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MS. DOUAI 842:
A NEW TESTIMONY OF THE *LIBER CHRONICORUM*
BY PELAGIUS OF OVIEDO

SUMMARY: This paper focuses on manuscript Douai 842, which was copied at the end of the twelfth century at the monastery of Sainte-Rictrude of Marchiennes, Southern Flanders. This manuscript transmits an unknown version of the *Liber chronicorum* – Compilation B, which originated at the *scriptorium* of Pelagius of Oviedo (?-1153). After providing a brief description of the manuscript's structure and contents, I argue that there were at least two versions of Compilation B (rather than just one, as previously believed, represented by the well-known copy in Madrid, BNE, 1513), with Douai 842 transmitting the oldest. I contend that this version attests to the existence of a primitive form of Compilation B, representing a distinct branch within the tradition of the *Liber*. Finally, I suggest that Douai 842 was copied between 1177-1179.

KEYWORDS: Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum*, ms. Douai 842, Sainte-Rictrude of Marchiennes, 12th-century relations between Iberia, northern France, and southern Flanders, codicology.
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Iberian early medieval historiography had what we might call a very difficult internationalization. Among Visigothic historiography, only Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon* had enormous success outside Iberia, because it had much simplified the structure of the *Chronicon* by Eusebius of Caesarea/Jerome, making it more readable¹. When regarding Iberian historiography up to the thirteenth century, no other text in Visigothic or, later, in Asturian or in Asturleonese historiography was popular outside Iberia: Isidore's *Historiae* had a Carolingian edition in Verona at the beginning of the ninth century, which does not seem to have circulated much²;

¹ For the list of manuscripts, see MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2003, 41*-55*; for the indirect tradition of the *Chronica*, see MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2001.

² It is now ms. Berlin, Phillipps 1885 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1885, ff. 1r-29r. This manuscript was copied in Verona, but it was taken to Metz at an unknown date, before arriving at the library of the College of Clermont, where it was used by Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651) in the seventeenth century. There was a twin copy of this manuscript in Verona, which was the model of some of the texts preserved today in ms. Città del

a short resumé of this text, the so-called *Recapitulatio*, had better luck, but, with its bare two or three folia, its influence was mostly non-existent³; and the examples stop there. This does not mean that Iberian historiography had little success. In the Peninsula itself, alongside biblical or hagiographic texts, until the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Iberian historiographical texts were the only information repositories of information about the past that were in use, serving as models for all new texts⁴.

This coincides with a long period, from the ninth century to the first half of the eleventh, when contacts between Iberia and the extra-Pyrenean world were clearly less frequent than they had been and would be again⁵. Only after the mid-eleventh century is there evidence that contacts were becoming more intense especially in northern Iberia. There are at least three factors that explain this: the effects of Cluny's influence, reinforced during the reign of Alfonso VI (1065-1109) (in addition to, already in the twelfth century, the influence of other great monasteries of the French area, like Cîteaux, or St. Rufus of Avignon); the development of military and diplomatic relations with the French world and of the royal Iberian chancelleries; and the consolidation of Santiago de Compostela into a European pilgrimage center⁶. From the mid-eleventh century, Cluniac customs set in; the Visigothic liturgy and script were eventually replaced by the Carolingian/Roman; high clergy of French origin became dominant; queens and knights from Burgundy or Aquitaine arrived, with lasting consequences for Iberian political chess; new *codices*, new texts, new libraries were brought to Iberia, eventually replacing the oldest ones. Of course, historiography was not immune to these developments, but its success was still meagre and did not immediately change the previous pattern.

We get several glimpses of the circulation of texts between Iberia and the French regions in the late eleventh and early twelfth century: for instance the Iberian *Catalogus reliquiarum ecclesiae Ouetensis* (Díaz 722) arrived in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux⁷, where it was copied onto a blank folio of a ninth-century manuscript (now ms. Va-

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 927 (Verona, ca. 1181-1222). See PELLEGRIN – FOHLEN – JEUDY 1982, 90-92; WALZ 1999, 10-15; MORTENSEN 1999-2000, 151, 193.

³ The *Recapitulatio*, which was normally associated with Isidore's *Historiae*, circulated alone in some Carolingian manuscripts: Bern, Burgerbibliothek (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana) 83, ff. 99v-100v, a. 882-900, Saint-Rémi of Reims; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 133, pp. 590-97 (Part III: pp. 299-657; pp. 523-90; Isidore, *Brevem temporum [seriem]*), s. VIII ex-IX in., St. Gallen; Sankt-Peterburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, lat. Q.v.I.20, f. 69r-v, s. IX, Corbie. See also the short fragment in the *Liber Glossarum*, s.v. "Gothus".

⁴ One important exception was the *Liber historiae Francorum* (CPL 1316) composed in Gaul in 727: apart from a copy in the lost Soriensis manuscript (BAUTISTA 2016, 40), the *Liber* was also known in Oviedo (see ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 72vb-101va). See BAUTISTA 2011; FURTADO 2017, 180-83.

⁵ BISHKO 1948; RIVERA RECIO 1980, 33-34; FONTAINE 1983; WILLIAMS 1987; REYNOLDS 1997; CHRISTYS 1998; BRONISCH 1999; TOLAN 2001; HENRIET 2004a; DESYARTE 2010.

⁶ There is an abundant bibliography on the subject. See VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA – LACARRA – URÍA RÍU 1948; DEFOURNEAUX 1949; BISHKO 1968; LINAGE CONDE 1973; SegL 1974; MARQUES 1991; VALLE PÉREZ 1991; SegL 1998; RUCQUOI 2000; HENRIET 2004b; BAUTISTA 2011.

⁷ HENRIET 2006, 247 n. 6.

lenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 99, ff. 2va-3r)⁸. The *Translatio reliquiarum Ouetum* (Díaz 1011), originating in Oviedo, was oddly enough transmitted solely through manuscripts from the southern region of the County of Flanders. These manuscripts include Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 30, ff. 163vb-169va, which was also copied at the end of the twelfth century in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux; Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 804, ff. 68ra-73va, which was copied in the abbey of the Holy Sepulchre of Cambrai in the second half of the twelfth century; Bruxelles, KBR, II 2544, ff. 1r-8v, which was copied in Saint-Ghislain in the thirteenth century; and Paris, BnF, lat. 18123, ff. 40v-46v, which was copied in the thirteenth century in the abbey of St. Martin of Tournai. According to José Carlos Martín-Iglesias, all these manuscripts were derived from the same archetype, which was written in Visigothic script.

The discovery of ms. Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (olim Bibliothèque Municipale), 842, must be related to these contacts. This is a remarkable manuscript, mainly due to the unexpected presence of a version of Pelagius of Oviedo's *Liber chronicorum* in southern Flanders at the end of the twelfth century. This factitious codex, which was shelved in the monastery of Sainte-Rictrude of Marchiennes, an old *coenobium* by the river Scarpe, transmits in the second of its three parts Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum*, which was composed in Oviedo in the mid-twelfth century and was previously not known to have circulated outside Iberia⁹. The codex remained in Marchiennes until the dissolution of the abbey and the integration of its collection into the Bibliothèque Municipale de Douai in the late eighteenth century. Its discovery sheds light on the circulation of Iberian historiographic texts and their reception in northern Europe during the late twelfth century.

In this paper, after a brief introduction of Marchiennes and its library, I will describe Part II of this manuscript, and especially the *Liber chronicorum* it transmits, assessing its importance for the study of the early circulation of the "Pelagian" collection outside Iberia.

1. SAINTE-RICTRUDE OF MARCHIENNES

Marchiennes, founded by St. Amand (c. 584-679) around 640, began as a small mixed community that was involved in various disputes with nobles, kings, bishops, and other monasteries in its early history¹⁰. In the early tenth century, after the Vikings destroyed the abbey in 881-883, the clerics and nuns of Marchiennes turned

⁸ MANGEART 1860, 78; LIÈVRE – MOLINIER 1894, 229-30; KLEIN 2012a, 2012b; BISCHOFF 2014, 394-95, n° 6340; MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2021. About the date of the copy, see VALDÉS GALLEGO 1999, 380 n. 19; GUSCIN 2006, 118-20; HENRIET 2006, 247 n. 6; MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2021.

⁹ FERNÁNDEZ VALLINA 1973 e 1995 are still the best overall assessment on Pelagius and its *scriptorium*. Regarding the transmission of the *Liber chronicorum*, the most challenging papers on the various versions of the *Liber*, its copies, and particularly its transmission are CATALÁN 2003-2004 and JÉREZ 2008. For the context and the relation between Pelagius and other texts from northern Iberia see ALONSO ÁLVAREZ 2011a; ALONSO ÁLVAREZ 2011b; ALONSO ÁLVAREZ 2012.

¹⁰ A brief history of Marchiennes is to be found in Ugé 2005, 95-142.

to Hucbald, a monk at the nearby abbey of Saint-Amand, to eventually write the life of their patron saint, Rictrudis. This *Vita sanctae Rictrudis* (BHL 7247; NaSo H060) is, in fact, a work of history and hagiography that served as a founding text linking the monastery to the region's main noble families and saints¹¹. This work is the first example of the monastery's strong historiographic vocation, which continued throughout its history.

At some point, the abbey came to be inhabited only by nuns; in 1024, in the context of the monastic reforms promoted by Baldwin IV of Flanders (988-1035), these were in turn replaced by Benedictine monks led by Leduinus of Saint-Vaast¹². The Scarpe-Scheldt region was a contested borderland between the counties of Flanders and Hainaut. Marchiennes was also situated among larger monasteries such as Saint-Amand, Saint-Bertin, and Anchin. Therefore, the recovery of their own history and that of their founding saints (the mixing of genres being common)¹³ served to legitimize their possessions and establish their symbolic-religious position in the face of both their lay and ecclesiastical competitors.

During the twelfth century, the removal of the controversial Abbot Fulcard of Landas (1103-1115)¹⁴, led to the composition of a *Poeticum Marceniensis coenobii* (NaSo P062) between 1116-1121. This document was based on "annals, chronicles, lives of saints, on a *gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai, and on oral reports"¹⁵. Following 1116, the monastery implemented an "aggressive policy of written government"¹⁶, through the constitution of cartularies, chronicles, and hagiographic narratives that used the past to counter (or ignore) present transformations and establish in writing the reality it desired¹⁷. This led to a more intense focus on hagiography and historiography, with the monks writing a narrative of St. Rictrudis' miracles (NaSo G139 = BHL 7249-7251)¹⁸ and a life, the *Vita Hugonis* (BHL 4031d), of a contemporary abbot of Marchiennes who died in 1158¹⁹.

The peak of Marchiennes' twelfth-century historiography is represented by André, the prior of Marchiennes (?-1202), who twice rewrote the *miracula* of St. Rictrudis (BHL 7252, 7252b; NaSo A055) and composed an *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum* (NaSo A053) and a *Chronicon Marchianense* (NaSo A054) commissioned by the abbot Simon (1199-1202)²⁰. André's

¹¹ Ugé 2005, 115-27. Ed. AASS, vol. 1, *Mai III, Dies 12*, Antwerp 1680, 81-89; PL 132, cols. 829-48; and ASB, vol. 4, Brussels 1787, 488-503. On Hucbald of Saint-Amand, see SMITH 1994 and 1996.

¹² Ugé 2005, 112-13.

¹³ LIFSCHITZ 1994.

¹⁴ VANDERPUTTEN 2007.

¹⁵ Ed. DELMAIRE 1985 (the quotation is from p. 65). See VANDERPUTTEN 2006, 113-17.

¹⁶ VANDERPUTTEN 2006, 112.

¹⁷ On the political and ecclesiastical disputes in the Scarpe-Scheldt region, see GERZAGUET 2000; VANDERPUTTEN 2006, 113-19; VANDERPUTTEN 2007; VANDERPUTTEN – SNIJDERS 2009; VANDERPUTTEN 2012.

¹⁸ Ed. *Rictrudis abb. Marchianensis: Miracula S. Rictrudis et laudatio ceterorum SS. Maechianensium, auct. Gualberto mon. Marchian.* (BHL 7249), AASS, vol. 15, *Mai III, Dies 12*, Antwerp 1680, 140-54. See also PLATELLE 1980a and 1980b; Ugé 2001.

¹⁹ Ed. PLATELLE – GODDING 1993. See PLATELLE 1992.

²⁰ Ed. BEAUCHAMPS 1633, 561-883; VANDERPUTTEN 2003a. On André of Marchiennes, see WERNER 1951; and specially VANDERPUTTEN 2003a, 403-12.

Historia succincta focused on the French kings and not on the monastery itself, while the *Chronicon* sought to root the abbey's founding saints into Merovingian genealogy²¹.

Tjamke Snijders identified a significant decline in the copying of hagiographic-themed manuscripts in Marchiennes during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries²². During this period, a clearer separation of historiography and hagiography eventually emerged in the monastery's written production. This trend is evident in André of Marchiennes' hagiographical rewriting of the *Vita Rictrudis* and his *Chronicon Marchianense*, has hardly any hagiographic excursus, even when referring to saints Amand or Rictrudis²³. Snijders argues that it was the literary relationship with Anchin, which never really invested in its own hagiography but in the narrative of its history, that led to a change of perspective also in Marchiennes²⁴.

In a catalog of Marchiennes' library from the beginning of the thirteenth century, some histories are also listed, often without the author's name: (Cassiodorus') *Historia tripartita* (now, ms. Douai 297), (Eusebius/Rufinus') *Historia ecclesiastica* (now, ms. Douai 215), (Geoffrey of Monmouth's?) *Historia Britannorum* (not preserved), Bede's *De temporibus* (not preserved), a *Chronica* (which was perhaps a historiographical thematic codex with several chronicles), and the *Passio* and the *Miracula sancti Jacobi*²⁵.

None of these texts is unexpected in a twelfth century monastic library, though. Marchiennes was a rather typical "community of the second order"²⁶. However, the presence of Part II of what is now manuscript Douai 842 confirms, on one hand, Marchiennes' interest in historiographical themes, although this is the only case during the period where contemporary texts unrelated to the monastery's or to the region's history are found in the library. On the other hand, it attests to the connection of the monastery (or at least of the region) with Iberia: in some way, relatively soon after its composition, a version of Pelagius' recent *Liber chronicorum* reached Marchiennes, and the monastery deemed it important enough to make a copy of the dossier.

2. MS. DOUAI, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MARCELINE DESBORDES-VALMORE (*OLIM* BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE), 842: STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The manuscript Douai 842 is a factitious codex comprising of three parts, all from the end of the twelfth century (I: ff. 1-7; II: ff. 8-47; III: ff. 48-173). The folio dimensions are approximately 290 x 200 mm. These are its contents:

²¹ VANDERPUTTEN 2003a, 405-08.

²² SNIJDERS 2015, 333-34.

²³ SNIJDERS 2015, 337-39.

²⁴ SNIJDERS 2015, 340.

²⁵ See ms. Douai 540 (13th c.), ff. 92v-95r. The list can be found in DELISLE 1874, 512, n° 88 and NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA 1986, 290-99.

²⁶ VANDERPUTTEN 2007, 93.

PART I

1. *Passio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4057): ff. 2r-3v.
2. *Passio sancti Christophori* (BHL 1770): ff. 4r-6r.

PART II

[LIBELLVS SANCTI IACOBI]

3. *Liber sancti Iacobi: capitula*: ff. 8va-9ra.
4. *Ps.-Callisti opus de S. Iacobo, libris 5* (BHL 4076a): f. 9ra-va.
5. *Epistula apocrypha Callisti II* (BHL 4062): ff. 9va-10ra.
6. *Translatio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4067): ff. 10ra-11va.
7. *Epistula apocrypha Leonis* (BHL 4061): ff. 11va-12ra.
8. *De tribus sollempnitatibus s. Iacobi, auctore Ps.-Callisto II papa* (BHL 4072h): ff. 12ra-13rb.
9. *Miracula auctore Ps.-Callisto II papa* (BHL 4072): ff. 13rb-21va.
10. *Miraculum adscriptum Alberico ab. Vizeliacensi* (BHL 4075): f. 21va-b.
11. *Additamentum (Miracula)* (BHL 4072d): f. 21vb.
12. *Additamentum (Miracula)* (BHL 4072f): ff. 21vb-22ra.

[PELAGIVS OVETENSIS, LIBER CHRONICORVM]

13. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historiae Gothorum Wandalorum et Sueuorum* (CPL 1204): *rub.* “incipit omnis historia successionis regum wandalorum sueuorum gothorum gallitianorum in hispania” (f. 22ra).
 - a. [*Historia Wandalorum*]: ff. 22ra-23va.
It includes in Is. *Goth.* 80 a short notice on the *Conditio Luci in Asturiis*: f. 23ra-b.
 - b. [*Historia Sueuorum*]: ff. 23va-24va.
It includes in Is. *Goth.* 91 an abbreviation of the *Parochiale Suevum* (Díaz 33): f. 24rb.
 - c. [*Historia Gothorum*]: ff. 24va-30vb.
It includes in Is. *Goth.* 61 the *Translatio arcae sanctae* (Díaz 902): ff. 29vb-30va.
 - d. [*Continuatio historiae Gothorum usque ad Wambam*]: f. 30vb.
14. *Chronica Adefonsi III – Sebastianus* (Díaz 520): ff. 30vb-36rb.
It includes in *Chron. Adef. III* 1 the *Diuisio Wambae – adbreuiata*: f. 31ra-va.
It includes in *Chron. Adef. III* 8 and 20 the *Translatio arcae sanctae*: ff. 32vb; 34va-35ra.
It includes in *Chron. Adef. III* 18 the *Translatio sanctae Eulaliae*: f. 34ra-b.
15. *Chronicon Sampiri* (Díaz 889): ff. 36rb-42rb.
It includes the *Iohannis papae VIII epistola XVIII+XIX ad Adefonsum III* (= *chron. Samp.* 7): f. 37ra-b+37rb.
It includes the *Concilia Ouetensia* (= *Chron. Samp.* 9; 10-13): ff. 37rb-vb+37vb-38vb.
16. Pelagius Ovetensis, *Chronicon regum Legionensium* (Díaz 901): ff. 42rb-45rb

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17. *Inc.* “Franci origine troiani adhuc pagano ritui dediti”: f. 45va; *expl.* “unam duxit henricus iuuenis rex angliae alteram ricardus dux aquitanie”: f. 47vb.

PART III

18. *Translatio s. Nicolae Barium anno 1087 auctore Nicephoro clerico Barensi* (BHL 6183 + 6184 + 6185 + 6186): ff. 48ra-63va.
19. *Miraculum s. Nicholae post mortem ante translationem* (BHL 6176a): ff. 63va-64va.
20. *Miracula: in imagine Christi anno 742 Lucam translata, auct. Leboino diac.* (BHL 4236): ff. 64va-67vb.
21. *Miracula: in imagine Berytensi Christi crucifixi* (BHL 4228): ff. 67vb-72vb.
22. *Miracula: in imagine Christi crucifixi deiecta in puteo ecclesiae S. Sophiae Constantinopoli* (BHL 4231): ff. 73ra-74rb.
23. *Miracula: in imagine a Iudaeo transfossa* (BHL 4223): f. 74rb-va.
24. *Vita Eucharit et Valerii Traverensium episcoporum et Materni Coloniensis episcopi* (BHL 2655 + 2656): ff. 74va-81va.
25. *Vita s. Leodegarii Augustudonensis* (BHL 4851b): ff. 81va-86vb.
26. *Vita s. Winwaloei Landevenecensis* (BHL 8962): ff. 86vb-89va.
27. *Vita s. Ethbini monachi* (BHL 2621): ff. 89vb-91vb.
28. *Vita s. Genesisius martyris* (BHL 3322): ff. 92ra-93vb.
29. *Carmen in s. Benedictum Casinensem auct. Paulo Warnefridi* (BHL 1106; Walther 11423): ff. 93vb-94vb.
30. *Inc.* “de puero quodam ueram componimus odam”; *expl.* “que sunt retro latent anteriora patent” (Poncelet 10): ff. 94vb-95rb.
31. *Rub.* “hic fit comparatio de natura cristalli et de conceptu uirginis marie”; *inc.* “sol cristallus aqua dant qualemunque figuram”; *expl.* “hoc animam carni reddet utrique deum” (Walther 18366; 18369): ff. 95rb-95va.
32. *Inc.* “sol hodie nobis apparuit unus et alter”; *expl.* “sol petit auroram luciferumque dies” (Walther 18377): f. 95va.
33. *Passio ss. Cosmi et Damiani* (BHL 1970): ff. 95va-99vb.
34. *Vita s. Berthae* (BHL 1266): ff. 99vb-106ra.
35. *Vita s. Amati Senonensis* (BHL 364): ff. 106ra-112va.
36. *Miraculorum s. Stephani diaconi factorum Uzali liber I* (BHL 7860): ff. 112va-119vb.
37. *Miraculorum s. Stephani diaconi factorum Uzali liber II* (BHL 7861 + 7862): ff. 119vb-130va.
38. *Miraculorum s. Stephani diaconi facta in Africa* (BHL 7868 + 7869 + 7870): ff. 130va-132ra.
39. *Passio s. Pantaleonis* (BHL 6440a): ff. 132ra-139ra.
40. *Passio ss. Fidei, Spei, Caritatis et earum matris Sapientiae* (BHL 2971): ff. 139ra-142rb.
41. *Vita s. Iohannis Eleemosinarii Alexandriae episcopus* (BHL 4388): ff. 143ra-171va.

42. *Tit.* “Insigne miraculum de sancto iacobo metrice conscriptum”; *inc.* “eructare uolo uerbum dulcedine plenum”; *expl.* “ut tibi protector sit et preconia soluas” (Poncelet 489 + 1188): ff. 172ra-b.
43. *Tit.* “insigne miraculum de beata dei genitrice maria ad laudem ipsius, rithmice conscriptum”; *inc.* “erat quidam cuius uita mundi malis irretita”; *expl.* “ad eterna gaudia amen” (Poncelet 458): ff. 172va-173rb.
44. *Tit.* “aliud miraculum de eadem matre domini”; *inc.* “signum quoque nouitatis stilo scriptum breuitatis”; *expl.* “laus sub eius nomine. explicit” (Poncelet 1655): f. 173rb-d.
45. *Miraculum de sancto iacobo apostolo* (BHL 4078a): f. 173va-b.

What are now Parts II and III were first combined in the thirteenth century: on what is now folio 8r one copyist wrote the index of the manuscript, which he called *liber sancte Rictrudis ecclesie Marciannensis*. This index includes all the texts of Parts II and III.

Part II is formed by five quaternions, all of which were written by the same scribe in two columns of 39 lines. Only the first quire is numbered («I^{us}») at the end of f. 15v.

Part II transmits two different collections: the *Libellus sancti Iacobi* (ff. 9ra-22ra) and the *Liber chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo (ff. 22ra-45rb). At the end, the copyist added an anonymous short chronicle of the history of the Franks (ff. 45va-47vb).

Part III transmits a legendary from the northern France-Flanders-Rhineland region. It is formed by 16 quaternions, written in two columns of either 33 (ff. 48r-142r, 143v-146r, 166r-171) or 34 lines (ff. 143r, 146v-165v). The first folio of the thirteenth quire (ff. 143-149) was cut off without compromising the text. The quires are numbered from I to XV, with the exceptions of quire XII and quire XVI, which were not numbered at the end.

Part I of Douai 842 was copied in the twelfth century. It is formed by a quarto, whose last two folios were cut off. It transmits the *Passio sancti Iacobi* (BHL 4057) in ff. 2r-3v, and the *Passio sancti Christophori* (BHL 1770) in ff. 4r-6r. At least BHL 1770 does not seem to have circulated in Iberia. It was added to the beginning of the codex (already formed by Parts II-III), doubtless because of the affinity of the Jacobean theme shared with Part II.

Douai 842 also includes a parchment flyleaf cut from another manuscript, which contains a fragment of the *Continuatio Aquicinctina* (NaSo Co48) of Sigebert of Gembloux’s universal *Chronicon*, covering the period 1149-1200. This *Continuatio* was only transmitted by the ms. Douai 799 copied in Anchin. The Douai 842 fragment refers to the years 1182-1184 and was likely copied in Anchin or Marchiennes. The hand also confirms the end of the twelfth century, making this reused folio practically contemporary with the rest of the manuscript²⁷.

²⁷ This fragment was edited by VANDERPUTTEN 2003b.

3. MS. DOUAI 842, PART II

Douai 842, Part II (ff. 9-47), was completed towards the end of the twelfth century. Its first collection is a version of the renowned *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. This nomenclature was used by Adalbert Hämel to refer to a shorter version of the collection commonly known as the *Liber sancti Iacobi*²⁸, whose main representative today is the prominent Codex Calixtinus of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela²⁹.

The wide European circulation of the *Libellus* stands as evidence of the remarkable success achieved by this shorter collection during the latter half of the twelfth century. This explains why the *Libellus*, as transmitted by Douai 842, does not even rely directly on an Iberian manuscript, as one might have assumed. Instead, it exhibits influences of a model that likely originated in northern France around the mid-twelfth century. Notably, the version of the *Libellus* discovered in Marchiennes demonstrates similarities to the copy preserved in Saint-Amand (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 516), indicating a shared dependence on a common textual model. Similar resemblances are also observed in copies found in Saint-Ghislain (Bruxelles, KBR II 993 [3293] and Sygny-l'Abbaye (Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, médiatheque, 190)³⁰.

Within the context of twelfth-century southern Flanders, the presence of the *Libellus* in Marchiennes' library would have been a source of great pride, given the region's abundance of relics associated with St. James. These relics held significant symbolic importance and often led to conflicts between abbeys³¹. The presence of multiple copies of the same *Libellus* in southern Flanders should therefore be viewed as part of a broader trend, reflecting the growing prominence of St. James in the region.

3.1 THE *LIBER CHRONICORUM* BY PELAGIUS OF OVIEDO

After the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*, Douai 842, Part II, transmits a copy of the *Liber chronicorum* formed in the *scriptorium* of bishop Pelagius of Oviedo (?-1153).

This *Liber* was one of several compilations that circulated in medieval Iberia³². In the first half of the twelfth century, in Oviedo, a city in decline compared to political centers such as León, Burgos, and especially Toledo, Bishop Pelagius sought to rework the memory of Iberia from an Asturian perspective. His goal was to gather, and at times alter, sources that would establish the preeminence of his city³³. In fact, this process of memorializing the past pretended to be response to the claims of Toledo,

²⁸ HÄMEL 1950, 43; HÄMEL 1953, 73-74; DÍAZ 1988, 38-42. See the list of manuscripts in HÄMEL 1953, 74-84 (§§ 6, 7, 10, 12); MANDACH 1961, 364-97.

²⁹ The bibliography is very abundant. See WHITEHILL 1944; HERBERS – SANTOS NOIA 1998; SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ 2008, 284. See also DÍAZ 1988; MOISAN 1992.

³⁰ I am preparing a paper on this version of the *Libellus*: "The *Libellus s. Iacobi* in Douai 842: new elements for the history of the collection".

³¹ See BESNIER 1956; GERZAGUET 2005.

³² LINEHAN 1993, 1997, 2000, 2001; MARTIN 2001, 2003; FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ 2002-2003.

³³ Against the idea of Pelagius being a falsary, see FERNÁNDEZ VALLINA 1980, 56; GAZEL 2022, §§ 61-65.

whose conquest in 1085 had triggered a series of disputes and adjustments to the ecclesiastical map of León and Castile.

Today, very little material produced directly in Pelagius' *scriptorium* remains. However, recent efforts have been made to identify the materials that were in Oviedo and how Pelagius may have combined them in his own compilation. Diego Catalán and Enrique Jérez have identified four compilations that were either produced or held in Oviedo during Pelagius' time³⁴.

What seems to be the oldest compilation is now lost, but it was seen by Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591) in Oviedo in June 1572³⁵. Mauro Castellá Ferrer (1567-1612) saw it too in 1606, and ordered a copy of the *Chronica Adefonsi III* to be made, which is now preserved in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1237 (ff. 3r-20r). Castellá refers to it as a codex of "historias gothicis characteribus scriptas"³⁶. It contained at least three (or four) ancient texts³⁷: the *Chronicon* (CPL 1205) and/or the *Historiae* by Isidore of Seville, the *Historia Wambae* by Julian of Toledo (CPL 1262), and the *Chronicon Adefonsi III* in the *ad Sebastianum* version (which was the version known in Asturias). In addition to these, it included a *continuatio* of Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* attributed to Ildefonsus of Toledo and a text known as the *Liber Itacii*, likely produced in Oviedo too, which combined lists of the barbarian kings (Suevi, Vandals, and Goths) with lists of the Iberian episcopal seats³⁸.

A second compilation, also lost, was copied in a Visigothic manuscript from the Capitular Library of Oviedo, which was lent in 1557 to Pero Ponce de León, bishop of Plasencia (1509-1573)³⁹. In 1563 Ambrosio de Morales had it for a few months and copied a part of it into one of his working manuscripts, currently ms. Madrid, BNE, 1346, ff. 1v-96r. Morales referred to it as a "codex uetustissimus Ouetensis"⁴⁰ and copied an index for it on f. 116r of that same manuscript⁴¹. After Ponce de León's death, Morales was unable to locate the "codex uetustissimus" again⁴². It is lost, but most of its content can be reconstructed. It was a compilation of various materials, most of which are known only through partial copies and the index copied by Morales. It transmitted some genealogies of the Gothic and Castilian kings

³⁴ See CATALÁN 2003-2004; JÉREZ 2008.

³⁵ FLÓREZ 1765, 97. Cf. JÉREZ 2008, § 32 n. 85.

³⁶ Ms. Madrid, BNE, 1237, f. 1v: *nostrorum pontificum Isidori, Ildefonsi, Iulliani, Idacii atque Sebastiani Salmanticensis historias gothicis characteribus scriptas inveni*; CASTELLÁ FERRER 1610, f. 288v: "[sobre la *Crónica de Alfonso III*] si es la que tiene en antigua letra gótica la santa iglesia de Ouiedo, junto con otras del obispo Itacio, y de los arçobispos san Isidoro, y Iuliano en un volumen, por muy cierto se puede tener, que es del obispo Sebastiano". Cf. CATALÁN 2003-2004, 84-85; JÉREZ 2008, §§ 28-30.

³⁷ JÉREZ 2006, 285.

³⁸ See GAZEL 2022.

³⁹ CATALÁN 2003-2004, 66 n. 13.

⁴⁰ Cf. Madrid, BNE, 1346, ff. 7r, 23r, 43r, 59r, 75r, 90v, 93r, 113r.

⁴¹ It was copied in Manuel Risco, *España Sagrada* 38, Madrid, BNE, 1793, app. XL, 366-68. Another index was copied in a lost manuscript also owned by Morales and gathered in El Escorial. Fortunately, it was copied in the eighteenth century into what is now ms. Madrid, BNE, 5938, ff. 334r-335v.

⁴² CATALÁN 2003-2004, 80; JÉREZ 2006, 48-53. Cf. ANTOLÍN 1909, 386-90.

and also some biblical genealogies; the *Numerus sedium Hispaniensium*; the *Liber Itacii*; then, after some shorter texts, the *Translatio arcae sanctae*; the *Historiae* by Isidore of Seville, probably with the *continuatio* attributed to Ildefonsus of Toledo; the *Laterculus regum Gothorum* (CPL 2266); the *Historia Wambae*; the *Chronicon Adefonsi III*; the *Chronicon* by Isidore; and, almost at the end of the compilation, the *Vita Desiderii* by Sisebutus of Toledo (CPL 1298).

Justo Pérez de Urbel and Diego Catalán argued that the codex seen by Castellà was the model used by Pelagius of Oviedo for his own *Liber chronicorum*. The fact that the texts found in the codex seen by Castellà are also copied in the “codex uetustissimus” led Juan Gil to argue that there was only one codex, not two⁴³, and that Castellà was a less experienced editor and transcriber who was unfamiliar with Visigothic script. However, in 1572, when Morales saw the “codex of Castellà” in Oviedo, the “codex uetustissimus” was with Ponce de León in Placencia⁴⁴. In addition, this codex’s version of the *Chronicon Adefonsi III* lacked the obvious interpolations found in the “codex uetustissimus Ouetensis” and in the other manuscripts from Oviedo⁴⁵. Therefore, I agree with Catalán’s assertion that the codex seen by Castellà and the “codex uetustissimus” were two distinct manuscripts. It is likely that the codex seen by Castellà was indeed its antigraph and therefore the oldest manuscript in the Oviedo context⁴⁶.

The other two collections are thought to have derived from Pelagius’ *Liber chronicorum*. Jérez refers to them as “Compilation A” and “Compilation B”⁴⁷. Compilation A is the shorter version (c. 1115) of the *Liber*. Its main representative, ms. Madrid, BNE, 1358, is a codex produced in San Juan Bautista de Corias, also in Asturias, during the abbacy of Pedro Peláez (1162-1195). The collection is explicitly identified as *Liber chronica seu fabularium*. This manuscript must have been copied between 1162 and 1178⁴⁸. The codex was taken to Santiago de Compostela. With the exception of some minor texts (such as the *Iohannis VIII papae epistolae XVIII-XIX ad Adefonsum III* and the *Concilia Ouetensia*) and the *Chronicon Adefonsi III (ad Sebastianum)*, none of the texts in Compilation A match those copied in the manuscript seen by Castellà or in the “codex uetustissimus Ouetensis”. Therefore, I think that this Compilation A is in fact a third separate set of texts, that in this case was mainly based on the Albeldensis collection (Díaz 514-17; 521-23), with a fragmentary version of the *Chronicon Adefonsi III* and its updates by Sampiro and Pelagius added.

Compilation B is a much broader collection of texts than the other collections, organized in a much more coherent manner, with a clear sequence that can be followed from Isidore’s works to Pelagius’ *Chronicon*, which concludes the collection. The title itself indicates this: “Liber cronicorum ab exordio mundi usque

⁴³ GIL 1985, 47-48; GIL 2018, 154-56, 166.

⁴⁴ CATALÁN 2003-2004, 74.

⁴⁵ GIL 1985, 48-49; GIL 2018, 156-57; CATALÁN 2003-2004, 86-87; JÉREZ 2008, §§ 31-40.

⁴⁶ CATALÁN 2003-2004, 86-87; JÉREZ 2008, § 40.

⁴⁷ JÉREZ 2008.

⁴⁸ RODRÍGUEZ DÍAZ 1998, 46-47.

era MCLXX” (Madrid, BNE, 1513, f. 4ra). Pelagius’ authorship is established at the beginning of the codex on f. 1ra. It contains genealogies, smaller texts, and works by Isidore, including his *Chronicon* and *Historiae* with the *continuatio* up to Wamba. The *Chronicon Adefonsi III (ad Sebastianum)*, the *Chronica Sampiri*, and the *Chronicon* by Pelagius are also included. Compilation B shares with Compilation A only the latter three texts and the *Ordo annorum mundi* (CPL 1266B)⁴⁹. In addition, Compilation B contains numerous interpolations, including the *Conditio Luci in Asturiis* and the *Parochiale Sueuum* introduced into Isidore’s *Historiae*, the *Diuisio Wambae*, the *Translatio arcae sanctae*, and the *Translatio sanctae Eulaliae* introduced into the *Chronicon Adefonsi III*, and the *Iohannis VIII papae epistolae XVIII-XIX ad Adefonsum III* and the *Concilia Ouetensia* introduced into the *Chronica Sampiri*.

The oldest known exemplar of the Compilation B has been the famous Batres manuscript (now ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513). This manuscript was most likely copied between 1210 and 1220 in Toledo. It was originally owned by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (c. 1370-c. 1470) and later by his grandson Garcilaso de la Vega (c. 1498-1536). Ambrosio de Morales knew of this manuscript and transcribed part of it (cf. Madrid, BNE, 1346, f. 112v). It was eventually incorporated into the library of King Philip V (1683-1746).

An independent branch of Compilation B is represented by ms. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, D 100e, copied in the sixteenth century. This served as the basis for Prudencio de Sandoval’s (1552-1620) edition of Iberian historians from Hydatius to Pelagius (1615). Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655-1727), a Swedish scholar, acquired this manuscript in 1690 and took it to Stockholm⁵⁰.

3.2 THE *LIBER CHRONICORUM* IN DOUAI 842

Only one manuscript of Compilation B is known to predate the sixteenth century – ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513. However, it is now clear that at the end of the twelfth century a shorter version of this compilation (unrelated to Compilation A) was also in Marchiennes: it is our manuscript Douai 842.

It consists of four texts:

– Isidore’s *Historiae*⁵¹ with the *continuatio* up to Wamba⁵² with the interpolations

⁴⁹ Cf. GARCÍA ÁLVAREZ 1962.

⁵⁰ GEIJERSTAM 1995, 306-07. See JÉREZ 2008, n. 154.

⁵¹ It is copied in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 24ra-38rb. Ed. RODRÍGUEZ ALONSO 1975. See, more recently, about the history of Isidore’s *Historiae*, MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2004, 244-63; FURTADO 2014; VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2015; BAUTISTA 2016.

⁵² This is the text of the *continuatio*: (f. 30vb) “post hunc regnauit chintilani sedecim annis. chintilia (*sic*) rege defuncto tolgan filius eius adhuc puer in regno wisigotorum succedens regnauit annis quatuor. tolgane a wisigotis propter puericie leuitatem reprobato et in clericis tonsorato chindasindus regnauit post eum annis uiginti. rex mitis gloriosus et insignis orthodoxus et uere pius. hic extra toletum obiit et in monasterio sancti romani de ornisga secus flumen dorii quod ipse a fundamento edificauit sepultus fuit. post hunc regni wisigotorum monarchiam sucepit filius eius flauius recensuintus et regnauit annis XX tribus. hic rex deuotus et familiarus extitit

also found in Compilation B: the short notice on the *Conditio Luci in Asturiis*⁵³ and the *Parochiale Sueuum*⁵⁴, with part of the *Translatio arcae sanctae*⁵⁵; – the *Chronicon Adefonsi III* in the version *ad Sebastianum*⁵⁶, with the interpolations also copied in Compilation B: the *Diuisio Wambae*⁵⁷, the continuation of the *Translatio arcae sanctae*⁵⁸, and a very short text on the *Translatio sanctae Eulaliae* to Asturias⁵⁹;

beato egidio abbati sicut in uita eiusdem sancti legitur”. A much shorter version of this continuation is copied in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, f. 38rb.

⁵³ (f. 23ra-b) *inc.* “rex iste in asturiis ciuitatem edificauit quam lugo id est luceo uocauit”; *expl.* “usque ad pireneos montes ubi incipit”. This text attributes the foundation of *Lucus Asturum* to the Vandal king Gunthamund (rr. 484-96). This same text is copied in the ms. Oviedo, Archivo catedralicio, *Liber testamentorum ecclesiae Ouetensis*, f. IIIv, copied in Pelagius’ *scriptorium*. In Pelagius’ Compilation B transmitted by ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, it is copied in ff. 25va-26ra. The so-called *Liber Itacii* (Díaz 900), probably also originated from Oviedo and which is now copied in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1346, ff. 7r-11r, also quotes this text (“iste aedificauit ciuitatem in Asturiis et posuit ei nomen luco id est luceo”, f. 7v).

⁵⁴ (f. 24rb) *inc.* “rex iste catholicus per omnia fuit”; *expl.* “ad asturicensem urbem ecclesie XI”. The standard editions are still by DAVID 1947, 30-44; DAVID 1965. The text lists all Gallician diocesis, indicating the number of parishes in each (without specifying their names as it is usual). However, in Oviedo, there were other complete copies of this text: in the *Liber Itacii* (Madrid, BNE, 1346, ff. 7v-8r); and in the copy of Pelagius’ Compilation B transmitted by ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513 (ff. 27va-28rb).

⁵⁵ (ff. 29vb-30va) *inc.* “huius temporibus apud romanos et constantinopolitanos eraclio regni dignitatem administrante”; *expl.* “alia multa pignora sanctorum que in ecclesia sancti saluatoris quiescunt”. This *translatio* was also copied in the *codex uetustissimus Ouetensis* (cf. Madrid, BNE, 1346, f. 116r: “hec scriptura docet qualiter arca cum multorum pignoribus sanctorum obeto ab ierusalem sit translata”). Ed. PRELOG 1980, 78.14-79.7 + 96.6-98.13 (= ms. Madrid, BNE, 153, ff. 44va-b; 49va-50vb). See also SANZ FUENTES 1995, 456-61; VALDÉS GALLEGÓ 1999, 459-65. For a detailed analysis of this text, see HENRIET 2006; ALONSO ÁLVAREZ 2007-2008; ALONSO ÁLVAREZ 2011a; ALONSO ÁLVAREZ 2019. This *translatio* must not be confused with the *Translatio reliquiarum Ouetum* (Díaz 1011), which was composed between 1173-1187 and was recently edited by MARTÍN-Iglesias 2020.

⁵⁶ It is copied in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 38va-52va. It was also transmitted by the ms. seen by Castellà (copied in Madrid, BNE, 1217, ff. 3r-20r), by the *codex uetustissimus Ouetensis* (copied in Madrid, BNE, 1346, ff. 11v-17v) and in the Compilation A (copied in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1358, ff. 29rb-35ra, only §§ 20-29) Ed. PRELOG 1980; GIL 1985, 115-49; BONNAZ 1987, 31-59; GIL 2018, 383-433.

⁵⁷ (f. 31ra-va) *inc.* “per idem tempus inter hispanos archiepiscopos siue et episcopos”; *expl.* “et absoluto concilio in pace abierunt unusquisque in sua”. As with the *Parochiale Sueuum*, Douai 842 transmits a much-abbreviated version of this *Diuisio*. Complete copies of this text can be found in the Ouetensis *Liber Itacii* (ff. 9r-11r) and in the copy of Pelagius’ Compilation B transmitted by ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513 (ff. 38vb-42ra). The standard edition of the *Diuisio Wambae* is still VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA 1943. On this text, see also the very recent GAZEL 2022. This author argues that the *Diuisio* was not produced in Pelagius’ *scriptorium* and was probably elaborated in the first half of the 11th century.

⁵⁸ (f. 32vb) *inc.* “hic accensu iuliani tunc temporis archiepiscopi tholetanii (*sic*)”; *expl.* “asperitate montium facile nulli hostium promittebat accessum”; (ff. 34va-35ra) *inc.* “nos uero iam paulo superius legimus”; *expl.* “bertilnaldam nomine ortam ex regali genere quam numquam uidit”. Ed. PRELOG 1980, 80.1-6 + 92.1-96.3 (= ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 45ra; 48va-49va).

⁵⁹ (f. 34ra-b) *inc.* “deinde congregauit magnum exercitum militum et peditum multum nimis”; *expl.* “quam ipse fundauit eam posuit”. Ed. PRELOG 1980, 88.17-89.5 (= ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, f. 47va-b).

– the *Chronica Sampiri*⁶⁰, with the interpolations also copied in Compilation B: *Iohannis VIII papae epistolae XVIII-XIX ad Adefonsum III*⁶¹ and *Concilia Ouetensis*⁶²;
 – Pelagius’ own *Chronicon*⁶³.

To evaluate the relationship of Douai 842 to the other compilations, I collated three of the texts copied in Douai 842: Isidore’s *Historiae*, the *Translatio arcae sanctae*, and Pelagius’ *Chronicon*.

Regarding Isidore’s *Historiae*, I compared Douai 842 (*D*) with Madrid, BNE, 1513 (*G*), Stockholm D 100e (*s*), and the fragments that can be recovered from the so-called “Codex Soriensis” (**S*). As demonstrated by Francisco Bautista, the version of Isidore’s *Historiae* in *G* must have been closely related to this manuscript⁶⁴. It was first mentioned in 1578 when it was brought to the new library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial from Soria, whence it derives its name. Tragically, the codex was lost in a fire in 1671⁶⁵. All authors who reported seeing it agreed that it was a “codex uetustissimus” written in Visigothic script. The most recent datable text copied into the manuscript was the *Chronica Adefonsi III ad Sebastianum*⁶⁶; it must therefore have been copied at the end of the ninth century at the earliest. Gregorio de Andres suggested that it was copied in La Rioja, perhaps in San Martín de Albelda or in San Millán de la Cogolla⁶⁷. Although the copy of Isidore’s *Historiae* in **S* was not preserved, some marginalia added by Juan Bautista Pérez in a now-lost codex (photos of it can be seen in the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás in Madrid, in Archivo de la Biblioteca del Instituto de Historia del CSIC. Fondo Fotográfico Sánchez-Albornoz, AEHCaja I, photos 45-72 = ff. 33r-47v), and by Jeronimo Zurita in what is now ms.

⁶⁰ It is copied in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 52va-64ra. Ed. PÉREZ DE URBEL 1952.

⁶¹ (ff. 37ra-b) *Epist. XVIII inc.* “iohannes episcopus seuus seruorum dei adefonso christianissimo regi”; [*epist. XVIII expl.* “omnes hortor ut habeatis commendatos”; *epist. XIX inc.* “et ecclesiam beati iacobi apostoli ab hispanis episcopis”]; *epist. XIX expl.* “bene uale dilectissime fili et clarissime rex”. These two letters are joined together as one sole piece in Douai 842. They were copied as two different letters in the *Liber testamentorum ecclesiae Ouetensis*, ff. 5rb-6rb, and in Pelagius’ Compilation B, transmitted by ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 54ra-55ra. These letters were also copied in the *codex uetustissimus Ouetensis* (cf. Madrid, BNE, 1346, f. 116r: “deinde per multa curricula annorum hanc epistolam asportatam de urbe romense a duobus presbyteris seuero et siderio mense iulio era DCCCL. ioannes episcopus etc. item alia epistola ab eodem papa romense se directa per reinaldum gerulum mense nouembrio era DCCC”). Ed. PL 126, coln. 663-64; PEREZ DE URBEL 1952, 285-89. See FERNÁNDEZ VALLINA 1995, 359-63; SIRANTOINE 2018, §§ 9-13.

⁶² (f. 37rb-vb) *inc.* “uisa itaque rex epistola magno gaudio”; *expl.* “abierunt unusquisque in sua cum gaudio”; (ff. 37vb-38vb) *inc.* “transactis itaque undecim mensibus”; *expl.* “actum concilium XVIII kalendas iulii”. Ed. PEREZ DE URBEL 1952, 289-93 (*Chron. Samp.* 9 = ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, f. 55ra-vb); 293-307 (= *Chron. Samp.* 10-13 = ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 55vb-57vb). These conciles were also copied in the *codex uetustissimus Ouetensis* (cf. Madrid, BNE, 1346, f. 116r: “antiquum priuilegium archipresulatus obetensis ecclesiae y sigue luego el concilio que alli hizieron los obispos; y acaba con dezir actum preuilegium era setençessima vndeçima”).

⁶³ It is copied in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1513, ff. 64ra-69va, and in ms. Madrid, BNE, 1346, ff. 49ra-55ra (Compilation A). Ed. SÁNCHEZ ALONSO 1924; FERNÁNDEZ CONDE 2020.

⁶⁴ BAUTISTA 2016, 36-63. See also FURTADO 2017, 174-83.

⁶⁵ Andrés 1976; FAULHABER – PEREA RODRÍGUEZ 2015, 30-34.

⁶⁶ Cf. GIL 2018, 116-34.

⁶⁷ BAUTISTA 2016, 36-63. See also FURTADO 2017, 174-83.

København, Det Arnamagnaeanske Institut, Københavns Universitet, AM 833 4°, Part II, ff. 135v-145v⁶⁸, provide a relatively accurate idea of the content of *S. As Bautista has argued, these marginalia by Pérez and Zurita provide evidence for the existence of an archetype common to *SGs (σ).

Regarding Isidore's *Historiae*, our *D* manuscript shares the three main characteristics of this family: the exclusive addition of the episode on the Visigothic sack of Braga (*Goth.* 31), the elimination of the reference to Recimir, son of King Suinthila (*Goth.* 65), and the sequence of the texts: *Historia Wandalorum* + *Sueuorum* + *Gothorum*.

In addition, *SGsD also share several important variants: *Goth.* 6. imperii Valentis *rel.* ualentis imperatoris *SGs imperatoris ualentis *D*; 9. imperii ualentis *rel.* ualentis imperatoris *SGsD; a sedibus suis *rel.* a terra sua *S a terra uel a sedibus suis DGs; 10. ad praedae *rel.* apprehendi *SGsD; 11. *post* tradiderunt] fuerunt cum romanis XVIII annis *S fueruntque cum Romanis XX et VIII annis GsD; 22. gallicia *rel.* gallias *SGs galliis *D*; moliretur *rel.* disponeret *SGD *om. s*; ui grauissima tempestatis effractus *rel.* ui tempestatis interceptus *SGsD; 23. abscedit *rel.* abscessit *SD abscessit *G* accessit *s*; 25. *post* hunos] parauit bella extincto igitur litorio theuderodus *S extincto litorio *D* extincto igitur litorio theuderodus *Gs*; *post* confligit] exsuperauit *S hugnos exuperauit *D* gens exuperauit *Gs*; 44. *post* I] menses tres *G* menses III *S; 45. profanator *rel.* probaretur *SGs *om. D*; 47. *post* uacante regno] annis XVI *SGs annis quindecim *D*; 49. *post* Sabaria] quoque *SGsD; 53. de diuersis] *om.* *SGsD; prouinciis *rel.* prouincias *SGSD; 54. ludu *rel.* lusus *S usus DGs; 55. opes *rel.* per eo *SG per eum *D* pro eo *s*; 61. in seruitutem *rel.* inseruit item *SGsD; *Wand.* 71. *post* rhenos] fluuiu *S flumine DGs; proterunt *rel.* prosternunt *SGsD; 73. ineundam *rel.* in unam *SGs immo *D*; pacis *rel. om.* *SGsD.

Regarding the *Historiae*, GsD transmit a set of unique variants and additions, which indicates the existence of a shared archetype (ω) for these three manuscripts. In this model, the main structural modification was the elimination of the *Recapitulatio*, which is usually associated with the *Historia Gothorum* and was still copied in *S⁶⁹. There are several shared errors and variants, such as: *Goth.* 1. suspicantur *rel.* adfirmant DGs; 2. usi *rel.* inuisi *D* uisi *Gs*; 4. *post* quibus] dicitur mons taurus GsD; 5. XXVI *rel.* sexto decimo *D* XVI uicesimo VII *G* 16 uicesimo septimo *s*; sed de Gothorum uictoria amplius gloriosus *rel. om.* GsD; 7. poscit *rel.* poposcit GsD; peruersitate *rel.* peruersitatem GsD; dogmati *rel.* dogma GD digna *s*; uirus pestiferum *rel.* uiros pestiferos GsD; pernicioso *rel.* pretioso GsD; 9. sese non depositis armis tradunt *rel. om.* GsD; 11. benignitatem *rel.* uenientem GsD; 16. hostium *rel.* hosti GsD; 18. capiunt *rel.* rapiunt GsD; 22. ut *rel. om.* GsD; 27. misso *rel.* amisso GsD; 31. auiti *rel.* habita GsD; 34. utramque *rel.* utraque GsD; 36. manus *rel.* magnus GsD; 39. romae *rel.* roma GsD; 41. *post* daret] ut GD; 47. decessit *rel.* discessit GsD; 54. *post* uictoria] uel bella similis GsD; 62. auctamque *rel.* actamque GsD; *Wand.* 73. depraedatur *rel.* depredaretur GsD; *post* extendisset] manus GsD; correptus *rel.* arreptus GsD; 75. panormum *rel.* palermum GsD; 78. tollit *rel.* tulit GD; 79.

⁶⁸ BAUTISTA 2016, 36-63.

⁶⁹ Cf. *subscriptio* in København, AM 833 4°, f. 143r.

arrius *rel.* arrianus *GsD*; 80. *post guntamundus*] (*catolicus G*) rex successit in regno (-um *D*) *GsD*; regnans *rel.* regnavitque *GsD*; 81. mortuo *rel.* defuncto *GsD*; 83. in-itoque idem *rel.* inito quidem *GD* uincto quidem *s*; gebamundum *rel.* seabamundum *GsD*; *Sueu.* 85. militiae *rel.* militis *GsD*; 86. obitum *rel.* mortem *GsD*; 92. sic enim oportuit *rel. om. GsD*.

In addition, *D* omits all references to the Hispanic Era, possibly to make the text more accessible to readers outside Iberia. *D* also eliminates the final calculation of the *Historia Sueuorum* (*Sueu.* 92), which is copied in *Gs*. Below are the numerous exclusive errors of *D*, *G*, and *s* in the first paragraphs of the *Historiae*, proving that they do not depend on each other: *Goth.* 3. dum *rel.* cum *D*; gaius caesar *rel.* gaius *D*; finem dedisset *rel.* dedisset finem *s*; 4. pontum, asiam atque illyricum uastauerunt ex quibus illyricum et macedoniam *rel. om. D*; 5. sarmatarum *rel.* armatarum armato *Gs*; 6. primus *rel. om. D*; commota *rel.* commotus *D*; romani *rel.* romam *Gs*; 7. in is-trium *rel. om. D* instruunt *s*; diuisi sunt ... Frigidernum] *om. s*; heresis et herrorem *s*; in tam *rel.* uitam *s*; errorem *rel. om. D*; 8. et scripturas *rel.* scripturas *G* sub scripturas *s*; conuertit *rel.* uertit *D*; autem *rel. om. D*; documenta *rel.* dogmata *D*; et dominus *rel. om. D* et omnis *G* et omnes *s*; coleretur *rel.* colerentur *Gs*; malum *rel.* in alium *s*; 11. amicitiamque *rel.* amicitiarumque *Gs* amicitiarum *D*; honorabiliter susceptus *rel.*

honoratus *D*; imperatoris *rel.* imperatorem *D*; inito *rel.* uincto *s*; 12. de quorum *rel.* de eorum *D* decorum *G*; 13. depraedandas *rel.* depredantes *Gs*; 15. quidem Christianus *rel. transp. D* quidam christianus *G*; urbs *rel.* urbis *G*; quicumque *rel.* qui cum *Gs*; uastationem *rel.* uastatione *D*; mitterentur *rel.* uincerentur *D* nucierentur *G* nunciarentur *s*; simili misericordia pepercerunt *rel.* similem misericordiam perceperunt *D* similiter in misericordia pepercerunt *s*; 16. uastitate *rel.* uastatione *D*; esset proferret *rel. transp. D*; conscientia *rel.* constantia *s*; uasorum *rel.* uasarum *Gs*; petri *rel.* beati *D* beati petri *Gs*; deposita *rel.* apposita *s*; sacra hosti *rel.* sacras hostias *D*; gessisse *rel.* icessisse *G*; 17. exertis *rel.* dispositis *D*; concurrunt [*bis*] *rel.* concurrerunt [*bis*] *s*; canentium *rel.* cantantium *D*; 18. cum ... romae] *om. s*; incensa euersaque *rel.* euersa incensaque *s*; conscensis *rel.* concessis *Gs*; periclitati *rel.* periclitante *s*; tanta fuit gloria de romanae urbis obtentu *rel.* tanta gloria de romane urbis obtentu innata est *D*; ut *rel.* qui *s*; 19. XVI *rel.* uicesimo theodosii minoris *D* primo et XXVI theodosii minoris *Gs*; italia *rel. om. D*; spanias *rel.* spaniis *G*; familiares *rel. om. D*.

Therefore, the version of Isidore's *Historiae* that was copied in *D* was actually dependent on the scriptorium of Oviedo, forming a family with *SGs (σ) and a sub-family with *Gs* (ω). Within this group, *Gs* form a distinct branch, but without either depending on the other.

This conclusion is supported by the *Translatio arcae sanctae*, which possibly originates from the *Catalogus reliquiarum ecclesiae Ouetensis*⁷⁰. After the *Decretum Adefonsi VI a. 1075, cum arca sancta aperta est*⁷¹, the oldest "Pelagian" testimony

⁷⁰ VALDÉS GALLEGÓ 1999, 380 n. 19; and now MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2021.

⁷¹ Ed. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE – ALONSO ÁLVAREZ 2017, 75-79. See also RODRÍGUEZ DÍAZ 1995, 403-06, doc. 41; GAMBRA 1998, 62-65, doc. 27. The Latin title was given by MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2021, n. 4.

with the text of this *scriptura* is the *Liber testamentorum Ouetensis*⁷², originating from the scriptorium of Pelagius (*T*). The text on the *archa cum multis pignoribus sanctorum* is copied at the beginning of the cartulary (ff. 1va-3ra), immediately after the document attributed to King Alfonso II on the territorial constitution of the diocese. In *Gs*, this same version of the text is inserted in the *Chronicon Adefonsi III ad Sebastianum* (*G*, ff. 43vb-45ra; 48vb-50rb; *s*, ff. 36v-37v; 42r-42v), while in *D* it is divided between Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* and the same *Chronicon Adefonsi III*.

In *D*, the long introduction copied in *TGs* (*inter preclara diuine bonitatis ... ad fidem Christi conuertit*, pp. 77.1-78.14, ed. Prelog⁷³; pp. 459-60, ed. Valdés Gallego) is omitted. The text begins directly with the departure of the Holy Ark from Jerusalem during the time of Emperor Heraclius. In *Gs*, this departure is included in the beginning of Pelagius' reign (*G*, ff. 44va-45ra; *s*, ff. 36v-37v; pp. 78.14-80.6, Prelog), remembering that the Ark had left Jerusalem during the time of the Visigothic King Sisebut. Therefore, *D* interpolates this departure into Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* during Sisebut's reign, continuing the text until the arrival of the Ark in Toledo (ff. 29vb-30ra). Despite the variants, the text in *TGsD* is the same; *D*, however, represents a distinct branch of the tradition: p. 78.14⁷⁴. itaque apud romanos *TGs* huius temporibus apud romanos et constantinopolitanos *D*; 19. *post referta*] spectabili opere auri celata *D*; p. 79.3. de *TGs* deinde *D*; ipsa affrica *TGs* affrica ipsa *D*; 4. affricane episcopo *TGs* episcopo affricane *D*.

T and *Gs* may also be distinguished: p. 79.2. cum iherosolimitanis per mediterraneum *Gs* collega Iheronimi presbiteri *T* per mediterraneum *D*; pp. 79.4-6. cartagine spataria ... curricula] *om. T*; 5. era DCLVIII *Gs om. D*; multa *Gs* pauca *D*.

The account of the contents of the Ark in *Gs* is copied in the context of the reign of Alfonso II of Asturias (759/60-842) (*G*, ff. 49va-50rb; *s*, ff. 42r-v §14; pp. 96.3-98.14, Prelog), while in *T* it appears at the end of the narrative (ff. 2vb-3rb). In *D*, however, the contents of the Ark are described immediately after its arrival in Toledo, interpolated into Isidore's account on the reign of Suintila. Despite these variations, the content of the narrative remains the same across all four manuscripts. The presence of errors and variants serves to confirm the existence of distinct branches.

It is clear now that *T* stands apart from *GsD*: p. 96.7. quam ... adduxit] *om. T*; 9. pressionem *T* depressionem *GsD*; ceream *T* ligneam *GsD*; 10. ceree *T* lignee *GsD*; p. 97.3. que *T* quam *Gs* quod *D*; 9. de pallio *T* ipsum pallium *GsD*; 12. sanctus *GsD om. T*; p. 98.3. martha et maria *T* maria *GsD*; terserunt *T* tersit *GsD*; ante de petra] de lapide cum quo sigillatum est sepulchrum domini de oliva de monte oliveti *T*; post elie] de sudario domini *T*; 5-9. est ibi ... transmisit] *om. T*; 13. post modo] quisquis autem uocatus amore diuino meruerit uisitare tam gloriosa sanctorum patrocinia benedictione pontificali firmatus tertiam partem penitentiae ab ipso episcopo sciati sibi dimitti ut sic tanta benedictione letus patrie proprie loca reuisat, annuente domino

⁷² The most recent edition is by VALDÉS GALLEGO 1999, 459-65. See also SANZ FUENTES 1995, 456-61; HENRIET 2006, 235-48.

⁷³ PRELOG 1980.

⁷⁴ I follow the page and line numbers of Prelog's edition.

nostro ihesu christo *T* et alia multa pignora sanctorum que in ecclesia sancti saluatoris quiescunt *D om. Gs*.

Among *GsD*, *D* represents a distinct branch: p. 96.6. enim *TGs om. D*; 8. aduxit *TGs atulit D*; 10. sanguis *TGs sanguinis D*; 12-13. partem ex spinee (-a *s*) *TGs pars spinee D*; p. 97.7. hydriarum *TGs hydries D*; 9. integra *TGs om. D*; uestimento *TGs uestimentis D*; p. 98.4. fauum *TGs fauus D*; 5. clauem paruulam *Gs clauis paruula D*; 6. crucem *Gs crux D*; lignum *Gs maxima pars ligni D*; 12. scribere *TGs om. D*.

Gs do not seem to depend on the same model: p. 96.8. iudeorum perfidia *TGD perfidia iudeorum s*; 9. affigens *TGD effigiem s*; p. 97.6. ipsa principali *TD ipsi principali G om. s*; 12. gloriose *TGD gloriosus s*; p. 98.5. catheras *G catheris sD*.

The Ark is mentioned again in *D* (ff. 34va-35ra) in reference to Alfonso II's construction program in Oviedo. *Gs* also transmit this text (*G*, ff. 48va-49ra; *s*, ff. 41r-42r; pp. 92.2-96.5, Prelog), but it appears in a simplified form in *T*:

– p. 92.2-5. nunc (+ uero *D*) reuertamur ad archam quam princeps pelagius et tholetanus archiepiscopus iulianus in asturiis transtulerunt ex qua plenissime (*om. s*) superius legimus et uideamus quid nam (+ factum *D*) sit ex ea his temporibus. ipsa (+ archa *D*) in primis mansit archa (*om. D*) in antris *GsD om. T*; 7. adefonsi iunioris *T predicti adefonsi regis Gs predicti regis adefonsi D*; p. 94.1. ibi etiam *T ubi GsD*; p. 93.2. *post tumulatus] armis tumulo appositis regalibus T*; 2-6. subiunguntur ipsi ecclesie sancte marie a parte setemptrionali templum in memoria beati (sancti *s*) iohannis baptiste constitutum in quo translatum est corpus beati pelagii martyris post multorum discursus annorum qui sub rege abderecman (abderecinam *s*) corduba in ciuitate subiit martyrium *GsD om. T*; 7. meridionali *T meridionali Gs meridiani D*; 9. ibi *T ubi GsD*; p. 95.1 reuisant *T reuisunt GsD*; 2. dimissam (-a *D*) terciam (-a *D*) partem (-e *D*) penitentie *GsD om. T*; 7. *post uirginis] et martiris T*;

– p. 92.6. archa domini *TGs trans. D*; p. 93.12. sancti *TGs om. D*; p. 93.9. adhibitis *TGs adhibita D*; 10. tamen *TGs tanta D*; 13. *post hispanie] totius D*; uota *TGs tota D*; ferentes et accepta benedictione *TGs om. D*; p. 95.4-5. martyris tyrsi *TGs trans. D*; 5. presentes *TGs a presentibus D*; possunt *TGs potest D*; 7. *post arcuata] capella D*; 9. adefonsus *TGs om. D*; 10. stadium unum *TGs stadio uno D*;

– p. 93.4. *ante construere] constituere et s*; 8. ubi ascensio *TGD om. s*; p. 95.1 leti *TGD om. s*.

Finally, it is worth examining the *Chronicon* by Pelagius of Oviedo, which is preserved in manuscripts *D*, *G* (ff. 64ra-69va), *s* (ff. 56r-61v), and in the main representative of Compilation A, ms. Madrid, BNE, 1358 (ff. 49ra-55ra) (*I*).

Clearly, ms. *I* represents a family distinct from *GsD*: pp. 58.1-61.14⁷⁵. interea saluator ... in propria] *om. I*; p. 62.5-63.9. ipsa xemena ... Zoili] *om. I*; p. 66.8-9. asturias ... non intrauit] *om. I*; pp. 67.2-68.5. corpora ... predictis regibus] *om. I*; p. 71.9-10. et sunt scripte in finem hystorie regum gothorum, siue et arragonensium *GsD om. I*.

The text of *GsD* is more extensive, in some points closer to *I*. Nevertheless, *D* represents again a distinct family: p. 59.3. falso *Gs om. D*; p. 59.8-9. post consecratum crisma *Gs om. D*; p. 59.12. unum *Gs om. D*; p. 60.17. surrexit *G surrexisset s correxisset D*; p. 66.9. non intrauit *Gs om. D*; p. 68.2. sepelierunt *Gs sepulta est D*; p. 71.12-13. sepultusque (+ est *I*) *ID sepultus est Gs*; p. 73.14. sena *Is pena G senam*

⁷⁵ The page and line numbers refer to the edition of the *Chronicon* by SÁNCHEZ ALONSO 1924.

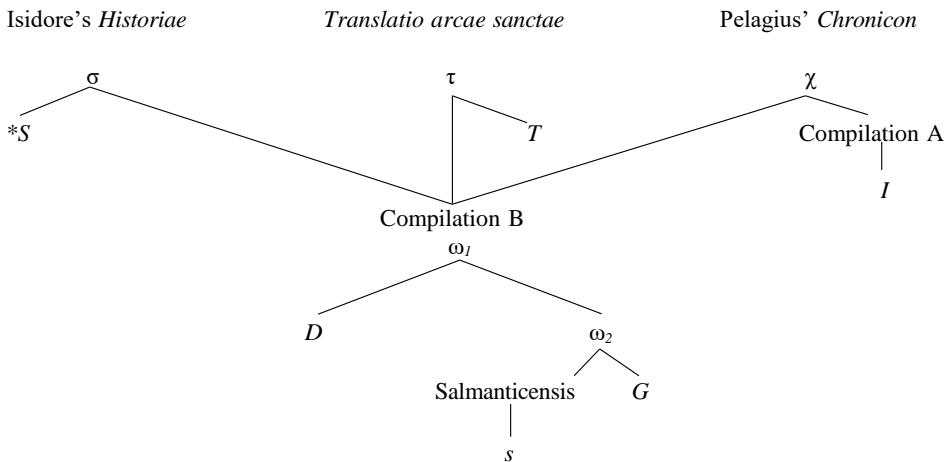
D; p. 81.6. alarcon *Gs om. ID*; p. 81.7. *post concam*] alarcon *ID*; p. 83.1-2. era MCXXIII (*MCXXIII I*) fuit litem in campo in sacralias cum rege iuceph *IG* fecit etiam bellum in campo de Sacralias cum rege hyrceph *D om. s*.

G and *s* transmit also distinct variants: p. 57.5. pinna *Is* prima *G* penna *D*; p. 59.12. ex quibus *sD om. G*; p. 61.12. prefate ecclesie *G* ecclesie prefate *sD*; p. 65.12-15. martyris intrauerunt asturias, et in oueto in ecclesia sancte marie (+ semper uirginis *I*) dignissime sepelierunt ea autem sancti pelagii *IGD om. s*; p. 67.2. condiderunt *G* condierunt *sD*; p. 68.13-14. uehiculum (usuculum *s*) accendere potuit (potuisset *I*) sed in humeris nobilium *IsD om. G*; p. 70.5. *post dederunt*] ei *IsD*; p. 73.6-7. et alias addidit *IGD om. s*; p. 73.14. sena *Is* pena *G* senam *D*; p. 74.7. secundam translationem *IsD* translacionem *G*; p. 79.10. requiescat in pace amen *IsD om. G*; p. 80.4. ideo hoc fecit *IsD* ideo fecit *G*; p. 82.1. cum *IsD* etiam *G*.

All this shows that the history of Pelagius of Oviedo's *Liber chronicorum* and its Compilation B is more complex than previously thought. Isidore's *Historiae*, the *Translatio arcae sanctae*, and Pelagius' *Chronicon* enjoyed autonomous circulation outside Compilation B. All these of three texts became part of the same collection in Oviedo: manuscripts *Gs* seem to derive independently from a common model (ω_2), which in turn depended on a superior antigraph (ω_1 = Compilation B), from which our *D* manuscript also derives. As such, *D* is the best witness to this initial version of Compilation B.

Paul Högberg suggested that a lost codex from Salamanca (*Salmanticensis*), which originated from Oviedo, could be ω_2 ⁷⁶. More recently, Enrique Jérez proposed that the *Salmanticensis* was the model only for *s*⁷⁷. To verify this, I analyzed the brief *marginalia* from the lost *Salmanticensis* that were copied in ms. Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1975, ff. 32r-34v (which correspond to Pelagius' *Chronicon*): p. 74.11: XLVIII *IG XVIII Salm. s* decem et octo *D*; p. 83.1-2: era MCXXIII fuit litem in campo in sacralias cum rege iuceph *IGD om. Salm. s*. I think that Jérez is right.

Based on this evidence, I propose the following stemma:



⁷⁶ HögBERG 1937, 326-27.

⁷⁷ JÉREZ 2008, §§ 66-69.

Compilation A was organized around two key texts, the *Chronica Albeldensia* and the *Chronicon Adefonsi III ad Sebastianum*, which were complemented by the *Chronica Sampiri* and Pelagius' own *Chronicon*. In contrast, Compilation B – ω_1 omitted the *Chronica Albeldensia* and substituted it with Isidore's more developed *Historiae*. Additionally, it introduced several brief texts that highlighted the significance of Oviedo/León in the Iberian ecclesiastical context. Compilation B – ω_2 is more extensive, featuring a third structuring text, Isidore's *Chronicon*, at the beginning of the collection. In addition, it contains a plethora of new minor texts mainly related to biblical history.

3.3 DATATION

When was this version of the *Liber chronicorum* copied in *D*? Fortunately, we can go further on this matter. In *D*, one short note was added at the end of the *Chronicon* by Pelagius of Oviedo. This new note provides valuable information for dating Part II of *D* with more precision. On f. 45rb, this is the text:

non post multum tempus adefonsus imperator totius hispanie omnium regum christianorum et paganorum successit in regnum. hic fuit uir iustus et pius misericors et paciens. aduersus gentem paganorum fortunate multa gessit prelia. in bello strenuus in consultatione prouidus et eximie pietatis adeo quod etiam paganis infidelibus parcere consueuit. multas ciuitates in forti manu et diuino fauore adquisiuit quarum nomina he sunt: baetia calatraua gehen cauria corduba almaria et alias multas quas longum est dinumerare. regnauit autem annos decem. imperator quem diximus duas habuit uxores. primam berengariam ex qua suscepit duos filios: regem sancium qui post mortem prius per unum solum annum regnauit; et alterum regem fernandum regnante in legione et in terra beati iacobi apostoli; et similiter duas habuit filias: unam constantiam nomine que fuit regina francorum uxor regis lodowici; altera uero uxor regis nauarre que adhuc (*sic*) uiuit.

This text offers several datable elements that help to establish a range for its composition. These elements include Alfonso VII of Leon and Castile's assumption of the title *imperator totius Hispaniae* in 1135; his conquest of various territories such as Baeza (1147), Calatrava (1147), Coria (1142), and Almeria (1147); and his marriages to Berengaria of Barcelona (who died in 1149) and Richeza of Poland (married in 1152). Additionally, it mentions the deaths of Constanza of Castile (who married Louis VIII of France in 1154 and died on October 4, 1160) and Sancho III (Alfonso VII's eldest son, who died in 1158), as well as the fact that Fernando II of Leon was still alive (*regnante*) when the text was written (he died in 1188). Sancha of Castile, who married Sancho VI of Navarre in 1157, was also alive when this text was written, but she died in August 1179.

Based on these details, we can establish a date range for the composition of this note as sometime between October 4, 1160, and August 1179. It appears to have been added by a scribe to update the *Liber chronicorum* with current information, following the style and type of information copied before. However, the fact that the text contains an incorrect reference to the conquests of Jaen and Cordoba and to the

length of Alfonso VII's reign suggests that it was not composed near the Castilian court.

3.4 THE ANONYMOUS CHRONICLE OF THE FRANKS

Still in what is now Part II of the manuscript, on f. 45v, which had been left blank, the scribe who had just finished copying Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum* (and added that final note) decided to copy a brief chronicle of the Franks from their supposed Trojan origins⁷⁸ up to the year 1137 (it was not part of Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum*).

This addition is significant because it confirms that the copyist of Part II of Douai 842 was already working in France. This finding suggests that a manuscript with Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum* made its way from Iberia to Flanders, likely between 1160 and 1179, and was copied there in what is now Part II of the manuscript.

The anonymous chronicle of the Franks included in this manuscript⁷⁹ was edited by Jacques-Joseph Champollion-Figeac (1778-1867) in volume 2 of his *Documents historiques inédits tirés des collections manuscrites de la bibliothèque royale et des archives ou des bibliothèques des départements* (1843)⁸⁰. This edition is based on a copy made by Jean-Baptiste Queinsert (1713-1784) directly from ms. Douai 842⁸¹.

The text is closely related to book III of the *Historia succincta*, written by André of Marchiennes between 1184 and 1196. Therefore, the anonymous chronicle copied in ms. Douai 842 predates André's text, indicating that he likely used it as a source. It is plausible that the chronicle of the Franks up to 1137 was already in Marchiennes, and that André found it there and used it.

At the end of the text (f. 47vb), there is a new addition that closely resembles the passage introduced at the end of Pelagius' *Chronicon*. I transcribe it here:

hic duxit uxorem aanordem filiam willelmi ducis aquitanie de qua genuit duas filias quarum prior nupsit henrico comiti trecensi, posterior teobaldo carnotensi comiti. aanors vero regina, postea a rege lodowico relicta, ad thorum transit henrici regis anglorum et ducis normannorum filii goffridi comitis andegavorum de qua genuit hos filios: henricum regem anglie ricardum ducem aquitanie goffridum comitem britannie et iohannem; et filias tres quarum unam duxit rex toletanus in hispania, alteram willelmus rex sicilie tertiam henricus dux saxonie. lodowicus secundam duxit uxorem constantiam filiam incliti principis hispanie adefonsi qui regnavit in toleto et legione et in terra beati iacobi de qua genuit duas filias quarum unam duxit henricus iuuenis rex anglie, alteram ricardus dux aquitanie.

Once again, the biographical notes are interesting for dating the text: Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204) married Louis VII of France (1120-1180) in 1137 and Henry II of England in 1152. Her daughters Mary (1145-1198) and Alice (1150-1198)

⁷⁸ There is a long tradition on the study of the Trojan origin of Franks and other European peoples: see e.g. LUISELLI 1978; GIARDINA 1998; POU CET 2004; FISCHER 2014; LENTANO 2016, 9-10. None of them refer to this text.

⁷⁹ I am currently preparing its edition.

⁸⁰ CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 1843, Partie II, doc. IX, 17-24.

⁸¹ CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 1843, Partie II, 17 n. 1.

married Henry I of Champagne (1127-1181) in 1159 and Theobald V of Blois (1130-1191) in 1164, respectively. Her English sons, Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John, were born in 1155, 1157, 1158, and 1166. Henry was crowned king in 1170; Richard received the Duchy of Aquitaine in 1171; and Geoffrey was engaged to Constance of Brittany in 1166 and married her in 1181. Henry II and Eleanor's daughters Matilda (1156-1189), Eleanor (1162-1214), and Joan (1165-1199) married Henry of Saxony (c. 1130-1195) in 1168, Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155-1214) in 1170, and William II of Sicily (1153-1189) on February 13, 1177, respectively. Louis VII of France married Constance of Castile in 1154. Their daughter Margaret married Henry of England in 1172; he died in 1183. Their daughter Alys was engaged to Richard in 1169, but they never really married. Considering this, I would say that the *terminus post quem* for this text has to be February 13, 1177, which marks the marriage of Joan of England and William II of Sicily. Since Louis VII of France died on September 18, 1180, and there is no reference to his death, it is very likely that this "genealogical" addition was made between early 1177 and September 1180.

The similarity in the type of addition leads me to believe that the person who added the text about Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine at the end of this chronicle of the kings of France was the same person who added the similar text to Pelagius' *Chronicon*. Therefore, I assume that these additions were both made between early 1177 (after the marriage of Joan of England and William II of Sicily) and August 1179 (the death of Sancha of Castile).

*

Douai 842 is a factious manuscript consisting of three distinct parts that were likely compiled together still in the thirteenth century. Part I (ff. 2-7) contains only two *passiones*, those of St. James (BHL 4057) and St. Christopher (BHL 1770), and was the last part to be gathered into the manuscript. Although more research must be undertaken on these two *passiones*, it is sure that they are not Iberian texts, as legends in this region never associated these two *passiones* before the twelfth century, and there is no evidence that BHL 1770 ever circulated south of the Pyrenees. They probably depend on a manuscript from northern France or the Rhineland.

This Part I was appended to Parts II + III. The *Passio s. Iacobi* sheds light on the reason for this addition, as Part II starts a Jacobean collection – the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. This *Libellus* became popular in the second half of the twelfth century, circulating and being widely copied in other monasteries near Marchiennes. The text of the *Libellus* transmitted by Douai 842 seems not directly dependent on an Iberian model, but rather on a model likely originating in northern France in the mid-twelfth century.

After the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*, the same copyist included a copy of Pelagius of Oviedo's *Liber chronicorum* – Compilation B. It is unlikely that these two collections circulated together in Iberia, since the *Libellus* known in Marchiennes is similar to other versions that circulated autonomously in the north of France and south of Flanders, but none of the manuscripts that circulated with the *Libellus* in this region, or any other trans-Pyrenean region, circulated with any Iberian historical collections.

Iberian historiography was geographically particularistic and circulated very little or not at all outside of Iberia.

Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that, like other texts from Asturias from the end of the eleventh century, the *Liber chronicorum* made its way from Iberia to Southern Flanders in the latter half of the twelfth century along the pilgrimage route of St. James, and it was already there when a scribe decided to combine it with the *Libellus sancti Iacobi*. The latter had already gained significant popularity in the region, and because of their common Iberian theme, the two collections likely complemented each other well.

The *Liber chronicorum* underwent successive revisions, revealing the compilation method employed in Oviedo. Typically, this method involved organizing the collection around two or three traditional texts or shorter collections of Iberian historiography, which formed the core of the new compilation. Shorter texts were then integrated into these core works. Ms. Douai 842 not only provides the only evidence of Compilation B's circulation beyond Iberia but also the oldest testimony of this collection either in or outside Iberia. Therefore, it is a critical source for establishing the history of the text. In the case of the *Liber* transmitted by Douai 842, it indicates that there were at least two versions of Compilation B, with our manuscript transmitting the oldest. The *Chronica Albeldensia*, which was transmitted by the previous Compilation A, was entirely omitted in Douai 842 and replaced with Isidore's *Historiae*. Additionally, numerous interpolations were already made in order to assert the superiority of Oviedo and León within the context of Iberian church history.

At the conclusion of Pelagius' *Chronicon*, a brief chronicle on the Franks was included, covering events up to 1137. This chronicle was only edited in the nineteenth century and appears to have been the source used by André de Marchiennes for book III of his *Historia succincta* at the end of the twelfth century. Based on the updates found in Pelagius' *Chronicon* and the chronicle on the Franks, it is reasonable to conclude that Part II of Douai 842 was copied between early 1177 and August 1179, just a few years after Duke Philip I of Flanders' pilgrimage to Compostela in 1172.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, quæ ex Latinis et Græcis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit</i> [...], 68 vols., Antwerp – Brussels 1643-1940.
ASB	<i>Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta</i> , ed. J.H. GHESQUIÈRE – C. SMET, 6 vols., Brussels 1783-1794.
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquæ et Mediæ Aetatis</i> , 2 vols., Bruxelles 1898-1899 + <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquæ et Mediæ Aetatis. Novum Supplementum</i> , ed. H. FROS, Bruxelles 1986.
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España.
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

- CPL *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. E. DEKKERS – A. GAAR, Steenbrugis 1995³.
- Díaz M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum*, 2 vols., Salamanca 1958-1959.
- KBR Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België.
- NaSo *The Narrative Sources from the Medieval Low Countries. The Narrative Sources from the Southern Netherlands*, ed. J. DEPLOIGÉ, Brussels since 2009 (<https://www.narrative-sources.be/>; seen on June 27, 2023).
- PL *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus*, 221 vols., ed. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1844-1864.
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