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"How can I trust you, since you are a Christian and I am a Moor?" The multiple identities of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore

Some medieval chronicles are more interesting than the sum of their parts. In the sixteenth century, the collector Pierre Pithou (1539–1596) found such a chronicle in the Midi of France, in a manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque National in Paris, that seems to have been copied in the Narbonnaise in the twelfth century. Entitled "Cronica Gothorum a Sancto Isidoro edita", it is a universal history of Hispania which ends with the arrival of Tariq ibn Ziyad in the peninsula in 711. It is known today as the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore,[1] since although much of the narrative comes from Isidore, he clearly had nothing to do with compiling it. The Chronicle is based on the standard texts of Visigothic historiography: Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle,[2] Orosius' Seven Books of History Against the Pagans,[3] and Isidore's History of the Goths,[4] complemented by the Cosmography of Julius Honorius,[5] the Chronicle of John of Biclar[6] and part of the Mozarabic Chronicle,[7] also known as the Chronicle of 754, which as its name implies, continues almost up to the accession of the first Umayyad emir, 'Abd al-Rahman I. The compilation passed through the hands of an unknown number of authors and compilers, who wreaked havoc on their sources, which they garbled and interpolated. The final section is unique to this chronicle and radically alters its focus. The chronicle's perspective on the conquest – that Tariq restored peace to the peninsula – is diametrically opposed to that of the Chronicle of 754 with its lament over the fall of the Visigoths. No other Christian writer gave such an upbeat account of the Islamic conquest. The compiler of the manuscript seems to have been so puzzled by the chronicle that he added to it something resembling a series of footnotes to help his readers. This paper is another such footnote to the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore, offering some comments on the genesis of this unique text.

The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore came to the attention of historians again in the nineteenth century, when Mommsen made an edition for the MGH and identified its Latin sources.[8] It was Gautier-Dalché who demonstrated in 1984 that the chronicle had been, in an earlier incarnation, a translation of Latin history into Arabic.[9] Several aspects of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore identify it as a translation of an Arabic intermediary. Although most of its sources are familiar, there is little correspondence between the phraseology of this chronicle and other Latin versions of these texts. Many of the toponyms appear in an approximation of their Arabic version, although they were garbled in translation back into Latin, as we shall see. The translator made an attempt to bring the material

[1] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana (ms Paris BN 6113) (ed. and transl. Fernando González Muñoz, Colección Biblioteca Filológica 6, La Coruña 2000); Matthias M. Tischler, Einharts *Vita Karoli*. Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption (MGH Schriften 48, Hanover 2001) 73–74.

[2] Eusebii Pamphili chronici canones. Latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus (ed. John K. Fotheringham, London 1923).

[3] Orose, Histoires contre les païens, 3 vols. (ed. and transl. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet, Paris 2003).

[4] Isidore of Seville, Historia Gothorum (ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA 11, Berlin 1894) 267–295.

[5] Cosmographia Iulii Honorii (ed. Alexander Riese, Geographi latini minores, Heilbronn 1878, repr. Hildesheim 1964) 21–55.

[6] John of Biclar, Chronicon (ed. Julio Campos, Juan de Biclaro, obispo de Gerona, su vida y obra, Madrid 1960).

[7] Chronica Muzarabica (ed. Juan Gil, Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum 1, Madrid 1973) 15–54.

[8] Historia Pseudoisidoriana Cod. Parisini 6113 (ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA 11, Berlin 1894) 377–388.

[9] Patrick Gautier-Dalché, Notes sur la Crónica Pseudo-Isidoriana, in: Anuario de Estudios Medievales 14 (1984) 13–32.

up to date. Thus the emperor Hadrian, whom Jerome described as *eruditissimus in utraque lingua* became "learned in Latin and Arabic".[10] When Gaiselic looked for support, he did not go to the Vandals, as Isidore has it, but to Corinth and Italy; by the time the chronicle was compiled it was difficult to believe that the Christians had ever had allies in North Africa. Roman and Visigothic history was not simply translated but re-interpreted for a new audience.

The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore belongs to a small group of histories translated from Latin into Arabic, and in some cases back into Latin or Castilian. The best known of these are the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis,[11] and the Arabic translation of Orosius' Histories.[12] The Chronicle of the Moor Rasis is a version of a history attributed to Ahmad al-Razi (888–955), an historian active in the court of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III. Al-Razi's son 'Isa is reported to have said of him that he "collected data from old people and transmitters of reports, which he collated and organised into a history. He was thus the first to codify the rules of historical composition in Hispania. His work brought him closer to the sovereign and earned himself and his son a greater measure of royal favour. Together they endowed the Andalusis with a science they had not hitherto practised with success".[13] In addition to this oral history, al-Razi had access to history from the Visigothic tradition. It is assumed that he was able to read Isidore's History of the Goths and the other Visigothic texts in Arabic translation. The complicated after-life of al-Razi's history, however, means that it is impossible to be sure of this, and there is even less chance of discovering when and why such a translation might have been made. Al-Razi's work does not survive in Arabic in its original form. Many historians writing in Arabic cited him, in particular the seventeenth-century Moroccan al-Maqqari,[14] whose work is still the principal source for the history of al-Andalus under the Umayyads. The relationship between the various citations of al-Razi is not straightforward, and at times they are frankly contradictory. There is, however, some overlap between this material and a Castilian text which may be a version of his work. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the history attributed to al-Razi was translated into the Portuguese vernacular by order of Dionis I of Portugal. Only fragments of this translation survive, but shortly afterwards it was translated from Portuguese into Castilian as the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis. This survives in several manuscripts, of which the earliest dates to the fifteenth century.

An Arabic version of Orosius' History Against the Pagans survives in a manuscript now in the library of Columbia University.[15] According to a fourteenth-century author, Ibn Abi Usaybiya, a Latin version of Orosius came to Cordoba as a present given to 'Abd al-Rahman III by a Byzantine emperor in the 940s or 50s; Ibn Khaldun said that it was translated into Arabic, either by a Muslim and a Christian, or by two Muslims, by the order of 'Abd al-Rahman's son, al-Hakam II. This is a nice story, but it was pieced together in the nineteenth century from several inconsistent sources.[16] Penelas, who has recently made a new edition of the Arabic Orosius[17], made a strong case for the translator's being Hafs ibn Albar al-Quti (the Goth) on the basis of several quotations which an eleventh-century geographer, al-Bakri, made from the Arabic Orosius; al-Bakri attributed this work variously to al-Quti, Hafs al-Q.r.zi (the short vowels are not written in Arabic) and al-Q.r.zi. Hafs ibn Albar al-Quti may be the son of Alvarus of Cordoba, who was associated with the Cordoban martyrs of the 850s. Hafs was well-known as a translator; a copy of his version of the Psalms, which may have been completed in 889, is extant.[18] Unfortunately, if Hafs was active at the end of the ninth

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[10] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 133; see also introduction at 47.

[11] Crónica del Moro Rasis (ed Diego Catalán/María Soledad De Andrés, Madrid 1974).

[12] Urusiyus, Ta'rikh al-alam (ed. 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi, Beirut 1982); Kitab Hurusiyus: traducción árabe de las Historiae Adversus Paganos de Orosio (ed. Mayte Penelas, Madrid 2001).

[13] Evariste Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane 3 (Paris 1950–1953) 504.

[14] Al-Maqqari, Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes d'Espagne par al-Makkari, 2 vols. (ed. Reinhart Dozy/ Gustave Dugat/Ludolph Krehl/William Wright, Leiden 1855–1861, repr. Amsterdam 1967).

[15] Columbia, University Library MS X–893 712 H.

[16] Ann Christys, Christians in al-Andalus 711–1000 (Richmond-Surrey 2002) chapter 7.

[17] Kitab Hurusiyus, ed. Penelas.

[18] Douglas Morton Dunlop, Hafs ibn Albar – the last of the Goths, in: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 3–4 (1954) 137–151; id., Sobre Hafs ibn Albar al-Quti al-Qurtubi, in: Al-Andalus 20 (1955) 211–213;

century, and if one accepts the possibility that he translated Orosius, one must reject most of what Ibn Khaldun said about the translators, together with the story of the embassy and the involvement of al-Hakam II. Thus Penelas' case remains unproven, as she acknowledges.[19] The surviving manuscript of the Arabic Orosius does not help in deciding the matter, since it is a later, possibly fourteenth-century, copy of the text. Yet it is at least possible that the Arabic Orosius originated with a translation from Latin to Arabic made before the tenth century, and the same may be said with perhaps a little more confidence of the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis.

Several factors complicate a comparison of these two texts with each other and with the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore, of which the fact that they survive in three different languages is only the most obvious. Whereas both the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis are compendia of several sources, the Arabic Orosius lives up to its name in being derived from Orosius' Seven Books of History, albeit with interpolations. Yet the variation in contents of the three texts does not stop there. Almost half of the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis is not in fact a history but an itinerary of al-Andalus: brief descriptions of her towns and cities and a note of the distance between them. More importantly for this discussion, neither the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis nor the Arabic Orosius include an account of the conquest of 711 that in any way resembles the final section of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore. The earliest surviving manuscript of the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis has at this point a passage interpolated from the fourteenth-century Saracen Chronicle of Pedro de Corral. A seventeenth-century version by Gabriel Rodríguez de Escabias has a different, more elaborate story of the conquest. Neither is relevant to this study. The manuscript of the Arabic Orosius is incomplete, although it seems originally to have continued up to the conquest.[20] It ends with Alaric's arrival in Rome, just before the end of the last chapter of the Histories. The beginning of Book 7, however, advertises: "Book 7 in which there are accounts of the events of the empire of the Romans, the Caesars, from the time of Augustus, during whose reign Christ was born, up to the time when this book was written, and what was added to it afterwards about the kingdom of the Goths in al-Andalus up to the arrival of Tariq".[21] I will not attempt to make an exhaustive comparison of the three texts, but concentrate instead on the sections of the texts that overlap, which permit some general conclusions about the relationship between them.

A detailed comparison of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis forms part of an extensive introduction to Catalán and De Andrés' recent edition of the Castilian text. Unfortunately, they were not able to include the Arabic Orosius in this study, except for the opening geographical description of Hispania, present in all three, whose ultimate origin is Orosius' Histories.[22] The Arabic Orosius' version[23] is, as one might expect, the most faithful to the Latin original, although it is interpolated from the Cosmographia of Julius Honorius. The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore's rendering of this passage[24] was distorted in translation, as we shall see, but is still recognisable as a version of the Latin Orosius. The Chronicle of the Moor Rasis and the seventeenth-century version of al-Maqqari, who claims to be quoting al-Razi, have a different version. Yet Catalán and De Andrés concluded that the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis, and hence al-Razi, were derived independently from the same Arabic translation of Orosius, perhaps the one that survives in the Columbia manuscript. Such a reliance on differences between the various versions of this passage is probably misguided. Many historians and geographers writing in Arabic

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Le Psautier mozarabe de Hafs le Goth (ed. and transl. Marie Thérèse Urvoy, Toulouse 1994); Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: a contribution to the study of Mozarabic manuscripts and literature (Leiden 1977) 54.

[19] Kitab Hurusiyus, ed. Penelas 41f.

[20] Although Daiber disagrees: Hans Daiber, Orosius' Historiae adversos paganos in arabischer Überlieferung, in: Tradition and Re-interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen Christian H. Lebram, ed. Jan Willem van Henten/Henk J. de Jonge/P.T. van Rooden/Jan-Wim Wesselius (Studia post-biblica 36, Leiden 1986) 202–249, at 206.

[21] Kitab Hurusiyus, ed. Penelas 333.

[22] See below.

[23] Urusiyus, ed. Badawi 67.

[24] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 110–111.

excerpted the geographical passages from Orosius' Histories, resulting in a number of different versions of the description of Hispania, which Molina has analysed.[25] None of them is earlier than the tenth century. Even in the Latin tradition, Orosius' geography circulated separate from his history.[26] Since the descriptions of Hispania in the Arabic Orosius, the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis are different, we may conclude only that they evince a common knowledge of Orosius' geography in translation.

Catalán and De Andrés also compared the narrative outlines of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis, which have many common features.[27] Both begin with the descendants of Noah and the first inhabitants of Spain, followed by a history of Rome based on Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle. Both chronicles took their history of the Goths from Athanaric to Suinthila from Isidore's History of the Goths, apart from the sections on Leovigild and Reccared, parts of which come from the Chronicle of John of Biclar. They make similar selections from the Chronicle of 754 for the period from Sisebut to Witiza, the penultimate Visigothic king. Yet the two narratives, though close, are not identical, and it is not clear how far back their common origins lie. There are, however, several mis-translations common to both the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis and the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore. Both were victims of the same mistake that turned the Huns into *Angli* in the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and *ingleses* in the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis. Both chronicles mention the foundation of the church of Santa Eulalia in Mérida, and both label the saint "delicate", probably via the same mis-translation into Arabic of the phrase *ecclesia Sancta Eulalia nomine dedicata*.[28] We are surely looking at two texts from the same family.

The Arabic Orosius is also a member of this family, sharing some of its interpolations with the other two chronicles. Indeed, it is remarkable that the passages where the three texts most coincide are their interpolations, not their principal sources.[29] One of these interpolations, an account of the birth of Julius Caesar, is taken from Isidore's Etymologies.[30] The same source[31] gave rise to an explanation of the Era dating system used in Spain in the early Middle Ages, via a misunderstanding of the word *aes* which all three chronicles share. They develop the misreading of *aes* as 'bronze' into the story that the emperor Augustus issued a decree that a tax in bronze should be collected from the whole empire sufficient to pave the banks of the Tiber; according to the Arabic Orosius, this was the origin of the 'Bronze Age in Spain',[32] or Spanish Era, which the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis dates to 38 BC. Isidore's Etymologies was of course well-known in Hispania. A manuscript survives from the eighth or ninth centuries with more than 1,500 Arabic glosses, which confirms that Isidore's authority was recognised by scholars who knew Arabic.[33] I will return to the question of the identity of these scholars. The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis, but not the Arabic Orosius, mention an ecclesiastical division of Spain falsely attributed to the emperor Constantine. This text probably originated in Hispania after the Islamic conquest. It is found in several Latin manuscripts from the peninsula, including the *Nomina Sedium Episcopalium* of the Codex Ovetense, a mixed manuscript that may date from the eighth or early ninth centuries.[34] The order in which the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore lists the sees, however, beginning with Narbonne, is

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[25] Luis Molina, Orosius y los geógrafos musulmanes, in: Al-Qantara 5 (1984) 63–92.

[26] Mappa mundi e codice Albigensi 29 accedunt indeculum quod maria vel venti sunt et (Pauli Orosii) Discriptio terrarum ex eodem codice (ed. François Glorie, Itineraria et alia geographica, CC SL 175, Turnhout 1965) 467–487, at 473–487.

[27] Crónica del Moro Rasis, ed. Catalán/De Andrés xxxii.

[28] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 49.

[29] Kitab Hurusiyus, ed. Penelas 71.

[30] Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae V, 36 (ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay, Isidorii Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX, 2 vols., Oxford 1911).

[31] Isidorii Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum V, 36, 4, ed. Lindsay.

[32] Giorgio Levi della Vida, The Bronze Era in Muslim Spain, in: id., Note di Storia Letteraria Arabo-Ispanica (Rome 1971) 109–122.

[33] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacionale, vitrina 14, 3; Kitab Hurusiyus, ed. Penelas 56.

[34] Crónica del Moro Rasis, ed. Catalán/De Andrés XXXIII, note 39; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, La circulation des manuscrits dans la Pèninsule Ibérique du VII au XI siècle, in: Cahiers de Civilisation medievale 12 (1969) 219–241 and 383–392.

found only in the work of the eleventh-century geographer al-Bakri.[35] Thus these three, rather bizarre, versions of the pre-Islamic past of Hispania share a common origin in the translation of Latin texts into Arabic by one or more translators who made the same mistakes (or copied them from each other) and interpolated the same stories into their histories. This common origin must antedate the work of al-Razi, giving a *terminus ante quem* of 955 for the translation. Since al-Razi's original is lost, and if the Arabic translation of Orosius is a tenth-century rather than a ninth-century work, it is possible that the text from which the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore was re-translated into Latin is one of the earliest witnesses to the translation of Hispania's history into Arabic.

What was the audience for such a translation? There are at least two possibilities. Firstly, al-Razi, or a contemporary Muslim historian, may have commissioned the translation in order to study pre-Islamic history and incorporate it into his work. Similar commissions were often attributed in retrospect, like the Arabic translation of Orosius, to the caliph of the day. Given the low status of Christian history in the Islamic sciences, however, this seems unlikely, although the tenth-century author al-Mas'udi claimed to have read a History of the Franks written by bishop Godmar of Gerona, which he cited as his authority for a very garbled genealogy of the Merovingians and antecendents of Charlemagne.[36] It is equally plausible that these translations of Latin histories into Arabic, like the contemporary translations of the Bible and canon law, were made for the benefit of Andalusi Christians whose grip on the Latin language had gradually been loosened; they found Arabic easier to understand than Latin, even though their daily language was a form of Romance.[37] The survival of several Christian histories in Arabic written or preserved in North Africa suggests that this process was common to Christian communities under Muslim rule. One of these, a badly-damaged manuscript of Latin history translated into Arabic was discovered in the mosque of Sidi 'Uqba in Qayrawan in Tunisia, founded in 829.[38] Levi Della Vida dated it to the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth centuries, and Van Koningsveld to the twelfth century.[39] It is in three parts, which may not always have existed together. One is a universal chronicle, ending with Tariq's conquest of Hispania which is bizarre, even making allowances for the numerous lacunae in the manuscript. The fables with which the author elaborated his chronicle include an account of the seven disciples sent to Hispania by St. Peter to preach the faith, who persuaded the inhabitants to shave off their beards. Again, Constantine is one of the heroes of the chronicle but the version of his legends presented here is not the same as that in the Arabic Orosius. After recounting Constantine's conversion and the founding of Constantinople, the chronicler leapt four centuries to the conquest of Hispania, and the history concludes with Tariq's troops eating their captives.

We must bear in mind this uncertainty about the audience for the translation of Latin history into Arabic when reading the concluding section of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore. It may have been either an Christian writing in Arabic or a Muslim who discarded the Chronicle of 754's providential account of the 'ruin of Hispania' for a new story. The relationship between the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of 754, its main source for the century up to and including the Islamic conquest, is very difficult to evaluate. It should be emphasised that the process of translation and re-translation of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore means that there is no scope for comparing the wording of the two chronicles and it is impossible to tell whether the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore is

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[35] Jugrafyat al-Andalus wa-urubba min kitab al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik li-Abi 'Ubayd al-Bakri (ed. Abd al-Rahman 'Ali al-Hajji, Beirut 1968; transl. Eliseo Vidal Beltran, Geografía de España, Zaragoza 1982); La crónica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 50.

[36] Al-Mas'udi, Muru al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'Or 3 (ed. and transl. Charles Barbier de Meynard/Abel Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1864) 69–72.

[37] David J. Wasserstein, The language situation in al-Andalus, in: Studies on the Muwashshah and the Kharja, ed. Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock (Oxford 1991) 1–15; Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, Andalusian-arabic manuscripts from Christian Spain: a comparative intercultural approach, in: Israel Oriental Studies 12 (1992) 75–110; id., Christian-Arabic manuscripts from the Iberian peninsula and North Africa: a historical interpretation, in: Al-Qantara 15 (1994) 423–449.

[38] Un texte Mozarabe d'Histoire Universelle 2 (ed. Giorgio Levi della Vida, in: Etudes d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal, 2 vols., Paris 1962) 175–183.

[39] Van Koningsveld, Christian-Arabic manuscripts 445.

based on the Chronicle of 754 in a version similar to the one that survives, or on a common model. There is considerable overlap in their contents. Yet although sometimes names and dates concur exactly, at other times there are wild discrepancies. The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore is much shorter, and concentrates on the reigns of the Visigothic kings and the church councils and their most famous participants, Isidore of Seville and Braulio of Zaragoza. In marked contrast to the Chronicle of 754, there are few references to events in the Byzantine and Islamic East. Material that is common to both chronicles appears in a different order. A few examples from the sections referring to the late sixth and seventh centuries illustrate the problem. The Chronicle of 754[40] begins with the accession of Heraclius (which the compiler dated Era 649) explaining this with a long account of his rebellion against Phocas. Then follows Heraclius' victories against Chosroes and the Persians, followed by his nemesis in the shape of the followers of Muhammad. The chronicler had to distort his normally strict chronology to tell this story; when he had finished with Heraclius he went back to the second year of Heraclius' reign, Era 650, to pick up the Visigothic thread with the accession of Sisebut. The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore[41] mentions the reigns of Sisebut and Suinthila, dated as in the Chronicle of 754, but does not introduce Heraclius until the following section, which covers his struggles against Phocas, the Persians and the Arabs. His chronology, however, is muddled; he has Heraclius capturing Constantinople in Era 667 (629), which is also the thirtieth year of *Mahomet*. It is possible that the two chronicles are related here, but that the chronology of the Chronicle of 754 was re-arranged after it had served as a model for the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore. Yet the names and the regnal years of the Visigothic kings in the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore begin to drift further and further away from the Chronicle of 754 after this point. The names of some of the Visigothic kings have become almost unrecognisable. Thus, where we would expect to find Chindaswinth, the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore has Gondolus; Soa, reigning for five years, takes the place of Recceswinth, who reigned for 23 years; Wamba becomes Bitibas and so on. It seems unlikely that the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore was relying on the Chronicle of 754 in the version that survives.

When we get to the conquest of 711, the two chronicles diverge markedly, both in tone and content. According the Chronicle of 754,[42] civil strife began with Witiza, who oppressed the church even while he was acting as co-ruler with his father Eciga. The situation deteriorated further after Witiza's death. The usurpation of Rodrigo lead to disunity amongst the Visigothic nobility and they were unable to resist the onward sweep of the Islamic victories of the caliph Walid. An invasion force led by Taric Abuzara (Tariq ibn Ziyad in the Arabic sources) crossed to the peninsula from North Africa. Tariq defeated Rodrigo at the Transductine mountains. Musa ibn Nusayr, the governor of North Africa, arrived in Hispania, imposed "a fraudulent peace" on Toledo and arrested the leading nobles with the help of Oppa, king Egica's son. Some cities were destroyed, others sued for peace under duress. The chronicler lamented that Hispania had been cut down, like Troy, Jerusalem and Babylon before her, because of the sins of her people. In this version of the conquest only one Visigothic noble, Theodimir, successfully maintained his position under the new rulers by making a treaty with them, although the version of his treaty which survives in one manuscript of the Chronicle of 754 may be a later interpolation.[43] After establishing a new capital at Cordoba, Musa was recalled to Damascus by Walid, his booty was confiscated and he was subjected to public humiliation and then condemned to death. The sentence was subseqently commuted to a fine and "Musa, on the advice of Urban – that most noble man of the African region, reared under the doctrine of the Catholic faith, who had accompanied him throughout Spain – opted to pay the fine as if it were nothing …"[44] This second example of collaboration is one of the chroniclers' few concessions that the conquest was not an unmitigated disaster for all the Christians.

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[40] Chronica Muzarabica, ed. Gil 1–10.

[41] La crónica pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 16.

[42] Chronica Muzarabica, ed. Gil 31–35.

[43] Eduardo Manzano Moreno, Las fuentes árabes sobre la conquista de al-Andalus: una nueva interpretación, in: Hispania 59/2, 202 (1999) 389–432, at 414 and note 78; Christys, Christians in al-Andalus 175.

[44] Chronica Muzarabica, ed. Gil 35; (transl. Kenneth B. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, Translated Texts for Historians, Liverpool 1990) 134.

The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore's focus is quite different. The chronicler devoted almost as much space to the conquest[45] as to the period from Era 648 (610) to the accession of Witiza, whom he called Geticos.[46] Witiza/Geticos was described as a man of good character who ruled alone for twenty-seven years, during which time he released the men whom his father had imprisoned. Yet it was he who brought about the Islamic invasion. Hearing of the beauty of the daughter of a certain count Julian, Witiza ordered that she should be brought to court from her home in Tangiers and he took advantage of her. In revenge, Julian offered his help to Tariq in invading Hispania. Tariq was sceptical at first:

> "'What confidence' said Tariq 'can I have in you, seeing that you are a Christian and I am a Moor?' 'For this reason (replied Julian) you may have the greatest confidence in me, because I will leave my wife, my children and infinite riches in your hands.'"
> Accepting this guarantee, Tariq assembled an enormous army and, travelling in the company of Julian to the island of Tarifa, between Málaga and Leptis, he climbed a mountain which is known to this day as the Mountain of Tariq (in Arabic Jabal Tariq, i.e. Gibraltar) and from here Tariq arrived in Seville with his army, besieged it and captured it." [47]

Meanwhile, Witiza had died, leaving two sons, who were too young to succeed him. The Visigoths elected Rodrigo as king, and he assembled an army against Tariq. Witiza's sons, however, arranged with Tariq to surrender part of the Visigothic army; Rodrigo was killed and the sons of Witiza were rewarded with their freedom in perpetuity and 3,070 villas. Tariq set off for Toledo, while his general Mughit took Cordoba. Mughit then marched against Theodimir, reinforced by soldiers whom Musa ibn Nusayr had sent him; this is only time Musa is mentioned in this chronicle. Theodimir exaggerated the strength of his forces by dressing women as soldiers and placing them on the walls of Murcia. Thus Tariq was duped into signing a peace treaty with Theodimir. Tariq then besieged Toledo, but rather than coming as a resented conqueror, Tariq is portrayed as the bringer of peace:

> "Julian told him: 'Tariq, once you have subjugated Hispania, disperse your soldiers so that they can take the rest of the places, so that you can rest in perfect peace.' He, taking this advice, sent his soldiers throughout the land, whilst he established himself in Toledo and began to rule over Hispania in Era 757 (719)."[48]

There are so many different accounts of the Islamic conquest of Spain that it is difficult to evaluate this one. The account in the Chronicle of 754 may be the most reliable. It was composed within half a century of the events it describes, although the earliest complete manuscript dates from the thirteenth century. Some of the themes of this chronicle, particularly those concerning Musa's return to Damascus, are also prominent in some of the Arabic versions of the conquest. These, however, are not remotely contemporary, and have a number of different stories to tell. There has been a marked tendency in Arabic historiography to amass data from different sources, rearranging them to produce a coherent narrative, but with little consideration for the weight that should be given to the different accounts.[49] Such an approach has led historians such as Collins to despair of the value of the Arabic sources as a whole.[50] Recently, in an important paper, Manzano surveyed sixteen versions of the conquest, of which the earliest Arabic text dates from the ninth century and the latest

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[45] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 19–21.

[46] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 16–18.

[47] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 19: *Que fiducia' inquit Tarech 'erit mihi in te, cum tu sis christianus et ego maurus'. 'In hoc bene confidere poteris in me, quia dimittam tibi uxorem meam et filios infinitamque peccuniam'. Tunc securitate accepta Tarech maximam militum multitudinem collegit et ad insulam Tarif cum Iuliano ueniens inter Malacam et Leptam ascendit in montem qui usque hodie mons Tarech dicitur. Inde cum exercitu suo Tarech Yspalim usque ueniens expugnauit eam et cepit.*

[48] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 21: *Cui dixit Iulianus: 'Tarec, capta Ispania tuos a te milites disperge, ut et reliqua loca capiant, et tu in pace ammodo requiescas. Cuius ille consiliis adquiescens suos continuo milites ad occupanda terras usquequaque direxit. Ipse vero Toleti residens super Ispaniam regnare cepit, era septingentesima quinquagesima septima.*

[49] But see Luis Molina, Los Ajbar Majmua y la historiografía árabe sobre el período omeya en Al-Andalus, in: Al-Qantara 10/2 (1989) 513–542, and id., Un relato de la conquista de al-Andalus, in: Al-Qantara 19 (1998) 39–65.

[50] Roger Collins, The Arab Conquest of Spain. 710–797 (Oxford 1989) 4.

is the account written by an ambassador to Spain from the Maghreb in 1691.[51] Manzano took the usual approach to pieces and broke down the accounts of the conquest into twenty themes that are treated differently, or ignored, in the different sources. These themes include the role played by count Julian and his daughter, the route that Tariq ibn Ziyad took from the coast to Toledo, Musa's campaign in the peninsula, the booty that Musa acquired in Spain and his return to Damascus and struggle with the caliph. The material is difficult to summarise, but Manzano succeeded in dividing the sources for the conquest in Arabic into three groups.

The earliest histories of the conquest in Arabic were written in, or brought from Egypt in the ninth century. The most important of these is the History of the Conquest by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 871).[52] This version of their own story returned to al-Andalus with Ibn Habib (d. 853) who had studied with Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's father and who included a very short section on the conquest in his own History.[53] The main feature of these texts is their love of the marvellous, and although they are closest in time to the events they describe, they are the least likely to be taken seriously as historical sources. Tariq is the hero of Ibn Habib's tale. An old man prophesies that al-Andalus will be conquered by the Berbers. Musa adds that, having crossed the straits of Gibraltar, Tariq will find an idol at the bottom of the mountain, by a fountain; if he destroys the idol, he will see a man with a squint and paralysed hands who will lead the conquest. From these two predictions, Tariq recognises himself as the future conqueror. When Musa ibn Nusayr follows his deputy to Spain he discovers other wonders, including the Table of King Solomon.[54] Returning to North Africa, Musa destroys an idol and releases a number of *jinn* whom Solomon had imprisoned in jars. This Egyptian tradition remembered that Rodrigo (Ludhriq in Arabic) was the last Goth to rule Hispania, and they retained a vague memory of Theodimir/Tudmir, but it seems unlikely that they were transmitting a genuine Andalusi oral tradition.

The second group of histories was written at the Umayyad court in the tenth century as panegyrics of 'Abd al-Rahman III and his son al-Hakam II. It is likely that these historians exaggerated the role played by the first Umayyad to rule in the peninsula, 'Abd al-Rahman I, and played down the period before 756. The most important work in this group in terms of its later influence is the work attributed to Ahmad al-Razi, discussed above, but a second important figure is Arib ibn Sa'd (d.c. 980),[55] secretary to al-Hakam II. These writers were more concerned with chronological accuracy than the Egyptians, although they took up some of the former's legendary episodes. The relationship between Tariq ibn Ziyad and Musa ibn Nusayr was also treated differently by the tenth-century Andalusi historians, who stressed the role played by Musa above that of Tariq. Al-Razi and Arib ibn Sa'd, however, did not give the same version of events. Later historians relying on al-Razi were more critical than Arib ibn Sa'id of Musa's refusal to hand over his booty to the caliph. The sources differ over which cities were taken by force and which surrendered after a pact was made with the invaders. A different account of the conquest was attributed to another tenth-century historian, who was given the *laqab*, or nickname, 'Ibn al-Qutiyya', which means 'son of the Gothic woman'.[56] As we shall see, Ibn al-Qutiyya's History of the Conquest forms a third strand with its own peculiarities, not the least of which is the fact that Ibn al-Qutiyya dealt in considerable detail with the role of the Christians in the conquest, a theme that was generally of little interest to historians writing in Arabic. Thus there is no one dominant Andalusi tradition, although it was the second group, in particular al-Razi, which gave rise to most of the later traditions. They were taken up in turn by Christian historians of the thirteenth century and later, such as Rodrigo Jiménez de

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[51] Eduardo Manzano Moreno, Las fuentes árabes; Al-Ghassani, Rihlat al-wazir fi iftikak al-asir (ed. Alfredo Bustani, Larache 1940).

[52] Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr wa'l-Maghrib wa'l-Andalus (ed. Charles C. Torrey, New Haven 1922).

[53] Ibn Habib, Kitab al-Ta'rikh (ed. Jorge Aguadé, Madrid 1991) 136–138.

[54] María Jesús Rubiera Mata, La Mesa de Salomón, in: Awraq 3 (1980) 26–31.

[55] 'Arib ibn Sa'd (transl. Juan Castilla Brazales, La Crónica de 'Arib sobre al-Andalus, Granada undated).

[56] Ibn al-Qutiyya, Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotía de Córdoba (ed. Pascual de Gayangos/Eduardo Saavedra/Francisco Codera, Madrid 1868; repr. with translation Julián Ribera y Tarragó, Madrid 1926).

Rada in his De rebus Hispanie and the Portuguese Chronicle of 1344.[57] Christian historians read these sources from their own perspective. Even when using the work of Arabic historians, Jiménez de Rada did not omit to lament the fall of Hispania to the Muslims. Many of the episodes from eleventh- and twelfth-century Spanish history which were taken up both by the writers of Castilian epic and by chroniclers in the tradition of the histories of Spain sponsored by Alfonso X, may have their origins in Arabic. This is an exciting but under-researched field, made more difficult by the modern divide of Hispanists into Latinists and Arabists.

Nine of the sources analysed by Manzano could have been available to the unknown Christian or Muslim who added the story of Julian to the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore, although there is no evidence that he knew any of them. In addition to those already mentioned, they are the anonymous Kitab al-Imama,[58] the Akhbar Majmu'a,[59] and the History of Ibn Abi al-Fayyad.[60] Two aspects of their accounts of the conquest will concern us here: the roles played by count Julian and the sons of Witiza. The story of count Julian seems to originate in the Egyptian tradition, unless we can identify him with the African Christian called Urban who advised Musa ibn Nusayr.[61] Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's History of the Conquest described Julian as the ruler of Ceuta and al-Jadra, who recognised Rodrigo as the ruler of Hispania, but later betrayed him. Julian's daughter is not mentioned in this story; the earliest reference to her is in Akhbar Majmu'a[62] which may date from the tenth century. The thirteenth-century Arabic history known as the Conquest of al-Andalus[63] also referred to her; the anonymous author cited Ibn Habib as his source for this story, although neither Julian nor his daugher appear in the surviving text of Ibn Habib's history.[64] Yet the story may have been well known. Accounts similar to that of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore gave rise to versions in later French epic poetry and in histories such as the Chronicle of 1344 – which seems to be picking up one of the Arabic stories, since it gives Julian's name in its Arabic form *Ilyan*.[65] The story also appears in the later texts relying on al-Razi and 'Arib ibn Sa'd. Ibn al-Qutiyya mentioned a Christian merchant who crossed the straits bringing birds of prey and horses for Rodrigo,[66] but there is no reason to link this man with Julian. In all these re-tellings of the story, only the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore blamed Witiza rather than Rodrigo for the rape of Julian's daughter.

The variants on the story of Julian are literary embellishments on the theme of treason, which is developed in a much more sophisticated way in the accounts of the sons of Witiza. Were the sons of Witiza merely traitors to the Visigoths? Did they, on the other hand, make a just pact with the conquerors which ensured the future peace and prosperity of al-Andalus, transcending religious and ethnic differences? The sources vary in the names they give to Witiza's descendants, and especially in their accounts of their participation in the conquest; I have considered some of these problems in an earlier paper.[67] The sources of tenth-century origin are the most relevant to this study. According to al-Razi and 'Arib ibn Sa'd, Witiza left several sons, including Shishburt and Ubba, whose inheritance was usurped by Rodrigo. Similar stories are told by the Akhbar Majmu'a,[68] by al-Maqqari,[69] in

[57] Edición crítica del texto español de la Crónica de 1344 que ordenó el conde de Barcelos don Pedro Alfonso (ed. Diego Catalán/María Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1971); Manzano, Las fuentes árabes 398.

[58] Kitab al-Imama wa'l-siyasa (ed. Pascual de Gayangos/Eduardo Saavedra/Francisco Codera, Madrid 1868).

[59] Ajbar Machmua (Colección de tradiciones) (ed. and transl. Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid 1867, repr. in facsimile Madrid 1984).

[60] Alvarez Morales, Ibn Abi-l-Fayyad y su obra histórica, in: Cuadernos de Historia del Islam 9 (1978/79).

[61] Collins, The Arab Conquest 36; see above 364.

[62] Akhbar Majmu'a, ed. Lafuente 5, transl. 19.

[63] Fath al-Andalus (ed. Luis Molina, Madrid 1994).

[64] Julia Hernández Juberías, La Peninsula Imaginaria (Madrid 1996) 173–180.

[65] Crónica de 1344, ed. Catalán/De Andrés 97–102 and 106–126.

[66] Ibn al-Qutiyya, Historia, ed. Ribera 10.

[67] Ann Christys, How the royal house of Witiza survived the Islamic conquest of Spain, in: Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter, ed. Walter Pohl/Maximilian Diesenberger (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 3, Wien 2002) 233–246.

[68] Ajbar Machmua, ed. Lafuente 4f., transl. 7.

[69] Al-Maqqari, Analectes, ed. Dozy 250.

the De rebus Hispaniae[70] and in the Chronicle of 1344.[71] Two of these sons entered into treasonable arrangements with Tariq. It is not clear from the sources dependent on al-Razi what happened to these men, although 'Arib ibn Sa'd said that they died at the time of the conquest. Ibn al-Qutiyya named three sons, Alamund, Artubas and Rumuluh who made a pact with Tariq, later confirmed both by Musa ibn Nusayr and by the caliph in Damascus, who allowed them to hold onto three thousand villas of the royal patrimony.[72] As we have seen, the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore echoed this account:

> "Meanwhile, Geticos (Witiza) had died, leaving two sons, Sebastianus and Evo. And, as they were children, the inhabitants of that country did not want them to reign over them, but they elected a king named Rodrigo, who, having assembled a great army, advanced on Tariq. But the sons of Geticos sent a message to Tariq saying: 'We will advance with the best part of the army as though to fight you, and at the critical moment we will turn our backs; follow us and you will gain victory over the enemy.' Tariq, always bearing his own interests in mind, followed them and many were slain; even Rodrigo himself. And he granted to Sebastianus and Evo the privilege of freedom for the rest of their lives. They held three thousand and seventy villas."[73]

Although the truth content of the stories of Julian and the sons of Witiza may be negligible, they are nevertheless valuable as historical sources, since they deal with some of the issues that were being debated at the time that they were written. Muslims historians focussed on the capitulation of cities and whether Musa's spoils were fairly divided. The pattern of the conquest as recounted by Ibn Habib in the ninth century (in later citations, although not in the surviving manuscript of his History) and by the historians citing al-Razi from the tenth century onwards is that the whole of al-Andalus was conquered by force except for the north, where pacts were made with the Christians. This affected the partition of booty and caliph's allocation of one fifth of the spoils.[74] According to the later Arabic sources, the fifth was not paid until the arrival of al-Samh, sent to govern al-Andalus by Umar II in the 740s; it was still available to be partitioned to the Umayyads in 756, hence increasing their legitimacy in the eyes of later historians. Indeed, the thirteenth-century Conquest of al-Andalus says that: "Abd al-Rahman I was already administering the royal patrimony when he was in Syria, before he came to al-Andalus".[75] Ibn al-Qutiyya, on the other hand, denied the existence of the fifth and hence the legitimacy of the Umayyad settlement. He said that the arrivals from Syria in the 740s had to make agreements with the indigenous Christian population.[76] In yet another account, cited by the Moroccan ambassador al-Ghassani in the seventeenth century,[77] the land was settled by agreement with the Christians, who retained most of their lands.

It is not surprising to find that the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore was more concerned with the role of Christians in the conquest than with the legitimacy of the conquerors. For this author, the stories of Julian and the sons of Witiza were about continuity, the survival of the Christians under Muslim rule. Ibn al-Qutiyya was also interested in such matters, perhaps because of his Christian ancestry.[78] Hafs ibn Albar, a possible translator of the Arabic Orosius, may have had an even more personal interest in the stories of the conquest if he was, as Ibn al-Qutiyya claimed, a descendant of the house

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[70] Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Historia de rebus Hispaniae (ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, CC CM 72, Turnhout 1987) 99.

[71] Crónica de 1344, ed. Catalán/De Andrés 90f.

[72] Ibn al-Qutiyya, Historia, ed. Ribera 2f.

[73] La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana, ed. González 20: *Interim Gethicus mortuus est, duosque filios dimisit Sebastinnum et Euo. Et quoniam essent pueri, habitatores terre noluerunt eos regnare super se, sed elegerunt regem nomine Rodericum. Qui infinitum congregans exercitum contra Tarec processit. Filii uero Gethici miserunt ad Tarec dicentes: 'nos precedemus cum maxima exercitus multitudine, fingentes nos quasi contra te pugnaturos. Qui cito terga dabimus et tu persequere nos, dabiturque tibi de hoste tropheum.' Tarec uero non immemor utilitatis sue persecutus eos et multi corruerunt, quin et Rodericus mortuus est. Fecitque eis priuilegium ut omni tempore uite sue manerent ingenui Sebastiunus et Euo. Numerus uillarum quas habebant tria MLX.*

[74] Manzano, Las fuentes árabes 420.

[75] Fath al-Andalus, ed. Molina 31.

[76] Ibn al-Qutiyya, Historia, ed. Ribera 38–40.

[77] Al-Ghassani, Rihla, ed. Bustani.

[78] Christys, Christians in al-Andalus 12 and 159–161.

of Witiza.[79] And, although this is impossible to prove, they may have been reflecting the reality of the conquest; their accounts are preferable to those of the Arabic historians who concentrated on the miraculous, and perhaps even to those who thought that Musa's relationship with the caliph in Damascus was the most important aspect of the story. They lead us to the tentative conclusion that the author who rejected the story of the conquest in the Chronicle of 754 in favour of the stories of Julian and the sons of Witiza was a Christian, or the Muslim descendent of a Christian; the preferred version served as a re-interpretation of the conquest for those Christians and converts to Islam who were now living peacefully under Islamic rule.

If the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore had survived in its Arabic incarnation, it would be easier to decide such questions. Unfortunately, there are two further areas of uncertainty to navigate: the re-translation of the chronicle into Latin, and its manuscript transmission. The compiler of the manuscript may have been using an Arabic text. Alternatively, it is possible that the translation from Arabic back into Latin had already been made, and our compiler was making his own sense of garbled Latin. Some inaccuracies certainly stemmed from the translation from Latin into Arabic. The name of the first Visigoth to enter Hispania, Theodoric, was rendered as L.dh.r.q in the Arabic Orosius and presumably in the Arabic precursor of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore. Since L.dh.r.q was transliterated into Latin as Rodericus, he was now the first Goth in Spain. There are many indications that either the copyist of this manuscript, or the translator of the Arabic manuscript on which was based, struggled to find a satisfactory rendition of his material. This affects the place names in particular, some of which have been scratched out and rewritten. There are many indications that Arabic toponomy and geographical traditions confused the Latin translator or copyist; the following examples come from Gautier-Dalché's detailed analysis.[80] The Arabic Orosius, the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis all divided Hispania into two parts. Yet Orosius' division of the peninsula into Ulterior and Citerior confused them, as it did many of the Arabic geographers. Orosius' description is written as though he were looking at the peninsula from the north-east corner, with Aquitaine on his right and the Balearic islands to his left, a perspective that does not appear to have made much sense to later authors. Isidore qualified Orosius' division of the peninsula by labelling *Ulterior* as the northern part and *Citerior* as the south, which should have helped, except that Arabic practice turned the peninsula upside down, placing south at the top. The Arabic Orosius translated *Ulterior* and *Citerior* correctly as "the nearer" and "the further" whilst the Chronicle of the Moor Rasis has *la España de levante del sol* and *Gallia braccata* (Narbonne). The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore retained the terms *Ulterior* and *Citerior*, but they became hopelessly confused, with *Gallia Braccata* now in the west. Some places kept their Arabic names: *Alcufa* for Mesopotamia and *Alfurs* for the Persians. The church of Saint Vincent in the Algarve became the *ecclesia corvorum Sancti Vincenti*, a translation of *kanisat al-ghurab*, ("the church of the crows": its Arabic name, used by the geographers al-Idrisi and al-Himyari).[81] The Arabic practice of using only the consonants and long vowels easily accounts for the name of Heraclius' wife Flavia being transmitted as Folabia. Similarly, and bearing in mind the difficulty in reading the consonants when diacritic points are accidentally omitted, Orosius' "Celtiberos", which Roman authors transmitted as "Sytallia", "Sicabria" and variants thereof, was easily mis-transliterated as Sanctus Tiberius in the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore, although elsewhere the chronicle has "Scamberie Terracona" and "Scamberiam"; the version of Orosius that the seventeenth century Moroccan al-Maqqari claimed to be quoting from al-Razi has "Santabariya".

Gautier-Dalché argued that some of these errors in toponomy link the text to the Narbonnaise. It is plausible that the mistakes originated with a chronicler working outside the Iberian peninsula, since he or she confused Cantabria with Conimbria. When in doubt, the chronicler seems to have evoked places nearer to home. As a response to the confusion over Orosius' division of Hispania, the chronicler transformed *al-gharb* ("the west" in Arabic, hence the Algarve in the south west of the

[79] Ibn al-Qutiyya, Historia, ed. Gayangos/Saavedra/Codera 5; ed. Ribera 3.
[80] Gautier-Dalché, Notes sur la Chronica.
[81] Crónica del Moro Rasis, ed. Catalán/De Andrés XXXIII note 81.

peninsula) into *Allogobrorum montes* after the Allobroges, the people of the Narbonnaise. The saint recalled by the confused toponym Sanctus Tiberius was a martyr from the Agde area who was celebrated throughout the Midi. Gautier-Dalché adduced other reasons for linking the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore to the Narbonnaise. The text describes the north coast of the Mediterranean from *Gizirat-Alhadra* (a transliteration of the original Arabic name for Algeciras) via Almarie, Denia, Valencia, Tortosa, Tarragona, Narbonne, Sancto Egidio (Saint-Gilles), Pisa, Salerno and St. Nicholas (Bari) to Constantinople, an itinerary familiar to local seamen. Gautier-Dalché also dated the text of the chronicle to the twelfth century – a conclusion which González has accepted – because the church of St Nicholas at Bari was not founded until 1087. A late date is also supported by the fact that the see of Tarragona was not restored until 1118. Furthermore, Saint-Gilles did not become an important port until the beginning of the twelfth century, when it was developed as a starting point for the Crusades.

It is not surprising to find a Narbonnaise chronicler copying, or even translating a history of Hispania at this date. The Narbonnaise, like its neighbour Toulouse, looked south over the Pyrenees at this period. Narbonne had been under Muslim rule for some forty years from c. 719, and part of the cathedral may have been turned into a mosque.[82] A document of 879 mentions the time when '*Aumar Ibnaumar regnante Narbone*'.[83] Narbonne had a prominent Jewish community.[84] After its reconquest by the Carolingians in 759, the episcopal see was restored, although Narbonne's primacy was not established until the eleventh century, and it was repeatedly contested by Vienne, Bourges and Toledo.[85] The city was an important staging post on the route from Spain, and its prosperity increased after the destruction of the Saracen pirates at Fraxinetum in 972.[86] The viscounts of Narbonne took part in the reconquest of Tarragona in 1050, the expedition to Balearics with Ramon Berenguer II in 1114 and the conquest of Tortosa in 1149. For much of the twelfth century, the viscount of Narbonne was a vassal of Barcelona, and it was only later in the century that the political future of the Narbonnaise was linked with that of France rather than Hispania. There are few archaeological traces of a Muslim presence in Narbonnaise, although surviving funerary stele from Montpellier show that there was a flourishing Muslim community in that city in the twelfth century.[87] The presence of the three faiths in the city may have made it an island of relative tolerance in the increasingly polarised world of Crusade and Reconquest. The bishops of the province, and in particular the archbishop of Narbonne, had spoken out against atrocities committed against the Jews by French soldiers on their way to recapture Barbastro in 1064. The compiler of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore may have made his own comment on multiculturalism. Referring to the Visigothic king Sisebut's policy of converting the Jews by force, he emphasised Isidore's condemnation of it.[88]

Yet tolerance for neighbours of different confessions does not preclude a sense of the superiority of one's own faith and its history. Our compiler may have been surprised by the history of the Christians in Hispania which he read in the text that became the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore. He would not have expected to find a positive account of the Islamic conquest and the contents of the rest of the manuscript hint that he had difficulties with it. A brief introduction to the manuscript must

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[82] Philippe Wolff, Guerre et paix entre pays de langue d'oc et Occident musulmane, in: Islam et chrétiens du Midi XIIᵉ–XIVᵉ s. (Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Collection d'Histoire religieuse du Languedoc au XIIIᵉ et au début de XIVᵉ siècles 18, Toulouse 1983) 29–42; Philippe Sénac, Présence musulmane en Languedoc. Réalitiés et vestiges, in: ibid. 43–58; id., Les Caroligiens et al-Andalus VIIIᵉ–IXᵉ siècles (Paris 2002) 16–17 and 31–34.

[83] Cited by Sénac, Les Caroligiens 40.

[84] Aryeh Graboïs, La dynastie des "rois juifs" de Narbonne IXᵉ–XIIIᵉ s., in: Narbonne: Archéologie et histoire 2, Narbonne au Moyen Âge (Montpellier 1973) 49–56.

[85] Sénac, Les Carolingiens 38; Henri Vidal, Les Origines de la primatie Narbonnaise XI–XII siècles, in: Narbonne: Archéologie et histoire 2, Narbonne au Moyen Âge (Montpellier 1973) 121–127.

[86] Jean Dunbabin, France in the Making 843–1180 (Oxford 1985) 169–173 and 299; José María Font Ruis, Narbonne et la Catalogne, in: Narbonne: Archéologie et histoire 2, Narbonne au Moyen Âge (Montpellier 1973) 5–8.

[87] Jacques Jomier, Note sur les stèles funéraires arabes de Montpellier, in: Islam et chrétiens du Midi XIIᵉ–XIVᵉ s. (Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Collection d'Histoire religieuse du Languedoc au XIIIᵉ et au début de XIVᵉ siècles 18, Toulouse 1983) 59–64.

[88] La chronica pseduo-isidoriana, ed. González 16, 171 and n. 141.

serve here to present the last twist in the chain of re-writings of the chronicle, in perhaps its most puzzling aspect. The manuscript consists of two parts. The first 26 folios are a copy of the Breviarium of Eutropius, in a tenth-century hand, which belonged to the monastery of Saint-Bertin in the fifteenth century. This seems to be entirely independent of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore and was bound with it at a later date, perhaps in the sixteenth century. The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore occupies folios 27-49. Folios 50–62 consist of extracts from a range of texts. Most of these come from Orosius, but there are also extracts from Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah, the Mythologies of Fulgentius and Isidore's Etymologies together with Charlemagne's testament from Einhard's Vita Karoli and an extract from the Passion of Nunilo and Alodia, who were martyred in Huesca in the ninth century. Only the Testament of Charlemagne is almost complete. Gautier-Dalché described the collection as 'encyclopaedic', and at first sight its mixture of chronicles, chronological notes, extracts from Isidore's Etymologies and so on puts it into the genre of twelfth-century encyclopaedias. The section on the Seven Wonders of the World is copied into one of these: the Liber Floridus of Lambert of St-Omer. Yet the contrast between Lambert's work of c. 300 folios and the length of our manuscript (if it is complete) is striking. Some of the extracts are so short – as little as a single sentence – that they seem to be comments on what has gone before. If the compiler of the manuscript was simply copying the chronicle in the form that he read it, apart from adapting the geographical references to places nearer to home, it can be argued that he either did not understand it or did not approve of it. How then did the appended sentences and passages make the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore easier to read?

To begin at the end: it is the passage from the Passion of Nunilo and Alodia which may be the key to the collection. Nunilo and Alodia were martyred in Huesca, in north-east Spain, probably in the 830s. Their cult was celebrated at Leire, near Pamplona and elsewhere in the Rioja.[89] Eulogius included them among the martyrs of Cordoba of the 850s, although I have argued that he manipulated the chronology to do this.[90] Their Passion survived both in Eulogius' version and in the Passionary from San Pedro de Cardeña, near Burgos in north-west Spain, probably written in the eleventh century, which was copied into later collections. All the surviving Latin liturgical calendars from the peninsula included them except for the Calendar of Cordoba. There is also an account of the translation of their relics to Leire, and the saints are mentioned in donations to that monastery and to other foundations in the north. According to the Cardeña version of the Passion, the two girls were brought up as Christians after their Muslim father abandoned them, and it was only when their mother died that their Muslim relatives tried to get them to recant their Christianity. The Muslim authorities also tried to persuade them against continuing in apostasy, but they were eventually put to death. The Passion is not a long text, but the Paris manuscript omits most of it and reproduces only the central section. This is a paragraph of polemic against Islam in which the hagiographer described how the Saracens had been polytheists until Muhammad was deluded by Lucifer in the guise of the Angel Gabriel into believing that he was the greatest of all the prophets. And "the Arabs persist in this evil deception, alien to the Christian faith, to this day."[91]

It is easy to interpret this passage of polemic against Islam as a footnote to the story of the conquest of 711 and the continuing presence of the Muslims in Spain, and as a counterweight to the chronicle's generally moderate image of Tariq and the Islamic conquest. Other passages may have served the same purpose, although it is more difficult to disentangle. Some of the extracts from Orosius, such as the story of Romulus and Remus, could serve merely as scholarly appendices to the accounts incorporated into the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore. Yet the selection of so many of Orosius' moralising comments on the succession of empires and the conditions necessary for the coming of Christ seems to add the requisite providential touch to a chronicle from which this is all too obviously lacking. The extracts begin almost at the beginning of Orosius' introduction: "…from Ninus

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[89] Passio Nunilonis et Alodie (ed. Juan Gil, En torno a las santas Nunilón et Alodia, in: Revista de la Universidad de Madrid 19 [1970]) 113–122.

[90] Christys, Christians in al-Andalus 68–76.

[91] Passio Nunilonis et Alodie, ed. Gil 122: *Per hanc ergo callidam artem gens Arabica male decepta usque hodie a fide Xpi aliena et exclusa perdurat …*

or Abraham to Caesar Augustus, that is, to the birth of Christ, which was in the forty-second year of the Caesar's rule, when the Gates of Janus were closed, for peace had been made with the Parthians and wars had ceased in the whole world, 2,015 years have passed, in which between the performers and the writers the fruit of labours and occupations of all were wasted".[92] The extracts go on to detail some of the wars in which the pagans wasted their labours, up to the coming of Christ. Jerome's comments on the fall of Babylon are in the same vein. Now the tide of the Islamic conquest had turned; Narbonne was firmly Christian and the Muslims were in retreat south of the Pyrenees. The parallels between decline and fall of Orosius' pagan empires and the progress that the Spaniards and their Crusader allies were making against al-Andalus did not have to be spelt out. The inclusion of Charlemagne's testament may have addressed more local concerns. This is the only time that the testament was transmitted without the rest of the Vita Karoli. This version was interpolated with extracts from the Chronicle of Aniane which mentioned Charlemagne's gift of a piece of the True Cross to that abbey. Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) was introduced as one of the witnesses. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, several southern monasteries appropriated Charlemagne into their foundation legends in a war of words and images between rival foundations.[93] The interpolated testament in the manuscript of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore not only suggests Aniane or one of its dependencies as a possible provenance for the collection, but that the Chronicle too may have been read in a local context. I will address this problem in a forthcoming study.[94]

Many medieval chronicles survive only in late versions. As each new recension is made, by selection and emendation, the perspective of the chronicle and its factual content may be radically altered in accordance with current concerns. Often we can guess that this has gone on only by comparing the chronicle with other versions of the same or similar texts. The Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore is an unusual and important witness to this type of transformation because the radical changes it has undergone in the process of translation and re-translation are more obvious, even though their meaning is far from clear. The identities of the Christians – and perhaps the Muslims – who had a hand in this process are unknown. The Arabic precursor of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore may have been compiled by Christians whose ancestors were the Visigothic heirs of the Roman empire. After 711, they had been able to reach an accommodation with a new empire and a new language – although this was a stance which later readers of the chronicle struggled to understand.

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[92] Orose, Histoires I, 1, ed. Arnaud-Lindet 6: *Nino autem uel Abraham usque ad Caesarem Augustum – id est usque ad natiuitatem Christi quae fuit anno imperii Caesaris quadragesimo secundo, cum facta pace cum Parthis Iani (11) portae clausae sunt et bella toto orbe cessarunt – colloguntur anni II XV in quibus se inter actores scriptoresque omnium otia negotiaque triuerunt* (transl. Roy J. Deferrari, Orosius, The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans, Washington 1964) 6.

[93] Amy G. Remensnyder, Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France (New York/London 1995).

[94] Ann Christys, Expanding/expounding the Chronicle of Pseudo-Isidore: Paris BN 6113, in: Zeit und Vergangenheit im fränkischen Europa. Karolingische Annalistik im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik, ed. Helmut Reimitz/Richard Corradini (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, Wien, forthcoming).