/los lombardos.

<sup>9</sup> Antonio Ballesteros-Baretta, Alfonso X el Sabio (Madrid/Barcelona: Salvat, 1963), p. 935.

<sup>10</sup> Ballesteros-Beretta, p. 934. Ballesteros states on p. 933 that the letter was published in a study of Benedetto Zaccaria by Roberto Lopes. Since Ballesteros does not include the letter in his list of documents for 1281, I assume he quoted from Lopes.

<sup>11</sup> Ballesteros-Beretta, p. 1133.

<sup>12</sup> V1554 hazer] fazer M.II.2, 10195; infante don fernando om. 10195.

<sup>13</sup> V1554 haria] faria M.II.2, 10195.

<sup>14</sup> V1554 quiso] que Se M.II.2, q̃ el Se 10195; venirse] vernja M.II.2, 10195; para<sub>1</sub>] a M.II.2; y<sub>1</sub>] e M.II.2, 10195; fuessen] se fuese 10195, se vinjeSen M.II.2; para<sub>2</sub>] a M.II.2, ẽ pos 10195; a cordoua] alla 10195; y<sub>2</sub>] e M.II.2, 10195; que + ay M.II.2; el om. M.II.2.

<sup>15</sup> M.II.2: hizo<sub>1</sub>] fizo; en] de; lo suyo] el Su t̃po; hizo<sub>2</sub>] fizo.

<sup>16</sup> V1554 solo om. 10195; gente] hueste M.II.2, 10195; de su hueste om. M.II.2, 10195; Assi] asi M.II.2, 10195; el<sub>2</sub> + escapo M.II.2; el<sub>2</sub> om. 10195.

<sup>17</sup> V1554 omits a larger passage. M.II.2: contienē] contiene; otras] otros; muchas] muchos fechos; conbjene] conviene.

<sup>18</sup> The BAE readings are given first, with the sigla of the witness(es) that agree with the reading in parentheses. Although Rosell does not cite the Escorial MS as one of the sources for the emendation, and no unique variant of M.II.2 appears in the BAE edition of the Prologue, the readings of M.II.2 are included in the following description for illustrative purposes.

<sup>19</sup> The fourth example involves an omission: "ebraycos del diluujo en / [cuatro] mjll e ccc e L e iii años" (MS. 829, f. 9r b21).

The fifth and sixth examples involve repetition: "las posturas e la abenêçia q̄ el rrey don f̄rdo su padre auja fecho postura con el rrey de granada" (MS. 829, f. 9r b41); "E rreçelãdo q̄l rrey don a<sup>o</sup> q̄ desq̄ vinjese q̄rria fazer a dõ juã nuñz las onrras e mejorias q̄ fazia a don nuño su padre" (MS. 829, f. 49r b10). In the seventh example, the MS. 829 reading Abēalhaua is unique within the larger tradition and seems to be a scribal misreading of u for m.

<sup>20</sup> The MS. 829 context for example 8 is "vio q̄le nõ era pro njnq̄n llegar a la frõtera con pocas conpañas" (f. 48v b23). Of those MSS of the larger tradition that contain the passage, only MS. 2777, BPM, shares the reading with MS. 829. The remaining MSS read pro nin honra with V1554 and M.II.2. The latter reading is a stock phrase in medieval chronicles, and this alone may explain Rosell's choice.

Example 9 is drawn from the following context: "e diole por ellos en camjo la villa de escalona cõ tal condicion q̄ todo t̄po q̄los sus herederos cobrasen estos castillos q̄ tornase escalona al Rey e a los rreynos despũs del" (MS. 829, f. 55v a25). MS. 2777, again, is the only witness of the larger tradition that shows the MS. 829 reading. The remaining witnesses agree with 10195, M.II.2 and V1554: "e a los que reinasen despues del."

<sup>21</sup> Curia and Cortes in León and Castile 1072-1295 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 230, n. 28. Morel-Fatio compared MS. 327 to BAE and noted the discrepancy between the two witnesses that is due to the variant. However, he does not comment either the extension or possible importance of the passage in MS. 327. See

Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1881), p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> "The MS [327, BNP] was written in 1458, at which date such a passage was unlikely to be interpolated. It was presumably interpolated in some earlier MS." Proctor, p. 230, n. 28.

<sup>23</sup> BAE, p. 53 a49.

<sup>24</sup> Two MSS (Y.I.5, BES, and 9233, BNM) lack the second half of the chapter dedicated to the twenty-fourth year, within which the variant falls. MS. Y.I.5 is missing a folio. The scribe of MS. 9233 indicates a lacuna in the source by ending the chapter "E el rrey le rrespondio que" and leaving the remainder of the folio (87v) blank.



Aguienta la Corona del Rey don fernando el Santo. Ofertada en Avila.  
15 de Julio de 1534



Alfonso X, el Sabio, King of Castile & Leon

**Chronica del muy esclarecido**  
principe, y rey don Alonso: el qual fue par de  
Emperador, z hizo el libro delas sie  
p r i n c i p e, y se separtidas.



Elrey Don Alonso



El Sabio.

Y animismo al fin deste libro

va incorporada la Chronica de rey Don Sicho el Brauo, hijo de  
el Sabio.

CON PRIVILEGIO IMPERIAL.

Impresso en valladolid Año 1534. Estã cassado en



2. Herrera, Miguel de, ed. Chronica del muy esclarecido / principe, y rey don Alonso: el qual fue par de / Emperador, e hizo el libro delas sie / te partidas. / [illustration] Y ansimismo al fin deste libro / va encorporada la Chronica del rey Don Sãcho el Brauo, hijo de / este rey don Alonso el Sabio. Valladolid: Sebastián Martínez, 1554.

The title page is enclosed in a border of type ornaments, which at the center of the lower frame contains a small medallion encircling the initials of the printer. The text of the title is divided, so that the first sentence appears above a woodcut illustration of Alfonso in stylized classical dress with a sword in his right hand. The remainder of the title lies below the illustration and is followed by the notation "Con privilegio imperial," the place and date of publication and "Esta tassado en." A similar title page introduces CSIV on f. LIXr (unnumbered). The illustration shows Sancho on horseback in stylized classical dress. The CSIV title page lacks the place and date of publication and the price notation.

The colophon (f. LXXVIIIr, unnumbered) reads:

Aqui se acaban las dos cronicas. La primera del esclarecido principe y rey don Alonso el sabio que fue par de emperador el qual hizo el libro delas siete partidas. y la segunda cronica es del rey dõ Sancho el Brauo su hijo. fueron impressas en valladolid, a costa y en casa de Sebastian Martinez. Acabaronse a diez y ocho de Henero de mill y quinientos y cinquenta y quatro Años.

The edition consists of eighty folios, measuring 20 x 29 cm in the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library copy, foliated II-LXXVII at the upper right. Ff. LXIII, LXX and LXXIII are incorrectly numbered LXII, LX and LXXV, respectively. There are two unfoliated preliminary leaves containing the title page,

permission to print and the table of chapter headings for CAX. The first folio of text, containing the Prologue, is bordered with type ornaments and, presumably for this reason, also lacks the Roman foliation. The second folio of text bears "fo. II" and the signature "AII." Alfonso X's two wills follow CAX on ff. LIIr and LVv, respectively. The last two pages of the edition, f. LXXVIIv and the recto of the final unfoliated leaf, contain the table of chapter headings for CSIV, the colophon and the note:

Siguese la cronica del rey don fernādo hijo del rey dō Sancho el brauo y nieto del rey don Alonso el Sabio y visnieto del rey dō fernando el sancto que gano a Seuilla y padre del rey don alonso el onzeno que gano las algeziras cuya cronica esta tambien impressa.

The edition is in Gothic print, two columns of forty-eight lines each, with decorated chapter initials. The quire structure is folio in eights, beginning after the two preliminary leaves, signatures A-J, with the rectos of the first four leaves of each quire signed at the lower right with the appropriate letter and I through IIII. The final quire, signature K, contains six leaves, but is signed I through IIII as are the earlier quires. Quire H, which contains the conclusion of CAX and the beginning of CSIV, shows in CSIV two cases of the incorrect running headline "Alonso el Sabio" (ff. LXIr and LXIIIr, the second incorrectly numbered LXII). Catchwords are present through signature G. In the copy of the edition in the Bancroft Library, the final quire is sewn after the third leaf, the chain lines are vertical, and a gauntlet surmounted by a star watermark appears upright and inverted, usually well centered on the folio, throughout.<sup>1</sup>

The permission to print, on the verso of the title page, names the editor Miguel de Herrera and provides the barest information on his editorial activities:

Por quanto por parte de vos Miguel de herrera vezino de Valladolid me fue hecha relacion diziendo, que vos auiaades recopilado, y puesto en perficion las cronicas del rey don Alõso el dezeno y del rey don sãcho el quarto . . . en lo qual auiaades tenido mucho trabajo. . . .

Amador de los Ríos commented on these words in his discussion of authorship:

Dieron pábulo á las dudas las palabras del primer editor de las Tres Coronicas Miguel de Herrera, vecino y alguacil de la Chancillería de Valladolid, quien en exposición elevada al principe don Felipe, á principios de 1553, manifestaba que las "habia recopilado y puesto en perficion con mucho trabajo," cuando en realidad sólo habia consistido este en quitar al lenguaje su antiguo sabor y gallardia, deslustrando asi la obra del siglo XIV.<sup>2</sup>

Amador plausibly suggests the connection between Herrera's claim and the modernized orthography that, as will be seen, distinguishes V1554 from the body of MS witnesses. The permission to print and the other preliminary material, however, offer no clue as to editorial policy or MS sources.

A comparison of the total of twenty-three witnesses that contain the Prologue reveals a close relationship in significant variants and orthography between V1554 and the sixteenth-century MSS. 5775, BNM, and 2091, BUS. The coincidence of V1554 and MS. 5775 is almost exact. They show the following introduction to the Prologue which the remaining witnesses lack:

V1554 f.I/(MS. 5775):

Aqui comiença la Cronica (coronica) del muy alto y muy noble señor dõ Alõso dezeno deste nõbre, rey de Castilla y de Leon, que fue par de emperador, y hizo el libro intitulado de las

partidas El qual fue hijo del noble rey dō fernādo q̄ gano a Sevilla, y a cordoua, y nieto del rey don Alonso noueno, y visnieto del rey dō Sācho el desseado tercero deste nōbre La qual el muy noble rey don Alōso onzeno mādo q̄ por q̄ los hechos de los reyes sus abuelos (ahuelos), y visabuelos (visahuelos) y padre non q̄dassen en oluido: y porq̄ fuessen sabidas las cosas q̄ acaescierō en el t̄po (tiempo) delos dichos sus abuelos (ahuelos), y visabuelo (visahuelo) don Sancho, cuya cronica (Coronjca) va aqui jūtāmēte encorporada, lo mando\* poner y escreuir (escrebir), porque los q̄ adelāte viniessen sepan en como passaron las cosas en tiempo (tiempo) delos reyes susodichos.

\*MS. 5775 originally read mandolo and was corrected in the margin to lo mando.

The two probatory variants in the Prologue linking V1554 to both MS. 5775 and MS. 2091 read as follows:

<u>V1554/MS. 5775/MS. 2091</u>	<u>Other witnesses</u>
1. V1554 f. I a8 seyendo a los q̄ auian de venir exēplo	seyendo leales a los q̄ auian de venjr (ceteri) <sup>3</sup>
2. V1554 f. I a12 ē pos dellos. Y por esto	<u>despues dellos E que los fechos</u> <u>fincarian guardados e duro por</u> <u>grandes tienpos Et asy cōmo por esto</u> <u>fueron fallados los saberes del arte</u> <u>dela estrelogia e las otras çiençias</u> <u>Et otrosy se falla cōmo los patriar-</u> <u>cas y las profetas e el avenjmjēto de</u> <u>ihū xpō e las otras cosas que en la</u> <u>ley de dios se contiēne e otros muchos</u> <u>fechos que acaheçieron en el mundo</u> <u>antiguamente conviene q̄ los fechos</u> <u>de los Reyes que tienen lugar de dios</u> <u>en la t̄rra sean fallados en esc̄ptura</u> <u>señaladamente los Reyes de castilla e</u> <u>de leon q̄ por la ley de dios e por</u> <u>Acresçentamiento dela santa fe</u>

catolica tomaron muchos trabajos e  
pusieronse a muchos peligros e en  
las lides q̄ oujeron con los moros  
echandolos delas españas Et por  
 esto (ceteri)<sup>4</sup>

V1554 and MS. 5775 again agree against the majority of witnesses in a lengthy omission (105 lines in BAE) at the conclusion of V1554/MS. 5775 chapter XX: "En los diez y nueue años . . . (BAE ch. 22): "Despues que el rey don Alfonso. . .". Only one additional witness, the fifteenth-century MS. N.III.12, BES, agrees with V1554/MS. 5775 in the omission. The three witnesses end the chapter as follows:

V1554/MS. 5775

MS. N.III.12

V1554 f. XIIIv

sy no me embiaredes  
 a don juan, embiadme  
 vno de vuestros hijos

sy nõ me enbiaredõ  
 dõ iohñ enbiadme  
 vno de vñros fijos E

The body of remaining witnesses finish the sentence

vñros fijos e ponerlo he en lugar de mjo fijo,<sup>5</sup>

continue the passage at length and conclude the chapter:

sobre lo q̄ les dixieron de pãte del Rey.<sup>6</sup>

The reading in MS. N.III.12 differs from V1554 and MS. 5775 only in the final scribal ampersand, transcribed here as E. With this difference in mind, some further observations may be made on the relationship of MS. N.III.12 to V1554 and MS. 5775. First of all, MS. N.III.12 shares with the contrasting witnesses the distribution of the contents of chapter XX in V1554/MS. 5775 into two separate chapters. The first chapter, rather short, begins "[E]n los diez e Nueue años. . . ." (f. XIIIIr), and the second, lengthy in all the witnesses except

MS. N.III.12, begins "[P]ues q̄ el Rey dō alfoñ . . ." (f. XVr). The omission of the second half of the second chapter in MS. N.III.12 results in two successive short chapters, both dedicated to the events of the nineteenth year of the reign. Second, MS. N.III.12 ends f. XVv with "de v̄ros hijos E" and begins f. XVIr with the introduction of the following chapter. The three points and flourish with which the MS. N.III.12 scribe consistently signals the end of a chapter are absent following "de v̄ros hijos E" at the end of f. XVv. If the final E is misread as chapter final punctuation, the text makes sense and no omission is evident. Finally, the amount of text missing in MS. N.III.12 (105 lines in BAE) corresponds very closely to the amount of text required to fill a folio in that MS. I conclude that MS. N.III.12 lost one folio.

The old and continuous foliation in MS. N.III.12 and the lack of quire signatures provide no confirming evidence. There are, however, catchwords on f. XVIIv and on the verso of every twelfth folio thereafter, and the irregularity of the first quire, within which the omission falls, allows the possibility of a lost folio. If my conclusion is correct, it may be deduced that MS. N.III.12 is the ultimate source of the omission in V1554 and MS. 5775. Furthermore, it may be deduced that a lost copy of MS. N.III.12, consulted by the editor of V1554 and the copyist of MS. 5775, combined the two short chapters in MS. N.III.12 into one of more normal proportions under the usual year-of-reign beginning, or that the copyist of V1554 or the scribe of MS. 5775 was responsible for the combination and passed it on to the remaining member of the pair.

The collation of chapters 64, 65, 75 (BAE numbering) provides evidence of consistent agreement of V1554 and MS. 5775 against the body of remaining witnesses. The majority of variants are less dramatic than those linking V1554, MS. 5775 and MS. 2091 in the Prologue and than those that set off V1554, MS. 5775 and MS. N.III.12 in chapter 22 (BAE numbering), and a number of the variants are rather insignificant when considered individually. As a group, however, the variants suggest a direct and careful copy relationship between V1554 and MS. 5775.

The chapter 64 headings in V1554 and MS. 5775 coincide exactly in numbering and wording against a variety of headings in other witnesses:

<u>V1554/MS. 5775</u>	<u>Other witnesses</u>
V1554 f. XXXIXv Capitu. LXI De como partio el infante dō fernādo de burgos para la guerra y como murio en el camino en villa real	Cap <sup>o</sup> LXIIII de coño el jnfante don fernando se venja a la frontera a la guerra (2777) Capt <sup>o</sup> LXI de coño murio el jnfante don fernando en villa Real y de lo que ende acaesçio (9-4761) Cap <sup>o</sup> LXV de coño el Infāte don fernādo se venja a la frōtera e la gñra de los moros e coño murio en villa Real de dolençia (829)

The text of chapter 64 offers the following variants:

<u>V1554/MS. 5775</u>	<u>Other witnesses</u>
1. V1554 f. XXXIXv b38 empero	po (ceteri) <sup>7</sup>
2. V1554 f. XXXIXv b43 los de las fronteras	los <u>conçejos</u> de la frōtera (ceteri) <sup>8</sup>



3. V1554 f. XLr 4  
males y robos y robos om. (ceteri)<sup>9</sup>

Chapter 65 similarly shows coincident chapter headings in V1554 and MS. 5775 and reveals a number of indicative variants:

4. V1554 f. XLr b40  
ayudasse muy bien muy om. (ceteri)<sup>10</sup>
5. V1554 f. XLr b41  
para dende adelante dende om. (ceteri)<sup>11</sup>
6. V1554 f. XLv b2  
estas estas cartas (ceteri)<sup>12</sup>
7. V1554 f. XLv b6  
fueron venidos aquellos fuerõ venjdos todos los  
mas de aq̄llos (ceteri)<sup>13</sup>
8. V1554 f. XLv b11  
el vencimiento q̄ ouierõ, Vẽçimj̄t<sup>o</sup> q̄ oujerõ e por lo q̄ aujan  
por la muerte Sabido de la muerte (ceteri)<sup>14</sup>
9. V1554 f. XLv b13  
q̄ auian (hauian) sabido om. (ceteri)<sup>15</sup>
10. V1554 f. XLv b27  
defendiessen luego luego om. (ceteri)
11. V1554 f. XLIr a1  
las nuevas las muert̄s (ceteri)<sup>16</sup>

Chapter 75 shows the usual coincident chapter headings in V1554 and MS. 5775 against the headings in the remaining witnesses and the following variants:

12. V1554 f. XLViv a44  
vna hija la fija (ceteri)<sup>17</sup>
13. V1554 f. XLViv b1  
dõ juã con vna hija dõ iohñ caso cõ fija (ceteri)<sup>18</sup>

14. V1554 f. XLVIv b6		
diole entonces	diole Vn dja	(ceteri) <sup>19</sup>
15. V1554 f. XLVIv b11		
diera el rey al marqs	el rey <u>om.</u>	(ceteri) <sup>20</sup>
16. V1554 f. XLVIv b46		
parte	pieça	(ceteri) <sup>21</sup>
17. V1554 f. XLVIIr a3		
dos tantos	A tãtos	(ceteri) <sup>22</sup>
18. V1554 f. XLVIIr a12		
la gente de su hueste	la gente de su <u>om.</u>	(ceteri) <sup>23</sup>
19. V1554 f. XLVIIr a27		
las rentas	q̃ntas rentas	(ceteri) <sup>24</sup>
20. V1554 f. XLVIIr a27		
tenia	auja	(ceteri) <sup>25</sup>
21. V1554 f. XLVIIr a46		
oyo	sopo	(ceteri) <sup>26</sup>
22. V1554 f. XLVIIr b5		
luego	<u>om.</u>	(ceteri) <sup>27</sup>
23. V1554 f. XLVIIr b6		
todos	ellos	(ceteri) <sup>28</sup>
24. V1554 f. XLVIIv a22		
desto	<u>om.</u>	(ceteri) <sup>29</sup>
25. V1554 f. XLVIIv a24		
le	lo	(ceteri) <sup>30</sup>
26. V1554 f. XLVIIv a27		
lo	<u>om.</u>	(ceteri) <sup>31</sup>
27. V1554 f. XLVIIv a41		
el (subj. pronoun)	<u>om.</u>	(ceteri) <sup>32</sup>
28. V1554 f. XLVIIv b6		
desheredaria (desheredarie)	desfarie	(ceteri) <sup>33</sup>

29. V1554 f. XLVIIv b11 ∅	<u>mj</u>	(ceteri) <sup>34</sup>
30. V1554 f. XLVIIv b16 ∅	<u>me</u>	(ceteri) <sup>35</sup>
31. V1554 f. XLVIIv b43 sin	de	(ceteri) <sup>36</sup>
32. V1554 f. XLVIIv b48 recelãdo	reçelando <u>s</u> e	(ceteri) <sup>37</sup>
33. V1554 f. XLVIIIr a5 el (subj. pronoun)	<u>om.</u>	(ceteri) <sup>38</sup>
34. V1554 f. XLVIIIr a20 de granada	<u>om.</u>	(ceteri)
35. V1554 f. XLVIIIr a24 con	a	(ceteri) <sup>39</sup>

The cumulative evidence proves an exceedingly close relationship between V1554 and MS. 5775, and a more remote relationship of these two to MS. 2091, at least in the Prologue, and to MS. N.III.12 in chapter 22 (BAE numbering). Furthermore, from the opposition of V1554 and MS. 5775 to the body of witnesses in the group of variants cited there emerges a picture of conscious editorial intervention in the redaction of V1554 and MS. 5775. In variants 1, 14, 16, 20, and 28, V1554 and MS. 5775 replace a word common to the body of witnesses with a synonym, usually a more modern form. In variants 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34 and 35, V1554 and MS. 5775 replace a word with a more precise form or add a word or words to intensify or clarify: an adverb, subject pronoun, object pronoun, prepositional phrase. In one case V1554 and MS. 5775 rearrange the syntax of a segment of text (variants 8 and 9). In others there is an

omission to avoid the repetition of an antecedent (variant 6), an omission of a word or words possibly considered redundant (variants 2, 7, 30) or an omission of a possessive pronoun following an indefinite article (variant 29). In these last five variants, accidental omission is of course possible. However, within the group of all the variants considered, each change in V1554 and MS. 5775 involves a relatively short bit of text, and a style-based explanation can be found for every substitution, addition and omission that occurs in V1554 and MS. 5775 against the body of witnesses. The editor of V1554 and copyist of MS. 5775 evidently sought to clarify and polish their source. This conclusion recalls Miguel de Herrera's claim to have expended a good deal of time and effort in the preparation of the text for publication.

At this point the question arises as to which of the two witnesses more closely represents Herrera's redaction. V1554 and MS. 5775 agree to such an extent that the collation of chapters 64, 65 and 75 provides only four variants (ch. 75) that are indicative of the direction of the copy:

V1554

MS. 5775

1. f. XLVIIv a46

q̃ non lo hablasse,  
ca non auia

que non hablasse en este pleyto,  
njn gelo mandasse, ca non hauia<sup>40</sup>

The omission is unique to V1554. The segment omitted in V1554, apparently summed up in the lo which is also unique to that witness, indicates that MS. 5775 could not be a copy of V1554 in this passage, unless the scribe of MS. 5775 closely consulted a second witness

containing the omitted text in the process of the copy. The latter hypothesis poses problems. The collation of V1554 with the second witness would have had to be exceedingly careful to detect the omission in V1554. If one accepts the assumption of a close collation, it follows that the second witness would of necessity show the lengthy omission common to V1554 and MS. 5775 in chapter 22 (BAE numbering). MS. N.III.12 is the only witness that shares that omission with V1554 and MS. 5775 and would therefore be that second witness. MS. N.III.12, however, does not contain the significant omission in the Prologue shown in V1554 and MS. 5775, and a comparison of V1554 and MS. N.III.12 in the act of copying MS. 5775 would have revealed the more extensive version of the Prologue in MS. N.III.12. Given the consistently close agreement of V1554 and MS. 5775 and the more remote relationship of the two to MS. N.III.12, it seems more likely that V1554 copied MS. 5775, substituting lo for the omitted segment of text.

One variant strongly supports the latter interpretation and places MS. N.III.12 in the chain: MS. N.III.12 → MS. 5775 → V1554:

<u>V1554</u>	<u>MS. 5775</u>
2. f. XLVIIIr a28	
hablo luego con los	hablo luego con <del>ellos</del>
de cordoua	de cordoua

The ellos original to MS. 5775 was corrected to los. The only additional witnesses that show ellos are MS. N.III.12 and MS. 2777, BPM. In conjunction with the other evidence, the variant suggests that MS. 5775 is a copy of MS. N.III.12, or of a lost copy of MS. N.III.12, and that a corrected MS. 5775 is the source of V1554.

Two further variants indicate that MS. 5775 is not a copy of

V1554:

	<u>V1554</u>	<u>MS. 5775</u>
3. f. XLVIv b20		
	y el rey dō pedro vino a taraçona, y vieronse en vno	y el Rey don Pedro vino a Taraçona, <u>y el Rey vino a</u> <u>Agreda</u> , y vieronse en uno <sup>41</sup>

MS. 5775 could not have copied V1554 in this passage. The MS. 5775 reading is common to the body of witnesses and again concurs exactly with the reading in MS. N.III.12. Because rey<sub>2</sub> in MSS. 5775 and N.III.12, etc., can refer to either Don Pedro of Aragon or Don Alfonso of Castile, it is not surprising that twenty-two witnesses clarify rey<sub>2</sub> by adding don alfoñ. The abbreviated reading in V1554 may be a more drastic intentional solution to the ambiguous reading. It is possible, however, that the similarity of the first and second clauses of the passage resulted in an omission in V1554 similar to haplography.

Four lines later the Agreda missing in the V1554 reading appears in an entirely alien context:

4. f. XLVIv b24		
	los castillos de valde, y agreda	los castillos de Valde y Agora <sup>42</sup>

The V1554 reading is unique. Whether agreda in V1554 was an unintentional error or a conscious stab at correction is uncertain, but the fact remains that a form of the MS. 5775 reading Agora is common to the body of witnesses, and MS. 5775 could not have copied it from V1554.

In addition to their value as indicators of the copy direction MS. 5775 → V1554, all four variants confirm the relationship of V1554 and MS. 5775 to MS. N.III.12. Variant 2 strongly suggests that the copyist of MS. 5775 consulted MS. N.III.12 or a MS clearly related to

it. Variants 1 and 3 show a family relationship between MS. 5775 and MS. N.III.12, and variant 4 shows related readings in the two witnesses. The four variants also separate the role of the V1554 printer (compositor) from that of the editor of MS. 5775, whose concern to polish and modernize is obvious in those variants that set apart V1554 and MS. 5775 from the body of witnesses. In three of the four variants distinguishing V1554 from MS. 5775 (variants 1, 3, 4), accident is possible. Furthermore, if the changes were intentional, they resulted in readings that are more removed from those of the body of witnesses than are the emended readings characteristic of the editor of MS. 5775.

The remaining readings in V1554 opposed to those in MS. 5775 do not indicate direction of copy, but they do further describe the activities of the printer (compositor) of V1554. The readings generally modernize and/or clarify MS. 5775, but a number of the V1554 solutions are very possibly accidental, and one clearly contradicts any tendency to clarify MS. 5775:

5. f. XLVIIr a4

las otras gentes

la gente<sup>43</sup>

The V1554 reading is unique and within the larger context probably indicates a grammatical reaction to the plurality and diversity of the referent:

V1554 f. XLVIv b44

Y el infante dō Sancho salio vn dia del real a talar las viñas, y desque ouo talado muy grã parte dellas, fuesse para un cabeço tan cerca de la villa que el rey de granada y to / dos los moros touieronlo por deshorrã y por quebranto e assi ñ salieron biē cinquēta mil moros adargados y dos tantos ballesteros, y todas las otras gentes de la villa, tambien ginetes como andaluzes para tirarle de alli. . . .

## 6. f. XLVIIr b3

poderes

personas<sup>44</sup>

Here, poderes and personas mean letters of authorization carried by the procuradores or personeros to a cortes. Four MSS agree with V1554 against MS. 5775 and the majority of the witnesses. Given the established relationship between V1554 and MS. 5775, the absence of such a relationship between V1554 and the four MSS that concur and the nature of the reading, the variant most probably represents spontaneous modernization.

## 7. F. XLVIIr b13

las rentas

las sus rentas<sup>45</sup>

Five MSS agree with V1554. The agreement may be due to simple omission or, as in variant 6, to independent and spontaneous modernization. It cannot be interpreted as indicative of MS filiation.

## 8. f. XLVIIv a15

rey

om.<sup>46</sup>

Nineteen witnesses agree with V1554, fourteen with MS. 5775. The context of the variant reveals that the V1554 reading is redundant but clear:

V1554

y el infante don sancho dixolo al rey dō Alōso, y el rey respondiole. . . .

The printer (compositor) could easily have added rey without consulting any additional witness that contains it.

## 9. f. XLVIIv b44

passassen con el malpassassen tal mal<sup>47</sup>





triggered by the similarity of the phrase to the following word, contra. The additional text in MS. 5775 does not indicate direction of copy because it could have been generated by the meaning of the sentence. The reading, however, together with the omissions and errors in three variants (1, 3, 4) that do indicate copy direction, and the degree of possible accident among the remaining variants that distinguish V1554 from MS. 5775, indicates less care in the printing of V1554 than in the redaction of MS. 5775. Variants 5 through 13 also show once again frequent agreement of MS. 5775 with MS. N.III.12 (variants 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13).

There is, furthermore, some forceful evidence that MS. 5775 was the actual copy used in the printing of V1554. Casto M. del Rivero discussed the possibility in his description of MS. 5775:

Al folio 4, después del "Fin de los capítulos de la Coronica del Rey don Sancho," hay esta nota: "Aqui se acaban las dos coronicas. La primera, del esclarecido principe y rey don Alonso el Sabio, que fué par de Emperador, el qual hizo el libro de las Siete Partidas, y la 2ª coronica es del Rey don Sancho el brauo, su hijo. Fueron impresas en Valladolid a costa y en casa de Sebastián Martínez. Acabaronse a 18 . . ." La letra es la misma de las correcciones y enmiendas del texto, en el que también se observan remisiones a folios, todo lo cual parece indicar que este manuscrito ha sido la copia que sirvió para la referida impresión.<sup>52</sup>

Del Rivero's evidence as he presents it hardly seems probatory and, in fact, could just as readily be explained by positing MS. 5775 as a copy of V1554. However, on examination of the three points mentioned, the sum of this evidence presents a convincing picture of emendation of MS. 5775 with printing in mind.

First of all, del Rivero's "nota" in MS. 5775 follows the combined CAX, CSIV chapter headings at the beginning of the MS. The note

is in a more cursive and less regular hand than that of the body of the MS and has been trimmed away after "Acabaronse a 18." The portion of the note that remains concurs, except for some few details of orthography,<sup>53</sup> with the colophon of V1554 up to the month and year of publication. The note/colophon and the tables of chapter headings themselves, which agree in number and wording with those of V1554, verify the close relationship between MS. 5775 and V1554 against the body of remaining witnesses. MS. 5775 and V1554 differ only in the physical distribution of the material: MS. 5775 combines both tables with the note as preliminaries, and V1554 places the CAX table before the CAX, the CSIV table and the colophon at the end of the edition.

The most salient example of the "correcciones" mentioned by del Rivero contributes to an understanding of this difference of organization. MS. 5775 originally began the MS with a rubric introducing the combined tables of chapter headings:

Aqui comienza la tabla de los Capítulos del presente libro con la tabla de los Capítulos de la Crónica del Rey don Sancho el brauo quarto deste nombre que aqui va incorporada.

The more cursive hand which added the note/colophon corrected:

Aqui comienza la tabla de los Capítulos dela crónica del rey don a<sup>o</sup> el Sabio y la tabla de los capítulos dela crónica del rey don Sancho el brabo esta enfin . . . libro.

The word enfin appears at the far right margin and may have been followed by a word or words preceding libro, which appears directly below enfin. The three points of the above transcription represent that possible loss. The V1554 version of the rubric includes deste. With the exception of the omitted or lost deste, the MS. 5775 corrected rubric corresponds exactly to V1554 and together with the combined chapter tables and note/colophon provides a neat preprinting grouping

of all material other than the text itself, which seems to have arisen logically from the original preliminary combination of chapter tables in MS. 5775. There would, furthermore, be no logical reason for correcting the introductory rubric to indicate a distribution of the chapter headings contrary to that in the MS if the MS itself were the ultimate end of the corrections.

Del Rivero's final bit of evidence, his ambiguous "remisiones a folios," surely refers to the letters and Arabic numbers in the margins of MS. 5775 (Ap-A16, Bp-B16, Cp-C16, etc.), which very accurately block out the sixteen pages of text in each quire of V1554. The marginal numerals are usually joined by a line to a word or words in the MS text that correspond to those beginning each page in V1554. The hand of these numerical notations is more similar to that of the MS. 5775 note (V1554 colophon) and corrected introductory rubric than to that of the body of MS. 5775. If MS. 5775 were a copy of V1554, one would perhaps expect to find the corresponding V1554 Roman folio numbers in the margins of the folios of MS. 5775. It is more difficult to imagine why a corrector of the MS would have consistently marked out the V1554 pages in quire notation. The obvious conclusion is that these notations were to serve as a guide for the compositor(s) in the printing of V1554. However, even assuming that MS. 5775 is the source of V1554, the same question persists. It seems quite an unnecessary duplication of labor to block out the base MS in quire pages when the compositor(s) could simply lay type until a given page was filled and then continue to another. Details of early printing practice provide a satisfactory explanation.<sup>54</sup>

In order to print the outer form of the first sheet of any quire, the first and last pages of that quire had to be composed in type. To print, for example, a quarto gathering, pages 1, 4, 5, 8 had to be set in type before any printing could begin. In the case of a folio gathering in eights, as in V1554, pages 1 and 16 had to be laid before printing could begin. The composing in type of all pages of a quire before printing was therefore the most economical procedure and became general practice. In this context, the marking out of the quire pages in the MS source prior to typesetting is clearly a time-consuming waste.

The two most common exceptions to the general rule of laying type a quire at a time occurred when the printing was a page-for-page reprint of an earlier printing or, most interesting for the case of V1554, when the printer's supply of type was insufficient to permit the composing of all the pages of a quire. In the latter case, the printer had no alternative to counting out the pages in his source in order to fix exactly the content of each page of his first form, setting and printing these pages and only then proceeding to set and print the pages of his second form, reusing the same type.

Ronald McKerrow concludes his discussion of the principle and its exceptions with a quote from J. Moxon's Mechanick Exercises (1683):

But no wise Compositer, except he work on Printed Copy that runs Sheet for Sheet, will be willing to Compose more Sheets to a Quire than he shall have a Fount of Letter large enough to set out, unless he will take upon him the trouble of Counting off his Copy: because he cannot Impose till he has Set to the Last Page of that Quire; all the other Sheets being Quired within the first Sheet, and the last Page of the Quire comes in the first Sheet. (Moxon's italics)<sup>55</sup>

It would, in fact, be somewhat surprising if Sebastián Martínez in 1554 Valladolid had had enough type to lay sixteen pages at a time. This interpretation may be supported by the fact that V1554 is in folio in eights, which means that the edition could have been printed at a minimum of two pages at a time once the pages had been counted out in the source MS. Even with the quire pages counted out in the base MS, the more normal quires in quarto or octavo would have required the printing of four and eight pages at a time, which may well have been beyond the resources of many an impecunious printer. Finally, the possible objection to this reasoning based on the choice of sixteen page quires in V1554 over shorter, more manageable quires, in quarto for example, becomes irrelevant if printing only two pages at a time was a necessity for Sebastián Martínez and counting out the source pages was therefore unavoidable in any case. Moxon's words prove the situation was common enough.

The first quire of V1554 in the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library copy provides evidence that Martínez did in fact lay and print two pages at a time. The majority of chapters falling within the first quire begin "En el . . . año. . . ." Eight different decorated forms of upper-case E occur and reoccur in the quire. On no occasion does the same decorated E appear twice on the same page or twice within the two pages printed together on the same side of a sheet. Martínez evidently possessed only one of each different decorated E. On one sheet, the second of the quire, however, the same decorated E appears on one page (f. IIr) of the outer form (ff. IIr and VIIv) and again on one page (f. VIIr) of the inner form (ff. IIv

and VIir). The two pages of each form of the sheet must have been laid in type and printed in separate operations.

Del Rivero's evidence thus indicates that V1554 was in fact taken directly from MS. 5775.<sup>56</sup> Given Herrera's claim to have labored over the preparation of the edition, the great similarity of V1554 and MS. 5775 and the distance of the pair from the body of witnesses, MS. 5775 is most probably Herrera's redaction.

As is evident from the sum of the variants cited, the orthography of V1554 and MS. 5775 is fundamentally similar. There are, however, a few orthographic features that differ between the two witnesses and therefore define those elements that are characteristic of Sebastián Martínez or his compositor(s) rather than of Miguel de Herrera. A general description of the orthography in V1554 is given first, followed by a list of examples. Although the direct MS source of MS. 5775 and ultimately of V1554 is unknown, the MS. N.III.12 form corresponding to the V1554 example is given as representative of fifteenth-century orthography. When MS. N.III.12 gives a different word than the example in V1554, the MS. N.III.12 reading appears in brackets. The list of examples that contrast the orthography of V1554 to that of MS. N.III.12 is followed by a list of the features on which V1554 and MS. 5775 differ.

A first reading of V1554 shows a number of consistent orthographic features that together with the regular use of a few modernized forms conveys an overall impression of consistent modernization. A careful reading, however, reveals a basically medieval orthography with an appreciable amount of indecision and fluctuation. In general terms, the orthography of V1554 represents the intersection of a language in

transition with the stabilizing influence of printing and the sixteenth-century concern for norms.

The letters u and v are still interchangeable to the extent that u appears frequently for v, but v is used for u only in the indefinite article. The use of letters u[v]/b is mainly medieval: u[v] appears intervocalically, and u[v]/b alternate in word initial position and following a consonant. The letter i is vocalic; j is exclusively consonantal. The diphthong -ei is consistently given as -ey, and there are a number of cases of y as i in other environments. The distinction -ss-/-s- is generally preserved with more regularity than in the body of MSS. The distinction in V1554 appears consistently in the imperfect subjunctive and with some interchange in other environments. Long s appears word initial and word medial. The distinctions x/j, g and ç/z are regularly preserved, but c no longer carries the cedilla when followed by e and i. The combination -sc- is generally respected. Initial h rather than f or Ø is general, except for forms of haber and the high-frequency omes. Nonetymological h is rare. Double m is simplified, and the nasal before bilabial obstruent is m. The combination qu- is general with a rare cu-. The dative pronoun in combination ge- is usual, but there are frequent instances of se-. Abbreviations nõ and nĩ appear throughout, but there are a number of instances of no and ni. The conjunction y is preferred, with pockets of e usage and a rare E.

There are a very few cases of imperfects in -ie. Stem vowel fluctuation e/i and o/u has generally been resolved, except for some cases of alternation in high-frequency verbs and in a very few nonverbal



forms. Medieval forms of future and conditional tenses continue to appear. There are a number of learned forms, a few consistently modernized high-frequency forms and a few high-frequency forms that alternate in medieval and more modern solutions.

1. Letters u and y are interchangeable:

	<u>V1554</u>	<u>MS. N.III.12</u>
f.	Iir a2 marauedi	m̄ri
	IXr a12 captiuo	catiūo
	Iir a1 vn	vn
	Xr a4 vn	vn

2. The letter u[v] appears intervocalically, and u[v]/b alternate in word-initial position and following a consonant:

f.	Iir a10 prouechosas	[pō̄ (provecho)]
	a16 caualleros	cauallōs
	a40 andaua	andaua
	a17 biuian	beuiā
IIIIv	a24 biuo	bjuo
Iv	b28 viuir	beujr
Iir	b3 embio	enbio
Ir	b16 oluido	olujdo
Vr	a20 boluer	[tornar]
IXr	a14 boz	boz

3. Letter i is vocalic; j is exclusively consonantal:

f.	IXr a3 mi	mj
	b9 infante	jnfant̄
	b29 dia	diā
	b15 juan	iohñ
	b19 jntos	[juntados]

4. Diphthong -ei is consistently given as -ey:

f.	Iv a7 veynte	veynt̄
	IIv a16 pleytos	pl̄itos
	Iir a6 reynos	Reynos
IIIr	b28 reynado	Reynado

5. The letter i occasionally appears as y in other environments:

f.	IIIv b18 yr	yr
	IIIIr b26 yglesia	yḡlia
	VIr a23 cuydaron	cuydarō
	a33 alcaydes	alcayds

6. The distinction -ss-/-s is generally preserved:

f.	Ir b24	passaron	pasarō
	Iv b11	gruessa	gruesa
	IIr a20	ouiesse	oujese
	a44	finasse	finase
	b15	assi	asy
	Ir a1	guisas	[gracias]
	a5	quisieron	q̄sierō
	Iv a36	Jesu	iñu
	but:		
	IIIr a18	cosas	cosas
	VIr a6	cossas	cosas
	b25	cossas	cosas
	IIIr b5	cassaria	casaria
	b11	casar	casar

7. The distinction x/j, g is preserved:

f.	IIr b14	Xerez	X̄rez
	IIv b24	dixeron	dixerō
	a28	dexar	dexar
	b48	muger	muḡr

8. The distinction ç/z is preserved:

f.	IIr a9	hazer	fazer
	b10	vezinos	vezjnos
	b16	vezes	vezs
	b26	deziãle	dezjanle
	Iv a4	alçaron	alçarō
	IIr a19	coraçon	coraçō
	IIv a32	verguença	V̄guēça

but c no longer carries the cedilla before e and i:

	Iv a23	cinco	çinco
	a27	ciento	çiento
	a31	greçia	greçia
	a33	macedonia	maçedonja

9. The combination -sc- is preserved:

f.	IIr a6	encarescieron	encañscierō
	a21	acrescentoles	Acreçētoles
	a41	nascencia	naçēçia
	IIv b16	nascio	naçio
	IIIv a14	crescio	creçio

10. Initial h rather than f is general:

f.	Iir a9	hazer	fazer
	a26	hasta	fasta
	b18	hijo	fijo
	VIIv a5	hebrero	febrero
	Iir b44	hecho	fecho
	but:		
	VIv b26	fecho	fecho

Etymological h is usual:

	Ir a23	historias	estorias
	Iv a24	hebraycos	abraycos
	IIv a14	honrra	honra
	IIIv a1	hauian	[tenjā]
	a3	ricoshomes	ricos om̃s
	but:		
	Iir a16, passim:	omes	om̃s
	a15	ricosomes	Ricos om̃s
	b1	auia	auja
	b43	auemos	avemos
	b44	ouo	ouo
	IIv a10	auer	Aṽ

Nonetymological h is very rare:

	IIIv a37	hera	era
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11. Nasal before p, b is consistently m:

f.	Iir a13	tiempo	t̃po
	b3	embio	enbio
	IIIr b41	comprar	[Aṽ (aver)]
	IIIv a14	compaña	cōpañā
	b4	amparar	anparar
	Vr b17	siempre	sienpr̃

12. The combination qu- rather than cu- is general:

f.	Iir a8	quantias	contias
	Iir a14	quales	q̃les
	a20	quando	q̃ndo
	IIv a9	quatro	q̃to
	XLViv b6	quentos	cuētos
	but:		
	Iir a3	cincuenta	cinq̃nta
	IIIr a1	cincuenta	cinq̃nta

13. The dative pronoun ge- alternates with se-:

f.	Iiv a42	ortogogelo	otr̄gogelo
	VIr a31	gela	ḡla
	XLr a20	gele	glo
	IIIr a48	entregoselo	entregoḡlo
	XLVIIr b40	se lo	gelo
	XLVIIv a27	se lo	gelo
	a42	se lo	gelo

14. There are rare cases of imperfects in -ie-:

f.	VIIr b31	auie desamparado	Auja desanparado
	XLVIIIr a2	aiien	avian

15. Stem vowel fluctuation has been generally resolved, but fluctuation continues in a few verbs:

f.	IIIr a14	touo	touo
	a27	tuuiesse	toujese
	a36	tuuolo	touolo
	XLVIIr a1	touieron	toujeron
	VIv a34	estuuïessen	estudiesen
	b10	estouiessen	estudiesen
	XLv b45	estuuo	estudo
	IIIv b30	truxere	[troxiese]
	b35	truxerō	truxierō
	Vr b27	traxeron	traxierō

There are a very few cases of vowel fluctuation in nonverbal forms:

f.	IIIr b9	lebrixa	lebrixa
	IIIv a1	Librixa	lebrixa
	VIr a31	mismo	mesmo
	a36	mesma	mesma

16. Future and conditional tenses are generally medieval:

f.	IIIv b30	vernia	V̄nja
	XLVIIv b17	verna	verrna
	b34	ternian	tenjã
	XLVIIIr a26	ternia	ternjan
	IIIv b11	pornia	pornja
	IIIv b19	bastecer la yan	basteçer se le yã

17. Learned forms are frequent:

f.	Iv a23	adam	adan
	a30	philipo	felipo
	IIr a41	Christo, passim	x̄ <sup>o</sup>
	b46	phelipe, passim	felipe

IIIr a21	christianos, passim	ḡanos
IIIIr b38	Septeno	Seteno
Vv a21	escripto, passim	esc̄pto
IXr a12	captiuo	catiuo

18. A few high-frequency forms are consistently modernized:

f.	Ir a28	cronicas, passim	coronjcas
	IIR a27	historia, passim	estoria
	b11	ciudad, passim	çibdad
	VIIr a32	ay, passim	y

19. A few high-frequency forms alternate in medieval and modern solutions:

f.	Vr a4	agora	Agora
	VIr a38	ahora	Agora
	IIIIv a18	sancta	s̄ta
	VIIr b19	santa	s̄ta

The orthography of MS. 5775 generally agrees with that of V1554 with the following exceptions:

1. The letter b appears intervocalically:

MS. 5775

f.	6r a6	daban
	a14	alcançaba
	137v a10	lleuaba
	a20	yba
	37v b21	arabigas

2. The letter j appears as a vowel:

f.	4v b1	vinjessen
	5r b8	vinjeren
	5v a13	diluujo
	6r a9	mjtad

3. Long s does not appear in MS. 5775.

4. The letter c carries the cedilla before e and i:

f.	4v b4	graçia
	b7	Murçia
	5r a23	acaesçieron
	5v a16	çinco
	a22	Greçia
	b2	Maçedonia

5. Initial h is general with homes and occurs rather frequently with forms of haber other than those of the preterite and imperfect subjunctive:

f.	7r a6	homes, passim
	36r b16	hauido
	37r a6	hauer
	137r a6	hauia
	149v a13	hauia

6. The nasal consonant before bilabial obstruent is generally n:

f.	5v b19	nonbre
	6r b4	conpras
	35v a3	enbiaban
	116r b4	conpañas
	b9	cunplia
	116v a8	sienpre
	5r a9	tienpo
	a15	tienpos
	but:	
	a5	tiempos

7. Learned forms in MS. 5775 generally agree with those in V1554, except for:

f.	5v a10	Adan
	a21	Philippo
	4v b12	escrito

8. High-frequency modernized forms agree with those in V1554, except for:

f.	5r a3, passim:	coronicas
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9. Verbal forms with stem vowel fluctuation appear in the medieval solutions more often than in V1554:

	<u>MS. 5775</u>	<u>V1554</u>
f.	138r a4 mantouiesse	mantuuiesse
	b2 touo	tuuo
	139r b3 touiesse	tuuiesse
	b9 touiessen	tuuuessen

The orthography of MS. 5775, then, is slightly more conservative than that of V1554 in all instances except for the use of initial

h in home and in forms of haber. This exception aside, every orthographic feature in MS. 5775 that was systematically altered in V1554 is either more medieval or less learned than the corresponding feature in V1554. These changes are almost certainly due to the operations, perhaps habits, of the printer or compositor rather than to Herrera's editorial intervention. In spite of these differences, the modernizations common to V1554 and MS. 5775 are sufficiently abundant and consistent to render the two witnesses better samples of sixteenth-century language than faithful representatives of the fourteenth-century CAX.

In summary, the combined evidence provided by a comparison of all known witnesses in the Prologue and chapters 64, 65, 75 shows that V1554 is a copy of MS. 5775, which most probably represents Miguel de Herrera's redaction done with the printing of V1554 in mind. The two witnesses show a relationship to the sixteenth-century MS. 2091 in the Prologue, but the variants provided by chapters 64, 65, 75 indicate that MS. 2091 was a free copy of CAX and could not have been a source of the two witnesses in the body of the text. There is strong evidence to suggest, at the very minimum, a family relationship between the two witnesses and the fifteenth-century MS. N.III.12. The comparison of the witnesses also proves conclusively that there are significant omissions and innumerable instances of editorial polishing that together with numerous orthographic modernizations make both V1554 and MS. 5775 unreliable for historians and philologists alike.

## Notes to Part II.2

<sup>1</sup> The description of V1554 is based on the copy of the edition in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, and on a microfilm of the University of Wisconsin Memorial Library copy. The Bancroft copy is bound in parchment (21 x 29 cm), with knot and loop closures, and is missing the CAX title page. The copy begins with the permission to print, in manuscript and glued to the inside front cover. The first folio, also in manuscript, contains the Prologue and begins chapter 1. The unnumbered folio containing the CAX table of chapter headings, which follows the permission to print as preliminary material in the Wisconsin copy, has been added to the Bancroft copy at the conclusion of CAX (f. LVIII) and before the CSIV title page, thus throwing off the quire count. A portion of the CSIV title page was torn away and later repaired; the missing text was added in the same hand as the permission to print and the first folio. It appears that the first three folios of the edition became loose; the first and third were lost; the missing material at the beginning (except for the decorated CAX title page) and on the CSIV title page was written in probably at the same time that the CAX table was inserted between f. LVIII and the CSIV title page. The placement of the CAX table at the conclusion of CAX in the repair process was probably in response to the placement of the CSIV table at the conclusion of CSIV in the original.

Mr. Anthony Bliss, Rare Book Librarian at the Bancroft Library, examined the copy and believes that the vertical chain lines, signing and general shape of the volume indicate folio in eights. He believes



that the size of the sheets, relatively small for folio, can be explained by trimming in the binding process.

The type, type ornaments and woodcuts in the Bancroft and Wisconsin copies are the same, and both show the errors in foliation and running headlines noted, thereby testifying that the two copies are products of the same printing.

The Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia includes a facsimile of the title page of the copy in that library. The Heredia title page is identical to that of the Wisconsin copy. The accompanying description states that the title is in red and black inks.

Published descriptions of V1554:

- Casto M. del Rivero, "Indice de las personas, lugares y cosas notables que se mencionan en las tres crónicas de los reyes de Castilla: Alfonso X, Sancho IV y Fernando IV," Hispania (Madrid), 9 (1942), 588-89.
- Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia, Comte de Benahavis, 3 (Paris: E. Paul and L. Huard et Guillemin, 1893), 107-08.
- Antonio Palau y Dulcet, Manual del librero hispanoamericano, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Librería Palau, 1951), 4, 191.

<sup>2</sup> José Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica de la literatura española (Madrid: José Fernández Cancela, 1863), 4, 369.

<sup>3</sup> MS. M.II.2, BES, is transcribed as representative of the contrasting witnesses. The variants of the MSS grouped with MS. M.II.2 read as follows: M.II.2 seyendo om. M563, 84-7-34; leales] les 829, 6410, N.III.12 (?). The folio containing the passage in MS. N.III.12 is torn. I have indicated the partially illegible reading with the

question mark between parentheses. M.II.2 aujan] eran 9-4761, 829, M563, 2880, 1742, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 6410, N.III.12, eran e aujan Y.I.5, 10195; de] por 9-4761, M563, 1742, Y.II.15. MS. Y.II.13 reads: "porque los sus grandes hechos fuessen exemplo a los que ~~eran~~ por venir."

<sup>4</sup> MS. M.II.2 E<sub>1</sub>] y Z.III.12, 84-7-34, 336; que om. N.III.12, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, M563, 2880, 1742, Y.II.15, 6410, 336, Y.I.5, 10195; los] aquellos Y.II.13, 84-7-34, N.III.12, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, M563, 2880, 1742, Y.II.15, 6410, 336; los fechos] las cosas  $\bar{q}$  acaesçiesen Y.I.5, 10195; fechos + que fuessen puestos por escripto Y.II.13; fincarian] fincaran N.III.12, M563, fincauan 9-4761, 1742, estarian Y.I.5, 10195, quedarian 336; e<sub>2</sub>] y Z.III.12, 6410, 336; duro] durarian Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z. III.7, 10195, M563, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 6410, duraran N.III.12, quedarian 336; grandes] luengos Y.I.5, 10195, M563, Y.II.13; Et<sub>1</sub>] y Z.III.12, 6410, ca Y.II.15; Asy] assi 9-4761, ansj Z.III.7, 10195, B1489, 6410, 336; coño] con 84-7-34; coño + conuino que Y.II.13; por om. N.III.12 (?), Z.III.12, 829, M563, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 6410, 336; esto +  $\bar{q}$  fezieron 84-7-34; esto om. Y.II.13; fueron] fuessen Y.II.13; fallados] hallados 9-4761, 1742; saberes + de luengos tienpos Y.I.5, 10195; del] dela Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 327, 1775, B1489, Y.II.13; arte + grãde 84-7-34; dela] del Y.II.15, 336; estrelogia] estrelleria N.III.12, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 2880, 327, 1742, B1489, Y.II.13, 1775, 84-7-34, 6410, 336, astrelleria Y.II.15; e<sub>3</sub>] y Z.III.12, 6410, de Y.II.15; e<sub>3</sub> + de 327, 1775, B1489; çiençias] sçiençias 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, 10195,

M563, 2880, 1742, Y.II.13, 84-7-34; Et<sub>2</sub>] y Z.III.12, om. Y.I.5, 10195, 6410; otrosy + por aqui 84-7-34; se<sub>1</sub> om. Y.II.15, Y.II.13; falla] fallan 327, 1775, B1489, fallo Y.II.15, om. Y.II.13; falla + de N.III.12, 84-7-34; como<sub>2</sub> + vinieron N.III.12, 9-4761, 829, 1742, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 336, binjeron M563, venjeron 2880, Z.III.12, vieron 84-7-34, 6410; patriarcas + vinieron Y.I.5, 10195; e<sub>4</sub>] y Z.III.12, 6410, 336; las] los N.III.12, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, om. 6410; profetas + dixieron Z.III.7, de ihū xpō y su santo 336; e<sub>5</sub>] y B1489, 6410, de Z.III.12, om. N.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 84-7-34, 336; el om. Z.III.12, 336; avenjmejeto] aduenimjento 9-4761, 829, 1742, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 6410, adbenmjento 336, om. Z.III.12; de] del Y.I.5, om. N.III.12 (?), Z.III.12, 336; de(l) + ñro Redentor Y.I.5, ñro Señor Z.III.7, M563, B1489, Y.II.13, ñro salvador 327, 1775, ñro Señor y salvador B1489; ihū xpō om. 336; e<sub>6</sub>] y Z.III.12, B1489, 6410, 336; e<sub>6</sub> (y) + el su santo advenmjento y Z.III.12; otras om. 9-4761, 1742; cosas + en Y.II.13; que<sub>2</sub> om. M563; en om. Y.II.13; de om. N.III.12 (?); se] son 84-7-34; contiene] contienen Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 327, 1742, Y.II.15, 6410, 336, cōtenjdas 84-7-34, conosçen 1775; contienen (cōtenjdas) + y (e) por 336, 84-7-34; e otros muchos fechos que acaheçieron en el mundo antiguamente conviene om. N.III.12, Z.III.7, 829, 84-7-34, 6410, 336; otros muchos] otras muchas Y.I.5, 10195; fechos om. 1775, Y.I.5, 10195; acaheçieron] acaesçieron Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 2880, 327, 1742, Y.II.13, 1775, acaesçieron B1489, Y.II.15; antigua- mente + e asi Y.II.15; conviene] conbiene Z.III.7, Y.II.15; conviene +

tambien Y.II.13;  $\tilde{q}_4$  om. 6410; que<sub>5</sub> om. N.III.12, 84-7-34; tienen] son en 327, 1775, B1489; lugar] logar N.III.12, Y.I.5, 9-4761, 10195, 1742; dios + y B1489; t̄r̄ra + cōujene  $\tilde{q}$  84-7-34; fallados] falladas M563, 2880, hallados 84-7-34; esc̄ptura] esc̄pto N.III.12, Y.I.5, 10195, M563, 2880, 1742, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Scripto 336, escrito 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 327, 1775, B1489, 84-7-34, tiempos 6410; escrito + E Y.II.13; señaladamente] Señaladamente Z.III.12, Señaladamjente 327; señaladamente + de N.III.12, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, 10195, M563, 2880, 1742, 84-7-34, 6410, 336; los + de los Y.II.13; e<sub>8</sub>] y Z.III.12, 6410, 336;  $\tilde{q}_6$ ] e N.III.12, 829, e  $\tilde{q}$  Y.I.5, 10195; la om. Y.I.5, 10195; dios] aq̄llos Y.I.5, 10195; e<sub>9</sub>] y Z.III.12, 6410; por om. 6410; Acresçentamjento] acreçētamjto N.III.12, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 327, B1489, Y.II.15, 6410, 336; santa] sancta 1742, 336, om. N.III.12, Z.III.12, 829, 84-7-34, 6410; fe] fee Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 10195, 2880, 1775, B1489; catolica] catholica 9-4761, 829, M563, 1742, Y.II.13, 6410; trabajos] trauajos 327, B1489; e<sub>10</sub> y Z.III.12, 6410, 336; e<sub>10</sub> (y) + se Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 10195, M563, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336; pusieron] posieron N.III.12 (?), Z.III.12, 2880, 327, 1742; se om. N.III.12 (?), Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 10195, M563, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336; a om. N.III.12 (?), Y.II.15; muchos] grandes N.III.12, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15, 84-7-34, 6410, 336; e<sub>11</sub> om. ceteri; en las lides om. 327, 1775, B1489; oujeron] obieron Y.II.15; oujeron con om. N.III.12 (?); oujeron + en las lides 327, 1775, B1489; moros + E 1775; los] les Y.II.15; las om. N.III.12, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, 10195, M563, 2880, 1742, Y.II.15, Y.II.13,

84-7-34, 6410, 336; españas] española N.III.12, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, 10195, M563, 2880, 1742, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 6410, 336; Et<sub>3</sub>] y B1489, 6410, 336.

<sup>5</sup> MS. M.II.2 hijos] hijos 336, B1489, 1775, Eg. 289, Y.III.11, Y.II.15, Y.II.13; poner] porne 2091; he] e 6410, Z.III.7, 10277, 1159, 1775, Eg. 289, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, om. 2091; he (e) + yo 829, Eg. 289, Y.II.13, M563; en + el B1489, Y.II.13; lugar] logar 9-4761, 10195, 10277, 10132, 1742, 84-7-34, Y.I.5; de + -l Eg. 289; mjo] mj 327, 2777, 2880, 336, 6410, Z.III.12, 2091, 9-4761, 829, 10195, 1159, 10132, Y.III.11, 1742, Y.II.13, 7403, 9233, Y.I.5, M563, 321; fijo] hijo 336, B1489, Y.III.11, Y.II.13, om. Eg. 289. MSS. 642 and 13002 omit this segment but do not contain the larger omission.

<sup>6</sup> MS. M.II.2 sobre] de 2091; lo q̄] los quales Y.II.15; les] le 9-28-3-5509, 1742, Y.II.13, om. Y.II.15; dixieron] dixeron 6410, B1489, 2091, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 829, 10277, 1159, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 1742, Y.II.13, 13002, 7403, 321, dexieron 9233; de + su 642, 10132, 13002, 7403, 321; pāte] partes 9-4761, 1742; Rey om. 9-4761. MS. Eg. 289 omits the last sentence of the chapter, and MS. 84-7-34 omits the last clause.

<sup>7</sup> MS. N.III.12 is given as representative of the contrasting witnesses. The variant falls within a haplography in MSS. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 13002, Eg. 289, 321.

<sup>8</sup> MS. N.III.12 frōtera] fronteras Y.III.11; de la frōtera om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321. MS. Eg. 289 freely paraphrases a larger passage.

<sup>9</sup> The variant occurs within an omission in MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 2091, Eg. 289, 321.

<sup>10</sup> MS. N.III.12 and the majority read ayudase] ayudasse Z.III.12, 10132, hiziesse 9-4761, feziesse 1742. MS. 642 is torn and only -se remains. MS. N.III.12 ayudase + el 2880, 9233, 6410; bien om. 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 321. MS. 13002 omits a larger passage.

<sup>11</sup> MS. N.III.12 para + fazer 2880; para + le fazer bien e honrra Y.II.13. MS. 13002 omits a larger passage.

<sup>12</sup> MS. N.III.12 estas cartas] esta carta M.II.2, 2777, 829, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159.

<sup>13</sup> MS. N.III.12 venjdos] benjdos Y.I.5; todos om. 13002; los] lo 84-7-34; de aq̃llos om. Y.III.11.

<sup>14</sup> MS. N.III.12 oujerõ] obieron 1159, houjerõ 84-7-34; oujerõ + los moros M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 336, los moros contra el e otra vez contra el Arçobispo don Sancho Y.II.13; lo q̃] que lo 2777; Sabido] sauido 1159; de] por Z.III.12, 336; de om. Y.II.13. MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321 omit a larger passage.

<sup>15</sup> MS. 13002 omits a larger passage within which the variant falls.

<sup>16</sup> MS. N.III.12 las muert̃s] la muerte 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, 10132, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 336, 321. MSS. 13002 and 84-7-34 omit a larger passage. MSS. M563 and Y.II.13 share with V1554 and MS. 5775 the reading las nuevas.

<sup>17</sup> MS. N.III.12 la om. 9-4761, M563, 1742, Y.II.13, 2091, Eg. 289, 321; fija] hija 9-28-3-5509, 13002, Y.III.11, 336, 1159, Eg. 289.

<sup>18</sup> MS. N.III.12 iohñ] Juan M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489,

1775, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, 1159, Eg. 289, 321, Joan Y.II.13, Jaymes 9-4761, 1742, 9233, 6410, Jaymes su fijo 2091, Sancho 2880; cõ + la M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 6410; fija] hija 9-28-3-5509, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 1159, Eg. 289. MSS. 642 and 13002 omit the passage.

<sup>19</sup> MS. N.III.12 le] al Y.II.15, om. 327, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Eg. 289; dio(le) + en M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 1742, 9233, 10132, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 336, 6410, 1159, Eg. 289, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15; Vn dja om. 2880, 13002, 84-7-34, 2091.

<sup>20</sup> MSS. 13002 and Eg. 289 omit a larger passage. MS. 2091 reads: "q̃ el Rey diera al marques."

<sup>21</sup> MSS. 2091 and Eg. 289 omit a larger passage.

<sup>22</sup> MS. N.III.12 A + -l 2777, 829, om. 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.7, M563, Y.II.13, 2880, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, 321; tantos] muchos Y.I.5, 10195, todos 1775, om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.II.13, 321, Y.II.15. MS. Y.II.13 reads treinta mil. MSS. 10277 and Eg. 289 each show unique readings of a larger passage.

<sup>23</sup> MS. N.III.12 hueste] gweste 1775, 13002, Eg. 289, gente 9233. The reading falls within a haplography in MSS. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159.

<sup>24</sup> MS. N.III.12 q̃ntas] todas sus 13002, 2091, Eg. 289. MS. M.II.2 omits a larger passage.

<sup>25</sup> MS. N.III.12 auja] abia B1489, auje M563, 84-7-34, oviese 642, 7403, 321, ouyesse 10132, om. Eg. 829. MSS. M.II.2, 13002 and 2091 omit a larger passage.

<sup>26</sup> MS. N.III.12 sopo] supo 829, 10277, 336, Eg. 289, vido Y.II.13, om. 2091.

<sup>27</sup> MSS. Y.I.5, 10195 omit a larger passage. MSS. 2091 and Eg. 289 each show unique readings of a larger passage.

<sup>28</sup> MSS. 2091 and Eg. 289 omit a larger passage.

<sup>29</sup> MSS. 2091 and Eg. 289 share the reading desto with V1554 and MS. 5775.

<sup>30</sup> MS. N.III.12 lo om. 642, Y.I.5, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 10132, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 13002, Y.II.13, 336, Eg. 289, 321. MS. 2091 omits a larger passage.

<sup>31</sup> MSS. 2091 and Eg. 289 each offer unique readings of a larger passage. MS. Eg. 289, however, does show lo in the same context as V1554 and 10195.

<sup>32</sup> MS. Eg. 289 omits a larger passage.

<sup>33</sup> MS. N.III.12 desfarie] desfaria M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, 336, 6410, 321, desharia Y.III.11, desfiziera 9-4761, deshizjera 9-28-3-5509, desfiziessen Y.II.13. MSS. 2091 and Eg. 289 rework a larger passage.

<sup>34</sup> MS. N.III.12 mj] mjo M.II.2, Z.III.7. MS. 9-28-3-5509 agrees with V1554 and MS. 5775 in the lack of mj.

<sup>35</sup> MS. Y.II.15 agrees with V1554 and MS. 5775 in the lack of me. MS. 2091 omits a larger passage.



<sup>36</sup> MS. N.III.12 de om. 9-4761, 1742. MSS. Y.II.15, 2091 and Eg. 289 omit a larger passage.

<sup>37</sup> MS. N.III.12 reçelandose] resçelãdose Y.I.5, 9-4761, 829, M563, 1742, 84-7-34, Reçibiendose 2880, RReçelo 13002. MS. 13002 agrees with V1554 and MS. 5775 in the omission of -se. MS. 2091 omits a larger passage.

<sup>38</sup> MS. 9-28-3-5509 reads le. MSS. 2091 and Eg. 289 omit a larger passage.

<sup>39</sup> MSS. 9-4761, 1742, Y.III.11, Eg. 289 omit the complete prepositional phrase within which the variant occurs.

<sup>40</sup> MS. 5775 pleyto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34, fecho M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.13, 336, hecho Eg. 289; njn] nj 9-4761, 13002, 1159, Eg. 289; ge-] se- 1775, 13002, Y.II.15; mandasse] mandase N.III.12, 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 9233, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, 321. MS. 2091 rewrites the passage.

<sup>41</sup> MS. 5775 Rey<sub>2</sub> + don alfoñ 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, Eg. 289, 321, don alfoñ entôces M563, om. 1742; vjno<sub>2</sub>] veno M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, M563, 10132, 7403, 6410, vjno + se Y.I.5, 10195, om. Eg. 289; a<sub>2</sub>] para Y.I.5, 10195, a + -l Y.II.15, om. M.II.2, 2880, Y.III.11. MS. 2091 agrees with V1554 in the omission.

<sup>42</sup> The majority of witnesses contrast with both V1554 and MS. 5775. MS. N.III.12 val de ayora: val] bal M.II.2, B1489, 336,

2091; ayora] ayoba M563, Y.II.13, aylora 10277, nebra M.II.2. MS. 9233 omits castillos and adds the conjunction: del val de e ayora. MS. 2880 reads val delda e ayorra. MS. 6410 shows a related reading: val delda and omits ayora.

<sup>43</sup> MSS. N.III.12, 642, Y.I.5, 9-4761, 10195, M563, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 7403, Y.II.13, 6410, 327 agree with MS. 5775. MS. 5775 la + otra M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159. MSS. 13002 and Eg. 289 omit the segment. MS. 2091 rewords a larger passage.

<sup>44</sup> MSS. N.III.12, 2880, Y.II.15 agree with MS. 5775. MS. 5775 personas] personeros 642, M.II.2, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321, personerias 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159. MSS. 9-4761, 1742, 6410, Eg. 289 agree with V1554. MS. 2091 omits the passage.

<sup>45</sup> MSS. 2777, Eg. 289, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159 agree with V1554 in the lack of sus.

<sup>46</sup> MSS. 642, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 7403, Y.II.13, 336, 321 agree with MS. 5775.

<sup>47</sup> MS. 5775 tal] tan 2777, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 13002, 84-7-34, 1159, 321, tanto M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 336, Eg. 289. MS. 2091 omits a larger passage.

<sup>48</sup> MS. 5775 heredaria] herederia 2777, 829, herençia 642, Y.I.5, M563, 10132, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 1159, 321, erẽçia 10195, 7403, 13002, 84-7-34. MSS. M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880,

1742, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 6410 agree with V1554. MS. Eg. 289 omits a larger passage.

<sup>49</sup> MSS. 642, M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 2091, 1159, Eg. 289, 321 agree with V1554.

<sup>50</sup> MS. 5775 e1 + que 642, 10132, 7403, 321, e1 om. N.III.12, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 327, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 2091, 6410, 1159, Eg. 289. MS. 9-28-3-5509 reads q̄ le enbiaria.

<sup>51</sup> MSS. 2880 and 2091 omit a larger passage. The remainder of the witnesses agree with MS. 5775, except for MS. Eg. 289, which replaces ternjan with le ayudarian and eliminates con el. Whether the elimination of con el results from the verb substitution or the verb substitution results from the earlier omission of con el in the source of MS. Eg. 289 is an interesting question, the answer to which would indicate the relationship of MS. Eg. 289 to V1554.

<sup>52</sup> Del Rivero, p. 567.

<sup>53</sup> Del Rivero adds capitals and accents in his transcription.

<sup>54</sup> The following principles of early printing practice are taken from Ronald McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 29-34.

<sup>55</sup> McKerrow, p. 34. I have quoted the Herbert Davis and Harry Carter edition: Joseph Moxon, Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683) (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 210-11.

<sup>56</sup> One other critic names a possible MS source for V1554.

Homero Serís in Nuevo ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1964), p. 48, cited the opinion that MS. B1489, HSA, is the source of V1554. Serís quotes the first lines of MS. B1489 and continues:

Así empieza este códice, importante por creerse utilizado como la base de la edición impresa en Valladolid, en 1554. . .

Serís does not document the opinion that links MS. B1489 to V1554 as a source and proceeds to compare the Prologue and the beginning of chapter 1 in MS. B1489 to V1554:

Al hacerlo, encuentro variantes que son ligeras al comienzo, pero que son más y más importantes a medida que se avanza.

Within the confines of his limited comparison, Serís comes across the lengthy omission in the Prologue of V1554 and notes that the text omitted there is present in MS. B1489. He does not commit himself to the conclusion that MS. B1489 is not a source of V1554. My comparison of that MS. to the edition in the Prologue and chapters 64, 65, 75 provides no evidence that one is a copy of the other.

### III. The Stemmata

CAX appears in thirty-six witnesses known to me. In twenty-three of them the text is preceded by the Prologue that introduces the Crónica de tres reyes as the official continuation of the Estoria de España. The Prologue, therefore, does not apply to CAX alone although associated with it. Consequently, I have developed independent stemmata for the Prologue and CAX. The first stemma takes into account all variants occurring in the four hundred words of the Prologue, and the second is based on all significant variants provided by an arbitrarily chosen group of chapters from the body of the text, numbered 64, 65 and 75 in BAE.

Before the actual sorting and sifting of the variants, one cannot know whether a prologue has its own textual tradition or shares a history of transmission with the text it precedes. In the case of CAX and the Prologue to the Crónica de tres reyes, I began work on the stemmata with no aprioristic assumptions. If the traditions proved identical, the two stemmata would corroborate each other. If, on the other hand, the traditions were largely independent, one could nevertheless expect an occasional overlap which would provide, at least for some MS subfamilies, the same sort of opportunity to test one stemma against the other that identical traditions would afford for all MSS of the tradition.

The two stemmata do in fact indicate one and the same history of transmission for the Prologue and CAX chapters 64, 65 and 75, with few and minor exceptions which are readily explained. In the brief Prologue there are more variants than one would perhaps expect; they

allow the establishment of the broad outlines of the stemma and provide several indications for the filiation of the MS subfamilies. The more numerous variants afforded by chapters 64, 65 and 75 confirm the general configuration of the stemma for the Prologue, corroborate with few exceptions the filiations suggested for the MS subfamilies, correct the suggested filiation for one subfamily and, finally, enable us to carry the conclusions based on the variants in the Prologue a few steps further.

Before beginning the discussion of the variants provided by the Prologue a slight digression is perhaps appropriate in order to make two preliminary observations concerning that document, both of which suggest its historiographical significance and the second of which involves a source of the Prologue that I have consulted in the process of weighing the variants provided by the tradition. First, the Prologue provided Menéndez Pidal and later Diego Catalán with the *terminus ante quem* for the formation in two volumes of the códice regio of the Estoria de España (MSS. Y.I.2 and X.I.4, BES). Catalán writes:

Divididos ya en la forma que han llegado a nosotros, son citados los dos volúmenes "regios" E<sub>1</sub> y E<sub>2</sub> por Alfonso XI en el prólogo de la Crónica de Tres Reyes, o historia de Alfonso X y sus sucesores. Cuando el conquistador de Algeciras, en los últimos años de su reinado (después de 1344), se propone reanudar la obra historial de su bisabuelo, [footnote ignored] "mando catar las coronicas e estorias antiguas e fallo scripto en los libros de su camara los fechos de los reyes que fueron en los tiempos pasados, reyes godos fasta el rey Rodrigo, e desde el rey don Pelayo, que fue el primero rey de Leon, fasta el tiempo que fino el rey don Fernando que gano a Sevilla" [BAE, 66, 3]. Menéndez Pidal comenta con razón: "Esta bipartición que se da aquí como algo constitutivo de la Crónica sin duda se funda nada más que en la división en dos tomos del códice regio" [Primera Crónica General (1955), 1, XXVI]. En consecuencia, podemos asegurar que hacia 1344 el ms. E<sub>2</sub> tenía la misma constitución que hoy en día. (De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos, pp. 44-45)

Both Catalán and Menéndez Pidal quote the BAE edition of the Prologue. In another context Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra raised the question as to whether "Algecira," the citation of which is the basis for the specific date of 1344, might be a later interpolation (Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344,<sup>1</sup> [Lisbon: Academia portuguesa da Historia, 1951], XLII). However, among the twenty-three witnesses for the Prologue only MS. M.II.2, BES, omits "Algecira" from the list of Alfonso XI's dominions. The inclusion of "Algeciras" is most probably original. The testimony of the Prologue is thus one of the cornerstones for Catalán's discussion of the second volume of the códice regio.

Diego Catalán also uncovered for me the second fact involving the Prologue that I wish to mention here. In the fall of 1981 I showed him my collation of the witnesses for the Prologue. After reading the first few lines of the base text, he remarked: "Me suena." He then suggested that I have a look at the prologues of other alfonsine chronicles. I first consulted the Prologue to the Estoria de España, and an initial reading convinced me that it was in all probability the immediate source for the tres reyes Prologue and a valuable external aid for the edition of that Prologue. If the first conviction held through a closer reading, the second did not.

A comparison of the two Prologues reveals fundamentally only an unstable parallelism of organization and themes. Both open with a discussion of the origin and function of the writing of history, continue to a listing of the events and themes found in written history and conclude with an announcement of the motives for and contents of the new histories they introduce. However, the literal duplication of

Estoria passages of appreciable length in the tres reyes Prologue does not occur. In the following transcriptions I place each of the three sections of the tres reyes Prologue opposite the corresponding section in the Prologue of the Estoria de España. For ease of reading, I quote the latter from the Primera crónica general ([1955], 1, 3). The BAE edition of the Prologue of the Crónica de tres reyes is a creation of its editor (see Part II.1); I therefore quote from MS. 2880, BNM (f. 174v):

Estoria de España

Los sabios antiguos, que fueron en los tiempos primeros et fallaron los saberes et las otras cosas, touieron que menguarien en sos fechos et en su lealtad si tan bien no lo quisiessen pora los que auien de uenir como pora si mismos o pora los otros que eran en so tiempo; e entendiendo por los fechos de Dios, que son espirita-les, que los saberes se perderien muriendo aquellos que los sabien et no dexando remenbrança, porque no cayessen en oluido mostraron manera por que los sopiessen los que auien de uenir empos ellos; et por buen entendimiento con-noscieron las cosas que eran estonces, et buscando et esco-drinnando con grand estudio, sopieron las que auien de uenir. Mas el desden de non querer los omnes saber las cosas, et la olui-dança en que las echan depues que las saben, fazen perder mala-mientras lo que fue muy bien falla-do et con grand estudio; et otrosi por la pereza, que es enemiga el saber et faz a los omnes que non lleguen a el ni busquen las carre-ras por quel connoscan, ouieron los entendudos, et quel preciaron sobre todas las otras cosas el

Crónica de tres reyes

Por muchas g̃sas e por muchas mañas los antiguos q̃ fuerō ēlos t̃pos p̃meros q̃syerō q̃las coSas q̃ fuerō falladas e paSarō Se podieSē Saber E por nobleza de sy mesmos syēdo lealS a los q̃ erā de benjr fezierō los eS̃cujr entēdjendo q̃ por eSta g̃sa los podriā meJor Saber los q̃ venjeSē en pos ellos E aq̃llos fechos fincariā g̃rdados e durariā grandS t̃pos



touieron por luz pora alumbrar los  
sos entendimientos et de todos los  
otros que lo sopiessen, a buscar  
carreras por o llegassen a el y l  
aprendiessen, et despues quel  
ouiessen fallado, que nol olui-  
dassen. E en buscando aquesto,  
fallaron las figuras de las letras;  
et ayuntando las, fizieron dellas  
sillabas, et de sillabas ayuntadas  
fizieron dellas partes; e ayuntando  
otrossi las partes, fizieron razon,  
et por la razon que uiniessen a  
entender los saberes et se sopiessen  
ayudar dellos, et saber tan bien  
contar lo que fuera en los tiempos  
dantes cuemo si fuesse en la su  
sazon; et por que pudiessen saber  
otrosi los que depues dellos  
uiniessen los fechos que ellos  
fizieran, tan bien como si ellos  
se acertassen en ello; et por que  
las artes de las sciencias et los  
otros saberes, que fueron fallados  
pora pro de los omnes, fuessen  
guardados en escripto, por que non  
cayessen en oluido et los sopiessen  
los que auien de uenir; et por que  
pudiessen otrosi connoscer el saber  
dell arte de geometria, que es de  
medir et los departimientos de los  
grados et las alonganças de los  
puntos de lo que a dell uno all  
otro, et sopiessen los curssos  
de las estrellas et los mouimientos  
de las planetas et los ordenamientos  
de los signos et los fechos que  
fazen las estrellas, que buscaron  
et sopieron los astronomianos con  
grand acucia et cuydando mucho en  
ello; et por qual razon nos aparecen  
el sol et la luna oscuros, et otrossi  
por qual escodrinnamiento fallaron  
las naturas de las yeruas et de las  
piedras et de las otras cosas en  
que a uirtud segund sus naturas.  
Ca si por las escripturas non fuesse  
¿qual sabiduria o engenno de omne  
se podrie menbrar de todas las cosas  
passadas, aun que no las fallassen  
de nueuo que es cosa muy mas grieue?

Mas por que los estudios de los fechos de los omnes se demudan en muchas guisas, fueron sobresto apercebudos los sabios ancianos, et escriuieron los fechos tan bien de los locos cuemo de los sabios, et otrossi daquellos que fueron fieles en la ley de Dios et de los que no, et las leys de los sanctuarios et las de los pueblos, et los derechos de las clerezias et los de los legos; et escriuieron otrossi las gestas de los principes, tan bien de los que fizieron mal cuemo de los que fizieron bien, por que los que despues uiniessen por los fechos de los buenos punnassen en fazer bien, et por los de los malos que se castigassen de fazer mal, et por esto fue endereçado el curso del mundo de cada una cosa en su orden. Onde si pararemos mientes al pro que nasce de las escripturas, connoscremos que por ellas somos sabidores del criamiento del mundo, et otrosi de los patriarchas como uinieron unos en pos otros, et de la salida de Egipto, et de la ley que dio Dios a Moysen, et de los reys de la santa tierra de Iherusalem, et del desteramiento dellos, et dell anunciamiento et del nacimiento et de la passion et de la resurreccion et de la ascension de nuestro sennor Ihesu Cristo; ca de tod esto et dotras cosas muchas no sopieramos nada si, muriendo aquellos que eran a la sazón que fueron estos fechos, non dexassen escripturas por que lo sopiessemos; et por ende somos nos adebdados de amar a aquellos que lo fizieron por que sopiessemos por ellos lo que no sopieramos dotra manera. Et escriuieron otrosi las nobles batallas de los romanos et de las otras yentes que acaescieron en el mundo muchas et marauillosas, que se oluidaran si en escripto no fuessen puestas; e otrossi el fecho dEspaña que passo por muchos sennorios et

E aSy cómo por esto fuerō fallados los Sabres del arte dela eStrelleria E las oſs sciencias E otosy Se falla cómo venjerō los patriarchas e las pōfetas e el avenjmj<sup>o</sup> de Jhū xpō E las oſs cosas q̄ ēla ley de dios Se cōtiene E otō muchos fechos q̄ acaescierō enl mūdo antiguamēte Conujene q̄ los fechos delos Reys q̄ tienē lugar de dios ēla t̄rra Seā falladas en esc̄pto Señaladament̄ delos Reys de caStilla e de leō q̄ por la ley de dios e pa acrescentamj<sup>o</sup> dela Stā fee Catoljca tomarō muchos t̄bajos e Se posyerō a grandē peligrōs ēlas ljd̄s q̄ oujerō cōlos moros echādolos de españa

fue muy mal trecha, recibiendo muertes por muy crueles lides et batallas daquellos que la conquieren, et otrosi que fazien ellos en defendiendose; et desta guisa fueron perdudos los fechos della, por los libros que se perideron et fueron destroydos en el mudamiento de los sennorios, assi que apenas puede seer sabudo el

comienço de los que que la poblaron.

E por end Nos don Alfonso, por la gracia de Dios rey de Castilla, de Toledo, de Leon, de Gallizia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murcia, de Jahen et dell Algarue, fffijo del muy noble rey don Ffernando et de la reyna donna Beatriz, mandamos ayuntar quantos libros pudimos auer de istorias en que alguna cosa contassen de los fechos dEspanna, et tomamos de la cronica dell Arçobispo don Rodrigo que fizo por mandado del rey don Ffernando nuestro padre, et de la de Maestre Luchas, Obispo de Tuy, et de Paulo Orosio, et del Lucano, et de Sant Esidro el primero, et de Sant Alfonso, et de sant Esidro el mancebo, et de Idacio Obispo de Gallizia, et de Sulpicio Obispo de Gasconna, et de los otros escriptos de los Concilios de Toledo et de don Jordan, chanceller del sancto palacio, et de Claudio Tholomeo, que departio del cerco de la tierra mieor que otro sabio fasta la su sazón, et de Dion que escriuio uerdadera la estoria de los godos, et de Pompeyo Trogo, et dotras estorias de Roma las que pudimos auer que contassen algunas cosas del fecho dEspanna, et compusimos este libro de todos los fechos que fallar se pudieron della, desde el tiempo de Noe fasta este nuestro. Et esto fizimos por que fuesse sabudo el comienço de los espannoles, et de quales yentes fuera Espanna maltrecha; et que sopiessen las batallas

E por esto el muy alto e muy noble e mucho onrrado e muy biē auenturado dō alfoñ por la grā de djos Rey de caStilla de Tōlido de leō de gallizia de Seuilla de cordoua de murçia de Jahñ del algābe de algezira e señor de moljna avjendo volūtad q̄ los fechos delos Reys q̄ fuerō ant̄ q̄ el fueSē fallados en eSc̄pto mādō Catar las coronjcas e estorias antiguas e fallo en eSc̄pto por coronjca ē los libros de Su camā los fechos de todos los Reys q̄ fuerō en españa desde los p̄meros Reys godos fasta el Rey Rodgo e despūs desto [desde] el Rey dō pelayo q̄ fue el p̄mero Rey de leō fasta q̄ fino el Stō e mucho biē aveturado Rey dō ferr<sup>o</sup> q̄ gano a Seuilla e a cordoua e las villas del ob̄pado de Jahñ e del Reyno de murçia e por q̄ acaesçierō muchos fechos en t̄po delos Reys q̄ fuerō despūs de aq̄l Rey dō ferr<sup>o</sup> los q̄ls nos [non] erā puestos en coronjca por end este noble Rey dō alfoñ q̄ por las grand̄s batallas e cōq̄rimj<sup>os</sup> q̄ ouo cōtra los enemjgos d̄la fee es llamado cōq̄ridor e defensor d̄la fe entendjendo q̄ aq̄llos fechos q̄ dauā en olujdo Sy en coronjca nō se puSyeSē E por q̄ fueSē sabjdas todas las cosas q̄ acaesçierō ē los t̄pos del Rey dō alfoñ el Sabjo Su viSabuelo e en t̄po del Rey dō Sancho el brauo Su abuelo e en t̄po del Rey dō ferr<sup>o</sup> su padre mādō los esCūjr eneSte libro por q̄los q̄lo leyeSē Sepā como paSarō

que Hercoles de Grecia fizo contra los espannoles, et las mortandades que los romanos fizieron en ellos, et los destruymientos que les fizieron otrossi los vbandalos et los silingos et los alanos et los sueuos que los aduxieron a seer pocos; et por mostrar la nobleza de los godos et como fueron uiniendo de tierra en tierra, uenciendo muchas batallas et conquiriendo muchas tierras, fasta que llegaron a Espanna, et echaron ende a todas las otras yentes, et fueron ellos sennores della; et como por el desacuerdo que ouieron los godos con so sennor el rey Rodrigo et por la traycion que urdio el conde do Yllan et ell arçobispo Oppa, passaron los dAffrica et ganaron todo lo mas dEspanna; et como fueron los cristianos despues cobrando la tierra; et del danno que uino en ella por partir los regnos, por que se non pudo cobrar tan ayna; et despues cuemo la ayunto Dios, et por quales maneras et en qual tiempo, et quales reyes ganaron la tierra fasta en el mar Meditarreneo; et que obras fizo cada uno, assi cuemo uinieron unos empos otros fastal nuestro tiempo.

las cosas destes Reys Sobredhos e ordenose en tres coronjcas de cada vno deStos Reys la suya puesta en tres trabtados q̄ comjēca lugo la coronjca deSte Rey dō alfoñ el Sabjo q̄ es eSta q̄ eneSte libro es cōtenjda ēla maña q̄ adelantē diremos.

The first lines of the two Prologues are very similar; the Estoria segment "Los sabios antiguos, que fueron en los tiempos primeros" concurs almost exactly with the trey reyes "los antiguos q̄ fuerō ēlos t̄pos p̄meros," and the contents of the remainder of the line in the two Prologues are conceptually related and provide several points of contact at the level of individual words. The similarity between the first lines of the two Prologues is largely responsible for the general impression that the two Prologues are closely related. However, textual correspondences become increasingly difficult to chart as the narration progresses.

The tres reyes Prologue radically abbreviates the contents of the first two sections of the Prologue of the Estoria de España. The contents of the third section of the tres reyes Prologue are of necessity different from those of the model but analogous to them. Because the third section deals with information unique to each Prologue, it is perhaps not surprising that in the tres reyes Prologue it is the most extensive of the three sections. In any case the extreme condensation of the model in the first two sections of the tres reyes Prologue and divergent contents of the third result in few literal correspondences between the two Prologues beyond occasional individual words and phrases. It is clear that the author of the Prologue of the Crónica de tres reyes did not slavishly copy the Prologue of the Estoria de España; an unknown reading in the former that occurs in a context parallel to that of a reading in the latter may not be assumed to be the same.

This fact does not disprove the hypothesis that the Prologue of the Crónica de tres reyes was based on that of the Estoria de España. However, the absence in the tres reyes Prologue of segments of text of significant extension that duplicate passages in the Estoria reduces the usefulness of the model as an aid in establishing the critical text of the descendant. The correspondence of individual words could as easily be attributed to the identity of functions and themes in the two documents as to a direct borrowing. A reading where one of two or more possible solutions provided by the tres reyes witnesses corresponds to an Estoria reading may even involve an emendation of an original reading in the tres reyes Prologue to concur with the Estoria;

a copyist who, consciously or not, recognized the similarity between the two Prologues and recalled the reading of the prestigious Estoria is readily conceivable.

A process analogous to the latter probably explains one variant in the first line of the tres reyes Prologue: "los antiguos q̄ fuerō ēlos t̄pos p̄meros," which corresponds to the Estoria's "Los sabios antiguos, que fueron en los tiempos primeros," constitutes one of the few instances in which the agreement of the two Prologues goes beyond a single word. All but three tres reyes MSS agree on the reading antiguos; one MS (Z.III.7, BES) omits the passage, and two (10195, BNM, and Y.I.5, BES) read sabios. No tres reyes witness duplicates both elements, sabios and antigos, of the Estoria reading, and the tres reyes versions showing antiguos and sabios respectively are equally acceptable, although antiguos is recommended over sabios by the large number of MSS that carry it. It is, of course, logically false to deduce that a majority reading, by virtue of being the majority reading, is necessarily the one provided by the original. Nevertheless, barring evidence that favors a minority reading, a solution provided by the vast majority of witnesses across a number of MS families in a field of twenty-three witnesses is more likely to be the original reading than is one provided by two of a total of three MSS consulted, or three of a total of four. In this variant the numbers of MSS carrying the respective solutions and the fact that the minority reading is provided by a MS subfamily that is generally innovative (see below, section 2) are the only indications for one solution over another. The similarity of the tres reyes Prologue to the Estoria Prologue is here

of no help whatsoever in the establishment of the reading for the critical text.

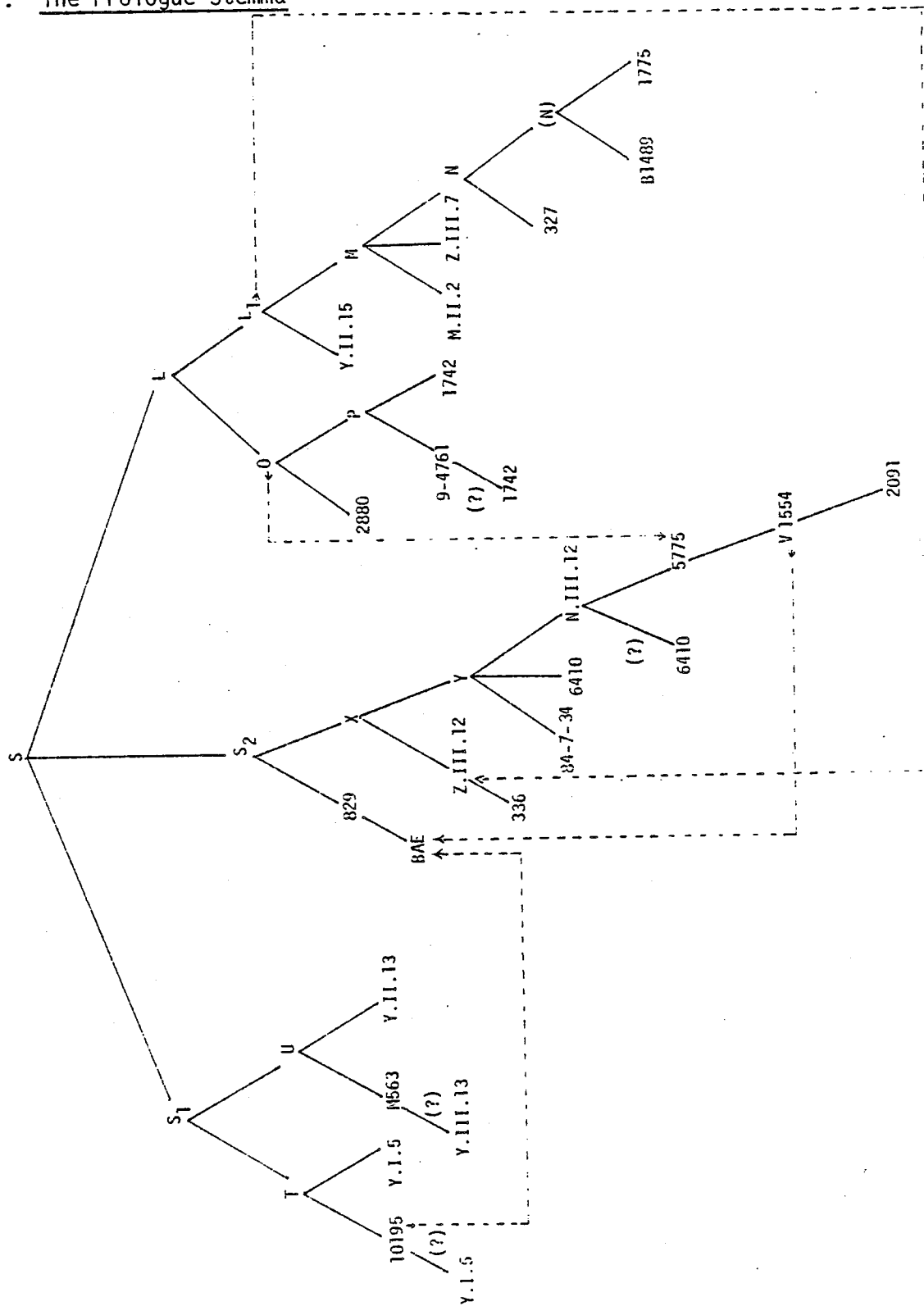
Later in the same segment of text, however, there is a variant in which I am inclined to accept the Estoria reading as confirmation of one of two plausible solutions offered by the tres reyes tradition. Twelve witnesses for the tres reyes Prologue read "ēlos t̄pos ṗmeros" in agreement with the corresponding Estoria bit of the segment against pasados and  $\emptyset$  in the remaining tres reyes witnesses. Both ṗmeros and pasados are acceptable within the context. Furthermore, the number of witnesses providing ṗmeros is less dramatic than that indicating antiguos over sabios. Here the significant factor would seem to be that the tres reyes reading provided by the majority of witnesses and agreeing with the Estoria reading falls within a comparatively extensive segment of text that is very nearly identical to the corresponding passage in the Estoria Prologue. I suspect that the probability for identical readings in the two Prologues in this variant is higher than for any other Prologue variant.

In general terms, then, the similarity of the Prologue of the Crónica de tres reyes to the Estoria de España proves of very limited use for the establishment of the critical text of the former. Theoretically, there is every reason to conclude that the Estoria de España Prologue can be of no probatory value whatsoever. Nevertheless, the corroboration of the ṗmeros reading by the Estoria Prologue provides, if not proof, at least one piece of evidence contributing to a case in favor of that reading.

Finally, a note regarding the sigla used in the following stemmata is in order. I have chosen to refer to the extant MSS by their library call numbers rather than to introduce new sigla, and therefore another level of reference, primarily because of the number of MSS involved and because I came to know the MSS by their call numbers. This manner of referring to the MSS eliminates the necessity of employing the traditional method whereby upper-case Roman letters indicate extant MSS (except O, original, and X, archetype) and lower-case Greek letters indicate hypothetical subarchetypes. I use Roman letters for all hypothetical MSS, including the original, which I designate S for mnemonic reasons that will become obvious. L, a point of redactional change, was also selected for mnemonic reasons. The remaining letters were chosen arbitrarily; neither O nor X has any special significance.



# 1. The Prologue Stemma



The stemma for the twenty-three witnesses of the Prologue summarizes my interpretation of the variants provided by that document. I have decided for an original short-version Prologue (S), the source of the short-version families  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  and a later long-version (L). MSS. Y.I.5, Y.II.13, 6410 and 1742 appear twice in the stemma. The lines marked (?) joining them to MSS. 10195, M563, N.III.12 and 9-4761, respectively, indicate that the Prologue provides no variant to prove that the former MSS could not be copies of the latter. If MSS. Y.II.13 and 1742 are copies of MSS. M563 and 9-4761, nodes U and P are unnecessary. For MSS. Y.I.5 and 10195, there is evidence to indicate that if MS. Y.I.5 descended from MS. 10195, node T is nevertheless necessary. It is also possible, though less likely, that MS. 10195 descended from MS. Y.I.5, in which case there are no indications for the existence of T. The broken lines show the source of contamination in BAE and the probable sources of contamination in  $S_2$  MS. Z.III.12 and  $S_2$  MS. 5775.

In this section (III.1) I examine first the variants that generally characterize families L,  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  and present the evidence for the priority of the short version. A discussion of the variants that lead to the proposed subdivision of families L,  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  follows.

#### A. Long and short versions: families L, $S_1$ and $S_2$

Nine of the twenty-three witnesses containing the Prologue show a group of variants that forcefully indicates a family relationship. MS. M.II.2, BES, is transcribed as representative of the family, here labeled L. Variants within the family are given in endnotes.

L MSS. M.II.2, Z.III.7, 9-4761, 2880  
 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15

ceteri

1. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b31  
 por las grandes batallas e  
 conq̄rimjentos que ouo contra  
 los moros enemjgos de  
 la n̄ra santa fe catoljca<sup>1</sup> ∅
2. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b35  
 e defendedor de la fe<sup>2</sup> ∅
3. MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a1  
 sy en coronjca  
 non se PoSiese e<sup>3</sup> ∅
4. MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a8  
 lo leyeSen e<sup>4</sup> ∅
5. MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a10  
 Et ordenose en tres coronjcas  
 de cada vno destos Reyes la  
 suya puestas en tres tratados  
 e comjença luego la coronjca  
 deste Rey don alfonso q̄ es este  
 q̄ en este libro es contenjdo  
 en la maña que adelante diremos<sup>5</sup> ∅

Four additional nonprobatory variants support the family grouping:

6. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b3  
 santo e bien aventurado<sup>6</sup> ∅
7. MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a2  
 todas<sup>7</sup> ∅
8. MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a4  
 el sabio<sup>8</sup> ∅
9. MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a5  
 ∅<sup>9</sup> el sabio

All the variants occur within the last section of the Prologue, which describes the motive and circumstances for the continuation of the Estoria de España. The first of the variants to appear is santo e bien aventurado. The variant modifies Fernando III at the conclusion of the description of the contents of the two-volume Estoria. The remaining variants occur within the subsequent narration of Alfonso XI's command to continue the Estoria with a written account of the reigns of Alfonso X, Sancho IV and Fernando IV. With the exception of variations 8 and 9, which involve the relocation of the formulaic el sabio, the variants as a group constitute a series of either interpolations or omissions, according to whether the longer or the shorter version is regarded as basic. Except for MSS. B1489 and 1775, which because of a larger lacuna omit the text of variant 3, all witnesses for the long version include the text of all the variants. Conversely, no variant text appears in any MS of the short version. Evidently the group of variants is due to one operation and is not the cumulative result of several interventions.

The following transcription of MS. M.II.2 as representative of the long version with the variants underlined will illustrate the differences between the two versions:

f. 2r b4

% Et

por esto el muy alto e muy noble y muy  
onrrado e bien aventurado don alfoñ  
por la gr̄cia de dios Rey de castilla de  
leon de toledo de gallizia de seuilla  
e de muçia e de jaen e del algarbe Et  
señor de moljna aujendo muy gran

voluntad que los fechos delos Reyes  
 que fueron ante q̄ fuesen fallados  
 en esc̄ptura mando q̄ todas las Co  
 ronjcas e estorias antiguas fuesē  
 buscadas e fallo esc̄pturas esc̄ptas  
 enlos libros de su camara los fechos  
 de todos los Reyes q̄ fueron ante del  
 enlos t̄ipos pasados desde los p̄meros  
 Reyes godos fasta el t̄ipo del Rey dō  
 Rodrigo % Et despues del Rey don pe  
 layo q̄ fue el acabamjento delas  
 coronjcas fasta el t̄ipo q̄ fino el  
santo e bien aventurado Rey dō ferr̄do  
 que gano a Seuilla e a cordoua e  
 a las villas del obipado de Jahen Et  
 el Reyno de murçia % Et por q̄ aca  
 heçieron muchos fechos enlos t̄ipos  
 delos Reyes q̄ fueron despues de aq̄l  
 rey don ferrnādo las quales [non] erā  
 puestas en coronjcas % Et por end  
 este noble Rey don alfonso q̄ por  
las grandes batallas e conq̄rimi  
entos que ouo contra los moros  
enemjgos de la n̄ra santa fe cato  
ljca es llamado el conq̄ridor e de  
fendedor dela fe % entendiendo  
 que aquellos fechos fincarian /  
 f. 2v a1 en olujdo sy en coronjca non se poSi  
ese e % Et por q̄ fuesen sabidas todas  
 las cosas que acaheçieron enel tienpo  
 del Rey don alfoñ el sabio su visabue  
 lo e enel tiēpo del Rey don sancho el brauo  
 su abuelo e en t̄ipo del Rey don ferrando  
 su padre [mandolas] escreujr enlos libros porque

los que lo leyeSen e adelante vinjerẽ  
 sepan en como pasaron todas las cosas  
 en tipo delos Reyes sobredichos Et  
ordenose en tres coronjcas de cada  
vno destos Reyes la suya puestas  
en tres tratados e comjença luego  
la coronjca deste Rey don alfonso  
q̃ es este q̃ eneste libro es contenjdo  
en la maña que adelante diremos<sup>10</sup>

In no case can the variants of the short version be attributed to haplographical omission, nor does any variant add information essential to the comprehension of the text. The first variant, santo e bien aventurado, and the third, defendedor de la fe, are common epithets granted to past monarchs and could have been added as time and distance increased the prestige of Fernando III and Alfonso XI. The second variant, por las grandes batallas e conq̃rimjentos que ouo contra los moros enemjgos de la ñra santa fe catoljca, in reference to Alfonso XI, is in the same vein: the clause explains for posterity why Alfonso XI is called conq̃ridor, an explanation quite unnecessary for near contemporaries of the hero of Algeciras.

The third variant, the clause sy en coronjca non se poSiese e, alters the meaning of the sentence in which it appears but in fact merely echoes the end of the preceding sentence. The variant's echo of existing text common to both versions would seem to favor the priority of an original short version. However, both versions make good sense, and the content of the lines does not prove the priority of one version over the other. It is possible that the lines of the extended version, reflecting the medieval fondness for balance and restatement,

were present in the original Prologue and were later shortened because they bordered on repetitious.

It is curious that among the witnesses of the long version the conditional fincarian immediately preceding the variant is the reading of four MSS (M.II.2, Z.III.7, 327, Y.II.15), while only two of the fourteen witnesses of the short version (sixteenth-century MSS. Y.II.13, 84-7-34) have it. Long-version MSS. B1489 and 1775 omit a larger passage. The remaining witnesses of the long version read fincauan (MSS. 9-4761, 1742) and q̄dauā (MS. 2880). The majority of the short-version witnesses (11) read fincarō (MSS. N.III.12, 829, 5775, 6410, 336 and V1554) or fincauan (MSS. Y.I.5, 10195, M563, Z.III.12 and BAE). Short-version MS. 2091 reads q̄daron. It may be significant that the oldest extant long-version witness, the fourteenth-century 9-4761, and two additional long-version MSS show the indicative, as do the vast majority of short-version witnesses. Slight as it is, this evidence could suggest that the original Prologue was a short version and read fincauan, which was changed to the conditional in some long-version MSS after the interpolation of the sy clause.

It may also be noteworthy that the fifteenth-century MS. M.II.2 is the only long-version copy to repeat the conjunction e at the end of sy en coronjca non se poSiese. The repetition is somewhat more than the simple dittography of a conjunction. The first is a scribal amper-sand closely following and associated with poSiese. It is followed by a calderón and then by Et, after which the text common to both versions resumes. If MS. M.II.2 were the oldest extant long-version MS, we might speculate that the double conjunction following poSiese could

be associated with the interpolation of the sy clause and thus with the origins of the long version. It could reflect, for example, a scribal slip which occurred in the act of leaving off the copy of a short-version MS in order to incorporate the additional text and then returning to copy at the calderón. However, because fourteenth-century MS. 9-4761 is older than MS. M.II.2, the latter MS cannot be the original long version. As copies between MS. M.II.2 and the original long version are postulated, the chances of the survival of such an error decrease. It therefore seems more likely that the double conjunction in MS. M.II.2 reflects a scribal error independent from the origins of the long version, perhaps a misreading as z of the final n of pusiesen, the plural reading of all long-version witnesses except MS. M.II.2.<sup>11</sup>

Variant 4, lo leyeSen e, provides perhaps the best indications for the priority of the short version. The majority short-version reading is porq̄ los q̄ adelantē vjnjerē Sepã en cõmo pasarõ las cosas (MS. N.III.12, f. 1r b21). First of all, the presence of the long-version variant results in an odd ordering of the elements of the sentence: porque los que lo leyeSen e adelante vinjerē sepan (MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a8). The leyeSen preceding vinjerē is in itself suspicious. The sequence of tenses in the majority of the witnesses for the long version is even more so. All witnesses of the short version agree on the future subjunctive vinjerē, and all L and S witnesses agree on the following present subjunctive Sepã. Six (L<sub>1</sub>) of the nine L witnesses combine the long-version text lo leyeSen e with the text of the short version in the straightforward manner transcribed above. Yet all L<sub>1</sub>



MSS except MS. M.II.2 read venjesen rather than vinjerē. Only L<sub>1</sub> MS. M.II.2 gives the future subjunctive in agreement with all fourteen S witnesses. The majority of the L<sub>1</sub> witnesses show an exceedingly odd sequence of tenses: imperfect subjunctive, imperfect subjunctive, present subjunctive. Evidently the S, and majority, future subjunctive vjnjerē, appropriately followed by the unanimous present subjunctive sepan, is the original reading. L<sub>1</sub> innovates by changing vjnjerē to venjesen, perhaps in response to the preceding leyeSen. Given the evidence yet to be considered that groups MS. M.II.2 with L<sub>1</sub>, the latter MS. most likely changed the venjesen of its source back to vinjerē to match the following sepan. The three remaining L MSS, subfamily 0, provide revealing alterations of the reading. MS. 2880 reads: porq̄ los q̄ lo leyesē and omits the following e adelante vinjerē. MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 likewise omit e adelante vinjerē and change the preceding phrase to porq̄ los q̄ leyeren and porq̄ los leyeren, respectively. It looks very much as if the long-version segment of the text lo leyeSen e was added to the short version. 0 omitted e adelante vinjerē, perhaps because of the odd order leyeSen/vinjerē, and then MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 changed leyeSen to leyeren in anticipation of sepan.

The last and most extensive segment of text that is unique to the long version states and restates that the continuation of the Estoria de España introduced by the Prologue consists of three separate chronicles:

Et ordenose en tres coronjcas de cada  
vno destos Reyes la suya [coronjca]<sup>12</sup>  
puestas en tres tratados e comjença  
luego la coronjca deste Rey don alfonso  
q̄ es este q̄ eneste libro es contenjdo  
en la maña que adelante diremos (MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a13)

All this follows the text common to both versions that has already explained clearly that the events of the three reigns were written down for posterity. The variant text may have been the original conclusion to the Prologue and, as is possible with the variant sy en coronjca non se poSiese, may reflect no more than medieval verbosity. On the other hand, the content of the variant together with the awkward phrasing of the first clause invites speculation as to possible motives for the inclusion of the lines. If the phrase de cada vno destos Reyes la suya is omitted, the fundamental sense of the first clause remains, as does a certain emphasis on the individuality of the three chronicles (en tres coronjcas/en tres tratados). The additional phrase is a potentially confusing digression which further underlines the independence of each of the chronicles from the others. Note the use of the singulars de cada vno, la suya.

The lines may have been added by a redactor of the Prologue who intended to change in some way the grouping of the three chronicles together as a unit which the conclusion of the short version leads the reader to expect. It may be significant that CAX appears with the Prologue but without CSIV, CFIV or CAXI in S MS. Y.II.13 and in L MSS. 2880 and B1489. Such copies are consistent with the first sentence of the variant and would explain the second sentence, which, if we may

equate libro with MS, physically isolates CAX from the remaining chronicles.

The oldest extant MS of the long version, MS. 9-4761, contains the three chronicles announced in the Prologue followed by CAXI, all in the same hand. It is doubtful that the simple inclusion of CAXI in the MS can account for the changes in the Prologue that result in the long version. Furthermore, the segment of text e adelante vjnjerẽ, which appears in all short-version witnesses and in six of the nine long-version witnesses, is omitted in O MSS. 2880, 1742 and 9-4761. The omission proves that MS. 9-4761 was neither the first witness to contain the long version nor the source of the remaining long-version MSS. This is not to say that a lost MS in which a CAX alone or an unusual combination of chronicles caused the redaction of the long version could not have existed. There is simply no evidence to support the hypothesis.

The internal and external evidence is inadequate to permit a conclusion with regard to the priority of one version over the other. However, it may be said that the variants of the long version of the conclusion to the Prologue alter the more skeletal style and abstract tone established by the first part of the Prologue, itself a distillation of the Estoria de España. This basically aesthetic impression together with the fact that no long-version variant is necessary to the comprehension of the Prologue leads me to favor tentatively the priority of the short version.

The four MSS of  $S_1$  (10195, Y.I.5, M563, Y.II.13) cross the boundary between versions to agree with L against  $S_2$  on the following variants:

<u>L, <math>S_1</math></u>	<u><math>S_2</math></u>
1. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b17 todos	∅
2. MS. Z.III.7, f. 1r b18 en españa <sup>13</sup>	∅
3. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r, b5 <u>despues</u> desde <sup>14</sup>	desde (MS. 829) <sup>15</sup>
4. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b35 llamado <u>e</u> l conq̃ridor <sup>16</sup>	llamado cõq̃ridor (MS. N.III.12)
5. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r a24 cõmo <u>por</u> esto <sup>17</sup>	cõmo esto (MS. Z.III.12) <sup>18</sup>
6. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r a37 la <u>santa</u> fe <sup>19</sup>	la fe <sup>20</sup>
7. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b31 este <u>noble</u> Rey <sup>21</sup>	este Rey

It is an open question whether the variants involve additions of text in L and  $S_1$  or omissions in  $S_2$ . The shorter readings in  $S_2$  make sense in all cases and therefore might most closely represent the readings of the original Prologue. In that case we would assume that the bits of text shared by L and  $S_1$  were added to the common source of those families and that L and  $S_1$  alone descended from that source or, possibly, and assuming the priority of the short version, that L was based on  $S_1$ .

However, there is a group of variants on which L and S<sub>1</sub> agree against S<sub>2</sub> that clearly indicates a series of omissions in S<sub>2</sub>:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 8. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r a30<br>e las otras cosas que en la<br>ley de dios se contiene <u>e</u><br><u>otros muchos fechos que</u><br><u>acaheçieron enel mundo</u><br><u>antiguamente conviene</u> que<br>los fechos <sup>22</sup> | E las otras cosas q en<br>la ley . . . [de] dios<br>se contiene q̄ los fechos<br>(MS. N.III.12) <sup>23</sup> |
| 9. Ms. M.II.2, f. 2r a17<br>podiesen saber <sup>24</sup>   | ∅ <sup>25</sup>   |
| 10. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b18<br>desde los primeros  | ∅   |
| 11. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a5<br>falladas <u>e</u> passaron <sup>26</sup>   | falladas pasaronse<br>(MS. N.III.12) <sup>27</sup>  |
| 12. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a16<br>prophetas <u>E</u> el aduenimjento <sup>28</sup>  | profetas el aduenimjēto<br>(MS. 829) <sup>29</sup>  |

Variant 8 involves a haplographical omission in S<sub>2</sub>: contiene/ conviene. The context for S<sub>2</sub> variants 9-12 reveals defective readings in all cases. Variants 9 and 11 appear as follows in S<sub>2</sub> MS. Z.III.12:

Por muchas gujsas y por muchas maneras los antiguos  
q̄ ante fueron en los t̄pos qujsieron q̄ las cosas  
que eran falladas<sup>e</sup> <sup>se</sup>pašaronse [podiesen saber] y  
por nobleza de sy mesmos (f. 6r 1)

The e of variant 11, omitted in the oldest of the S<sub>2</sub> witnesses, was added along with an additional se to MS. Z.III.12 by a later hand, whose other corrections will be discussed in due course. The problem caused by S<sub>2</sub> variant 10 is illustrated by the larger reading in MS. 829:

E fallo esc̄pto por coronjca enlos libros  
 desu caña los fechos delos Reyes q̄  
 fuerō enlos tiēpos pasados [desde los primeros]  
 Reyes godos fasta el Rey Rodrigo (f. 9r a36)

MS. 829 may also be adduced as indicative of the results of  $S_2$  variant 12:

E otrosi se falla cōmo vinierō los patriarcas  
 e los profetas [e] el aduenjmjēto de ihū xp̄o  
 e las otras cosas que enla ley de dios se  
 contienē (f. 9r a16)

This second omission of the conjunction e may seem insignificant at first glance. We will see, however, that the resulting  $S_2$  reading may be responsible to some extent for further alterations of the passage among the later members of family  $S_2$  (note 66). The defective  $S_2$  readings in all variants of the present group together with the L and  $S_1$  agreement on the missing text prove that variants 9-12 as well as the haplography in variant 8 involve omissions in  $S_2$ .

There are two additional readings that are best grouped with the above omissions in  $S_2$ . On the first, the three oldest  $S_2$  MSS, fifteenth-century MSS. 829, N.III.12 and the original, uncorrected MS. Z.III.12, show a reading that evidently resulted from a mutilation in  $S_2$ . The sixteenth-century members of the family give related readings that suggest varying attempts to improve the reading provided by the oldest MSS. O MS. 2880 is transcribed as representative of the majority reading in families L and  $S_1$ :

Por muchas ḡsas e por muchas mañas los antiguos  
 q̄ fuerō ēlos t̄pos p̄meros ḡsjerō q̄las coSas  
 q̄ fuerō falladas e pasarō se podiesē Saber

Et por nobleza de Sy mesmos Seyēdo leal̄s  
 a los q̄ erā de benjr fizierō los eS̄cujr  
 entēdjendo q̄ por esta ḡsa los podriā mejor  
 Saber los q̄ venjeSē enpos ellos (f. 174v, b1)

Nine of the ten witnesses of family  $S_2$  show evidence of having had difficulty with the first words of the adjectival phrase Seyēdo leal̄s a los q̄ erā de benjr. The tenth witness, MS. 336, is a direct descendant of one of the nine, MS. Z.III.12, but contains the  $L/S_1$  reading because MS. Z.III.12 was corrected to that reading.  $S_2$  MSS. 829 and 6410 read: seyendoles a los q̄ erā de venjr (MS. 829, f. 9r a8). MS. N.III.12 is torn and reads: Seyē . . . los q̄ erā de venjr (f. 1r a6). The amount of space occupied by the illegible text is too small to have accommodated even an abbreviated transcription of -do leales a, but is just sufficient to allow -do les a. The remaining witnesses offer no other plausible basis for reconstructing this lacuna. MS. N.III.12 most probably agreed with the version in MSS. 829 and 6410. MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 read: seyendo a los q̄ auian de venir exēplo (V1554, f. 1r a8). The latter reading suggests a reaction to the loss of leal̄s with the addition of exēplo, and possibly the omission of les, in order to make sense of an unfinished statement. Rosell, who relied primarily on MS. 829 and V1554, gives the unique hybrid seyéndoles á los que eran de venir exemplo (BAE, p. 3 a4). MS. 84-7-34 replaces Seyēdo leal̄s with the unique fuesē sabidas a (f. 1r 6), which most likely also indicates an attempt to make sense of a reading in its source which lacked leal̄s.

The two remaining  $S_2$  witnesses, MS. Z.III.12 and MS. 336, do read Seyendo leales (MS. Z.III.12, f. 6r 6). However, MS. Z.III.12 is an originally careless copy that was extensively corrected: a number of words and phrases are written over the first copy, to some extent but not entirely obscuring the original, and bits of text are frequently added above crossed-out segments. The word leales in MS. Z.III.12 is one instance of writing over whatever was originally there. The rewrite leales fits easily into the space available preceding a los q̄. The initial le of leales is original, and an original s is clearly recognizable beneath the later a. The original reading is unmistakably les followed by a few additional letters, of which only vestiges of a tall stroke and a final s preceding a los q̄ remain. The original careless copy may have followed les with the dittography a los a los. We will presently see that MS. 336 is a copy or direct descendant of MS. Z.III.12. The presence of leales in the two MSS is therefore explicable without removing the MSS from family  $S_2$ . The question as to the ultimate source of the corrected leales in MS. Z.III.12 is more problematic and will be considered in the discussion of the subdivision of family  $S_2$ .<sup>30</sup>

Finally, the first line of the Prologue provides a variant in which  $L$  and  $S_1$  show different but related readings, and  $S_2$  clearly shows the results of an omission.  $L_1$  MS. Y.II.15 reads:

por muchas guisas E por muchas maneras los  
antiguos que ante fueron en los tiempos primeros  
quisieron que las cosas que fuerō halladas E  
pasarō Se pudiesen Saber (f. 7r 6)



All L MSS have primeros. The  $S_1$  MSS all read en los tiempos pasados (MS. M563, f. 1r a3). The majority of  $S_2$  MSS give en los t̄pos (MS. 829, f. 9r a4).<sup>31</sup> Only  $S_2$  MS. 84-7-34 agrees with the  $S_1$  reading pasados, most probably a spontaneous response to the absence of an adjective in the source of MS. 84-7-34.<sup>32</sup> The majority  $S_2$  reading is obviously defective. The disagreement of L and  $S_1$  on the missing adjective makes it impossible to decide on the appropriate reading from internal evidence alone. However, it will be recalled that our Prologue is based on the Estoria de España Prologue. In this instance, the first line of the Estoria Prologue provides the solution: Los sabios antiguos q̄ fueron en los tiempos primeros.<sup>33</sup> We may conclude that L (primeros) shows the original reading;  $S_1$  innovates with pasados and  $S_2$  omits primeros.

The  $S_2$  readings on leales and en los tiempos primeros in addition to variants 8-12 leave no doubt as to the general tendency toward abbreviation in  $S_2$ . This proven tendency leads me to conclude that the omissions in  $S_2$  would not be limited to the sort which resulted in awkward readings. I therefore assume that variants 1-7, as well as 8-12 and the  $S_2$  readings on leales and en los tiempos primeros, involve omissions of original text in  $S_2$ . In that event, there is no reason to posit a common source for L and  $S_1$  other than the archetype of the short version. The conclusion also indicates that readings provided by  $S_1$ , certainly by an  $S_1 + L$  agreement, would generally be preferable to those of  $S_2$ .

There are a few additional corroborative readings for the family  $S_2$  grouping that cannot be attributed to omission or mutilation

in the source of the family. Eight of the ten  $S_2$  witnesses agree against families L and  $S_1$  on the reading leon castilla (MS. N.III.12, f. 1r a27) rather than castilla leon in the ordering of the realms of Alfonso XI. While the reading castilla leon in  $S_2$  MS. 829 and its descendant BAE may indicate spontaneous alteration, the agreement of the majority of  $S_2$  witnesses on the more unusual sequence suggests filiation.

Nine of the ten  $S_2$  witnesses also agree on the sequence don Sancho Su ahuelo el brauo (MS. N.III.12, f. 1r b19) against family  $S_1$ <sup>34</sup> and all but one L witness, which read don sancho el brauo Su abuelo (MS. M563, f. 1r b29). The tenth  $S_2$  witness, MS. 2091, agrees with the majority reading in families L and  $S_1$ , while  $L_1$  MS. Y.II.15 agrees with the reading in family  $S_2$ . Inasmuch as no further evidence exists that associates  $S_1$  MS. 2091 with either family L or family  $S_1$ , the agreement is most likely coincidental. We will see that MS. Y.II.15 is one of the most conservative MSS of family L. However, because the remaining L MSS show the alternate reading, the agreement of MS. Y.II.15 with family  $S_2$  is almost certainly also coincidental.

One of the variants cited as opposing L and S versions shows differences between the readings of families  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  beyond the common exclusion of text characteristic of the long version. All ten  $S_2$  witnesses read: por q̃ los q̃ adelant̃ vjnjerē (MS. N.III.12, f. 1r b21).  $S_1$  MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 read: porq̃ aq̃llos q̃ despues vjnjerē (MS. 10195, f. 1r 35).  $S_1$  MSS. M563 and Y.II.13 read: por q̃ los q̃ de aq̃ adelāte vinjeren (MSS. M563, f. 1r b31). The majority

L family reading is por que los que lo leyeSen e adelante venjeSen (MS. Z.III.7, f. 1r b42). It should be recalled that L subfamily O omits e adelante venjeSen (vjnjerē) (p. 319). First, the  $S_2$  reading confirms the family grouping. Second, it is a rare instance in which the  $S_2$  reading indicates that of the original short-version Prologue; the removal of the long-version segment lo leyeSen e from the majority L reading corroborates  $S_2$ . The variant shows that in spite of the fact that  $S_2$  represents a corrupt and generally unreliable textual tradition, it affords the opportunity to test readings across families. In those cases where L and  $S_1$  disagree, and there is no intrinsic reason for the choice of one reading over the other,  $S_2$  may on occasion provide the solution.

Only one reading is found in all four  $S_1$  MSS and in no other Prologue witness:

<u>Family <math>S_1</math></u>	<u>ceteri</u>
MS. 10195, f. 1r 10	
luengos	grandes

The variant provides rather strong evidence for a common source of MSS. M563, Y.II.13, 10195, Y.I.5. The agreement of L and  $S_2$  indicates that  $S_1$ 's luengo is most probably innovative.

The variant en los tiempos primeros (L) versus en los tiempos pasados ( $S_1$ ) versus en los t̄pos ( $S_2$ ), discussed on p. 327 above, also suggests a common source for  $S_1$  that innovated. The only remaining variant that indicates a common source for family  $S_1$  involves the absence of a reading in the  $S_1$  MSS that, perhaps significantly, is similar to the preceding variant:

S<sub>1</sub>, 0

e fallo esc̄pto por coronjca  
 enlos libros de Su Camara  
 los fechos de todos los rreỹs  
 q̄ fueron en españa desde los  
 p̄meros rreys godos fasta  
 el Rey rrodrigo

(MS. M563, f. 1r b8)

L<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>

e fallo escrito por coronjca  
 en los libros de Su camara  
 los fechos de todos los rreỹs  
 que fueron en españa enlos  
t̄pos paSados desde los  
 primeros rreys godos fasta  
 el rrey don rrodrigo

(MS. Z.III.7, f. 1r b7)

L subfamily 0 agrees with S<sub>1</sub> on the lack of the underlined phrase. The readings provided by S<sub>2</sub> vary but in all cases include enlos t̄pos paSados. The resulting balanced agreement, S<sub>1</sub> = 0 (∅) versus L<sub>1</sub> = S<sub>2</sub> (enlos t̄pos paSados), seems to contradict the proposed stemma. Furthermore, the fact that both readings make sense poses a fundamental problem for the establishment of the critical text. These aspects of the variant, and two additional similar variants, will be discussed following the internal division of family S<sub>2</sub>. For the present, we need only note that all S<sub>1</sub> MSS agree on the absence of the phrase in this line. The appearance in all S<sub>1</sub> MSS, against L and S<sub>2</sub>, of the identical phrase in the Prologue's first line, a rather memorable position, could have resulted in the deliberate omission of the phrase in S<sub>1</sub> here, toward the end of the short document.

The variant in combination with the preceding two argues forcefully for a common source for the S<sub>1</sub> MSS. Because the readings shared by L and S<sub>1</sub> (var. 1-12, etc., pp. 322-27) all seem to have been present in the original Prologue, the last three variants also suggest a common source for L and S<sub>1</sub> rather than a relationship of direct descent,

L < S<sub>1</sub>. The conclusion is supported by the fact that L shows primeros in the first line of the Prologue, almost certainly the original reading, while S<sub>1</sub> shows pasados. Furthermore, L<sub>1</sub> would have to have added enlos t̄pos paSados which occurs later in the Prologue and is lacking in S<sub>1</sub>. Because S<sub>2</sub> also shows enlos t̄pos paSados, the hypothesis is highly unlikely.

In conclusion, the lack of further variants unique to S<sub>1</sub> suggests that it may provide a number of readings representative of the archetypical short version. In addition, the fourteenth-century S<sub>1</sub> MS. M563 is the oldest extant short version; the MSS of family S<sub>1</sub> contain the text omitted by haplography in S<sub>2</sub>; the S<sub>1</sub> MSS show in common with the L MSS a series of additional bits of text that were also omitted in S<sub>2</sub> (var. 1-7, 9-12, etc., pp. 322-27). The combined evidence indicates that the S<sub>1</sub> MSS are generally superior to those of S<sub>2</sub>.

## B. Subfamilies of L, S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub>

### Family L

Within family L there is abundant evidence for the grouping of several subfamilies. MSS. M.II.2, Z.III.7, 327, 1775 and B1489 (M) are set apart by the following variants:

L MSS. M.II.2, Z.III.7,  
327, 1775, B1489 (M)

L MSS. Y.II.15, 9-4761,  
2880, 1742

1. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r a16

falladas e pasadas<sup>35</sup>

falladas e passaron

(MS. 9-4761)<sup>36</sup>

2. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r a22

que los fechos

aq̄llos fechos

- |   |   |                             |
|---|---|-----------------------------|
| 3. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r a27<br>como los patriarcas<br>e las profetas | como <u>vinieron</u> los patriarcas<br>E los profetas | (MS. Y.II.15) <sup>37</sup> |
| 4. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b4<br>de las españas                         | de española   |                             |

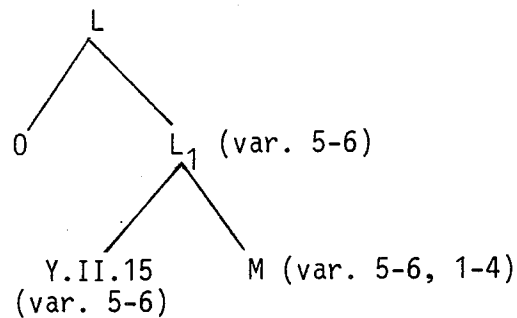
The variants describing subfamily M are found only in those MSS. The readings on the variants provided by L MSS. Y.II.15 ( $L_1$ ) and 9-4761, 2880, 1742 (0) agree substantially with the readings of families  $S_1$  and  $S_2$ . We may therefore conclude that the subfamily source M is further removed from the original Prologue than are L MSS. Y.II.15, 9-4761, 2880, 1742.

On two occasions MS. Y.II.15 agrees with the MSS of M against the remaining L witnesses:

<u>M, MS. Y.II.15</u>	<u>MSS. 9-4761, 2880, 1742</u>
5. MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b30 coronjcas	coronjca
6. MS. M.II.2, f. 2v a9 todas	∅

Again, the readings of L MSS. 9-4761, 2880, 1742 agree with the readings of families  $S_1$  and  $S_2$ . The fact that on the two rather insignificant variants all witnesses of family M agree corroborates the filiation indicated by variants 1-4. Unsupported by stronger evidence, the same readings in MS. Y.II.15 are sufficient to remove that MS from the group of MSS. 9-4761, 2880, 1742 but insufficient to include it within subfamily M. We may therefore assume a common source for MS. Y.II.15

and M (L<sub>1</sub>) in which variants 5-6 first appear. Variants 1-4 appear at M:



Subfamily M provides excellent variants for further subdivision:

MSS. 327, 1775, B1489 (M)

MSS. M.II.2, Z.III.7

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. MS. 327, f. 6r a13<br>falladas e pasadas <u>e falladas</u> <sup>38</sup>  | falladas e pasadas   |
| 2. MS. 327, f. 6r b13<br>son en  | tienen   |
| 3. MS. 327, f. 6r b22:<br>e se posieron a grandes<br>peligros que oujerō en las<br>lides con los moros <sup>39</sup> | E pusieron Se a grandes<br>peligros en las lides<br>que obieron con los moros<br>(MS. Z.III.7) <sup>40</sup> |

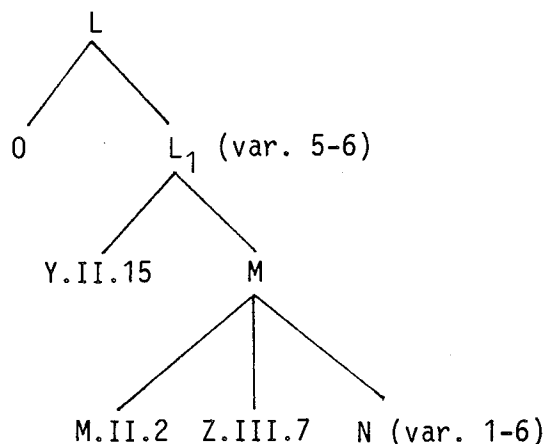
Three nonprobatory variants confirm the filiation:

MSS. 327, 1775, B1489

MSS. M.II.2, Z.III.7

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 4. MS. 327, f. 6r b6<br><u>n̄ro saluador</u> ifu xp̄o <sup>41</sup> | ifu xp̄o<br>(MS. M.II.2) <sup>42</sup> |
| 5. MS. 327, f. 6r b4<br>fallan                                      | falla                                  |
| 6. MS. 327, f. 6v a1<br>bjen auēturado                              | santo e bien aventurado                |

The readings common to MSS. 327, 1775 and B1489 have been contrasted to those of the remaining MSS of M, MSS. M.II.2 and Z.III.7. It is significant, however, that these readings occur in no other Prologue witness; therefore the readings may be considered characteristic of the source of the three MSS. The contrasting readings of MSS. M.II.2 and Z.III.7, on the other hand, are shared in variants 1-2 by the majority of witnesses in families L, S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub>. In variant 3 all L MSS other than MSS. 327, 1775 and B1489 agree with MSS. M.II.2 and Z.III.7. Therefore, we may assume a common source (N) for MSS. 327, B1489 and 1775, but there is insufficient evidence to posit a source for MSS. M.II.2 and Z.III.7 other than M:



Within the N triad, the two sixteenth-century MSS, B1489 and 1775, are closely associated. The MSS share the following omission:

MS. 1775, f. 1r 26

aujendo muy grand voluntad  
que los fechos de los Reyes  
q̄ fueron ante que el fuesen  
fallados en escripturas  
por coronica

MS. 327

avjendo muy grā voluntad que los  
fechos delos Reyes q̄ fuerō añ  
q̄ el fuesen fallados en escrito  
mando catar todas las coronjcas e  
estorias antigoas Et fallo escto  
por coronica



MS. B1489, f. 1r 24

aviendo muy grand voluntad que  
 los fechos de los Reyes que  
 fueron ante que el fuesen  
 fallados en escripto f y [sic]  
 escritos por coronicas

The MS. 1775 reading appears to represent a typical haplography. The MS. B1489 reading, however, together with MS. 1775's escripturas, suggests that something other than or in addition to haplography may have occurred in this reading between MSS. 1775, B1489 and the ultimate source of the three MS group. The suspicion is supported by a further omission common to MSS. 1775 and B1489:

MSS. 1775, B1489

MS. 1775, f. 1v 8  
 es llamado el Conqueridor E  
 defensor dela fee e por que  
 fuesẽ<sup>43</sup>

MS. 327

es llamado el conq̄ridor e defensor  
 dela fee entendiendo q̄ aq̄llos fechos  
fincarian en olujdo sy en coronjca  
nō se posiesen Et por q̄ fuesẽ

This omission is not typically haplographic. The scribe of MS. 1775 presented the lines continuously, indicating no awareness that text is missing. The word Conqueridor is in the same hand and same ink as the remainder of the text, but looks as if it has been squeezed into a space left in the original copy. MS. B1489 leaves a space, too small to accommodate the missing letters, where Conqueridor should appear and follows fee with a flourish and two blank lines. Because MS. 327 contains the missing text in both instances, we may assume one of two possible explanations: (1) MSS. 1775 and B1489 derive from

an intermediary or from a faulty copy of MS. 327 or of the ultimate source of MSS. 327, 1775, B1489 (or from the common source of the three witnesses that was damaged after the copying of the fifteenth-century MS. 327 and before the sixteenth-century MSS. 1775 and B1489 were copied), (2) either MS. 1775 or MS. B1489 was the first witness to contain the omissions and was the source of the remaining member of the pair.

In addition to the slight differences between the MSS. 1775 and B1489 solutions in the first of the omissions, there are a few discrepancies between the two MSS which taken together make it unlikely that either was a copy of the other:

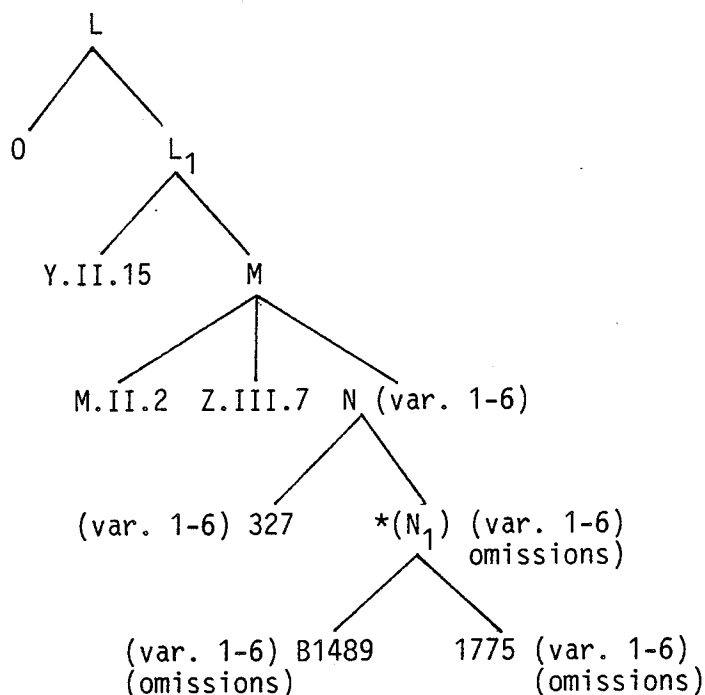
<u>MS. B1489</u>	<u>MS. 1775</u>
1. f. 1r 7 saber	fazer
2. f. 1r 14 contiene	conosçen
3. f. 1v 3 ∅	E el Reyno de murcia
4. f. 1r 27 por coronicas En los libros de su camara los fechos	por coronica los libros de sus tan maravillosos fechos

In variants 1, 2, 4 the MS. 1775 readings are unique, and the MS. B1489 readings agree with the majority of witnesses across families L, S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub>. Therefore, MS. B1489 could not have been copied directly from MS. 1775. If MS. B1489 is posited as the direct source of MS. 1775, there are also problems. Variant 3 shows a MS. B1489 omission of MS. 1775 text that is common to the body of witnesses. Although

the text provided by MS. 1775 appears within the list of conquests of Fernando III and could have been added by a knowledgeable MS. 1775 scribe without recourse to a source other than MS. B1489, such a serendipitous concurrence with the majority of witnesses is unlikely. Furthermore, the MS. B1489 transcription of variants 1, 2, 4 is perfectly legible and logical within the text. There is no obvious reason for the MS. 1775 scribe to have altered the MS. B1489 readings, especially in the case of variant 4 which, although comprehensible, is strained and dissonant in MS. 1775. MS. 1775 was most probably not a copy of MS. B1489.

The variant 4 reading in MS. 1775, sus tan maravillosos fechos, is unique, but it is obviously an awkward rendering of su camara los fechos in MS. B1489, ceteri. The MS. 1775 solution seems to support the hypothesis that MSS. 1775 and B1489 shared a common damaged source. It may be objected that if the source was damaged it is odd that the scribe of MS. B1489 managed to make out En los libros de su camara los fechos while the MS. 1775 scribe could only come up with los libros de sus tan maravillosos fechos. The MS. 1775 solution indicates that the basic outlines of the passage in the source were legible. Also there is abundant evidence that the scribe of MS. B1489 was more careful and more concerned to offer as accurate a copy as possible than was the scribe of MS. 1775. There is the labored solution in MS. B1489 in the first omission cited: fallados en escripto f y [sic] escritos por coronica, which while apparently less satisfying than fallados en scripturas por coronica in MS. 1775, is closer to the original. There are the blank lines left in MS. B1489, signalling a lacuna. Finally,

the remaining MS. B1489 variants cited, saber and contiene, agree with the majority of witnesses against MS. 1775. In short, it seems fairly certain that MSS. 1775 and B1489 are independent copies of a faulty intermediary ( $N_1$ ) between them and MS. 327 or between them and the source of the group (N), or that they are copies of that ultimate source which was damaged after MS. 327 was copied:



\*  $N_1$  may be descended from MS. 327.

Four long-version MSS have been grouped by exclusion from sub-family M. As we have seen, MSS. 2880, 9-4761 and 1742 (0), together with MS. Y.II.15 ( $L_1$ ), agree substantially on a number of variants with the witnesses of families  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  against the MSS of M. On the evidence of these variants we have tentatively concluded that MS. Y.II.15 ( $L_1$ ) and MSS. 2880, 9-4761 and 1742 (0) are closer to the archetype than are the MSS of M (p. 331-32, var. 1-4). Two variants removed

MS. Y.II.15 from subfamily 0 (p. 332, var. 5-6). It is significant that one of the three 0 MSS, fourteenth-century MS. 9-4761, is the oldest known extant long-version MS and that the three MSS show only two variants that are unique to them:

<u>MSS. 2880, 9-4761, 1742 (0)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
1. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b34 de estos <sup>44</sup>	de los
2. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b31 ∅	e adelante vinjerẽ (MS. M.II.2) <sup>45</sup>

Given the earlier indications for the grouping of MSS. 2880, 9-4761, 1742, the evidence is slight but confirmatory. More important, the relative scarcity of variants unique to the grouping supports the conclusion that subfamily 0 together with MS. Y.II.15 represents the archetype of the long version more closely than M.

Within subfamily 0 there is overwhelming evidence for further subdivision: MS. 2880/MSS. 9-4761, 1742. Immediately preceding the last variant considered, the omission of e adelante vinjerẽ, MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 offer a unique reading of one of the segments of text characteristic of the long version:

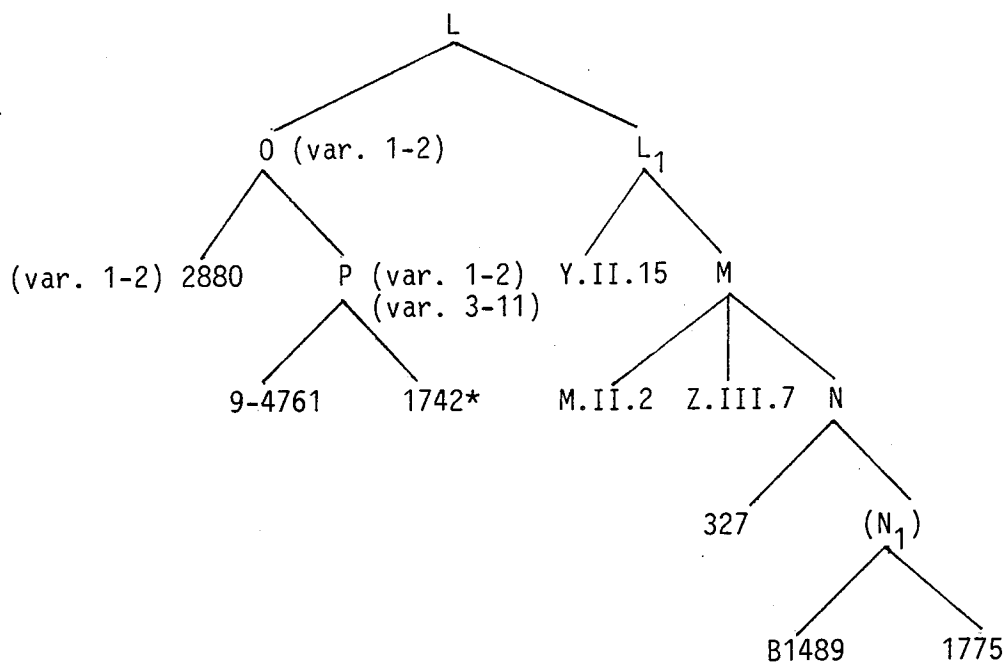
<u>MS. 9-4761, 1742</u>	<u>MS. 2880</u>
3. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b31 por q̃ los q̃ leyeren Sepan <sup>46</sup>	por q̃ los q̃ los leyeSẽ Sepan

MS. 2880 agrees with the majority long-version reading on leyeSẽ rather than leyeren. The remaining readings that are unique to MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 are:

4. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a14 qujSieron ñ las tales	Ø
5. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a19 fincauan <sup>47</sup>	fincarian
6. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a26 Ø <sup>48</sup>	otras
7. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b19 esse	este
8. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b22 acresçentador	cõq̃ridor
9. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b33 Sabios	sobredichos
10. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b33 libros	coronjcas
11. MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b34 Su coronjca	la Suyá

MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 disagree on only one insignificant variant: MS. 1742 omits a conjunction E that appears in MS. 9-4761. It is evident that at the very least MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 are careful copies of the same source (P). It is also possible that the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century MS. 1742 is a direct copy of the fourteenth-century MS. 9-4761.

The cumulative evidence indicates that MSS. Y.II.15 and 2880 provide the most promising bases for the establishment of the long-version archetype and suggests the following completion of the L family stemma:



\*MS. 1742 may descend directly from 9-4761.

### Family S<sub>1</sub>

Within the four MS family S<sub>1</sub> there is also a great deal of evidence for subdivision. Numerous variants are unique to S<sub>1</sub> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 (T) against the readings of the remaining S<sub>1</sub> MSS, M563 and Y.II.13 (U), which concur with the majority of witnesses outside the family:

#### MSS. 10195, Y.I.5

1. MS. 10195, f. 1r 5  
sabios
2. MS. 10195, f. 1r 6  
çiertas ã
3. MS. 10195, f. 1r 7  
nos<sup>49</sup>

#### MSS. M563, Y.II.13

antiguos

∅

mismos (MS. M563)<sup>50</sup>

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 4. MS. 10195, f. 1r 7<br>Erã Et aujã                                 | eran (MS. M563) <sup>51</sup> |
| 5. MS. 10195, f. 1r 8<br>rrazon                                      | guisa                         |
| 6. MS. 10195, f. 1r 9<br>aqllos                                      | los que                       |
| 7. MS. 10195, f. 1r 9<br>las cosas q̃ Acaesgiesẽ                     | aqllos fechos                 |
| 8. MS. 10195, f. 1r 10<br>estariã                                    | fincaran                      |
| 9. MS. 10195, f. 1r 11<br>de luēgos tienpos                          | ∅                             |
| 10. MS. 10195, f. 1r 17<br>aqllos                                    | dios                          |
| 11. MS. 10195, f. 1r 19<br>mucho                                     | muy                           |
| 12. MS. 10195, f. 1r 24<br>pã  | mando                         |
| 13. MS. 10195, f. 1r 28<br>arjona                                    | cordoua                       |
| 14. MS. 10195, f. 1r 29<br><u>muchos negoçios e</u><br>muchos fechos | muchos fechos                 |
| 15. MS. 10195, f. 1r 31<br>rrey                                      | ∅                             |
| 16. MS. 10195, f. 1r 34<br><del>Sancho</del> ferrnãdo <sup>52</sup>  | Sancho                        |
| 17. MS. 10195, f. 1r 34<br>padre                                     | abuelo                        |
| 18. MS. 10195, f. 1r 35<br>Sancho                                    | ferrnãdo                      |



19. MS. 10195, f. 1r 35  
avuelo<sup>53</sup> padre
20. MS. 10195, f. 1r 36  
aillos los
21. MS. 10195, f. 1r 36  
despues adelante

MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 differ only on two insignificant variants: MS. Y.I.5 omits a majority definite article el which appears in MS. 10195 and transcribes as las a majority direct object pronoun los in MS. 10195. The corrected MS. 10195 reading in variant 16, which appears also in MS. Y.I.5, does not necessarily indicate that the latter MS was a direct descendant of the former. MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 variants 16-19 involve the reordering of the list of Alfonso XI's ancestors as they appear in MSS. M563, Y.II.13 and the remaining witnesses:

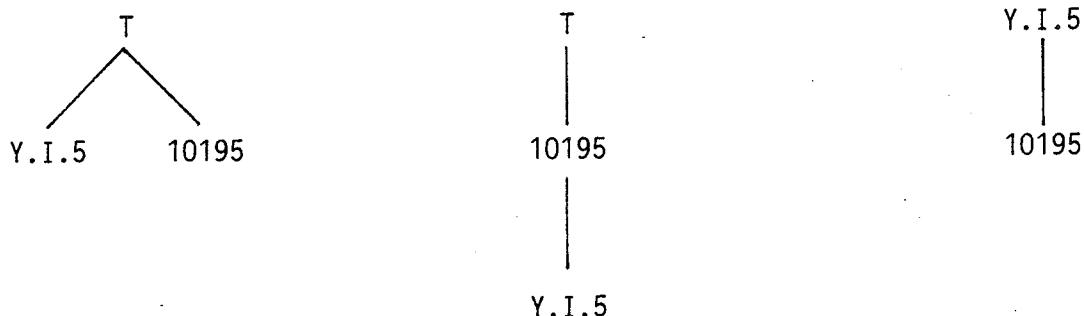
las cosas q̄ acaesçieron en los tienpos del rrey don alfonso su visabuelo el Sabio e enl t̄po del Rey don Sancho el brauo su abuelo e en t̄po del Rey don ferrnãdo su padr̄ (MS. M563, f. 1r b26)

MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 read:

las cosas q̄ acaesçierõ enl t̄po del rrey don alfonso su visahuelo el Sabio Et enel t̄po del rrey don ferrnãdo su padre Et enel t̄po del rrey don Sancho su avuelo (MS. 10195, f. 1r 33)

Given the larger readings, both MS. 10195's ferrnãdo and MS. M563's Sancho are correct. It is difficult to say whether MS. 10195 inherited the reading from the hypothetical T or from MS. Y.I.5, or was the first MS to show it. However, the MS. 10195 scribe reacted first with the

logical Sancho, then on the same line corrected to ferrñdo before continuing the copy. Because of the vacillation in MS. 10195 and the final decision for the less logical ordering, I suspect that the reading ferrñdo su padre preceded Sancho su avuelo in the source of MS. 10195. If MS. 10195 was not the first MS to show the innovation, we must conclude that MS. 10195 descended either from the hypothetical T or from MS. Y.I.5, which we would assume to be the first MS to contain the innovations. Given the insignificance of the discrepancies between MS. 10195 and MS. Y.I.5, the following relationships are possible:



Finally, we may conclude from the number and nature of variants shared by MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 that they are not likely choices as base MSS for an edition of the short version of the Prologue. We may recall that MS. 10195 was the back-up witness Rosell used for the BAE edition of the Prologue when he encountered difficulties with MS. 829 and the extensive lacuna in V1554 (Part II.1, pp. 237-40).

MSS. M563 and Y.II.13 (U) seem far more promising. The two  $S_1$  MSS show the following unique variants:

MSS. M563, Y.II.13

ceteri families  $S_1$  and  $S_2$

1. MS. M563, f. 1r a4

En

Por

- |                                      |                                     |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2. MS. M563, f. 1r b1                |                                     |
| <u>Señor</u> don alfonso             | don alfonso (MS. 829) <sup>54</sup> |
| 3. MS. M563, f. 1r b14               |                                     |
| delas asturias e                     | ∅                                   |
| 4. MS. M563, f. 1r b15               |                                     |
| la muy noble çibdat de <sup>55</sup> | ∅                                   |
| 5. MS. M563, f. 1r b17               |                                     |
| de la frontera                       |                                     |
| e castillos que son                  | ∅                                   |
| 6. MS. M563, f. 1r b31               |                                     |
| de aq̃                               | ∅                                   |

The variants unique to MSS. M563 and Y.II.13 consistently show extensions of text rather than alterations of existing majority readings. Sixteenth-century MS. Y.II.13. however, shows a number of unique variants that with some frequency exhibit fairly extensive alterations of the majority readings:

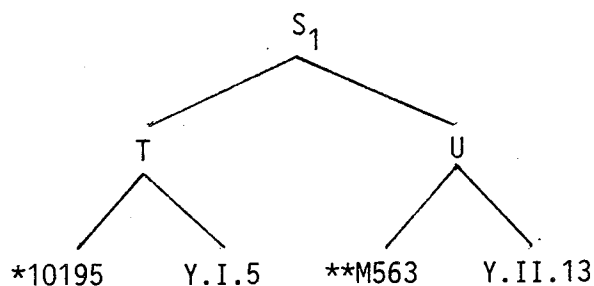
<u>MS. Y.II.13</u>	<u>MS. M563</u>
1. f. 1r 1	
razones	maneras
2. f. 1r 2	
tu <sup>u</sup> ieron por bueno	quisierō
3. f. 1r 2	
cosas famosas que las gentes	cosas q̃ eran falladas q̃
fizieron se pudiesen saber	pasaron se pudiesē Sabr̃
4. f. 1r 3	
assi porq̃ la nobleza de	e por nobleza de
aquellos que las fizieron	Sy mismos por los
fuesse Ya todos nobria:	que eran por benjr <sup>56</sup>
como por que los sus grandes	



17. f. 1v 12		
esto		ende
18. f. 1v 13		
temiendo		entendio
19. f. 1v 14		
de aquellos Reyes		∅
20. f. 1v 14		
mayormente		∅
21. f. 1v 15		
∅		Por q̄ fueSen Sabidas
22. f. 1v 16		
llamado		∅
23. f. 1v 17		
llamado		∅

Except for variants 4, 9, 16, as noted, MS. M563 provides readings that are substantially the same as those of the majority of witnesses. We may conclude, then, that MS. Y.II.13 offers a version of the Prologue that has been extensively altered, but that MS. M563, the oldest extant short-version MS, is a respectable witness for the establishment of the archetype of the short version.

The stemma may be extended to include family  $S_1$  as follows:



- \* MS. 10195 could be either the source of MS. Y.I.5 or a copy of it.
- \*\* MS. M563 could be the source of Y.II.13.

Family S<sub>2</sub>

It has been established that the most salient characteristic of S<sub>2</sub> is omission and that on two variants (Seyēdo leales, en los tienpos primeros, see above, pp. 325-27) the later members of family S<sub>2</sub> offer readings that appear to involve attempts to improve the faulty readings inherited from the source of the family. A few additional variants indicate that not all omissions shared by the majority of S<sub>2</sub> witnesses may be attributed to that source. Fifteenth-century MS. 829 shares two readings with the majority of S<sub>1</sub> and L MSS that do not appear in the remaining S<sub>2</sub> witnesses. On these variants, the later members of the family once again provide readings that seem to involve reactions to the defective readings in their sources. I therefore contrast MS. 829 with the remaining two oldest S<sub>2</sub> MSS and then discuss the readings given by the remaining S<sub>2</sub> witnesses.

MS. 829

MSS. N.III.12, Z.III.12 (original)

1. f. 9r a34

en escripto mādo catar<sup>61</sup>

en escripto Catar<sup>62</sup>

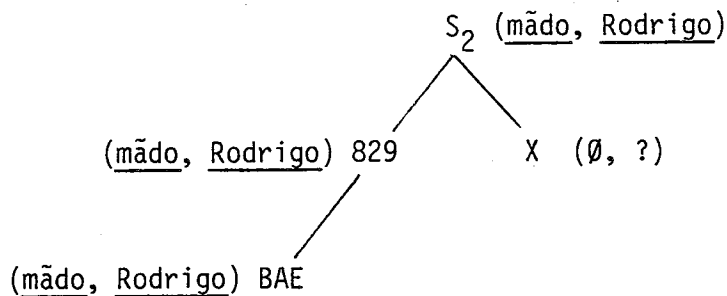
2. f. 9r a39

Rodrigo<sup>63</sup>

antiguo<sup>64</sup>

S<sub>2</sub>, MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 agree with MS. 829, which carries the majority readings. We will presently see that these agreements are most likely due to the contamination of MS. 5775's probable source, MS. N.III.12, which occurred as the MS. 5775 copyist corrected obvious errors. However, there are no grounds for assuming contamination of the source of MS. 829. Given the presence of the majority mādo and

Rodrigo in MS. 829, it follows that  $S_2$  contained those readings. A copy of that source, X, omitted mādo and mutilated Rodrigo, thus giving rise to the readings in MSS. N.III.12 and Z.III.12 and ultimately to those in the remaining  $S_2$  witnesses:



On the first variant,  $S_1$  MSS. 84-7-34, Z.III.12 and 336 read en escrito fizo catar (MS. 84-7-34, f. 1r 17). MS. Z.III.12 shows en escrito <sup>fizo</sup> catar (f. 6r 22); the fizo is one of the numerous corrections added in a later hand. The agreement may indicate filiation of the three witnesses. However, the reading of X, lacking mādo, could easily have prompted the independent addition of fizo.

In MS. 829 the context of the Rodrigo variant is:

E fallo esçpto por coronjca enlos libros desu caña  
 los fechos delos Reyes q̄ fuerō enlos tiēpos pasados  
 Reyes godos fasta el Rey Rodrigo E desde el Rey don  
 pelayo q̄ fue el p̄mero rrey de leon fasta el t̄po q̄  
 fino el Rey don fern<sup>o</sup> (f. 9r a36)

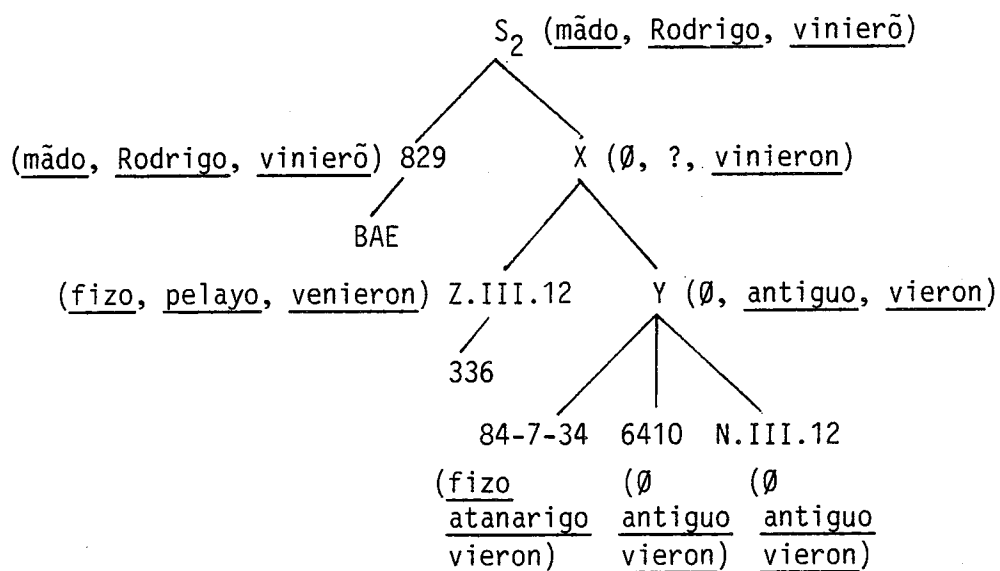
As opposed to MS. 829 and MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554, which agree on the majority Rodrigo,  $S_2$  MSS. N.III.12, Z.III.12, 84-7-34, 6410 and 336 all show incorrect, albeit differing, readings. MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 read antiguo. MS. 84-7-34 gives atanarigo. MS. Z.III.12 has pelayo, written directly over the original reading and obscuring it entirely. The correction pelayo anticipates the occurrence of the

word later in the line: fasta el rey don pelayo y desde el rey don pelayo que fue el prjmero Rey (MS. Z.III.12, f. 6r 25). The pelayo also appears in MS. 336. The variant would seem to indicate that Y's scribe miscopied Rodrigo as antiguo, which was carried on in MSS. N.III.12 and 6410. The beginning and ending of the word atanarigo in MS. 84-7-34 suggests that the source of that MS also gave antiguo and that the scribe reacted to the nonsensical reading with the name of the Gothic king.<sup>65</sup> Whatever MS. Z.III.12 originally showed was evidently considered inappropriate by the later corrector and changed to the less imaginative but reasonable pelayo. The original reading could have been the unsatisfactory antiguo, in which case we would assume a common source for MSS. N.III.12, 6410, 84-7-34 and MSS. Z.III.12, 336. However, inasmuch as we know only that MS. Z.III.12 carried a reading that appeared defective to a later corrector, it seems best to ascribe an unknown, faulty reading on the variant to X and to view Z.III.12 tentatively as a descendant of that source. To sum up this point, MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 agree twice: on the lack of mādo and again on antiguo. MSS. Z.III.12 and 336 agree twice: on fizo and pelayo. MS. 84-7-34 agrees with the latter pair on fizo, which could be spontaneous, and is associated with the former pair on atanarigo.

As we might expect from the resourceful atanarigo, MS. 84-7-34 shows a number of additional unique readings. However, it provides only one further variant that tenuously associates it with one of the previously mentioned pairs. MSS. 84-7-34, N.III.12 and 6410 read: como vieron los patriarcas (MS. 6410, f. 1r 20) against the majority coño vinierō los patriarcas (MS. 829, f. 9r a16). Because vieron could



easily occur as a result of a misreading of vinieron, the agreement could be coincidental.<sup>66</sup> However, together with the atanarigo/antiguo variant, the reading inclines me to conclude that MS. 84-7-34 is more closely related to MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 than to MSS. Z.III.12 and 336 and that the MS. 84-7-34 agreement with the latter two MSS on fizo is coincidental.



MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 share only one other error that is unique to them. Both read: guysa podriã . . . [me]jor Saber (MS. N.III.12, f. 1r a8) rather than the majority guisa las podrian mejor saber (MS. M.II.2, f. 2r a20). MS. 6410, however, shows a number of mainly insignificant readings that differ from those of MS. N.III.12:

<u>MS.N.III.12</u>	<u>MS. 6410</u>
1. f. 1r a10 fincarã	fincarian
2. f. 1r a10 durarã	durarian

3. f. 1r a13 de	∅
4. f. 1r a14 los	∅
5. f. 1r a16 que	y
6. f. 1r a17 ∅	que
7. f. 1r a20 E	q̄
8. f. 1r a20 por	∅
9. f. 1r a 25 muy	∅
10. f. 1r a27 ∅	y
11. f. 1r a27 ∅	y
12. f. 1r a29 e	∅
13. f. 1r a34 coronjcas	coronica
14. f. 1r b1 los Reys q̄ fuerō en los t̄pos pasados Reyes godos	Reyes godos q̄ fueron en los tiempos pasados
15. f. 1r b2 fasta	dende
16. f. 1r b3 desq̄	∅
17. f. 1r b4 q̄	∅

18. f. 1r b4	
p̄mero	primer
19. f. 1r b5	
el t̄po	∅
20. f. 1r b6	
cordoua E A seujlla	Sevilla y a cordoua
21. f. 1r b8	
∅	a
22. f. 1r b11	
eran	estan
23. f. 1r b12	
coronjca	escritura
24. f. 1r b12	
E	∅
25. f. 1r b13	
cōq̄ridor	conquistador
26. f. 1r b17	
dō alfoñ Su	don alfonso el sabio
visabuelo el Sabio	su visaguelo
27. f. 1r b20	
Rey dō alfoñ su padre	su padre el Rey don fernando
28. f. 1r b20	
mādolos	las mando
29. f. 1r b21	
en este ljb̄ro	∅
30. f. 1r b22	
en	∅

All the differing readings in MS. 6410 are compatible with its being a somewhat free copy of MS. N.III.12. The error unique to

MS. N.III.12 in variant 27, which names Alfonso XI's father alfon̄, would have been fairly obvious. The MS. 6410 reading in variant 14, Reyes godos q̄ fueron en los tiempos pasados, looks very much like a rearrangement of the elements of the sentence in order to make sense of a garbled passage. It is striking that the latter reading also appears as one of the corrections in MS. Z.III.12 and again shows up in MS. 336, the direct descendant of MS. Z.III.12. However, as we will next see, MS. 6410 does not show the majority reading leales which was added to MS. Z.III.12 in the process of correction or any of the other corrected readings in MS. Z.III.12. It is therefore difficult to conceive how MS. 6410 could have been either the source of those corrections or a copy of the corrected MS. Z.III.12.

On a number of occasions we have referred to readings in MS. Z.III.12 that in their uncorrected form link it to MSS. N.III.12, 6410, 84-7-34, i.e. the reading les rather than leales (pp. 326-27), the omission of mando (pp. 348-49), the error underlying the correction pelayo (pp. 349-50). The corrected readings in MS. Z.III.12 indicate a close association with MS. 336, and the presence in MS. Z.III.12 of the crossed-out, over-written and added bits of text clarifies to a great extent the process of correction and to some extent the motives and sources for the corrections. A transcription of the corrected readings in MS. Z.III.12 compared to the readings in MS. 336 and the readings of the majority of  $S_2$  witnesses is helpful. The original words or portions of words in MS. Z.III.12 that were entirely or partially obscured by a correction written on top of the original text are underlined:

<u>MS. Z.III.12</u>	<u>MS. 336</u>	<u>ceteri S<sub>2</sub></u>
1. f. 6r 3 e se pasaronse	E se pasaron	pasarō se (MS. N.III.12) <sup>67</sup>
2. f. 6r 4 <u>leales</u>	leales	les (MS. 829) <sup>68</sup>
3. f. 6r 4 <u>avjā</u> de <u>benjr</u>	avian de venir	erā de venir (MS. N.III.12) <sup>69</sup>
4. f. 6r 4 <u>Se fizieron</u>	Se hizieron	fizjerō los (MS. N.III.12) <sup>70</sup>
5. f. 6r 10 los p̄fetas de ifu x̄po santo d y el <u>su avenjmjento</u>	los profetas de ifu x̄po y su santo adbenjmjento	los profetas el aduenjmjēto de ifu x̄po (MS. 829) <sup>71</sup>
6. f. 6r 13 <u>q̄</u>	que	E (MS. N.III.12) <sup>72</sup>
7. f. 6r 15 <sup>se</sup> posierō se	Se pusieron	pusieronse (MS. 829) <sup>73</sup>
8. f. 6r 22 fizo catar	hizo catar	catar (MS. N.III.12) <sup>74</sup>
9. f. 6r 24 godos rreys que fuerō en los t̄pos <u>désde</u> pasados <del>rreys godos</del>	reyes godos que fueron en los tiempos pasados	Reys q̄ fuerō en los t̄pos pasados Reyes godos (MS. N.III.12) <sup>75</sup>

10. f. 6r 25

don pelayo

don pelayo

antiguo

(MS. N.III.12)<sup>76</sup>

The evidence for the association of the corrected MS. Z.III.12 and MS. 336 is irrefutable. MS. 336 is either the source of the MS. Z.III.12 corrections or a direct descendant of the corrected MS. Z.III.12. There is some fairly strong evidence for the latter conclusion. First of all, MS. 336 shows two unique readings that do not appear among the MS. Z.III.12 corrections. Where MS. Z.III.12 shows an uncorrected original fincarian (f. 6r 6), the majority reading, MS. 336 reads quedarian, and where MS. Z.III.12 shows durarjan (f. 6r 7), again the uncorrected majority reading, MS. 336 reads guardarian. Second, and more revealing, one of the corrected readings in MS. Z.III.12 that appears in MS. 336 arises from a unique error in the original MS. Z.III.12. In variant 5 the original MS. Z.III.12 followed los p̄fetas immediately with de if̄u xp̄o. The phrase de if̄u xp̄o in the majority reading occurs later in the line, following aduenjmjento. Beneath the MS. Z.III.12 rewrite su avenjmjento, remnants of an original avenjmjento followed by a second if̄u xp̄o are clearly visible. The original reading in MS. Z.III.12 was apparently los p̄fetas de if̄u xp̄o y el avenjmjento de if̄u xp̄o. The corrector left the first if̄u xp̄o in place, added su santo and cancelled the second if̄u xp̄o by writing <sup>d</sup>avenjmjento over the top of the original avenjmjento and if̄u xp̄o<sub>2</sub>. The correction clearly indicates that MS. Z.III.12 is the source of the reading and that MS. 336 is a descendant of MS. Z.III.12.

On this variant the corrected reading in MS. Z.III.12 is found only in that MS and in MS. 336. The reading shows that the corrector had no need of an additional source for the emendation and that if in fact he was consulting an additional MS he did not feel bound to correct MS. Z.III.12 to concur exactly with that additional MS. Numerous other emendations indicate that the corrector was primarily reacting independently to the readings in the original MS. Z.III.12 that he considered faulty or old-fashioned. Variants 1, 3, 4, 6, 7 are basically modernizations. Variants 5, 8, 9, 10 all show corrections that respond to defective readings and that resulted in new readings, all of which contrast with the majority readings across families L, S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub>. The corrected reading in variant 8, fizo catar, does concur with the corresponding reading in S<sub>2</sub> MS. 84-7-34, and the corrected reading in variant 9 appears as Reyes godos q̄ fueron en los tiempos pasados in MS. 6410. However, as observed earlier, the nature of the correction fizo indicates that it could have occurred spontaneously in MSS. Z.III.12 and 84-7-34 (see pp. 349, 351), and the base reading of family S<sub>2</sub> in variant 9 contains all the elements that could naturally result in the reading provided, independently I believe, by MS. 6410 (see p. 354) and the corrected MS. Z.III.12. Furthermore, the form of the actual correction in variant 9 in MS. Z.III.12 shows that the new reading was not immediately hit upon by the corrector: rreÿs<sup>godos</sup> que fuerō en los t̄pos pasados ~~rreÿs godos~~. Apparently the corrector first considered rreÿs que fuerō en los t̄pos pasados desde rreÿs godos and subsequently changed his mind and chose the more economical final reading. This is fairly strong evidence for the independence of the

correction in MS. Z.III.12 and against contamination by MS. 6410. Inasmuch as no other corrected readings appear in MS. 6410, it seems necessary to conclude that MS. 6410 was not a descendant of MS. Z.III.12 and that the concurring reading in variant 9 in MS. 6410 also resulted from independent emendation.

The presence of leales (variant 2) in MS. Z.III.12 remains to be considered. It has been observed that the original MS. Z.III.12 read les in agreement with the oldest  $S_2$  witnesses and that the majority leales appears in no  $S_2$  witnesses other than the corrected MS. Z.III.12 and its descendant MS. 336 (pp. 325-26). It is difficult to imagine that the corrector could have added the majority leales independently. However, there is no other correction in MS. Z.III.12 that so forcefully suggests contamination. The corrector did add the majority reading de dios to the line: rreÿs que tienen lugar en la<sup>de dios</sup>  
tierra (MS. Z.III.12, f. 6r 12). There is also his first stab at correcting rreÿs que fuerō en los t̄pos pasados rreÿs godos, in which he added desde above and between pasados and rreÿs. The desde is found in the corresponding reading in all MSS of  $L_1$ . Finally, there is the addition of the majority Don Sancho in the line: Rey su abuelo<sup>Don Sancho</sup>  
el brauo (MS. Z.III.12, 6v 8). Given the nature of the readings to which desde and Don Sancho were added, only the leales variant is truly indicative. The presence of leales in MS. Z.III.12 together with the other corrected readings in the MS suggests that the corrector had access to an additional MS from outside the  $S_2$  family, possibly a MS of  $L_1$ , but which he used only infrequently.



The remaining group of  $S_2$  witnesses, MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554, is readily identifiable. It has been established in Part II that MS. 5775 is the source of V1554. In the course of marshalling the evidence for the description of family  $S_2$  in the present section, it has also been established that the sixteenth-century MS. 2091 shares an unusual reading with MS. 5775 and V1554 that proves that the three witnesses are closely related: seyendo a los q̄ auian de venir exēplo (V1554, f. 1r a8) (see above, p. 325). MS. 2091 also shares with MS. 5775 and V1554 the lengthy omission that amounts to one-quarter of the Prologue. The three witnesses show the following version of the opening lines of the Prologue:

Por muchas guisas, y por muchas maneras los antiguos que fuerō en los tiēpos primeros quisieron que las cosas que fuerō halladas, y passarōse pudiesen saber, y por noblezas de si mesmos seyendo a los q̄ auian de venir exēplo, fizieron las escreuir entendiēdo que por esta guisa las podrian mejor saber los que viniessē ē pos dellos (V1554, f. 1r a1)

All witnesses of families L,  $S_1$  and the remaining witnesses of family  $S_2$  continue with a lengthy amplificatio that describes the subjects and events the ancients believed worthy of inclusion in written history. The passage is, like the beginning lines of the Prologue, an adaptation of the Estoria de España Prologue. MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 simply omit it and resume the text with the narration of Alfonso XI's desire to continue the written record of the kings of Spain: "Y por esto el muy alto y muy honrado, y muy bienavēturado don Alonso . . ." (V1554, f. 1r a10). There is no indication that the

omission might have been due to haplography. On the contrary, the length of the omission, its contents, which might be considered digressive, and the fact that we know that the redactor of MS. 5775 was a very careful editor, all suggest that the omission was intentional.

A series of minor omissions and slight alterations of text in MS. 2091 both highlights the close association of MS. 5775 to V1554 and reveals that MS. 2091 is most likely a copy of one or the other:

<u>MS. 5775, V1554</u>	<u>MS. 2091</u>
1. V1554, f. 1r a1 guisas	vias
2. V1554, f. 1r a2 por	∅
3. V1554, f. 1r a2 muchas	∅
4. V1554, f. 1r a11 las podrian mejor saber	podrian Saberlas mejor
5. V1554, f. 1r b10 fueron de aquel rey	fueron hasta aquel Rey
6. V1554, f. 1r b20 Sancho su abuelo el brauo	Sancho El brauo Su abuelo

It is impossible to ascertain on the basis of the internal evidence whether MS. 2091 was a copy of V1554 or of MS. 5775. However, inasmuch as there is only one MS. 5775, it is logical to assume that the printed V1554 would have been more accessible and therefore that MS. 2091 is probably based on the princeps.

There are only a few indications that suggest a possible source within family S<sub>2</sub> for MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554. The three witnesses

agree with  $S_2$  MSS. N.III.12 and 84-7-34 on the word order in the phrase a Cordoua y a Seuilla (V1554, f. 1r b5), which occurs in the list of Fernando III's conquests. The remaining  $S_2$  witnesses, MSS. 829, Z.III.12, 6410, 336 and BAE, agree with the MSS of families L and  $S_1$  on the reverse order of the two cities' names. MS. 5775 and V1554 also agree with MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 on the reading fueron de V1554, f. 1r b10) against the majority reading fueron despues (MS. M.II.2, f. 2r b28). MS. 2091 gives the unique fueron hasta. Finally, MS. 5775 and V1554 agree with MSS. N.III.12, Z.III.12, 6410, 336 on the preterite fincaron (V1554, f. 1r b15) against the imperfect or the conditional in all other witnesses except for 0 MS. 2880, which reads q̄dauã, and MS. 2091, which reads q̄daron.<sup>77</sup> The evidence is admittedly slight. However, the three instances of agreement of MS. N.III.12 with MS. 5775 and V1554 confirm the evidence cited in Part II that forcefully indicates that MS. N.III.12 is the source of MS. 5775 and V1554.<sup>78</sup>

None of the salient errors in MS. N.III.12 appears in the  $S_2$  subgroup of MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554:

<u>MS. N.III.12</u>	<u>MSS. 5775, 2091, V1554</u>
1. f. 1r a1 graçias	guisas
2. f. 1r a8 ∅	las
3. f. 1r b3 antiguo	Rodrigo
4. f. 1r a5 ∅	pudiessen saber

MS. N.III.12

MSS. 5775, 2091, V1554

5. f. 1r a32

∅

mando

All the errors cited result in obviously defective readings in MS. N.III.12. Those in variants 2 and 3 could have been corrected by a thoughtful copyist without recourse to any additional MS. The corrections in variants 1, 4, 5 that resulted in MSS. 5775, 2091, V1554 readings in agreement with the majority readings are more difficult to explain. The variant puadiesen saber is particularly revealing. It is present in all MSS of families of L and S<sub>1</sub> but is omitted in all S<sub>2</sub> witnesses other than the subgroup in question and BAE. MS. N.III.12 is torn; the se following pasarõ is clearly visible, and beyond the tear ...or noblezas resumes the majority reading. (See the transcription of the passage in V1554, p. 359.) The amount of text in MS. N.III.12 obscured by the tear is insufficient to allow any form of puadiesen saber. Et por was most likely the original MS. N.III.12 reading, which agrees with the remaining oldest S<sub>2</sub> MSS, 829 and Z.III.12. MSS. 829, Z.III.12 and the sixteenth-century MS. 6410 also show the se that in the majority reading precedes puadiesen saber. The remaining S<sub>2</sub> sixteenth-century MSS, 84-7-34 and 336, logically omit the se in addition to the puadiesen saber.

In face of the evidence that includes MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 within family S<sub>2</sub>, the presence of puadiesen saber is insufficient to warrant the removal of the three witnesses from the family. We could posit a source for the subgroup other than that of MS. 829 (S<sub>2</sub>), which lacked puadiesen saber and showed mando and Rodrigo, and different from the source of the remaining S<sub>2</sub> witnesses (X), which omitted or

mutilated all three. However, the evidence for a direct-descent relationship between MS. N.III.12 and MS. 5775 discussed in Part II makes the supposition of contamination in the process of correcting MS. N.III.12 during the copying of MS. 5775 more probable. In that event, the contaminating witness would have to have come from outside family  $S_2$ .

One additional reading in MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 suggests that this may indeed be the appropriate explanation for the disparities between their readings and those of MS. N.III.12. In the first line of the Prologue, the former three witnesses read: Por muchas guisas, y por muchas maneras los antiguos que fuerō en los tiēpos primeros (V1554, f. 1r a1). The majority reading of family  $S_2$  is: . . . q̄ ante fuerō en los t̄pos (MS. N.III.12, f. 1r a3).  $S_2$  MS. 84-7-34 reads: . . . q̄ antes fuerō en los t̄pos pasados, which seems to indicate the spontaneous addition of pasados. Family  $S_1$  reads: . . . q̄ fuerō en los t̄pos pasados (MS. 10195, f. 1r 5). The majority reading in family L is: . . . que añt fueron en los tiēpos primeros (MS. M.II.2, f. 1r a13). MS. Z. III.7 shows an omission that includes the antecedent of the clause, los antiguos, and the following que añt, but the MS does provide the primeros common to family L. The MSS of L subfamily 0, 2880, 9-4761, 1742, read: . . . que fueron en los tiempos primeros (MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a2), which coincides exactly with the reading of MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554. The agreement of the three  $S_2$  witnesses with 0 could be purely coincidental because the adjective primeros renders the earlier antes redundant. However, the agreement of MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 with L on primeros rather than the more obvious pasados is significant. I therefore conclude on the basis of the primeros

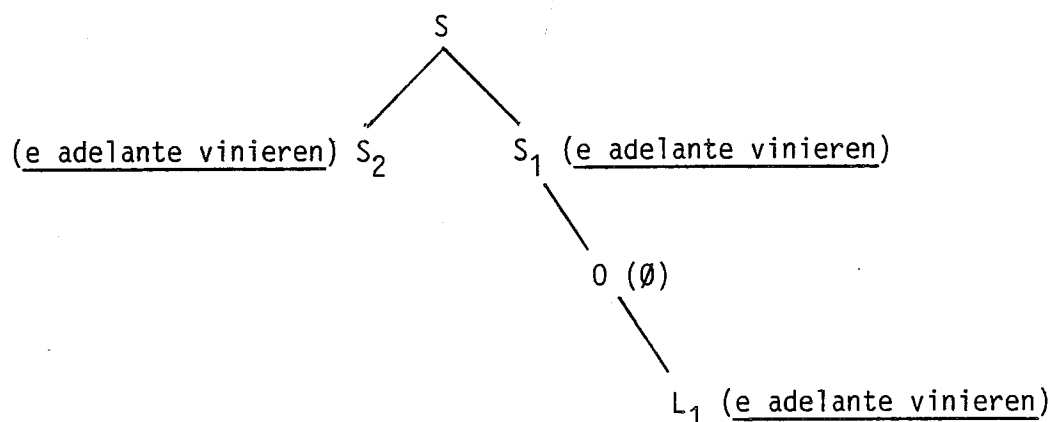
variant that the contaminating witness belonged to family L. On the basis of the antes variant we may only tentatively narrow the possibilities to L subfamily O. (See the completed Prologue stemma, p. 311.)

In the last variant discussed, antes/∅, the witnesses show a balanced agreement:  $S_1/O$  ( $\emptyset$ ) versus  $L_1/S_2$  (antes). In the course of the discussion of the variants that indicate a common source for family  $S_1$ , a similar balanced agreement was observed:  $S_1/O$  ( $\emptyset$ ) versus  $L_1/S_2$  (en los t̄pos paSados) (p. 330). A third reading, included with the variants involving text common to L and  $S_1$  and omitted in  $S_2$  (p. 322, var. 3, n. 14), shows  $S_1/O$  (Despues desde) versus M (despues d-) versus  $S_2$  (desde). The balanced agreements may be represented as follows:

<u><math>S_1, O</math></u>	<u><math>L_1, S_2</math></u>
1. Por muchas gujsas e por muchas maneras los antiguos que fueron en los tienpos primeros (MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a8)	por muchas guisas E por muchas maneras los antiguos que <u>ante</u> fueron en los tienpos primeros (MS. Y.II.15, f. 7r a6)
2. los Reyes que fueron en españa desde los primeros Reyes godos fasta el Rey Rodrigo (MS. 9-4761, f. 7r b4)	los rreyes q̄ fueron en españa <u>en los t̄pos pasados</u> desde los p̄mos Reies godos fasta el rrei don rrodrigo (MS. Y.II.15, f. 7r b21)

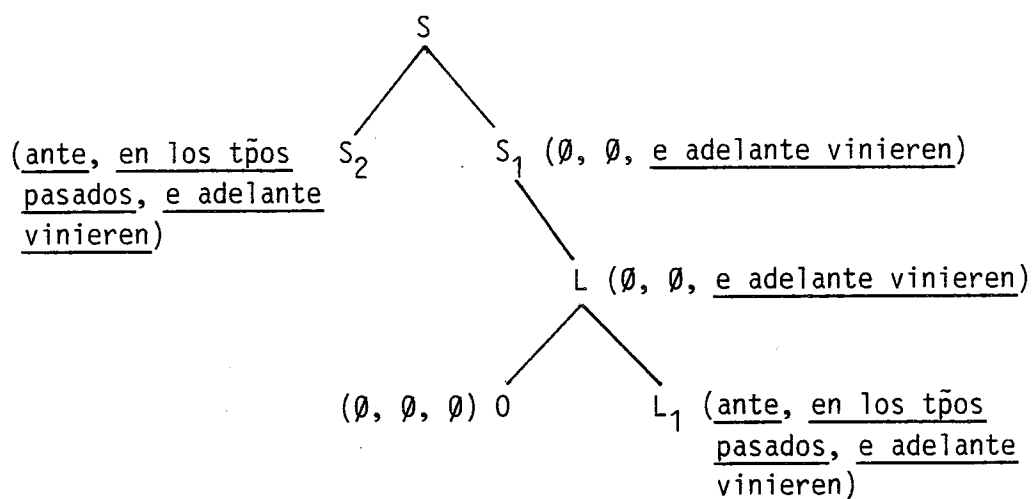
$S_1, 0$	<u>M</u>	$S_2$
3. e <u>DeSpues desde</u> el Rey don pelayo que fue el primo Rey de las asturias e de leon fasta el tiēpo que fino el Rey don ferrnādo (MS. M563, f. 1r b12)	Et <u>despues del</u> rrey don pelayo que fue el prjmero rrey de leon fasta el t̄po que fino el Santo e bien aventurado rrey don ferrnando (MS. Z.III.7, f. 1r b21)	E <u>desde</u> el rrey don pelayo q̄ fue el p̄mero rrey de leon fasta el t̄po q̄ fino el Rey don fern <sup>o</sup> (MS. 829, f. 9r a39)

The three instances of  $S_1 = 0$  agreement raise the question as to whether the two families are in fact more closely related than the proposed stemma indicates. However, considered individually, no reading shared by  $S_1$  and 0 can be viewed as of necessity involving a relationship of direct descent. Furthermore, it is impossible to defend  $S_1$  as the source of 0 and through 0 of the remaining L witnesses because 0 lacks the variant e adelante vinieren, which appears in  $S_1$ ,  $S_2$  and  $L_1$  (see above, p. 319):



If we posit an intermediary L MS between  $S_1$  and 0 that lacked the text of variants 1 and 2, contained e adelante vinieren and gave rise to  $L_1$ , we still must accept at the very least contamination

between  $L_1$  and  $S_2$  or the independent interpolation of ante and en los t̄pos pasados in  $L_1$ :



There is no other evidence that might be interpreted as indicative of contamination in  $L_1$ , and independent interpolation of ante and en los t̄pos pasados in  $L_1$ , which results in agreement with  $S_2$ , seems most improbable. On the other hand, assuming the more likely independent omission of an original ante and en los t̄pos pasados in  $S_1$  and 0, the proposed stemma works. Given the balanced agreements  $S_1 = 0$  and  $L_1 = S_2$ , it is impossible to decide on the variants alone whether they involve omissions in  $S_1$  and 0 or interpolations in  $L_1$  and  $S_2$ . External factors are not much help. We do know that the first line of the Estoria de España Prologue lacks ante: Los sabios antiguos q̄ fueron en los tiempos primeros (1, f. 2r 8).<sup>79</sup> However, the author of our Prologue could have added the ante in anticipation of the following primeros. The Estoria line does appear to confirm the primeros, which was changed to pasados in  $S_1$  and omitted in  $S_2$ . The omission of primeros in  $S_2$  is entirely consistent with the general characterization of the family. Because of that omission, the ante in  $S_2$  becomes



especially important. However, the specialty of  $S_2$  is omission, not addition. Therefore, because  $L_1$  also shows ante it seems more likely that the reading appeared in the original and was independently omitted in  $S_1$  and 0. If in fact  $S_1$  and 0 were more closely associated than indicated by the stemma, one would expect agreement on the following and related primeros. As the readings stand, the  $S_1$ , 0 contrast on primeros/pasados seems more telling than the common lack of ante.

On the second variant, the  $L_1$ ,  $S_2$  agreement breaks down beyond en los t̄pos pasados.  $S_2$  omits en españa and desde los primeros and generally mutilates rrodrigo. The series of three prepositional phrases containing overlapping similarities may have been largely responsible for the difficulties shown by  $S_2$ : en españa en los t̄pos pasados desde los p̄mos (MS. Y.II.15, f. 7r b21). The  $S_2$  omission en españa may actually be a haplography, españa en, and the parallel pasados, primeros may have triggered the omission of desde los primeros. In any case, given the agreement of  $S_1$ , 0 and  $L_1$  on en españa and desde los primeros, we have excellent evidence for the greater part of the passage. It is difficult to imagine that while indulging in wholesale omission the  $S_2$  redactor would innovate by adding en los t̄pos pasados. The fact that  $L_1$  confirms seems to settle the issue. The conclusion leads to assuming a second coincidental omission in  $S_1$  and 0. It is possible that the sequence of prepositional phrases caused the omission in  $S_1$  and 0. We might also recall that  $S_1$  innovates in the first line of the Prologue, substituting en los tiempos pasados (MS. M563, 1r a7) for en los tiempos primeros (above, p. 327). The present variant falls a full one hundred and fifty words into the four-hundred-word Prologue.

However, in light of the highly visible position of the first occurrence of enlos tienpos pasados in  $S_1$ , the omission may be the result of deliberate avoidance of repetition. The hypothesis cannot be extended to 0, which shows primeros in the first line in agreement with the remaining members of family L. However, if we assume coincidental omission in  $S_1$  and 0, there is no reason to assume an identity of causes underlying those independent omissions.

The third variant, DeSpues desde, is somewhat less difficult. It should be noted first of all that in the text the lines of variant 3 immediately follow those of variant 2, and the larger passage indicates the most appropriate reading:

los fechos de todos los rreÿs q̄ fueron en españa  
desde los p̄meros rreÿs godos fasta el Rey rrodrigo  
 e DeSpues desde el Rey don pelayo que fue el priño  
 Rey de las asturias e de leon fasta el tiēpo que  
 fino el Rey don ferrnādo (MS. M563, f. 1r b10)

The parallel structure of the lines indicates that DeSpues desde ( $S_1$ , 0) and desde ( $S_2$ ) are both acceptable readings. The agreement of M on despues partially confirms  $S_1$ , 0, while  $S_2$  confirms the remainder of the  $S_1$ , 0 reading. Furthermore,  $L_1$  MS. Y.II.15 reads despues deste and while fully corroborating  $S_1$ , 0, suggests a difficulty in  $L_1$  which may very well account for the despues d- in M. The original reading was evidently DeSpues desde, preserved in  $S_1$  and 0. The remaining L witnesses innovate.  $S_1$ , as usual, omits.

The  $S_1/0$  agreement in variant 3 in no way contradicts the stemma because in this instance  $S_1$  and 0 preserve the reading of the archetype. The agreement of  $S_1$  and 0 on the omissions in variants 1 and 2

remain somewhat problematic. At this point I can only conclude that the small number of instances of agreement of  $S_1$  and 0 and the nature of the variants involved result in a case for a close filiation of these families that is less convincing than the cumulative evidence for the proposed stemma.

In conclusion, the twenty-three witnesses for the Prologue provide an abundance of evidence for filiation. The three main families are generally well characterized by the variants and provide sound footing for the establishment of the critical text. The filiation within family  $S_2$  is somewhat less well established than that of families L and  $S_1$  because the  $S_2$  witnesses represent a textually unsound tradition with considerable contamination.

## Notes to Part III.1

<sup>1</sup> MS. M.II.2 n̄ra santa and catoljca are unique. MS. M.II.2 contra] entre Z.III.7; moros om. 9-4761, 2880, 1742; enemjgos] henemjgos 327, 1775; fe] fee 2880, 327, 1775, B1489.

<sup>2</sup> MS. M.II.2 defendedor] defendor 9-4761, defenSor 2880, 327, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15, defensor 1742; fe] fee 327, 1775, B1489. MS. Z.III.7 omits a larger passage.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. B1489 and 1775 omit a larger passage within which the variant occurs. MS. M.II.2 en + las Y.II.15; coronjca] coronicas Y.II.15; non] no 9-4761, 1742, Y.II.15; poSiese] posiesẽ 9-4761, Z.III.7, 2880, 327, Y.II.15, posiessen 1742; e om. 9-4761, Z.III.7, 2880, 327, 1742, Y.II.15.

<sup>4</sup> MS. M.II.2 lo] los, Y.II.15, om. 9-4761, 1742; leyeSen] leyeren 9-4761, 1742, biesen Y.II.15; e om. 9-4761, 2880, 1742, Y.II.15.

<sup>5</sup> MS. M.II.2 Et] e Z.III.7, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, Y.II.15, y 9-4761, B1489; ordenose] hordenase Z.III.7; coronjcas] libros 9-4761, 1742; de + en 1775, de] en Y.II.15; vno] una Y.II.15; la suya] Su coronjca 9-4761, 1742; puestas] puesta 2880, Y.II.15; tratados] tratados 327, 1742; trabtados 2880; e] que 2880; comjença] comjẽçã 2880, B1489; Rey om. B1489; alfonso] alonso B1489; alfonso + el Sabio 9-4761, Z.III.7, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15; este] esta 9-4761, Z.III.7, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15; contenjdo] contenjda 9-4761, Z.III.7, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15; que + aquj 327, Y.II.15, de Aqui 1775, B1489.

<sup>6</sup> MS. M.II.2 santo e om. 327, 1775, B1489, e] y 9-4761; e + mucho 2880.

<sup>7</sup> MS. M.II.2 todas om. (?) Z.III.7. The portion of the line that contains the variant is illegible. The space containing the illegible letters is not large enough to allow todas and the las that follows in the majority of witnesses. Todas is possible if las was missing.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 also read el sabio.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 agree. Variants 8 and 9 indicate the relocation of the formulaic el sabio.

<sup>10</sup> MS. M.II.2 is unique in the omission of non and mandolas, transcribed in brackets.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. 1775 and B1489 omit a larger passage.

<sup>12</sup> MS. M.II.2 la suya] Su coronjca 9-4761, 1742. I have included coronjca here to clarify the passage.

<sup>13</sup> MS. M.II.2, like the remaining witnesses of families L and S<sub>1</sub>, shows additional text, but the reading in MS. M.II.2 corresponding to en españa is the unique ante del.

<sup>14</sup> MS. 9-4761 desde] d- M.II.2, Z.III.7, 327, 1775, deste Y.II.15. MS. B1489 is illegible because of faded ink. S<sub>1</sub> and 0 agree on despues desde. Because MS. Y.II.15 shows despues deste, we may conclude that the L archetype read despues desde. The MSS of M innovate: despues d-.

<sup>15</sup> MS. 829 desde] desq̃ M.III.12, om. 6410; desde + q̃ 84-7-34.

<sup>16</sup> The apparently insignificant variant el appears in eleven of the thirteen witnesses of L and S<sub>1</sub>. L MS Z.III.7 omits a larger passage. Only 0 MS. 2880 agrees with S<sub>2</sub> on the omission. The omission in MS. 2880 is almost certainly spontaneous.

<sup>17</sup> MS. M.II.2 como] mismo Z.III.7. S<sub>1</sub> MS. Y.II.13 reads: como conuino que. MS. M563 agrees with the shorter reading provided by S<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>18</sup> MS. Z.III.12 como] con 84-7-34. MS. N.III.12 is torn; only co ... esto is legible, but the space is not large enough to allow por.

<sup>19</sup> MS. M.II.2 fe] fee Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, 1775, B1489. L MS. 1775 agrees with the shorter S<sub>2</sub> reading.

<sup>20</sup> S<sub>2</sub> MS. 336 agrees with L and S<sub>1</sub>: la Sancta fe. Because the closely associated MS. Z.III.12 does not show santa, the agreement in MS. 336 with L and S<sub>1</sub> is almost certainly coincidental.

<sup>21</sup> S<sub>1</sub> MSS. M563 and Y.II.13 agree with S<sub>2</sub> on the lack of noble.

<sup>22</sup> MS. M.II.2 otras om. 9-4761, 1742; cosas + en Y.II.13; que om. M563; en om. Y.II.13; contiene] contienē Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, 327, 1742, Y.II.15, conosçen 1775; otros] otras Y.I.5, 10195; muchos] muchas Y.I.5, 10195; fechos om. Y.I.5, 10195, 1775; acaheçieron] acaesçieron Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 2880, 327, 1742, 1775, Y.II.13, acaeçieron B1489, Y.II.15; antiguamente + e Z.III.7, e asi Y.II.15; conviene] conbiene Z.III.7, Y.II.15; conviene + tambien Y.II.13.

<sup>23</sup> MS. N.III.12 is torn. The remainder of the line and the amount of space occupied by the tear suggest the original presence of de, on which all witnesses that contain the segment agree. MS. N.III.12 se] son 84-7-34; contiene] contienen Z.III.12, 829, 6410, 336, cōtenjdas 84-7-34; contiene(n) (contenjdas) + y 6410, y por 336, 84-7-34; ñ om. 6410. MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 omit a larger passage.

<sup>24</sup> MS. M.II.2 podiesen] podiesen 10195, Y.I.5, M563, Y.II.13, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 1742, B1489, Y.II.15.

<sup>25</sup> MS. 5775 and V1554 read pudiessen saber, MS. 2091 podiesen saber. The agreement of the three witnesses with L and S<sub>1</sub> suggests contamination and will be considered in the discussion of the subdivision of family S<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>26</sup> MS. 9-4761 falladas] halladas Y.II.15. S<sub>1</sub> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 read: falladas e çiertas q̄ pasarō. S<sub>1</sub> MS. M563: falladas q̄ pasaron. S<sub>1</sub> MS. Y.II.13 rewrites the line. The L MSS of subfamily M read: falladas e pasadas (MS. M.II.2 falladas] halladas B1489).

<sup>27</sup> MS. N.III.12 pasaronse] fallaronse 829. MSS. 829, 6410 and the original, uncorrected MS. Z.III.12 agree on the lack of e. MS. 84-7-34: falladas q̄ pasarō. MS. 84-7-34 probably added q̄ in response to the awkward reading of its source, which omitted e. The agreement with S<sub>1</sub> MS. M563 is most probably coincidental.

<sup>28</sup> MS. 9-4761 prophetas] profectas 10195, profetas M.II.2, 2880, 327, 1775, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.I.5, M563. MS. Z.III.7 shows the unique reading: profetas dixieron el avenjamento.

<sup>29</sup> S<sub>2</sub> MS. 6410 shows the conjunction. MS. Z.III.12 rewrites the segment and the new reading also appears in its descendant, MS. 336: como venjeron los patriarcas y los p̄fetas de ifu x̄po y el Su santo advenjamento (MS. Z.III.12, f. 6r 9) (MS. 336 omits e). Given the additional elements in these two MSS, it is not at all clear that y<sub>2</sub> appeared in their source. In fact, the additional elements and the fact that the second e is lacking in the majority of S<sub>2</sub> MSS suggest that it was not. The variant occurs within the lengthy omission in MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554.

<sup>30</sup> The MSS of family  $S_1$  also show difficulties with the line containing Seyēdo leal̄s̄. The  $S_1$  problems, however, are different from that in  $S_2$  that centers on the single word leal̄s̄. MS. M563 omits Seyēdo leal̄s̄ and bridges the omission by substituting por for a preceding los q̄ eran por benjr. MS. Y.II.13, which is closely related to MS. M563, rewrites the passage through Seyēdo leal̄s̄ and resumes a los q̄ eran por benjr. The two remaining  $S_1$  MSS, 10195 and Y.I.5, both show Seyēdo leal̄s̄, but preceded by por nobleza de Si nos (MS. Y.I.5, f. 3r a11) rather than por nobleza de Sy mesmos. MS. 10195 contains an inordinately long space preceding nos, enough to accommodate three or four letters, which seems to indicate that the scribe's nos was his best guess at a word only partially legible in his source.

<sup>31</sup> MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 show primeros. The likelihood of contamination by a MS from family L, possibly from L subfamily 0, in the process of the redaction of MS. 5775 will be discussed under the subdivision of family  $S_2$ .

<sup>32</sup> A second instance of agreement between MSS. 84-7-34 and  $S_1$  MS. M563 occurs in the next line: falladas q̄ pasarō (MS. 84-7-34, f. 1r 6) against the L and  $S_1$  majority falladas e passarō (MS. 9-4761, f. 7r a5) and the  $S_2$  omission of e. (See p. 323, var. 11, nn. 26-27.) The double agreement may indicate contamination in MS. 84-7-34. However, the absence of primeros/pasados and e in the  $S_2$  source of MS. 84-7-34 could easily have resulted in their spontaneous addition to the latter MS. Lacking further evidence of contamination, coincidence seems the most likely explanation.



<sup>33</sup> Estoria de España, 1, f. 2r 8. I here quote from John Nitti and Lloyd Kasten, eds., Concordances and Texts of the Royal Scriptorium Manuscripts of Alfonso X, El Sabio (Madison, Wisc.: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1978), 2, EE text-fiche 1, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> S<sub>1</sub> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 show the common error ferrnãdo and therefore eliminate el brauo.

<sup>35</sup> MS. M.II.2 falladas] halladas B1489.

<sup>36</sup> MS. 9-4761 falladas] halladas Y.II.15; passaron] pasaron Y.II.15, 2880.

<sup>37</sup> MS. Y.II.15 vinieron] venjerõ 2880; los<sub>2</sub>] las 2880; profetas] prophetas 9-4761, 1742.

<sup>38</sup> MS. 327 falladas<sub>1</sub>] halladas B1489.

<sup>39</sup> MS. 327 posieron] pusieron B1489, 1775.

<sup>40</sup> MS. Z.III.7 grandes] muchos M.II.2; obieron] oujeron M.II.2.

<sup>41</sup> MS. 327 n̄ro + señor y B1489.

<sup>42</sup> MS. M.II.2 ifu x̄po] n̄ro señor ifu x̄po Z.III.7.

<sup>43</sup> MS. 1775 Conqueridor om. B1489.

<sup>44</sup> MS. 9-4761 de estos] destos 1742, 2880.

<sup>45</sup> MS. M.II.2 e om. Y.II.15, N.III.12, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, 10195, M563, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 2091, 6410, 5775, 336 and V1554. The conjunction is not present in short-version MSS because it is required only by some forms of the preceding long-version lo leyeSen (MS. M.II.2). MS. M.II.2 adelante] despues Y.I.5, 10195; vinjerē] venjeren Z.III.12, venjeSen Z.III.7, vjnjesen 327, 1775, B1489, biniesen Y.II.13, vinjeron 336.

<sup>46</sup> In MS. 9-4761 it looks as if a later hand has inserted q̄ between los and leyeren. A second later hand has added in the margin: porq̄ los q̄ los leieren sepan. MS. 1742 does not show the second instance of q̄.

<sup>47</sup> MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 omit a larger passage.

<sup>48</sup> MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 omit a larger passage.

<sup>49</sup> MS. 10195 precedes nos with a period and an inordinately long space, which may indicate that the scribe could not decipher the majority reading mesmos in his source.

<sup>50</sup> MS. Y.II.13 rewrites a larger segment.

<sup>51</sup> MS. M563 eran] ~~eran~~ Y.II.13.

<sup>52</sup> In MS. 10195 the original scribe has marked out Sancho and followed with the correction ferrnãdo on the same line.

<sup>53</sup> MS. 10195 avuelo] abuelo Y.I.5.

<sup>54</sup> MS. 829 don alfonso] Rey don alfonso 10195, Y.I.5.

<sup>55</sup> MS. M563 çibdat] ciudad Y.II.13.

<sup>56</sup> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 read: Et por nobleza de Se nos [mesmos] Seyendo leales a los q̄ erã Et aujã de venjr (MS. 10195, f. 1r 7), which, with the exception of nos, agrees substantially with the majority L reading.

<sup>57</sup> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 read: anř q̄ el, the majority reading.

<sup>58</sup> L<sub>1</sub> MS. Y.II.15 agrees with MS. Y.II.13 on traer.

<sup>59</sup> MS. Y.II.13's Fernando was crossed out and Alonso written above in a later hand.

<sup>60</sup> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 read: los q̄les nã erã puestos, which is the majority reading. Both MS. M563 and MS. Y.II.13 add

text, and the two readings are obviously related, but the MS. M563 reading parallels more closely the majority version.

<sup>61</sup> MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 also include mando.

<sup>62</sup> MS. N.III.12 esc̄pto] escrito Z.III.12. MS. Z.III.12 was later corrected to: en escrito <sup>fizo</sup> catar.

<sup>63</sup> MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554 read Rodrigo.

<sup>64</sup> MS. N.III.12 antiguo] pelayo Z.III.12. The reading pelayo in MS. Z.III.12 is the result of a correction. The original reading is illegible.

<sup>65</sup> Estoria de España, 1, f. 141v 63ff. See Concordances, 2, EE text-fiche 2, pp. 496ff.

<sup>66</sup> The larger reading on the variant in MS. 829 is: como vinierõ los patriarcas e los profetas [e] el aduenjmjeto de iñu x̄po. The passage falls within the lengthy omission in MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554. S<sub>2</sub> MSS. N.III.12 and 84-7-34 also omit the second e. MSS. Z.III.12 and 336 read: como venjeron los patriarcas y los p̄fetas de iñu x̄po y el Su santo aduenjmjento (MS. Z.III.12, f. 6r 9) (e om. 336). I believe the omission of the second e occurred in S<sub>2</sub> and that MSS. Z.III.12 and 336 rewrote to make sense of the passage. The significant point is that the S<sub>2</sub> omission of the second e makes the misreading of vinieron as vieron all the more understandable. The reading como vieron los patriarcas e los profetas el aduenjmjento (MS. 84-7-34, f. 1r 10) certainly makes better sense than the MS. 829 version. The S<sub>2</sub> omission of e, however, provides no clue as to whether vieron occurred spontaneously in the three witnesses in question or indicates filiation.

<sup>67</sup> MS. N.III.12 pasarō] passaron 5775, 2091, V1554, fallaron 829; se om. 84-7-34, 336.

<sup>68</sup> MS. 829 les om. 5775, 2091, V1554. MS. 84-7-34 rewrites the segment.

<sup>69</sup> MSS 5775, 2091 and V1554 agree with MSS. Z.III.12 and 336 on the modernization of the verb.

<sup>70</sup> MS. N.III.12 los] las 829, 5775, 2091, V1554.

<sup>71</sup> MS. 829 aduenjmjēto] avenjmej . . . N.III.12 (torn); de om. N.III.12 (torn). The variant falls within the major omission in MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554.

<sup>72</sup> Only S<sub>2</sub> MSS 829 and N.III.12 read E. However, beneath the MS. Z.III.12 correction q̃; e is visible. The variant falls within the omission in V1554 and MSS. 5775, 2091.

<sup>73</sup> MS. N.III.12 is torn and reads: E posie. . . . The se preceding the verb, however, is lacking. MS. 84-7-34 agrees with MS. 336. The reading falls within the omission in MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554.

<sup>74</sup> MS. 829 and the group, MSS. 5775, 2091 and V1554, read mando catar, which is the majority reading. S<sub>1</sub> MSS. Y.I.5 and 10195 read: para catar. L MSS. 1775, B1489 omit the line. MS. 84-7-34 agrees with MSS. Z.III.12, 336 on fizo.

<sup>75</sup> MS. N.III.12 pasados] passados 5775, V1554. MS. 6410 agrees with MS. Z.III.12 and 336.

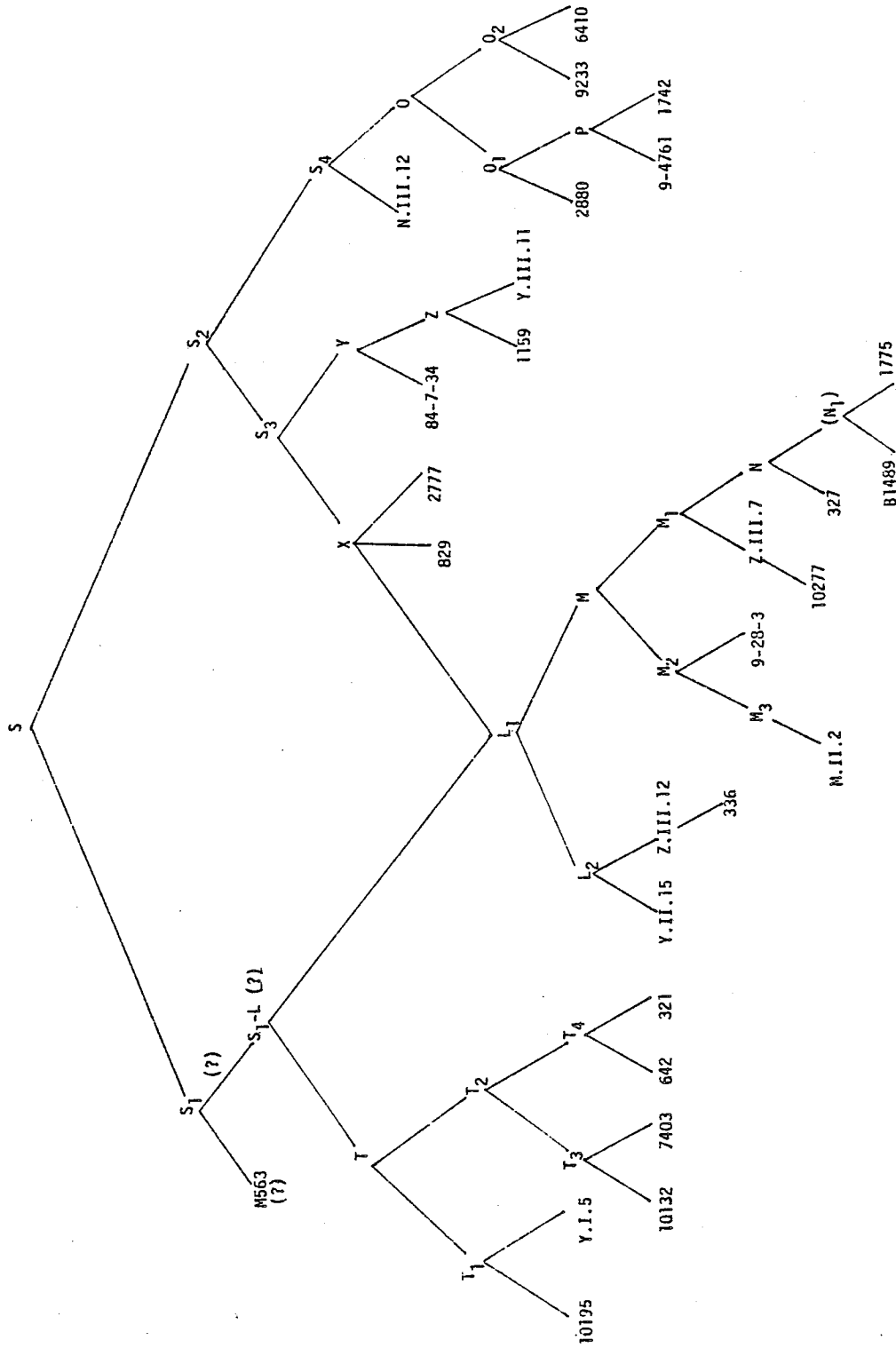
<sup>76</sup> MS. N.III.12 antiguo] atanarigo 84-7-34; MS. 829 reads Rodrigo, which is the reading of all witnesses of families L and S<sub>1</sub>.

77 MSS. 1775 and B1489 omit a larger passage.

78 See Part II.2, pp. 260-61.

79 Concordances 2, EE textfiche, 1, p. 2.

2. The Stemma for Chapters 64, 65 and 75



The variants provided by the witnesses for the body of CAX in chapters 64, 65 and 75 confirm our Prologue findings for long and short versions. We will presently see that we may assume with some justification that the Prologue and the body of the text together underwent the redactional changes leading to the long version. The variants in the three chapters do not prove but are consistent with the  $S_1/S_2$  bifurcation of the stemma suggested for the Prologue. There is strong evidence indicating that an  $S_3$  witness as well as a short-version MS from outside family  $S_3$  was consulted at the formation of the long version. The second short-version source for  $L_1$ , labeled  $S_1-L$ , has been tentatively placed below  $S_1$ .

The variants in the three chapters generally confirm the sub-family groupings of the twenty-three Prologue witnesses based on the Prologue variants alone. However, MS. Z.III.12, which gives an  $S_2$  Prologue and shows the effects of contamination from L (Prologue stemma, pp. 353-58), switches fundamental allegiance to  $L_1$  in chapters 64, 65 and 75 while correcting the latter segment against an S witness. The unusual combination of short-version Prologue and long-version text in MS. Z.III.12 is explained by the loss of the initial folios in the original MS and the replacement of the lost text with text based on a source different from that of the original MS. It should also be noted that MSS. N.III.12, 6410, 84-7-34 and 829, grouped together under node  $S_2$  in the Prologue stemma, are related in the stemma based on the three chapters, but somewhat more distantly than the Prologue variants suggest. Furthermore, the three MSS comprising the O family in the Prologue, 2880, 9-4761 and 1742, and containing a long-version Prologue, fall

outside the family of long-version MSS in the three chapters in question. Because those three MSS were grouped with the  $L_1$  MSS under the siglum L in the Prologue stemma and because the Prologue stemma below  $L_1$  is confirmed by the variants in the chapters under consideration, I have eliminated here the L siglum in the interest of clarity. In the stemma based on chapters 64, 65 and 75, the  $L_1$  family includes all long-version MSS.

The fact that thirteen CAX witnesses do not contain the Prologue would seem to suggest that the Prologue and the body of the text have independent textual traditions. Curiously enough, eleven of the thirteen MSS lacking the Prologue either append CAX to other chronicles (MSS. 9233, 642, Eg. 289, 13002, 321 and 7403) or are missing not only the Prologue but also some text at the beginning of the body of the work (MSS. 9-28-3-5509, 10277, 2777, 1159 and Y.III.11). The twelfth witness, MS. 10132, descended with MS. 7403 from  $T_3$ , which, like the latter MS, may have been joined without a Prologue to another chronicle. I suspect that the scribe of MS. 10132 simply began his copy with the CAX of his model where the Prologue did not appear. The thirteenth witness, MS. 1342, is so thoroughly altered that collation is pointless if not impossible, and the MS provides no bases for any general deductions on the chronicle. The essential point is that no MS lacking the Prologue has a descendant that picked up that document from a secondary and contaminating source. Therefore the thirteen MSS are not in themselves proof of separate textual traditions for the Prologue and the body of the text.



On the other hand, MSS. 2880, 9-4761 and 1742 are descended in the body of the text from a short-version source that apparently provided a corrupt Prologue, closely related to that of MSS. N.III.12 and 6410. The scribe of the source of the former three MSS evidently turned to a MS outside their immediate family in order to copy an L Prologue, which would have seemed superior to that provided by the primary source. The resulting combination of S text and L Prologue in MSS. 2880, 9-4761 and 1742 is the only significant exception to the consistent MS combinations of L Prologue with L text or S Prologue with S text. (MS. Z.III.12 shows physical signs of contamination.) Furthermore, within the L and S families there are no indications that scribes changed sources as they passed from the Prologue to the text. The textual traditions of the Prologue and the text may be viewed as fundamentally identical. Consequently, while no reading in chapters 64, 65 and 75 that might contradict the Prologue stemma has been ignored, I have adopted solutions parallel to those of the Prologue where the evidence in the three chapters is inconclusive or meager but not inconsistent with the Prologue stemma.

Before beginning the examination of the MS families, we may somewhat reduce the number of witnesses to be considered. First of all, MS. 1342, BNM, which was included in the catalogue in Part I, proved impossible to collate and was therefore set aside in the early stages of the project. Second, inasmuch as the studies of V1554 and BAE in Part II are based on variants provided by chapters 64, 65 and 75 as well as the Prologue, we may set aside the editions and MS. 5775, a direct descendant of MS. N.III.12 and the source of V1554. Furthermore, the collation of the thirty-five witnesses remaining after the

exclusion of MS. 1342 revealed that a few sixteenth-century MSS contain frequent and extensive reworkings of the text that are unique.

MS. Eg. 289, BL, a General Chronicle (that resists classification) followed by CAX, CSIV, CFIV, offers one of the CAX versions most removed from the body of witnesses. Given the difficulty of defining the General Chronicle in the MS, which is due above all to anomalies in the work, the wholesale reworking of CAX is perhaps not too surprising. In any case, the textual alterations in the MS' CAX range from the substitution of brief, usually modernized, segments of text for majority readings to the rewriting or condensation of lengthy passages:

<u>MS. Eg. 289</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. f. XLr 23 poco a poco	a pequeñas jornadas	(N.III.12) <sup>1</sup>
2. f. XLr 26 era menester	cūplia mucho	(N.III.12) <sup>2</sup>
3. f. XLr 27 la otra q̄ avia de venir	los de los Reynos	(N.III.12) <sup>3</sup>
4. f. XLr 37 tener cargo	q̄ oujese cuydado	(N.III.12) <sup>4</sup>
5. f. XLVIIv 2 alli se juntaron	Vierōse en Vno	
6. f. XLVIIv 17 otra mucha gente	A tātos Vallesteros E toda la genĕ dela Villa tā biē ginets̄ coño andaluzes	(N.III.12) <sup>5</sup>
7. f. XLVIIv 20 su ardimiento y esfuerço	por tā Rezjo E por tā ardit	(N.III.12) <sup>6</sup>



## 14. f. XLVIIIv 9

y quando el rrey don alonso  
supo esta rrespuesta el  
mismo selo dixo al ynfante  
don sancho y el ynfante  
don sancho le rrespondio  
que le pedie por merced

E desq̄ el Rey dō alfoñ Sopo esta  
Repa q̄ diera el Jnfantē dō Sancho  
dixo q̄ el gelo q̄ria por Sy dezjr  
E q̄ gelo faria fazer aVn q̄ el  
nō q̄siese E el Rey Vjno A fablar  
coñl Jnfante dō Sancho en este  
pl̄ito de dō alfoñ E el Jnfantē  
dō Sancho Respōdiole q̄ le pedia  
m̄d (N.III.12)<sup>13</sup>

## 15. f. XLVIIIr 11

y por la guerra que ouo con  
El rrey abenyucaf de marrue-  
cos y que no hallaua otra  
mejor manera que era de  
hazer dos monedas

E ot<sup>o</sup>sy por la grād gr̄ra q̄ ouo  
coñl Rey abeyucaf de marruecos q̄  
paso Aca E q̄ p̄a esto la maña q̄  
fablaua [fallaua] en coñmo Se podria  
esto mejor mātener E por escusar  
de nō echar pecho n̄jguno enla t̄rra  
q̄ era de fazer dos moñs (N.III.12)<sup>14</sup>

The MS provides innumerable similar examples. In sum, MS. Eg. 289 is a thoroughly modernized résumé of CAX which, while of interest in its own right, is worthless for the establishment of the critical text.

MS. 2091, BUS, may be set aside for similar reasons. The MS provides a version of the Prologue that is clearly related to that of MS. 5775 and V1554. However, throughout chapters 64, 65 and 75 modernizations, additions and omissions render filiation of the MS difficult and indicate that it is of negligible value for the establishment of the critical text. The following examples are illustrative:

MS. 2091ceteri

## 1. f. 57v 3

E dio entonçes el Rey al Rey de aragõ los castillos de balde e ayora que eran del Jnfante don manuel

E leuo el Rey dõ pedro del Rey dõ alfoñ entõçe los castillos de Val de ayora q̄ erã del Jnfant̄ dõ manuel Su hr<sup>o</sup> (N.III.12)<sup>15</sup>

## 2. f. 57v 7

E eneste año mando el Rey llamar todos sus vasallos y concejos para yr fazer guerra al Rey de Granada

E el Rey dõ alfoñ m̄ado llamar todas Sus huestes pã yr entrar A la vega (N.III.12)<sup>16</sup>

## 3. f. 57v 14

E estando alli fue vn dia el Jnfante don sancho a talar las huertas e viñas E despues q̄ talarõ mucho fuesse poner en vn otero açerca dela villa e los moros obierõlo por mengua e entonçe salierõ todos los moros dela villa de Cauallo y de pie e ballesteros e los de pie todos con dargas e fuerõ al Jnfante para lo tirar de alli e fuyerõle muchos delos suyos

E el Jnfant̄ dõ Sancho Salio vn dja del Real A talar las vjñas E desq̄ las ouo talado muy grãd pieça dellas fuese pã vn cabeço tã çerca dela villa q̄ el Rey de ḡnada E todos los moros toujerõlo por desonrra E por q̄brãto Asy q̄ Saljerõ biẽ çinçnta mjll moros adaragados E A tãtos vallesteros E toda la gen̄t dela villa tã biẽ ginefs como andaluzes pã tirarle de Allj E la gen̄t q̄ estaua coñl Jnfant̄ dõ sancho desanpararõle todos Sy nõ muy pocos/ q̄ fincarõ coñl

(N.III.12)<sup>17</sup>

## 4. f 57v 25

E el Rey de Granada dixole q̄ si el Rey le quisiesse dar paz que le daria en parias el terçio de todas sus Rentas

E el Rey de ḡnada comẽçole cõ muchas pleytesias E el pl̄ito fue llegado A logr̄ q̄ el Rey de ḡnada daua al Rey dõ alfoñ el terçio de q̄ntas R̄etas auja en parias

(N.III.12)<sup>18</sup>

## 5. f. 57v 30

E andauã allí conel Rey muchos Robadores que Robauã en los campos e perdonaralos el Rey porque fuessen conel en aquella guerra e despues q̄ fueron fuera dela t̄rra/ de moros demandavã muchas cosas al Rey e sinon las otorgaua andauan diziendo q̄ tornariã para las mōtañas e que Robariã e fariã q̄nto mal pudiesen e dixerōlo al Rey e por esto el mandolos prender e por que fue çierto que lo deziã mandolos matar allí a todos en Cordoua

E ot<sup>o</sup>sy andauã y grãds cōpañas de golfiñs q̄ aujẽ andado en las mōtañas matãdo e Robãdo a q̄ntos fallauã E el Rey aujalos perdonado porq̄ entrasen coñl A la vega E despũs q̄ Se vierō fuera demãdauã al Rey muchas cosas por q̄ los mātoujese E porq̄ gelo nõ dauã andauã Amenazãdo q̄ Se yriã pã las mōtañas E q̄ fariã q̄nto mal pudiesẽ en la t̄rra E el Rey q̄ndo esto Sopo mãdo los prēder E matar A todos (N.III.12)<sup>19</sup>

## 6. f. 58r 9

e dixoles la guerra que tenia començado con los moros por seruiçio de dios y honrra de la xpiandad e que entendia que los tenia por tal guisa q̄ los cuydaua aconquerir muy çedo con ayuda de dios Con tanto que obiesse aber con quello pudiesse cumplir

e dixoles la gr̄ra q̄ auja cō los mōs E de coño los tenja en buẽ loçr pã les cōçrir la t̄rra E q̄ auja menester de catar maña porq̄ oujese aV̄ pã lo podr̄ Acabar (N.III.12)<sup>20</sup>

## 7. f.58r 26

E este ob̄po era Guascon e el Jnfante sospecho la manera qual era espeçialmēte porq̄ el ob̄po non era natural de Castilla e por esto el Jnfante dixo al Rey q̄ le nõ plazia de la yda deste

E este ob̄po dō fredulo era toscano E el Jnfant̄ dō sãcho Sospecho luego esta mādaderia deste ob̄po q̄ nõ era Su natūal E q̄ lo enbiaũ el Rey Su padre conẽ el por aq̄l pl̄ito q̄ auja comēçado de dō alfoñ fijo del Jnfant̄ dō ferrñdo E el

obpo E el Rey negolo e dixole  
que lo nō embiaua al ppa sinō  
porque el ppa lo queria bien  
E que por esto Recaudaria  
mejor las grās que le embiaua  
demandar Pero con todo esto  
el Jnfante finco con sospecha  
desta cosa

Jnfantē dō Sancho dixolo al Rey dō  
alfoñ E el Rey Respōdiole q̄le  
nō embiaua Alla sy nō porq̄ este  
obpo estaū biē del pp̄ E por Recab-  
dar aq̄llas grās p̄ la gr̄ra delos  
mōs E maguer le dixo esto Sjenpr̄  
finco cō Sospecha el Jnfantē dō  
Sancho conē el Rey Su padre deste  
pl̄ito (N.III.12)<sup>21</sup>

Sixteenth-century MSS. Y.II.13, BES, and 13002, BNM, are less altered than MSS. Eg. 289 and 2091. Nevertheless, each of the former two MSS shows numerous significant unique innovations. Furthermore, the family variants provided by the two MSS respectively are preserved in MSS related to them that are far more faithful to the majority readings.

It will be recalled that in the Prologue MS. Y.II.13 is related to MS. M563 (U). In chapters 64, 65 and 75 the relationship is confirmed by the following variants:

<u>MSS. M563, Y.II.13</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
1. MS. M563, f. XLVv b24 los delos Reg <sup>o</sup> s q̄ auja llamados por Sus mēSajeros e por Sus Cartas e deSq̄ alli fue enbio Sus Cartas <sup>22</sup>	los delos Reynos q̄ aujā enbiado A llamar E desde Allj enbio luego Sus cās (N.III.12) <sup>23</sup>
2. MS. M563, f. XLVIr a35 las gent̄s	algunos de Sus Vasallos (N.III.12) <sup>24</sup>
3. MS. M563, f. XLVIr b1 los mas <u>ayna</u> q̄ pudo	lo mas q̄ pudo (N.III.12) <sup>25</sup>
4. MS. M563, f. LIVr b12 fizome dios por la Su m̄çet <sup>26</sup>	fizome dios

5. MS. M563, f. LIVr b22  
Et el Rey finco cō entēdimj<sup>0</sup> de  
mjēto de acabar<sup>27</sup> Acabar (N.III.12)<sup>28</sup>
6. MS. M563, f. LIVr a25  
e el Jnfantē don Sancho  
dixole tal Repuesta e  
dixole q̄ era loco<sup>29</sup> E el Jnfantē dō Sancho diole tal  
Repuesta q̄ era loco (N.III.12)<sup>30</sup>
7. MS. M563, f. LIIIr b17  
fueSe parar en vn Cabeço<sup>31</sup> fuese pã vn cabeço (N.III.12)<sup>32</sup>
8. MS. M563, f. LIIIr a18  
peSol̄s de coraçon mucho pesosles mucho de coraçō (N.III.12)<sup>33</sup>
9. MS. M563, f. LIIIr b1  
para yr conē la vega pã yr entrar ala vega (N.III.12)<sup>34</sup>
10. MS. M563, f. LIIIr b8  
fijo q̄ era d̄l Rey de ganança vn fiJo del Rey q̄ era de ganãcia  
(N.III.12)<sup>35</sup>
11. MS. M563, f. LIIIv a8  
e en otra maña q̄ nō entonce  
partioSe el plito<sup>36</sup> E oñ maña nō E cō esto partiose  
el plito (N.III.12)<sup>37</sup>
12. MS. M563, f. LIIIv a21  
por q̄ ḡlo nō daua amena-  
zando<sup>38</sup> porq̄ gelo nō dauã andauã Amenazãdo  
(N.III.12)<sup>39</sup>
13. MS. M563, f. LIIIv a32  
deS̄q̄ fueron todos ayuntados desq̄ los touo todos ayūtados  
(N.III.12)<sup>40</sup>
14. MS. M563, f. XLViv b34  
por q̄ la vianda de algezira  
e de tarifa era gastada por q̄la viãda aujã la de algezjra  
e de tarifa (N.III.12)<sup>41</sup>



15. MS. M563, f. XLVIIr a6  
 del Jnfant̄ don fernādo e del Jnfant̄ dō ferrñdo e del arçob̄po  
 del Jnfant̄ don Sancho e de toīdo e de dō nuño (N.III.12)<sup>43</sup>  
 del arçob̄po de toledo e de don nuño<sup>42</sup>

The tendency of MS. Y.II.13 to offer unique readings against MS. M563 and the body of witnesses in the Prologue is also confirmed by the variants in chapters 64, 65 and 75:

- | <u>MS. Y.II.13</u>  | <u>ceteri</u>  |                          |
|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1. f. 82v 22<br>conuenia  | cūplia   | (N.III.12) <sup>44</sup> |
| 2. f. 83v 10<br>con don Lope Díaz de Haro<br>señor de Vizcaya, el qual<br>assí mismo en seguimiento<br>del dicho Jnfante dō Fer-<br>nando venīa a Villa real<br>sabiendo que era ende | cō dō lope djaz de haro e este<br>dō lope djaz venja Al Jnfant̄ dō<br>ferrñdo q̄ auja Sabido q̄ era<br>en Villa Real   | (N.III.12) <sup>45</sup> |
| 3. f. 85r 7<br>la flota que avia mandado<br>aparejar el Jnfāte e<br>temiendose delo que le<br>podia avenir fuesse   | la flota q̄ armauālos xanos fuese  | (N.III.12) <sup>46</sup> |
| 4. f. 98r 1<br>por regla E por derecho<br>E ellos dieronle  | por Regla e por derecho <u>e q̄ oujesē</u><br><u>Abastamj<sup>o</sup> de moñ por q̄ por ella</u><br><u>oujesen las cosas q̄ oujesen menes-</u><br><u>ter E ellos dierōle</u> | (N.III.12) <sup>47</sup> |

## 5. f. 98v 17

señor no me fezistes vos  
heredero de estos Reinos  
despues de v̄ros dias mas  
fizome Dios

Señor nō me fezjst̄s Vos mas  
fizome dios (N.III.12)<sup>48</sup>

## 6. f. 98v 21

si el viuiera, E pues  
Dios lo mato tengo q̄ no  
lo mato

sy el bjujera mas q̄ vos  
E nō lo mato (N.III.12)<sup>49</sup>

## 7. f. 99r 13

rreçelándose del Rey don  
Alfonso su padre por la ame-  
naza q̄ le fiziera, E temien-  
do se assi mismo q̄ si el non  
fiziesse lo que los procura-  
dores delos concejos le  
pidian q̄ por ventura los  
dela tierra tomarian alguna  
manera por q̄ el perdiesse la  
herençia de los Reinos re-  
spondioles que queria tornar  
sobre ellos

Reçelándose del Rey Su padre del  
pl̄to q̄le auja Acometido porq̄ por  
aventura los dela t̄rra aujē A  
tomar Al̄g maña porq̄ el perdiesse  
el heredaria delos Regnos ouo A  
dezjr q̄ q̄ria tornar Sobrellos  
(N.III.12)<sup>50</sup>

## 8. f. 82v 15

delos Reinos para yr contra  
Abeyuçaf como avedes oydo  
salio de burgos

de los Reynos Saljo de burgos  
(N.III.12)<sup>51</sup>

## 9. f. 83r 16

Assi q̄ el Infante despues  
q̄ ovo cuidado de su fazienda,  
E resçebida la promessa de  
don Joan Nuñez fino luego

E luego este Jnfante fino  
(N.III.12)<sup>52</sup>

10. f. 83r 28

el cobro q̄ fue puesto  
assi en la frontera como  
en el Reino

el cobro q̄ fue puesto eñsta ḡra  
(N.III.12)<sup>53</sup>

11. f. 84v 23

al obispado de Jaen, E  
amparassen aquella tierra  
en quanto pudiessen que  
non la estragassen los  
moros E en Cordoua dexo

al ob̄p de Jahē E en cordoua dexo  
(N.III.12)<sup>54</sup>

In the above sample of typical unique readings, MS. Y.II.13 shows extensions of text in nine of the eleven instances. In variant 1, MS. Y.II.13 simply substitutes a one-word unique reading for that provided by the majority of witnesses. MS. M563 omits the majority reading cūplia. In variant 4, MS. Y.II.13 shows a significant omission. MS. M563 shows an overlapping but less extensive omission, following oujesē<sub>1</sub> through oujesen<sub>2</sub>, which is clearly haplographical. MS. M563 also omits the majority mas q̄ vos in variant 6. In these three cases, then, the readings provided by MS. M563 are faulty. However, in spite of the omissions in variants 1, 4, 6, the MS. M563 readings are in all cases more faithful to those provided by the majority of witnesses than are the readings provided by MS. Y.II.13. We may therefore assume that MS. M563 generally better represents the variants characteristic of the family and set aside MS. Y.II.13.<sup>55</sup>

MS. 13002 is related to MSS. 642, 7403, 10132, 321, all of which lack the Prologue, and somewhat less closely to MSS. 10195, Y.I.5, which are Prologue MSS of the T family. The variants that prove a family relationship among the MSS, excluding MS. 13002, and indicate

the subgroups of the family will be considered at length in due course. For the present, a sample of probatory variants that associate MS. 13002 with MSS. 642, 7403, 10132, 321 (A), followed by a comparison of unique readings in MS. 13002 with the corresponding readings provided by the remaining members of the family (B) is sufficient to illustrate that the elimination of MS. 13002 is justified:

A.

MSS. 13002, 642  
7403, 10132, 321

ceteri

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. MS. 10132, f. 58r b15<br>tan rezió e ardit q̄ fue<br>maravilla E la hueste <sup>56</sup>                  | tā Rezyo E por tā ardit q̄ sy nō<br>fuera por eī su esfuerço solo<br>toda la hueste (N.III.12) <sup>57</sup> |
| 2. MS. 10132, f. 58v b 29<br>al papa para q̄l otorgasse<br>las grās e p̄dones para<br>la gr̄ra <sup>58</sup> | al papa A demādar las grās pā<br>la gr̄ra (N.III.12) <sup>59</sup>   |
| 3. MS. 10132, f. 59r a9<br>alla saluo q̄ este ob̄po <sup>60</sup>  | Alla sy nō por q̄ este ob̄po<br>(N.III.12) <sup>61</sup>   |
| 4. MS. 10132, f. 59r a10<br>e por q̄ mas ayna recabdasse<br>aq̄llas gracias <sup>62</sup>                    | E por Recabdar aq̄llas grās<br>(N.III.12) <sup>63</sup>  |
| 5. MS. 10132, f. 59r a22<br>frey aymar e era p̄dicador<br>e era electo <sup>64</sup>                         | frey aymar q̄ era electo<br>(N.III.12) <sup>65</sup>   |
| 6. MS. 10132, f. 59r b6<br>por esto q̄ dixera <sup>66</sup>  | por esta Repuesta q̄le diera<br>(N.III.12) <sup>67</sup>   |

7. MS. 10132, f. 59r b8  
omenage q̄l fizieran los  
dela tierra<sup>68</sup> omeñaje q̄los dela t̄rra le  
aujã fecho (N.III.12)<sup>69</sup>
8. MS. 10132, f. 59r b12  
mas fizome dyos q̄ q̄so  
leuar a mi hermano mayor<sup>70</sup> mas fizome dios E fizio mucho por  
me fazer Ca mato avn mj hermano  
q̄ era mayor (N.III.12)<sup>71</sup>
9. MS. 10132, f. 59v a15  
del pl̄ito q̄ auya començado  
p̄r le fazer p̄der el herēcia  
delos Regnos<sup>72</sup> del pl̄ito q̄le auja Acometido por  
q̄ por aventura los dela t̄rra aujẽ  
A tomar al̄g maña por q̄el perdiere  
el heredaria delos Regnos  
(N.III.12)<sup>73</sup>
10. MS. 10132, f. 59v b2  
pusierõ pl̄ito e postura cõ  
el infante don sancho q̄  
ternjan<sup>74</sup> pusierõ Su pl̄ito coñl q̄ Se ternjã  
(N.III.12)<sup>75</sup>
11. MS. 10132, f. 59v b5  
e fizierõle pl̄ito otrosi  
q̄ ternian conel<sup>76</sup> E fizierõle luego tal plito  
(N.III.12)<sup>77</sup>

B.

MS. 13002MSS. 642, 7403, 10132, 321

1. f. 70r 29  
aCuçio mas su Camino acuçio las Jornadas
2. f. 70r 31  
don lope se venja pã el quando  
supo q̄ estava en villa Real don lope diez vinya al infante don  
fer<sup>o</sup> q̄ auja sabido en como era en  
villa Real (10132)<sup>78</sup>
3. f. 70r 32  
aCuçio Sus jornadas y  
llego a villa Real acuçio las Jornadas para yr buscar  
al infante don sancho e llego a  
villa Real

## 4. f. 70r 36

q̄le ayudase enesto  
e q̄le farja bjen e md

q̄le ayudasse en esto. E auiendolo  
el por çierto q̄l faria bien e  
merçet (10132)<sup>79</sup>

## 5. f. 70r 38

otrosj por q̄ el ynfante  
don f<sup>o</sup> encomēdo a don a<sup>o</sup>  
su hijo a don jñ nunez/ y  
don lope por estas Cosas  
otorgo q̄lo farja de grado  
y prometjole q̄ el y los  
que avjan de hazer por el  
farjan pleyto

E otrosi por la encomjenda q̄ don  
fernando avia fecho a don Juan  
nuñez en que le dio la criazon de  
don alfonso Su fiJo al t̄po de Su  
finamjento. E Reçelādo q̄l Rey don  
alfonso de que venjese querria fazer  
A don Juan nuñez las onrras E meJo-  
rias que fazia A don nuño Su padre  
e q̄ sy en aquel t̄po el ayudase al  
ynfante don Sancho q̄l adebdaua mucho  
pa adelante e q̄ avn quel Rey  
qujSieSe aventajar a los fijos de  
don nuño q̄ don Sancho gelo emendaria  
e por esto don lop diaz otorgo al  
ynfante don Sancho que faria porel  
e por Su Serviçio todo lo quel avie  
Rogado E p<sup>o</sup>metiol q̄ el elos que  
oviesen A fazer por el le farian  
pleyto (7403)<sup>80</sup>

## 6. f. 70v 6

don lope hablo conel  
ynfante don Sancho y  
consejole q̄ hablase

don lop diaz conSeJo al ynfante  
don Sancho q̄ fablase (7403)<sup>81</sup>

## 7. f. 70v 16

q̄ estaban allj conel

q̄ eran y llegados

## 8. f. 70v 23

se llamava hijo mayor  
y Eredero del Rey don a<sup>o</sup>  
e estaba en Cordova

se llamo luego fiJo mayor heredero  
del rrey don alfonso Esso mesmo  
dende en adelante en todas las

- cartas E estovo en la çibdat  
 de cordoua (7403)<sup>82</sup>
9. f. 70v 25  
~~estavan~~<sup>eran</sup> muy desmayados  
 don sancho por los esforçar  
 enbjo les a don lope diaz  
 de haro
- estavã muy desmayados por la muerte  
de don nuño E por la muerte de/ don  
fernando que fino en villa rreal E  
 por los esforçar enbio y a don lope  
 diaz de haro (7403)<sup>83</sup>
10. f. 70v 30  
 ala guarda del estrecho  
 e mando
- ala guarda de la mar q̄ estava  
desanparada e mando
11. f. 70v 36  
 y por q̄ el no podja aV̄  
 vjanda Sino de algezira  
 y de tarjfa pã tantas  
 gentes
- E otrosy la vianda avianla de  
 algezira e de tarifa e de otra  
 parte non ca la nō podia averla  
 pa tantas gentes (7403)<sup>84</sup>
12. f. 75v 34  
 q̄ el Rey de gñada lo tovo  
 por gran deSonRa y Saljeron
- q̄l Rey de gñada e todos los moros  
del aljama lo toujeron por desonrra  
e por q̄branto asi q̄ salierō (642)<sup>85</sup>
13. f. 76r 23  
 e q̄ avja menester aV̄ pã  
 podello hazer e q̄ fallava
- E q̄ avia menester de catar manera  
por que oviese aver para lo poder  
 cobrar e acabar e que fallaua  
 (7403)<sup>86</sup>
14. f. 76r 27  
 por la grãd grãra q̄ ovo Con  
 abenyuçaf e pã Remedjar  
 esto q̄ hallava q̄ la meJor  
 maña q̄ Se podja tener era  
 hazer dos monedas
- por la grãd grãra q̄ ouo cō abyuçaf  
Rey de marruecos q̄ passo aca E para  
 esto la manera que fallaua como  
 esto podya fazer E por escusar de  
nō echar pecho nĩguno enla tĩra q̄  
 era de fazer dos monedas (10132)<sup>87</sup>

15. f. 76v 5

el Rey en aq̄l mēSaJe.  
contra el y dixolo al Rey

el rrey Su padre contra el en aque-  
lla mandaderia por aquel pleyto q̄  
avia començado de don alfonso Su  
njeto fiJo del ynfante don fer<sup>dō</sup> E  
el ynfante don Sancho dixolo al Rey

The foregoing readings leave no doubt as to the consistent tendency of MS. 13002 to rewrite or omit passages that were evidently considered unnecessary or repetitive. Because the family variants provided by MS. 13002 are preserved in a number of more reliable witnesses, MS. 13002 is not included in further MS comparisons in this study.<sup>88</sup>

Five witnesses that contain the Prologue (BAE, V1554; MSS. 5775, 2091, Y.II.13) have been set aside. In addition to MS. 1342, two MSS lacking the Prologue (Eg. 289, 13002) have been eliminated. Therefore, ten MSS lacking the Prologue remain to be integrated into the Prologue families on the basis of the variants in chapters 64, 65 and 75. Twenty-eight MSS are included in the stemma for the three-chapter segment of the chronicle.

A. The long version: Prologue MSS  $L_1$  + MSS. 10277, 9-28-3-5509  
+ MSS. Z.III.12, 336

The variants in chapters 64, 65 and 75 confirm Prologue family  $L_1$  and show that two of the ten MSS lacking the Prologue, the fifteenth-century MS. 10277 and the sixteenth-century MS. 9-28-3-5509, fall within that family. Furthermore, MS. Z.III.12 and its descendant, MS. 336, which belong to family  $S_2$  in the Prologue, are clearly members of  $L_1$  in the three chapters in question:



L<sub>1</sub> (MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.7,  
M.II.2, 327, B1489, 1775)  
+ MSS. 10277, 9-28-3-5509,  
Z.III.12, 336

ceteri

- |  |  |                           |
|--|--|---------------------------|
| 1. MS. 327, f. 80r b15<br>g̃lo <u>mandaua e encomendaua</u> <sup>89</sup>  | g̃lo encomẽdo  | (N.III.12) <sup>90</sup>  |
| 2. MS. 327, f. 80v b26<br>despũs de dias de su padre<br><u>el Rey don al / fonso por</u><br><u>ende q̃ le Rogaua</u> <sup>91</sup> | despũs de dias de Su padre<br>E q̃le Rogaua                          | (N.III.12) <sup>92</sup>  |
| 3. MS. 327, f. 81r a13<br>E <u>avn</u> Reçelando   | E Reçelãdo   | (N.III.12) <sup>93</sup>  |
| 4. MS. 327, f. 81r b18<br>con todos aq̃llos <u>Ricosom̃s</u><br><u>e cauallõs q̃ eran ally</u> <sup>94</sup>                       | cõ todos aq̃llos q̃<br>erã allj                                      | (N.III.12) <sup>95</sup>  |
| 5. MS. 327, f. 81v a9<br>delos om̃s del Reyno <sup>96</sup>  | de todos los delos Sus<br>Regnos                                     | (N.III.12) <sup>97</sup>  |
| 6. MS. 327, f. 82r a5<br>E dexo en cordoua   | E en cordoua dexo  |                           |
| 7. MS. 327, f. 82r a14<br>E <u>ot<sup>o</sup>sy</u> mando <sup>98</sup>  | E mãdo   |                           |
| 8. MS. 327, f. 82r b15<br>desta vez <u>los moros</u> otro mal  | desta vez ot <sup>o</sup> mal  | (N.III.12) <sup>99</sup>  |
| 9. MS. 327, f. 95r a10<br>fizo y bodas al Jnfañ<br>don pedro e al Jnfañ<br>don Jñ sus fiJos <sup>100</sup>                       | fizo y todas a sus fiJos<br>el Jnfañ dõ pedro E el<br>Jnfañ dõ Juã | (N.III.12) <sup>101</sup> |
| 10. MS. 327, f. 97v a29<br>aujan a <u>mober e tomar</u> <sup>102</sup>   | aujẽ A tomar   | (N.III.12) <sup>103</sup> |

The majority of the  $L_1$  readings are slightly longer than those provided by the remaining witnesses. None of the variants involve obviously defective readings either in family  $L_1$  or in the contrasting group of MSS. Variants 1 and 10 show  $L_1$  readings that look very much like combinations of the corresponding readings in two groups of the contrasting witnesses. In variant 1, against  $L_1$ 's mandaua e encomendaua, the majority of the remaining witnesses show encomẽdo (MS. N.III.12, f. XLIIIv a28). Five contrasting MSS (2777, 829, 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159) show mando (MS. 2777, f. 137r 4). Similarly, in variant 10,  $L_1$  shows mober e tomar against the majority of remaining witnesses' tomar (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIv a9) and MSS. 2777, 829, 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159's mouer (MS. 2777, f. 170v 9).<sup>104</sup> The two readings could indicate either that the  $L_1$  versions are the result of conflation of sources, one from each of the contrasting MS groups, or that the two shorter readings descended from abbreviations of  $L_1$  in the sources of each of the contrasting MS groups. In either case, the group of variants is consistent with the possibility of a long redaction in the body of the text analogous to the long version of the Prologue or, more likely, a redaction that accompanied the long version of the Prologue, which appears in all  $L_1$  MSS as well as in MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761.

If in sum the  $L_1$  variants in chapters 64, 65 and 75 are not especially dramatic evidence for a long-version in the body of the text, the MS grouping is. It will be recalled that Evelyn Proctor noticed in  $L_1$  MS. 327 an atypically lengthy passage in which King Alfonso accepts Sancho as his heir (twenty-fourth year of the reign:

BAE, ch. 67).<sup>105</sup> Proctor believed the passage an early interpolation: "The MS was written in 1458, at which date such a passage was unlikely to be interpolated. It was presumably interpolated in some earlier MS."<sup>106</sup> Proctor's observations came to my attention after I had chosen (arbitrarily) and collated chapters 64, 65 and 75 for the present study. A subsequent search through the thirty-five witnesses revealed that the passage in question exists in a total of eleven MSS. The ten L<sub>1</sub> MSS and MS. Eg. 289, which we have set aside as corrupt, are those eleven MSS.

The Proctor passage begins at a point in the narration following Don Manuel's speech in favor of Sancho's rights to inherit the throne. The latter speech is one of the rare instances of direct dialogue in CAX and shows signs of the assonance, syllabic count and dramatic content consistent with a possible ultimate poetic source:<sup>107</sup>

Et dō manuel dixole Señor el arbol delos Reys nō Se pierda por postura n̄ Se deserede por y Al q̄ vjene por natūa Et Sy el mayor q̄ vjene del arbol falleçe deue fincar la Rama de So el en somo Et tres cosas Sō q̄ nō Sō so postūa ley n̄ Rey n̄ Reyno Et cosa q̄ Sea fecha conē q̄l q̄er destas nō vale n̄ deue ser tenjda n̄ guardada (MS. N.III.12, f. XLV Ir b13)

The lines are found in all CAX witnesses. Those witnesses that do not contain the Proctor passage follow immediately with E eñl sc̄pto q̄ Se falla de aq̄l t̄po nō dizē q̄ cō aq̄l cōSejo fuesen dichas mas palabras destas (MS. N.III.12). In the eighteen witnesses lacking the Proctor passage, the king's reaction to Don Manuel's words is not described.

The ten L<sub>1</sub> MSS omit the latter sentence and continue Don Manuel's speech with the Proctor variant as follows:

1 e asi pues q̄ el jnfante don ferrando fino q̄ era el  
 2 primero heredero e finca don s̄cho q̄ era el mas çercano  
 3 del mayor de todos sus h̄rmaos e q̄ este deuja heredar  
 4 los Reynos despues delos dia<sup>S</sup> del Rey e non otro njngũo  
 5 e el Rey do alfonso començo de Razonar e dixo le asi  
 6 por q̄nto es costunbre e vso e derecho e Razon natural  
 7 % Et otrosi es fuero e ley de españa q̄ fiJo mayõ deue  
 8 heredar los Reynos e el senori<sup>O</sup> del padre e por ende  
 9 nos q̄riendo Sosegar esta carrera e viendo de como el  
 10 jnfante don ferrando n̄ro fiJo como heredero es finado  
 11 % Et comõ q̄er que el dexo fiJo de su muḡr de bendiçion  
 12 si el biujera mas que nos que por derecho aquel su fiJo  
 13 deujera heredar lo suyo asi como herençia de su padre  
 14 % mas pues que dios q̄so que salieSe de medio que era  
 15 l̄ña derecha por desçiende el derecho a nos a el E  
 16 dela los sus fiJos e biujendo nos los Reynos son en nos  
 17 e en n̄ro poder e non lo heredo el dicho jnf̄ate don  
 18 ferrando e asi el fiJo o fiJos q̄ el dexo non pueden  
 19 heredar lo q̄ el non ouo nj entra suya Et no<sup>S</sup> por todas  
 20 estas cosas catando el derecho antiguo e la ley e Razon  
 21 Segun el fuero de españa otorgamos q̄ don sancho el otro  
 22 n̄ro fiJo mayor en lugar de don ferr̄do por q̄ es llegado  
 23 a nos por l̄ña derecha mas q̄ los otros n̄ros njetos  
 24 q̄ deue heredar despues de n̄ros dias los n̄ros Reynos asy  
 25 comõ los nos avemos e mandamos q̄ sean luego llamados  
 26 los jnfantes e los perlados e los Ricos om̄s e los  
 27 procuradores de las çibdades e villas e lugares  
 28 de todos los n̄ros Reynos q̄ v̄gã aJuntarse conusco  
 29 en la çibdad de segouja a Reçibir por seõor al  
 30 jnfant̄ don sancho n̄ro fiJo e fazerle pl̄ito e  
 31 omenaJe q̄ lo ayã por Rey de los n̄ros Reynos despũs  
 32 delos n̄ros dias

(MS. M.II.2, f. 79r all)

All witnesses then continue with the narration of the king's departure for Segovia and his plans to convene a Cortes there at which his heir Don Sancho would be presented officially:

E el Rey pūs q̄ Sopo como erā firmados las treguas cō los moros partio de camarena e fuerō coñl todas las gent̄s q̄ erā allj llogadas e fue a segouia e enbio cās a todas las Çibdades e vjllas delos Sus Regnos q̄ enbiasen luego Sus p<sup>o</sup>curadořs a el a segouja cō poder̄s çiertos pā fazer pl̄ito e omenaJe al Jnfant̄ dō Sancho q̄lo oujesē por Rey E por Señor despūs de Sus djas

(MS. N.III.12, XLVIr b24)

The Proctor variant, together with the chapter 64, 65 and 75 variants, leaves no doubt that the extant CAX witnesses in the body of the text fall into two major redactions, long and short. The fact that the Prologue witnesses also fall into long and short versions raises the question as to whether the Prologue and text together underwent the redactional changes leading to one or the other version, depending on which is assumed to be the original. The similarity of the majority of variants characteristic of each version respectively in the Prologue and the body of the text indicates that the hypothesis is possible; the near identity of the group of MSS containing the long-version Prologue ( $L_1$  + MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761) with the group of MSS showing the long-version text ( $L_1$ ) indicates that the hypothesis is likely. A single editorial intervention is certainly the least complex explanation possible. The fact that Prologue long-version MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761 do not show the long-version chapter variants almost certainly does not indicate that those three MSS and the  $L_1$  MSS represent

two consecutive stages of long-version development: (1) Prologue (MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761), (2) body of the text ( $L_1$ ). We will presently see that in chapters 64, 65 and 75 MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761 share with the remaining members of their family (0) a number of variants that do not appear in the ten  $L_1$  MSS. Therefore, the short-version body of text as preserved in MS. 2880 etc. is an unlikely choice as one of the bases upon which the long version was formed. The reverse hypothesis also presents problems. In theory it is possible that the source of MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761 descended from an  $L_1$  MS, copying the L Prologue intact and abbreviating the body of the text. However, it is difficult to imagine how the source of the three MSS or one of the three could have given rise to the remaining S witnesses, none of which show any sign of the variants characteristic of the 0 family.

The simplest explanation for the hybrid combination of L Prologue and S text in MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761 is that the source of the group used separate MSS. Those three MSS are closely related to MSS. 9233, 6410 and more distantly to MS. N.III.12 in the body of the text. MS. 9233 opens with the Crónica de Fernando III and lacks the Prologue. If the source of MS. 9233 contained the Prologue and if the redactor of that MS formed the Crónica de Fernando III + CAX combination, his omission of the Prologue is logical. MS. 9233, therefore, provides no clue as to the contents of the source of family 0. MS. 6410 contains an  $S_2$  Prologue so closely related to that of MS. N.III.12 that it could be a copy. MS. N.III.12 falls outside family 0 in chapters 64, 65 and 75, but is related to 0 through their common source,  $S_4$ . It is logical to deduce that if the source of family 0 contained

a Prologue, that Prologue was the source of MS. 6410's version. Lying between MS. N.III.12's Prologue and its near relative MS. 6410, O's Prologue must have shared their common, numerous and obvious defects. In view of those defects, it is hardly surprising that the source of the O subfamily composed of MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761 would have set aside the O Prologue at hand and preferred an L Prologue provided by a MS from outside the family.

MS. Z.III.12 is the only other extant MS to break the pattern of combination, L Prologue and L text or S Prologue and S text. It combines an  $S_2$  Prologue with an  $L_1$  text but shows physical signs of contamination. The original first folios of the MS were lost. A corrector replaced the missing text, including the Prologue, with text copied from a short-version source while the source of the original copy of CAX in MS. Z.III.12 provided a long redaction. The  $S_2$  Prologue was then corrected against an L MS (Prologue stemma, p. 358). Clearly, the case of MS. Z.III.12 may be set aside as eccentric. There is no other abnormality of MS combination that might lead us to suspect that Prologue and text had independent origins. The conclusion that the  $L_1$  family is the result of one editorial operation is virtually inescapable.

The question as to the priority of one version over the other remains fundamental to the establishment of the stemma. As with the Prologue variants in which long and short versions contrast, the ten chapter 64, 65 and 75 variants allow either interpretation. However, the  $L_1$  readings mandaua e encomendaua (var. 1) and mober e tomar (var. 10) do seem to favor the hypothesis of an original short version by virtue of the simplicity of that hypothesis.

The variant noted by Proctor in chapter 67 affords additional bases for conclusions. I agree with Proctor's observation that the variant she discovered involves an "early" interpolation. However, her brief statement gives no grounds for the conclusion that the passage is an interpolation. I assume that initial deduction was based on the lack of the passage in the editions. At first glance, Proctor's remarks on the date of interpolation would seem to derive from the content of the passage and from the general intellectual climate that would have arisen out of the instability of the Castilian monarchy from the time of Sancho's revolt to Alfonso XI's majority (1282-1325). The interpolation of a passage that unequivocally explains Alfonso X's acceptance of Sancho as his heir would have been in the best interests of Sancho, and the boy-kings Fernando IV and Alfonso XI, who were obliged to counter the claims and incessant intrigues of the Infantes de la Cerda and their allies.

However, the Prologue listing of Alfonso XI's realms, which includes Algeciras (conquered 1344), and the naming of Alfonso XI as the reigning monarch enable us to date the Prologue between 1344 and 1350, the year in which Alfonso XI died of plague at the siege of Gibraltar. The Prologue is a product of the years of Alfonso XI's majority, the first moment in half a century when the future of the dynasty begun by Sancho seemed secure and a time at which the concern for the problems of succession would have somewhat abated. Following the implications of this reasoning, we might conclude that the pre-Prologue source of the body of CAX at some point during the tumultuous years 1282-1325 interpolated the passage in question and that the



passage was present when the Prologue was added. This, of course, implies that (1) the Prologue itself would have undergone a subsequent, independent redaction, either an abbreviation or an expansion; (2) later scribes would have returned to the pre-Prologue, short-version source of the body of text and freely combined short- and long-version text with short- and long-version Prologue.

As observed earlier, the extant witnesses show combinations of long-version Prologue with long-version text and short-version Prologue with short-version text that are quite consistent, more so than one would expect if the latter explanation were accurate. The fact of long and short versions in the Prologue as well as in the body of the text and of the parallel distribution of the two versions in the extant MSS suggests a simpler chain of events that has as its point of departure the moment at which the Prologue was added to the compilation of earlier written records and the tres reyes collection was created (1344-1350). In a post-Prologue context, Proctor's note on the appropriate date of interpolation can be interpreted to refer to the slightly less obvious but equally tumultuous period 1350-1369, when Alfonso XI's premature death at Gibraltar ushered in the Trastamara dissension and eventually civil war. Once again, questions of irregular succession would come to the fore. Furthermore, the heirs of Peter I continued to press their claims until Catherine of Lancaster married Henry III in 1388. The situation in late fourteenth-century Castile would have been propitious for the interpolation described by Proctor. It may or may not be significant that O MS. 2880 places CAX after Pero López de Ayala's chronicles of Pedro I, Enrique II and Juan I.

If we assume the interpolation to be part and parcel of a single long-version redaction that embraced both the Prologue and the body of the text, we can posit an original short-version Prologue and text (1344-1350) and a later long redaction formed sometime during the second half of the fourteenth century. The earliest long-version MSS (Prologue and text) are fifteenth-century: MSS. M.II.2, 10277, 327, Z.III.7. However, MS. 9-4761, which combines a long-version Prologue with a short-version text, is fourteenth-century. If L Prologue and text are in fact the product of one editorial intervention, the appearance of part of the version in MS. 9-4761 proves the existence of the version before the end of the fourteenth century.

Setting aside the external circumstances that are consistent with the hypothesis just given, I believe the characteristics of the interpolation itself favor that interpretation. We should note, first of all, that the text of the interpolation was adapted from the vernacular version of the first will of Alfonso X, in which the king disinherits Sancho after a lengthy narrative recounting the favors and affection the king had lavished on his son and the latter's corresponding malicious ingratitude. Compare lines 6-23 of the interpolation (p. 402) with the following transcription of the portion of the will that immediately follows the king's introductory invocation of God and the saints:

Et por quãto es costunbre Et derecho natural Et  
 otrosi fuero Et ley de españa que el fiJo mayor  
 deve heredar los rreynos Et el señorjo del padre  
 non faziendo cosas contra estos derechos sobredichos  
 por que lo aya de perder e % por ende nos segujendo

esta carrera despues dela muerte de dō fernando  
 n̄ro fiJo mayor como qujer que el fiJo que el  
 deXaSe de Su muger de bendiçion Sj el bisqujera mas  
 que nos por derecho deve heredar lo Suyo ansi como  
 lo devjera heredar el padre mas pues que dios  
 qujso que el padre ~~byyjes~~ saljese de en medio  
 que hera lJnea derecha por do deçendia el derecho  
 de nos a los sus fiJos nos acatando el derecho  
 antiguo E la ley de rrazon Et la ley de españa  
 otorgamos entonçe a don sancho n̄ro fiJo mayor  
 que lo oviese en logar de n̄ro fiJo mayor don  
 fernando por que era mas obligado a nos por  
 lJnea derecha que los n̄ros njetos fiJos de don  
 fernando (MS. Z.III.7, f. LXXVIr b2)<sup>108</sup>

All L<sub>1</sub> MSS follow CAX with a transcription of both of Alfonso's wills. Of the eighteen S witnesses, ten MSS also show a transcription of the two wills. Fourteenth-century S MSS. M563, 9-4761, two of the oldest extant CAX MSS, both contain the wills. Because MS. 9-4761 contains an L Prologue, we have concluded that the long version existed by the time that MS was copied. Nevertheless, the MS. 9-4761 and MS. M563 short-version text accompanied by the wills allow the inference of earlier short-version MSS that contained the wills. It is impossible to say whether the wills were present in the original CAX. In any case, the primary source for the interpolation observed by Proctor could have been present in the short version at the time the interpolation would most likely have been made (1350-1388).

The fact that the short-version witnesses follow the Infante Don Manuel's el arbol de los reyes speech, in itself a high point in the narration, with the statement E eñl sc̄pto q̄ Se falla de aq̄l t̄po

no dizē q̄ cō aq̄l cōSeJo fuesen dichas mas palabras destas suggests first of all keen interest in Don Manuel's words and in the outcome of his conversation with the king. It seems most unlikely that the interpolation, which answers the fundamental question raised by the nobles' petition to the king to accept Sancho as heir, would have been intentionally replaced by the short-version line expressing interest in the king's response to that petition. Accidental omission of the variant through loss of a folio is also improbable. The chance omission would have had to occur in the same ultimate short-version source that provided the remaining characteristic short-version variants, none of which involve obviously defective readings, the results of accident. If a folio had been lost, we might expect a note referring to material damage in the source MS. Instead, the E eñl sc̄pto . . . statement seems to be a reaction to insufficient information in an intact source contemporary to the events described.

Finally, the conclusion of the chapter in all witnesses narrates the king's plans to have Sancho recognized as heir at the Cortes of Segovia. Given the content of the last lines of the chapter, the inclusion of the interpolation results in a logical account of the sequence of events culminating in the Cortes. Without the variant, the king's call for the Cortes comes as something of a surprise; his previous decision to accept Sancho as heir must be inferred. However, the apparent superiority of organization of the long version should not be considered evidence for the priority of that version. The short version shows no non sequitur or defective reading to indicate mutilation of a long-version original. The remark E eñl sc̄pto . . . fills

the information lacuna in the short-version narration. Significantly, the details of the concluding line of the chapter in all witnesses unnecessarily duplicate the points of the king's call to the Cortes within the interpolation. If the interpolated passage were original, a concluding line that simply announces the king's departure for Segovia would have been sufficient. The provocative speech by Don Manuel, the concluding line of the chapter, the E eñl sc̄pto . . . comment and the availability of the source of the interpolated passage would provide tempting circumstances for a later observant redactor to expand a short-version source. The long-version variants in both Prologue and text, nearly all of which are more extensive and detailed than the corresponding short-version readings, suggest such a redactor. In short, the interpolation noted by Proctor does not necessarily prove the priority of the short version and a subsequent long redaction, but does offer a complex of features which in combination render that explanation highly probable.

#### B. The subdivision of family L<sub>1</sub>

Within the L<sub>1</sub> family the subgroup N (MSS. 327, B1489, 1775) established for the Prologue is confirmed by the following variants from chapters 64, 65 and 75:

<u>N (MSS. 327, B1489, 1775)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. MS. 327, f. 95r a2 deste <u>noble</u> Rey	deste Rey	
2. MS. 327, f. 95r a6 de <u>n̄ro saluador</u> ih̄u xp̄o <sup>109</sup>	de ih̄u xp̄o	(M. II. 2) <sup>110</sup>

<u>N (MSS. 327, B1489, 1775)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
3. MS. 327, f. 95r a16 marçs de monferrara	marquez de monferrad (Z.III.7) <sup>111</sup>
4. MS. 327, f. 95r a27 vieron gue diera esto	vierō esto que diera (Z.III.7) <sup>112</sup>
5. MS. 327, f. 95v a25 gente dela çibdat pa tjrarlos <sup>113</sup>	gēte dela villa <u>tan bien</u> <u>ginetes como andaluzes</u> para tirarlos (M.II.2) <sup>114</sup>
6. MS. 327, f. 95v b3 Su <u>grant</u> esfuerço <sup>115</sup>	su esfuerço
7. MS. 327, f. 95v b5 fue lybrado	se librase (Z.III.7) <sup>116</sup>
8. MS. 327, f. 95v b17 era p̄uado <u>este abad</u> del Jnf̄ate <sup>117</sup>	era p̄uado del Jnfante (M.II.2) <sup>118</sup>
9. MS. 327, f. 96v b1 E este ob̄po era de oviedo e era toscano <sup>119</sup>	Et este obispo don fedulo era toscano (M.II.2) <sup>120</sup>
10. MS. 327, f. 97r b21 entençon	entendimj <sup>0</sup>
11. MS. 327, f. 97v b8 a el <u>desp̄s</u> a cordoua	ael a cordoua (M.II.2) <sup>121</sup>

Chapters 64, 65 and 75 provide insufficient data to consistently group any two N MSS against the third. There are, however, three variants that suggest that MS. 1775 was not the source of either of the remaining MSS:

MS. 1775MSS. 327, B1489

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. f. 116r 21<br>don sancho su fijo   | don jayñs su fiJo   |
| 2. f. 117r 11<br>el terçio de quantas Rentas<br>avia en parias E <u>el Rentas</u><br><u>avia en parias e el Rei</u> | el terçio de ġntas Rentas<br>avja en parias E el Rey (327) <sup>122</sup> |
| 3. f. 117v 20<br>en la tierra de fazer  | enla t̄rra <u>gū</u> era de fazer   |

In all three instances MSS. 327, B1489 provide the majority version. In variant 2, any moderately alert copyist would have recognized and corrected the MS. 1775 repetitive error, but the variant 1 error in the latter MS would not have been obvious to any but the most careful and informed of scribes.

The differing readings of MS. B1489 and MSS. 1775, 327 indicate that MS. B1489 was not the source of either of the latter two MSS:

MS. B1489MSS. 327, 1775

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 4. f. 123r 9<br>conqujstas q̄ hizo   | conḡstas q̄ <u>ovo e</u> fizo                              |
| 5. f. 104v 23<br>e esperaron allj<br><u>con el</u> alos otros                        | e esperaron alli alos otros                                 |
| 6. f. 123v 18<br>nūca Se gujSo ofreçer<br>n̄j Se Atrevio                             | nūca se q̄so cometer<br>njn se atreujo (327) <sup>123</sup> |
| 7. f. 123v 24<br>tal Respuesta <u>de q̄ le peSo</u><br><u>ca le dixo</u> q̄ era loco | tal Respuesta q̄<br>era loco (327) <sup>124</sup>           |

The reading of MSS. 327, 1775 in variant 4 is found in no other witness; in this instance MS. B1489 provides the majority version. However, in variants 5, 6, 7 MSS. 327, 1775 give the majority reading. MS. B1489 is most likely not the source of either of the remaining N MSS. Variants 1-7 clearly show that MS. 327 is the most reliable of the three MSS, and all variants allow the possibility that MSS. B1489 and 1775 were independent copies of MS. 327. As far as it goes, the chapter 64, 65 and 75 evidence confirms the filiation of the three MSS established for the Prologue. Inasmuch as in the Prologue both MSS. B1489 and 1775 show difficulties with passages that are perfectly legible in MS. 327, it seems best to extend to chapters 64, 65 and 75 the conclusion for the Prologue: either there were intermediate copies between MS. 327 and MSS. B1489, 1775, or the three MSS descended independently from a common source that was damaged after MS. 327 was copied. (See the stemma for the Prologue, pp. 334-38.)

In chapters 64, 65 and 75 the salient common denominator for the remaining  $L_1$  MSS (Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336, M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509, Z.III.7, 10277) is their exclusion from N. However, numerous readings indicate further subdivision of the latter group. There are two majority readings that appear in MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 and in no other  $L_1$  MS:

MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336

ceteri  $L_1$

1. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88r 9

que todos los  $\tilde{q}$

todos los otros  $\tilde{q}$



## 2. MS. Z.III.12, f. 103v 10

<p>Este dia se mostro el por tan          rrezjo e tan ardit q̄ si nō          fuera por el su esfuerço solo          toda la hueste fuera en grande          peligro Asy q̄ quiso dios q̄          por el su esfuerço se guardo          todo el daño E despues<sup>125</sup></p>	<p>E este dia se mostro el por          tan Rezjo e por tan ardido          q̄ si nō fuera por el su          gran̄t esfuerço toda la          hueste fuera en gran̄t peli-          gro asy q̄ ḡso dios q̄ por el          fue lybrado E despues (327)<sup>126</sup></p>
--	--

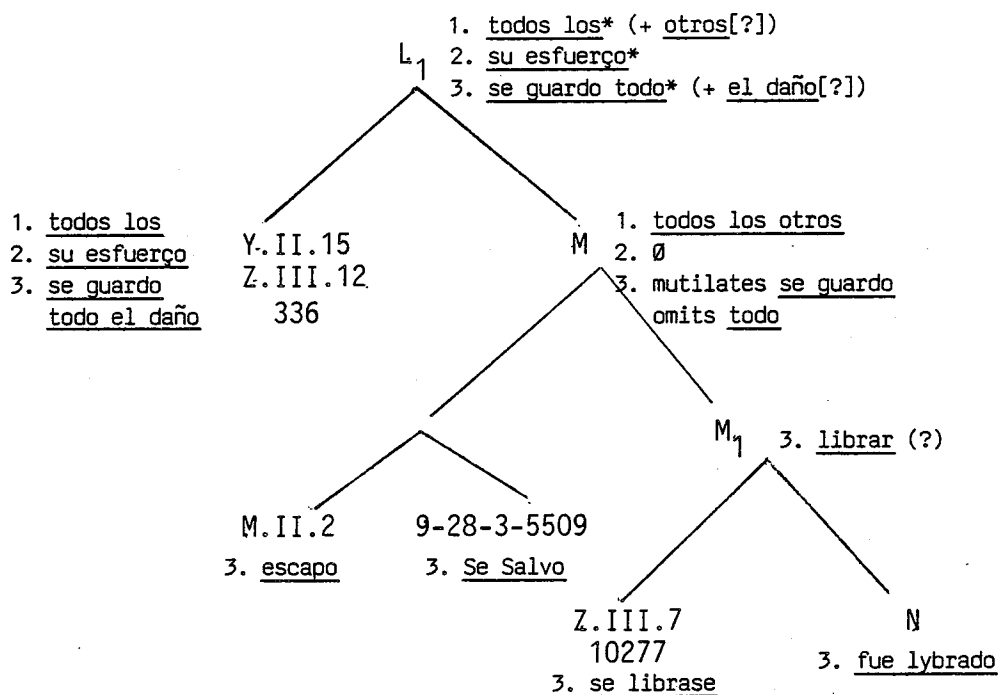
In the first variant the otros provided by the  $L_1$  MSS other than MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 is found in no MS outside family  $L_1$ . Either  $L_1$  showed the majority reading as preserved in MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 and M, the source of the remaining  $L_1$  MSS, added otros, or  $L_1$  added otros and the subgroup composed of MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 omitted it to concur with the majority. In the second variant, if we remove the el daño provided by the latter three MSS, their reading corresponds to that provided by the majority of MSS outside family  $L_1$ .<sup>127</sup> Here, the preservation of the majority in MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 implies that  $L_1$  showed the majority reading and the el daño and that M altered the passage. Given that extensions of text are characteristic of  $L_1$ , the otros of variant 1 as well as the el daño completing todo in variant 2 may very well have appeared at  $L_1$ .

The alternative explanation for the majority readings in MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 is that those readings may have been provided by a contaminating witness or witnesses. We have seen in the Prologue ample evidence of contamination in MS. Z.III.12. Furthermore, we will presently see that in the body of the text MS. Y.II.15 as well as MS. Z.III.12 may be contaminated. We will also see that neither MS. Y.II.15 nor MS. Z.III.12 is a direct descendant of the

other. The fact of the agreement of MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12 on variant 2, specifically on the el daño which appears only in the latter two MSS and in MS. Z.III.12's descendant MS. 336, indicates that if the reading was the result of contamination, that contamination would have occurred in a common source for the two MSS. Nevertheless, the additional readings that suggest contamination in the two witnesses are not one and the same; these readings suggest independent contamination of MS. Y.II.15 and MS. Z.III.12. For the present, the attribution of the majority reading plus the el daño to  $L_1$  with regard to variant 2 seems appropriate.

In variant 2 the readings of the remaining  $L_1$  MSS differ but are in all cases more removed from the majority reading outside  $L_1$  than is the version of MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336. All the remaining  $L_1$  MSS omit su esfuerço<sub>2</sub> and todo, and all show difficulty with se guardo: Se Salvo (MS. 9-28-3-5509, f. 57v 18), escapo (MS. M.II.2, f. 67v a25), se librase (MSS. Z.III.7, 10277; MS. Z.III.7, f. 67v b9), fue lybrado (N; MS. 327, f. 95v b5). The omission of todo and the indecision on se guardo suggest that the readings of the majority of  $L_1$  MSS involve more than the simple omission of the repetitive su esfuerço<sub>2</sub>. Apparently MSS. 9-28-3-5509, M.II.2 descended from a source, M, in which se guardo was mutilated. M, in turn, seems to have produced  $M_1$ , which provided a form of librar, and from which MSS. Z.III.7, 10277 and N descended. The variant suggests a slight refinement of the Prologue stemma; MS. Z.III.7 would fall closer to N than to MS. M.II.2. In any case, it is likely that M rather than  $L_1$  omitted su esfuerço<sub>2</sub>, todo and mutilated se guardo. The reading seems

to confirm the placement of MS. Y.II.15 in the Prologue stemma;  
MS. Y.II.15 was ranked closer to the original Prologue than the remain-  
ing  $L_1$  MSS on the basis of the preservation in that MS of a few  
majority readings against innovation in the source of the remaining  
members of the family:



The asterisk designates the majority reading outside family  $L_1$ .

The association of MS. Y.II.15 with MS. Z.III.12 and its  
descendant MS. 336, the latter two MSS  $S_2$  witnesses in the Prologue,  
is corroborated by a number of additional shared readings in chap-  
ters 64, 65 and 75:

<u>MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336</u>	<u>ceteri L<sub>1</sub> (M)</u>	
3. MS. Z.III.12, f. 86v 23 andaua <sup>128</sup>	yua	(M.II.2) <sup>129</sup>
4. MS. Z.III.12, f. 86v 26 po	e	
5. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87r 19 E <u>pa</u> que oujese	e que oujese	
6. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87r 23 E todos los <u>Ricos om̃s E</u> <u>Cauallõs</u> que eran <sup>130</sup>	e todos los q̃ eran	
7. MS. Z.III.12 f. 87r 24 que <u>Se fazer Saluo</u> que esperarõ <sup>131</sup>	q̃ fazer e esperaron	(M.II.2) <sup>132</sup>
8. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87r 26 E <u>entõçe</u> los dela frontera	Et los dela frontera	
9. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87v 3 guerra <u>delos moros</u>	g̃rra	
10. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87v 7 don Sancho <u>Su hermano deste</u> <u>Jnfante don fernãdo</u> que auja fincado	don sancho q̃ avia fincado	(M.II.2) <sup>133</sup>
11. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87v 13 pudo <u>fasta que</u> llego <sup>134</sup>	pudo e llego	(M.II.2) <sup>135</sup>
12. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87v 22 deuja aver e heredar <sup>136</sup>	tenja de heredar	(Z.III.7) <sup>137</sup>
13. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87v 30 le dio la tenẽcia e criazon <sup>138</sup>	le dio la crianza	(M.II.2) <sup>139</sup>
14. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88r 1 desque venjese <u>del Jmperio</u> que querria <sup>140</sup>	desque venjese querria	(Z.III.7) <sup>141</sup>

MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336ceteri L<sub>1</sub> (M)

15. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88r 6

E por todas estas Razones  
don lope<sup>142</sup>

E por esto don lope

16. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88v 23

muerte de don nuño e del  
arçobispo E por<sup>143</sup>muerte de don nuño  
e por

The combined evidence of variants 1-16 leaves no doubt as to the close association of MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12 336. In variants 3-16, the M MSS best represent the majority readings outside family L<sub>1</sub>. The readings that forcefully indicate a common source, L<sub>2</sub>, for MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12 are yet to be considered. Anticipating that conclusion, the innovations in MSS. Y.II.15, MS. Z.III.12, 336 in variants 3-16 may be attributed to L<sub>2</sub>. Variants 3-16 show that L<sub>2</sub> is a great deal more innovative than variant 2 above would lead us to expect.

There are two instances in which MS. Y.II.15 provides the majority reading against innovation in all remaining L<sub>1</sub> MSS, including MSS. Z.III.12, 336:

MS. Y.II.15ceteri L<sub>1</sub>

1. f. 80v a4

catar maña por que  
oviesecatar por q̄ oujese  
(M.II.2)<sup>144</sup>MS. Y.II.15MSS. Z.III.12, 336ceteri L<sub>1</sub> (M)

2. f. 80v a26

non echar pecho  
ninguno

MS. Z.III.12, f. 104r 29

non enbiar <sup>pecho</sup>  
n̄ enbiar n̄g̃o<sup>145</sup>

non enbiar n̄g̃uno

The two variants may actually involve three instances in which the uncorrected MS. Z.III.12 agrees with M against MS. Y.II.15: the omission of the majority maña, the misreading of the majority echar as enbiar, and the omission of pecho. The preservation of the majority readings in MS. Y.II.15 would normally lead one to assume that  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  showed the majority readings. However, lacking a third MS that is representative of subfamily  $L_2$  (MS. 336 is a direct descendant of MS. Z.III.12), the evidence for the majority readings in  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  is inconclusive. If we assume that  $L_1$  provided the two majority readings, we might deduce that MS. Z.III.12 omitted maña and misread echar pecho as enbiar while M independently came up with the identical solutions. Inasmuch as the passage containing maña makes sense without the word, its independent omission in MS. Z.III.12 and M is perhaps possible. However, no MS outside family  $L_1$  omits maña. Coincidental omission of maña within the tradition is therefore without precedent. The independent misreading of the majority echar as enbiar is also conceivable. The echar pecho does in fact appear as enbiar pecho outside  $L_1$  (MSS. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, enbiar 84-7-34, 1159). If  $L_1$  showed echar, the appearance of enbiar in MSS both within and outside family  $L_1$  would prove that echar was misread as enbiar independently within the tradition. A hypothetical coincidental agreement of MS. Z.III.12 and M on enbiar would therefore seem admissible.

Nevertheless, in combination two, possibly three (pecho), instances of spontaneous agreement of MS. Z.III.12 and M are suspicious. Furthermore,  $L_1$  may have inherited enbiar from MSS. 2777, 829, 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159 ( $S_3$ ). A relationship between the two families is







1. MS. Z.III.12, f. 89r 13

nō la podiā aver pa tantas gentes  
 como el traya ~~E avn por que se~~ otrosi porq̄ Supo  
 de la flota q̄ armavan los xanos  
~~fuesses E avn q̄ se~~ fuesse con toda

la gente de la hueste

MS. Y.II.15, f. 70r b29

non la podia aV para tanta  
 gente como el e! tenja fuese  
 cō toda su hueste

The reading provided by the  $L_1$  MSS other than MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 on the problematic segment of the passage is Et avn porque Sopo dela flota que armavan los xstianos (MS. Z.III.7, 57v b25).<sup>149</sup> The majority reading outside family  $L_1$  conforms to the MS. Z.III.12 correction, preceded by the conjunction E. The E avn beginning the original MS. Z.III.12 reading together with the nonsensical bit that follows and the corresponding omission in MS. Y.II.15 would seem to indicate that the two MSS shared a common  $L_1$  source ( $L_2$ ) that was defective. The reading is promising evidence for the existence of  $L_2$ . Furthermore, as in the Prologue, the corrector of MS. Z.III.12 consulted a MS other than the base of the copy in order to emend the faulty passage. In the Prologue, that additional MS was related to MS. Y.II.15. Here, in chapter 65, the primary source was related to MS. Y.II.15, and the contaminating witness came from outside family  $L_1$ . The dual role of a MS related to MS. Y.II.15 in the formation of MS. Z.III.12 is striking.

Chapter 64 provides two rather insignificant instances of the intervention of the MS. Z.III.12 corrector:

2. MS. Z.III.12, f. 86v 25

cō el  
 q̄ llegasen algūas

3. MS. Z.III.12, f. 86v 29

vio q̄ nō<sup>le</sup> era por

The text of neither correction appears in MS. Y.II.15 but is in both cases the majority reading both outside and within family  $L_1$ . Therefore, the two emendations do not suggest the identity of the contaminating MS but do highlight the relationship of MS. Y.II.15 and the original MS. Z.III.12.

Chapter 65 provides two further corrections:

4. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88v 21

la villa de escija esta muy frontera  
va entōce

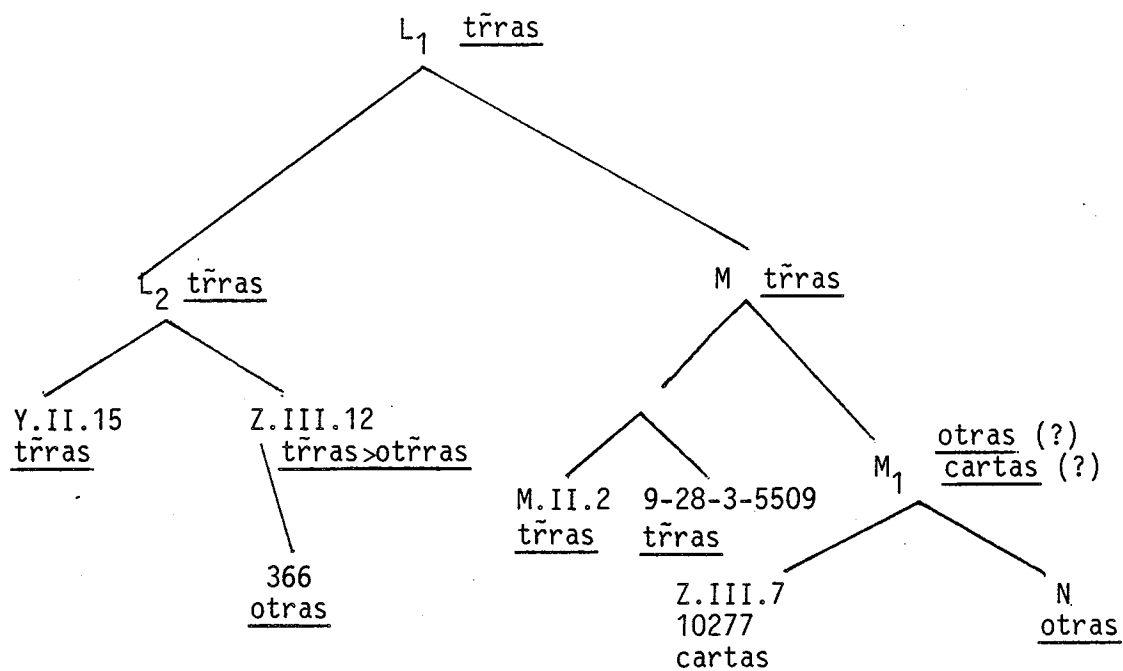
5. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88v 17

E en estas cās se llamo fijo mayor heredero del Rey don alfonso  
e esso mesmo dende en adelante en todas lasot̄ras E en esa çibdad

In variant 4 the esta is unique to the uncorrected MS. Z.III.12; estaua appears in all other MSS. The entōce added to MS. Z.III.12 is the majority reading outside family  $L_1$  but is found in no  $L_1$  MS other than the corrected MS. Z.III.12 and its descendant MS. 336.

In variant 5 the majority reading outside family  $L_1$  is cartas, which is most certainly the original, and which appears in  $L_1$  MSS. Z.III.7, 10277. The  $L_1$  MSS of N read otras. The original MS. Z.III.12 reading was t̄ras, found also in  $L_1$  MSS. Y.II.15, 9-28-3-5509, M.II.2 and, outside family  $L_1$ , in  $S_3$  MSS. 2777, 829. It is doubtful that the occurrence of t̄ras within and outside family  $L_1$  is the result of coincidence. The t̄ras reading is the least satisfactory of the three solutions, and the agreement of a number of  $L_1$  MSS with MSS. 2777, 829 is significant. I suspect that t̄ras, like enbiar, was the  $L_1$  reading,

inherited from an  $S_3$  source related to the subfamily composed of  $S_3$  MSS. 2777 and 829. The objection to this deduction is that  $L_1$  MSS. Z.III.7, 10277 show the original cartas. Furthermore, the  $L_1$  MSS of N read otras. Nevertheless, given the context, in which cartas<sub>1</sub> is obviously the antecedent of the variant, the spontaneous occurrence of cartas<sub>2</sub> or of the pronoun otras is a great deal more likely than the spontaneous appearance of t̄rras. If we assume that  $L_1$  read t̄rras, that  $L_2$  and M preserved that reading, we must conclude that  $M_1$ , probably in response to the context of the reading, independently came up with the original cartas or the pronominal substitute otras:



The otras of the MS. Z.III.12 correction also appears outside family  $L_1$ , in MS. 9-4761 as otras cosas, in MS. 84-7-34 as otras cartas. Because neither cartas nor cosas follows otras in the

correction in MS. Z.III.12 and because otras could easily have occurred spontaneously throughout the tradition, the variant is insufficient to conclude that either MS. 9-4761 or MS. 84-7-34 was the MS consulted by the MS. Z.III.12 corrector.

MS. Z.III.12 chapter 75 provides a passage that contains two emendations:

6. MS. Z.III.12, f. 103v 5

Entonçe salierō biē çinco <sup>cincuenta</sup> mjll moros adaragados e a tantos ballesteros e toda la oñ gēte dela villa tā biē gjnetes como andaluzes

The added cincuenta is preceded by two faded pen strokes that may be Et or simply a double slash to indicate the point in the text at which cincuenta is to be read. The majority reading both outside and within family  $L_1$  on çinco mjll moros is Cinçnta mjll moros (MS. N.III.12, f. LIr b37). Within  $L_1$ , only MSS. Z.III.12, 336 show çinco cincuenta. MS. Y.II.15 reads çiento mill moros. Again, the correction does not identify the contaminating MS, but the base readings of MSS. Z.III.12 and Y.II.15 indicate for them a common source below  $L_1$ ,  $L_2$ .

Beneath MS. Z.III.12's ballesteros, remnants of ¶ and a final s are visible. Apparently ballesteros was written over an original caua¶los, which appears in all  $L_1$  MSS except the corrected MS. Z.III.12 and MS. 336, and in no MS outside of family  $L_1$ .<sup>150</sup> Other than MS. 1159, which reads Vallos with no flourish of abbreviation, all MSS outside family  $L_1$  read ballesteros. The correction, therefore, provides no new evidence that might lead to the identification of the individual contaminating MS for MS. Z.III.12. It may be

recalled, however, that in the Prologue MS. Z.III.12 is related to S<sub>2</sub> MSS. N.III.12, 6410, etc. All Prologue S<sub>2</sub> witnesses contain the text of the corrections with minor exceptions: MS. 5775 and V1554 read llegasen a el rather than cō el (correction 2); MS. 6410 omits le (correction 3). The otras (correction 5) does appear in Prologue S<sub>2</sub> MS. 84-7-34 followed by cartas. However, we have already seen that the spontaneous occurrence of otras in this reading is probable. The evidence is insufficient to conclude that MS. 84-7-34 was the source of the MS. Z.III.12 corrections.

To this point two readings have suggested the existence of a source for MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12 and ultimately for MS. 336 other than L<sub>1</sub> (L<sub>2</sub>): (1) the faulty passage involving the L<sub>1</sub> reading Et Avn porque Sopo dela flota (MS. Z.III.12 correction 1, p. 423), (2) the MS. Z.III.12 original çinco and MS. Y.II.15 çiento against the majority cincuenta in the remaining witnesses (MS. Z.III.12 correction 6, p. 426). There are two additional readings on which the two MSS disagree but which nevertheless point to the existence of L<sub>2</sub>:

<u>MSS. Z.III.12, 336</u>	<u>MS. Y.II.15</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
1. MS. Z.III.12, f. 105v 9 q̃do [quedo] cō entendimjēto	fuyo Con entendimj <sup>o</sup>	finco cō entēdimjt <sup>o</sup> (N.III.12) <sup>151</sup>
2. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87r 22 de aquella dolencia fino <sup>152</sup>	fino desta dolencia	fjno

In variant 1, MS. Y.II.15's clearly legible fuyo is unique, and only MSS. Z.III.12, 336 show quedo, also clearly transcribed in

both MSS, against finco in all remaining MSS that contain the passage. The variant strongly suggests a common source rather than a relationship of direct descent between MSS. Y.II.15 and Z.III.12. Given MS. Y.II.15's fuyo, L<sub>2</sub> was most likely only partially legible rather than innovative in the reading.

In variant 2, MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 contrast with the majority reading in that they add desta (de aquella) dolencia. If one of the two MSS were a copy of the other, this variant could be interpreted to indicate innovation in the source MS. However, given the earlier evidence for L<sub>2</sub>, and the slight difference between MSS. Z.III.12, 336 and MS. Y.II.15 in the reading, the added text is probably characteristic of L<sub>2</sub>.

The remaining readings on which MSS. Z.III.12, 336 differ from MS. Y.II.15 and which do not involve corrections in MS. Z.III.12 are:

<u>MSS. Z.III.12, 336</u>	<u>MS. Y.II.15</u>
1. MS. Z.III.12, f. 86v 23 Ricos om̃s e Cauallõs le pudiessen <sup>153</sup>	Ricos homes y caballeros <u>del</u> <u>Reyno</u> le pudiesen
2. MS. Z.III.12, f. 87v 30 criazon <u>del dicho</u> don alfoñ	crianca de don alfonso
3. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88r 3 en algund t̃po <sup>154</sup>	en aq̃l t̃po
4. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88r 19 todos los Ricos om̃s e Cauallõs	todos aquellos Ricos omes y caballeros
5. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88v 13 asi cauallõs e Ricos om̃s como ConceJos	asy rricos homes y cavalleros como concejos

MSS. Z.III.12, 336MS. Y.II.15

6. MS. Z.III.12, f. 88r 12  
con todos los delos conçeJos

con todos los procuradores de  
las çibdades e delos conçeJos

In variants 1-5, MS. Y.II.15 provides the majority reading. The group of readings together with the fact that the MS. Z.III.12 corrections do not appear in MS. Y.II.15 apparently confirms the conclusion that the latter MS is not a direct descendant of the former. The respective dates of the two MSS and variant 6, in which MS. Z.III.12 provides the majority reading, prove that MS. Z.III.12 is not a direct descendant of MS. Y.II.15.

MS. 336 agrees with MS. Z.III.12 on all significant variants thus far discussed. Furthermore, the corrections in MS. Z.III.12 all appear in MS. 336. Chapter 65 provides confirmation of the direction of the relationship:

MS. Z.III.12, f. 87v 14  
amjstad con don lope diaz de haro  
E este don lope venja

MS. 336  
amjstad con don lope diaz de  
haro venja

A segment of the majority reading as given by MS. Z.III.12 was lost to MS. 336 by haplography. All evidence favors MS. Z.III.12 as the ultimate source of MS. 336.

Chapters 64, 65 and 75 provide numerous additional readings in which the two MSS disagree. However, all readings allow the interpretation that MS. 336 was a copy of MS. Z.III.12:

MS. Z.III.12

1. f.86v 21  
ouo embiado
2. f. 86v 24  
los Infantes e Ricos om̃s
3. f. 86v 25  
llegasẽ
4. f. 86v 30  
E / por esto
5. f. 87r 3  
embio dezjr
6. f. 87r 12  
muy grand
7. f. 87r 18  
de aq̃l
8. f. 87r 29  
Ca alli
9. f. 87v 1  
le
10. f. 87v 16  
era en villa real e en camino
11. f. 87v 30  
criazon
12. f. 88r 2  
honrras e meJorias
13. f. 88r 11  
despues de dias
14. f. 88v 8  
que fuessen conel

MS. 336

- ouo embiado a
- los ynfantes E los rricos omes
- llegaron
- para esto
- embio a dezir
- una gran
- deste
- g̃ allj
- lo
- hera en villarreal fallo q̃  
hera asj E en el camjno
- crianca
- meJorias E honrras
- despues delos dias
- que todos fuesen conel



In variants 3, 4, 10, 12, 14 the MS. 336 reading is unique. The MS. Z.III.12 reading in the remaining variants could easily have given rise to the corresponding reading in MS. 336.

In the course of the discussion of subfamily  $L_2$ , the two  $L_1$  MSS that do not contain the Prologue were tentatively placed within the stemma. MS. 9-28-3-5509 was associated with MS. M.II.2 on the basis of their differing but similar solutions in the se guardo variant (p. 417) and again with MS. M.II.2 and with the  $L_2$  MSS on tr̃ras (p. 425). MS. 10277 was associated with MS. Z.III.7 in the se guardo variant and in the cartas/tr̃ras variant. Numerous additional readings in chapters 64, 65 and 75 confirm the close relationship of the latter two MSS. First of all, MSS. 10277 and Z.III.7 show an identical heading for chapter 64: de la muerte del ynfante don fernando Et de como murjo (MS. Z.III.7, f. 56r b10). N MSS. B1489, 1775 provide a similar heading: Dela muerte del ynfante don fdnando fiJo del Rei don Alfonso primero heredero (MS. 1775, f. 98v 11).<sup>155</sup> No other MS gives a chapter 64 heading that begins with the prepositional phrase. The remaining readings in which MSS. Z.III.7, 10277 agree against all other  $L_1$  witnesses are:

<u>MSS. Z.III.7, 10277</u>	<u>ceteri <math>L_1</math></u>
1. MS. Z.III.7, f. 56v a13 veyendose en quexa de muerte	veyendose q̃xado dela muerte (327) <sup>156</sup>
2. MS. Z.III.7, f. 56v b3 traxeronlo	leuarõlo (327) <sup>157</sup>
3. MS. Z.III.7, f. 57v a16 venjesen <u>y</u> a el luego a cordoua	venjesen luego a el a cordoua (327) <sup>158</sup>

- | <u>MSS. Z.III.7, 10277</u>   | <u>ceteri L<sub>1</sub></u>                                     |                         |
|--|---|-------------------------|
| 4. MS. Z.III.7, f. 57r a32<br>don lope diaz de haro <u>a que</u><br><u>los esforçaSe Et otrosi</u>             | don lope dyaz de haro E<br>otrosy <sup>159</sup>                |                         |
| 5. MS. Z.III.7, f. 67r a23<br>de <u>n̄ro señor iñu x̄po</u>  | de iñu x̄po   | (M.II.2) <sup>160</sup> |
| 6. MS. Z.III.7, f. 67v a5<br>despues del Et <u>despues desto</u><br>el rrey                                    | despūs del Et el Rey  | (327) <sup>161</sup>    |
| 7. MS. Z.III.7, f. 68r b12<br>fallava que se podria meJor<br>mantener <sup>162</sup>                           | fallaua en como se podia<br><u>esto meJor mantener</u>          | (327) <sup>163</sup>    |
| 8. MS. Z.III.7, f. 68r a12<br>farian quanto mal pudiesen<br>Et el rrey   | farian q̄nto mal podiesen<br><u>en la t̄rra E el Rey</u>        | (327) <sup>164</sup>    |
| 9. MS. Z.III.7, f. 68r b1<br>menester que ovo para con-<br>quistar los moros en que les<br>gano de los rreynos | menester q̄ ovo pa las conq̄stas<br>q̄ ovo e fizo de los Reynos | (327) <sup>165</sup>    |
| 10. MS. Z.III.7, f. 68r b14<br>enbiar njnguno a la ḡrra<br>que era  | enbjar n̄jgn <sup>o</sup> enla t̄rra<br>ḡ era                  | (327) <sup>166</sup>    |
| 11. MS. Z.III.7, f. 69r a14<br>partieron Amos <u>a dos</u> muy<br>despagados                                   | partjeron amos muy despagados                                   | (327) <sup>167</sup>    |
| 12. MS. Z.III.7, f.69r b7<br>todos <u>estos</u> estaban  | todos estauā  | (M.II.2) <sup>168</sup> |
| 13. MS. Z.III.7, f. 69r b13<br>alguna manera   | algūa <u>otra</u> manera  | (M.II.2) <sup>169</sup> |
| 14. MS. Z.III.7, f. 69v a17<br>se tornarian conel <sup>170</sup>   | se ternjan conel  | (327) <sup>171</sup>    |

MSS. Z.III.7, 10277ceteri L<sub>1</sub>

- |   |                                  |                           |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 15. MS. Z.III.7, f. 67v a26<br>cabecon <u>de tierra</u> cerca<br>dela çibdad <sup>172</sup> | cabeçon tan cerca de<br>la villa | (Y.II.15) <sup>173</sup>  |
| 16. MS. Z.III.7, f. 68r a10<br>rrodulo  | fredulo                          | (Z.III.12) <sup>174</sup> |

In all cases the readings of ceteri L<sub>1</sub> best represent the majority readings outside family L<sub>1</sub>. There is no doubt that MS. Z.III.7 is more closely related to MS. 10277 than to any other L<sub>1</sub> MS and that the two MSS show significant innovation. MSS. Z.III.7 and 10277 disagree on the following readings:

MS. Z.III.7MS. 10277

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. f. 56v a9<br>se tirava del  | se apartava del   |
| 2. f. 56r b21<br>de las suyas  | de las suyas <u>coñl</u>  |
| 3. f. 57v b30<br>avja de allēde la mar<br><u>fasta estonçe</u> Et allj | avia avjdo de allende<br>la mar E allj                                      |
| 4. f. 68r a14<br>matar E p <sup>r</sup> nder                           | prender E matar   |
| 5. f. 68r a16<br>Et enbio a toda la t <sup>r</sup> ra                  | e <u>mando enbjar e enbio</u><br><u>sus cās</u> a toda la t <sup>r</sup> ra |
| 6. f. 68r a30<br>Catar Por que se oviese a <sup>v</sup>                | catar como se oviese a <sup>v</sup>   |

MS. Z.III.7MS. 10277

- |               |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|
| 7. f. 68v a2  | este pleyto al ynfante<br>don fante [sic] don<br>sancho su fijo            | este pl̄ito al ynfāte<br>don sancho su fiJo                                |
| 8. f. 67v a30 | saljeron bien çinquenta<br>mj1 moros adargados E<br>tantos cauallōs E toda | salieron bien çinquenta mj11<br>moros adargados con sus<br>cavallos E toda |
| 9. f. 68r a31 | nunca Se qujso cometer<br>njn Se atreuja a ġlo dezir                       | nose qujso entremeter<br>enello njnse atrevio a<br>ġlo dezjr               |

In variant 1 the majority reading both within and outside family L<sub>1</sub> is quitaua. The differing solutions in MS. Z.III.7 and MS. 10277 may be interpreted to suggest a common source for the two MSS rather than a relationship of direct descent. However, either of the two synonyms for quitaua could have given rise to the other. In variants 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, MS. Z.III.7 best represents the majority reading. In variant 6, MS. 9-28-3-5509 reads Catar Como oviese aV (f. 58r 5). The agreement of MS. 9-28-3-5509 and MS. 10277 on Como probably indicates independent decisions for the more common expression; Como would be an especially likely emendation given the L<sub>1</sub> loss of the majority maña following Catar. (See p. 422.) In variant 8, MS. 10277's unique reading showing cauallos is clearly a response to an L<sub>1</sub> source that gave cauallōs against all MSS outside of family L<sub>1</sub>'s ballesteros. The latter reading proves that MS. 10277 is not the source of MS. Z.III.7. In variants 4 and 7, MS. 10277 best reflects

the majority reading. However, neither variant is sufficient to prove that MS. 10277 is not a direct descendant of MS. Z.III.7; in variant 4 the inversion of MS. Z.III.7's matar E p<sup>r</sup>nder could easily occur spontaneously in MS. 10277 in response to the sense of the verbs; in variant 7 the deviation from the majority reading in MS. Z.III.7 is obviously a scribal error and would be corrected in the normal course of copying. The readings indicate that MS. Z.III.7 could be the source of MS. 10277.

It should be noted that Casto M. del Rivero dates MS. Z.III.7 sixteenth century.<sup>175</sup> Zarco Cuevas dates the MS. fifteenth century.<sup>176</sup> If del Rivero is correct, MS. Z.III.7 cannot be the source of fifteenth-century MS. 10277. Both date estimates are based on the scribal hand. The hand in MS. Z.III.7 is in fact quite similar to that of MS. 10277, and both appear to be late fifteenth century. In any case, the similarity of the hands indicates that whatever the dates of the two MSS, they are most likely roughly contemporary. There is, therefore, no reason to conclude that MS. 10277 is not a direct descendant or copy of MS. Z.III.7.

There is far less evidence on which to classify MS. 9-28-3-5509. However, the se guardo and t̃rras variants (pp. 417, 425) and the exclusion of the MS from L<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>1</sub> and N argue forcefully for an association with MS. M.II.2. Chapters 64, 65 and 75 provide only one reading in which the latter two MSS agree against all other L<sub>1</sub> MSS:

MSS. M.III.2, 9-28-3-5509

ceteri L<sub>1</sub>

1. MS. M.II.2, f. 57v a30

q̃ q̃ria pelear

q̃ yria pelear

(327)<sup>177</sup>

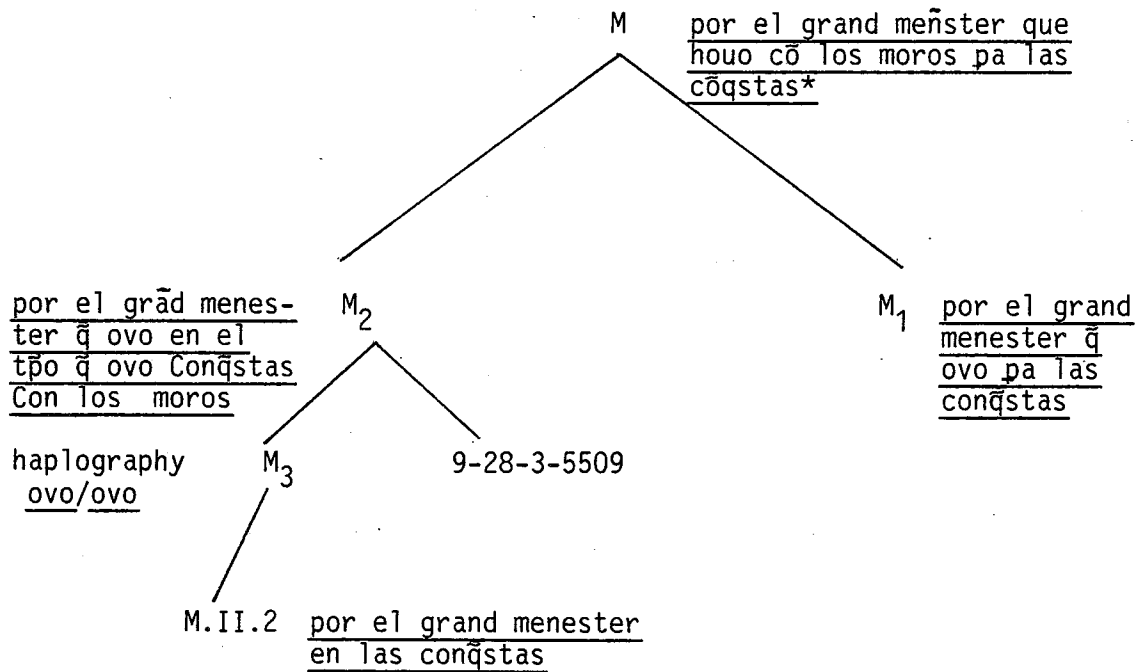
All MSS outside family  $L_1$  also give yria.

There is one additional variant that may be interpreted to suggest a common source below M for MSS. M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509:

<u>MS. M.II.2</u>	<u>MS. 9-28-3-5509</u>	<u><math>M_1</math></u>
2. f. 68r a19 por el grand menester en las conq̄stas	por el grād menester q̄ ovo en el t̄po q̄ ovo Conq̄stas Con los moros	por el grand menes- ter q̄ ovo pa las conq̄stas (327) <sup>178</sup>

$L_2$  MSS. Y.II.15, Z.III.12, 336 preserve the majority reading outside family  $L_1$ : por el grand meñster que houo cō los moros pa las cōq̄stas (MS. Z.III.12, f. 104r 20). MS. M.II.2 omits que houo cō los moros and shows en rather than the majority pa. MS. 9-28-3-5509 contains all the elements of the passage but rearranges and adds to them. The  $M_1$  MSS. Z.III.7, 10277 and 327, B1489, 1775 (N) all omit cō los moros. The fact that MSS. M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509 and  $M_1$  in combination provide all the elements of the majority reading may mean that M preserved that majority reading.  $M_1$  may have simply omitted cō los moros while a source for MSS. M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509 below M may have provided the MS. 9-28-3-5509 version. If that version were to be abbreviated by haplography, ovo/ovo, the resulting reading would be: por el grād menester q̄ ovo Conq̄stas Con los moros. A reaction to such a defective reading could readily result in MS. M.II.2's solution. Therefore, we might posit  $M_2$ , a source for MSS. M.II.2 and 9-28-3-5509 that showed the reading of the latter MS. We would also posit  $M_3$ , a copy of  $M_2$  that altered the reading by haplography and gave rise to MS. M.II.2. The explanation is complex and purely speculative. However, I am inclined to believe that the en provided by MS. M.II.2 against the

majority pa preserved in  $M_1$  preceding las conq̄stas is significant and favors that explanation. I would, of course, feel a good deal more confident about the hypothesis if MS. M.II.2 preserved MS. 9-28-3-5509's Con los moros. The omission of the phrase common to MS. M.II.2 and  $M_1$  is somewhat bothersome. Nevertheless, for the present I suggest the following tentative representation of the relationship of MSS. M.II.2 and 9-28-3-5509 to M:



While the indications for the existence of  $M_3$  are tenuous, the remaining readings in which MSS. M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509 disagree provide rather forceful evidence for  $M_2$ :

MS. M.II.2MS. 9-28-3-5509

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. f. 56r b6<br>a esperar las gentes q̄ avia   | a espar los del Reyno q̄ avya   |
| 2. f. 56r b9<br>enbiaua  | enbio   |
| 3. f. 56r b10<br>q̄ esperaua   | q̄ estava espando   |
| 4. f. 56r b17<br>a la Sazon  | al t̄po   |
| 5. f. 56r b18<br>asy   | allj  |
| 6. f. 56r b25<br>oujese los Reynos <u>e</u><br><u>Reynase</u> despues                                      | heredase los Reynos despues   |
| 7. f. 56r b28<br>mayor cura desto  | mayor Cuydado deste fecho   |
| 8. f. 67r b6<br>sus posturas <u>en vno</u><br>en tal maña  | sus posturas en tal maña  |
| 9. f. 67r b10<br>castillos de bal de nebra<br>q̄ eran  | Castillos de val de ayora<br>q̄ herā  |
| 10. f. 67r b12<br>trocamjento  | camjo   |
| 11. f. 67v b5<br>el pl̄ito fue llegado<br>al lugar q̄ el Rey de<br>granada daua al Rey<br>don alfoñ dixole | el pleyto fue llegado a lugar<br>q̄l Rey de granada dava al Rey<br>don al <sup>o</sup> <u>el terçio de quāts</u><br><u>Rentas avia en parias e el</u><br><u>Rey don al<sup>o</sup> dixole</u> |



MS. M.II.2MS. 9-28-3-5509

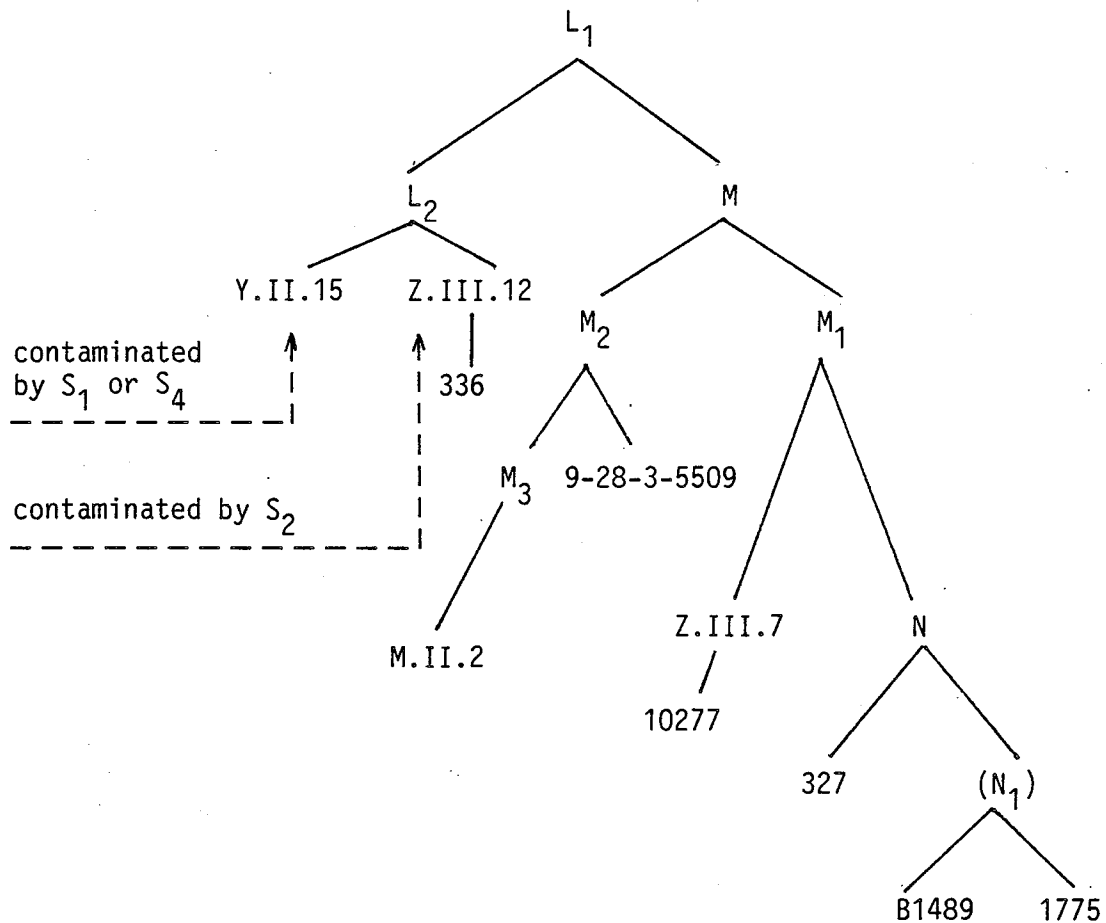
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 12. f. 67v b16<br>otrosi auja y                              | ot <sup>o</sup> sj andavā y                      |
| 13. f. 68r a12<br>oujese poder para                          | oviese aV pa                                     |
| 14. f. 69r b28<br>cometer el plīto q̃le<br>el auja prometido | cometer el plīto q̃ le<br>avia Comēçado          |
| 15. f. 56r b17<br>era  | vyno   |
| 16. f. 56v a3<br>non sopierō <u>q̃ fazer</u> e<br>esperaron  | nō Supierō e esparō                              |
| 17. f. 56v b15<br>q̃ le ayudase <u>enesto</u> e<br>Aviendolo | q̃ le ayudase e aviendolo                        |
| 18. f. 57r a31<br>voluntad de se parar<br>a defender         | voluntad de Se ampar<br>a defender               |
| 19. f. 57r b9<br>Ricos õms <u>e caualleros</u><br>q̃ eran y | Ricos homes q̃ hera y                            |
| 20. f. 57v b14<br>otro mal njn daño feziesen                 | ot <sup>o</sup> mal njn daño <u>otro</u> fizjesē |
| 21. f. 67r a5<br>ifū xpō                                     | ifū xpō <u>n̄ro señor</u>                        |
| 22. f. 67r a22<br>q̃ diera al marq̃s                         | q̃ le dio al marq̃s                              |
| 23. f. 68r a6<br>vinjeron y luego                            | vinjerō luego pa Seuilla                         |

MS. M.II.2MS. 9-28-3-5509

- |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 24. f. 68r a12            |                           |
| catar por q̃ oujeSe       | Catar Como oviese         |
| 25. f. 67v a9             |                           |
| todos los moros           | todos los otros           |
| 26. f. 67r b2             |                           |
| se vieSen de So vno       | de vinjesē aV̄            |
| 27. f. 68v a24            |                           |
| nūca se q̃so cometer      | nūca Se q̃so atreV̄       |
| nĵ se atreujo             |                           |
| 28. f. 68v a26            |                           |
| frayle pedricador q̃ auja | frayle / pedricador q̃ se |
| nonbre frey ymar          | dezia fray ymar           |
| 29. f. 68v b21            |                           |
| por esta Repuesta         | por esta Razō             |

In variants 1-14, MS. 9-28-3-5509 best represents the majority reading against unique readings in MS. M.II.2. In variants 15-29, MS. M.II.2 best preserves the majority reading, and in all but three variants the corresponding MS. 9-28-3-5509 reading is unique. In variant 24, MS. 10277 shares with MS. 9-28-3-5509 the innovative Como and follows with se (MS. 10277, f. LXVIr a20). In variant 25, MS. 9-28-3-5509's todos los otros is similar to MS. Y.II.15's todos los otros moros (MS. Y.II.15, f. 80r a7) against the majority todos los moros. In variant 26, MS. 9-28-3-5509's innovative vinjesē aV̄ is found also in the family consisting of MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 as viniesse a se ver de cōsuno (MS. 10132, f. 58r a7). The discrepancies between the MS. 9-28-3-5509 readings and those of MS. 10277, MS. Y.II.15

and MS. 642, respectively, and the lack of a pattern of agreement indicate that the agreements are almost certainly coincidental. The comparatively large number of instances in which MS. M.II.2 and MS. 9-28-3-5509 each preserve majority readings against unique readings in the other MS indicates for them a common source,  $M_2$ , rather than a relationship of direct descent. The completed stemma for family  $L_1$  may be drawn as follows:



C. The short version: families  $S_3$ , T, O and MSS. M563, N.III.12

The variants provided by chapters 64, 65 and 75 distribute sixteen of the eighteen short-version MSS into three well-defined sub-families,  $S_3$ , T, O. One of the remaining MSS, N.III.12, is clearly related to O at  $S_4$ . MS. M563 is tenuously related to T at  $S_1$ . The three chapters provide little compelling evidence on which to posit the  $S_1/S_2$  bifurcation of the stemma above the individual families that was suggested on the basis of the Prologue variants. However, there are a few readings to support and no readings to contradict that interpretation. Given the abundance of evidence for the S subfamilies,  $S_3$ , T, O, and the scarcity of data that explains the upper levels of filiation, I examine first the individual families. The readings that associate MS. M563 and MS. N.III.12 to T and O respectively and that are consistent with the posited  $S_1/S_2$  split are discussed within the contexts of the individual families concerned. Finally, I list the indications for  $S_1$ -L, the  $S_1$  source that together with an  $S_3$  witness was consulted at the formation of the long version.

In the course of our discussion of family  $L_1$  we have seen that five S MSS, 829, 2777, 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159 ( $S_3$ ), show two readings that appear combined with the corresponding readings of the remaining short-version witnesses in all  $L_1$  MSS. The five  $S_3$  MSS read mando (MS. 2777, f. 137r 4) against the remaining short-version witnesses' encomēdo (MS. N.III.12, f. XLIIIIv a28) and  $L_1$ 's mandaua e encomendaua (MS. 327, f. 80r b15).  $S_3$  gives mouer (MS. 2777, f. 170v 9) against tomar (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIv a9) in the remaining S witnesses ( $\emptyset$  MSS 642, 10132, 7403, 321 [ $T_2$ ]) while mober e tomar (MS. 327, f. 97v a29)

appears in  $L_1$ . We have also concluded that the source of family  $L_1$  most probably showed třras and enbiar against the majority cartas and echar (pp. 425, 422). Recall that outside family  $L_1$  třras appears in  $S_3$  MSS. 2777, 829; enbiar appears in all five  $S_3$  MSS. In addition to indications for an association between  $L_1$  and MSS. 2777, 829, the readings are evidence for subfamily  $S_3$  and for the further grouping of MSS. 2777, 829 within that family.

Of the five  $S_3$  MSS only MSS. 829, 84-7-34 contain the Prologue. Both were classified  $S_2$  witnesses in the Prologue stemma. MSS. 2777, Y.III.11, 1159 lack text at the beginning of CAX chapter 1 as well as the Prologue. In chapters 64, 65 and 75 there are several additional readings that confirm the Prologue association of MSS. 829, 84-7-34 and place with them the three MSS that do not contain the Prologue:

<u>MSS. 829, 84-7-34, 2777</u> <u>Y.III.11, 1159 (<math>S_3</math>)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
1. MS. 829, f. 55v a2 třra	gřra
2. MS. 829, f. 55v a31 la otra costanera	la vna costanera
3. MS. 829, f. 56r a1 otorgado <sup>179</sup>	librado
4. MS. 829, f. 56r a2 alla	Seujlla (N.III.12) <sup>180</sup>
5. MS. 829, f. 56v a40 e q̄ fyncasē <sup>181</sup>	e <u>mādoles</u> q̄ fincasen (N.III.12) <sup>182</sup>
6. MS. 829, f. 55v b22 fortalezaS q̄lo farie <sup>183</sup>	fortalezas q̄ <u>auje</u> q̄ q̄lo farie <sup>184</sup> (N.III.12)

MSS. 829, 84-7-34, 2777  
Y.III.11, 1159 (S<sub>3</sub>)

ceteri

7. MS. 829, f. 56r b35  
 ca nō auje enel mūdo cosa por q̄ enello cōsyntiese por esta rrespuesta q̄ le diēra<sup>185</sup>      Ca nō auja eñl mūdo cosa porq̄ eñllo cōsintiese E el Rey dō alfoñ ensañoſe por esta Repuesta q̄ le diera (N.III.12)<sup>186</sup>
8. MS. 829, f. 56v a30  
 por q̄ nō fuesen tā desaforados coṃo erā q̄ nō podriā estar de catar<sup>187</sup>      porq̄ nō fuesē tā desaforad̄s coṃo erā E Sy nō ellos q̄ nō podriā estar de catar (N.III.12)<sup>188</sup>
9. MS. 829, f. 49v a14  
 fariā muy de talāte<sup>189</sup>      fariā de buē talan̄t (N.III.12)<sup>190</sup>

The readings as a group leave no doubt that the five MSS form a family. In variants 1-4 the family innovates on one-word readings. Variants 5-8 involve omissions in S<sub>3</sub>. These omissions, however, do not appear in Prologue S<sub>2</sub> MSS. N.III.12, 6410. Therefore, we may not attribute them to an S<sub>2</sub> source for the body of the text analogous to the corrupt S<sub>2</sub> Prologue source that we assumed to have given rise to that document in MSS. 829, 84-7-34 and in MSS. N.III.12, 6410. Furthermore, the omissions do not occur in the L<sub>1</sub> MSS. (For the two exceptions, almost certainly coincidental, see nn. 184, 188.) The failure of the omissions to appear in L<sub>1</sub> together with the fact that the L<sub>1</sub> readings mandaua e encomendaua and mober e tomar combine S<sub>3</sub> readings with the readings provided by the remaining S witnesses proves that an S witness from outside S<sub>3</sub> was consulted at the formation of the long version.<sup>191</sup> The presence or absence of muy in the variant 9 reading would seem to be insignificant. However, given the evidence

for conflation in  $L_1$ , the  $S_3$  reading may have provided the muy that appears added to the MS. N.III.12 version in eight of the ten  $L_1$  MSS. As with variants 5-8, the discrepancy, over and above muy, between MS. 829 and MS. N.III.12 and the corresponding  $L_1$  reading, faryan de muy buen talantē (MS. 327, f. 81v a26), suggests that the  $L_1$  version would not have descended from  $S_3$  alone.

Within family  $S_3$  there is one reading in which four of the five MSS show a common error. The fifth, MS. 84-7-34, gives the majority reading:

e el rey dixo al infāte don sancho q̄ embiara al obpo don fredulo de oujedo al papa a demādar las gracias para la guerra dlos moros e el rey embiole al papa porq̄ el papa troxese el preito conel rey de francia en lo de don alfonso e este obispo dō fredalo era toscano e el infante don sancho Sospecho luego desta mandaderia deste obispo q̄ nō era su natural  
(MS. 84-7-34: ch. LXXII [BAE 75], "EN LOS veinte y nueve años . . .," unnumbered, f. 25v 51)

$S_3$  MSS. 829, 2777, Y.III.11, 1159 all read pleito rather than obispo. No MS outside  $S_3$  gives pleito. I conclude that the source of family  $S_3$  read pleito. Because the adjectival clause q̄ nō era su natural obviously refers back to the statement that the bishop era toscano, the antecedent of that clause is clearly obispo, not pleito. I assume that the MS. 84-7-34 scribe simply corrected his source's pleito to obispo in response to the context of the variant.

The  $S_3$  MSS. 829, 2777 t̄rras, which also appears in a number of  $L_1$  MSS against the majority cartas (p. 425), would seem to indicate that the former two MSS form an  $S_3$  subfamily and that either MS. 829

or MS. 2777 or a lost MS related to them was the source of the  $S_3$  influence in  $L_1$ . In addition to tr̄ras, there are a number of chapter 64, 65 and 75 readings in which MSS. 829, 2777 contrast with the remaining  $S_3$  MSS:

<u>MSS. 829, 2777</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. MS. 829, f. 48v b23 pro njngñ	pro nin honrra	(84-7-34) <sup>192</sup>
2. MS. 829, f. 49r a16 ∅	A burgos	(1159) <sup>193</sup>
3. MS. 829, f. 49v b13 E porq̄ la viāda otrosi aujala	e otrosi porq̄ la vianda aviala	
4. MS. 829, f. 49v b21 ∅	e alli estudo q̄ nō se falla q̄ de esta vez otro mal njn daño fiziese en la frontera	(84-7-34) <sup>194</sup>
5. MS. 829, f. 49v b21 E agora cōtaremos de coñō	y agora / la historia contara de como	(1159) <sup>195</sup>
6. MS. 829, f. 55v b6 alli	∅	
7. MS. 829, f. 55v a24 escalona al Rey e a los rreynos despūs del <sup>196</sup>	escalona al rey e a los reyes despues del	

In variants 1-6, MSS. 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159 best reflect the majority reading. In variant 7 the majority reading outside family  $S_3$  is escalona Al Rey E a los q̄ Regnasen despūs del (MS. N.III.12, f. LIr b16). The source of family  $S_3$  evidently innovated



with reyes or rreynos, either of which, in abbreviated form, might be read as the other. In any case, the readings shared by MS. 829 and MS. 2777 in variants 1-6 together with their common t̃rras suggest that neither of those fifteenth-century MSS was the source of the sixteenth-century MSS. 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159.

There are numerous readings in which MSS. 829 and 2777 disagree, the majority of which are insignificant. However, a few variants indicate for them a common source (X) rather than a relationship of direct descent:

<u>MS. 829</u>	<u>MS. 2777</u>
1. f. 56r b30 q̃ria <u>por si</u> dezir e q̃ gelo <u>faria fazer</u> avnq̃	q̃ria dezir avnque
2. f. 49v a5 ternjã por derecho <u>del Resçe-</u> <u>bir por heredero</u> despues	ternjã por derecho despues
3. f. 56v a27 estauã todos despagados	estavã todos despechados
4. f. 55v a3 normãdia	lonbardia
5. f. 56r a7 pãlo poder <u>fazer e</u> acabar	pa lo poder acabar
6. f. 49r a30 andudo q̃nto pudo	andido lo mas q̃ pudo
7. f. 56v a42 ṽnja pã cordoua e q̃ el les mãdaria	vernã pa cordoua <u>E ellos</u> <u>que fuesen A el a cordoua</u> e q̃l les mandaria

## 8. f. 56r a12

pa las conquistas q̄ fizo  
enel Reyno de murçia

pa las cõquistas que fizo delos  
Regnos de Seujlla e de cordoua  
e de Jahen E / E [sic] otroSj en  
lo Suyo por el grāt meñster  
q̄ ovo enlas cõq̄stas q̄ fizo eñl  
Regno de murçia

Variants 7 and 8 involve haplographies in MS. 829. In variant 8, a comparison of the MSS. 829, 2777 readings with that provided by the remaining three MSS of the family is enlightening. MS. 1159 reads por las conquistas que hizo delos reinos de seVilla y de cordoua y de Jaen y OTROsi en lo suyo por el gran menester que obo en las conquistas que fizo en el reino de niebla y en el reino de murçia (f. 104v 7), which appears also in MSS. Y.III.11, 84-7-34 and in the majority of MSS outside the family. In the final segment of the passage MS. 2777 shows a short haplography from reino to reino which results in the loss of niebla y en el reino. The latter haplography appears in MS. 829 and, outside family  $S_3$ , in MS. M563. Given the lack of other evidence that associates MSS. 2777, 829 to MS. M563, the haplography in the latter MS. is most likely not related to that in MSS. 829, 2777. However, the shared reino/reino haplography in MSS. 829, 2777 almost certainly can be attributed to their common source, X. We might add that the reino/reino haplography does not appear in  $L_1$ . However, that fact should not be considered indicative of an  $S_3$  source for  $L_1$  other than MSS. 829, 2777 or a lost MS related to them. The missing text could easily have been provided by the second S source for family  $L_1$ , which we have concluded must have come from outside family  $S_3$ .

The larger haplography in MS. 829, fizo/fizo, is also found in MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321, 10195, Y.I.5 (T). Again, the lack of additional evidence that associates the latter family of MSS to MS. 829 argues for the independent occurrence of the haplography in T and in MS. 829. The conclusion is consistent with the fact that only MS. 829 shows both haplographies.

Variants 7 and 8 are strong evidence that MS. 2777 did not descend from MS. 829. In variants 4-6, MS. 829 gives unique readings against the majority versions provided by MS. 2777. Variants 4-6, therefore, confirm the conclusion that MS. 829 is not the source of MS. 2777. In variants 1-3, MS. 829 gives the majority reading against omissions and innovation in MS. 2777. The three variants show that MS. 829 cannot have descended from MS. 2777.

A few readings indicate a common source (Y) for the remaining  $S_3$  MSS, 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159:

<u>MSS. 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159 (= Y)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. MS. 1159, f. 104r 5 don A <sup>o</sup> que si le diese	don a <sup>o</sup> <u>dixo</u> q̄ Si le diese	(829) <sup>197</sup>
2. MS. 1159, f. 105r 15 sinpre quedo en sospecha <sup>198</sup>	sienp̄r̄ fynco cō sospecha	(829) <sup>199</sup>
3. MS. 1159, f. 86r 10 saliessse <sup>200</sup>	fablase	(829) <sup>201</sup>
4. MS. 1159, f. 106v 7 començado <sup>202</sup>	cometido	(829) <sup>203</sup>
5. MS. 1159, f. 103v 4 entraron	entro	(829) <sup>204</sup>

In variant 2, MS. Y.III.11 reads quando, which is clearly related to the solution in MSS. 84-7-34, 1159, quedo. In variant 4, the Y solution, començado, is found outside family  $S_3$  in MSS. 9-4761, 1742, 9-28-3-5509. Lacking other evidence that associates the latter three MSS to the  $S_3$  subfamily, the agreement is probably coincidental. The MSS. 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159 solution in variant 5, entraron, is also found outside family  $S_3$  in MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 ( $T_1$ ). Again, the agreement of the two sub-families is most likely coincidental.

MSS. Y.III.11, 1159 agree against MS. 84-7-34 and the remaining witnesses on the following readings:

<u>MSS. Y.III.11, 1159</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. MS. 1159, f. 105v 7 dezir	fazer	(84-7-34) <sup>205</sup>
2. MS. 1159, f. 84v 6 dende	desde	(84-7-34) <sup>206</sup>
3. Ms. 1159, f. 85r 7 fue conel infante	fue conl <u>cuerpo del</u> jnfante	(2777) <sup>207</sup>
4. MS. 1159, f. 87r 1 arçobispa <sup>do</sup> de Jaen <sup>208</sup>	obispado	(829) <sup>209</sup>

The two MSS disagree on several readings:

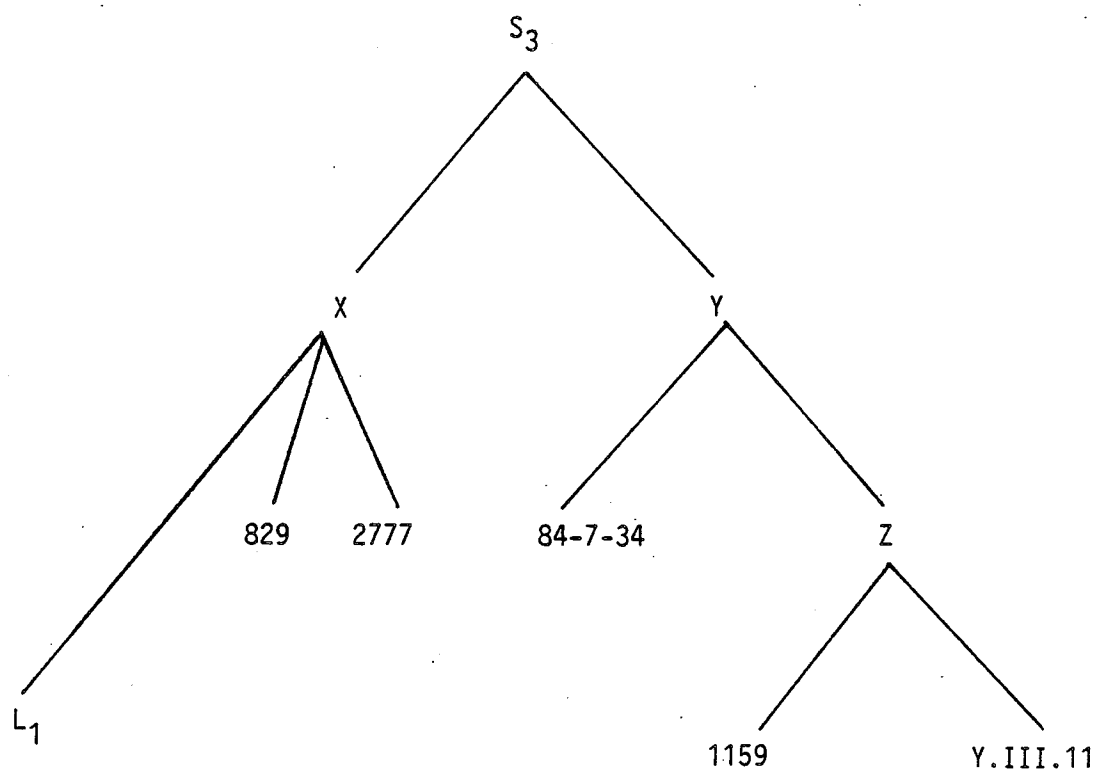
<u>MS. 1159</u>	<u>MS. Y.III.11</u>
1. f. 105r 15 quedo	quando
2. f. 86r 6 que faziendo el esto	que aviendo el fecho esto

MS. 1159MS. Y.III.11

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 3. f. 103r 13<br>fincaron desá por amigos  | fincaron desde ay por amigos                               |
| 4. f. 104r 14<br>se Vieron fuera   | se hubieron fuera  |
| 5. f. 103v 19<br>Vino se para la hueste con<br>su honrra <u>y con su buen</u><br><u>prez</u> y luego | Vino se con su honrra para<br>la hueste y luego            |
| 6. f. 104v 6<br>menester ñ ovo <u>con los moros</u><br>por las conquistas                            | menester grande que obo<br>para las conquistas             |
| 7. f. 104v 14<br>que era <u>fazer</u> dos monedas  | ñ hera dos monedas   |
| 8. f. 103r 4<br>don Sancho vio esto  | don sancho <u>E sus hermanos</u><br>vieron esto            |
| 9. f. 105v 4<br>por que otro no se Atreviera<br>a la tal Cossa                                       | porque otro non se<br>Acometiese A atreuerse<br>A tal cosa |

In variant 1 the majority reading outside family  $S_3$  is finco (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIr a20). The variant was included above with those readings that associate MSS. Y.III.11, 1159, 84-7-34 because MS. 1159's quedo also appears in MS. 84-7-34 and may be assumed to be the reading of Y. Furthermore, MS. Y.III.11's quando is apparently a misreading of quedo. The MS. Y.III.11 reading most likely would not have given rise to the quedo in MS. 1159. In variants 2-7, MS. 1159 shows the majority reading. It is thus quite clear that MS. 1159 did

not descend from MS. Y.III.11. In variant 8, MS. Y.III.11 gives the majority reading. It is therefore highly unlikely that MS. Y.III.11 descended from MS. 1159. In variant 9, MS. Y.III.11 more resembles the majority reading: porq̄ otro nō se atreujese a cometerle tal cosa (MS. 84-7-34, ch. LXXII [BAE 75], "EN LOS veinte y nueve anos . . .," unnumbered, f. 26r 7). Given the variants that indicate that MSS. Y.III.11, 1159 are not related by direct descent, the differing readings of the two MSS on variant 9 suggest for them a common source (Z) that inverted the order of the verbs in the majority reading. Evidently MS. Y.III.11 preserved the Z reading, and MS. 1159 corrected, omitting the first verb of the strange sequence. A common source for MSS. Y.III.11 and 1159 rather than a relationship of direct descent is highly probable.<sup>210</sup> Family  $S_3$  may be visualized as follows:



All thirteen of the remaining S witnesses agree against  $S_3$  in a number of readings. We have cited often the agreement of all thirteen on encomēdo (MS. N.III.12, f. XLIIIIv a28) against  $S_3$ 's mando (MS. 2777, f. 137r 4). All thirteen also show a form of Atreujo (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIr a26) against q̄so cometer nj̄ atreujo (MS. M.II.2, f. 86v a24), which appears in slightly differing forms in all MSS of  $L_1$  and  $S_3$ . (See above, p. 421.)  $S_3$  and  $L_1$  share two other readings that are slightly longer than the corresponding readings in the remaining S witnesses: alli ( $S_3, L_1$ ) vs.  $\emptyset$  (ceteri S) and otra ( $S_3, L_1$ ) vs.  $\emptyset$  (ceteri S).  $L_1$  and  $S_3$  also give dende against ceteri S pl̄ito. (See above, p. 421.) Nine of the thirteen read tomar (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIv a9) against  $S_3$ 's mouer (MS. 2777, f. 170v 9). The four MSS of  $T_2$  omit the latter variant. (See above, pp. 400, 442.)

If any of the significant readings in which the thirteen, or the majority of the thirteen, remaining S MSS agree can be shown to involve innovation, we would posit a common source for the latter group of MSS and a fundamental split in the short-version stemma:  $S_3$  vs. ceteri S. There is, however, no hint that the readings provided by the thirteen remaining S witnesses do in fact innovate. Their version in the three principal readings makes good sense in context in all cases:

1. E dō iohñ ñz p<sup>ro</sup>metio q̄ lo cōpljria Segūd q̄ dō ferrnādo ḡlo  
encomēdo (MS. N.III.12, f. XLIIIIv a26)
2. E Reçelandose del Rey Su padre del pl̄ito q̄le auja Acometido porq̄  
po<sup>r</sup> aventura los dela t̄rra aujē A tomar Alḡ maña porq̄ el perdiere  
el heredaria delos Regnos (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIv a6)

3. E n̄gũno delos Suyos nũca Se atreujo a gelo dezjr (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIr a25)

In all three instances the number of times the cited readings occur in the S witnesses and their distribution across S subfamilies  $S_4$ , T incline me to accept them as original against innovation in  $S_3$ ,  $L_1$  (vars. 1, 2) and innovation in  $S_3$  that was passed on to  $L_1$  (var. 3). Lacking evidence for innovation in a source for the remaining thirteen S witnesses, for the moment the point of origin of  $S_3$  can be placed potentially at any point along the main trajectory of the S stemma.

Of the thirteen remaining S witnesses three Prologue MSS, 10195, Y.I.5 and M563, were placed under the nodes labeled  $S_1$ , T and U, respectively, in the Prologue stemma. (The second U MS, Y.II.13, has been set aside for the stemma based on chapters 64, 65 and 75.) The variants provided by the three chapters confirm the T family in the Prologue stemma and relate to MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 four MSS that lack the Prologue, 642, 10132, 7403, 321:

<u>MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 + 642, 10132, 7403, 321</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
1. MS. 642, f. 77v 3 acaesçio de yr coñl <sup>211</sup>	Acaesçio ã era coñl (N.III.12) <sup>212</sup>
2. MS. 642, f. 77v 6 ø	en maña (N.III.12) <sup>213</sup>
3. MS. 642, f. 78r 14 Et aujẽdolo el por çierto	aujẽdolo el ã fuese çierto (N.III.12) <sup>214</sup>
4. MS. 642, f. 78v 15 volũtad de defender <sup>215</sup>	volũtad de <u>Se parar</u> <u>A</u> defẽder (N.III.12) <sup>216</sup>



MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 + 642  
10132, 7403, 321

ceteri

- |   |  |                           |
|---|--|---------------------------|
| 5. MS. 642, f. 79r 18<br>ğrdasen [guardasen] <sup>217</sup>   | alçasen  | (N.III.12) <sup>218</sup> |
| 6. MS. 10132, f. 58r a12<br>E leuo el Rey dō pedro del<br>Rey don alfoñ henares<br>e los castillos <sup>219</sup> | E leuo el Rey dō pedro del Rey<br>don alfoñ entōçe los castillos                             | (N.III.12) <sup>220</sup> |
| 7. MS. 10132, f. 58v a1<br>partio la caualleria por<br>los castillos por q̄<br>cūpließē <sup>221</sup>            | partio la caualleria <u>toda</u><br>por los castillos <u>dela frontā</u><br>por que cunpleSē | (M.II.2) <sup>222</sup>   |
| 8. MS. 642, f. 86v 25<br>a cada çibdat Et a todas<br>las villas <sup>223</sup>                                    | A cada çibdad E a cada<br>Villa  | (N.III.12) <sup>224</sup> |
| 9. MS. 642, f. 87r 6<br>poder <u>cobrar e</u> Acabar  | poder Acabar   | (N.III.12) <sup>225</sup> |
| 10. MS. 642, f. 87v 21<br>Et el Rey don a <sup>o</sup> sopo<br>despues esta rrepuesta <sup>226</sup>              | E desq̄ el Rey dō alfoñ<br>Sopo esta Rep̄  | (N.III.12) <sup>227</sup> |
| 11. MS. 10132, f. 49r 12<br>auya partido de burgos  | auja fincado en burgos   |                           |
| 12. MS. 642, f. 78v 2<br>omenaJe q̄ lo averiā<br>por Rey <sup>228</sup>   | omenaJe delo aV̄ por Rey   | (N.III.12) <sup>229</sup> |
| 13. MS. 642, f. 78v 2<br>despues dela muerċ de<br>don a <sup>o</sup>  | despues de dias del Rey<br>dō alfoñ  | (N.III.12) <sup>230</sup> |
| 14. MS. 642, f. 78v 7<br>∅  | A dos  |                           |
| 15. MS. 642, f. 78v 11<br>q̄ria defender <sup>231</sup>   | q̄ria <u>yr</u> a defender   | (M.II.2) <sup>232</sup>   |

MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 + 642  
10132, 7403, 321

ceteri

- |   |   |                           |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| 16. MS. 642, f. 79r 8<br>mas  | muy   | (N.III.12) <sup>233</sup> |
| 17. MS. 10132, f. 57v b23<br>e fizo y bodas a sus hijos<br>el infante dō Jñ. E el<br>infante dō pedro caso <sup>234</sup> | E fizo y bodas a sus fijos<br>el Jnfantē <u>dō pedro</u> E el Jnfantē<br>dō Juã E el Jnfantē dō<br>pedro caso             | (N.III.12) <sup>235</sup> |
| 18. MS. 10132, f. 58r a3<br>vna ocasion por q̄ despues <sup>236</sup>   | vna delas ocasiones q̄ despues  | (N.III.12) <sup>237</sup> |
| 19. MS. 10132, f. 58r a4<br>ø <sup>238</sup>  | cauañlo   | (N.III.12) <sup>239</sup> |
| 20. MS. 10132, f. 58r a9<br>çaragoça  | taraçona  | (N.III.12) <sup>240</sup> |
| 21. MS. 10132, f. 58v a4<br>ladrones  | golfines  | (N.III.12) <sup>241</sup> |
| 22. MS. 10132, f. 58v b1<br>costas  | cōq̄stas  | (N.III.12) <sup>242</sup> |
| 23. MS. 10132, f. 59r a25<br>frey aymar fue al infante<br>don sancho e dijole <sup>243</sup>                              | frey aymar fue al Jnfantē dō<br>Sancho E <u>fablo coñl en Su</u><br><u>poridad E el Jnfantē dō</u><br><u>Sancho</u> diole | (N.III.12) <sup>244</sup> |
| 24. MS. 10132, f. 59r b3<br>fablasse <u>cōel</u> en este pl̄ito <sup>245</sup>  | fablase en este pl̄ito  | (N.III.12) <sup>246</sup> |

There are two additional readings on which the T MSS disagree but that nevertheless describe the source of the family:

<u>MSS. 10195, Y.I.5</u>	<u>MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
25. MS. 10195, f. LVIIr 31 e este mostrose	Et eñSto se mostro	E este <u>dia</u> mostrose (N.III.12) <sup>247</sup>
26. MS. 10195, f. LVIIIr 12 Repuesta q̄l Jnfant̄ dō S <sup>o</sup> diera al frayle	respuesta q̄l infante dijo al freyre (10132) <sup>248</sup>	Reḡ q̄ diera e l Jnfant̄ dō Sancho (N.III.12) <sup>249</sup>

In variant 25 the readings provided by the T MSS indicate that the source of the family omitted dia. The omission was preserved in MSS. 10195, Y.I.5, and the source of the remaining members of the family evidently emended the passage in response to that omission. In variant 26 all MSS of T relocate the verb and add al frayle. These emendations can also be attributed to T. The MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 alteration of the verb diera to dijo seems to be an unrelated innovation that occurred in the source of the subfamily composed of the latter four MSS.

Over and above the additional information variants 25 and 26 provide concerning T, the two readings divide the six T MSS into two subfamilies, MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 (T<sub>1</sub>) and MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>). The division is confirmed by numerous variants involving significant innovation in each of the two subfamilies. The T<sub>1</sub> MSS, 10195 and Y.I.5, which contain the Prologue, innovate against the remaining members of the family on the following readings:

MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 (T<sub>1</sub>)MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321

- |  |  |                      |
|--|--|----------------------|
| 1. MS. 10195, f. XLIXv 14<br>dexarõlo  | leuarõlo   | (642) <sup>250</sup> |
| 2. MS. 10195, f. Lv 12<br>cuēta  | contara  |                      |
| 3. MS. 10195, f. LVIIv 2<br>ptioSe [partioSe] <u>el Rey</u><br><u>del pl̃ito</u>             | ptiose El pl̃ito   |                      |
| 4. MS. 10195, f. Lr 6<br>oñs   | ∅  |                      |
| 5. MS. 10195, f. LVIIIr 33<br>tuertos  | muertes  |                      |
| 6. MS. 10195, f. LVIIv 10<br>ot <sup>o</sup> Sy ptio de cordou <sup>a</sup><br>e fizo cortes | otrosi acordo en cordoua<br>de fazer Sus cort̃s                                |                      |
| 7. MS. 10195, f. LVIIv 2<br>vjnoSe pa cordo <sup>a</sup>                                     | venose <u>el Rey don a<sup>o</sup> con</u><br><u>toda su hueste pa cordoua</u> |                      |
| 8. MS. 10195, f. LVIIv 12<br>librado añel Rey e<br>ellos vjnerõ                             | librado antel <u>Et el rrey</u><br><u>fuese a seujlla</u> e ellos venjerõ      |                      |
| 9. MS. 10195, f. LVIIIv 6<br>en pos el alla e q̃l  | pa el a cordoua e q̃ el  | (642) <sup>251</sup> |
| 10. MS. 10195, f. LVIIIr 4<br>el Jnfañ dõ S <sup>o</sup> coñel                             | el ynfañ don Sancho coñel<br>el <u>Rey Su padre</u>                          |                      |

In all ten variants the readings provided by MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 best represent the majority readings outside family T. As a group the variants indicate that the MSS comprising T<sub>2</sub> did not descend

from either MS. 10195, MS. Y.I.5 or from a common source for the latter two MSS which provided the readings unique to them.

Chapters 64, 65 and 75 provide only two variants in which MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 differ:

<u>MS. 10195</u>	<u>MS. Y.I.5</u>
1. f. XLIXr 32 fue a villa Real los delos	fue a villa Real <u>a esperar</u> los delos
2. f. LVIIv 32 el Rey dixo al jnfant̄ dō S <sup>o</sup> <u>q̄</u> . . .ua a ob̄po dō freydilo de oujedo	el rey dixo al infante don sancho don fredilo de oujedo

In variant 1, MS. Y.I.5 shows the majority a esperar that is lacking in MS. 10195. MS. 10195 is therefore not the source of MS. Y.I.5. In variant 2, both MSS originally lacked q̄ enbiaua al ob̄po (MS. N.III.12, f. LIr a5), which is found in all MSS other than the original, i.e., uncorrected, text of MS. 10195 and MS. Y.I.5. (MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 move obispo to follow fredilo, while MS. Y.III.11 reads ynfante rather than obispo.) The MS. 10195 correction is only partially legible because of the scribal flourish of abbreviation above dō. However, a q̄ and a final ua a are clear, as is the ob̄po following freydilo. The correction probably reads q̄ enbiaua a and could have been provided by the original source or by a contaminating MS, perhaps MS. 9-4761 or MS. 1742, which show the identical placement of obispo. On the other hand, the lacuna could have been filled by deducing the missing text from the surrounding passage:

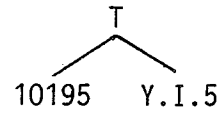
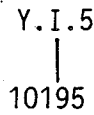
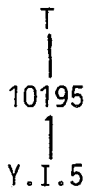
e luego cato maña como troxeSe el plito cõl Rey de  
 frãçia e\* porq̃\* dõ a<sup>o</sup> Su njeto fijo del jnfãt dõ ferr<sup>o</sup>  
 q̃ estaua preSo en xatiba en podr̃ del Rey de aragõ e  
 encubrioSe deste plito del jnfant dõ S<sup>o</sup> Su fijo q̃ lo  
 q̃ ...ua a obpo  
 nõ SophieSe e el Rey dixo al jnfant dõ S<sup>o</sup> dõ freydilo de  
 oujedo a demãdar las grãs pa la grra delos moros e  
 el Rey enbiolo al papa porq̃ el papa troxeSe la grã  
 cõl Rey de frãçia enl plito de dõ a<sup>o</sup> e este obpo dõ  
 fredilo era toScano e el jnfãt dõ S<sup>o</sup> Sospecho luego  
 esta mädaderia deste obpo q̃ nõ era Su natural e q̃  
 lo enbiau<sup>a</sup> el Rey Su padre conẽ el por aq̃l plito q̃  
 auja comẽçado (MS. 10195, f. LVIIv 28)

\*The majority reading lacks e and gives por rather than  
porq̃ (MS. N.III.12, f. LIv b39). Only the six MSS of  
 T read porq̃, and only MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 read e porq̃.  
 In spite of the latter corrupt reading in MS. 10195,  
 the sense of the passage is clear.

Furthermore, the placement of obpo following freydilo in the corrected  
 MS. 10195 may be a response to the text of the original MS. 10195 and  
 may be totally unrelated to the order of the words in any other MS,  
 e.g. MSS. 9-4761 and 1742. In any case the MS. 10195 correction is in  
 the same hand as the body of the MS and would therefore seem contem-  
 porary to the original copy. If MS. Y.I.5 were a copy of MS. 10195,  
 we would expect to find some sign of the correction in the former MS.

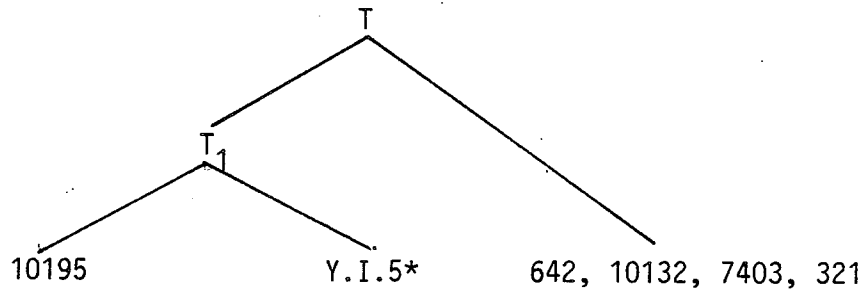
We may recall that the Prologue variants suggest only that  
 MS. 10195 was not the first MS to contain the innovations shared by  
 MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 in the Prologue. For the Prologue the slight  
 discrepancies of MS. Y.I.5 from two majority readings in MS. 10195 are  
 insufficient to prove that MS. Y.I.5 was not the source of MS. 10195.

I therefore concluded that for the Prologue three schemata of filiation are possible:



(See Prologue stemma, p. 344.)

The two variants last cited provided by chapters 64, 65 and 75 eliminate the first hypothesis; MS. 10195 is not the source of MS. Y.I.5. However, both variants allow the possibility that fifteenth-century MS. 10195 is a direct descendant of fifteenth-century MS. Y.I.5, in which case we might assume that MS. Y.I.5 was the first MS to contain the readings unique to the pair and eliminate the necessity of positing for them a common source,  $T_1$ . Nevertheless, it is equally possible, perhaps more likely, that the two MSS descended independently from  $T_1$ . Therefore, with the continuing qualification that MS. Y.I.5 may be the source of MS. 10195, the Prologue stemma for family T need only be modified to accommodate the additional subfamily consisting of MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 and to relabel the source of MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 as  $T_1$ :



\*MS. Y.I.5 may be the source of MS. 10195

The readings that involve innovation in the remaining T MSS, 642, 10132, 7403, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>), are more numerous:

<u>MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
1. MS. 642, f. 88v 16 fezierōle plīto otrosi q̄ ternjā coñi <sup>252</sup>	fizjerōle luego tal plīto (N.III.12) <sup>253</sup>
2. MS. 642, f. 86v 2 tan rrezio e ardid q̄ fue maraujlla Et la hueste fue en pelig <sup>o</sup> de gran desacuerdo e q̄so dios <sup>254</sup>	tā Rezyo E por tā ardit q̄ sy nō fuera por el su esfuerço solo toda la huestè fuera en grād peligro Asy q̄ q̄so dios (N.III.12) <sup>255</sup>
3. MS. 10132, f. 48v a31 ala frontera	∅
4. MS. 10132, f. 48v b12 fue	vjno (N.III.12) <sup>256</sup>
5. MS. 10132, f. 49r a4 fecho	puesto (N.III.12) <sup>257</sup>
6. MS. 10132, f. 49r b3 del Regno	∅
7. MS. 10132, f. 49v b3 por la muerte de don fer <sup>o</sup> <sup>258</sup>	por el <u>Vēçimj<sup>o</sup> q̄ oujerō e por</u> <u>lo q̄ aujan Sabido dela muerte del</u> <u>Jnanfē dō feṛrdo</u> (N.III.12) <sup>259</sup>
8. MS. 10132, f. 49v b4 q̄ fino en villa Real	∅
9. MS. 10132, f. 49v b28 ∅	porq̄
10. MS. 10132, f. 58r a25 allegados	ayuntados (N.III.12) <sup>260</sup>



<u>MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
11. MS. 10132, f. 58v b20 tomo	touo	(N.III.12) <sup>261</sup>
12. MS. 10132, f. 58v b21 ∅	q̄ lo tenja Acabado cō ellos	(N.III.12) <sup>262</sup>
13. MS. 10132, f. 58v b29 al papa para q̄l otorgasse las grās e pdone <sup>263</sup>	al papa A demādar las grās	(N.III.12) <sup>264</sup>
14. MS. 10132, f. 58r b29 q̄ntas rentas el oujesse e <u>esto q̄ fuesse</u> en parias <sup>265</sup>	q̄ntas Rētas auja en parias	(N.III.12) <sup>266</sup>
15. MS. 10132, f. 58v a17 sus	∅	
16. MS. 10132, f. 87r a1 conplidamente	cōplidas	(N.III.12) <sup>267</sup>
17. MS. 10132, f. 59r a2 q̄nto	q̄	
18. MS. 10132, f. 59r a3 en aq̄lla mandaderia	∅	
19. MS. 10132, f. 59r a21 y vno q̄ era freyle q̄ <sup>268</sup>	y Vn freyre pedricador q̄	(N.III.12) <sup>269</sup>
20. MS. 10132, f. 59r b1 el infante le dyo en respuesta <sup>270</sup>	el Jnfantē dō Sancho Respōdiolle	(N.III.12) <sup>271</sup>
21. MS. 10132, f. 59r b15 q̄ uos E ael plogo delo leuar por q̄ <sup>272</sup>	q̄ Vos E nō lo mato por Al Synō porq̄	(N.III.12) <sup>273</sup>
22. MS. 642, f. 77r 22 ∅	dela frōtera	(N.III.12) <sup>274</sup>

<u>MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
23. MS. 642, f. 77v 1 ∅	delos males q̄los mōs faziã eñlla (N.III.12) <sup>275</sup>
24. MS. 642, f. 77v 2 ∅	fiJo de dō nuño (N.III.12) <sup>276</sup>
25. MS. 642, f. 77v 2 al ynfante do f <sup>o</sup>	∅
26. MS. 642, f. 77v 3 ptia [partia] <sup>277</sup>	q̄taua (N.III.12) <sup>278</sup>
27. MS. 642, f. 77v 8 de la muerť	de dias (N.III.12) <sup>279</sup>
28. MS. 10132, f. 49v a4 q̄ farian en manera	q̄ el le ſujria e le ayudaria en maña (N.III.12) <sup>280</sup>
29. MS. 10132, f. 49v a19 ∅	les Rogaua e mādaua q̄ (N.III.12) <sup>281</sup>
30. MS. 10132, f. 49v a21 eran	estauã (N.III.12) <sup>282</sup>
31. MS. 10132, f. 49v b24 las otras gentes eran	las gent̄s del Regno erã (N.III.12) <sup>283</sup>
32. MS. 642, f. 78v 13 o q̄le enuiasen dezir <sup>284</sup>	o enbjaua mādar (N.III.12) <sup>285</sup>
33. MS. 642, f. 78v 14 Et q̄ coñsto q̄ lo averia el rrey por bueno e q̄ entēderia <sup>286</sup>	E cō esto ganaria amor del Rey su padre ca entēdria (N.III.12) <sup>287</sup>
34. MS. 642, f. 79v 1 ∅	porq̄

<u>MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>)</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
35. MS. 10132, f. 59v a34 ∅	por Sy	
36. MS. 10132, f. 58r b27 ∅	E el pl̄ito fue llogado (N.III.12) <sup>288</sup>	
37. MS. 10132, f. 58v a34 lo al	∅	
38. MS. 10132, f. 59r a9 e dixo] <sup>289</sup>	∅	
39. MS. 10132, f. 59r a9 saluo	Sy nō por	(N.III.12) <sup>290</sup>
40. MS. 10132, f. 59r a10 por q̄ mas ayna recabdasse <sup>291</sup>	por Recabdar	(N.III.12) <sup>292</sup>
41. MS. 10132, f. 59r a22 <u>era p̄dicador e era electo</u> <sup>293</sup>	era electo	(N.III.12) <sup>294</sup>
42. MS. 10132, f. 59r a27 e muy atreuido	E q̄ era Atreujdo	(N.III.12) <sup>295</sup>
43. MS. 10132, f. 59r a33 mesmo <sup>296</sup>	∅	(N.III.12) <sup>297</sup>
44. MS. 10132, f. 59r a33 ∅	por Sy	(N.III.12) <sup>298</sup>
45. MS. 10132, f. 59r b6 por esto q̄ dixiera <sup>299</sup>	por esta Repuesta q̄ le diera	(N.III.12) <sup>300</sup>
46. MS. 10132, f. 59r b7 el nō lo q̄ria fazer por el q̄ ni por omenage <sup>301</sup>	el non q̄ria quel lo faria e q̄ non lo dexaria de fazer por el njn por el omenaJe	(M.II.2) <sup>302</sup>
47. MS. 10132, f. 59r b8 q̄l fizieran los dela tierra <sup>303</sup>	q̄ los dela t̄rra le aujā fecho E q̄ el le fizjera	(N.III.12) <sup>304</sup>

MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>)

ceteri

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 48. MS. 10132, f. 59r b12<br>fizo me dyos q̃ q̃so leuar<br>a mi hermano mayor q̃ era<br>ṽro heredero <sup>305</sup> | fizome dios E fizo mucho por<br>me fazer Ca mato aVn mj hermano<br>q̃ era mayor q̃ yo E q̃ era<br>Ṽro heredero (N.III.12) <sup>306</sup>  |
| 49. MS. 10132, f. 59r b29<br>desto   | q̃   |
| 50. MS. 10132, f. 59v a1<br>por q̃ eran muy agrauizados  | E q̃ Se terrnjã por mucho<br>Agrauizados (N.III.12) <sup>307</sup>   |
| 51. MS. 10132, f. 59v a15<br>auya començado pãr le<br>fazer pder el herẽcia <sup>308</sup>                          | auja Acometido porq̃ por aVentura<br>los dela t̃rra aujẽ A tomar alq̃<br>maña por q̃ el perdiere el<br>heredaria (N.III.12) <sup>309</sup> |
| 52. MS. 10132, f. 59v a27<br>enbio acometer <sup>310</sup>   | auja Acometido (N.III.12) <sup>311</sup>   |
| 53. MS. 10132, f 59v a34<br>ø  | por Sy   |
| 54. MS. 10132, f. 59v a35<br>a cordoua   | A el (N.III.12) <sup>312</sup>   |
| 55. MS. 10132, f. 59v b2<br>pusierõ pl̃ito e postũr <sup>313</sup>  | pusierõ Su pl̃ito (N.III.12) <sup>314</sup>  |
| 56. MS. 10132, f. 58r b 27<br>en lo q̃l [qual]   | A logar (N.III.12) <sup>315</sup>  |

In variant 20, the innovative T<sub>2</sub> reading may represent a response to a haplography that existed in T, the source of the T<sub>1</sub>

MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 as well as the four MSS of  $T_2$ . The larger reading in the majority of MSS outside family T is as follows:

E el Rey Vjno a fablar coñl Jnfantē dō Sancho en  
este plīto de dō alfoñ E el Jnfantē dō Sancho  
 Respōdirole que le pedia m̄d q̄ nō fablase en este  
 plīto (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIr a42)

The five  $S_3$  MSS and  $T_1$  MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 omit the underlined text. The four  $T_2$  MSS omit from en through alfoñ and continue: E el infante le dyo en respuesta (MS. 10132, f. 59r b1). While the omission of en este plīto de dō alfoñ would not have been obvious, the context of the reading flawed by haplography clearly indicates that a second reference to don Sancho as the subject of respōdirole is necessary. Given the  $T_2$  reading and the presence of the haplography in  $T_1$ , it is logical to conclude that T showed the haplography and that  $T_2$  corrected the reading in response to the sense of the passage. It is curious that the original haplography does not include Respōdirole and that the  $T_2$  MSS nevertheless give le dyo en respuesta rather than the majority Respōdirole after the correction E el infante. The  $T_2$  version, le dyo en respuesta, seems to have been taken from an earlier line; the episode of the encounter between Sancho and his father that contains the  $S_3$ ,  $T_1$  haplography is immediately preceded by the narration of Fray Aymar's attempt to discuss with Sancho the plīto de dō alfoñ, in which occasion Sancho dyol tal respuesta q̄ era loco e muy atreuido (MS. 10132, f. 59r a27). I doubt that the second instance of dyo en respuesta in the  $T_2$  MSS against the majority Respōdirole is coincidental.

The larger share of the remaining readings unique to the  $T_2$  MSS apparently involve either omissions of majority text that might

have been considered unnecessary or intentional restatements, abridgments and clarifications of majority text.<sup>316</sup> In short, the variants provided by  $T_2$ , in number and nature, imply consistent, conscious editorial intervention at  $T_2$ , more than is found in any other CAX MS family.

In contrast, there are comparatively few variants on which to posit the subdivision of the four MSS family. Fourteenth-century MS. 10132 and sixteenth-century MS. 7403 agree against both MS. 642 and MS. 321 on only one reading:

MSS. 10132, 7403

MSS. 642, 321

1. MS. 10132, f. 49r b3

el mayor oñe del Regno e el	el mayor oñe del Reyno E	
mas honrado del Regno <sup>317</sup>	el mas hōrrado <sup>318</sup>	(642)

The majority reading is el mayor oñe E mas honrrado del Regno (MS. N.III.12, f. XLIVv b28). The agreement of all four  $T_2$  MSS against all other witnesses on the first Regno probably indicates filiation. However, the lack of the second Regno, in the majority position, in MSS. 642, 321 may be explained by assuming either that the shorter reading appeared in  $T_2$  and that Regno<sub>2</sub> was added in MSS. 10132, 7403, or that  $T_2$  provided the repetitive reading as preserved in MSS. 10132, 7403 and that MSS. 642, 321--perhaps independently--logically omitted Regno<sub>2</sub>. Given the placement of the single Regno in the majority, most certainly original, reading, the latter explanation seems more likely. In any case, the variant cannot be considered probatory of filiation between MSS. 10132, 7403 or between MSS. 642, 321 below  $T_2$ .

Two additional readings appear only in MSS. 10132 and 7403, but in both instances the reading of MS. 642 is unknown:

MSS. 10132, 7403ceteri

2. MS. 10132, f. 57v b33

mas

Ø

3. MS. 10132, f. 57v b20

q̄ndo

e

In variant 3, MS. 321 omits a larger passage within which the variant falls. In both variants, MS. 642 is lacking the segment containing the reading because of tears in the MS. The tears obscuring the text make it impossible to state that the two readings provided by MSS. 10132, 7403 are indeed unique to them. Therefore the three variants allow only a tentative association of MSS. 10132, 7403 against MSS. 642, 321.

Assuming that the three variants do in fact indicate filiation of MSS. 10132 and 7403, the respective dates of the MSS indicate that sixteenth-century MS. 7403 cannot be the source of fourteenth-century MS. 10132. There are, furthermore, two contrasting readings in the MSS that suggest that MS. 7403 is not a direct descendant of MS. 10132:

MS. 10132MS. 7403

1. f. 49r b6

emienda

encomjenda

2. f. 49r b16

q̄siesse alos fijos

qujSieSe aventaJar alos fijos

In both variants MS. 7403 gives the majority reading. In both variants the MS. 10132 reading is unique. However, neither MS. 10132 reading is obviously defective. If MS. 7403 were a copy or a direct descendant of MS. 10132, one would expect to find the two

readings of the latter MS perpetuated in MS. 7403. Furthermore, if the MS. 7403 scribe corrected the readings, one would not expect those corrections to correspond to the majority readings without recourse to some MS other than the primary source of the copy.

One additional variant in which MSS. 10132 and 7403 disagree forcefully suggests that the scribe of the latter MS did in fact consult a MS from outside family T:

<u>MS. 7403 (T<sub>2</sub>)</u>	<u>MSS. 10132, 642, 321 (T<sub>2</sub>)</u>	<u>MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 (T<sub>1</sub>)</u>
3. f. 291r b18		
E como qujer q̄ entendio q̄ conplia mucho la Su yda ala frontera <u>pero</u> <u>vio que le no hera pro</u> <u>nj honrra llegar ala</u> <u>frontera con pocas</u> <u>compañas que yvan cōel</u> <u>y por esto</u>	E como q̄er q̄ entendio q̄ cūplia mucho la su yda ala frontera por esto	E coṃo q̄r q̄ entendio q̄ cūplja mucho la yda ala frontera <u>con pocas</u> <u>compañas q̄ erã ydas</u> <u>cōl</u> e por esto

MS. 7403 provides the majority reading outside T. The remaining T<sub>2</sub> MSS, 642, 321, 10132, agree and show a significant omission. The corresponding passage in T<sub>1</sub> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 is enlightening; the latter two MSS show a haplography frontera/frontera. MSS. 10132, 642, 321's larger omission seems to indicate that T<sub>2</sub> as well as T<sub>1</sub> showed the haplography, which evidently occurred at T. T<sub>2</sub> most likely omitted con pocas compañas q̄ erã ydas cōl because lacking the preceding clause the segment results in an incomprehensible statement from the military point of view.



If the source of family T showed the haplography, we must conclude that the scribe of  $T_2$  MS. 7403 copied the missing text from a contaminating MS from outside family T. The assumption of contamination in MS. 7403 raises some question as to the validity of the conclusion that MS. 7403 cannot have descended from MS. 10132 because the former MS provides the majority readings encomjenda and aventaJar against the unique emienda,  $\emptyset$  in MS. 10132. Nevertheless, the latter two unique readings in MS. 10132 are not obviously defective. If MS. 7403 were a copy of MS. 10132, the scribe of the former MS would have to have carefully collated MS. 10132 with the contaminating MS in order to catch the discrepancies in his source. The fact that the contaminating MS must have come from outside T family together with the fact that MS. 7403 shares with the remaining  $T_2$  MSS variants 1-56 above, many of which are less satisfactory than the corresponding majority readings outside  $T_2$ , indicates that the scribe of MS. 7403 did not carefully collate his primary source with the contaminating MS.

It might be objected that the  $T_2$  reading as provided by MSS. 10132, 642, 321 in the last variant cited is not obviously faulty and that it was nevertheless corrected by MS. 7403's scribe to concur with the longer majority version. A plausible explanation for the apparent inconsistency is found in the location of the variant within the text; the reading occurs in the opening lines of chapter 64, a point at which the contaminating MS would naturally be consulted and the considerable difference in length of the lines in the  $T_2$  and majority versions would be highly visible. It is thus possible, even probable, that while the last-mentioned majority reading in MS. 7403 was provided

by a contaminating MS, the primary source of MS. 7403 provided the majority readings encomjenda and aventaJar. Assuming that to be the case, the latter two readings in MS. 7403 against the unique emienda and  $\emptyset$  in MS. 10132 indicate that MS. 7403 is not a direct descendant of MS. 10132. We may therefore very tentatively posit for the latter two MSS a common source  $T_3$ , which showed the readings mas, q̃ndo (p. 469), preserved only in that MS pair.

The chronicle combinations in the  $T_2$  MSS seem to support the conclusion that MS. 7403 is not descended from MS. 10132. Three of the four  $T_2$  MSS show chronicles preceding CAX. The fifteenth-century MS. 642 opens with a Crónica de Fernando III and continues with CAX, CSIV and CFIV. The sixteenth-century MS. 321 is a Crónica de once reyes followed by CAX, CSIV and CFIV. The sixteenth-century MS. 7403 is a Crónica de Castilla followed by CAX, CSIV and CFIV. Only the fourteenth-century MS. 10132 begins with CAX and continues with CSIV and CFIV. Given the dates of the MSS, we might conclude that the source of family  $T_2$  showed a tres reyes combination, preserved intact in MS. 10132, and that a descendant of  $T_2$  added the Crónica de Castilla and gave rise to the remaining  $T_2$  MSS with their respective chronicles preceding CAX.

However, the fact that MS. 10132 lacks the Prologue that would normally appear in a tres reyes collection suggests a possible alternative explanation. The redactor of the source of family  $T_2$  may have omitted the Prologue when appending CAX, CSIV and CFIV to another chronicle, perhaps a Crónica de Castilla. There is no inherent problem in assuming that the scribe of MS. 10132 simply chose to copy

only the tres reyes portion of his source; the lack of the Prologue reflects the failure of the Prologue to appear in that source. The remaining  $T_2$  MSS perpetuate in varying degrees the additional chronicles in  $T_2$ . The fact that MS. 7403 shows a Crónica de Castilla preceding CAX, etc. indicates that the latter MS and MS. 10132 could have independently descended from an extended chronicle combination but that the complete MS. 7403 could not have descended from MS. 10132 alone. Positing  $T_3$ , an extended chronicle combination, as the common source for MSS. 10132 and 7403 accounts for all the evidence.

In chapters 64, 65 and 75 the search for variants indicating innovation in MSS. 642 and 321 is minimally fruitful. In fact, the two MSS share no significant variants that are unique to them. The only suggestion of filiation beyond  $T_2$  is their common transcription treujo (MS. 642, f. 87v 15) against the majority Atreujo (MS. N.III.12, f. LIir a26). Nevertheless, the chapter dedicated to the thirtieth year of the reign (BAE ch. 76) provides a striking variant that proves that within family  $T_2$  MSS. 642 and 321 are closely associated. The two MSS show an identical lengthy lacuna beginning at the conclusion of the line: Et llegolo ay a Vna puerta (MS. 642, f. 89r 10). Both MSS leave the remainder of the folio on which the line appears blank and add the note aq̄ fallесе Vna foJa e q̄daron estos espaçios enq̄ se esçujese (MS. 642, f. 89r). Both MSS leave the following page blank and resume the text at the top of the next folio: A todos los ynfantes e rricos om̄s asi como las solian aver (MS. 642, f. 90r 1).<sup>319</sup> The fact that both MSS leave the same amount of space for the missing text and show the same note calling attention to the lacuna suggests

either that the older of the two MSS, the fifteenth-century MS. 642, copied a source containing the lacuna and reacted to it by leaving the spaces and adding the note and then gave rise to the sixteenth-century MS. 321 or that the two MSS independently descended from a lost MS that also showed the spaces and note as well as the lacuna.

The lacuna itself does not necessarily indicate a source for MSS. 642 and 321 other than  $T_2$ . The hypothetical source ( $T_3$ ) of the  $T_2$  MS pair that does not contain the lacuna could have been copied from  $T_2$  before a folio was lost to that MS and before the fifteenth-century MS. 642 or the common source of MSS. 642 and 321 was copied. (Recall that  $T_2$  MS. 10132, which does not contain the lacuna, belongs to the fourteenth century.) However, a damaged  $T_2$  could not have contained the spaces left for the missing text or the note explaining those spaces. The fact of the shared note and spaces strongly suggests that if MS. 642 was not the first MS to react thus to the lacuna and was not the source of MS. 321, then the two MSS shared a common source ( $T_4$ ) intermediary between them and  $T_2$ . There are a number of readings in MS. 642 that imply a common source for the two MSS rather than a relationship of direct descent, i.e. MS. 642 > MS. 321:

<u>MS. 642</u>	<u>MS. 321</u>
1. f. 87v 17 yria dezir	queria dezir
2. f. 86r 13 dicho	∅
3. f. 87r 12 cõmo esto podia <u>fazer</u>	cõmo esto podia

MS. 642

4. f. 86v 16  
 y coñl  
 andauã grandes cõpañas

5. f. 87v 1  
 pa q̃ traxiese la  
 aueneçia coñl p̃pa e  
 grã coñl Rey de françia

6. f. 87r 21  
 e cato maña de coño traxieSen  
 el plĩto coñl Rey de frãçia  
 por q̃ don a<sup>o</sup> Su njeto q̃  
 estaua p<sup>e</sup>so en xatiua en  
 poder del rrey de aragõ  
fuese suelto

7. f. 88r 12  
 mandar a los de los conçejos

MS. 321

Andauan grandẽ conpañas

pa q̃ traxieSe la  
 grã coñl Rey de françia

e cato mañ de coño troxieSen  
 El plĩto coñl Rey de françia  
 por q̃ don alfoñ Su njeto q̃  
 eStaua p̃So en xativa en podrẽ  
 del Rey de Aragon

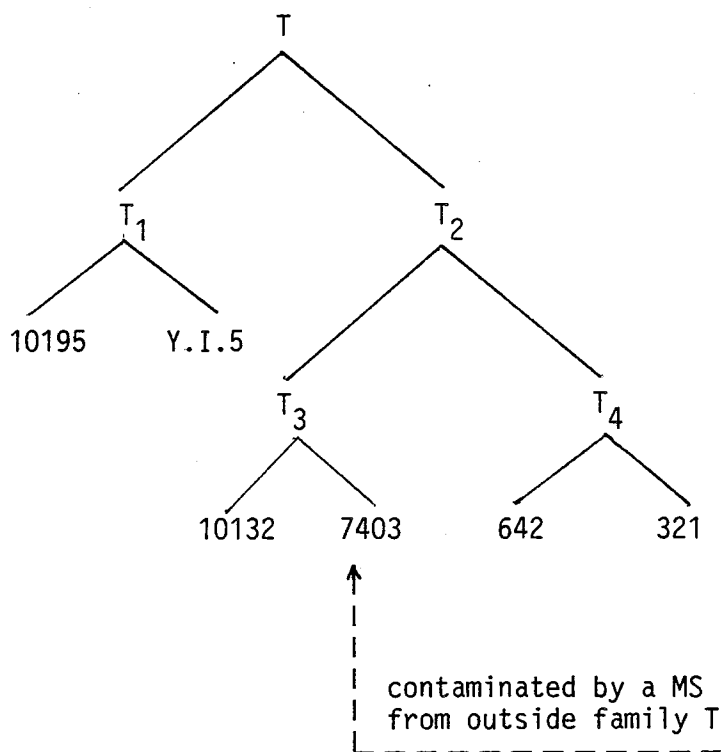
mandar los conçejos

In variants 1 and 2, MS. 321 provides the majority reading. The two variants suggest that MS. 642 is not the source of MS. 321. In variant 3 the majority reading outside family T is essentially that of MS. N.III.12: coño Se podria esto meJor mātener (f. LIv b23). All MSS of family T omit Se, substitute podia for podria, reverse the order of podia and esto and omit meJor mātener. MS. 10132 as well as MS. 642 completes esto podia with fazer. Given the base reading in T, coño esto podia, I believe the agreement of MSS. 642, 10132 on fazer to be a coincidental correction. However, the absence of fazer in MS. 321 most likely indicates that the latter MS is not a direct descendant of MS. 642.

Variants 4-7 involve more obvious corrections in MS. 642. In variants 4 and 5 the added words in MS. 642 appear above the original text, and in variants 6 and 7 the additional text appears in the margins. In variant 4 the majority reading outside T follows andauan with y. All MSS of T except the corrected MS. 642 agree with MS. 321 on the omission of y. MS. 642's coñl is unique. In variant 5 the majority reading outside family T gives plīto rather than grã. All T MSS other than the corrected MS. 642 agree with MS. 321 on grã. I suspect that the scribe of MS. 642 corrected to auenēçia coñl p̃pa e in order to avoid repeating grã, which appears in the majority of witnesses, including T, in the preceding line. In variant 6, MS. 321 again gives the T reading, which differs from the majority version in that the T MSS all add q̃ following por. The resulting T reading lacks a verb in the clause introduced by the new conjunction. The scribe of MS. 642 evidently added fuese suelto in order to complete the sentence. In variant 7 the majority reading outside T<sub>2</sub> is mandar l̃jbrar los cōçeJos q̃ estauã y Juntados (MS. N.III.12, f. LIr b27). T<sub>2</sub> MSS. 10132, 7403, and 321 omit l̃jbrar. Apparently the source of family T<sub>2</sub> omitted l̃jbrar, and the scribe of MS. 642 attempted, unsuccessfully, to complete the statement by adding a los de.

The MS. 642 corrections seem to be in the same ink and in a smaller version of the same hand as the body of the text and are therefore probably contemporary or nearly contemporary to the copy of the MS. The corrections were almost certainly present in MS. 642 at the time the sixteenth-century MS. 321 (1553) was copied. If MS. 321 were a copy or a direct descendant of MS. 642 the scribe of MS. 321 might

have chosen to disregard obvious corrections in MS. 642 had the latter MS' uncorrected readings been as satisfactory. However, the MS. 642 corrections are improvements on the readings provided by the source of the two MSS in variants 3, 4, and 6, yet the corrected readings fail to appear in MS. 321. Therefore, I conclude that MSS. 642 and 321 descended independently from a common source,  $T_4$ .<sup>320</sup> The filiation of the MSS within family T may be tentatively drawn as follows:



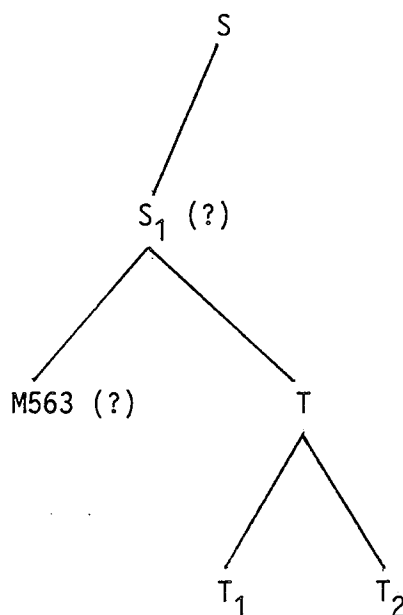
The fourteenth-century S MS. M563 provides a few readings that tenuously associate it with family T:

<u>MS. M563, T<sub>2</sub></u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. MS. M563, f. LIIv b40 del señor <sup>321</sup>	de iñu xpo	(N.III.12) <sup>322</sup>
2. MS. M563, f. LIIIv a11 la Cauaīlia	la cauaīlia <u>toda</u>	(N.III.12) <sup>323</sup>
3. MS. M563, f. LIIIv b36 enbiaua	enbio	(N.III.12) <sup>324</sup>
4. MS. M563, f. LIIv b37 ∅	el p̃p [papa]	(N.III.12) <sup>325</sup>
5. MS. M563, f. LIVv b33 eStas mādaderias	esta mādaderia	
6. MS.M563, f. LIVr a2 por	∅	
<u>MS. M563, T</u>		
7. MS. M563, f. XLVIIr b17 bien e m̃ced <sup>326</sup>	m̃d E biē	(N.III.12) <sup>327</sup>

In six of the seven readings MS. M563 agrees with T<sub>2</sub> against the remaining witnesses. In the seventh, MS. M563 agrees with both T<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>2</sub> against all other witnesses. MS. M563, however, shows no other sign of the numerous innovations characteristic of T. If we posit an S<sub>1</sub> source for T and MS. M563 on the basis of the seven rather weak agreements, there remains the obvious difficulty that in variants 1-6 the T<sub>1</sub> MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 agree with the remaining witnesses against MS. M563 and T<sub>2</sub>. The source of the T<sub>1</sub> MSS would have to have innovated and come up with the majority reading in six separate instances. Given



the nature of the individual variants, such an explanation is perhaps possible if improbable. However, for the present, I have no other. The trivial variant 7 is thus the only straightforward indication of an association of MS. M563 with T in chapters 64, 65 and 75. However, given the extensive innovation in both  $T_1$  and  $T_2$  as well as in T, the lack of further variants associating MS. M563 to T at a hypothetical  $S_1$  is perhaps not too surprising. In any case, the seven readings in chapters 64, 65 and 75 and, more significantly, the lack of evidence to the contrary indicate that the grouping of MS. M563 and T suggested for the Prologue is at least possible. Assuming that relationship, the agreement of the remaining witnesses against MS. M563 and  $T_2$  (T: var. 7) suggests that the shared readings of the latter group are innovative and may be attributed to  $S_1$ . I have therefore, with reservations, posited both an association of MS. M563 to T and a common source for them,  $S_1$ , qualifying both steps with a question mark:



From the seven readings last cited, which show only slight innovation at the hypothetical  $S_1$ , we might conclude that the early MS. M563 is a promising basis for the critical edition of the short-version body of the text. However, MS. M563 shows several unique readings in chapters 64, 65 and 75:

<u>MS. M563</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. f. XLVIr a26 t̃rra	g̃rra	(N.III.12) <sup>328</sup>
2. f. XLVIr b15 otorgaua	Rogaua	
3. f. LVIv a7 ∅	cōseJo Al Jnfāte dō Sancho q̃ fablase	(N.III.12) <sup>329</sup>
4. f. LVIv b34 ∅	pā la g̃rra	(N.III.12) <sup>330</sup>
5. f. LVIv 35 ∅	aujā la	(N.III.12) <sup>331</sup>
6. f. LVIv b39 aujan	armauā	(N.III.12) <sup>332</sup>
7. f. LIIIr a10 del Rey don alfonSo	∅	(N.III.12) <sup>333</sup>
8. f. LIIIr b4 mouieron	moujo	(N.III.12) <sup>334</sup>
9. f. LIIIv a8 entonce	E cō esto	(N.III.12) <sup>335</sup>
10. f. LIIIv a21 ∅	andauā	
11. f. LIIIv a32 fueron	los touo	(N.III.12) <sup>336</sup>

<u>MS. M563</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
12. f. LIIIv b18 oujeSen las CoSas	oujesē <u>Abastamjt<sup>0</sup> de moñ</u> <u>porq̄ por ella oujesen</u> las cosas (N.III.12) <sup>337</sup>
13. f. LIVr a22 diria	q̄ria dezjr (M.II.2) <sup>338</sup>
14. f. LIVr a26 dixole tal Repuesta e dixole	diole tal Repuesta (N.III.12) <sup>339</sup>
15. f. LIVr a28 tal	∅
16. f. LIVr b12 por la Su m̄çet	∅
17. f. LIVr b16 ∅	mas q̄ Vos
18. f. LIVr b23 ∅	de yr por el pl̄to Adelante (N.III.12) <sup>340</sup>
19. f. LIVv a28 luego	∅

We should also recall that outside chapters 64, 65 and 75 MS. M563 shows lengthy interpolations from la Estoria del fecho de los godos (see n. 55), though they can be readily isolated from the CAX text. While the readings unique to MS. M563 show several significant omissions and alterations, that MS is generally less innovative than the S subfamilies S<sub>3</sub>, T and O. MS. M563 is, in sum, a respectable witness for the short-version body of the text as well as for the short-version Prologue.

The remaining S subfamily for chapters 64, 65 and 75, labeled O, consists of MSS. 2880, 1742 and 9-4761, grouped together under the L node in the Prologue stemma, as well as MS. 6410, a member of the S<sub>2</sub> family in the Prologue stemma, and MS. 9233, which lacks the Prologue. (MS. 9233 contains a Crónica de Fernando III followed by CAX and CSIV.) The variants proving the relationship between the five MSS are:

<u>MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761, 6410, 9233</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
1. MS. 2880, f. 219r a1 enbio	ouo enbiado
2. MS. 2880, f. 219v b35 E en cordoua dexo a dō estevā de gallizia e a dō feñr Ruyz de CaSt <sup>0</sup> 341	E en cordoua dexo a dō ferrād Ruyz de castro e a dō esteuā de galjzja (N.III.12) <sup>342</sup>
3. MS. 2880, f. 219v b39 armar la flota E porq̄ fuesē luego <sup>343</sup>	armar la flota e fazer los q̄ fuesen luego (N.III.12) <sup>344</sup>
4. MS. 2880, f. 220r a9 ēlas villas	en las Villas <u>e castillos</u> (N.III.12) <sup>345</sup>
5. MS. 2880, f. 219r b23 dō Sancho	<u>el Jnfantē</u> dō Sancho (N.III.12) <sup>346</sup>
6. MS. 2880, f. 219v b16 fuesē cōl e fue a cordoua <sup>347</sup>	fuesē cō el <u>E todos ot<sup>0</sup>garō</u> <u>q̄ lo fariā de buē talantē Ca</u> <u>muchō estauā desmayados por la</u> <u>muerť de dō ferrñdo E dō Sancho</u> <u>Salio de villa Real E todas</u> <u>aq̄llas gentē cōl E fuerō a</u> cordoua (N.III.12) <sup>348</sup>

MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761  
6410, 9233

ceteri

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 7. MS. 2880, f. 219v b34<br>∅   | ot <sup>o</sup> sy   |
| 8. MS. 2880, f. 226r a12<br>e fizo y bodas a Sus fijos<br>el Jnfāt dō pedro Caso                                | E fizo y bodas A sus fijos el<br>Jnfantē dō pedro <u>E el Jnfantē</u><br><u>dō Juā E el Jnfantē dō pedro</u><br>caso (N.III.12) <sup>349</sup> |
| 9. MS. 2880, f. 226r a13<br>Señor de moljna <sup>350</sup>  | Señor de narbona (N.III.12) <sup>351</sup>   |
| 10. MS. 2880, f. 226r a29<br>dō jayms   | dō Jayms <u>Su fiJo</u> (N.III.12) <sup>352</sup>  |
| 11. MS. 2880, f. 226r b1<br>E leuo el Rey dō pedro<br><u>entōçe</u> del Rey dō alfon <sup>353</sup>             | E leuo el rrey dō p <sup>o</sup> del<br>Rey don a <sup>o</sup> (829) <sup>354</sup>  |
| 12. MS. 2880, f. 226v b9<br>q̄las Sus Rētas q̄ todas<br>erā mēguadas <sup>355</sup>                             | q̄las Sus Rentas todas q̄ erā<br>mēguadas (N.III.12) <sup>356</sup>  |
| 13. MS. 6410, f. 103v 5<br>las monedas q̄ fizieran<br>abatidas en tiempo<br>del Rey don fernando <sup>357</sup> | las mon <sup>s</sup> q̄ fuerō Abatidas en<br>t̄po del Rey dō ferrñdo (N.III.12) <sup>358</sup>   |
| 14. MS. 2880, f. 227r a2<br>gēts [gentes]   | grās [gracias] (N.III.12) <sup>359</sup>   |

On one reading, MSS. 1742, 9-4761, 6410, 9233 differ from MS. 2880, but the two solutions appear to indicate a common origin in a faulty passage in source 0:

MS. 2880

ceteri 0

f. 226r a14

Sancho

Jaymes

All MSS outside family 0 read iohñ (MS. N.III.12, f. L1r a31).

MS. 2880's Sancho is unique. Either the source of family 0 showed an illegible reading which the scribe of MS. 2880 interpreted as Sancho and the source of the remaining four MSS read as Jaymes, or 0 read Jaymes, which was preserved in the majority of 0 MSS and which for some unknown reason was changed to Sancho in MS. 2880. I suspect the latter hypothesis to be more likely as MS. 2880 provides a number of additional unique readings:

<u>MS. 2880</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. f. 219v a15 fazer	∅	
2. f. 219r b18 ∅	yr a	(N.III.12) <sup>360</sup>
3. f. 219v b4 E q̄l ternjā por derecho de heredar el Reyno despūs de Sus dias	E q̄ meṛsçia eredarlo despūs de Sus dias	(N.III.12) <sup>361</sup>
4. f. 226v a30 avn andauā	demāduā	(N.III.12) <sup>362</sup>
5. f. 226v b38 xaca	xatiū	(N.III.12) <sup>363</sup>
6. f. 227r a4 el papa traxieSe el plīto de dō alfō	el p̄p traxiese el plīto <u>coñl</u> <u>Rey de frāçia en plīto de</u> dō alfoñ	(N.III.12) <sup>364</sup>
7. f. 227v a14 e q̄ q̄nto el q̄SjeSe	E q̄ <u>le ot<sup>o</sup>gasen</u> q̄nto el q̄siese	(N.III.12) <sup>365</sup>

In all cases MSS. 1742, 9-4761, 6410, 9233 fundamentally agree with the majority readings against innovations in MS. 2880. MS. 2880, therefore, is not the source of any of the remaining members of family 0. However, the fact that within short-version family 0 MS. 2880 as well as MS. 1742 and MS. 9-4761 carries a long-version Prologue with regard to whose text those three MSS form a closely related group leads us to expect a similarly close relationship between them in the body of the text. There are in chapters 64, 65 and 75 a few slight indications that the three MSS shared a common source below 0. All three MSS show E q̄ (MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv a21) against Ca in MSS. 9233 and 6410, the majority reading outside 0. In two readings MSS. 2880, 9-4761 and 1742 provide different solutions that seem to indicate omission and innovation in a common source:

<u>MSS. 1742, 9-4761</u>	<u>MS. 2880</u>	<u>MSS. 9233, 6410</u>
1. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIv b26 acerca de la vega de granada	f. 226r b23 cerca de granada	MS. 9233, f. 93v a10 cerca la villa de granada
2. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr a9 e non en otra manera	f. 226v a18 e en ot <sup>a</sup> maña nō	MS. 9233, f. 93v b3 e otra manera non

MSS. 9233 and 6410 again give the majority reading outside 0. The source of MSS. 2880, 9-4761 and 1742 evidently omitted la villa in variant 1; MS. 2880 preserved the shorter reading, while MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 added la vega, found in no other MS but frequently mentioned in all witnesses in the course of the narration preceding the variant. In variant 2 we might deduce that the en of MSS. 2880, 1742 and 9-4761 was added in their common source.

The evidence in chapters 64, 65 and 75 that associates the three MSS below 0 is admittedly meager. Nevertheless, the fact of the appearance of the L Prologue in three of the S MSS belonging to the 0 family would seem to add significance to the three variants that might otherwise be set aside as trivial. I therefore conclude that the three tenuous variants do in fact reflect the filiation of MSS. 2880, 1742 and 9-4761 below 0 at their common source  $0_1$ , which combined the short-version body of text with the long-version Prologue.

The close relationship of MSS. 1742 and 9-4761, labeled P in the Prologue stemma, is confirmed by the variants in chapters 64, 65 and 75:

<u>MSS. 1742, 9-4761</u>	<u>ceteri 0</u>	
1. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr a12 ∅	e yua	(2880) <sup>366</sup>
2. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr a36 al tiempo que fino Don fernando	al tpo q̄ vjno el Jnfantē dō ferr <sup>o</sup> a villa Real	
3. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr a53 e luego fino este ynfante	e luego eSte Jnfantē fino	
4. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr b1 los q̄ alli eran llegados	los q̄ erā y llegados	(2880) <sup>367</sup>
5. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr b7 enbiaron	leuarō	
6. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr b12 Agora dexa la historia de fablar desto e contara el cobro	agora cōtaremos enel cobro	(2880) <sup>368</sup>
7. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr b16 ∅	alḡs de	



MSS. 1742, 9-4761ceteri 0

- |   |   |                       |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| 8. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr b21<br>a cresciendo  | crescio   | (2880) <sup>369</sup> |
| 9. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr b35<br>∅   | de dias   |                       |
| 10. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr b49<br>feziesse <sup>370</sup>                              | ayudaSe   |                       |
| 11. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv a7<br>∅   | E avn q̄ fablaria q̄ todos los<br>delos cõçeJos de las villas<br>de caStilla e cõ muchos del<br>Reyno de leõ q̄ fezieSẽ esto<br>mesmo po q̄ q̄ria q̄le p <sup>o</sup> metieSe<br>q̄ faziẽdo le eSto q̄le avia<br>dicho q̄le cõplieSe lo q̄ avia<br>p <sup>o</sup> metido e dõ Sancho p <sup>o</sup> metio | (2880) <sup>371</sup> |
| 12. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv a7<br>firmados los pleitos                                  | los plĩtos firmados   |                       |
| 13. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv a28<br>Se llamasse luego                                    | luego se llamaSe  |                       |
| 14. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv a29<br>el ynfante   | ∅   |                       |
| 15. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv b1<br>Rogo  | Rogo e mãdo   |                       |
| 16. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv b31<br>asi  | ∅   |                       |
| 17. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIv b35<br>agora dexa la historia<br>de contar desto por contar | agora la estoria cõtara   |                       |

MSS. 1742, 9-4761ceteri 0

18. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIv b15  
vega de granada otra vegada  
Enel mes de Junio  
vega de granada otra vegada  
E todas las gvest̃ fuerō  
ayütadas eñl mes de Junjo (2880)<sup>372</sup>
19. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIv b20  
∅  
el jnfañ
20. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIv b25  
esquiua  
crua (2880)<sup>373</sup>
21. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIv b40  
E el ynfante mostrosse  
aqui por  
E eSte dia mostrose el por
22. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr a4  
estado  
lugar (2880)<sup>374</sup>
23. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr a29  
enbio cartas por todos sus  
Reynos a cada<sup>375</sup>  
ēbio a toda la Su t̃rra  
e a cada (2880)<sup>376</sup>
24. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr a33  
por  
añ
25. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr a38  
∅  
en buē lugar (2880)<sup>377</sup>
26. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr b11  
mēster ouiesse  
oujesen menester (9233)<sup>378</sup>
27. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr b12  
con temor mas q̃ con amor  
mas cō temor q̃ cō amor
28. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr b29  
fecho  
pl̃ito
29. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr b35  
avia con Don Alfonso<sup>379</sup>  
avja comēçado de dō alfoñ

MSS. 1742, 9-4761ceteri 0

30. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr b39 era <sup>380</sup>	eStaua	
31. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr b44 en Razon	∅	
32. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIr b50 a lo dezir al ynfante	a gelo dezir	
33. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIv a29 ∅	estas palabras	
34. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIv a40 en su yntencion <sup>381</sup>	cō entēdimj <sup>0</sup>	(2880) <sup>382</sup>
35. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIv a50 pidierōle <sup>383</sup>	pediendole	(2880) <sup>384</sup>
36. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIv b3 ∅ <sup>385</sup>	todos	
37. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIv b5 El Rey Su padre avia fecho	auja fecho el rrey su padre	(9233) <sup>386</sup>
38. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIv b35 enbio a mouer <sup>387</sup>	ēbio <u>luego</u> mouer	(2880) <sup>388</sup>
39. MS. 1742, f. XXXVIIIv b37 ∅	su priuado	
40. MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr a42 fiziesses	ayudase e feziess	(2880) <sup>389</sup>

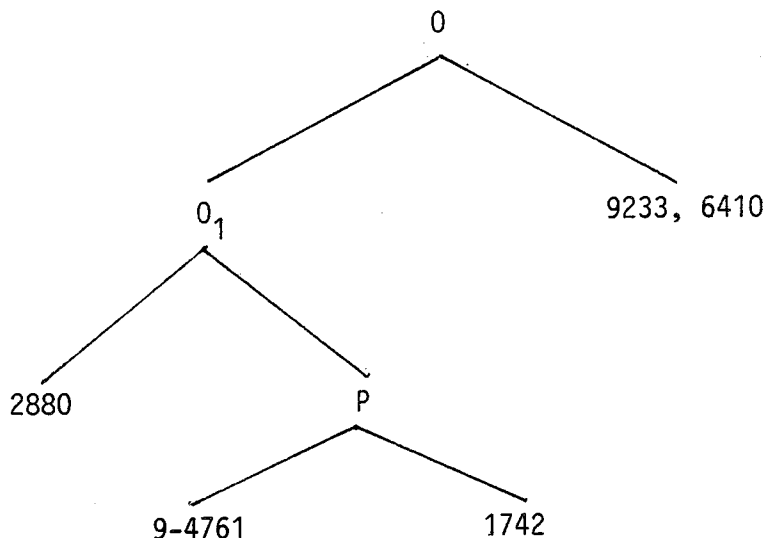
Finally, both MS. 1742 and MS. 9-4761 fail to observe the normal division between BAE chapters 64 and 65. Both MSS collapse the two chapters into one, numbered XLI (MS. 1742, f. XXXIIr a7; MS. 9-4761, f. 35v b2). In all cases the readings of MSS. 2880, 9233 and 6410 better reflect the majority readings outside 0. Several of the

solutions in MSS. 1742 and 9-4761 involve simple reorderings of the elements of the majority reading (vars. 3, 4, 12, 13, 27, 37). In general, the vast majority of the variants represent exclusive innovations of MSS. 1742 and 9-4761.

The latter two MSS disagree in only two readings in chapters 64, 65, and 75:

<u>MS. 1742</u>	<u>MS. 9-4761</u>
1. f. XXXVIIIv a10 E desde El Rey Don Alfonso Sopo esta Respuesta	e desq̃ Sopo el rrey don alfonSo esta rrespuesta
2. f. XXXIIr b31 plugo <u>mucho</u>	plugo

In variant 1 the fourteenth-century MS. 9-4761 provides the majority reading both within and outside family O. The fifteenth-century MS. 1742 merely relocates the verb. In variant 2 MS. 1742 shows the majority reading mucho which is absent in the earlier MS of the pair. Although the second variant shows an agreement of the later MS with the majority against an omission in MS. 9-4761, the reading is so trivial as to admit of the conclusion that the agreement of MS. 1742 and the majority of witnesses on mucho is coincidental. As for the Prologue, MS. 1742 may be a direct descendant or copy of MS. 9-4761. If the latter is in fact the point of origin for the innovations shared by the two MSS, positing a common source P for them is unnecessary. I have nevertheless included P in the stemma in deference to the two instances in which the MSS disagree:



The last two 0 MSS, 9233 and 6410, agree against the remaining members of the family in only two innovative readings. The first is relatively insignificant but may reflect filiation:

MS. 9233

MS. 6410

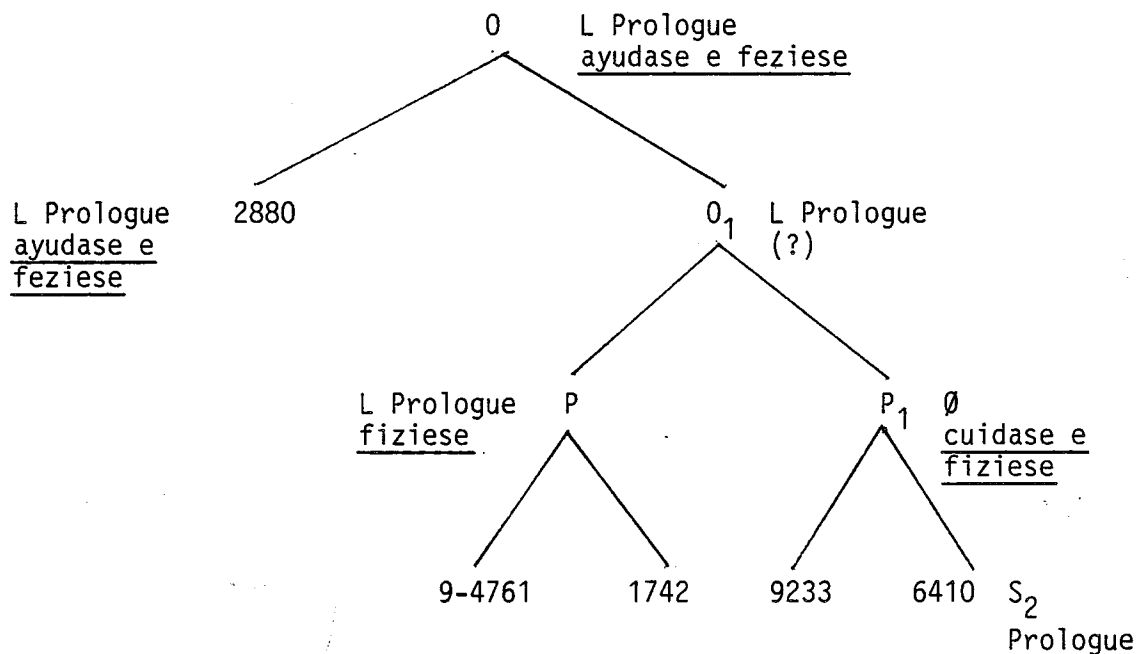
ceteri 0

f. 86r. a24.

e andido los que andando lo  $\bar{q}$  mas pudo andudo lo mas  $\bar{q}$  pudo  
 mas pudo (2880)<sup>390</sup>

The majority reading outside family 0 is that of MS. 2880. The innovation in MSS. 6410 and 9233 boils down to the relocation of mas. The second reading, however, is probatory. Both MSS. 9233 and 6410 read cuidase e fiziese (MS. 6410, f. 88v 34; MS. 9233: feziese). MS. 2880 gives the majority reading outside family 0: ayudase e feziese (f. 219r a32). MSS. 1742 and 9-4761 read fiziese (MS. 1742, f. XXXIir a42). Either MSS. 9233 and 6410 share a common source below 0, or MS. 6410 (1550) is descended from the fifteenth-century MS. 9233.

In the last reading the differing but equally faulty solutions provided by the two pairs of MSS, 9-4761 and 1742 vis-à-vis 9233 and 6410, might be interpreted to indicate for the four MSS a common source below 0 in which the ayudase segment of text was partially illegible. In that case we would assume that 0 contained the L Prologue preserved in MSS. 2880, 1742 and 9-4761:



There is no obvious problem in assuming that 0 showed an L Prologue;  $P_1$  could have omitted it, or the older  $P_1$  MS, 9233, which appends CAX and CSIV to CFIII, could have set it aside and given rise to MS. 6410. MS. 6410, which shows an  $S_2$  Prologue closely related to MS. N.III.12, would have copied that Prologue from a contaminating MS since its immediate source contained no Prologue.

However, the tree given above does not account for the three instances in which MSS. 2880, 1742 and 9-4761 agree against the majority

readings in the remaining 0 MSS: E ñ vs. Ca; vega, Ø vs. villa; en vs. Ø (p. 485). We must therefore conclude that the latter three variants are the result of coincidence or reject the stemma suggested on the basis of the ayudase e feziese reading and assume that the differing defective readings with regard to that variant in MSS. 9-4761, 1742, 9233 and 6410 are not in any way related. Because the agreement of the two pairs of MSS in their versions of ayudase e feziese involves no more than concurrence on a point of difficulty, the latter explanation is clearly preferable.

MSS. 9233 and 6410 disagree on a number of readings:

<u>MS. 9233</u>	<u>MS. 6410</u>
1. f. 94r a15 dieronle por rrepuesta	dieronle la Respuesta
2. f. 85v b1 del rregno	de los Reynos
3. f. 85v b31 touiese	vuiese
4. f. 86r a23 acaçio	acuçio
5. f. 86r b2 sancho	alfonso
6. f. 94r b29 dexaua	dexaria
7. f. 86v a18 delos moros	destos moros

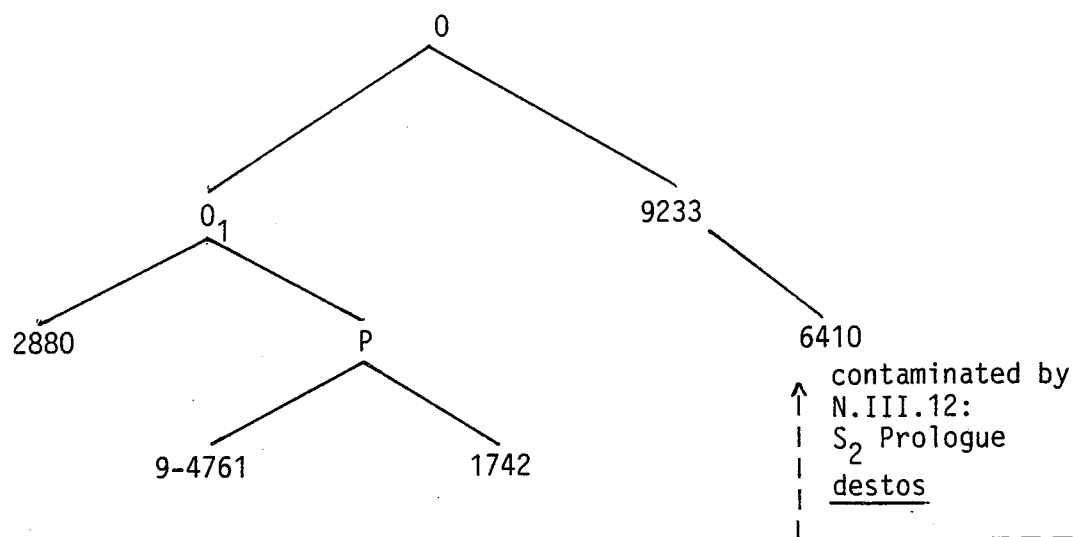
In the first variant MS. 9233 gives the majority reading against the unique solution in MS. 6410. The variant is consistent with

positing the later MS. 6410 as a direct descendant of MS. 9233. Variants 2-6, on the other hand, all show MS. 9233 readings that are unique within, and rare outside, the O family against the majority readings in MS. 6410. As a group, the variants would seem to suggest that MS. 6410 did not descend from MS. 9233.

Nevertheless, MS. 6410 could have altered MS. 9233's readings on variants 2, 3, 6 to agree coincidentally with the majority. Variants 4 and 5 involve obvious errors in MS. 9233, both of which would have been corrected to the majority reading by any moderately attentive scribe. The context of variant 4 is po enel camino sopo la muerte del Jnfante dō ferrnando acaeçio las Jornadas (MS. 9233, f. 86r a22). MS. 9233's acaeçio is a misreading of acuçio. Similarly, the context of variant 5 leaves no doubt as to the appropriate reading: E rreçelando quel rrey don sancho desque venjese q̃rria fazer a don iohñ nuñez las onrras e meJorias que fazian [sic] a don nuño Su padre e que si en aquel tienpo ayudase el bien al Jnfante don Sancho (MS. 9233, f. 86r b1). The passage concerns Lope Diaz de Haro's reasons for supporting Don Sancho as heir against the Lara candidate, Alfonso de la Cerda. Alfonso X is still very much the reigning monarch. The curious aspect of the variant is not that MS. 6410 would have corrected it, but rather that the MS. 9233 error appears also in MS. N.III.12. In variant 7, MS. 9233 once again offers the majority reading. The destos in MS. 6410 could represent a simple emendation of delos. However, the former reading also appears outside the O family in MS. N.III.12. To sum up, the differing readings in MSS. 9233 and 6410 are not compelling evidence either for a common source below O or for



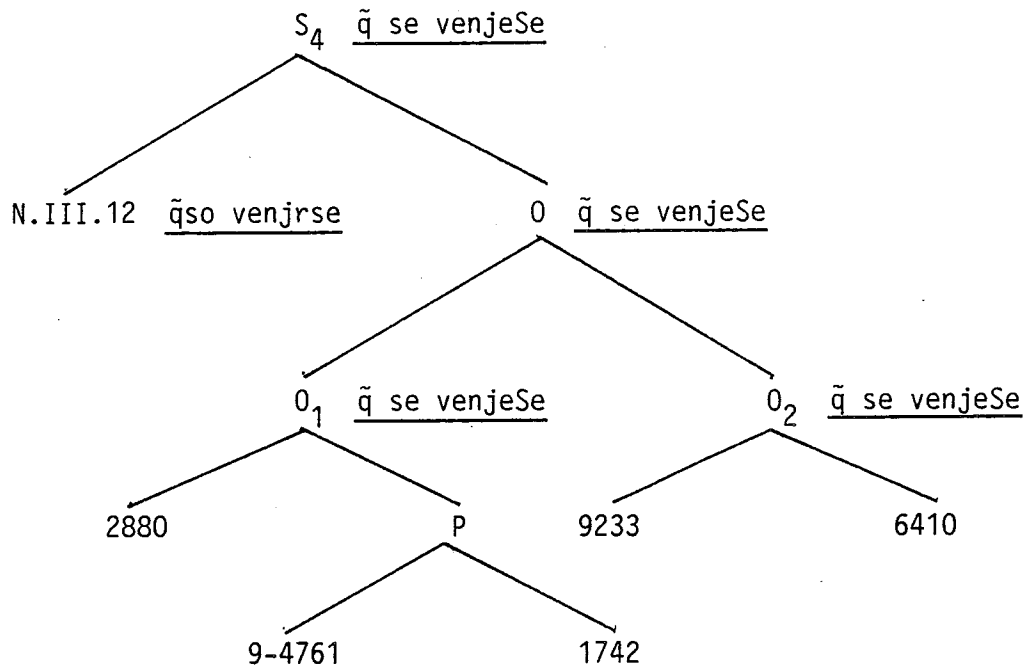
a relationship of direct descent. We must therefore consider two possible filiations: the first posits MS. 9233 as MS. 6410's source:



For the foregoing diagram, we would assume that MS. 9233 was the first MS to show the two variants found only in MSS. 9233 and 6410. Because MS. 9233 contains no Prologue, since CAX and CSIV follow the Crónica de Fernando III in that MS, the question as to the contents of 0 becomes for the moment irrelevant. Whether MS. 9233 inherited the MS contents from 0 or was the first MS in the family so to arrange them, MS. 6410 would have copied CAX and CSIV from MS. 9233, but of necessity would have turned to an additional source, MS. N.III.12, or a no longer extant relative of that MS, in order to copy the Prologue. In this view, the agreement of MSS. 9233 and N.III.12 on the erroneous sancho (p. 493, var. 5) is coincidental. Yet the agreement of MSS. 6410 and N.III.12 on destos and the presence in the former of a Prologue closely related to that of MS. N.III.12 make such an explanation suspicious. We could posit a common source for MSS. 9233 and

6410 that was contaminated by MS. N.III.12, thus accounting for all three concurrences. As far as it goes, the latter hypothesis is superior to that positing MS. 9233 as a source for 6410. However, there is one revealing reading that associates MS. N.III.12 with MSS. 2880, 9233 and 6410 whose implications answer neatly and at once a number of questions.

MS. N.III.12 provides the unique reading q̃so venjrse (f. LIIV a14). The majority of the witnesses read q̃ Se vernja (MS. M563, f. LIVv a17). MSS. 2880, 9233 and 6410 read q̃ se venjeSe (MS. 2880, f. 227r a15). I strongly suspect that the MS. N.III.12 q̃so venjrse is a misreading of q̃ se venjeSe, which would have been present in its source. The fact that MS. 2880 shows q̃ se venjeSe suggests that the influence of MS. N.III.12 or, more properly, the source of MS. N.III.12 was not limited to MSS. 9233 and 6410 in the O family. MS. N.III.12 and the five MSS belonging to the O family most likely descend from a common source  $S_4$ . The hypothesis accounts for the reading sancho in MS. 9233 as well as the reading destos and the presence of the  $S_2$  Prologue in MS. 6410. The assumption of an  $S_4$  Prologue that was closely related to the corrupt version in MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 also explains the existence of the anomalous L Prologue in the short-version MSS. 2880, 1742 and 9-4761 belonging to the  $O_1$  family; apparently the superiority of the L Prologue over the  $S_2$  Prologue was evident to the scribe of  $O_1$ . Finally, the satisfactory explanation of the differing readings in MSS. 9233 and 6410 that concur with those of MS. N.III.12 tips the balance in favor of positing a common source,  $O_2$ , for the former two MSS:



MS. N.III.12 shows a few additional unique readings:

MS. N.III.12

ceteri

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. f. XLIIIIv a17<br/>           Rogole mucho Afincadamē<br/>           en maña q̃ <del>de</del> dō alfoñ<br/>           fiJo deste dō ferrñdo<br/>           heredase</p> | <p>rrogole mucho afyncadamēte<br/> <u>q̃ ayudase e fiziese en manera</u><br/>           q̃ don alfoñ fiJo deste don<br/>           ferrn<sup>o</sup> heredase (829)<sup>391</sup></p> |
| <p>2. f. LIr b19<br/>           ∅</p>   | <p>de granada otra vegada (M563)<sup>392</sup></p>  |
| <p>3. f. LIr b2<br/>           ∅</p>  | <p>en burgos</p>  |
| <p>4. f. XLVv a5<br/>           ∅</p>   | <p>todas</p>  |
| <p>5. f. LIv a25<br/>           ∅</p>   | <p>por</p>  |

<u>MS. N.III.12</u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
6. f. LIIr a1 E	∅	
7. f. XLIIIIv a33 tā	∅	
8. f. LIIr b7 q̃ria fazer	faria	(M563) <sup>393</sup>
9. f. XLVv a18 e	njn	(M.II.2) <sup>394</sup>
10. f. LIIv a21 g̃r̃ra	vega	(M563) <sup>395</sup>

Variants 1-5 involve omissions; 6-7, trivial additions; 8-9, slight alterations, of the majority text. As with MS. M563, the innovations of MS. N.III.12 are generally less significant than those found in the remaining witnesses to chapters 64, 65 and 75. MS. N.III.12 is a better witness for the short version in the body of the text than its Prologue would lead us to expect.

All S MSS have been tentatively placed within the stemma, MS. M563 more tentatively than the remaining S witnesses. For chapters 64, 65 and 75 the source linking MSS. N.III.12, 6410, 829, and 84-7-34, tentatively labeled  $S_2$ , which the Prologue stemma leads us to expect, remains as elusive as the precise relationship of MS. M563 to the remaining S witnesses. There are a number of readings in which MS. M563,  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  agree against  $S_1$ -L. However, such readings are no doubt those of the original short version. Therefore, whether or not MS. M563 does in fact belong below a hypothetical  $S_1$ , the original readings shared by that MS,  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  prove no association other than their common exclusion from T and  $L_1$ .

The same problem arises with the majority of the readings shared by  $S_3$  and  $S_4$ . On a number of occasions,  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  clearly preserve the original readings against innovations in the remaining MSS. While those readings are fundamental to the establishment of the critical text of the short version, they provide no proof of the existence of  $S_2$ . There are, however, a very few readings provided by  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  that may indicate such a source:

1. E leuaua la delantera el Jnfantē dō Sancho E la vna costanera el Infante dō pedro E la oñ el Jnfantē dō iohñ

(MS. N.III.12, f. LIr b21)<sup>396</sup>

All witnesses outside of families  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  show a second costanera following la oñ. If the lack of costanera<sub>2</sub> in  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  can be attributed to omission, the reading can be considered evidence for their common source,  $S_2$ . The reading itself is of little help. Both versions make sense, and either addition or omission of costanera<sub>2</sub> is possible. It is not necessary to assume that the addition of costanera<sub>2</sub> would involve three independent emendations in  $L_1$ , T and MS. M563. If the hypothetical  $S_1$  added costanera<sub>2</sub>, the reading would have passed on to MS. M563 and T. We have already seen that an  $S_1$  witness as well as an  $S_3$  witness was probably consulted at the formation of  $L_1$ . If costanera<sub>2</sub> is an interpolation, all witnesses that show it could have received it as the result of a single intervention at  $S_1$ . The chief indication that the reading of  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  may be the result of an omission in  $S_2$  is that the Prologue readings reveal that omission is a characteristic of that source. On the other hand, neither the Prologue variants nor the variants in chapters 64, 65 and 75 show additions of text at  $S_2$ .

A second similar reading involves two possible instances of omission at  $S_2$ :

2. E el Rey enbio luego cometer al Rey de aragō q̄ Se Viesen de So Vno  
E el Rey dō pedro Vjno A taraçona E el Rey Vjno a agreda

(MS. N.III.12, f. LIr b4)<sup>397</sup>

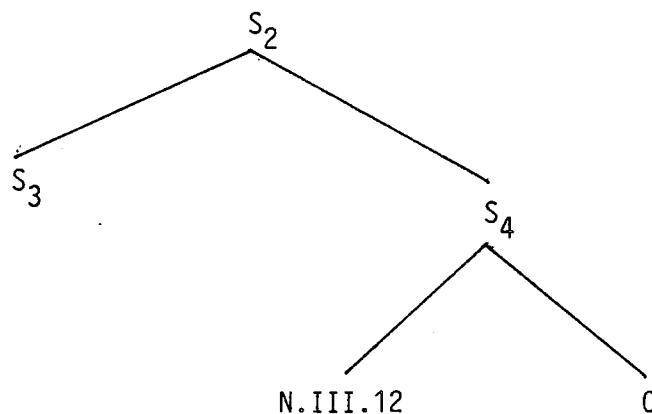
$T_1$  MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 and  $L_1$  MS. Y.II.15 agree with  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  as to dō pedro. However, all other MSS follow dō pedro with de aragon. Immediately following the next occurrence of el Rey, three  $S_3$  MSS, 2777, 829 and 84-7-34, show dō alfoñ in agreement with all MSS other than the remaining  $S_3$  MSS and those of  $S_4$ . 0 MSS. 9-4761 and 1742 omit the last mention of Rey, thus converting the definite article el into a subject pronoun. Given the content of the passage, the indecision of the witnesses on de aragon and dōñ alfoñ is understandable; the demands of clarity and the avoidance of repetition are obviously in conflict. I suspect that in the original the desire for clarity took precedence and both de aragon and dōñ alfoñ were included. The case for the inclusion of dōñ alfoñ is especially strong as its presence results in a clause structure that parallels that of the preceding clause. The agreement of the majority of MSS from the combined groups of  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  as to the lack of de aragon and dōñ alfoñ seems to argue rather well for two omissions at  $S_2$ .

$S_2$  may have omitted a majority reading in one other instance:

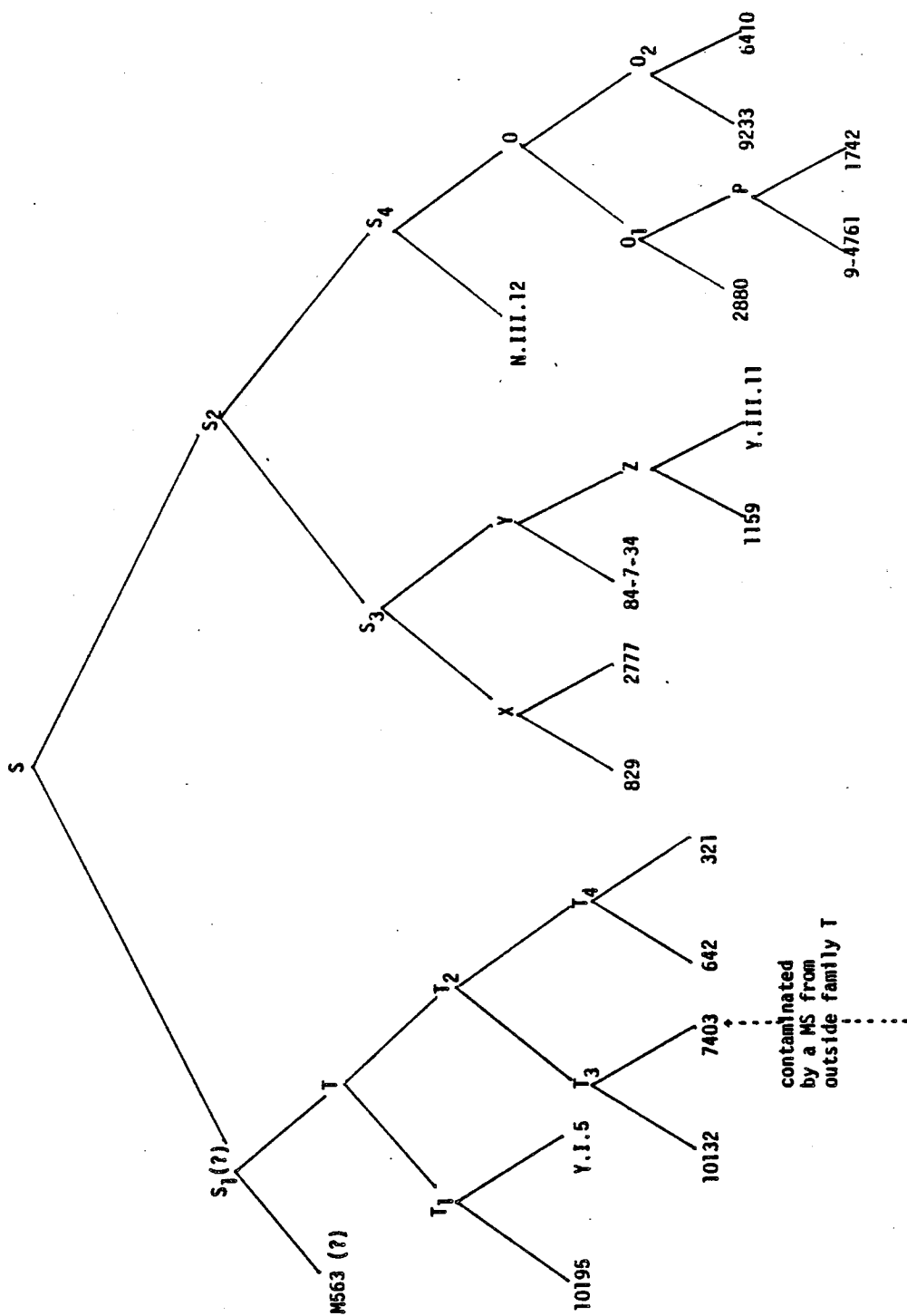
3. el gelo q̄ria por Sy dezjr (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIr a40)<sup>398</sup>

The majority of witnesses follow Sy with mesmo (mismo).  $T_1$  MSS. 10195 and Y.I.5 agree with  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  on the lack of mesmo. The four  $T_2$  MSS omit por Sy but include mesmo earlier in the line following the

initial el. It is impossible to say with any certainty that  $S_2$  and  $T_1$  independently omitted an original mesmo. However, the  $T_2$  reading rather inclines me to believe that they did. Allowing the three readings as evidence for  $S_2$ , the relationship of  $S_3$  to  $S_4$  may be represented as follows:



The lack of evidence of further innovation at  $S_2$  suggests that the  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  MSS at their points of agreement are far more reliable in the body of the text than in the Prologue. The sorting of the individual variants confirms the conclusion. The readings of the family as a whole are frequently corroborated by MS. M563 and would thus appear to be original. The addition of  $S_2$  results in the following short-version stemma:





At this point it is appropriate to return to the interpretation of a group of Prologue variants pertaining to the  $S_2$  family that is inconsistent with the proposed stemma for the short-version MSS based on chapters 64, 65 and 75. We may recall that in the Prologue,  $S_2$  MS. 829 shows the majority reading in three instances against defective readings in the  $S_2$  MSS, N.III.12, 6410 and 84-7-34:

<u>MS. 829</u>		<u>MSS. N.III.12 6410, 84-7-34</u>
1. f. 9r a16		
vinierō		vieron
<u>MS. 829</u>	<u>MSS. N.III.12, 6410</u>	<u>MS. 84-7-34</u>
2. f. 9r a39		
Rodrigo	antiguo	atanarigo
3. f. 9r a34		
mãdo	∅	fizo

I concluded that  $S_2$  gave the majority reading in all three cases. MS. 829 preserved those readings, and subsequent copies of the  $S_2$  Prologue gave rise to the faulty versions in MSS. N.III.12, 6410 and 84-7-34 (see pp. 348-51).

In the stemma based on chapters 64, 65 and 75, the grouping of MSS. 829 and 84-7-34 in family  $S_3$  and of MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 in  $S_4$  renders the explanation given above doubtful. Since the amount of evidence for the family divisions  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  in the three chapters is compelling, we should consider the possibility that  $S_2$  showed a faulty reading on Rodrigo (var. 2) and that the scribe of MS. 829 corrected that reading to concur with the majority. The reading required by

the context and therefore the error are fairly obvious. It is also conceivable that MS. 84-7-34 and the source of MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 independently misread vinierō as vieron (var. 1). The abbreviation of vinierō by means of the suppression of the internal as well as the final n results in a form begging to be misread as vierō. Finally, the MS. 84-7-34 fizo (var. 3) and the MSS. N.III.12 and 6410  $\emptyset$  against the majority mādo in MS. 829 do not of necessity indicate a common faulty source below  $S_2$  for MSS. 84-7-34, N.III.12 and 6410. Barring contamination of MS. 829, by means of which all three erroneous  $S_2$  readings would have been corrected in that MS, it is probably best to attribute to  $S_2$  a defective reading on Rodrigo but majority readings as to the remaining two variants. The agreement of  $S_3$  MS. 84-7-34 with  $S_4$  MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 on vieron would be spontaneous, and the difficulty seen in  $S_3$  MS. 84-7-34 as well as in  $S_4$  MSS. N.III.12 and 6410 in the mādo/∅/fizo variant would have occurred independently in  $S_4$  (Y?) and  $S_3$ . Nevertheless, the fact that  $S_3$  MS. 84-7-34 seems to cross family boundaries and show if not total agreement at least points of contact with the  $S_4$  MSS against the remaining  $S_3$  MSS on three separate occasions would seem significant. For the present, the question as to the development of the Prologue below  $S_2$  remains open.

With the  $L_1$  and  $S$  stemmata completed, we may turn to the few indications that suggest that the second short-version witness consulted by the redactor of the long version was related to  $T$ . To this point, we may be reasonably sure that the second  $S$  source for  $L_1$  provided the basis of encomendaua in  $L_1$ 's mandaua e encomendaua and the tomar in  $L_1$ 's mober e tomar.  $S_1$  and  $S_4$  read encomēdo and tomar ( $T_2$ , a

subfamily of  $S_1$ , omits tomar) against the innovative mando and mouer in  $S_3$ , which account for the remaining elements in the two conflated  $L_1$  readings (see III.2, 399-400). We also know that the long version does not agree with  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  on the three readings that we have assumed to be the result of omissions at  $S_2$ . However, because the readings encomēdo and tomar as well as the  $S_1$  and  $L_1$  versions as to the three  $S_2$  omissions reflect the original readings, the second  $S$  source for  $L_1$  may be viewed as descending from the original short version above the proposed  $S_1/S_2$  bifurcation. Given the early date suggested for the formation of the long version and the scarcity of innovative readings attributable to  $S_1$  or  $S_2$ , this may be the best solution. Nevertheless, I list below the agreements in chapters 64, 65 and 75 between the long-version MSS and the T family of MSS (a subfamily of  $S_1$ ) as a preliminary step toward future conclusions that may arise from further collation of the body of the text:

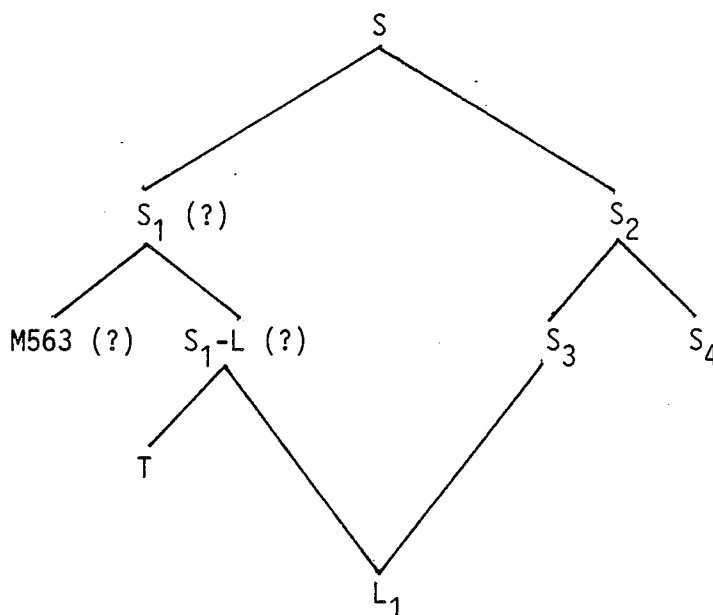
<u><math>L_1, T</math></u>	<u>ceteri</u>	
1. MS. M.II.2, f. 68v a18 fecho <sup>399</sup>	plīto	
2. MS. M.II.2, f. 68v a12 bien con el papa <sup>400</sup>	biē del p̄p	(N.III.12) <sup>401</sup>
3. MS. M.II.2, f. 67v b21 entrasen a la vega con e1 <sup>402</sup>	entrasen coñl A la Vega	(N.III.12) <sup>403</sup>
4. MS. M.II.2, f. 57v a4 ∅	entonce	(2777) <sup>404</sup>

Thus far the variants are trivial. The agreement of MS. M563 with the remaining witnesses against  $L_1$  and T might be interpreted to suggest no more than slight and independent innovation in both  $L_1$  and T. In variant 2, MSS. M563, 9-4761 and 1742 (the P group) all follow biē with quisto (MS. M563, f. LIVr a9). Rather than suggesting filiation of MS. M563 to P, the added quisto probably indicates independent responses to an original biē del pp̃, which may have seemed incomplete. The  $L_1$  and T scribes also apparently found the reading unsatisfactory and substituted con for del. In sum the readings provide little evidence for an association of  $L_1$  and T beyond coincidence.

However, there are two readings in  $L_1$  and T that may constitute independent innovations of a common source.  $L_1$  reads era heredero estos ṽros Reynos (MS. M.II.2, f. 69r a1)<sup>405</sup> against the majority reading: era Ṽro heredero destos Regnos (MS. N.III.12, f. LIIr b16).<sup>406</sup> The six T MSS read era ṽro heredero delos ṽros Reynos (MS. 642, f. 88r 5). A common source for  $L_1$  and T may have provided the latter reading, probably showing destos rather than T's delos. The careful redactor of the long version would then have omitted the first ṽro for obvious reasons.

In the second reading the  $L_1$  MSS read ganaria los coraçõs delos õms del Reyno (MS. M.II.2, f. 57r b3)<sup>407</sup> against the majority reading: ganaria los coraçõs de todos los delos Regnos (MS. M563, f. LVIr a21).<sup>408</sup> The T MSS all lack  $L_1$ 's õms, include the majority todos, but place the latter word after ganaria: ganaria todos los coraçõs delos del Reg<sup>o</sup> (MS. 10195, f. Lr 18).<sup>409</sup> The source of T and  $L_1$  would have shown the majority todos, most likely misplaced as in  $T_1$ ,

which would account for its omission in T<sub>2</sub> and L<sub>1</sub>. The source would have agreed with the following majority segment los<sub>2</sub> de, which was preserved in T. Lacking the majority todos immediately preceding los<sub>2</sub>, the subsequent L<sub>1</sub> innovation to los<sub>2</sub> om̄s is logical. Inasmuch as all L<sub>1</sub> and T MSS read -l Reyno rather than -los Regnos, the singular would be attributed to innovation in the source of L<sub>1</sub> and T. A common source for L<sub>1</sub> and T, labeled S<sub>1</sub>-L, is far from proven, but certainly possible:



The combined evidence of the Prologue and chapters 64, 65 and 75 leaves no doubt as to the existence and importance of the long-version CAX. Because both the V1554 and BAE editions are based on S<sub>2</sub> witnesses, the long version has been available only to those who have consulted L<sub>1</sub> MSS directly. To my knowledge, the only scholar to have deduced the presence of a long-version variant in more than one MS was Evelyn S. Proctor. Therefore, a future edition of CAX should include the

long-version variants. At the same time, the original short version, which is poorly represented in the V1554 and BAE editions, should receive first priority in a critical edition that combines the two versions. The continuing collation of the seventy-four remaining chapters of CAX will permit an estimate of the number and extension of the long-version variants, at which point the option of parallel editions for the two versions may be accepted or rejected.

We need no further collation, however, to conclude that for both long and short versions the edition of a single MS as representative of the version it carries is less desirable than a critical edition. While the  $L_1$  stemma recommends no one superior MS as the basis for the long-version edition, we may set aside as secondary MS. 336, the direct descendant of MS. Z.III.12.  $N_1$  MSS. 1775 and B1489 may also be relegated to inferior status because N MS. 327 most faithfully represents that family. Although MSS. Y.II.15 and Z.III.12 are both contaminated, their common source,  $L_2$ , seems to provide a few original  $L_1$  readings that were altered at M. The points of agreement between MSS. Y.II.15 and Z.III.12 must be compared to M for the establishment of the critical text. Given the sporadic innovation in the M MSS, all must be considered, and each corrected against agreements in the others and in MSS. Y.II.15 and Z.III.12.

The S stemma implies the general superiority of MS. M563. However, the interpolations from the Estoria del fecho de los godos and numerous unique readings in the MS compromise that superiority. Agreements of MS. M563 and  $S_4$  may be expected to provide most frequently the original S reading. The six MSS of T, certainly the four  $T_2$  MSS,

may usually be set aside. Nevertheless, in the matter of MS choice for the purpose of edition the stemma provides only the basis for general and nonquantifiable impressions of reliability or corruption. Any given family provides numerous instances of innovation but at the same time faithfully preserves original readings against innovation in other families. Thus each edited segment of the chronicle should be based on the collation of all witnesses in search of the original S and  $L_1$  readings and in anticipation of discoveries that may call into question previous conclusions.

## Notes to Part III.2

<sup>1</sup> MS. N.III.12 pequeñas] pocas Z.III.12, 336.

<sup>2</sup> MS. N.III.12 cūplia] cumplia 84-7-34, 336, 2091, 6410, 1159, conplia M.II.2, 9-4761, 10277, 2880, 1742, 327, 7403, 13002, 321, convenie Y.II.13, om. M563.

<sup>3</sup> MS. N.III.12 los<sub>1</sub>] las gentes M.II.2; los<sub>2</sub>] -l 9-28-3-5509; Reynos] Regnos 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 10195, M563, 9233, 10132, 327, B1489, 321, rreygnos Z.III.7, Reyno 9-28-3-5509; de los Reynos om. M.II.2; los de los Reynos om. 13002.

<sup>4</sup> MS. N.III.12 oujese] oviessa Z.III.12, V1554, 10132, houjsse 84-7-34, om. 13002, 2091, Y.II.13.

<sup>5</sup> MS. N.III.12 A + -l 2777, 829; A] dos V1554, 5775, om. M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.7, M563, 2880, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, 5775; tantos] muchos Y.I.5, 10195, todos 1775, om. 642, 10277, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.II.13, 2091, 321; Vallesteros] caualleros M.II.2, Z.III.7, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.II.15, caballeros B1489, Vallos 1159, om. 2091; E] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; toda] todas V1554, muchõ de Caballo 13002, om. 2091; la + otra M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159, -s otras V1554; genċ] gentes V1554, om. 13002, 2091; de la om. 13002; Villa] çibdad 829, B1489, 1775, çibdat 327; Villa + e muchos de caualleros 321, 642, e muchos de cauалlos 10132, 7403, de cauалlo y de pie E ballesteros E los de pie todos con dargas E fuerõ al Jnfante 2091; tã biē] tambien 6410, Y.II.13, V1554, om. 642, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, 13002, 2091, 321; ginetõ om. 327, B1489, 1775, 2091; coño] como 5775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11,



84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; andaluzes om. 642, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, 13002, 2091, 321.

<sup>6</sup> MS. N.III.12 por om. 13002; tan] tam Y.II.13; Reçjo] Reçjo 9-4761, 1159, Reçjo 1775, Y.II.15; E] y 5775, 13002, V1554, 1159; por<sub>2</sub> om. 642, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 7403, 13002, 336, 2091, 6410, 1159, 321; tan] tam Y.II.13, om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, V1554, 321; ardit] ardid 642, M.II.2, 9-4761, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 1742, 9233, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, 321, ardid 2880, 327, 2091.

<sup>7</sup> MS. N.III.12 q̃ntos om. 2091; fallauã] fallaban Y.III.11, hallavan B1489, 9-28-3-5509, V1554, Y.II.15, 1159, allauan Y.II.13, hallaban 5775, 13002.

<sup>8</sup> MS. N.III.12 q̃ + nõ 642, 10277, 10132, 7403, 321, no 9-28-3-5509, Z.III.7; q̃ om. 13002; ge-] Se- 13002, 84-7-34; lo] las 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, 321, los Y.II.13; dauã] daban 5775, daua 642, M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, M563, 2880, 1742, 10132, B1489, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; andauã] andaban 5775, 13002, om. M563, 2880, Y.II.13; Amenazãdo] Amenazando 1775, 1159, amenazauan Y.II.13, diciendo 2091; por q̃ gelo nõ dauã om. 2091.

<sup>9</sup> MS. N.III.12 catar + como 10277, 9-28-3-5509; catar om. 13002; maña + como 1159; maña om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, 336; por + la qual Y.II.13; por] para 336, om. 10277, 9-28-3-5509.

<sup>10</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159; E + todos le 2091; ellos om. 2091; le] la 6410, om. 2091; por om. Z.III.7, 10277,

6410; Repuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 1742, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; mas + que 1159; mas om. 9-4761, 1742, 13002; cō] por 2091; temor] miedo ca porles plazer 2091; temor + mas 9-4761, 1742;  $\bar{q}_1$  + del avjan 13002;  $\bar{q}_1$  om. 2091; cō om. 13002, 2091; Amor om. 13002, 2091;  $\bar{q}_2$  om. 2091; fizjese] fiziesse 9-4761, 10132, Y.II.13, feziese 642, 2880, 9233, 7403, feziesse 1742, hiziese B1489, 13002, hiziesse 5775, V1554, om. 2091; lo om. 2091;  $\bar{q}_3$  + por bien 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321;  $\bar{q}_3$ ] e M.II.2, om. 2091; toujese] toujesse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, Y.II.13, tobbjese 1775, tobjese Y.III.11, tuuiesse V1554, tubjese 336, om. 2091; por bien om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 2091, 321; E<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159, om. 2091; plazja] plazie 10132, prazia 84-7-34; plazia + dello Y.II.13; plazia + de todo lo que el quisiesse fazer 2091; E<sub>3</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159, om. 321; E + entonces el rey 2091; desq̄ om. 2091; ḡ- om. 2777, 829, M563, 2880, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 2091, 1159; g-] se- 5775, 13002, V1554; oujerō] obieron Y.III.11, 1159, ouieran 6410, om. 2091; otōgado om. 2091.

<sup>11</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159, om. Y.I.5, 10195; E + que 2091; por + q̄ M563, Y.II.13; por + q̄ mas ayna 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; Recabdar] Recavdar 9-4761, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, recaudar V1554, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, rrecabdase 642, M563, 7403, 13002, 321, recabdasse 10132, Y.II.13, Recaudaria 2091; Recaudaria + mejor 2091; aq̄llas] las 2091; graçias + del papa Y.I.5, 10195; graçias + que le embiaua demandar Pero con todo 2091; pa om. 1775, 2091; la] las B1489, om. 1775, 2091; guerra] guerras B1489, om. 1775, 2091;

de los moros om. 1775, 2091; E<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, Y.II.15, 1159, 321, om. 2880; maguer] mager 1775, om. 2091; le] les 9-4761, om. 2091; dixo om. 2091; esto + el Jnfante 2091; Syenpre] siempre 1742, B1489, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, sinpre 1159, om. 2091; Syenpre + el ynfante 13002; Syenpre + quando Y.III.11; finco] fincaua Y.I.5, 10195, quedo 84-7-34, 1159, om. Y.III.11; cõ] en 10277, 2880, 1159.

<sup>12</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; fablo coñl en Su poridad E el Jnfantē dō Sancho om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; fablo] hablo 9-28-3-5509, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, fabro 84-7-34; Su om. Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 5775, V1554, Y.II.13, 2091, 6410; poridad] poridat Z.III.12, M563, 2880, puridad 5775, V1554; E<sub>2</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 2091, 1159; Jnfantē + le B1489; dō Sancho om. B1489, Y.II.13, 2091; dio] dixo M563; le] -l 7403, 84-7-34, 6410, om. B1489, 13002; tal] mala 13002, Y.II.13; Repuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, Repusta 13002; Repuesta + e dixole M563, Y.II.13; Repuesta + diziendo 13002; Respuesta + de q̄ Se peSo ca le dixo B1489; era] hera 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336; E<sub>3</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 2091, 1159; E<sub>3</sub> + muy 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; q̄<sub>2</sub> om. 642, 9-4761, M563, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 7403, B1489, 13002, Y.II.13, 2091, 6410, 321; era<sub>2</sub> om. 642, 9-4761, 10132, 7403, B1489 13002, Y.II.13, 321; Atreujdo] atrebido 1775, 336, 2091; E<sub>4</sub>] y 5775; q̄<sub>3</sub> om. 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 829, 10195, M563, 2880, 10132, 327, 7403, 5775, V1554, 1159, 321; nō] no 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 13002, 6410; nō + fuera Z.III.7, 10277, 13002, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 336; nō + q̄ M563; por + q̄ 2777; el om. 6410;

Abito] avito Z.III.7, 10277, 1775, Y.II.15, 1159, habito 1742, B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 2091;  $\bar{q}_4$  om. M563; traya] traye 6410, tenja M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.13, 336, om. M563, Y.II.15;  $\bar{q}_5$  om. Y.II.15;  $\bar{q}_5$  + tal M563, Y.II.13, 2091;  $\bar{q}_5$  + el feziera 642, -l feziera 7403, 321, el fiziera 10277, 10132, le hiziera tal 13002, fiziera eñl 829; escarmjto] escarmeto 2091; escarmjto + Se Z.III.7; fizjera] feziera 2880, 9233, 327, fiçiera Y.II.15, hizjera 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, V1554, fuera 1159, om. 642, 829, 10277, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; eñl om. 829, 13002; por om. 13002;  $\bar{q}_6$  + nūca M563, Y.II.13; otro] otros 10277, om. M563, Y.II.13; otros + castigasen y 10277;  $\bar{n}o_2$ ] no 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 13002, 1159, om. M563, Y.II.13; Se om. Y.II.15; atreujese] Atreujesse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, V1554, Y.II.13, atrebiese 1775, 336, atrebiesse 2091, atreviesen 10277, atreujera 829, 13002, 1159, om. Y.II.15; A om. 642, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 321; A + le 2091; A + la 1159; A + lo Semejante 13002; acometer] cometer M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, 10195, M563, 2880, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, V1554, 84-7-34, 336, 2091, 6410, Acometiera Y.II.15, atreuer Y.III.11; acometerle] acometelle 10277, cometelle Z.III.7; acometer om. 13002, 1159; le] la 9-28-3-5509, 336, 6410, se a Y.III.11; le om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.II.15, 2091, 321; le+a M563, a fazer Y.II.15, a dezir otra Y.II.13; tal] la Y.II.15, om. 13002; cosa] cossa 1159, om. 13002.

<sup>13</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y B1489, 5775, 1775, V1554, 1159; desq̄ + Sopo 9-4761; desq̄ om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; el<sub>1</sub>] -l 1159; dō alfoñ om. 13002, 2091; alfoñ] Alonso 5775, V1554; Sopo] supo 5775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 336, 2091, om. 9-4761;

Sopo + despues 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 321; supo + del frayle Y.II.13; Reḡa] Respuesta Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 2880, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; q̄ diera el Jnfant̄ dō Sancho om. 84-7-34; q̄<sub>1</sub> + le Y.II.13; diera om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 2091, 321; Jnfant̄<sub>1</sub> + le dio 2091; Jnfant̄<sub>1</sub> + dyo al freyre e 10132, 7403, 321; Jnfant̄<sub>1</sub> + dio A frey aymar E 642; Jnfant̄<sub>1</sub> + le avjado e 13002; dō Sancho om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.II.13, 2091, 321; e<sub>3</sub>om. M.II.2, M563, 2880, Y.II.13; e<sub>3</sub> + mesmo 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; ge<sub>1</sub>] se- 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, om. 2091, 336; -le om. 336; q̄ria] querria 7403, quirie 6410, diria 2091; q̄ria + el M563, Y.II.13; q̄ria + dezir Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 6410; por om. 642, 2777, 10277, 10132, 7403, 13002, 2091, 321; Sy om. 642, 2777, 10277, 10132, 7403, 13002, 2091, 321; Sy + mesmo M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, M563, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 336; dezjr] deçir Y.II.15, om. Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509, 2091, 6410; dezjr + por si mjsmo 10277; E<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; q̄<sub>3</sub> + el 5775, V1554; ge<sub>2</sub>] se- B1489, 5775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 2091; faria] harja 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 13002, Y.II.15; fazer] hazer 5775, 9-28-3-5509, 13002, V1554, dezir Y.III.11, 1159; E q̄ gelo faria fazer om. 2777; e<sub>4</sub>] lo 321, om. M.II.2, 2777, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, 1742, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; nō] no 9-4761, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, 1159; q̄siese] quisiesse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, V1554, Y.II.13; q̄siese + fazer 321; aVn q̄ el nō q̄siese om. 2091; E<sub>3</sub>] y 5775, 13002,

V1554, 1159, Entonce fablo 2091; E<sub>3</sub> + assi Y.II.13; el Rey<sub>2</sub> om. Y.II.13; Rey<sub>2</sub> + esto 2091; Vjno] veno M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 9233, 10132, 7403, Y.II.15, 6410, bino 1775, om. 2091; A om. 9233, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, 2091, 6410, 1159, 321; fablar] hablar 9-28-3-5509, 5775, 13002, V1554, Y.III.11, fabrar 84-7-34, om. 2091; dō Sancho<sub>2</sub> om. 13002, Y.II.13, 2091; Sancho<sub>2</sub> + e 2777, Y.I.5, 829; de] por M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; en este plīto de dō alfoñ om. 642, 2777, Y.I.5, 829, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 2091, 1159, 321; de dō alfoñ om. Y.II.13; alfoñ] Alonso 5775, V1554; E<sub>4</sub>] y 5775, V1554, om. M.II.2; Jnfanġ<sub>2</sub> + le 13002; Jnfanġ<sub>2</sub> + le dio en Repuesta 642, 321, rrespuesta 10132, 7403; Jnfanġ<sub>2</sub> + le dixo 2091; E el Jnfanġ<sub>2</sub> dō Sancho om. 2777, Y.I.5, 829, 10195; el Jnfanġ dō Sancho om. Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; dō Sancho om. Y.II.13, 13002; dō Sancho Respōdirole om. 642, 10132, 7403, 2091, 321; -le<sub>1</sub>] -l 6410, om. 2777, 829, M563, Y.II.13, 13002, Y.III.11, 1159; le<sub>2</sub>] -l 7403, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159; pedia] pidia 2777, Y.I.5, 829, 10132, 2091, 1159; pedia + por 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 2091, 6410, 1159; m̄d] merçet 2777, Y.I.5.

<sup>14</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y 1159, om. 13002; ot<sup>o</sup>sy] otrosSi 9-4761, ottrosi 2091; la + muy 2091; grād] gran 642, Z.III.12, 2880, B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, 321, grāt 2777, Y.I.5, 10277, 1742, 9233, 7403, grande 9-4761, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, 2091, om. 13002, Y.III.11; ouo]obo 1775, 336; -l Rey om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; abeyuçaſ] abenyuçaſ 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761,

Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, 321, Abenjuçaf 5775, Aboyuçaf 2880, abyuçaf 10132, abinçaf 7403, Abueca 2091; abeyuçaf + rrey 642, 10132, 7403, 321; de marruecos om. 13002, 2091; marruecos] maruecos M.II.2, marrueços 10277; paso] passo 1742, 10132, 5775, pã + lo Y.II.15; ã paso Aca om. 13002; E<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; ã<sub>3</sub> om. M563, 10132, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15; pã] por M.II.2, 5775, V1554, Y.II.15; pã + Rremedjar 13002; pã esto om. Y.II.13; la + mejor Y.II.13; la maña om. 13002; fablaua] fallaua 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 7403, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, 321, fallaba 1775, hallava B1489, 13002, fallauã 2777; hallava + ã la mejor maña que 13002; fallaua + el para Y.II.13; en] el M563, om. 642, Z.III.7, 10277, 10132, 7403, 6410, 321, 13002, Y.II.13; coño] como 327, 7403, B1489, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, que 10277, om. 13002, Y.II.13; coño + esto 642, Y.I.5, 9-4761, 10195, M563, 10132, 7403; Se om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 321, Y.II.13; podria] podia 642, M.II.2, Z.III.12, 829, 2880, 9233, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, podie M563, podrian 10277, podian 2777, om. Y.II.13, 321; esto om. 642, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.II.13, meJor om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, 9233, 10132, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 13002, 321; meJor + poder Y.II.13; mätener] fazer 10132, tener 13002, om. 7403, 321; mätener + mejor 9233; mätener + esto Y.II.13; E<sub>3</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; por<sub>2</sub>] para Y.II.13; por<sub>2</sub> + non 2091; escusar] lançar 2091; nō] no 9-4761,

Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489; echar] enbiar M.II.2, 2777,  
 Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, B1489, 1775, enviar Y.III.11,  
 embiar 84-7-34, 336, 1159, entrar 9-28-3-5509; pecho] empecho 1159,  
om. M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775. In MS.  
 Z.III.12 the original line lacked pecho. The word was added above  
enbiar. MS. N.III.12 n̄guno om. 2091; en] a Z.III.7, 10277;  
 t̄rra] ḡrra Z.III.7, 10277; t̄rra + e poder cumplir lo que abia menester  
 para la guerra que acordava 2091; q̄<sub>5</sub> + q̄ria M563; q̄<sub>5</sub> om. 1775, Y.II.13,  
 2091; era] hera Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, om. M563, 1775, 2091; de<sub>3</sub> om.  
 2777, 829, M563, 13002, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; fazer]  
 hazer 9-4761, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, 13002, V1554, om. Y.III.11; dos] vna  
 2091; moñs] moneda 2091. MS. 2091 omits from de marruecos through  
mātener and alters the remainder of the passage. MS. 13002 alters the  
 passage and omits E por escusar de ño echar pecho n̄guno en la trra q̄.

<sup>15</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y 5775, V1554, 1159; leuo] lebo 1775, llevo  
 9-28-3-5509. Y.III.11, 336, 1159, 321, dio 13002; e1] al 2777; dō] dom Y.III.11,  
om. 13002; pedro om. 13002; pedro + estonçes 9-4761, 1742, 9233, 6410,  
 entonçe 2880, entonçes 5775, V1554; d- om. 13002; alfoñ] Alonso 5775,  
 V1554; alfoñ + henares e 321, 10132, 642, enares E 7403, euares e  
 Y.I.5, 10195; entōçe om. 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12,  
 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 7403,  
 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11,  
 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, 321; los castillos om. 9233; de<sub>1</sub> + henares  
 y 13002; Val] bal M.II.2, B1489, 336; de<sub>2</sub> + e 9233, y 5775, V1554,  
 + -lda 6410, -lda e 2880; ayora] ayorra 9233, aylora 10277, ayoba  
 M563, Y.II.13, axora B1489, agora 5775, agreda V1554, nebra M.II.2,



om. 6410; erã] heran B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336.

<sup>16</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y B1489, 5775, 13002, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159; E + despues desto Z.III.7, 10277, hecho esto 13002; alfoñ] Alonso 5775, V1554; alfoñ + fecha esta amistad Y.II.13; llamar] juntar 13002; llamar + a M.II.2, 9-4761, 1742, V1554; todas om. 13002; todas + las Y.II.15; huestes] huestas 327, gentes 13002; huestes + E fueron allegadas eñl mes de Junjo 642, Y.I.5, 10132, 7403, 321, llegadas 10195; yr om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; yr + a 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15; entrar] contra M563, Y.II.13; A] en 1159, om. M563, Y.II.13, 13002.

<sup>17</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159; E<sub>1</sub> om. 321, 6410; Salio] sallio 2777, Y.I.5; del Real om. 9233; vjñas] vinas 7403, 1775, Y.II.15, 1159; E<sub>2</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; las om. 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 10195, 10277, 2880, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 336, 321; ouo] obo 1775, Y.III.11, 336; muy om. 13002; grãd] grant Y.I.5, 2777, M563, 9233, 327, 7403, grãde 642, Z.III.12, 336, gran 9-4761, 2880, B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159, 321; pieça] parte 5775, V1554; dellas + e Y.II.15; fuese] fuesse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, V1554, Y.II.13; pã] parar en M563, Y.II.13; vn om. 1159; cabeço] Cabego M563, cabeçy 6410, cabeçon Z.III.7, 10277; cabeçon + de tierra Z.III.7, 10277; tã] muy 327, B1489, 1775, om. M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509; la<sub>1</sub>] -l 10132; villa] çibdad 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, B1489, 1775, 13002; el<sub>2</sub>] -l 1159; gñada + lo 13002; E<sub>3</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159, om. 13002; todos om. 321, 13002; los] sus 336, Z.III.12, om. 13002;

los + otros 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15; moros om. 13002, 9-28-3-5509;  
 moros + lo M.II.2, 2777, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880,  
 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11,  
 84-7-34, 336, 1159; moros + del aljama lo 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132,  
 7403, 321; toujerō] tobieron Y.III.11, oujerō 327, B1489, obieron  
 1775, tobo 13002; -lo om. 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12,  
 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403,  
 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34,  
 336, 1159, 321; por<sub>1</sub> + gran 13002; desonrra] deshonrra 1742, 5775,  
 V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336; E<sub>4</sub>] y 5775, 13002, V1554, 1159;  
 por q̄brāto om. 13002; q̄brāto + E Y.II.13; q̄brāto + entonçe Z.III.12,  
 entonçes 9-28-3-5509, 336, estonçe 1775, estonçes Y.II.15, e entōçe  
 M.II.2, e entōçes Z.III.7, 10277, e estonçe 327, y entonçes B1489;  
 Asy] Ansi 9-4761, 1159, 6410, 84-7-34, Y.III.11, assi Y.II.13, 10132,  
 5775, V1554; Asy q̄ om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509,  
 B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, 336; assi + para le echar de alli Y.II.13;  
 q̄<sub>2</sub> om. Y.II.13; Saljerō] sallierō 2777, Y.I.5; Saljerō + a el 13002;  
 Saljerō + al encuentro 336; biē om. 2777, 9-4761, 829, 1742,  
 336; çinçnta] çincuenta 6410, çiento Y.II.15, çinco cincuenta Z.III.12,  
 cinco 336; mjll] mjl Z.III.7; adaragados] adargados 9-4761, Z.III.7,  
 M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 327, B1489, 5775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15,  
 Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336; adargados + con sus 10277; E<sub>5</sub>] y V1554, 1159,  
om. 10277; E<sub>5</sub> + dos 5775, V1554; E<sub>5</sub> + treinta mill Y. II.13; A om. 642, M.II.2,  
 Y.I.5, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 2880, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509,  
 B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 321; A + -l 2777,  
 829; tātōs] muchos Y.I.5, 10195, todos 1775, om. 642, 10277, 10132,

7403, 13002, Y.II.13, 321; vallesteros] ballesteros 9-4761, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, M563, 1742, 9233, 10132, 7403, 5775, V1554, 321, caualleros M.II.2, Z.III.7, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.II.15, caballeros B1489, caVallos 10277; E<sub>6</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; E<sub>6</sub>+ muchō de Caballo 13002; toda] todas V1554, om., 13002; la + otra M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159; la + -s otras V1554; la gente de la villa om. 13002; genĕ] gentes V1554; villa] çibdad 829, B1489, 1775, çibdat 327; villa + e muchos de caualleros 321, 642, e muchos de cauallos 10132, 7403; tã biē] tambien V1554, Y.II.13, 6410, om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321, 327, B1489, 1775; ginetō om. 327, B1489, 1775; coñō] como 5775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, om. 642, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, 13002, 321; andaluzes om. 642, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, 13002, 321; pã] por M563; pã tirarle de Allj om. Y.II.13; -le] -lo 642, 9-4761, 10195, M563, 1742, 10132, 7403, 321, -los M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159; de om. 6410; E<sub>7</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; la] las 2880; genĕ] gentes 2880; estaua] estaba 5775, estauã 2880; estaua + para tirarlos dalli y la gente questaua 1159; Jnfant<sub>2</sub>+ con el gran miedo q̄ ovieron de los moros Y.II.13; dō sancho om. Y.II.13, Y.III.11; desanpararō] desampararon 1742, 10132, 7403, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159; -le] -lo 642, M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 321; -le + los mas a el 13002; todos Sy nō muy pocos q̄ fincarō coñl om. 13002; nō] no 9-4761, Z.III.7, 1742, B1489, 1775, Y.II.13, 336, 1159; fincarō] estauan

642, 7403, 321, estaua 10132; fincarō + allj 2777, 829.

<sup>18</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; E<sub>1</sub> + llegado Y.II.13; comēço] cometio 642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159, 321, metio 7403, acometio 6410, -le] -l 6410, -lo Z.III.12; cō om. M.II.2, M563, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.13; pleytesias] plitesias 10277; pleytesias + en lo qual 321, 13002; E<sub>2</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 159; E<sub>2</sub> + al fin Y.II.13; E el plīto fue llegado om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; plīto] plito 10277, Y.III.11; plīto + que 9-4761; llegado] legado 10195; A] en 642, 10132, 7403; A + -l M.II.2, 10195, 2880, 1775, Y.III.11, 336; A + tal estado Y.II.13; A om. 321; A logr̄ q̄ om. 13002; logr̄] lugar M.II.2, 2777, 829, M563, 2880, 327, B1489, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159, estado 9-4761, 1742, lo 10132, 7403, om. Y.II.13; q̄] qual 7403, om. 321; el] -l 1159; daua] daba B1489, 5775, 1775, om. Y.II.15; al] a el 9-4761; dō alfoñ om. 13002; alfoñ] Alonso 5775, V1554, 1159; alfoñ + e Y.II.15; el terçio de q̄ntas Rētas auja en parias om. M.II.2; q̄ntas] las 5775, V1554, todas sus 13002; Rētas + el 642, 10132, 7403, 321; Rētas + todas que 5775, V1554; auja en parias om. 13002; auja] auje M563, 84-7-34, abia B1489, tenja 5775, V1554, oujese 642, 7403, 321, ouyesse 10132; oujese + E esto q̄ fuese 642, 7403, 321, fuese 10132.

<sup>19</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y B1489, 1159, om. Z.III.12, 336; ot<sup>o</sup>sy] otroSSi 9-4761, om. 13002; andauā<sub>1</sub>] andaua 6410, andaban 5775, 13002, auja M.II.2; andaban + con el entonçes 13002; y] ay 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, allj 336, om. Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 13002, 7403, 321; y +

coñl 642; grāds] muchos 13002; cōpañas] conpanjas 9-4761, compañas  
V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159, om. 13002; de om. B1489,  
13002; golfinš] golljnes M.II.2, 336, golhines Z.III.12, Z.III.7,  
M563, 10277, Y.II.13, gallofinš 2880, golsynes Y.II.15, algujnes 2777,  
holgajnes 829, holguines Y.III.11, 84-7-34, olgu..s 1159, ladrones 642,  
Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321, om. 1775, B1489, 327; aujē]  
aujan 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277  
2880, 1742, 10132, 327, V1554, 321, 1159, 6410, 336, Y.II.15, Y.II.13,  
Y.III.11, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, abjan 13002, hauian 5775, auia 1775; en]  
por 13002; las] los 13002; mōtañas] montanas Z.III.7, 10132, 327,  
1775, Y.III.11, mōtes 13002; matādo e<sub>2</sub> om. Y.III.11; e<sub>2</sub>] y 5775,  
13002, V1554, 1159; Robādo] rrovando Y.II.15, Y.III.11; rrovando + e  
matando Y.III.11; a om. 9-4761, 10277, 1742, Y.II.15; fallauā] fallaban  
Y.III.11, hallavā 9-28-3-5509, B1489, V1554, Y.II.15, 1159, hallaban  
5775, 13002, allauan Y.II.13; E<sub>3</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159;  
auja] abja 13002, Y.III.11, hauia 5775; los<sub>1</sub>] les Z.III.7; perdonado]  
pdonados 642, M.II.2, 9-4761, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 7403, 321;  
por om. Y.I.5, 10195; entrasen] entrassen 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775,  
V1554, Y.II.13, viniesen 6410; coñl om. 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12,  
Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775,  
Y.II.15, 336, 321; A] en 1159; vega] bega 1775, 336; vega + coñl 642,  
M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403,  
9-28-3-5509, B1489, Y.II.15, 336, 321; vega + de granada Y.II.13, M563,  
13002; E<sub>4</sub>] y V1554, 1159; despūs] depues 9233; q̃<sub>2</sub> + Saljerō 13002; Se  
vierō om. 13002; vierō] bieron 1775, hubieron Y.III.11; fuera + avn  
andauā 2880; fuera + de la Vega Y.II.13; demāduā] demandaban 5775,

demandaron M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.13; al] a el 9-4761; muchas + muchas 5775; cosas + e 13002; por om. Y.II.13; los<sub>2</sub>] lo M.II.2, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, les Y.II.13, Se 9-28-3-5509; mātoujese] mantovieSse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, Y.II.13, mantuuiesse V1554, 1159, mātobiese B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, mantubiese 336, mātoviesē 9-28-3-5509, toujeSe M.II.2; E<sub>5</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; E porq̄ gelo om. 13002; q̄<sub>5</sub> + nō 642, 10277, 10132, 7403, 321, no 9-4761, Z.III.7; ge-] se- 84-7-34; -lo] -las 642, 10132, 7403, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, 321, -los Y.II.13; nō om. 642, M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 10132, 7403, 321; nō] no 13002; no + se las 13002; dauã] daban 5775, daua 642, 9-4761, Z.III.12, M563, 2880, 1742, 10132, B1489, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, mandaua M.II.2; andauã<sub>2</sub>] andaban 5775, 13002, om. M563, Y.II.13, 2880; Amenazãdo] Amenazando 1159, 1775, amenazauan Y.II.13; Amenazãdo + andauã 2880; Amenazãdo + y 1159; amenazauan + le Y.II.13; yriã] tornarjan 13002; pã] A 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, 10195, 1742, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321, por 2777, 829; E<sub>6</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, 1159; fariã] harian 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.II.15; q̄nto] Cuanto Y.II.15; pudiesē] pudiessen 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, V1554, Y.II.15, podieSē 642, M.II.2, M563, 2880, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, 321; en la t̄r̄ra om. Z.III.7, 10277; en] por 9-28-3-5509; E<sub>7</sub>] y B1489, 1775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159; esto] eso M.II.2, lo 1159; Sopo] supo 829, 10277, 336, oyo 5775, V1554, vido Y.II.13; los] les Y.II.15; los + matar E Z.III.7; prēder + a todos 13002; E<sub>8</sub> matar om. Z.III.7; E<sub>8</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; E<sub>8</sub> + hizolos 13002; matar + E<sub>1</sub> por esto 13002; A om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, M563, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.II.13, 1159, 321; todos om. 13002.

<sup>20</sup> MS. N.III.12 e<sub>1</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159, om. 13002; dixo] diziendo 13002; auja] avie 7403, abia Y.III.11, hauia 5775, avian Y.II.15; cõ om. Y.II.15; E<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; de om. Z.III.7, 10277, Y.III.11 84-7-34, 1159; coñ] como 1742, 10132, 7403, B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; los] les Y.II.15, om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; tenja] tenjan Y.I.5, 10195, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15; en] muy 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; en buẽ logr̃ om. 9-4761, 1742; buẽ om. Y.I.5, 10195; logr̃] lugar 642, M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, M563, 2880, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, Y.III.11, 336, 1159, 321; les] los Z.III.7, V1554, 336, 6410, om. 642, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, 829, 10195, 1742, 10132, 7403, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 1159, 321; cõq̃rir] conquirir 5775, conquistar 1775; cõq̃rir + les 9-4761, 1742; E<sub>3</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; q̃<sub>2</sub> om. Z.III.7, 10277; auja] hauia 5775, avian 10277, B1489, Y.II.15; de<sub>2</sub> om. 10277, 5775, V1554; Y.III.11, 6410; de catar maña porq̃ oujese om. 13002; catar + coñ 9-28-3-5509, coñ se 10277; maña + como 1159; maña om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 327, B1489, 1775, 336; maña porq̃ om. 10277, 9-28-3-5509; por + la qual Y.II.13; por] para 336, om. 1159; -q̃ + se Z.III.7; -q̃ om. Y.II.13, 1159; oujese] oviesse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, V1554, houiese Y.III.11; aV] aber 1775, hauer 5775, poder M.II.2; lo] la M.II.2, Z.III.12, 10132, 327, B1489, 1775, 336, om. 13002, Z.III.7; podr̃] pordello 13002; podr̃ + cobrar e 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 321; podr̃ + fazer e 829; podr̃ + lo Z.III.7; podr̃ om. 10277; Acabar] acauar Z.III.7, 336, 1159, hazer 13002.

<sup>21</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, 1159; dō fredulo om. 327, B1489, 1775, 13002; fredulo] fedulo M.II.2, 9-4761, fedrulo 9-28-3-5509, 6410, frodilo Y.I.5, fredilo 10195, rrodulo Z.III.7, 10277, Fredalo Y.II.13, 84-7-34; era] hera 1775, Y.III.11, 336, era + de oviedo e era 327, de oviedo y era B1489, de obiedo e hera 1775; toscano] costano 2880; E<sub>2</sub>] y B1489, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159; Sospecho + lo M563; luego + en 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; luego + q̄ Y.II.15; luego + d- 84-7-34, 1159; esta] este 13002; māda-deria] mēsaĵe 13002, demanderia 1159; mēsaĵe + por 13002; deste om. 13002; obpo] pleito 2777, 829, 1159, plito Y.III.11, om. 13002; obpo + por 642, M563, 10132, 7403, Y.II.13, 321; q̄<sub>1</sub>] q̄nto 642, 10132, 7403, 321; nō] no 9-4761, 9-28-3-5509, 13002, 336, 1159; era] hera 1775, Y.III.11, 336; natūal] vasallo 13002; E<sub>3</sub>] y B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159, om. Y.II.13; lo] le 1159; enbiaū] enbiaba 5775, embiaua V1554, Y.II.13, 6410, ymbiaba Y.III.11, imbiaua 84-7-34, 336, 1159; Rey<sub>1</sub> + en aq̄l mēsaĵe 13002; Su padre om. 13002; el + en aq̄lla mandaderia 642, 10132, 7403, 321; por + q̄ 9-4761, 10277, 336; por] en B1489, 1775, 327, para Y.II.13; para + q̄ acabasse Y.II.13; por aq̄l pl̄ito q̄ auja comēçado de dō alfoñ fiJo del Jnfanĉ dō ferrādo om. 13002; aq̄l] el 10277, Y.II.13, 336; pl̄ito] plito 10277, Y.III.11; auja] hauia 5775, avian B1489, 1775; comēçado] con 9-4761, 1742, cometido 327; de] E 2777, om. 9-4761, 1742; alfoñ<sub>1</sub>] alonso 9-4761, 5775, V1554, alfoñ<sub>1</sub> + su njeto 642, 10132, 7403, 321; alfoñ<sub>1</sub> + su sobrino Y.II.13; fiJo] hijo 5775, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, V1554, Y.III.11; fiJo del Jnfanĉ dō ferrñdo om. Y.II.13, 84-7-34; ferrñdo] hr̄do 9-28-3-5509; ferrñdo + se acabase 10277; E<sub>4</sub>] y B1489, 5775, 13002, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159;



E<sub>4</sub> + con esta sospecha Y.II.13; el Jnfanġ dō Sancho om. 13002, Y.II.13; Jnfanġ<sub>3</sub>] jnfāt 2880; -lo] -l 6410, om. 10195, Rey<sub>2</sub> + su padre Y.II.13; dō alfoñ<sub>2</sub> om. 13002, Y.II.13; alfoñ<sub>2</sub>] alonso 9-4761, 5775, V1554, 1159; alfoñ<sub>2</sub> + su padre 642, M.II.2, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 321; E<sub>5</sub>] y 5775, 13002, V1554, 1159; Rey<sub>3</sub> om. 642, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 7403, 5775, Y.II.13, 336, 321; Rey<sub>3</sub> + le Z.III.12, 13002; Rey<sub>3</sub> + don alfonso Y.III.11; -le<sub>1</sub>] -l 10132, 7403, -lo 9-28-3-5509, om. Z.III.12, 13002, Y.II.15, 336; Respōdiele + e dixole 642, 321, e dixol 10132, 7403; q̄<sub>4</sub> + el Rey 2880; q̄<sub>4</sub> + el 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 9233, 9-28-3-5509, 6410, 5775, V1554; -le<sub>2</sub>] -lo 642, 2777, Y.I.5, 829, 10195, M563, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, om. 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 9-28-3-5509, 13002, Y.III.11, 6410; nō<sub>2</sub>] no 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, 13002, Y.III.11; enbiaua] enbiaba 5775, embiaua V1554, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, ynviava Y.III.11, imbiaua 1159, enbargaua M.II.2; enbiaua + salbo 13002; embiaua + por esto E q̄ le embiaua a el Y.II.13; Alla + saluo 642, 10132, 7403, 321; Allā Sy nō por om. 13002; Allā Sy nō om. Y.II.13; Sy nō por om. 642, 10132, 7403, 321; nō<sub>3</sub>] no Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 1159; este obpo om. Y.II.13; estaū] estaba 5775, esta M.II.2, era 13002, 1742, hera 9-4761; esta + tan M.II.2; biē] vien 1775, famjlar 13002, om. 321; biē + quisto 9-4761, M563, 1742, Y.II.13; d-] con 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 321; E<sub>6</sub>] y 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159, om. Y.I.5, 10195; por + que M563, Y.II.13; por + q̄ mas ayna 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; Recabdar]

recavdar 9-4761, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, rrecabdase 642, M563, 7403, 13002, 321, recabdasse 10132, Y.II.13; grās + del papa Y.I.5, 10195; pã la gřra delos mōs om. 1775; la gřra] las guerras B1489; E<sub>7</sub>] y 5775, Y.II.15, 1159, om. 2880; maguer] mager 1775; le<sub>3</sub>] les 9-4761; Sjenpř] Siempre 1742, B1489, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.II.13, 84-7-34, 336, sinpre 1159; Sjenpř + el ynfante 13002; Sjenpř + quando Y.III.11; finco] fincaua Y.I.5, 10195, quedo 84-7-34, 1159, Y.III.11; cō] en 10277, 2880, 1159; Sospecha + e Y.II.15, 321; Sospecha + contra el Rey 6410; el Jnfantē<sub>4</sub> om. Z.III.7, 10277, 13002; Jnfantē<sub>4</sub>] jnfāt 2880; dō Sancho conē el Rey Su padre deste plīto om. Z.III.7, 10277, 13002; dō Sancho om. Y.II.13; conē el Rey Su padre om. 6410; Rey Su padre om. Y.I.5, 10195; Rey<sub>4</sub> + dō alfoñ 2880; padre<sub>2</sub> + en Razon 9-4761, 1742; d-] en 642, 10195, Y.I.5, 10132, 7403, 321; plīto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34, fecho 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 10195, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 321, hecho 9-28-3-5509.

<sup>22</sup> MS. M563 Reg<sup>o</sup>s] reinos Y.II.13; llamados] llamado Y.II.13; enbio] embio Y.II.13.

<sup>23</sup> MS. N.III.12 los] las gentes M.II.2, om. 5775; los de los Reynos q̄ aujā enviado A llamar om. 13002; de los Reynos om. M.II.2; los Reynos] -l Reyno 9-28-3-5509; Reynos] Regnos 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 10195, 9233, 10132, 327, B1489, 321, rreygnos Z.III.7; aujā] auja 5775, 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, 321; auja + a llamar 5775; enbiado] enviado 327, embiado 6410, ymbiado Y.III.11, 336, 1159, enbio 9-4761; A llamar om. 5775; A om. 2777, Y.I.5, 10195

2880, 9233, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, 6410; E om. 321; desde] dende Y.III.11, 1159, enbio] embio 336, 6410, ynbio Y.III.11, imbio 1159.

<sup>24</sup> MS. N.III.12 algunos de om. 9-4761, 1742; de Sus om. 13002, 642; Vasallos] vassallos 9-4761, Z.III.12, 1742, vassalos 10132.

<sup>25</sup> MS. N.III.12 lo mas q̄] q̄nto 829, los que mas 9233, lo q̄ mas 6410.

<sup>26</sup> MS. M563 mçet] merced Y.II.13.

<sup>27</sup> MS. M563 Et] E Y.II.13.

<sup>28</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; Rey + don alfonso M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, don alfoñ B1489; Rey + propuso de leuar 642, 10132, 7403, propuso de llevar 13002, 321; finco cō entēdimj<sup>0</sup> de yr por om. 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; finco] quedo Z.III.12, 336, fuyo Y.II.15; finco + en Su yntençion 9-4761, 1742; cō entēdimj<sup>0</sup> om. 9-4761, 1742; cō + el 6410; entēdimj<sup>0</sup>] entençion B1489, 1775, determinamiento 6410; plīto] plito 10277, Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34, tiempo Y.II.15, hecho 13002; E<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554; lo + -s 336; Acabar] acauar 1159.

<sup>29</sup> MS. M563 don Sancho om. Y.II.13; dixo<sub>1</sub>] dio Y.II.13; tal] mala Y.II.13; Repuesta] respuesta Y.II.13.

<sup>30</sup> MS. N.III.12 E el Jnfanē dō Sancho om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; E] y B1489, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159, om. 2880; Jnfanē + le B1489; dō Sancho om. B1489; -le] -l 7403, 84-7-34, 6410, om. B1489, 13002; tal] ~~la~~ mala 13002; Repuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11,

84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, Repusta 13002, Respuesta + de  $\tilde{q}$  le peso ca le dixo B1489; Repusta + diciendo 13002; era] hera 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336.

<sup>31</sup> MS. M563 fueSe] fuesse Y.II.13; Cabego] cabeço Y.II.13.

<sup>32</sup> MS. N.III.12 fuese] fuesse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, V1554; vn om. 1159; cabeço] cabeçon Z.III.7, 10277, cabeçy 6410.

<sup>33</sup> MS. N.III.12 -les] -le M.II.2, 1159, -l 10132, 6410.

<sup>34</sup> MS. N.III.12 yr om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; a] en 13002, 1159; vega] bega 336.

<sup>35</sup> MS. N.III.12 fiJo] hijo B1489, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159; hiJo + bastardo 13002;  $\tilde{q}$  era de ganãçia om. 13002; era] hera B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336; ganãçia] ganança B1489.

<sup>36</sup> MS. M563 nõ] no Y.II.13; no + queria açetar esta pleitesia Y.II.13; plito] pleito Y.II.13.

<sup>37</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y V1554, en 327, B1489, 1775, de 1159; E<sub>1</sub> + de 642, 10132, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, V1554, 321; E<sub>1</sub> + en M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 336; E<sub>1</sub> + non en 9-4761, 1742; oĕ] entra 10277; E oĕ maña nõ om. 13002; nõ om. M.II.2, 9-4761, 1742, 1159; nõ] no 10132, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, 6410; E<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554, om. M.II.2, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, cõ] en 10195; partiose] partiosse 9-4761, 1742, 5775, V1554, partjeronse 13002, pleyteo Y.II.15; partiose + el Rey Y.I.5, 10195; el] del Y.I.5, 10195, 13002, om. 2777, 829, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; el + Rey 10277; plĩto] plito 321, dende M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159, om. 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15.

<sup>38</sup> Ms. M563 amenazando] amenazauan Y.II.13.

<sup>39</sup> MS. N.III.12 por̄q gelo om. 13002; q̄ + nō 642, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 10132, 7403, 321; ge-] se- 84-7-34; -lo] -las 642, 10132, 7403, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, 321; nō] no 13002, om. 642, M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 10132, 7403, 321; dauā] daban 5775, daua 642, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 2880, 1742, 10132, B1489, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, mandaua M.II.2; daua + amenazando 2880; andauā] andaban 5775, 13002; Amenazādo] Amenazando 1775, 1159.

<sup>40</sup> MS. N.III.12 desq̄] despues 9-4761; los touo om. 13002; touo] tobo 1775, 336, tuuo V1554, ouo 642, 10132, 7403, 321; touo + a 10277; todos + fueron 13002. MS. 13002 agrees with MSS. M563, Y.II.13 on the verb fueron rather than touo, but places the verb after todos rather than before as in MSS. M563, Y.II.13.

<sup>41</sup> MS. N.III.12 por q̄ om. 642, 10132, 7403, 321; q̄ + el no podja aṽ vjanda Sino 13002; la viāda aujā om. 13002; aujā] avia 642; M.II.2, 2777, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, avia Y.III.11; la om. 9-28-3-5509, 13002; algezjra] algeçira 6410, 1159.

<sup>42</sup> MS. M563 e del<sub>2</sub> om. Y.II.13; de<sub>2</sub> om. Y.II.13.

<sup>43</sup> MS. N.III.12 d̄l Jnfan̄t dō ferrñdo e del arçob̄po de tōdo e de dō nuño om. 13002, 84-7-34; -l Jnfan̄t om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 321; ferrñdo] fernado 10277, ferr<sup>o</sup> 2880, 10132, 7403, hr<sup>do</sup> 9-28-3-5509; ferrñdo + su fijo Z.III.7, 10277, Y.II.15; de tōdo om. M.II.2; e<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554; de<sub>2</sub> om. 10132.

<sup>44</sup> MS. N.III.12 cūplia] cumplia 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, conplia M.II.2, 9-4761, 10277, 2880, 1742, 327, 7403, 13002, 321,

Complia Z.III.12. MS. M563 omits cūplia. We may conclude that the source of MSS. M563, Y.II.13 omitted cūplia; MS. M563 preserved the omission, and MS. Y.II.13 emended with conuenia, or that MS. M563 was the first MS. to omit cūplia, and MS. Y.II.13 descended from MS. M563.

<sup>45</sup> MS. N.III.12 lope<sub>1</sub>] lop 7403; djaz<sub>1</sub>] diez 10277, 10132; e + Señor de vizcaya que M563; e om. 336; este om. M563, 336; dō lope djaz<sub>2</sub> om. M563, 336; lope<sub>2</sub>] lop 7403; lope + se 13002; djaz<sub>2</sub>] diez 10132, om. 13002, 84-7-34; venja] vinja Y.I.5, 10132, vinjera M563; venja + para el quando 13002; A1] a el 9-4761; A1 Jnfanĕ dō ferrñdo om. 13002; Jnfanĕ] ynfant B1489; ferrñdo] fernado 10277, ferr<sup>o</sup> 2880, 10132, 7403, hr<sup>do</sup> 9-28-3-5509; q̄ auja om. 13002; Sabido] savido 1159, Supo 13002; Sabido + en 642, 10132, 7403, 321; q̄<sub>2</sub>] coño 642, 10277, 321, como 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10132, 7403; era] hera 336, estaba 13002; en + la 2777; en + aq̄lla 9-28-3-5509; Real + fallo q̄ hera asj 336.

<sup>46</sup> MS. N.III.12 q̄ armauālos xānos om. Y.II.15; armauā] aujan M563; xānos + e 10132; fuese] fuesse 9-4761, Z.III.12, 1742, fue 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321.

<sup>47</sup> MS. N.III.12 e<sub>1</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159; derecho] horden Y.III.11; e<sub>2</sub>] y 5775, V1554, 1159, om. 1775; e<sub>2</sub> + por 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, Y.III.11; oujesē] ouyessē 10132, 5775, V1554, obiesen 1775, hobiesen Y.III.11, oviesse 9-4761, 1742, oviese 9-28-3-5509, B1489, obiese 1159; oujesē + todos 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; oujesē + en 1159; Abastamj<sup>o</sup> de moñ por q̄ por ella oujesen om. M563 (haplography); Abastamj<sup>o</sup>] abastimento 5775, Y.II.15, 6410, abasteamjento 1775, abastamjentos 336, bastimento 2880, 9-28-3-5509; moñ] moned̄s 9-28-3-5509, 2880, 1159; ella] ellas 1159; oujesen<sub>2</sub>] oujessen 1742, 10132, 5775,

V1554, oviessa 9-4761, obiesen 1775, 1159, hoviesen Y.III.11; oujesen<sub>2</sub> + todas 642, 10132, 7403, 13002, 321; oujesen<sub>2</sub> + lo Y.II.15; las cosas om. Y.II.15; cosas] cossas 1159;  $\tilde{q}_3$  + menester 9-4761, 1742; oujesen<sub>3</sub>] oviessen 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 5775, V1554, obiesen 1775, 1159, aviã 2880, avien 84-7-34; oujesen<sub>3</sub> + a 9-28-3-5509; menester] mātener 9-28-3-5509, om. 9-4761, 1742; E<sub>3</sub>] y 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159.

<sup>48</sup> MS. N.III.12 nō] no 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 13002, 1159; me om. 1159; fezjstš] feçistes Y.II.15, hezistes 9-4761, 5775, 13002, V1554, fizistes Y.I.5, Y.III.11, 6410; Vos + Rey 13002; fizo] hizo 5775, 13002, V1554.

<sup>49</sup> MS. N.III.12 sy el bjujera mas  $\tilde{q}$  vos E nō lo mato om. 13002; el+el 321; bjujera] vjujera Z.III.7, 10132, 5775, Y.III.11, 1159, vibiera 1775, Y.II.15, bibiera 336, beujera Z.III.12, 2880, 9233, 321, veujera 7403; mas  $\tilde{q}$  vos om. M563; E] y 5775, V1554, om. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 1159; E + a el plogo de leuar 642, 10132, 7403, lleuar 321; nō lo mato om. 642, 10132, 7403, 321; nō] no 9-28-3-5509, 1159.

<sup>50</sup> MS. N.III.12 Reçelandose] Resçelādose Y.I.5, 9-4761, 829, 84-7-34, M563, Resçelandosse 1742, reçelando 5775, Recibiendo 2880, Reçelo  $\tilde{q}$  avja 13002; Rey + don alfoñ M563; Su padre om. 13002; padre + e M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 336; padre + e que Y.II.15; del plīto om. 2880; d- om. Y.II.15; plīto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34; plīto + del Y.II.15;  $\tilde{q}$ le om. Y.II.15; le] el M.II.2, -l 84-7-34, om. 642, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.III.11, 6410, 321; auja] hauia 5775, avie 84-7-34; Acometido] cometido 2777, 829, M563, 2880, 9233, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159, començado 642, M.II.2,

Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403,  
 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 13002, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, 321; començado  
 + pã le fazer 642, 10132, 7403, 321, para le hazer 13002; porq̃ por  
 aventura los dela t̃rra aujẽ A tomar Alg̃ maña porq̃ el om. 642, 10132,  
 7403, 13002, 321; por<sub>1</sub> om. M563, 2880; aventura] abentura B1489, 1775,  
 ventura 2777, 829, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; aujẽ] hauien  
 5775, avian M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277,  
 2880, 327, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, 1159, abjan B1489, avriã  
 9-28-3-5509, averian 9-4761, M563, 1742; A] de 336, 1159; A + mouer  
 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34; de + mouer 1159; de + mover E 336;  
 A + mouer e M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, Y.II.15, 336, mober e  
 327, B1489, 1775; tomar om. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; q̃<sub>3</sub> + y  
 Z.III.12, 336; el<sub>1</sub>] -l 6410, 1159; el<sub>1</sub> + Z.III.7, 10277, 327,  
 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; perdiese] perdiessse 9-4761, 1742, 5775,  
 V1554, 1159, pudiese M.II.2, perder 7403, 642, 10132, 13002, 321;  
 el<sub>2</sub>] la Y.I.5, 10195, M563, 13002, 1159; heredaria] herençia 642,  
 Y.I.5, M563, 10132, Y.III.11, 1159, 321, erençia 7403, 10195, 13002,  
 84-7-34, heredamjento M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880,  
 1742, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, 336, 6410;  
 Regnos] Reynos 642, M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277,  
 2880, 1742, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, 1775, 13002, V1554, Y.II.15,  
 Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; Regnos + e M563; ouo A om. 13002; ouo]  
 obo M.II.2, 1775, 336; A] de 7403; dezjr] dixoles 13002; q̃ + el  
 V1554, 5775, -l 9-28-3-5509; q̃ria] querria 7403, qujria 1775; sobr-]  
 por 13002.



<sup>51</sup> MS. N.III.12 de los Reynos] del Reyno 2880, Y.II.15, Reynos] Regnos 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 9233, 10132, 327, B1489, 321; Reyno + de su padre Y.II.15; Saljo] Sallio 2777, Y.I.5.

<sup>52</sup> MS. N.III.12 E + dende a poco 13002; luego + fino 9-4761, 1742, om. 13002; este] el 13002; Jnfante + don ferrãdo M.II.2, 2777, fernãdo Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 327, B1489, 13002, Y.II.15, 336, fernado 10277; fernãdo + de aquella dolença Z.III.12, 336; fino om. 9-4761, 1742.

<sup>53</sup> MS. N.III.12 el] del M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 10195, 5775, V1554, Y.II.15, 336, ã 327, B1489, 1775; ã om. 327, B1489, 1775; puesto] fecho 642, 10132, 7403, 321; grãra] tierra M563; el cobro ã fue puesto enãta grãra om. 13002, 84-7-34.

<sup>54</sup> MS. N.III.12 obp] arçobispo Y.II.15, Y.III.11, arçobispado 1159; Jahẽ] jaen 84-7-34, 642, 1159; E + dexo M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; dexo om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336.

<sup>55</sup> All the variants cited allow the possibility that MS. Y.II.13 is a free copy of the earlier MS. M563. However, the collation of chapters 64, 65 and 75 provides one variant that indicates, contamination aside, that MS. Y.II.13 is not a direct descendant of MS. M563:

<u>MS. Y.II.13</u>	<u>MS. M563</u>	<u>ceteri</u>
f. 84r 15	f. XLVIv a7	
don Lope Diaz <u>aconseJo</u>	Don lope diaz con	dō lope djaz <u>cōseJo</u>
<u>al Jnfante q̄ fablasse</u>	todos aq̄llos	<u>Al Jnfantē dō Sancho q̄</u>
con todos aquellos		<u>fablase</u> cō todos aq̄llos
		(N.III.12, f. XLVr a18)

The conclusion is inconsistent with the implications of Diego Catalán's remarks on MS. M563. (See "El Toledano romanzado y las Estorias del fecho de los godos del siglo XV," in Estudios dedicados a James Homer Herriott [Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1966], pp. 9-102, at 74-80.) MS. Y.II.13 shares a passage with MS. M563 that contrasts with the corresponding passage in the remaining CAX witnesses and that Professor Catalán believes resulted from the efforts of the redactor of MS. M563 to improve the CAX text by incorporating additional information from the Estoria del fecho de los godos (Cuarta crónica general). If Catalán is correct, the appearance of the interpolation in MS. Y.II.13 indicates that the MS must descend from MS. M563.

Professor Catalán's remarks concern first of all the lengthy interpolation from Estoria that begins midway through the MS. M563 CAX chapter dedicated to the thirtieth year of the reign. The interpolation appears within the body of the text and is introduced and concluded by transitional passages that are evidently the work of the redactor responsible for the conflation of the two chronicles.

The actual interpolation includes the verse composition "yo sali de mi tierra" and three Estoria chapters that narrate Alfonso's alliance with Abenyucaf, formed in order to resist Don Sancho's revolt. According to Catalán's article, Ramón Menéndez Pidal believed that the interpolated version as preserved in MS. M563 represented a major

branch of CAX textual tradition and cited the MS as evidence that CAX was a source of the Estoria ("El Toledano," 74-75; Crónicas generales, 3rd ed., pp. 144-45). Catalán counters that the Estoria was rather a contaminating source for MS. M563. He cites two marginal notes of considerable length, both of which incorporate further Estoria material, as evidence that the interpolated version was created by the redactor of MS. M563. The first note is found on f. L1r at the conclusion of the chapter that corresponds to BAE 72 and deals with the aftermath of the Christian defeat at Algeciras. The note is in the same hand as the body of the MS and is squeezed into the lower margin. The passage consists mainly of CAX text omitted in the body of the MS but includes two sentence-length segments of information clearly borrowed from the Estoria and omits the usual CAX conclusion to the chapter. Professor Catalán believes that the copy of the body of the text was interrupted and then continued at the foot of the folio in order to rework the usual CAX text to accommodate the Estoria interpolations and that therefore MS. M563 is the original interpolated version.

Inasmuch as the base CAX text is altered in the note, Catalán's interpretation is logical. However, there are no physical signs of scribal hesitation in the note; no words are crossed out or overwritten, which one might expect to occur in the actual process of conflation. Also, the first of the two Estoria items in the note appears 120-odd, mainly unaltered, CAX words into the note. Furthermore, there is a similar marginal note on f. IXr. At line b5 the CAX narration of the thirteenth year of the reign is interrupted; the last several lines of the chapter are omitted, as are the opening lines of

the chapter on the fourteenth year. In the photocopy of the MS in my possession, the latter marginal note is only partially legible. However, the portion that remains coincides closely with the usual CAX conclusion to the chapter and shows no signs of interpolated Estoria material. Finally, it may be noted that the MS. M563 redactor did not resort to the marginal-note technique to work out the transitional passages enclosing the major interpolation beginning "yo sali de mi tierra." I therefore conclude that the interruptions in MS. M563 are not necessarily the result of the redactor's desire to rewrite omitted CAX text and smoothly incorporate additional material from the Estoria. The interpolations in the marginal note on Algeciras (f. L1r) could have been present in the source of MS. M563 and could have been part and parcel of an accidental omission, later discovered and remedied by the original scribe at the foot of the folio.

The second marginal note adduced by Catalán seems better evidence for his hypothesis. The note is found on f. LVv, again in a smaller version of the original hand; the note occurs in the chapter on the thirtieth year, shortly before the major interpolation beginning "yo sali...." In my photocopy the note is totally illegible, but according to Professor Catalán it consists of a loan from the Estoria that names the judges who with Don Manuel pronounced the sentence against Alfonso. (Catalán's transcription suggests that the note is trimmed in the original. However, MS. 13002, which descended from a source lacking a folio in the chapter on the thirtieth year, filled in the missing text (f. 77r) with a source that contained the interpolated segment on the judges. The MS. 13002 passage contains the words and

segments of words missing in Catalán's transcription.) The marginal note concerning the judges in MS. M563 does not combine usual CAX text omitted in the body of the MS with Estoria elements. On the contrary, no CAX text is omitted in the body of the MS, and the note consists exclusively of Estoria text, added in the margin of MS. M563 at a point in the CAX narration that provides a context different from that within which the information appears in the Estoria. (See "El Tolodano," 76.) This disparity of contexts and the fact that no CAX text is omitted in the body of the MS and combined with Estoria material in the margin would seem to support Professor Catalán's belief that MS. M563 is the original interpolated version. In short, the marginal note on the judges is convincing evidence for MS. M563 as the first interpolated version, but the Algeciras note, which perhaps corrects an omission from an interpolated passage, could argue almost as forcefully that MS. M563 was a copy of an earlier interpolated version.

MS. Y.II.13 does not show the major interpolation that begins "yo sali..." in MS. M563. The final folios of CAX in the former MS are missing. CAX ends at the conclusion of f. 100v, early in the chapter on the thirtieth year and before the interpolation begins in MS. M563. The Estoria list of judges provided by the marginal note in MS. M563, f. LVv, also occurs at a point in the narration after the truncated conclusion of the chronicle in MS. Y.II.13. However, the Algeciras passage contained in the interpolated marginal note at the foot of MS. M563 f. LIr does appear, almost verbatim, in MS. Y.II.13, and MS. Y.II.13 is the only extant CAX witness to agree with MS. M563 in that passage.

If we accept that the interpolated Algeciras passage found both in the MS. M563 marginal note and in the body of the MS. Y.II.13 text is characteristic of the interpolated version of CAX, we must opt for one of two mutually exclusive interpretations, both of which are supported by fairly convincing evidence: (1) there is an explanation other than Catalán's for the judges marginal note, and MSS. M563 and Y.II.13 descended from a common interpolated source; (2) MS. Y.II.13 descended from MS. M563, and contamination of the later MS. accounts for the lack of majority text in MS. M563 that appears in MS. Y.II.13. Until further collation provides a satisfactory alternate explanation for each point of Catalán's argument or convincing evidence of contamination in MS. Y.II.13, the question as to the exact relationship of MS. M563 and MS. Y.II.13 remains open. Nevertheless, the fundamentally important point of Professor Catalán's observations, i.e. that the interpolated version of CAX as given by MS. M563 does not represent a major CAX tradition, is confirmed by the collation of the thirty-five witnesses. As we will presently see, MS. M563 (and MS. Y.II.13) virtually stands alone in the subdivision of the extant MSS of family S.

<sup>56</sup> MS. 10132 e<sub>1</sub>] y 13002; ardit] ardid 642, 13002, 321; hueste] gieste 13002.

<sup>57</sup> MS. N.III.12 Rezyo] Resçio 9-4761, 1159, Reçio 1775, Y.II.15; E] y 5775, V1554, 1159; por om. Z.III.12, 9-4761, 2880, 1742, 9233, 336, 6410, 1159; tã<sub>2</sub> om. V1554; ardit] ardid M.II.2, 9-4761, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 1742, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; nō] no Z.III.7, 10277, B1489, 1775, 336, 1159; el om. 1159; su + grant 327, gran B1489, grande 1775; esfuerço +

q̄ 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; solo om. Y.I.5, 10195, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; solo toda la hueste om. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; la + gente de su 5775, V1554; hueste] guesta 1775, gente 9233.

<sup>58</sup> MS. 10132 -l] le 13002; otorgasse] otorgase 642, 7403, 13002, 321; e] y 13002.

<sup>59</sup> MS. N.III.12 al papa om. Y.I.5, 10195; A + le 829; A om. 6410; las] les 9-4761, le M563, 10277, 1742, 6410; grās] gentes 9-4761, 1742, 9233, 6410.

<sup>60</sup> MS. 10132 saluo] salbo 13002.

<sup>61</sup> MS. N.III.12 nō] no Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 1159.

<sup>62</sup> MS. 10132 recabdasse] recabdase 642, 7403, 13002, 321.

<sup>63</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159, om. Y.I.5, 10195; por + que M563; Recabdar] Recavdar 9-4761, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, RecabdaSe M563.

<sup>64</sup> MS. 10132 p̄dicador] pedricador 321; e<sub>2</sub>] y 13002; electo] eieto 321.

<sup>65</sup> MS. N.III.12 frey] fray 9-4761, 2880, 1742, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, V1554; aymar] ymar M.II.2, oymar 10277; q̄] e M563; era] hera 1775, V1554, Y.III.11, 336; era + su M.II.2; electo] eieto 10195, 9-28-3-5509, 336, heieto Y.III.11, esleido 84-7-34.

<sup>66</sup> MS. 10132 q̄ + le 642, 321, -l 7403; dixiera] dixera 7403, 321.

<sup>67</sup> MS. N.III.12 por] con 5775, V1554; esta] la Y.II.15; Repuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277,

1742, 327, B1489, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, Razõ 9-28-3-5509; le] -l 84-7-34, 6410, 1159.

<sup>68</sup> MS. 10132 -l] le 13002, 321; fizieran] fezierã 642, 7403, fezyera 321, hizieron 13002.

<sup>69</sup> MS. N.III.12 ome]naJe] homenaje 5775, V1554; trãra + ã Y.III.11; le] lo M.II.2, 9-4761, 1742; aujã] tenjan 327, 1775; fecho] hecho Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, V1554, Y.II.15.

<sup>70</sup> MS. 10132 fizo] hizo 13002.

<sup>71</sup> MS. N.III.12 fizo<sub>1</sub>] hizo 5775, V1554; E] y 5775; fizo<sub>2</sub>] hizo 5775, V1554; fazer] hazer 5775, 9-28-3-5509, V1554, Y.III.11, 1159; a- om. 327, B1489, 1775; mj] mjo M.II.2, Z.III.7, om. 9-28-3-5509, 5775, V1554; hermano] ermano Y.II.15; era] hera B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336.

<sup>72</sup> MS. 10132 fazer] hazer 13002; herẽcia] erençia 7403, 13002; Regnos] Reynos 642, 7403, 13002.

<sup>73</sup> MS. N.III.12 del plĩto om. 2880; d- om. Y.II.15; plĩto + del Y.II.15; plĩto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34; ãle om. Y.II.15; le] -l 84-7-34, el M.II.2, om. 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 6410; auja] hauia 5775, avie 84-7-34; Acometido] cometido 2777, 829, M563, 2880, 9233, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159, començado M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336; por<sub>1</sub> om. M563, 2880; aventura] abentura B1489, 1775, ventura 2777, 829, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; aujẽ] hauien 5775, avian M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 327, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, 1159, abjan B1489, averian 9-4761, M563, 1742, avrian



9-28-3-5509; A] de 336, 1159; A + mouer e Y.II.15, 336, M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, mober e 327, B1489, 1775, mover a 9-28-3-5509; tomar] mouer 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159;  $\tilde{q}_3$  + y Z.III.12, 336; el] -l 6410, 1159; el + y Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; perdiese] perdiessse 9-4761, 1742, 5775, V1554, 1159, pudiese M.II.2; el] la Y.I.5, 10195, M563, 1159; heredaria] herederia 2777, 829, herençia Y.I.5, M563, Y.III.11, 1159, erençia 10195, 84-7-34, herendamjento M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, 336, 6410; Regnos] Reynos M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9-28-3-5509, 5775, 1775, V1554, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159.

<sup>74</sup> MS. 10132 pusierō] posieron 642, 7403, 321; pusierō + su 13002;  $\tilde{q}$  + se 13002.

<sup>75</sup> MS. N.III.12 pusierō] posieron 9233, 327, 1775, 84-7-34; Su] sus 327; plīto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34, plýtos 327; coñl + e M563;  $\tilde{q}$  Se ternjā om. 2880; Se + tornarian e 10277; ternjā] ternjen 9-4761, 1742, tornarian Z.III.7.

<sup>76</sup> MS. 10132 fizierō] fezierō 642, 7403, 321, hizierō 13002; le + otrosi 13002; otrosi om. 13002.

<sup>77</sup> MS. N.III.12 fizjerō] fezierō 2880, 9233, 327, fiçieron Y.II.15, hizjerō 9-28-3-5509, 5775, V1554; fizjerō + coñl Y.I.5, 10195; -le luego om. Y.I.5, 10195; -le] -se B1489, om. Z.III.7, 10277, 336; tal] su Y.III.11; plīto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34.

<sup>78</sup> MS. 10132 lope] lop 7403; diez] diaz 7403, 642, 321; vinya] venja 7403, 642, 321.

<sup>79</sup> MS. 10132 ayudasse] ayudase 7403, 642, 321; merçet] merçed 7403, 642, 321.

<sup>80</sup> MS. 7403 encomjenda] emienda 10132; criazon] criança 10132; Reçelādo] rresçelando 642; venjese] vinyesse 10132; onrras] honrras 321, 10132; ayudase] ayudasse 10132; qujSieSe] q̄siesse 10132; aventajar om. 10132; emendaria] emēdara 321; diaz] diez 10132; -1<sub>2</sub>] le 642; avie] auja 10132, 642, toujeSe 321; -1<sub>3</sub>] le 642, 321; oviesen] ouyessen 10132, oujese 321; le<sub>2</sub> om. 642; farian om. 321. The lower corner of MS. 642 f. 78 is torn away. One to six words of each of six lines within the passage are missing. The remaining portion of the passage coincides with the reading in MSS. 7403, 10132, 321, and the lost corner would accommodate the missing text as it appears in the latter group of MSS.

<sup>81</sup> MS. 7403 Sancho + e 321; fablase] fablasse 10132.

<sup>82</sup> MS. 7403 esso] eso 642, 321; mesmo] mjSmo 321; çibdat] çibdad 321.

<sup>83</sup> MS. 7403 muerte<sub>2</sub> + del ynfante 642.

<sup>84</sup> MS. 7403 ca om. 321; la<sub>3</sub>] lā 642; nō<sub>2</sub> om. 321; podia] podyan 10132; la<sub>4</sub> om. 10132.

<sup>85</sup> MS. 642 asi] assi 10132.

<sup>86</sup> MS. 7403 oviese] ouyesse 10132; lo] la 10132.

<sup>87</sup> MS. 10132 grād] gran 642, 321, grant 7403; abyuçaf] abenyuçaf 642, 321, abinçaf 7403; passo] paso 642, 7403, 321; E + q̄ 642, 7403, 321; fazer om. 7403, 321.

<sup>88</sup> It should be recalled that MS. 13002 is the only extant CAX witness that provides a completely legible transcription of the text

of the marginal note on the judges in MS. M563 that Diego Catalán cites in "El Toledano romanzado" (see n. 55). This fact leaves it abundantly clear that while it is advisable to set aside generally unreliable MSS in the process of establishing the critical text, those MSS may on occasion provide information of importance that appears in no other witness and should therefore be included in future collation.

<sup>89</sup> MS. 327  $\bar{g}$ -] se- Y.II.15, 336;  $\bar{g}$ lo + el M.II.2;  $\bar{g}$ lo + Rogaba y Y.II.15; mandaua] mandaba Y.II.15; e] y Y.II.15.

<sup>90</sup> MS. N.III.12  $\bar{g}$ -] Se- 9-4761; -lo] -le Y.III.11;  $\bar{g}$ lo + lo 5775; encomēdo] mando 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159.

<sup>91</sup> MS. 327 de<sub>1</sub> + los Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 336; de<sub>2</sub> + -l Rey don alfonso Z.III.12, Y.II.15, 336; el Rey don alfonso om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Y.II.15, 336; alfonso + E 9-28-3-5509.

<sup>92</sup> MS. N.III.12 despūs] depues 9233, 6410; de + los 84-7-34; dias de om. 9-4761, 1742;  $\bar{q}$ - + el M563; Rogaua] otorgaua M563.

<sup>93</sup> MS. N.III.12 Reçelādo] rresçelando 642, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, M563, 1742.

<sup>94</sup> MS. 327 aḡllos om. Z.III.12, 336; Ricosom̄s] Ricoshomes 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15; e] y Y.II.15; cauallōs] caballeros Y.II.15; eran] heran 336; ally om. Y.II.15.

<sup>95</sup> MS. N.III.12 todos] todo 6410.

<sup>96</sup> MS. 327 om̄s] homes 9-28-3-5509, Ricosom̄s Z.III.12, 336, rricoshomes Y.II.15; Reyno] Regno Z.III.12, B1489.

<sup>97</sup> MS. N.III.12 todos om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 321; delos Sus om. 6410; -los<sub>2</sub>] -l 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, 10132, 7403, 321; Sus om. 642, 2777, Y.I.5, 9-4761, 829, 10195, M563, 2880, 1742,

9233, 10132, 7403, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, 321; Regnos] rreynos  
9-4761, 829, 1742, 5775, V1554, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159, Reyno  
642, M.II.2, 2880, 7403, 321, Regno Y.I.5, 10195, 10132.

<sup>98</sup> MS. 327 mando] mado 10277.

<sup>99</sup> MS. N.III.12 desta vez om. Y.I.5, 10195; vez + q̄ 642,  
10132, 7403, 321. MSS. 2777, 829 omit a larger passage.

<sup>100</sup> MS. 327 fizo] hizo 9-28-3-5509; y] ay 10277, om. 1775;  
Jnfanĕ<sub>1</sub>] ynfant B1489; don<sub>1</sub>] dom Y.II.15; al<sub>2</sub>] el B1489, Y.II.15;  
Jnfanĕ<sub>2</sub>] ynfant B1489; fiJos] hijos 9-28-3-5509, 1775.

<sup>101</sup> MS. N.III.12 fizo] hizo 5775, V1554, Y.III.11; y] ay 5775,  
V1554, Y.III.11, om. 10195; fiJos] hijos 5775, V1554, Y.III.11; hiJos  
+ y Y.III.11; dō<sub>1</sub>] dom Y.III.11; pedro] iohan Y.I.5, Juan 10195, 10132,  
7403, 321; E el Jnfanĕ dō Juā om. Y.I.5, 9-4761, 10195, 2880, 1742,  
9233, 10132, 7403, 6410, 321. The omission in MSS. Y.I.5, 10195,  
10132, 7403, 321 is due to haplography, Jnfanĕ/Jnfanĕ. The larger  
passage indicates that the omission in MSS. 9-4761, 2880, 1742, 9233,  
6410 is also due to haplography: el Jnfanĕ dō pedro E el Jnfanĕ dō  
Juā E el Jnfanĕ dō pedro. The passage falls within a lengthy lacuna  
in MS. 642.

<sup>102</sup> MS. 327 aujan] abjan B1489, avrian 9-28-3-5509; mober]  
mouer M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 336.

<sup>103</sup> MS. N.III.12 aujē] auīā 2777, Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, Y.III.11,  
hauien 5775, averian 1742, M563, 9-4761; tomar] mouer 2777, 829,  
Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159. MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 omit a larger  
passage.

<sup>104</sup> MSS. 2777, 829, 84-7-34, 1159 and L<sub>1</sub> share a few other readings that underscore the relationship between the two families. The remaining variants are discussed in the subdivision of family L<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>105</sup> See the study of the BAE edition, II.1, pp. 250-51.

<sup>106</sup> Evelyn S. Proctor, Curia and Cortes in León and Castile, 1072-1295 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 230, n. 28.

<sup>107</sup> See Jerry R. Craddock, "La cronología de las obras legislativas de Alfonso X el Sabio," Anuario de Historia de Derecho Español 51 (1981), 404.

<sup>108</sup> For the Latin version of the wills, see George Daumet, "Les Testaments d'Alphonse X, in Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 67 (1906).

<sup>109</sup> MS. 327 saluador] salvador 1775.

<sup>110</sup> MS. M.II.2 de + nño señor Z.III.7, 10277.

<sup>111</sup> MS. Z.III.7 monferrad] monferrate M.II.2, mōferrant Z.III.12, 336, 9-28-3-5509, monferraz Y.II.15.

<sup>112</sup> MS. Z.III.7 que + le 9-28-3-5509; diera] dio 9-28-3-5509.

<sup>113</sup> MS. 327 çibdat] çibdad B1489, 1775.

<sup>114</sup> MS. M.II.2 coño] como Y.II.15, 336.

<sup>115</sup> MS. 327 grant] gran B1489, grande 1775.

<sup>116</sup> MS. Z.III.7 se librase] se Salvo 9-28-3-5509, escapo M.II.2, se guardo Z.III.12, 336, Y.II.15.

<sup>117</sup> MS. 327 era] hera B1489; pñado] pribado 1775.

<sup>118</sup> MS. M.II.2 era] hera 336, Y.II.15; pñado] pribado 336.

<sup>119</sup> MS. 327 E<sub>1</sub>] y 1775; era<sub>1</sub>] hera 1775; oviedo] obiedo 1775; e<sub>2</sub>] y B1489; era<sub>2</sub>] hera.

<sup>120</sup> MS. M.II.2 fedulo] rrodulo Z.III.7, 10277, fedrulo 9-28-3-5509, fredulo Y.II.15, 336, Z.III.12; era] hera 336.

121 MS. M.II.2 a el] ay 9-28-3-5509.

122 MS. 327 avja] abia B1489.

123 MS. 327 atreujo] atrebio 1775.

124 MS. 327 era] hera 1775.

125 MS. Z.III.12 Este] E este Y.II.15; por<sub>1</sub> om. 336; rrezjo] rreçio Y.II.15; e<sub>1</sub> + por Y.II.15; ardit] ardid Y.II.15, 336; nō] no 336; en] con 336; grande] gran Y.II.15, 336; peligro + e Y.II.15; Asy] ansi 336.

126 MS. 327 E<sub>1</sub>] y B1489, en 1775; Rezjo] Reçio 1775; ardid] ardid M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; nō] no B1489, 10277, Z.III.7, 1775; granĉ<sub>1</sub>] gran B1489, grande 1775, om. M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509, Z.III.7; esfuerco + solo M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277; granĉ<sub>2</sub>] gran M.II.2, B1489, grand 9-28-3-5509, Z.III.7, grande 1775; asy] ansi Z.III.7, 10277; fue lybrado] se librase Z.III.7, 10277, se Salvo 9-28-3-5509, escapo M.II.2; e] y B1489. The e] is lacking in MS. 9-28-3-5509 but seems to have been lost in binding.

127 MSS. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159 show a haplography esfuerço/esfuerço: Et este dia se mostro el por tã Rezjo e por tã ardit q̃ si nō fuera por el su esfuerço q̃ se guardo todo (MS. 2777, f. 166r a6). The majority of the text omitted by haplography in the S<sub>3</sub> MSS appears in all L<sub>1</sub> MSS. the omission of esfuerço<sub>2</sub> and the differing readings on se guardo in the L<sub>1</sub> MSS other than MSS. Z.III.12, 336, Y.II.15 are unrelated to the S<sub>3</sub> haplography.

128 MS. Z.III.12 andaua] andavan Y.II.15.

129 MS. M.II.2 yua] yban 327, B1489, 1775.

130 MS. Z.III.12 eran] heran 336.

- 131 MS. Z.III.12 fazer] hazer Y.II.15; Saluo] Salbo 336;  
Saluo + E Y.II.15.
- 132 MS. M.II.2 fazer e om. 9-28-3-5509.
- 133 MS. M.II.2 q̄ om. 9-28-3-5509.
- 134 MS. Z.III.12 fasta] hasta Y.II.15, 336; hasta + hasta  
Y.II.15; que llogo om. Y.II.15.
- 135 MS. M.II.2 llogo] allego 9-28-3-5509.
- 136 MS. Z.III.12 e] y Y.II.15.
- 137 MS. Z.III.7 tenja] auja M.II.2.
- 138 MS. Z.III.12 tenēcia] tenençia Y.II.15, 336; e] y Y.II.15;  
criazon] criança Y.II.15, 336.
- 139 MS. M.II.2 criança] crjazon Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509.
- 140 MS. Z.III.12 venjesse] vinjese Y.II.15, 336; querria]  
queria Y.II.15.
- 141 MS. Z.III.7 venjese] vinjese M.II.2, B1489, 1775; vinjesse  
9-28-3-5509; vinjese + q̄ faria M.II.2; querria om. M.II.2.
- 142 MS. Z.III.12 todas om. Y.II.15.
- 143 MS. Z.III.12 e] y Y.II.15.
- 144 MS. M.II.2 catar + cõmo se 10277, cõmo 9-28-3-5509; por q̄  
om. 10277, 9-28-3-5509; por] para 336; q̄ + se Z.III.7.
- 145 MS. Z.III.12 enbiar] embiar 336.
- 146 MS. M.II.2 cometer] acometer 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34,  
1159, Z.III.12, Y.II.15, 336, entremeter en ello 10277, ofreçer B1489;  
nĵ] nj Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, B1489, 1775; Se] gelo 336; atreujo]  
atrebio 1775. MS. 9-28-3-5509 gives the unique Se q̄So atreV̄.
- 147 MS. N.III.12 Atreujo] treujo 642, 321, atriujo 10195.

148 L<sub>1</sub> MSS 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15 omit the variant.

149 MS. Z.III.7 Sopo] supo 10277; de] q̄ 327, B1489, 1775.

150 L<sub>1</sub> MS. 10277 reads moros adargados con sus caVallos. The reading is unique, but the caVallos suggests that the ultimate source of MS. 10277 read caullōs rather than ballesteros.

151 MS. N.III.12 finco + en Su yntençion 9-4761, 1742; cō entēdimjt<sup>o</sup> om. 9-4761, 1742; cō + el 6410; entēdimjt<sup>o</sup>] entençion 327, B1489, 1775, determinamiento 6410. MSS. 642, 10132, 7403, 321 omit a larger passage.

152 MS. Z.III.12 dolencia] dolençia 336.

153 MS. Z.III.12 pudiesen] pudiesen 336.

154 MS. Z.III.12 algund] algun 336.

155 MS. 1775 Alfonso] alonso B1489.

156 MS. 327 q̄xado] aq̄xado M.II.2, Z.III.12, Y.II.15, 336.

157 MS. 327 leuarōlo] lleuarōlo 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 336.

158 MS. 327 venjesen] venjessen Z.III.12, vinjesen M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; luego om. M.II.2; a] para Z.III.12, 336, Y.II.15; el a om. Y.II.15.

159 MS. 327 de om. Y.II.15.

160 MS. M.II.2 de + n̄o salvador 327, B1489, salvador 1775. MS. 336 omits the sentence in which the variant occurs, the statement of the year, which is a usual chapter preliminary throughout CAX. The reading was not included in the discussion of the variants in which MSS. Z.III.12 and 336 disagree because, owing to its formulaic nature, the segment could be added or omitted spontaneously.

161 MS. 327 Et] y B1489.



- 162 MS. Z.III.7 podria] podrian 10277.
- 163 MS. 327 fallaua] fallaba 1775, hallava B1489; como] como 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15; meJor om. 9-28-3-5509.
- 164 MS. 327 podiesen] pudiessen Z.III.12, pudiesen Y.II.15; en] por 9-28-3-5509; E] y B1489, 1775.
- 165 MS. 327 ovo<sub>1</sub>] houo Z.III.12, obo 336; ñ ovo<sub>1</sub> om. M.II.2; ovo<sub>1</sub> + en el tpo ñ ovo Conq̄stas 9-28-3-5509; pa las conḡstas om. 9-28-3-5509; ovo<sub>1</sub> + cō los moros Z.III.12, 336, Y.II.15; pa] en M.II.2; ovo<sub>2</sub> e om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, Y.II.15, 336; fizo] hizo 9-28-3-5509, B1489, Y.II.15, 336.
- 166 MS. 327 enbjar] embiar 336, echar Y.II.15; enbiar (echar) + pecho Z.III.12, 336, Y.II.15.
- 167 MS. 327 amos] ambos M.II.2.
- 168 M.II.2 todos om. 327, B1489, 1775.
- 169 MS. M.II.2 algũa otra] otra alguna 327, B1489, 1775.
- 170 MS. Z.III.7 tornarian + e 10277.
- 171 MS. 327 ternjan] ternan 1775.
- 172 MS. Z.III.7 cabecon] cabeçon 10277.
- 173 MS. Y.II.15 cabeçon] cabeço M.II.2, Z.III.12, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 336, tan] muy 327, B1489, 1775, om. M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509; villa] çibdad 327, B1489, 1775.
- 174 MS. Z.III.12 fredulo] fedulo M.II.2, fedrulo 9-28-3-5509, om. 327, B1489, 1775.
- 175 See "Indice de las personas, lugares y cosas notables que se mencionan en las tres crónicas de los reyes de Castilla: Alfonso X, Sancho IV y Fernando IV," Hispania (Madrid) 2 [1942], 7-9, Appendix A, 586.

176 E. J. Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, 3 (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1929), 136.

177 MS. 327 yria + a Z.III.12, 10277, Y.II.15, 336.

178 M<sub>1</sub> MSS. Z.III.7, 10277 innovate: por el grand menester que ovo para conquistar los moros (MS. Z.III.7, f. 68r b1).

179 The otorgado of MSS. 829, 84-7-34, 2777, Y.III.11, 1159 may have been provided by otorgar earlier in the same line: pā otorgar /todo lo q̄ fuese otorgado antel (MS. 829, f. 55v). The otorgar appears in all MSS.

180 MSS. Y.I.5, 10195 omit a larger passage.

181 MS. 829 e] y 1159.

182 MS. N.III.12 -les] -lo 321; fincasen] fincassen 1742, 9233.

183 MS. 829 farie] faria 1159, Aria Y.III.11.

184 MS. N.III.12 auje] auja 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 10132, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 321; ḡ- om. 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, B1489, Y.II.15, 336, 321; farie] faria 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 321, harja B1489. L<sub>1</sub> MS. 9-28-3-5509 agrees with MSS. 2777, 829, 84-7-34, Y.III.11, 1159 on the omission, perhaps a que/que haplography, against all other L<sub>1</sub> MSS.

185 MS. 829 nō] no 1159; auje] auja Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; auja + cosa Y.III.11; cosa om. Y.III.11; cōsyntiese] consentiese 84-7-34, consintiesse 1159; rrespuesta] repuesta 2777, 1159; le] -l 84-7-34, 1159.

186 MS. N.III.12 Ca] q̄ 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 327, 7403, 321; Ca + el Z.III.7, 10277; nō] no 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 336; auja]

auje 9233, 7403; auja + cosa 336; cosa om. 336; cōsintiese] consentiese 642, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 7403, 1775, consintiesse 10132, consentiesse 1742; alfoñ] alfon B1489; ensañose] ensañosse 1742, ensanose 7403, 1775; esta] esto 642, 10132, 7403, 321, la Y.II.15; Repuesta om. 642, 10132, 7403, 321; Repuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 6410, Razō 9-28-3-5509; le om. 10132; le] -l 7403, 6410; diera] dixiera 642, 10132, 7403, 321.

<sup>187</sup> MS. 829 fuesen] fussen 84-7-34; coṃo] como Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; erā] heran Y.III.11; nō] no 1159; podriā] podiā 2777.

<sup>188</sup> MS. N.III.12 por] pa 642; nō<sub>1</sub>] no 9-4761, 1742; fuesē] fuessen 9-4761, 1742, fuesse 10132; desaforad̄s] deSSaforados 9-4761, desforados 336; coṃo] como 10277, 10132, 7403, 1775, 336, 6410; erā] heran B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336. L<sub>1</sub> MS. Y.II.15 omits from E Sy through the remainder of the segment to the end of the sentence. MS. N.III.12 nō<sub>2</sub>] no 10277, 10132, 9-28-3-5509, 336; nō<sub>2</sub> + q̄ M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 336, 321; q̄<sub>2</sub> om. 642, M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, M563, 10277, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 336, 321; nō<sub>3</sub>] no 336; podriā] podian 642, M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 2880, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 336, 321; podriā + de 10195, Y.I.5; estar] escusar M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 336; estar + q̄ non 9-4761, 1742; de om. 9-4761, 1742; catar] Catassen 9-4761, 1742.

<sup>189</sup> MS. 829 muy] mucho 2777.

<sup>190</sup> MS. N.III.12 de + muy M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775. (All  $L_1$  MSS but Y.II.15, 336 show muy.) MS. N.III.12 de + grado 10132, 7403, 321; buē talantē om. 10132, 7403, 321. MSS. 9-4761, 2880, 1742, 9233, 6410 omit a larger passage.

<sup>191</sup> Recall also the  $S_3$  haplography esfuerço/esfuerço, which does not appear in  $L_1$ . See n. 127.

<sup>192</sup> MS. 84-7-34 nin] ni 1159.

<sup>193</sup> MS. 84-7-34 omits a larger passage.

<sup>194</sup> MS. 84-7-34 estudio] estuvo Y.III.11; njn] ni 1159; fiziese] fiziesen Y.III.11, fiziessen 1159.

<sup>195</sup> MS. 84-7-34 omits a larger passage.

<sup>196</sup> MS. 829 Rey + dō alfoñ 2777.

<sup>197</sup> MS. 829 don a<sup>o</sup> om. M.II.2; a<sup>o</sup> + le Z.III.12, 336; dixo + le M.II.2, Z.III.7, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; le] -l 7403, el 2880; diese] diese 9-4761, 1742, 10132.

<sup>198</sup> MS. 1159 sinpre] siempē 84-7-34, siēpre Y.III.11; quedo] quando Y.III.11; en] con 84-7-34, Y.III.11.

<sup>199</sup> MS. 829 sienpr̄] Siempre 1742, B1489, Y.II.15, 336; fynco] fincaua Y.I.5, 10195; cō] en 10277, 2880.

<sup>200</sup> MS. 1159 ]saliesse] saliese Y.III.11, 84-7-34.

<sup>201</sup> MS. 829 fablase] fablasse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, hablase Y.II.15. MS. M563 omits a larger passage.

<sup>202</sup> MS. 1159 començado] comendado 84-7-34.

<sup>203</sup> MS. 829 cometido] Acometido N.III.12, Y.I.5, M563, 9233, 6410, cometer 642, 321, acometer 10132, 7403, prometido M.II.2, començado, 9-4761, 1742, 9-28-3-5509.

204 MS. 829 entro] entraron Y.I.5, 10195.

205 MS. 84-7-34 fazer] hazer 9-28-3-5509. MS. 2777 omits a larger passage.

206 MS. M563 rewrites the pasage.

207 MS. 2777 conl + su Y.I.5, 10195; del] deste 829; del jnfante om. 84-7-34.

208 MS. 1159 shows an original arçobispo. The original scribe added do after changing the final o to a. MS. Y.III.11 reads arçobispo.

209 MS. Y.II.15 agrees with MS. Y.III.11 on arçobispo.

210 Outside chapters 64, 65 and 75, sixteenth-century MSS. Y.III.11 and 1159 provide a striking point of agreement. Both MSS begin within the chronological note opening CAX chapter 1. Their shared first line is "La hera de cesar en mill y dozientos y ochenta y nueue años Romanos . . ." (MS. 1159, f. 1r). In MS. Y.III.11 the l of La is lower case and falls at the extreme left margin. The first folio is numbered i Roman, and there is no physical evidence of lost folios. MS. 1159 begins with the last folio (numbered 1 Arabic) of the original first quire. The quires in the MS are irregular but often contain six folios. MS. 1159 also shows a large space in the binding between folios 1 and 2, but no text is missing between the two folios. There is a slight indentation, approximately three letters in width, at the left margin in the first five lines of the text. The upper-case L of La is a narrow, vertical series of intertwining strokes in heavy ink that extends from the upper edge of the folio and fills the indentation. A decorated horizontal stroke, which one normally expects at the inferior limit of an upper-case L, is lacking, as it would not fit into the narrow indentation.

Independent loss of the initial folios resulting in a coincidental agreement in the opening lines of MSS as closely related as Y.III.11 and 1159 strains credibility. But for the indented left margin in MS. 1159, I would conclude that the MS originally showed the normal beginning of chapter 1, perhaps preceded by other introductory material, e.g. a table of chapter titles and Prologue, which was subsequently lost, as indicated by the single-folio quire beginning the MS. The unusual upper-case L would be assumed to have been fit in by some later corrector. MS. 1159 would thus naturally seem to be the source of MS. Y.III.11. However, the indentation in the left margin of MS. 1159, slight as it is, may indicate the beginning of the original copy. The fact that the indentation is something of a halfway measure could suggest the compromise of a vacillating scribe who realized that the beginning of his copy was not the beginning of the usual text. (The opening line in MSS. Y.III.11 and 1159 lacks a verb.) Furthermore, the variants in chapters 64, 65 and 75 suggest for the two MSS a common source rather than a relationship of direct descent. I believe that the lacuna at the beginning of MSS. Y.III.11 and 1159 existed in their common source, Z.

<sup>211</sup> MS. 642 acaesçio] Acaesçio 321.

<sup>212</sup> MS. N.III.12 Acaesçio] acaesçio 336, 6410, acaheçio M.II.2; era] eran 9-4761, 1742, vyno 9-28-3-5509.

<sup>213</sup> MS. N.III.12 en] de Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, om. 9233.

<sup>214</sup> MS. N.III.12 aujêdo] abiendo 336; lo] le B1489, Y.III.11; el om. 2880, 1159; q̄ + el 2880, -l 1159; fuese] fuesse 9-4761, Z.III.12, 1742.

- 215 MS. 642 volūtad] voluntat Y.I.5, 10132.
- 216 MS. N.III.12 de] en M563; parar] ampār 9-28-3-5509, partir e de ir 6410; A] y 1159.
- 217 MS. 642 ġrdasen] guardassen 10132.
- 218 MS. N.III.12 alçasen] alçassen 9-4761, 1742, alçen M.II.2.
- 219 MS. 10132 leuo] lleuo 321; henares] enares 10195, Y.I.5, 7403.
- 220 MS. N.III.12 E] y 1159; leuo] lleuo 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11, 336, 1159, 321, lebo 1775; e-] a- 2777; dō] dom Y.III.11; pedro + estonçes 9-4761, 1742, 9233, 6410, entōçe 2880; alfoñ] alfon B1489; entōçe] entōçes, M563, om. M.II.2, 2777, 9-4761. Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159.
- 221 MS. 10132 caualleria + toda 10195, Y.I.5; cūpliessē] cunpliesen 642, Conpliesen 7403, 321, cunpliese Y.I.5, 10195.
- 222 MS. M.II.2 partio + toda 2880, 9-28-3-5509; toda om. M563, 2880, 9-28-3-5509; por<sub>1</sub> om. 2777; por<sub>2</sub> om. N.III.12; cupleSē] cūpliesen N.III.12, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 9233, 9-28-3-5509, Cumpliesen Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, conpliesen 9-4761, cōplieSen 1775, 327, M563, cōpljeSe B1489, 2880, compliessen 1742.
- 223 MS. 642 çibdat] çibdad 10195, 321.
- 224 MS. N.III.12 A] de 829; çibdad] çibdat M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, M563, 2880, 9233, ciudad 336, 6410, 1159; E] y 1159; a om. 2777, 9-4761, 829, 1742, 1159; cada<sub>2</sub> om. 9-4761, 1742. MS. 84-7-34 omits a larger passage.

225 MS. N.III.12 poder + fazer e 829; poder om. 10277; Acabar] acauar Z.III.7, 336, 1159.

226 MS. 642 rrepuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, 10132, 7403.

227 MS. N.III.12 E] y B1489, 1775, 1159; desq̄ + Sopo 9-4761; Sopo] supo Y.III.11, 336, om. 9-4761; Rēp] rrespuesta 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159.

228 MS. 642 omenaJe] omenage 10132; averiã] avrian Y.I.5, 10195, 10132.

229 MS. N.III.12 lo] le 336; por + Su 9-4761, 1742.

230 MS. N.III.12 despues] depues 9233; de<sub>1</sub> + los despues delos 9-4761; de<sub>1</sub> + los Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 84-7-34, 336; -l Rey om. 2880, 84-7-34; alfoñ] alfon B1489.

231 MS. 642 q̄ria] querria 7403.

232 MS. M.II.2 a om. N.III.12, 2777, 829, M563, 1742, 9233, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159.

233 MS. N.III.12 muy om. 2880.

234 MS. 10132 y om. 10195; Jñ] iohan Y.I.5. MS. 642 is missing the folios containing the end of chapter 74 and the beginning of chapter 75 and therefore does not show the variant. The transcription of MS. N.III.12 shows that the variant involves a haplography, Jnfanġ/Jnfanġ, in the T MSS.

235 MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y 1159; fizo] hizo 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11; y] ay 10277, Y.III.11; a + -l M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; sus fiJos el om. M.II.2,



Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; fiJos] hijos Y.III.11; hijos + y Y.III.11; Jnfant<sub>1</sub>] ynfant B1489; dō] dom Y.II.15, Y.III.11; E el Jnfant dō Juā E el Jnfant dō pedro om. (haplography) 9-28-3-5509, 2880, 1742, 9233, 6410; e-] a- (el<sub>2</sub>) M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, 336; Juā + sus fiJos M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, B1489, Y.II.15, 336, hijos 9-28-3-5509, 1775; Juā] iohñ M563; E<sub>3</sub> om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336; E<sub>3</sub>] y 1159; e-] a- (el<sub>3</sub>) 10277, 9-28-3-5509, 1775; Jnfant<sub>3</sub>] ynfant B1489; dō<sub>3</sub>] dom Y.II.15.

<sup>236</sup> The variant occurs within the missing text in MS. 642.

<sup>237</sup> MS. N.III.12 q̄ + el Rey don al<sup>o</sup> 9-28-3-5509.

<sup>238</sup> The variant occurs within the missing text in MS. 642.

<sup>239</sup> MS. N.III.12 caua[lo] caualleros M.II.2, Z.III.12, M563, 2880, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.II.15, 336.

<sup>240</sup> MS. N.III.12 taraçona] taracona 84-7-34, 1775, tarazona Y.II.15, taragona Y.III.11, tarançona 336, taraçena 6410.

<sup>241</sup> MS. N.III.12 golfines] golljnes 336, M.II.2, golhines Z.III.12, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, gallofiñs 2880, holgajnes 829, holguines Y.III.11, 84-7-34, olgu..es 1159, algujnes 2777, om. 327, B1489, 1775.

<sup>242</sup> MSS. Z.III.7, 10277 and MS. 9-28-3-5509 all rewrite the passage that contains the variant. However, the latter MS shows Conq̄stas and the former two show conquistar. All three MSS, therefore, fall with M.II.2, etc., against the costas provided by MSS. Y.I.5, 10195, 642, 10132, 7403, 321.

<sup>243</sup> MS. 10132 frey] fray Y.I.5, 10195; aymar] amar 7403;  
e om. Y.I.5.

<sup>244</sup> MS. N.III.12 frey] fray 9-4761, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489,  
frayle Z.III.12, freyre 2880, frayre 336; aymar] ymar 9-28-3-5509,  
armar 6410, Almar 1159; a] A el 9-4761; E<sub>1</sub>] y B1489, 1159; fablo]  
fabro 84-7-34, hablo 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11; Su om. Z.III.7, 10277,  
2880, 6410; poridad] poridat Z.III.12, M563, 2880; E<sub>2</sub>] y B1489,  
Y.III.11, 1159, om. 2880; Jnfanĉ<sub>2</sub> +le B1489; dō Sancho<sub>2</sub> om. B1489; dio]  
dixo M563; -le] -l 7403, 84-7-34, 6410, om. B1489.

<sup>245</sup> MS. 10132 fablase] fablase 642, Y.I.5, 10195.

<sup>246</sup> MS. N.III.12 fablase] fablase 9-4761, 1742, fabrase  
84-7-34, hablase 9-28-3-5509; plĭto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34,  
fecho M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775,  
Y.II.15, 336.

<sup>247</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y B1489, Y.III.11, 1159, en 1775; este]  
eSe M563; dia + se M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327,  
9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159; dia +  
dia 6410; -se om. M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327,  
9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159.  
MSS. 9-4761, 1742 read E el jnfanĉ mostrose Aquj (mostrosse, 1742) and  
share with the T MSS the lack of dia.

<sup>248</sup> MS. 10132 respuesta] rrespuesta 642, 321; -l om. 642;  
freyre] freyle 321, frey 642; frey + aymar 642.

<sup>249</sup> MS. N.III.12 Rep̃] Respuesta 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829,  
Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11,  
84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; q̃ diera el Jnfanĉ dō Sancho om. 84-7-34.

<sup>250</sup> MS. 642 leuarō] lleuarō 321.

<sup>251</sup> MS. 642 el a om. 10132; cordoua + a el 10132.

<sup>252</sup> MS. 642 fezierō] fizierō 10132.

<sup>253</sup> MS. N.III.12 fizjerō] fiçieron Y.II.15, hizjerō 9-28-3-5509, fezierō 2880, 9233, 327; fizjerō + coñl Y.I.5, 10195; -le] -se B1489, om. Y.I.5, 10195, Z.III.7, 10277, 336; luego om. Y.I.5, 10195; luego + el M.II.2; tal] su Y.III.11; plīto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34.

<sup>254</sup> MS. 642 ardid] ardit 10132, 7403; gran] grād 10132, grant 7403.

<sup>255</sup> MS. N.III.12 Rezyo] Resçio 1159, 9-4761, Reçio 1775, Y.II.15; E] y 1159; por<sub>1</sub> om. 9-4761, Z.III.12, 2880, 1742, 9233, 336, 6410, 1159; ardit] ardid M.II.2, 9-4761, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 1742, 9233, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, ardid 2880, 327; q̄<sub>1</sub>] Ca 1742; nō] no Z.III.7, 10277, B1489, 1775, 336, 1159; el om. 1159; su + grant 327, gran B1489, grande 1775; solo toda la hueste fuera en grād peligro Asy q̄ q̄so dios om. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159. The omission in the latter five MSS continues through a second majority occurrence of esfuerço in the following line and is clearly haplographical. MS. N.III.12 solo om. Y.I.5, 10195, 327, B1489, 9-28-3-5509, 1775; hueste] gweste 1775, gente 9233; en] con 336; grād] gran M.II.2, 9-4761, 2880, B1489, Y.II.15, 336, grant Y.I.5, 10277, 9233, 327, grande Z.III.12, 1775, 6410; peligro + E M563, Y.II.15; Asy] ansi Z.III.7, 10277, 336, 6410; q̄<sub>2</sub> om. 9-4761, 1743; q̄so + el nño Señor M563.

<sup>256</sup> MS. N.III.12 vjno] veno M.II.2, 2777, fino 9-4761, 1742.

257 MS. 84-7-34 omits a larger passage.

258 The original scribe of MS. 642 added -l ynfante above and between de and don.

259 MS. N.III.12 Vēçimj<sup>o</sup>] Vencimiento 6410, beçimjento 336, Venzimiento 1159; oujerō] houjerō 84-7-34, obieron 1159; oujerō + los moros M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 336; lo om. 2777; q̄<sub>2</sub> + lo 2777; Sabido] sauido 1159; de] por Z.III.12, 336; -l Jnfanĕ om. Y.I.5, 10195; feṛrdo] hr<sup>do</sup> 9-28-3-5509.

260 MSS. Y.I.5, 10195, 9-4761, 1742 omit a larger passage.

261 MS. N.III.12 touo] tobo 336, 1775, tuvo Y.III.11.

262 MS. N.III.12 tenja] tenje 9233, 84-7-34, 6410, avia Z.III.12, Y.II.15, 336; Acabado] acauado 336, 1159.

263 MS. 10132 otorgasse] otorgase 642, 7403, 321.

264 MS. N.III.12 las] les 9-4761, le M563, 10277, 1742, 6410; grās] gentes 9-4761, 1742, 9233, 6410.

265 MS. 10132 oujessse] oujese 642, 7403, 321; fuesse] fuese 7403, 321.

266 MS. N.III.12 auja] auje M563, 84-7-34, abia B1489.  
MS. N.III.12 omits a larger passage.

267 MS. N.III.12 cōplidas] cunplidas 9233, cumplidas B1489, 84-7-34, 336, 1159, conplidos M.II.2, 9-4761, complidos 1742, cumplidos 6410.

268 MS. 10132 freyle] freyre 642, 7403, 321.

269 MS. N.III.12 y] ay Z.III.7, 10195, Y.III.11, 336, om. M.II.2, 9-4761, 1742; freyre] frayle M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, 10195, M563, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15,

Y.III.11, 84-7-34, freyle Z.III.7, 10277, 6410, 1159, flaire 336;  
pedricador] predicador Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, 2880, 1742, 327,  
B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 6410.

<sup>270</sup> MS. 10132 respuesta] Repuesta 642, 321.

<sup>271</sup> MS. N.III.12 Jnfanĉ] jnfāt 2880, B1489. MSS. 2777, 829,  
Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, Y.I.5, 10195 omit a larger passage by  
haplography.

<sup>272</sup> MS. 10132 leuar] lleuar 321.

<sup>273</sup> MS. N.III.12 q̄ Vos om. M563; E om. 2777, 829, Y.III.11,  
1159; nō] no 9-28-3-5509, 1159; mato + dios M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7,  
M563, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; por Al om.  
336; nō<sub>2</sub>] no 9-28-3-5509, 1775, 1159. MS. 1159 shows por al, but the  
two words have been crossed out.

<sup>274</sup> MS. N.III.12 la frōtera] las fronteras Y.III.11.

<sup>275</sup> MS. N.III.12 mōs] caullōs 10195, Y.I.5; faziã] haziã  
9-28-3-5509, farian 1742, harian 9-4761; eñlla om. 84-7-34.

<sup>276</sup> MS. N.III.12 fiJo] hijo 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.III.11.

<sup>277</sup> MS. 642 ptia] partie 10132, 7403.

<sup>278</sup> MS. N.III.12 q̄taua] tirava Z.III.7, apartava 10277.

<sup>279</sup> MS. N.III.12 de + los Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509,  
Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336; de dias om. 10195, Y.I.5, 9-4761, M563, 1742.

<sup>280</sup> MS. N.III.12 el om. M.II.2, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775,  
Y.III.11; el + q̄ 2880; le<sub>1</sub>] lo 9-4761, 1742, les Y.II.15, 10195, M563;  
le + ayudaria e Z.III.7; sūjria] sirujria 2777, Z.III.7, 10195, 1742,  
84-7-34, 336, servirian 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, seruerjan B1489,  
serujeSen M.II.2; e om. Z.III.7; le<sub>2</sub>] les M563, Y.II.15 om. M.II.2,

Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 336, 1159; ayudaria] ayudarian 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, ayudasen M.II.2, om. Z.III.7; en] de Z.III.7, 10277.

<sup>281</sup> MS. N.III.12 Rogaua e mādaua] mandaba y rogaua Y.II.15, mandava e rogaua Y.III.11.

<sup>282</sup> MSS. 9-4761, 2880, 1742, 9233, 6410 omit a larger passage by haplography.

<sup>283</sup> MS. N.III.12 las] estas 10277, la 1159; gent̄s] gente 1159; Regno] Reyno M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, 829, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 2880, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; erā] heran 336, estauan 6410.

<sup>284</sup> MS. 642 -le] -l 10132, 7403, 321; enbiasen] imbyasse 10132.

<sup>285</sup> MS. N.III.12 o] e Y.I.5, 10195; enbjaua] embiaua 6410, 84-7-34, embiaba 336, imbiaua 1159, ymbiaba Y.III.11, enbiaSe 2880; enbjaua + a 10277, Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, 6410.

<sup>286</sup> MS. 642 averia] avria 10132, 7403, 321.

<sup>287</sup> MS. N.III.12 cō] en M.II.2; esto + que M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, que el Z.III.12, 336; ganaria] ganarian M.II.2; ganaria + el Z.III.7, 10277, Y.II.15; d-] con 1159; Rey + don alfoñ 10195, Y.I.5; Rey + y Y.II.15; -l Rey om. 10277, Z.III.7, 1742; padre + y q̄ 9-4761, e que 1742 Ca om. 9-4761, 1742, Ca] que 2880; entēdria] entenderia 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, entenderian M.II.2, entendia 829, 2880, entendian M563, ternja Y.I.5, 10195.

<sup>288</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y B1489, Y.III.11, 1159; pl̄ito] plito Y.III.11, 10277; pl̄ito + que 9-4761; llegado] legado 10195.

- 289 MS. 10132 -l] le 642, 321.
- 290 MS. N.III.12 nō] no Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 1159.
- 291 MS. 10132 recabdasse] rrecabdase 642, 7403, 321.
- 292 MS. N.III.12 por + que M563; Recabdar] Recavdar 9-4761, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, RecabdaSe M563.
- 293 MS. 10132 p̄dicador] pedricador 321; electo] eleto 321.
- 294 MS. N.III.12 era] hera 1775, Y.III.11, 336; era + su M.II.2; electo] eleto 10195, 9-28-3-5509, 336, heleto Y.III.11, esleido 84-7-34.
- 295 MS. N.III.12 E] y 1159; q̄ era om. B1489, 9-4761; q̄ om. 2880, 1742, 9233, 6410; era] hera 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336; Atreujdo] atrebido 1775, 336.
- 296 MS. 10132 mesmo] mismo 321.
- 297 MSS. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336 show mesmo later in the line.
- 298 MS. N.III.12 por Sy om. 2777.
- 299 MS. 10132 q̄ + le 642, -l 7403; dixiera] dixera 7403, 321.
- 300 MS. N.III.12 esta] la Y.II.15; Repuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, Razō 9-28-3-5509; le] -l 84-7-34, 6410, 1159.
- 301 MS. 10132 q̄ria] querria 7403.
- 302 MS. M.II.2 el<sub>1</sub> om. 6410, 1159; non<sub>1</sub>] no 1159; non<sub>1</sub> + lo N.III.12, 9-4761, M563, 2880, 1742, 9233, B1489, 6410; q̄ria] querie 9233; q̄ria + fazer M563; -l (eĭ) + q̄ 9233, 6410; -l + q̄- N.III.12, M563, 2880; faria] harja 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11, q̄ria fazer N.III.12;

e] y 1159, om. 6410;  $\tilde{q}$  + lo N.III.12, 9-4761, M563, 2880, 1742, 9-28-3-5509; noñ] no 1159; lo om. N.III.12, 9-4761, M563, 2880, 1742, 9-28-3-5509; dexaria] dexara N.III.12, dexaua 2880, 9233; fazer] hazer 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11; njñ] nj 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 1159; el<sub>4</sub> om. 9-4761, 2880, 1742.

<sup>303</sup> MS. 10132 -l] le 321; fizieran] fezierā 642, 7403, feZyera 321.

<sup>304</sup> MS. N.III.12 t̄rra +  $\tilde{q}$  Y.III.11; le<sub>1</sub>] lo M.II.2, 9-4761, 1742; aujā] auja 2880, tenjan 327, 1775; fecho] hecho Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15; E] y 1159, nin por el Y.II.15;  $\tilde{q}_2$  + a el  $\tilde{q}$  10277;  $\tilde{q}_2$  + le 327;  $\tilde{q}_2$  + lo que B1489, 1775; el] -l 1159; el +  $\tilde{q}$  lo  $\tilde{q}$  M.II.2; el + que Z.III.7, 9-28-3-5509; el om. 10195, B1489, 1775; le<sub>2</sub>] lo Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 10195, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9-28-3-5509, 336, el M.II.2, om. 327; le<sub>2</sub> + el Z.III.7, B1489, 1775; fizjera] fiçiera Y.II.15, feziera 9233, hiziera Y.III.11.

<sup>305</sup> MS. 10132 era] hera 7403.

<sup>306</sup> MS. N.III.12 dios + por la Su m̄çet M563; fazer] hazer 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11, 1159; a- om. 327, B1489, 1775; mj] mjo M.II.2, Z.III.7, om. 9-28-3-5509; hermano] ermano Y.II.15; era<sub>1</sub>] hera B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336; E<sub>2</sub>] y 1159, om. 9-4761, Z.III.7, 10277, 84-7-34;  $\tilde{q}_3$  om. 2777, M563, 2880; era<sub>2</sub>] hera 10277, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 336; V̄r̄o om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; heredero] erederō 10277, 84-7-34.

<sup>307</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y 1159;  $\tilde{q}$  om. 2880, 336; terrnjā] tenjan 9-4761, M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509,



B1489, 1775, 6410; terrnjā + todos 336; mucho] muy Y.I.5, 10195, 2880, Y.III.11, 336.

<sup>308</sup> MS. 10132 herēcia] herençia 642, 321, erençia 7403.

<sup>309</sup> MS. N.III.12 auja] avie 84-7-34; Acometido] cometido 2777, 829, M563, 2880, 9233, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159, començado M.II.2, Y.I.5, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336; por<sub>1</sub> om. M563, 2880; aVentura] abentura B1489, 1775, ventura 2777, 829, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; aujē] avian M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 327, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, 1159, abjan B1489, averian 9-4761, M563, 1742, avriã 9-28-3-5509; A + mouer e M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, Y.II.15, 336, mober e B1489, 1775, 327, mover a 9-28-3-5509; tomar] mouer 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; q̃<sub>2</sub> + Z.III.12, 336; el<sub>1</sub>] -l 6410, 1159; el<sub>1</sub> + y Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; perdiese] perudiesse 9-4761, 1742, 1159, pudiese M.II.2; el<sub>2</sub>] la Y.I.5, 10195, M563, 1159; heredaria] herederia 2777, 829, heredamiento M.II.2, 9-4761, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 1742, 9233, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 6410, herençia Y.I.5, M563, Y.III.11, herencia 1159, erençia 84-7-34, 10195.

<sup>310</sup> MS. 10132 acometer] cometer 642, 321.

<sup>311</sup> MS. N.III.12 auja] abia B1489, Y.III.11, auje 9233, 6410; Acometido] cometido 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 2880, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, començado 9-4761, 1742, 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11, 1159, comendado 84-7-34, prometido M.II.2.

<sup>312</sup> MS. N.III.12 A el om. Y.III.11, 9-4761, 1742; el] -l 6410.

<sup>313</sup> MS. 10132 pusierō] posieron 642, 7403, 321.

<sup>314</sup> MS. N.III.12 pusierō] posieron 9233, 327, 1775, 84-7-34; Su plīto] sus pleytos 327; plīto] plito Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34.

<sup>315</sup> MS. N.III.12 A + -1 10195, M.II.2, 2880, 1775, Y.III.11, 336; logar] lugar M.II.2, 2777, 829, M563, 2880, 327, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159, estado 9-4761, 1742.

<sup>316</sup> For probable intentional omissions see, for example, variants 3, 6, 22, 23, 24, 35, 36, 44, 53. For probable intentional reworkings or extensions of text, see variants 8, 10, 13, 14, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55.

<sup>317</sup> MS. 10132 Regno<sub>1</sub>] Reyno 7403; honrado] onrrado 7403; Regno<sub>2</sub>] Reyno 7403.

<sup>318</sup> MS. 642 Reyno] Regno 321.

<sup>319</sup> MS. 13002, which we have set aside because of extensive alteration, shows a modernized version of the note concerning the lacuna (f. 77r). The note was crossed out and the missing text added in a space left in the original MS. The source of the added text was related to MS. M563 and provided the interpolated passage on the judges that was discussed in n. 55. The presence of the note and spaces in the original MS. 13002 closely associates the MS. with T<sub>2</sub> MSS 642, 321.

<sup>320</sup> MS. 13002 agrees with MS. 642's reading in variants 1, 4, 5, 6 (pp. 474-75). The original MS. 13002 is most probably a direct descendant or copy of MS. 642.

<sup>321</sup> MS. 642 is missing the segment because of a tear in the MS.

322 MS. N.III.12 de + n̄ro sēnor Z.III.7, 10277; de + n̄ro saluador 327, B1489, salbador 1775.

323 MS. 2880, 9-28-3-5509 relocate toda: toda la Caualleria (MS. 2880, f. 226v a22).

324 MS. N.III.12 enbio] ynvio Y.III.11, embio 6410, 336, 84-7-34, imbio 1159.

325 MS. 9-28-3-5509 agrees with MS. M563, T<sub>2</sub> on the lack of papa.

326 MS. M563 m̄çed] m̄çet Y.I.5, 10132.

327 MS. N.III.12 m̄d] merçet 2777.

328 MS. 84-7-34 omits a larger passage.

329 MS. N.III.12 cōseJo] aconsejo Y.II.15; A1] a el 9-4761; Jnfāte] ynynfante [sic] Y.II.15; Sancho + e 321; fablase] fablasse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, hablase Y.II.15, saliese Y.III.11, 84-7-34, saliesse 1159.

330 MS. N.III.12 la om. M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775.

331 MS. N.III.12 aujā] avia 642, M.II.2, 2777, 9-4761, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 2880, 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159, abia Y.III.11; la om. 9-28-3-5509.

332 MS. Y.II.15 omits a larger passage.

333 The MS. 84-7-34 scribe added del rey above the original line.

334 MS. N.III.12 moujo] mobio Y.III.11.

335 MS. N.III.12 E om. M.II.2, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; cō] en 10195.

<sup>336</sup> MS. N.III.12 touo] tobo 1775, 336, ouo 642, 10132, 7403, 321.

<sup>337</sup> MS. N.III.12 oujesē<sub>1</sub>] ouyessē 10132, obiesen 1775, hobiesen Y.III.11, oviese 9-28-3-5509, B1489, obiese 1159, oviesse 9-4761, 1742; oujesē<sub>1</sub> + todos 642, 10132, 7403, 321; oujesē<sub>1</sub> + en 1159; Abastamjt<sup>0</sup>] abasteamjento 1775, Abastimento 6410, Y.II.15, abastamjentos 336, bastimento 2880, bastimjēto 9-28-3-5509; moñ] moñs 2880, 9-28-3-5509, 1159; oujesen<sub>2</sub>] oujessen 1742, 10132, obiesen 1159, 1775, hoviesen Y.III.11, oviesse 9-4761; oujesen<sub>2</sub> + todas 642, 10132, 7403, 321; las cosas om. Y.II.15; cosas] cossas 1159.

<sup>338</sup> MS. M.II.2 q̄ria] q̄rie N.III.12, 829, 10195, 9233, 84-7-34, 1159, querria 7403; yria 642.

<sup>339</sup> MS. N.III.12 le] -l 7403, 84-7-34, 6410, om. B1489; Repuesta] Respuesta Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 1742, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159.

<sup>340</sup> MS. N.III.12 por] con M.II.2, 6410, 1159; plīto] plito 10277, Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34, tiempo Y.II.15. The T<sub>2</sub> MSS rewrite the passage.

<sup>341</sup> MS. 2880 gallizia] galizia 6410; feṛr] fernand 9-4761, ferrnāt 9233, fernan 6410.

<sup>342</sup> MS. N.III.12 E + dexo M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336 (L<sub>1</sub>); dexo om. L<sub>1</sub>; ferrād] ferñd Z.III.7, 10195, 10132, ferñād Z.III.12, 10277, ferrānd 10195, hrñād 9-28-3-5509, ferrāt M.II.2, Y.I.5, fernāt 327, 7403, fernan B1489, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336, 1159, ferran 84-7-34, fđnan 1775,

feŕrn 321; a<sub>2</sub> om. Z.III.7; de galjzja om. M563; galjzja] gallizia  
M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 10132, 327,  
B1489, 321.

<sup>343</sup> MS. 2880 E om. 9-4761, 1742; fueſē] fueſſen 9-4761, 1742.

<sup>344</sup> MS. N.III.12 fazer] hazer 9-28-3-5509, 336; los] les  
642, M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, M563, 10132, 327, 7403,  
B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159; q̄ + se 642,  
10132, 7403, 321; fueſen] fueſſen Z.III.12, fueſſe 10132, fueſe 7403;  
luego om. 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 321.

<sup>345</sup> MS. N.III.12 en om. 7403.

<sup>346</sup> MS. N.III.12 Jnfanĉ] ynfant B1489.

<sup>347</sup> MS. 2880 fueſē] fueſſen 9-4761, 1742.

<sup>348</sup> MS. N.III.12 fueſē] fueſſen Z.III.12; E<sub>1</sub> om. 9-28-3-5509;  
todos + lo 9-28-3-5509; todos + estos Y.II.15; todos + Selo 336;  
ot<sup>o</sup>garō] otorgaVan 10277; ot<sup>o</sup>garō + y acordaron Y.II.15; fariā]  
harjā 9-28-3-5509, faria Y.II.15; fariā + mucho 2777; fariā + muy 829,  
Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; de + muy M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277,  
327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775; de + grado 10132, 7403, 321; buē om.  
2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; buē talanĉ om. 10132, 7403, 321;  
talanĉ] talente Z.III.12; muchō] mucho M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12,  
Z.III.7, 10195, 10277, 10132, 327, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775,  
Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 321; estauā] eran 642, 10132, 7403, 321;  
desmayados] eſmayados M563; de<sub>1</sub> + -l Jnfante Z.III.12, Z.III.7, M563,  
10277, 10132, 7403, Y.II.15, 336, 321; ferrñdo] ferrando 84-7-34, hr<sup>do</sup>  
9-28-3-5509; ferrñdo + Su hermano M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277, 327,  
9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15; E<sub>2</sub> + luego el ynfante Y.II.15, 336,

Z.III.12; E<sub>2</sub> + el jnfant̃ 2777, 829; villa om. Y.II.15; aq̃llas] las Y.III.11; fuerō] fuese M.II.2, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, fuesse Z.III.12; fue 2777, Y.I.5, 829, 10195, M563, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159. The MS. 642 reading is partially illegible because of a tear.

<sup>349</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y 1159; fizo] hizo 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11; y] ay 10277, Y.III.11, om. 10195, 1775; bodas] vodas 1775, 1159; A + -l M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336 (L<sub>1</sub>); sus fiJos el om. L<sub>1</sub>; fiJos] hijos Y.III.11; Jnfant̃<sub>1</sub>] ynfant B1489; el<sub>2</sub>] al M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, 336; Jnfant̃<sub>2</sub>] ynfant B1489, Juã] iohñ M563; Juã + sus fiJos L<sub>1</sub>; E<sub>3</sub>] y 1159, om. M.II.2, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 10195, B1489, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336; el<sub>3</sub>] al 10277, 9-28-3-5509, 1775; Jnfant̃<sub>3</sub>] ynfant B1489; dō<sub>3</sub>] dom Y.II.15. Five MSS of T show a haplography, Jnfant̃<sub>1</sub>/Jnfant̃<sub>2</sub>, which results in the omission of dō pedro E el Jnfant̃<sub>2</sub>. The sixth T MS, 642, is torn and missing the variant.

<sup>350</sup> MS. 2091, which we have set aside for the stemma based on chapters 64, 65 and 75, also shows the revealing variant, which falls early in the narration of the events of the twenty-ninth year of the reign (BAE 75). In MS. 2091 the normal chapter division is missing; the variant is found on f. 57r 23:

<sup>351</sup> MS. N.III.12 narbona] narvona 1775, barbona Y.III.11.

<sup>352</sup> MS. N.III.12 Jayms] sancho 1775; fiJo] hijo 9-28-3-5509, B1489, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336. MSS. 10195, Y.I.5 (T<sub>1</sub>) agree with MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-4761, 6410, 9233 on the omission of su fiJo. The agreement is almost certainly coincidental.

353 MS. 2880 entōçe] entonces 9-4761, 1742, 9233, estonçes  
6410.

354 The reading provided by MS. 829 ( $S_3$ ), omitting entōçe, is the majority version, found in all MSS of  $L_1$  and  $S_3$ : MS. 829 E] y 1159; leuo] lebo 1775, llevo 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11, 336, 1159; dō<sub>1</sub>] dom Y.III.11. MSS. N.III.12, M563 show entōÇe (MS. N.III.12, f. L1r b10) following a<sup>o</sup> at the end of the reading. The six T MSS show henares (enares) e following a<sup>o</sup>. The enares e may be a misreading of entōÇe, in which case the reading of MSS. N.III.12 and M563 may be original. The entōÇe preserved in MSS. N.III.12 and M563 would have been altered in T to enares e, relocated in O MSS. 2880, 1742, 9-28-3-5509, 6410, and 9233 but omitted in  $S_3$  and  $L_1$ .

355 MS. 2880 todas + q̄ 9233.

356 MS. N.III.12 q̄<sub>1</sub>] en M.II.2; Sus om. 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; q̄<sub>2</sub> om. Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, 1775, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159; erā] heran 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 336.

357 MS. 6410 fizieran] fezieran 1742, 9233. MS. 2880 reads fezierō.

358 MS. N.III.12 mon<sup>s</sup> + q̄ fueron en t̄po M563; mon<sup>s</sup> + y B1489; Abatidas] Avatidas 1159; en + -l 2777; ferrñdo] fernado 10277, h̄rn<sup>do</sup> 9-28-3-5509; dō ferrñdo om. 84-7-34.

359 MS. N.III.12 grās + E perdones 7403, 642, 10132, 321.

360 MS. N.III.12 yr] salir 1159. MSS. 327, B1489, 1775 show a larger omission within which the variant falls.

361 MS. N.III.12 E om. 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15; q̄ + con esto ganaria el su amor e lo 642, 10132, 7403, 321; meřsçia] mereçia

Z.III.7, 10277, 9233, 327, 1159, merescie~~z~~ Z.III.12, meresçeria 642, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, mereçeria 10132, mereceria Y.II.15, perteneçia 1159; eredar] heredar 1742, 9233, 10132, 327, 84-7-34, 336, 6410, 1159; -lo om. 642, 10132, 7403, 321; despūs] despues 9233.

<sup>362</sup> MS. N.III.12 demādaūā] demandaron M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, M563, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15.

<sup>363</sup> MS. N.III.12 xatiū] xatiba M.II.2, 10195, 336, Jatiba 1775, xatisa 2777.

<sup>364</sup> MS. N.III.12 el<sub>1</sub>] le 9-28-3-5509, -l 1159, om. 642, M563, 10132, 7403, 321; p̃p om. 642, M563, 10132, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, 321; traxiese] traxese 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15, troxiese M.II.2, 2777, Y.I.5, Z.III.12, 829, M563, 327, 1775, Y.III.11, troxiesse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, troxese 10195, 84-7-34, 6410, truxiese 336, truxese 1159, Z.III.7, 10277, B1489; el<sub>2</sub>] la 642, Y.I.5, 10195, 10132, 7403, 321, este 327, 1775, -ste B1489, los 336, om. Y.II.15; plīto<sub>1</sub>] plito 10277, Y.III.11, preito 84-7-34, pleitos 336, graçia 7403, Y.I.5, 10195, 321, 10132, ~~gracia~~ avenēçia coñl p̃pa e 642; plīto<sub>1</sub>+ de don alfoñ M.II.2, Z.III.12, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336; con] d- M563; coñl Rey om. Z.III.7, 10277; en plīto de dō alfoñ om. M.II.2, Z.III.12, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336 (L<sub>1</sub>); en + -l 10195, M563; en + lo 84-7-34; plīto<sub>2</sub>] plitos 642, tienpo Y.III.11, fecho 9-4761, 1742, om. 84-7-34; alfoñ] alonso 9-4761.

<sup>365</sup> MS. N.III.12 E] y 1159; le] l- 7403, 6410, 1159; ot<sup>o</sup> gasen] otorgassen 9-4761, 1742, 10132, 9-28-3-5509; el om. 9233, 9-28-3-5509; q̃siese] qujSiesSe 9-4761, 1742, 10132, quisiesen 1159.

<sup>366</sup> MS. 2880 yua] yba 6410, yuan 9233.



- 367 MS. 2880 y] alli 9233, 6410.
- 368 MS. 2880 en om. 9233, 6410.
- 369 MS. 2880, crescio] acaçio 9233, acuçio 6410.
- 370 MS. 1742 feziesse] hiziesse 9-4761.
- 371 MS. 2880 fablaria] fablarian 9233, farian 6410;  $\bar{q}_2$ ] con 9233, 6410; del] delos 9233, 6410; Reyno] rregnos 9233, Reynos 6410; fezieSē] fiziesen 6410; esto]eso 9233, 6410;  $\bar{q}le_1$ ]quel 6410; p<sup>o</sup>metieSe] prometiessen 9233;  $le_1$ ] el 9233, 6410;  $\bar{q}le_2$ ] quel 6410; avia<sub>1</sub>] avie 6410; -le] el 6410, 9233; cōplieSe] cunpliese 9233, cumpliese 6410;  $\bar{q}_9$  + le 6410.
- 372 MS. 2880 guest̄] huest̄ 9233, 6410.
- 373 MS. 2880 crua] gran 6410.
- 374 MS. 2880 lugar] logar 9233, 6410.
- 375 MS. 1742 Reynos] rreygnos 9-4761.
- 376 MS. 2880 e om. 9233, 6410.
- 377 MS. 2880 lugar] logar 9233, 6410.
- 378 MS. 9233 oujesen] aviã 2880.
- 379 MS. 1742 Alfonso] alonso 9-4761.
- 380 MS. 1742 era] hera 9-4761.
- 381 MS. 1742 yntencion] yntençion 9-4761.
- 382 MS. 2880 cō + el 6410; entēdimj<sup>o</sup>] determinamiento 6410.
- 383 All six T MSS agree with MSS. 1742, 9-4761 on pidierō. The agreement is most likely coincidental.
- 384 MS. 2880 pediendo] pidiendo 6410.
- 385 L<sub>1</sub> MS. 336 also lacks todos.
- 386 MS. 9233 rrey + dō alfoñ 2880.

387 S<sub>3</sub> MSS Y.III.11, 84-7-34 also lack luego.

388 MS. 2880 ēbio] embio 6410.

389 MS. 2880 ayudase] cuidasse 9233, 6410; feziесе] fiziese 6410. MS. 2880, therefore, does not agree with the majority reading inside the family 0 but rather with the majority reading; MSS. 9233 and 6410 show a misreading of ayudase that is unique to them.

390 MS. 2880 andudo] anduvo 9-4761.

391 MS. 829 -le] -l 6410, 2777; mucho] muy M.II.2, Y.III.11; afyncadamēte] afincadamientre 9-4761, 1742, afincadament B1489; q̄ ayudase e fiziese en manera om. T; en] de Z.III.7, 10277, 9-28-3-5509, om. 9233; q̄<sub>2</sub>] en coño Y.II.15; alfoñ + su 10277; fiJo] hijo 9-28-3-5509, Y.II.15; deste] de M563, del Y.II.15; deste + jnfante Y.I.5, M.II.2, 9-28-3-5509, Z.III.12, 10195, 10277, 1742, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, 336; del + jnfante Y.II.15; don ferrn<sup>o</sup> om. 10277; ferrn<sup>o</sup>] hrn<sup>do</sup> 9-28-3-5509; heredasè] heredasse 9-4761, 1742, 10132, eredase 6410, oujese M.II.2.

392 MS. M563 vegada] vez M.II.2, 2777, Z.III.12, 829, Z.III.7, 10277, 327, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 336, 1159.

393 MS. M563 faria] harja 9-28-3-5509, Y.III.11. T omits a larger passage.

394 MS. M.II.2 njn] nj 9-4761, Z.III.12, 1742, 7403, 9-28-3-5509, B1489, 1775, Y.II.15, 336, 1159, 321.

395 MS. M563 vega] bega 1775, 336.

396 MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y 1159; leuaua] lleuaua 84-7-34, 6410, 1159; vna] otra 2777, 829, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; Jnfante<sub>2</sub>] ymfante

Y.III.11; dō<sub>2</sub>] dom Y.III.11; E<sub>3</sub>] y 1159; el Jnfant<sub>3</sub> om. 9-4761, 1742; iohñ] Juan 2777, 829, 9-4761, 2880, 1742, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159, Joan 6410.

<sup>397</sup> MS. N.III.12 E<sub>1</sub>] y Y.III.11, 1159; enbio] embio 6410, ymbio Y.III.11, 84-7-34; al] a el 9-4761; Viesen] viessen 9-4761, 1742; So Vno] cōSuno 2880; E<sub>2</sub>] y Y.III.11, 1159; dō] dom Y.III.11; Vjno<sub>1</sub>] veno 2777, 9233, 6410; Vjno<sub>1</sub> + ~~Zaragoza~~ 9-4761; Vjno<sub>1</sub> + luego 2880; taraçona] taracona 84-7-34, taragona Y.III.11, taraçena 6410; E<sub>3</sub>] y Y.III.11, 1159; Rey<sub>4</sub> + dō alfoñ 2777, 829, 84-7-34; Rey<sub>4</sub> om. 9-4761, 1742; Vjno<sub>2</sub>] veno 2777, 6410; a<sub>2</sub> om. 2880, Y.III.11.

<sup>398</sup> MS. N.III.12 el] -l 6410, 1159, om. 2880; ge-] se- Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 1159; q̄ria] quirie 6410; quirie + dezir 6410; por Sy om. 2777; dezjr om. 6410.

<sup>399</sup> L<sub>1</sub> MSS. Z.III.7, 10277 omit a larger passage.

<sup>400</sup> MS. 829 agrees with L<sub>1</sub> and T on con.

<sup>401</sup> MS. N.III.12 biē + quisto M563, 9-4761, 1742.

<sup>402</sup> MS. M.II.2 entrasen] entrassen 10132, vega] bega 1775, 336.

<sup>403</sup> MS. N.III.12 entrasen] entrassen 9-4761, 1742, viniesen 6410; A] en 1159.

<sup>404</sup> MS. 2777 entonçe] entonçes 1742, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, estonçe N.III.12, estonçes 9-4761, estonces 1159.

<sup>405</sup> MS. M.II.2 era] hera 10277, B1489, 1775, 336; heredero] eredero 10277; Reynos] Regnos 10277, B1489.

<sup>406</sup> MS. N.III.12 era] hera Y.III.11; heredero] eredero 84-7-34; Regnos]Reygnos 9-4761, Reynos 829, 2880, 1742, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 6410.

<sup>407</sup> MS. M.II.2 coraçõs] coraçons 10277, coracones Z.III.7;  
 Reyno] Regno Z.III.12, B1489.

<sup>408</sup> MS. M563 ganaria + todos 2880; los] las 6410; coraçõs]  
 oraçiones 6410; los<sub>3</sub>] -l 2880; delos om. 6410; delos + Sus N.III.12;  
 Regnos] rreynos 9-4761, 829, 1742, Y.III.11, 84-7-34, 6410, 1159,  
 Reyno 2880.

<sup>409</sup> MS. 2880 reads ganaria todos los coraçõs de todos los  
đl Reyno (f. 219v b6).

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