

# THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION OF THE *HISTORIA COMPOSTELLANA* \*

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The *Historia Compostellana* has been passed on to us by a relatively large number of manuscripts. We can begin by citing the thirteen described by B. F. Reilly in an article published in 1971.<sup>1</sup> To these we must add the one which is found in the British Museum, described by D. MacKenzie in 1975.<sup>2</sup> There is another in the Archives of the Catedral de Toledo, included in L. Vone's account of 1980.<sup>3</sup> Finally, we need only add to these fifteen manuscripts the one recently acquired by the Museo de Pontevedra.<sup>4</sup> There are, then, sixteen MSS which are known to have been preserved and through which the *Historia Compostellana* has been transmitted. They are as follows:

- S Salamanca, BU 2658. XIIIth century.
- A Santiago de Compostela, AC Comp. A. XIVth century.
- P Pontevedra, MP Comp. P. XVth century.<sup>5</sup>
- B Santiago de Compostela, AC Comp. B. XVIth century.<sup>6</sup>
- C Santiago de Compostela, AC Comp. C. XVIth century.
- T Toledo, AC 27-7. XVIth century.
- E Madrid, BN 1345. XVIth century.<sup>7</sup>
- F Madrid, BN 1512. XVIth century.

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\*The author of this article has finished a critical edition of the *Historia Compostellana*, presented as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Seville under the direction of Professor Juan Gil (September, 1983).

<sup>1</sup> B. F. Reilly, "Existing Manuscripts of the *Historia Compostellana*: Notes toward a Critical Edition," *Manuscripta*, XV (1971), 131-152.

<sup>2</sup> D. MacKenzie, "A Manuscript of the *Historia Compostellana*," *Manuscripta*, XVIII (1974), 173-174.

<sup>3</sup> L. Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' und die Kirchenpolitik des Nordwestspanischen Raumes 1070-1130: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und dem Papsttum zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Bd. 29 of "Kölner historische Abhandlungen"; Köln; Wien: Böhlau, 1980), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> J. García Oro, "Un nuevo testimonio manuscrito de la *Historia Compostellana*," *Archivos Leoneses*, 74 (1983), 339-352, and E. Falque, "El manuscrito de la *Historia Compostellana* del Museo de Pontevedra," *El Museo de Pontevedra* (Homenaje a Don Alfredo García Alén), XXXVI (1982 [to be published]).

<sup>5</sup> Since no signature has yet been assigned to this manuscript, I suggest "Comp. P," by analogy with Comp. A, Comp. B and Comp. C of the archives of the Catedral de Santiago.

<sup>6</sup> Except for José Campelo (*Historia Compostellana* . . . , Traducida del latín . . . por Manuel Suárez, con notas aclaratorias e introducción por José Campelo [Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Porto, 1950], p. xii) who dates **B** in the XVIth century, the rest of the authors consider it to be from the XVth century. As will be seen below, **B** descends from **P**. Since I have dated **P** between 1460 and 1479, **B** would have to be from the late XVth or early XVIth century.

<sup>7</sup> The catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional dates it in the XVIIth century (*Inventario General de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* [Madrid, 1958], IV, 197-198), while both Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz (*Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevii Hispanorum* [Madrid: Consejo *Manuscripta*, XXIX (1985), 80-90

- G** Madrid, RAH R4. XVIIth century.<sup>8</sup>  
**H** Salamanca, BU 1944. XVIIth century.  
**I** Madrid, RAH 9/4078. XVIIth century.  
**J** Salamanca, BU 1943. XVIIth century.  
**K** Madrid, BP 534. XVIIth century.  
**N** London, BL Egerton 400. XVIIth century.  
**L** Madrid, BN 13001. XVIIIth century.  
**M** Madrid, RAH 9/5641-9/5642-9/5643 (D 31-33). XVIIIth century.

*Group x*, comprising **STFLJK**, is made up of the manuscripts whose nucleus (constituted by the *Chronicon Compostellanum*, *Historia Compostellana* and the *Chronicon Iriense*) is preceded by the *Guerras de Berenguer de Landoria*. In all of them, the archiepiscopal list which follows the *Chronicon Compostellanum* is complete up to 1465. Obviously in **S**, which dates from the XIIIth century, the list was completed at a later date. A title is added to book III (Ch. 26, 2), a characteristic exclusive to this group among the preserved MSS: CLUNIACENSIS ([-SES FTL] **STFLJK om. APBCEGHINM**).

Reilly gives,<sup>9</sup> in addition, some other characteristics as distinctive of this group, which should not be considered as such. These are the omission of chapters 115 and 116 at the end of Book I; the addition of a title, *Confirmatores*, in Book II before a list of the signatories of a document (II 46); and the addition of another title, *Per Prouincias*, in Book III (III 30). As far as the additions are concerned, these are not unique to the manuscripts of this group, as they also appear in **A**, *Confirmatores* appearing there not exactly in the same place but a little before. With respect to chapters 115 and 116 of Book I, it is not a simple matter of their omission in this group. Both chapters are included in an extensive omission which goes from the end of chapter 114, 14 to the beginning of chapter 116, 3 ("esse episcopatu non tamen credendum est . . . percutit omnes Compostelle comp-") and which we believe corresponds to a folio lost from **S**.

This extensive omission in **S** appears also in **J** and **K**, which clearly indicates that they derive from **S**, but not from **TFL**, which do not show this omission. This is not sufficient to exclude **TFL** from this group, since the loss of this folio could have taken place after **TFL** or the specimen from which they are derived were copied. However, this extensive omission can certainly be used to form two subgroups, one made up of **TFL**, where it does not appear, and another made up of **JK**, where it is included.

For *Subgroup TFL* a characteristic is the addition of the *Historia Wandalorum* and the *Historia Sueborum* (fragments) of Isidore of Seville, and

Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959], p. 206) and Reilly (*art. cit.*, pp. 133-134) place it in the XVIth century.

<sup>8</sup> Reilly (*art. cit.*, p. 134) dates it in the XVIth century, while at the RAH it is dated in the XVIIth century.

<sup>9</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 139.

the *Cronica de Alfonso III*. Also characteristic of this group is the omission of a title at the beginning of Book III (Ch. 2): CONSTRUCTIO MONASTERII DE CANOGIO (**S** *om.* **TFL**). Further indications of a common origin for **TFL** are variants, transpositions of words and omissions in these manuscripts as compared with **S**. In many cases the variants found in **TFL** coincide with the edition by Flórez,<sup>10</sup> who used the manuscript from Salamanca (**S**) as well as **F**.

<b>S</b>	<b>TFL</b>
nominis est	est nominis (III 1)
et pessimus simulator	et pessimus simulatorum (III 2)
non modicus uellem ut tu resipiscendo	non modicum ut te respi- ciendo (III 2)
alius episcopi uel pres- byter	alius episcopum ultra pres- biterum (III 3)
Sed Compostellanus	Didacus Compostellanus (III 3)
et discretam	<i>om.</i> <b>TFL</b> (III 6)
legatum suum ad regem	suum <i>om.</i> <b>TFL</b> (III 7, 1)
cui rex respondens ait	qui respondens ait (III 7, 2)
ad uestrum hospitium ire	. . . hospitium uenire (III 7, 2)

Assuming that manuscripts **TFL** have a common origin, these are among the possibilities: that **F** and **L** are dependent on **T**, **T** and **L** on **F**, or that **TFL** all belong to a common prototype. The second of these possibilities can be ruled out at once, since **F** has readings which do not appear in **T** and **L**.

<b>STL</b>	<b>F</b>
de ingenio et moribus	de genio et moribus (II 2)
possidebat et regebat	regebat et possidebat (II 2)
qui praefuit	<i>om.</i> <b>F</b> (II 2)
in ecclesiasticis et in secularibus	in saecularibus et in eccle- siasticis (II 3, 1)
consuetudines ecclesia- rum	ecclesiarum consuetudines (II 3, 1)
in superpellicis et in capis	in superciliis et campis (II 3, 1)
amplius anhelaouerit	amplius ambulauerit (II 4, 1)
et eius petitioni citius uolebat	et eius petitioni amplius et citius uolebat (II 4, 1)
praecipue iam diu anhela- uerim	praecipue atque potissime iam diu anhelaouerint (II 4, 1)

I believe that the first of the aforementioned possibilities must also be ruled out: that **F** as well as **L** descend from **T**. For there are errors which are

<sup>10</sup> Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada* . . . XX (Madrid: Impr. de la viuda de E. Sanchez, 1765). When I quote from the *Historia Compostellana*, the Roman numerals refer to the book, the Arabic numerals to the chapter, and if a third number appears, it refers to the subdivisions of the chapter. The quotes are taken directly from my edition (Emma Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, unpublished doctoral dissertation [University of Seville, 1983]).

peculiar to **T** and **L** but which do not appear in **F**, a fact which could not be explained if we assume that **F** proceeds from **T**.

**SF**

ob amorem tanti apostoli  
nunc tempus aduenit  
perplacere  
causa orationis ecclesiam  
b. Iacobi adibat per quem  
Papa Calixtus  
memoria habita est  
feri iussit  
principes et milites  
Auriensi episcopo  
soliditate

**TL**

ob amorem beati apostoli (II 1)  
sicut tempus aduenit (II 3, 4)  
placere (II 5)  
  
*om.* **TL** (II 9)  
mentio habita est (II 10)  
*om.* **TL** (III Prol.)  
milites et principes (III 2)  
*om.* **TL** (III 3)  
solidate (III 5, 2)

At this point it seems logical to assume a prototype common to **TFL** which will be called subarchetype *h*. Once a common archetype for **TFL** has been assumed, both **F** and **T**, the oldest manuscripts in this subgroup, would be derived from it. At first glance, the relationship of **L** seems clear: it is a copy of **T**. Frequent are the cases in which, in the margins of **L**, reference is made to the Toledo manuscript (**T**), cited as *Perezio* (in *Perezio*, *deest in Perezio*, etc.). It should be kept in mind that the Toledo manuscript was made, as Flórez<sup>11</sup> mentions, “a solitud del clarissimo Don Juan Bautista Pérez.” At the end of the *Historia Compostellana* in **L** there is another note which also refers to the Toledo manuscript: “Hic finitur in Cod. Toletano Historia Didaci Gelmirii. Quae sequuntur enim pertinent ad Historiam Iriensium episcoporum.”

However, there has to be some relationship between **L** and **F** or, at the very least, the copyist of **L** must be familiar with manuscript **F**. There is a note in **L** which refers to another copy of the *Historia Compostellana* different from that of Toledo: “Compendium id est Historiae Wandalarum et Suevorum ab Isidoro editae que extat ad calcem operum in editione Regia Matritensi sed epitomator multa omittit ut conferenti constabit.” I believe that it is possible to identify this copy with manuscript **F**. **F** came from Phillip V’s primitive library and from there it passed on to the Biblioteca Nacional and contains, furthermore, the fragments of Isidore’s *Historiae* to which reference is made in this same note.

There is a very significant passage in **L** (I 16, 6), underlined in the manuscript. In the adjacent margin there is a note stating “deest in Perezio quod lineis subnotatur.” And, in fact, the underlined passage is missing from **T**. This passage clearly demonstrates that the copyist of **L** knows and uses another copy with which he compensates for the omission in **T**. The complete text appears in **F** and **SPBC** and those manuscripts which derive from **B**.

<sup>11</sup> E. Flórez, *España Sagrada* . . . III (Madrid: A. Marin, 1754), 434.

In conclusion, I believe first that **L** is basically a copy of **T**, secondly that it has a relationship to **F** and perhaps to some other manuscript which cannot be identified, and lastly that **T** as well as **F** have a common origin which has been designated subarchetype *h*.

The problem which remains is the relationship between *h* and **S**, if one exists. Let us recall that **TFL**, manuscripts which presumably derive from *h*, present the characteristics peculiar to group x (**STFLJK**). Since **S** is the oldest manuscript in this group, it could initially be assumed that characteristics peculiar to **TFLJK** proceed from **S**. Furthermore, another notation on the margin of **F**, mentioned by Reilly,<sup>12</sup> can be adduced as proof that this manuscript is dependent on **S**. This notation can be thus interpreted, or it can be assumed that the dependence is not direct but by means of the subarchetype *h*, which has been hypothesized for **TFL**. On folio 22r of **F** there is a note in the upper margin stating "Hic cum pagina una uacasset totius operis erat initium, litera aurea medio . . . insigne," and which seems to refer to **S**, for in **S** after the *Guerras de Berenguer* there is indeed a blank folio (fol. 11). The *Chronicon Compostellanum* begins on folio 16r with an illuminated capital I ("In era CCCC ceperunt Goti . . ."). In summary, we can assume that manuscripts **TFL** derive from **S** through a lost copy which has been designated subarchetype *h*.

The omission evident in **S** is also manifest in the manuscripts of *Subgroup JK*, where it appears at the end of Book I and goes from the end of Ch. 114, 4 to the beginning of Ch. 116, 3. Reference has already been made to this omission and to the fact that it permitted the formation of two subgroups from the group composed of **STFLJK**. The presence of this omission in **JK** is reason enough to assume that they proceed from **S**. The only thing which will have to be determined is whether they descend directly or indirectly and what the relationship is of these manuscripts among themselves.

A peculiarity exhibited by manuscripts **JK**, already noted by Reilly,<sup>13</sup> is that they frequently summarize the text. Book I, for example, summarizes Chapters 32; 34, 6; 46; 49, 3; 50; and 74. Book II summarizes 53, 67 and 87. Book III summarizes 43, 4; 45; 46; 47; 49, 1-4; and 49, 6. Furthermore, **J** and **K** agree in omitting Ch. 48 of Book III.

Reilly believes that **J** and **K** have a common origin and to show this adduces Ch. 48 of Book III, saying that **J** gives the entire text, which is omitted totally by **K**, except for the first five lines. The title of Ch. 4 of Book II (*Quod prior et cardinalis missi ad Papam, capti fuerunt in uia*), according to Reilly, appears in **K**, but is omitted in **J**. However, closer examination reveals that both **J** and **K** omit Ch. 48 of Book III. As for the title

<sup>12</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>13</sup> *Art. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

of Ch. 4 of Book II, **J** and **K** both reproduce it, albeit in a manner which does not coincide with the text of Flórez,<sup>14</sup> where it is worded *Qui cardinales missi ad propositum fuerint in uia*, with the additional difference that in **J** the title appears at the end of the previous chapter and not separated as is customary. The examples cited by Reilly, therefore, are not valid for demonstrating the common origin of **J** and **K**. This is not to say, however, that the possibility of this relationship is to be rejected outright, but other evidence would have to be found in order to prove it. This is what has been attempted here. Passages were found in **J** and **K** which offered different readings. From certain examples it can be deduced that **J** is not a copy of **K**, while from others the opposite conclusion can be reached, that **K** is not a copy of **J**. This leaves us with one possibility, namely, that **J** and **K** proceed from **S** through a common prototype which we call *g*.

A characteristic of *Group y*, comprising **PBCEGHIN**, is that the *Guerras de Berenguer de Landoria* appears after the primary nucleus formed by the *Chronicon Compostellanum*, the *Historia Compostellana* and the *Chronicon Iriense*. In this it differs from *Group x* where the *Guerras* comes before in all the manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> In *Group y* the episcopal list which follows the *Chronicon Compostellanum* is incomplete. It ends with "Item dominus Alfonsus de . . ." Furthermore, manuscripts **PBCEGHIN** add a title in Book III 7, 4 between ". . . patiantur" and "Celebrato autem concilio . . .": ACQUISITIO CIUITATIS EMERETENSIS (EMERIT-**BC**) ADHUC SUB SARRACENORUM DOMINIO CONSTITUTE (**PBC**). They also omit a title in III 30 between ". . . regulam habuit" and "Innocentius episcopus . . .": PER PROVINCIAS (*om.* **PBC**).

When the donation to the Museo de Pontevedra of a codex of the *Historia Compostellana* (our **P**)<sup>16</sup> came to my attention, I had already elaborated a *stemma* of the manuscripts of the *Historia* and had assumed a common prototype for **B** and **C** which I had called subarchetype *b*. The appearance of **P** confirmed my supposition, and after a detailed reading of the manuscript there is no doubt that **P** is the common prototype from which **B** and **C** are derived. This relationship is demonstrated by the fact that **B** as well as **C** exhibit the same errors as **P**. Here are some omissions com-

<sup>14</sup> E. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XX, 260.

<sup>15</sup> **G** and **H** are included in this group, although they do not contain the *Guerras de Berenguer*; but it should be kept in mind that in the case of **G** the first and last folios have been lost and that this manuscript contains all of the other characteristics of this group. The same is true of **H**, where the last folios have been lost and where, in addition to all of the other characteristics of this group, there is a note in the manuscript which makes reference to the *Guerras de Berenguer*.

<sup>16</sup> Donated by José Domínguez Casais. Acquired in a public auction in 1982. The immediate origin of the codex is unknown to us. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Filgueira, director of this museum, I have been able to collate this manuscript for the first time.

mon to **PBC**:<sup>17</sup> “habebat enim in thesauro memorie scriptum: Estote misericordes sicut et Pater uester misericors est” (I 76, 2); “summa illius” (I 89, 1); “in odium episcopi commouerent, episcopum infinito odio habere clerum et populum” (I 111, 3); “nos nostrum pontificem” (II 9); “fidelium sanctis exhortationibus uestris esurientes refici exoramus neque hoc sine magno” (II 28); “nostram neque in curiam” (II 49, 3); “aut nostri archiepiscopatus dignitatem” (II 66, 4); “nostri semper suffulti auxilio et consilio” (II 73, 3); and “claustra et officine ecclesie beati Iacobi essent in circuitione totius ecclesie uagabantur” (III 1). Furthermore, there is in the margin of **P**, written in a more recent hand (fol. 6), a title which is added by **B** and the manuscripts which are derived from it in I 2, 12, between “. . . dilaniarunt” and “Porro in eadem cathedra . . .”: DIDACUS PELAIZ.

The assumption that **PBC** have a common origin can be ruled out, since **B** and **C** share peculiar errors in comparison with **P**, while all of the omissions, transpositions of words, and errors found in **P** are also found in **BC**. The errors found in **B** are peculiar to it, but not exclusively. They appear also in some of the other manuscripts of this group, allowing for the formation of a subgroup composed of **B** and the manuscripts derived from it. This *Subgroup*, comprising **BEGHIN**, is characterized by the addition of the title in Book I (2, 12) noted above: DIDACUS PELAIZ (**BEGHIN om. STFLJKAPCM**). All of the lacunae, omissions, transpositions of words and errors found in **B** are also found in **EG**, which proves that manuscripts **EG** derive from **B** either directly or indirectly. Following are some of the more extensive omissions shared by **BEG**: “Iohannes Didacides et Pelagius Gudesteiz” (I 47); “ius cum omnibus facultatibus suis redeat ipsa quoque tanti beneficii non immemor ecclesie b. Iacobi” (I 93); “scriptis firmis atque indissolubilis uidelicet si quis aliunde ueniens inter Ullam et Tamarim” (II 22); “quotidie trucidamur, captiuamur” (II 28); “discessum Lotharii quem sicut iam te credimus” (III 38, 3); and “consilio et arbitrio committere festinabat Bernaldo etiam quem pre aliis miserabiliter” (III 39, 1).

**E** and **G**, however, often coincide in errors which are not found in **B** and which therefore suggest a common exemplar for **EG**, distinct from **B** but perhaps descending from **B**. Following are some examples of omissions shared by **E** and **G** but which do not descend from **B**: “qualiter eam increpent utque predictae rei seriem inquirent” (I 84, 1); “horum iudicio qui inter me et uos sunt si amici mei fuerint” (I 90, 2); “frecuenter distribuit. Utinam uita . . . propter predictus b. Iacobi archiepiscopus et Sancte Romane Ecclesie legatus” (II 20, 2-21); and “uerissima ratione colligitur si uero peccatum esse” (II 42, 3). The possibility of an interdependence of

<sup>17</sup> For this group **PBCEGHIN** the omissions have been noted. I have preferred these to other errors because they seem clearer. The extent of the work and the fact that five manuscripts from this family have been collated make it possible to cite numerous examples which prove—clearly I hope—the relationships which exist among the manuscripts of this group.

**E** and **G** can be ruled out. **G** does not descend from **E**, since there are errors in **E** which are exclusive to this manuscript. The dependence of **E** with regard to **G** can also be ruled out, since **E** is from the XVIth century and **G** from the XVIIth. Nevertheless, since there is hesitation concerning the date of **G** (Reilly<sup>18</sup> believing that it dates from the XVIth century, RAH placing it in the XVIIth), other evidence can be adduced to demonstrate the non-interdependence of **E** and **G**. This evidence is in the form of omissions peculiar respectively to **G** and **E**. Following are omissions peculiar to **E**: “tantoque thesauro expoliata” (I 15, 2); “Salmanticensis, Auilensis, Colimbriensis et ceteri qui olim eiusdem Emerite subiecti fuisse noscuntur” (II 64, 7); and “cuius consecratio ad Romanam tantum spectat ecclesiam” (II 64, 7). Among the omissions peculiar to **G** are the following: “et quodcumque solueritis super terram erit solutum et in celis” (I 89, 2); “archiepiscopus usquequam illis oppositus effrenem illorum” (II 36); and “deuiet et similiter in detruncando et cecando et in suspendendo prout iustitia” (II 68, 2). It would appear, then, that **E** and **G** derive independently from a common prototype, which will be designated *c*; and none of the other manuscripts of Subgroup **BEGHIN** derives from **EG**.

Let us turn now to the remaining three manuscripts of this Subgroup, **HIN**. The fact that these three, together with **E** and **G**, come from *c* is proven by a long omission which appears in manuscripts **EGHIN** and which does not come from **B**. The omission was produced by haplography between *Sancte Romane Ecclesie legatus . . .* and *et Sancte Romane Ecclesie legatus* and includes the end of Ch. 20 of Book II and the beginning of Ch. 21.: “frequenter distribuit. Utinam uita diutius comite . . . Qua propter predictus beati Iacobi archiepiscopus et Sancte Romane Ecclesie legatus” (**B om. EGHIN**). Another characteristic of the subgroup deriving from *c* (**EGHIN**) is the omission of a title in Book III (10, 3): **LITERE PAPE AD REGEM** (**B om. EGHIN**).

After verifying in **HIN** the list of omissions culled from **EG**, three types of omissions emerge, namely, those common to **GHIN**, those peculiar to **GHN**, and one which appears only in **GH**. Omissions common to **GHIN** are “et sicut Romana praerat ecclesia et dominabitur ceteris ecclesiis” (II 3, 3), “et obedientiam” (II 47) and “cuius potentia” (II 59). The following omissions are peculiar to **GHN**: “bone memorie Cluniacensem monachum” (II 1), “scire autem uolumus” (II 34, 1) and “dedit domino Pape thuribulum aureum quod pro utilitate quoque ecclesie sue” (II 57). Unique to **GH** is the following omission: “et noster amicus est adirem et credo ecclesie nostre” (II 4).

On the other hand, manuscript **I** omits Ch. 10, 3 of Book I that appears in **EGHN**, which would mean that none of these manuscripts derives from

<sup>18</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 134.



**I.** Furthermore, it is important to recall something already said with respect to **E** and **G**, namely, that none of the other preserved manuscripts is derived from them. Since **GHIN** all exhibit errors peculiar to these four manuscripts, a common prototype *d* can be theorized from which they would derive. Source *d* would then derive from *c*, which would explain the similarity to **E** of the manuscripts which derive from *d*. The fact that **GHN** coincide among themselves as compared to **I** and **E** can be interpreted as meaning that these three manuscripts have a common origin different from *d*.

At this point, the relationships among **GHN** are not yet very clear. On the one hand, the omission which appears in **G** and **H** indicates a closer relationship between these two as compared to **N** and, on the other hand, the fact that **G** exhibits errors peculiar to it, and which have already been pointed out, would suggest either that **G** derives from **H** or that both originate from a common prototype, since the possibility of **H** being a copy of **G** can be ruled out. Using these two possibilities as a point of departure, and keeping in mind that **N** exhibits errors which are also peculiar to **G** and **H**, one can consider possible solutions. One solution is to assume that **G** and **H** proceed from **N**, so that **N** would be the common origin different from *d* pointed out above. The other is to theorize a common prototype *e* for **GHN**, which would explain the coincidences which exist among these three manuscripts. It would seem logical that the appearance of errors exclusive to **N** helps to demonstrate the origin of **GHN** from a common prototype *e*. Besides finding some variants in **N**, I have found in **N** two readings in II 9 (“actus barbarus” and “mundum Papatus ultramontanis appetibilis erat”) which appear in the margin of other manuscripts of this group, specifically in **E** and **H**. This rules out the possibility noted above of **GH** proceeding from **N**, and a common prototype would have to be theorized for **GHN**. Furthermore, since **GH** seem to be related to one another as compared to **N**, it could be assumed either that **GH** proceed from *e* through a common prototype *f*, or that **G** proceeds from **H** and **H** from *e*, since the possibility of **H** deriving from **G** has already been ruled out due to the omissions exclusive to this last manuscript. Given these two possibilities, I am inclined to prefer the first, namely, to assume a common prototype *f* for **GH**.<sup>19</sup>

In conclusion, we are suggesting four different prototypes for subgroup **EGHIN**: *f* as a common prototype for **GH**, *e* as the source from which **N** and *f* would derive, *d* as the point of departure for **I** and *e*, and lastly *c* as the source from which **E** and the prototype *d* would proceed.

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<sup>19</sup> So far the basic relationship of **G** to the other manuscripts of this group has been examined. There are two passages, however, which indicate that **G** copies from one and borrows partially from the other. These passages are the following: III 33, 2 and I 74.

Up to this point the relationships of two clearly differentiated groups of manuscripts (STFLJK and PBCEGHIN) have been noted. There are two more manuscripts which should now be dealt with, namely, **A** and **M**. They do not form a group, and their relationship with the others we shall now try to establish.

**M** is a manuscript which dates from the XVIIIth century and the one which offers the least difficulty in its relationship with the others. This copy is preceded by an extensive prologue which begins by saying: "Se ha copiado este traslado de la Historia Compostelana de dos códices manuscritos que se conservan en la Real Biblioteca (num. 88 y 89). El del número 88 se cree fue de Miguel Ruiz de Azagra y el del 89 de Ambrosio de Morales." And further on: "Para nosotros ha servido de original el códice de Azagra . . . y porque con una copia tengamos las dos de la Real Biblioteca se han ido notando a los márgenes las variantes de la de Ambrosio de Morales." And still further on the copyist adds: "También he cotejado con el señor Don Joseph Marcos la copia de la Academia con la que tiene el Dr. D. Benito Gayoso que fue del Sr. D. Francisco de la Huerta."

The identification of these manuscripts was easy because of the variants carefully noted in the margins. Azagra's copy is the manuscript currently preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional with the signature 1345 and which we have designated E. The copy by Morales is manuscript 1512 kept in the same library and which we have called F. The copy once owned by Don Francisco de la Huerta is a manuscript now belonging to the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia (9/4078), the one which we have designated I.

Lastly, we have only to analyze the relationship between **A** and the rest of the manuscripts. None of the other known manuscripts derives from **A**, as is demonstrated by errors unique to this manuscript. Besides many omitted titles, there are textual omissions appearing exclusively in **A**, of which the following are examples: "mutue munere recompensantes mone-mus et rogamus ut a cepte bonitatis ac cepte dilectionis" (I 43); "a pueritia educauerat, alios ex paupertate abundanter ditauerat, alios" (I 64, 1); "Compostellanus archiepiscopus et legatus" (II 38); "Datum Anagnie VIII Kalend. Octobris" (II 58); "ipse rex eum amoris priuilegio utpote" (II 80, 2); "regis numquam ibat sed rex cum comitibus et potestatibus ad palatium" (III 24, 2); and "scilicet XL marcas puri argenti" (III 25, 1).

Since neither the first nor last folio has been preserved in **A**, we have no way of knowing whether **A** also contained the works usually associated with the *Historia Compostellana*. It does not seem to have any relationship to the groups we have established. Consequently, I agree with Reilly<sup>20</sup> and Vones<sup>21</sup> in believing that **A** derives from the archetype, directly or in-

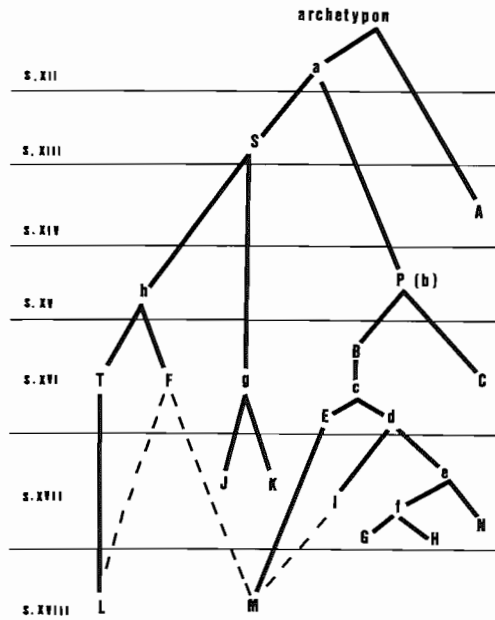
<sup>20</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

directly, through another lost copy the existence of which it is, nevertheless, unnecessary to posit here.

In closing, let us look at the relationship of **S** and **P**, from which **B** and **C** are derived, to the archetype. Clearly, the easiest thing would be to assume a direct relationship, as has been done in the case of **A**. However, there are some passages which seem to demonstrate the existence of a relationship between **S** and **PBC** in comparison with **A**.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, in a title of Book II (Ch. 4) **A** differs from the reading offered by **SPBC**: “Quod prior et cardinalis missi ad Papam capti fuerunt in uia” (**A**), “Quod prior cardinalis missi ad Papam fuerunt in uia” (**SPBC**). Lastly, we could adduce to this same effect the inclusion, in Book II after Ch. 30, of the treatise which corresponds to Book I 81 (*De Bracarensi episcopo*); all of the manuscripts except **A** include this treatise.

Keeping these passages in mind to explain the coincidences between **S** and **PBC**, we assume that **S** and **P** are derived from a subarchetype or from a common prototype now lost and which will be referred to as *a*. The accompanying stemma is then suggested.



<sup>22</sup> In II 30 **A** gives a more extensive reading than do **SPBC**, which give the same as the Flórez edition. There is another passage (II 51, 2) where **A** gives a reading which does not appear in either **S**, **PBC** or in the Flórez edition. (Flórez assumes a similar reading in a note at the bottom of the page).