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Isidore of Seville and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada

Isidoro de Sevilha e Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada

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ABSTRACT

Isidore of Seville (c. 570–636) and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada (1170–1247) mark the beginning and end point of a type of historiography in Iberia that is still very dependent on late antique models. Isidore’s *Chronicon* (CPL 1205) and *Historiae* (CPL 1204) were considered canonical models of what “writing history” should mean, forming the backbone of all major texts and compilations written in Iberia until the thirteenth century. In this paper, I analyze how Ximénez de Rada used Isidore’s *Historiae* at two levels: in structuring his own work and as a source. In terms of structure, I will show how the *Historiae* was the main model for Ximénez de Rada’s historiographical project. Concerning the use of Isidore’s text as a source, I will identify which versions of the *Historiae* were used by Ximénez de Rada, and analyze how, concretely, he adapted Isidore’s text. I will argue that Ximénez de Rada did not just copy the *Historiae*, but took both Isidore’s structure and text, rethought them, and made a completely new work of his own.

Keywords: Isidore of Seville; Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada; medieval historiography; textual criticism; chronicles

RESUMO

Isidoro de Sevilha (c. 570-636) e Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada (1170-1247) marcam na Península Ibérica o início e o fim de um tipo de historiografia ainda muito dependente dos modelos da Antiguidade Tardia. O *Chronicon* (CPL 1205) e as *Historiae* (CPL 1204) de Isidoro foram consideradas como modelo canónico do que deveria significar “escrever história”, tornando-se a espinha dorsal de todos os grandes textos e compilações escritos na Península Ibérica até ao século XIII. Neste artigo, analiso a forma como Ximénez de Rada utilizou as *Historiae* de Isidoro em dois níveis diferentes: na estruturação de sua própria obra e como fonte. Em termos de estrutura, mostrarei como as *Historiae* foram de facto o principal modelo do projeto historiográfico de Ximénez de Rada. No que se refere ao uso do texto de Isidoro como fonte, identificarei quais as versões das *Historiae* que foram utilizadas por Ximénez de Rada e analisarei como, concretamente, o texto de Isidoro foi adaptado. Mostrarei também que Ximénez de Rada não apenas copiou, mas tomou a estrutura e o texto de Isidoro, repensando-os e construindo um texto completamente novo.

Palavras-chave: Isidoro de Sevilha; Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada; historiografia medieval; crítica textual; crónicas.



Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada (1170–1247) is a landmark in Iberian historiography. He stands at the crossroads between medieval compilatory texts and Alfonso X's huge project on the history of Spain¹. Ximénez de Rada started this project late in life: he was almost seventy when he decided to write the *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*, also known as the *Historia Gothica* (Díaz 1241)², which presented a complete narrative of the history of the Iberian Peninsula as a whole from its first inhabitants up to the kingdom of León and Castile. At the same time, it sought to ensure Toledo's primacy in the peninsula, as the main heir to the Visigothic episcopal see. Georges Martin argued that Ximénez de Rada's work was a historiographical response to Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon mundi*³. The two men were contemporaries and Lucas' chronicle certainly worried Ximenez de Rada, because it promoted Seville's primacy over Spain, instead of Toledo⁴. The first version of *Historia Gothica* may have been completed quickly, by the end of April 1243⁵: Ximénez de Rada took about three years to prepare it.

¹ XIMÉNEZ DE RADA, Rodrigo - *Opera Omnia I. Historia de rebus Hispanie siue Historia gothica*. FERNÁNDEZ VALVERDE, J. (ed.) - Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM) 72. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987; XIMÉNEZ DE RADA, Rodrigo - *Opera Omnia III. Historiae minores. Dialogus libre uitae*. (ed.) - Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM) 72C. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. A good *status quaestionis* on several aspects of Ximénez de Rada's work can be read in MARTIN, Georges (ed.) - *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales* 26 (2003). See also, LINEHAN, Peter - *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; LINEHAN, Peter - "On further thought: Lucas of Tuy, Rodrigo de Toledo and the Alfonsine Histories". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 27:1 (1997), pp. 415–436; LINEHAN, Peter - "Reflexiones sobre historiografía e historia en el siglo alfonsino". *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale* 23 (2000), pp. 101-111; LINEHAN, Peter - "Lucas of Tuy, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y las historias alfonsies". In FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ, Inés (ed.) - *Alfonso X el Sabio y las Crónicas de España*. Valladolid : Universidad de Valladolid, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2001, pp. 19-36; MARTIN, Georges - "Dans l'atelier des faussaires. Luc de Túy, Rodrigue de Tolède, Alphonse X, Sanche IV: trois exemples de manipulatiois historiques (León-Castille, XIIIè siècle)". *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévale* 24 (2001), pp. 279-309; FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ, Inés, "De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí". *Alcanate. Revista de estudios alfonsies* 3 (2002-2003), pp. 93-134.

² M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum*, 2 vols. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1958-1959.

³ MARTIN, Georges - "Dans l'atelier des faussaires", pp. 284-289

⁴ See also LINEHAN, Peter - *History and the Historians*, pp. 350-351; LINEHAN, Peter - "Dates and doubts about don Lucas". *Cahiers de linguistique et civilisation hispanique Médiévale* 24 (2001), pp. 201-217 (at p. 212); republished as "Fechas y sospechas sobre Lucas of Tuy". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 32:1 (2002), pp. 19-38 (at p. 33).

⁵ JEREZ, Enrique - "La Historia gothica del Toledano y la historiografía romance". *Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales* 26 (2003), pp. 223-239 (at p. 227); CATALÁN,

He depended almost entirely on Iberian material. Since Late Antiquity, Iberian historiography had mainly comprised the compilation of pre-existing texts in chronological order, and the addition of new texts to these in order to bring them up to the present⁶. This was already the case with Hydatius (who continued Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon*), with John of Biclar (who had added a quire to a codex containing the *Chronicon* by Victor of Tunnuna), and with the Mozarabic chronicles – the *Chronica Byzantio-Arabica* continued the text of John of Biclar and the *Chronica Muzarabica a. 754* supplemented the *Historiae* by Isidore of Seville. Likewise, the *Chronica Adefonsi III* was a continuation of the *Historiae*; and the *Historia Sampiri* of the *Chronica Adefonsi III*.

Important compilations of texts had been in circulation since at least the eighth century. They are at the origin of the manuscripts known as the “Soriensis”⁷ (perhaps from the tenth century; now lost); the “Rotensis”⁸, ms. Madrid, BRAH cod.

Diego; JEREZ, Enrique – *Fuentes Cronísticas de la Historia de España*. Vol. 10. “Rodericus” romanzado en Aragón, Castilla y Navarra. Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2005, pp. 9–10.

⁶ FURTADO, Rodrigo – “Reassessing Spanish chronicle writing before 900: The tradition of compilation in Oviedo at the end of the ninth century”. *The Medieval Chronicle* 11 (2017), pp. 171–194.

⁷ This collection of texts circulated in Asturias, probably already in the time of Alfonso III, at the end of the ninth century. It is known as *Soriensis*, from a famous copy that was used by Spanish humanists in sixteenth century. Unfortunately, it was lost in 1671, in a fire in El Escorial. It transmitted the Iberian *Genealogiae Bibliorum*, which were usually transmitted with the Beati, the *Chronica Adefonsi III ad Sebastianum* (Díaz 519), the *chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome (CPG 2494), Prosper of Aquitaine (CPL 2257–2258), and Victor of Tununa (CPL 2260), with the *Excerpta Caesaraugustana* (CPL 2267), and John of Biclar (CPL 2261; Díaz 42), the *Chronica Byzantia-Arabica* (Díaz 386), an *incerti auctoris de Diis gentium* (Bautista suggests that it could have been Isid. *Etym.* 8.9), a *Historia Troie capte* (Dares Phrygius' *De bello Troiano?*), the *Nomina regum Romanorum*, the *Liber historiae Francorum* (CPL 1316), Isidore's *Historiae* (CPL 1204; Díaz 117–120), Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae* (CPL 1262; Díaz 238–239, 264–265), the *Laterculus regum Visigothorum* (CPL 1266, Díaz 214, 405), Festus' *De breuiario rerum gestarum populi Romani*, an unknown *De inundatione Nile* by Dometius Creticus, the *Ordo annorum mundi* (1266b) and Isidore's *Chronicon “imperfectum”*. See BAUTISTA, Francisco – “Juan Páez de Castro, Juan Bautista Pérez, Jerónimo Zurita y dos misceláneas historiográficas de la España altomedieval”. *Scriptorium* 70:1 (2016), pp. 3–68 (at pp. 39–41) and FURTADO, Rodrigo – “Reassessing Spanish chronicle writing”, pp. 180–183.

⁸ José María Lacarra, Ángel Martín Duque, and I myself have argued that this codex must have been copied at the end of the tenth century, around the year 992, during the reign of Sancho Garcés II of Pamplona (970–994). Considering the presence of the royal and noble genealogies of Pamplona, Lacarra and Díaz argued that this codex must have been copied already in Nájera, in a church or monastery that preceded the monastery of Santa Maria La Real. Recently, I suggested that this codex was produced in San Millán, possibly under the direction of bishop Sisebuto of Pamplona (c. 988–1000), former abbot of the monastery. It transmits Orosius' *Historiae*, which were complemented by Isidore of Seville's *Historiae* (CPL 1204) and *Chronica* (CPL 1205), the *Reuelatio Sancti Methodii [excerpta]*, the *Chronica Adefonsi III – Rotensis* (Díaz 519), the *Tultu sceptru de libro domini nostri Metobii* (Díaz 469), the *Chronica Prophetica* (Díaz 521–524), the *Storia de Mahometh [pseudopropheta]* (Díaz 461), the *Nomina regum Catholicorum Legionesium* (Díaz 568), the *Epistola*

78 (copied at the end of the tenth century); and the “Alcobaciensis”⁹, ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Marqués de Valdecilla-Universidad Complutense, 134 (copied after 1250). These transmitted different collections of independent texts, organized in roughly chronological order, allowing a sequential diachronic reading. The most recent examples of this compilation genre were produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the *Liber Chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo, the anonymous *Chronica Naiarensis* and the *Chronicon mundi* of Lucas of Tuy.

The main objective of this paper is to consider the place of Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada as the heir of this Iberian historiographical tradition whose roots lie in the end of the Roman Empire. I propose to take as a case study Isidore’s *Historiae*, a component of all of these compilations, to analyze the way in which Ximénez de Rada used it at two levels: in the structuring of his own work and as a source. In terms of structure, I will show how Isidore’s *Historiae* was the main model for Ximénez de Rada’s own project, and how it was used to structure his text. Concerning the use of Isidore’s text as a source, I will identify which versions of the *Historiae* were used by Ximénez de Rada, and analyze how, concretely, Isidore’s text was adapted. I will argue that Isidore’s *Historiae* was the most important model for Ximénez de Rada’s own work;

Honorii imperatoris, De laude Pampilonis (Díaz 400), *Ordo numerum regum Pampilonensium* (Díaz 615), *Item alia parte regum* (Díaz 616), *Genera comitum Aragonensium* (Díaz 617), *Nomina comitum Paliarensium* (Díaz 618), *Nomina comitum Guasconiensium* (Díaz 619), and the *Nomina comitum Tolosanensium* (Díaz 620). See LACARRA, José María - “Textos navarros del códice de Roda”. *Estudios de Edad Media de la corona de Aragón* 1 (1945), pp. 193-284 (at pp. 195-200); DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Manuel Cecilio - *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1991, pp. 32-42 (at pp. 34-36); MARTÍN DUQUE, Ángel - “La realeza navarra de cuño hispano-godo y su ulterior metamorphosis”. In HENRIET, Patrick (ed.) - *À la recherche de légitimités chrétiennes. Représentations de l'espace et du temps dans l'Espagne médiévale (IX^e-XIII^e siècles)*. Lyon : ENS Éditions-Casa de Vélazquez, 2003, pp. 225-241; FURTADO, Rodrigo - “Emulating neighbours in medieval Iberia around 1000: A codex from la Rioja (Madrid, RAH, cód. 78)”. In BERGQVIST, Kim; JENSEN, Kurt Villads; LAPPIN, Anthony John (eds.) - *Conflict and Collaboration in Medieval Iberia*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2020, pp. 62-92.

⁹ This compilation circulated in the Mozarabic world and does not seem to have been known in the Christian north until the eleventh or twelfth century. The main copy of this text was a manuscript (now lost) from the monastery of Alcobaça (Portugal), which was known to Portuguese and Spanish humanists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which gave its name to the collection. We know its contents, mainly through notes by Johannes Vasaes (1511-1561): it transmitted the *chronica* Jerome, Prosper, Victor of Tunnuna, John of Bicular (what I have been calling the “Bicular collection”), Hydatius, and Isidore, with Isidore’s *Historiae*, the *Chronica Gallica ad a. 511*, the *Chronica Muzarabica ad. a. 754*, and the *Annales Portugalenses Veteres*. Today, its main representative is the manuscript Madrid, Biblioteca Historica Marqués de Valdecilla-Universidad Complutense 134, copied in Toledo after 1250. See DAVID, Pierre - “Annales Portugalenses Veteres”. In *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle*. Paris: Livraria Portugália, 1947, pp. 261-340; FURTADO, Rodrigo - “Writing history in Portugal before 1200”. *Journal of Medieval History*, 47:2 (2021), pp. 145-173 (at pp. 163-166).

it was also one of Ximénez de Rada's main sources. However, he did not just copy it, but took Isidore's structure and text, rethought them and made a completely new work of his own.

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Until the time of Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, the historiography produced in the Iberian Peninsula was notable for its lesser quantity and lesser quality than elsewhere around the Mediterranean basin. After the middle of the fifth century (with Hydatius), one must wait at least a hundred years to find a chronicle worthy of the name (John of Biclar); even in the seventh century, there were only three authors writing history: Maximus of Zaragoza (whose text was lost),¹⁰ Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo. After the Mozarabic chronicles of the eighth century, one must wait again almost 150 years for a new chronicle, this time in Oviedo, and then again more than a century for the *Chronica Sampiri*. About the twelfth century, as Peter Linehan remarks, "an English historian of the same period may be forgiven for wondering at the causes of the poverty of the historiographical tradition to which Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo of Toledo were heirs"¹¹.

However, there was a tradition of sorts: of course, nothing from ancient Greco-Roman historiography ever circulated in the peninsula after the fifth century (and perhaps not even before), but between the fifth and the twelfth centuries, the historiography circulating built, for the most part, on early Iberian texts (the main exceptions are the *chronica* by Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper of Aquitaine and Victor of

¹⁰ COLLINS, Roger - "Isidore, Maximus and the *Historia Gothorum*". In SCHARER, Anton; SCHEIBELREITER, Georg (eds.) - *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*. Vienna and Munich: Oldenburg, 1994, pp. 345-358.

¹¹ LINEHAN, Peter - "On further thought", p. 416.

Tunnuna)¹². The two texts by Isidore of Seville, the *Chronicon*¹³ and the *Historiae*,¹⁴ were considered as a kind of canonical model of what “writing history” should mean¹⁵. They were not chronologically sequential (they overlapped in chronological terms mainly from the fourth century onwards) and corresponded to two different geographical and ethnic understandings of the past. Despite the shrinking of geographical perspective at the end of the text¹⁶, the *Chronicon* was the heir of the geo-ethnic universalism of the late antique chronicles: after Adam and Eve, it presents the “universal” framework in which all of human history unfolds and with which Iberian history is intertwined. The *Historiae*, in contrast, has a much more particularistic perspective in terms of geography and ethnicity – it is a chronological narrative about the different peoples who had passed through Iberia from the fifth century onwards. Apart from a historiographical collection firstly produced in Biclár (which came to include the *chronica* by Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper of Aquitaine, Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclár and the *Chronica Byzantio-Arabica*)¹⁷, almost all other historiographical texts that circulated in Iberia were related to these two works by Isidore.

¹² There are some exceptions: a collection of texts from North Africa related to the end of the world (CPL 2280–2281), which must have circulated very early in Iberia, also came to include some short texts from Italy and southern Gaul, such as the *Narratio de imperatoribus domus Valentinianae et Theodosianae (a Gratiano)*, the *Chronica Gallica ad annum 511* (CPL 2259), and the *Chronicon* by Hydatius updated *ad annum 568* (CPL 2263). It also contained some texts attributed to Isidore, but also produced in North Africa, such as the *Chronica Carthaginiensia a. 525* (CPL 2258) and the *Laterculus regum Vandalorum*. See FURTADO, Rodrigo - “A collection of chronicles from late antique Spain: Madrid, Complutense 134, ff. 25vb-47vb. Content, structure and chronology”. In ANDRÉS SÁNZ, María Adelaida; PANIAGUA, David (eds.) - *Formas de acceso al saber en la Antigüedad tardía y en la Alta Edad Media. La Transmisión del conocimiento dentro y fuera de la escuela*, Barcelona and Rome: FIIEM-Brepols, 2016, pp. 227-258. The *Liber historiae francorum*, composed in Gaul in 727, was also included in the lost Soriensis manuscript (BAUTISTA, Francisco - “Juan Páez de Castro”, p. 40), and in Pelagius of Oviedo’s *Liber Chronicorum* (BAUTISTA, Francisco - “Memoria de Carlomagno: sobre la difusión temprana de la materia carolingia em España (siglos XI-XII)”. *Revista de poética medieval* 25 (2011), pp. 47-109 (in pp. 72-73).

¹³ HISPALENSIS, Isidorus - *Chronica*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina (CCSL) 112. MARTÍN, José Carlos. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

¹⁴ HISPALENSIS, Isidorus - *Las historias de los Godos, Vandalos y Suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio, edición crítica y traducción*. ALONSO, Cristóbal (ed.). León: Centro de Estudios e investigación “San Isidoro”, Archivo histórico diocesano, Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de León, 1975.

¹⁵ See FURTADO, Rodrigo - “Writing history in Portugal up to 1200”, pp. 147–151; FURTADO, Rodrigo - “Narrating the past”. In *Brill’s Companion to Visigothic Iberia* (in press).

¹⁶ In the final part of the *Chronicon*, Isidore focuses only on Iberia and the Byzantine Empire.

¹⁷ FURTADO, Rodrigo - “La ‘Crónica’ de Eusebio-Jerónimo en Madrid, BHMV, Complutense 134 (ff. 2va–14vb)”. In MESA-SÁNZ, José Francisco (ed.) - *Latinidad medieval hispánica*. Firenze: Sismel - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017, pp. 69–84.

The brevity of the *Chronicon* facilitated its enormous fame throughout Europe¹⁸. The *Historiae*, on the other hand, enjoyed a very small circulation outside Iberia. Its “Iberian character” denied it a similar success. However, this was precisely the reason for its domestic popularity: among all the available texts, the *Historiae* was the only one that gathered and narrated a history of Iberia up to the Visigothic period. Therefore, for historians who came after the seventh century, the *Historiae* was the main organized repository of information about the past of both the peninsula and its population (especially once the Christians rulers of the north began to understand themselves as heirs of the Goths).

For this reason, in Asturias at the time of Alfonso III, the central part of the *Chronica Albeldensis* was formed by the *Ordo Romanorum* and the *Ordo gentis Gothorum*, résumés of Isidore’s two texts¹⁹. The *Chronicon* and the *Historiae* were also copied in the “Soriensis”²⁰, “Rotensis”²¹ and “Alcobaciensis”²² compilations. As early as the twelfth century, they were also included in the first part of the *Liber Chronicorum* by

¹⁸ MARTÍN, José Carlos - “La tradition indirecte de la Chronique d’Isidore de Séville”. *Revue d’histoire des texts* 31 (2001), pp. 167–225.

¹⁹ FURTADO, Rodrigo - “Reassessing Spanish chronicle writing”, pp. 183–187.

²⁰ BAUTISTA, Francisco - “Juan Páez de Castro”, p. 41. From the Soriensis, Juan Bautista Pérez copied the *Chronicon* into his own working manuscript, which is known today as *Segobrigensis*. Pérez’s codex remained in the Archivo Capitular of the Cathedral of Segorbe, with the shelfmark *arma. G, est. I*, probably until 1938, when the archive was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War. We still have most of the 736 photographs taken from it, corresponding to almost all 419 folios. These are now in the archive of the library of the Instituto de Historia of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, as part of the Fondo Fotográfico Sánchez-Albornoz, with the shelfmark AEHCaja I-III/Segorbe. Isidore’s *Chronicon* is in “Caja II”, photos 365-401 (= fols. 225r-243r). The copy of Isidore’s *Historiae* in the Soriensis was not preserved, except for some marginalia by Pérez also in this lost codex (Caja I, photos 45-72 = fols. 33r-47v) and by Jeronimo Zurita in the ms. København, Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, Københavns Universitet, AM 833 4º, Parte II, fols. 135v-145v. See BAUTISTA, Francisco - “Juan Páez de Castro”, pp. 36-63.

²¹ Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, cód. 78, fols. 156r–176v. See FURTADO, Rodrigo - “Emulating neighbours”

²² See, especially, Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 134, fols. 47vb-59rb.

Pelagius of Oviedo²³, the anonymous *Chronica Naiarensis*²⁴ and the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy²⁵. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada followed in this sequence.

However, in terms of structure, Ximénez de Rada introduced at least two innovations, both involving Isidore's *Historiae*: first of all, his text is not a chronicle in the classical sense of the term. Ximénez de Rada completely rejected the spatial universality that had characterized the chronicles that preceded him, based on the distant model by Eusebius of Caesarea²⁶. Ximénez de Rada's program did not include a long history of the world since Adam and Eve: he planned a history *de rebus Hispaniae*, universal in time (at least since Japhet, Noah's son), but particular in space. He therefore did not consider Isidore's *Chronicon* but took the *Historiae* as his model instead. What distinguished the *Historiae* and the *Chronicon* was their respective Iberian and universal perspectives and the former is exactly what characterized Ximénez de Rada's historiographical project. The *Historiae* consisted of three texts: a larger one on the Goths (in our modern editions with 65 paragraphs), but also two smaller ones on the Vandals and the Suevi (with 14 and 8 paragraphs, respectively). Ximénez de Rada was the first author who sought to replicate Isidore's project in the *Historiae*. But his historiographical project was far more ambitious than Isidore's: he used a much wider set of sources to build a much longer and more detailed text, which included the mythical origins of the Iberian Peninsula's inhabitants. It included a *Historia Gothica* (as Isidore had included a *Historia Gothorum*) but also a set of shorter texts about the other peoples that had

²³ See FERNÁNDEZ VALLINA, Emiliano - *Pelayo de Oviedo. Su obra y técnica de elaboración literaria*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1973. Tese de doutoramento; FERNÁNDEZ VALLINA, Emiliano - "El obispo Pelayo de Oviedo: su vida y su obra". *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis*. Barcelona: Moleiro, 1995, pp. 231-401; JEREZ, Enrique - "Arte compilatoria pelagiana: la formación del Liber cronicorum". IN ARIZALETA, Amaia (ed.), *Poétique de la chronique. L'écriture des textes historiographiques au Moyen Âge (péninsule Ibérique et France)*. Toulouse: CNRS - Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2008, pp. 47-87. Available at <https://books.openedition.org/pumi/38873>

²⁴ *Chronica Hispana. Saeculi XII. Pars II. Chronica Naiarensis*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM) 71A. SOLA, Juan Antonio Estévez (Ed.). Turnhout: Brepols, 1995.

²⁵ TUDENSIS, Lucas - *Chronicon mundi*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM) 74. REY, Ema Falque (Ed.). Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

²⁶ DUMVILLE, David - "What is a Chronicle?". In KOOPER, Erik (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle*. Amsterdam - New York: Brill, 2002, pp. 1-27; DUNPHY, R. Graeme - "Annals" and "Chronicles (terminology)". In DUNPHY, R. Graeme (ed.) - *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2010, pp. 45-52, 274-282; BURGESS, R. W.; KULIKOWSKI, Michael - *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*. Vol. 1. *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from Its Origins to the High Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

inhabited Iberia (not only the Vandals and Suevi): the *Historia Romanorum* (Díaz 1245), the *Historia Ostrogothorum* (Díaz 1242), the *Historia Hugnorum, Vandalorum, Sueuorum, Alanorum et Silingorum* (Díaz 1243) and the *Historia Arabum* (Díaz 1244). Although the scope was much broader, the principle was the same as in Isidore: to narrate the histories of the peoples who had succeeded the Romans in Iberia (including the Romans themselves).

There was a second important innovation. In Iberia, historiographical compilations were mainly based on parataxis. This means that the compilers usually copied one source after another in a sequence, with limited intervention in the texts. Normally, at the end of the collection, one would add a new text, which brought the compilation up to date: the *Liber Chronicorum* by Pelagius and the *Chronica Naiarensis* were organized in this way. Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon mundi*, especially in book 3, had already gone beyond this mere paratactic logic. He combined in a single text information taken from different sources, without copying them in full or, above all, sequentially. However, in the *Chronicon mundi*, with some occasional exceptions (mainly additions), this was not the approach taken at the beginning of the text, with Isidore's *Chronicon* and *Historiae* (which occupy what are now books 1–2). Lucas of Tuy tended to respect the integrity of the texts of Isidore, an author of unquestionable *auctoritas* in Iberia and particularly at Saint Isidore of León, where he was writing. This literary respect is no longer a characteristic of the *Historia Gothica*. Ximénez de Rada preferred not to copy or paratactically use one source after another; much more often than his successors, he combined them, often working together information taken from minor sources²⁷.

In what is the beginning of the *Historia Gothica* (today book 1.1–19)²⁸, Ximénez de Rada made little use of Isidore's *Historiae*: these chapters narrate the period before the Goths' crossing of the Danube in 376, about which Isidore had very little information. But even in these first chapters, Ximénez de Rada did not forget the

²⁷ FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ, Inés - "De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí", pp. 115-117. See Fernández Valverde's edition of the *Historia Gothica*, on identifying the sources.

²⁸ On the origins of this division, see FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ, Inés - "La técnica historiográfica del Toledano. Procedimientos de organización del relato". *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales* 26 (2003), pp. 187-221; FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ, Inés - "De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí", pp. 120-125.

Historiae. On the contrary, he used all the meagre information provided by the *Historia Gothorum* and by Isidore's so-called *Recapitulatio*, a very short text (five paragraphs in our editions) that is usually copied with the *Historia Gothorum*, as a kind of abridgment: he mentions the association Isidore made between the Goths and the Getes, and, through them, the mythical Gog and Magog mentioned in Ezekiel's prophecy; he also mentions the relationship between the Goths and the Scythae, the etymological interpretation of the word "Goth" as *fortitudo*, the alliance between Pompey and the Goths against Caesar, the crossing of the Goths into the Iberian Peninsula (with a text taken from the *Recapitulatio* = *Hist. Gothica* 1.9) and, finally, the conflicts between the Goths and Claudius II (= 1.10, 1.17) and Constantine (= 1.18).

Still, the main source used for these first paragraphs was not the *Historiae* but Jordanes' *Getica*. This text restructures entire narrative of the "prehistory" of the Goths, where in previous collections Isidore's *Chronicon* had usually been the first important text to be copied. The reason for this change is not just the simple desire to replace one text with another. From the moment Ximénez de Rada had access to the *Getica* by Jordanes, it became essential for his historiographical project to include the extensive information about the origins of the Goths found therein. Isidore did not know Jordanes' text; nor did any Iberian author before Ximénez de Rada. When the latter decided to write inspired by Isidore's *Historiae*, he knew that there was nothing in the Iberian historiography concerning the history of the Goths before 376. This is why Jordanes' *Getica* became so important: it transmitted a huge amount of new, even excessively detailed, information about the Goths up to the sixth century, but above all about their "prehistory". When Ximénez de Rada found this text, the possibility of writing a new narrative based on this new information justified his dismissal of Isidore's *Chronicon* as a structuring model, and its replacement by the *Getica*.

In writing book 2, the situation was not exactly the same. For the history of the Goths from Athanaric (whom Isidore had considered as the *primus* king of the Goths) up to the sixth century, Ximénez de Rada could have kept Jordanes' *Getica* as his main source. However, from this point on, Isidore's *Historiae* contained information that

could also be used. Ximénez de Rada decided to use these two sources, almost on an equal footing. To get an idea of his use of Isidore's *Historiae* in book 2 of the *Historia Gothica*, I looked at its first 18 chapters. I counted how many words Ximénez de Rada had taken from each of the sources. Of course, the count is not very accurate: on the one hand, Ximénez de Rada rarely copied his source verbatim; secondly, he often synthesized Jordanes' *Getica* rather than copying it extensively (as he did with Isidore's text). The results of this survey are in the table below:

<i>Hist. Gothica</i> Book 2	without source	Sources					
		Jordanes	Isidore	Orosius	Lucas of Tuy	Councils	<i>Chron. Muz.</i>
1	61		322				
2	7	223	120				
3	56	211					
4	54	213	184				
5	35	69	317	30			
6	70	180	39				
7	57	110	166				
8	17	903	221				
9	35	204	333				
10	3	78	120				
11	4	20	151				
12	91		278				
13	2		116				
14	6		407		68		
15	3		363			123	
16	6		144				
17	8		186		17		98
18	19		234		76		

Until chapter 11, on the reigns of Alaricus II and Gesalic, Isidore and Jordanes are used in a reasonably balanced way: clearly Ximénez de Rada had the two texts in front of him and, for each subject, he combined information from both, normally summarizing Jordanes, and copying Isidore's text more closely (but rarely verbatim). Up to chapter 11, 47.9% of the information collected by Ximénez de Rada is still taken from the *Getica*; 42.8% from the *Historiae*. In part, this discrepancy is

due to the use of the *Getica* in the very long chapter 8, on the Huns (Isidore wrote little on the subject). If we exclude this chapter, the values are inverted: 37.7% for the *Getica* and 50.5% for the *Historiae*. In any case, there is no clear rule: Ximénez de Rada did not decide to start using the *Historiae* as a main source and the *Getica* as a secondary source. He relied more heavily on one or the other according to circumstances: on Athanaric and the Arian heresy, he used only Isidore (ch. 1), but on the peace between the Romans and the Goths after the battle of Adrianopolis, he used Jordanes exclusively (ch. 3); for the sack of Rome and for the reigns of Euric, Alaric II and Gesalic, he clearly favored Isidore (chs. 5, 10–11); for Athaulf's reign he preferred Jordanes (ch. 6).

Still, exclusive use of a single author is rare. This only changes after chapter 11. From this point, Ximénez de Rada seems to have lost interest in the *Getica* even though Jordanes covered the Visigoths up to king Athanagild. In fact, at this point, Jordanes' focus turns to Italy and the Visigoths clearly became a secondary concern. Hence, for chapters 12–18, the *Historia Gothorum* takes on the role of primary source that the *Getica* had played in much of book 1: 77% of the material comes from Isidore's text. Yet Isidore's *Historiae* is rarely the sole source. For the Third Council of Toledo, Ximénez de Rada used information taken from the conciliar *Canones* (ch. 15); and he also used information from the *Chronica Muzarabica a. 754* (which circulated with Isidore's *Historiae* as its continuation) and from Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon mundi*. For the *Historiae minores*, the picture is different. On the one hand, Ximénez de Rada's investment in these texts was smaller; on the other, here was also less information available. Isidore's *Historiae* was also, of course, the main source for the Vandals and the Suevi. However, Isidore also had little to say on the history of the Vandals before their arrival in the Iberian Peninsula: the *Getica* was still the preferred source here. Ximénez de Rada used Isidore's *Historia Wandalorum* for a few references to the crossing of Gaul (chs. 3–4), but it eventually became his main source (chs. 5–10), above secondary texts as the *Historia Romana* by Paul Deacon (another text not previously known in Iberia; chs. 7–8) and, very occasionally, the *Chronicon* by Prosper of Aquitaine (ch. 7). For the Suevi (chs. 12–15), Isidore's *Historia Sueuorum* is the only source used by Ximénez de Rada (it is curious that he did not use Hydatius' *Chronicon*, which circulated in the "Alcobaciensis" collection).

*

Where did Ximénez de Rada read Isidore's *Historiae*?

Ximénez de Rada's library was not necessarily extensive: the sources he used are the best clue to what was available in Toledo's library: Orosius' *Historiae* (CPL 571), Prosper's *Chronicon* (CPL 2257), Isidore's *Historiae* (CPL 1204), the *Chronica Muzarabica* (Díaz 397), the *Cronica del moro Rasis*, the *Chronica Adefonsi III* (apparently in both versions – Díaz 519, 520), the *Chronica Sampiri* (Díaz 889), the *Chronica Silensis* (Díaz 888), the *Historia Roderici* (Díaz 883), Pelagius of Oviedo's *Chronicon* (Díaz 901), the *Chronica Naiarensis* (Díaz 996), Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon mundi* (Díaz 1226).

Ximénez de Rada also had some texts not previously known in Iberia: Jordanes' *Getica* (CPL 913) was one and, as Helena of Carlos Villamarín has convincingly argued, probably some paraphrases or resúmenes of the *Excidium Troiae*, the *Exordia Scythica* and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*, close to those which are found today in ms. Bamberg Hist. 3²⁹.

This does not imply the existence of many codices, since several of these texts circulated together: Prosper's *Chronicon*, Isidore's *Historiae* and the *Chronica Adefonsi III* were copied in the "Soriensis" compilation mentioned above; Orosius' *Historiae*, Isidore's *Historiae* and the *Chronica Adefonsi III* in the "Rotensis" compilation; Orosius' *Historiae*, Prosper's *Chronicon*, Isidore's *Historiae* and the *Chronica Muzarabica* in the "Alcobaciensis" compilation; Isidore's *Historiae*, the *Chronica Adefonsi III*, the *Chronica Sampiri* and Pelagius of Oviedo's *Chronicon* in Pelagius' *Liber Chronicorum*; Isidore's *Historiae*, the *Chronica Adefonsi III*, the *Chronica Sampiri*, Pelagius' *Chronicon* and the *Historia Roderici* were part of the *Chronica Naiarensis*. Lucas of Tuy included Isidore's *Historiae*, and excerpts from the *Chronica Adefonsi III*, the *Chronica Sampiri*, the *Chronica Silensis* and Pelagius of

²⁹ CARLOS VILLAMARÍN, Helena de – "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y la compilación historiográfica del códice de Bamberg Hist. 3". *Traditio* 74 (2019), pp. 249–270, argued that Ximénez de Rada used some manuscript related to the codex Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Hist. 3.

Oviedo's *Chronicon*³⁰. Only the Latin version of the *Crónica del moro Rasis* was not copied in any of the collections listed above.

Ximénez de Rada did not need to have all these collections, for as we can see, they transmitted the same texts in many cases. Fernández Valverde argued that he certainly had the *Liber Chronicorum* by Pelagius, the *Chronica Naiarensis* and the *Chronicon mundi*. We may be able to assume that he used the *Chronica Muzarabica* from some codex containing the “Alcobaciensis” collection; the “Rotensis” version of *Chronica Adefonsi III* (which he also used) may also indicate some familiarity with the “Rotensis” collection. Finally, Ximénez de Rada used a codex of Italic origin, containing texts of extra-Iberian circulation, including Jordanes' *Getica*. In any case, we are counting with only about half a dozen codices, many of them containing the same texts: it is not necessary to imagine many manuscripts.

Considering the *Historiae*, Fernández Valverde argued that Ximénez de Rada would have used some manuscripts related to *L* (the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy), to *H* (the *Chronica Naiarensis*) and to *MA* (manuscripts representing the “Alcobaciensis” compilation)³¹. More recently, Francisco Bautista argued that the manuscript used by Ximénez de Rada was close to one from Seville, copied at the end of the sixteenth century (*C*), and that it depended on the same archetype as *MA*³².

Isidore's *Historiae* has come down to us in two different versions: a shorter, transmitted only by two manuscripts and one copy (twelfth–fourteenth c.); and a longer, with a more complex transmission. The longer version is the only one to have an indirect tradition. At least four different families can be distinguished:

³⁰ In addition to the editions already mentioned, see OROSIUS, *Histoire contre les Païens*, 3 vols. LINDET, Marie-Pierre (Ed.). Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991; Prosper TIRO, *Chronik. Laterculus regum Vandalorum et Alanorum*. Kleine und fragmentarische Historiker der Spätantike (KFHist) G5. BECKER, Maria; KÖTEER, Jan-Markus (eds.). Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016; *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII–IX*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM) 65. GIL, Juan (Ed.) Turnhout: Brepols 2018; *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII. Pars I. Historia Roderici vel Gesta Roderici Campidocti* Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM) 71. REY, Ema (Ed.) Turnhout: Brepols, 1990; *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII. Pars III. Historia Silensis*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM) 71B. ESTÉVEZ SOLA, Juan António (Ed.). Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

³¹ XIMÉNEZ DE RADA, Rodrigo – *Opera Omnia* I, p. xxxi.

³² BAUTISTA, Francisco – “Juan Páez de Castro” cit., pp. 51–52.

α. the oldest known manuscript (*B*: Berlin, Phillipps 1885) represents the Carolingian edition of the *Historiae*³³. This was the only version in circulation outside Iberia until the end of the Middle Ages. It had a very limited transmission, however: it was copied in the scriptorium of Pacificus of Verona, before 840, and did not circulate outside northern Italy before the end of the Middle Ages. This is not a unique case: very little of the early medieval Iberian historiography crossed the Pyrénées.

β. The text that was copied in the “Soriensis” collection depended on this model³⁴. The version copied in the *Liber chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo (the main representative is Ms. *G* = Madrid, BN 1513, with several copies)³⁵ and in the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy also depends on this branch of the tradition.

γ. This branch includes the text that circulated in the “Rotensis” collection at the end of the tenth century. The main representative is ms. *R* = Madrid, BRAH, cod. 78³⁶.

δ. This is the branch of the “Alcobaciensis” compilation. Its main representatives today are mss. *M* = Madrid, Complutense 134; *K* = København AM 833 4^o; and *C* = Sevilla, Colombina 58-1-3³⁷.

³³ See BISCHOFF, Bernhard - *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998, p. 93; Vol. 2, 2004, p. 87, no. 2333. For different approaches to the structure of this codex, see MOMMSEN, Theodor - *Chronica minora*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores antiquissimi (*MGH Auct. Ant. chron. min.*) 9. Berolini: apud Weidmannos, 1892, pp. 3-6; ROSE, Valentin - *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften*. Vol. 1. Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1893, pp. 299-307; CESSI, Roberto, “Di due miscellanee storiche medioevali”. *Archivio muratoriano* 13 (1913), pp. 71-96.

³⁴ BAUTISTA, Francisco - “Juan Páez de Castro”, pp. 36-63.

³⁵ See the list in SÁNCHEZ ALONSO, Benito - *Crónica del obispo don Pelayo*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1924, pp. 17-27; HÖGBERG, Peter - “La rédaction des chroniques de Sébastien, de Sampiro et de Pélagé dans Sandoval” (I-II). *Bulletin hispanique* 39 (1937), pp. 193-207, 305-327; PÉREZ DE URBEL, Justo - *Sampiro: su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952, pp. 165-196; JÉREZ, Enrique - “Arte compilatória pelagiana”, § 52.

³⁶ See also mss. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 8831, fols. 145v-156v (11th c. *ex*-12th c. *inc.*; Sahagún? Aragón?); Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, R 33, fols. 158r-166r (Perugia - Milan; 1463-1464). None is copied directly from *R*.

³⁷ See BAUTISTA, Francisco - “Juan Páez de Castro”, pp. 15-36. See also ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 982, Part I, ff. 45rb-48vb (Toledo; 2/2 14th c.).

In Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada's time, three of these versions were circulating in the Iberian Peninsula: only the Carolingian edition was not known. These three versions were copied in the three main early medieval compilations mentioned above ("Soriensis", "Rotensis" and "Alcobaciensis"). When Ximénez de Rada was writing, the "Soriensis" manuscript was already extant and somewhere between Castile and Rioja. In Toledo there was a manuscript with the *Liber chronicorum* by Pelagius of Oviedo, copied between 1210–1220 (ms. *G*), and a copy of the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy (all derived from β). In the northeast, ms. *R* was probably already in the library of the Cathedral of Roda de Isábena (Huesca), where it was kept until 1699; at least one copy of this "Rotensis" text, probably made in Aragon (today Ms. Madrid, BN 8831), had also been copied at the end of the eleventh or early twelfth century (derived from γ). The "Alcobaciensis" was already shelved in the Portuguese monastery of Alcobaça; a copy or a twin manuscript may already have been available in Toledo, where the ms. Complutense 134 was copied after 1250 (derived from δ). To these three "Iberian" versions, I also add the *Chronica Naiarensis* (ϵ), copied, according to Alberto Montaner Frutos, between 1190 and 1194³⁸. The copy of Isidore's *Historiae* included in the *Chronica Naiarensis* is a text contaminated by several different versions: its main model is the text copied in *R* (γ); the author of the *Chronica Naiarensis* also used some notes taken from a copy of the "Soriensis" collection (β)³⁹.

Considering the codices available in his time, Ximénez de Rada's library could have held all the versions of the *Historiae* circulating in Iberia: β , in the compilations by Pelagius of Oviedo and Lucas of Tuy (Ximénez de Rada used both); ϵ , with the copy included in the *Chronica Naiarensis*; maybe γ ("Rotensis"); and δ ("Alcobaciensis"). For the purposes of this paper, the high positions of the stemma and the relationship between all these branches are not important; the question of the double recension

³⁸ MONTANER FRUTOS, Alberto - "El proyecto historiográfico del Archetypum Naiarense". *E-Spania. Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales* 7 (2009). Available at <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/18075>

³⁹ FURTADO, Rodrigo - "Reassessing Spanish chronicle writing", p. 182.

is also irrelevant⁴⁰. Above all, I am interested in analyzing which texts were in Ximénez de Rada's library when he needed sources for his own work.

There is a problem with this inquiry: Ximénez de Rada did not copy *ipsis uerbis* Isidore's *Historiae*. Unlike his predecessors, he used extensive parts of the *Historiae*, but often in synthesized form, and he very often used it only as a basis from which to write a new text of his own: it is still possible to recognize Isidore's text, but it is also clear that Ximénez de Rada made it his own. Therefore, there are several places when it is not possible to be sure of the version used by Ximénez de Rada.

There are some things we can say with certainty, however. First, it is possible to conclude that, even if he had a copy of γ , he did not use it. The *Historia Gothica* does not share any of the major errors or variants of γ ⁴¹. Next, we can see that it is with δ (*M K C*) that Ximénez de Rada's text shares the greatest number of variants and errors:

<i>hist. Gothica</i> 1.9.46 ⁴²	occidentis] septentrionis δ septentrionalia iuga <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 1.9.47	post inhabitantes] circa scitica regna δ scithica regna <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 1.9.63	gaius caesar <i>rel.</i> gaius iulius cesar δ iulium cesarem <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 1.10.14	annos <i>rel.</i> annis δ <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.1.7	quia <i>rel.</i> qui δ <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.1.38	patri <i>rel.</i> patris δ <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.4.30	ragadaisus <i>rel.</i> radagaisus δ radagaysus <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.5.20	sacra hosti α sacram hostiam δ <i>Ra</i> sacra hostia β γ
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.7.2	post Athaulfum] post obitum athaulfi δ <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.7.32	grauissima] grauissime δ <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.8.17-19	extincto igitur litorio (+ et receptis epistolis ualentini <i>Ra</i>) pace deinde theuderodus cum romanis inita denuo aduersus ugnos δ <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.9.20	praesidioque suorum] presidioque sueuorum δ <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.10.8	regressus] reuersus δ <i>Ra</i>

⁴⁰ See HISPALENSIS, Isidorus - *Las historias*, pp. 145–161; MARTÍN, José Carlos - "Isidorus Hispalensis Ep. 10. De origine Getarum, Vandalorum, Sueborum". In CHIESA, Paolo; CASTALDI, Lucia (eds.) - *La trasmissione dei Testi Latini del Medioevo*. Vol. 2. Firenze: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005, pp. 370-379; an extended version is published as "Réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite de trois oeuvres d'Isidore de Séville: le *De natura rerum*, la *Regula monachorum* et le *De origine Getarum, Vandalorum, Sueborum*". *Filologia mediolatina. Studies in Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, 11 (2004), pp. 244–263; FURTADO, Rodrigo - "In how many ways can a text be written? The textual tradition of Isidore's *Histories*", in CODOÑER, Carmen; ALBERTO, Paulo Farmhouse (eds.) - *Wisigothica. After M. C. Díaz y Díaz*. Firenze: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 421-476; BAUTISTA, Francisco - "Juan Páez de Castro", pp. 48-63.

⁴¹ The sole exception is *Wand.* 71: constancio β δ ϵ constantino γ *Ra*.

⁴² All these *loci* refer to Fernández Valverde's edition (see n.1).

- hist. Gothica* 2.12.6 *post XVII] menses/mensibus V δ Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.12.32 *post conclusum] ignauum atque inermem exercitum δ inermem Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.5 *poposcerat] poposcit δ Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.31 *post potitus] ampliauit δ Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.17.2 *post Sisebutus] christianissimus δ C rex christianissimus Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.17.22-23 *post inbutus] in iudiciis iustitia et pietate strenuus ac prestantissimus mente benignus splendore regni precipuus δ in iudiciis strenuus ac prestantissimus pietate mente benignus gubernatione regni precipuus Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.17.29-31 *post subiecit] residuas intra fretum omnes exinaniuit quas gens gothorum post in ditionem suam facile redegit (in suam redegit facile ditionem Ra) δ Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.17.35 *post haustu] alii ueneno δ Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.17.35-36 *post interfectum] cuius exitus non modo (solum Ra) religiosus sed etiam obtimis laicis immodice (om. Ra) extitit luctuosus δ Ra*

As Bautista recognized, within δ , *Ra* shares some errors only with *C*⁴³:

- hist. Gothica* 1.9.63 *gaius caesar rel. gaius iulius cesar δ iulium cesarem Ra iulius caesar C*
- hist. Gothica* 1.17.26 *post remouisset] insigni gloria honorantes Ra C*
- hist. Gothica* 2.1.33 *ebibit rel. bibit Ra C*
- hist. Gothica* 2.2.32 *uiuens] om. Ra C*
(cf. *Isid. Goth.* 9).
- hist. Gothica* 2.4.4 *post tradiderunt] fueruntque cum Romanis XVIII/XXVIII annis C fueruntque sine rege XXVIII annis Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.8.21 *Catalaunicis rel. cathalanis Ra C*
- hist. Gothica* 2.12.43 *post I] menses/mensibus tres Ra C*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.19 *statuit rel. instituit Ra C*
- hist. Gothica* 2.16.5 *regno rel. regem Ra C*
- hist. Gothica* 2.18.17-18 (cf. *Isid. Goth.* 63) *obsides darent rel. om. Ra C*
- hist. Barb.* 6.20 *erbasis rel. neruasis Ra nerbasis C*
- hist. Barb.* 9.11-12 *ad finem rel. in finem Ra C;*
- hist. Barb.* 12.13 *andeuotum rel. andebodem Ra C*
- hist. Barb.* 15.3 *XIII rel. III Ra C*

C is a sixteenth-century manuscript: the watermark on its paper is from 1582⁴⁴. In addition to the *Historiae*, it also transmits the *Chronica Muzarabica*, whose text,

⁴³ BAUTISTA, Francisco - "Juan Páez de Castro", p. 51.

⁴⁴ Cf. BRIQUET, Charles-Moïse - *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923, p. 34, no. 5682.

although highly contaminated⁴⁵, is very close to the one copied by Juan Bautista Pérez in his codex Segobrigensis (second half of the 16th. c.)⁴⁶. Gil and Bautista defend that Pérez had copied the *Chronica Muzarabica* from a lost codex from Burgo de Osma (Soria), which transmitted the “Alcobaciensis” collection⁴⁷. Therefore, the *Historiae* copied in *C* could also depend on this same manuscript. Furthermore, Ximénez de Rada was briefly bishop of Burgo de Osma (1208–1209) before going to Toledo: the possibility that he came into contact with a codex from this city is high. However, he cannot have used the codex from Burgo de Osma directly, since, despite their proximity, regarding Isidore’s *Historiae*, *Ra* does not share most of *C*’s errors⁴⁸. Nevertheless, the manuscript seen by Ximénez de Rada and that of Burgo de Osma certainly depended both on the same model.

Within δ , *Ra* only shares three of the errors and variants common to *M K*:

⁴⁵ *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII–IX*, p. 89.

⁴⁶ See note 19. BAUTISTA, Francisco - “Juan Páez de Castro”, p. 30 n. 82; *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII–IX*, p. 94.

⁴⁷ Pérez referred to the existence of this manuscript *non tamen ualde ueteri* in the Capitular Archive of Burgo de Osma (Soria) (cf. VILLANUEVA, Joaquín Lorenzo - “Carta XXVI: noticia del códice de cronicones que copió el señor Pérez de varios originales antiguos, el qual se conserva en el archivo de la Santa Iglesia de Segorve”, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*. Vol. 3. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1804, pp. 196–220, at p. 213). This manuscript by Osma is lost. Based on the photographs of Pérez’s working manuscript and Villanueva’s notes, we know that Pérez copied directly from the Burgo de Osma manuscript the *Laterculus regum Vandalorum* (VILLANUEVA, Joaquín Lorenzo - *Carta XXVI*, p. 203) and the *Chronica Muzarabica a. 754* (VILLANUEVA, Joaquín Lorenzo - *Carta XXVI*, pp. 215–216: “Ephemerides arabum, quas ex testimonio Vacasi puto esse J. Pacen., descripsi ex libro pergameneo, sed recentiori Eccles. oxomen”). In addition, Pérez sometimes used the Osma manuscript to correct texts that he had found in other manuscripts. We thus know that the Burgo de Osma manuscript transmitted Isidore’s *Chronicon*, the *Chronica Carthaginiensia a. 525*, the *Laterculus regum Vandalorum*, the *Chronica Muzarabica*, the *chronica* of Victor of Tununa, John of Biclar, and Hydatius, the *Chronica Gallica a. 511*, and the *De uiris illustribus* of both Isidore of Seville and Ildephonsus of Toledo (with the addition of Braulio of Zaragoza’s *Renovatio* and the *vitae* of both Ildephonsus and Julian of Toledo).

⁴⁸ *Hist. Goth.* 1.10.14: tenuerunt *rel. Ra* terruerunt *C*; *hist. Goth.* 1.18.15: de Gothorum uictoria *rel. Ra* Gothorum uictoria *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.1.4-5: persecutione crudelissima [...] commota *rel. Ra* persecutionem crudelissimam [...] commotam *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.1.13: ebibit *rel. se* bibit *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.1.45: tres dei *rel. tres deos Ra om. C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.2.35: dudum *rel. Ra om. C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.4.24: Honorii *rel. Ra om. C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.4.32: spondens *rel. Ra* despondens *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.5.5: triumphis *rel. Ra* gentibus *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.8.114: celi et terre *rel. Ra* caelo et terra *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.9.61: Lusidio *rel. Ra* insidio *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.12.36: ut regem deciperet simulauerat *rel. ut regem deciperet simularet Ra* simulauerat ut regem deciperet *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.12.45: preuentus *rel. Ra* prouentus *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.13.14: se euerti *rel. Ra* euerti *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.13.16: se regimini *rel. Ra* regimini sese *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.14.34: furore *rel. Ra om. C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.15.42: bonis *rel. Ra* bonum *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.16.6: regni secundo *rel. Ra om. C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.16.12: illicita *rel. Ra* inclita *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.17.4: fidem christianam *rel. Ra* transp. *C*; *hist. Goth.* 2.18.11: primus *rel. prius C*; *hist. Barb.* 7.10: transfretauit *rel. Ra* transfretarunt *C*; *hist. Barb.* 7.19: inuaderet *rel. inuaderent Ra* suaderet *C*; *hist. Barb.* 9.6: patre *rel. Ra om. C*; *hist. Barb.* 10.37-38: primo proelio superatos interficit *rel. primo proelio interficit Ra om. C*; *hist. Barb.* 14.25: regis sui auxilio *rel. regis auxilio Ra* regi sui auxilio *C*.

- hist. Gothica* 2.11.21 flumen *rel.* C fluuium *M K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.15.22 fere *rel.* C ferme *M K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.17.2-3 regali fastigio *rel.* C ad regale fastigium *M K Ra*

Ra also shares some errors unique to *K*:

- hist. Gothica* 2.2.5 non depositis armis *rel.* depositis armis *K armis depositis Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.10.22 post speciem] uidit *K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.10.23 instituta *rel.* statuta *K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.11.10 narbona *rel.* narbone *K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.12.28 eundemque *rel.* idemque *K et idem Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.12.31 adgressum *rel.* aggressi *K agressi Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.12.40 post dicens] se *K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.15.29 ubi *rel.* unde *K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.15.30 utilitatis *rel.* certaminis *K Ra*
hist. Gothica 2.18.13 post uirtute] prelii *K prelio Ra*

K is a factitious manuscript on paper, collecting a very diverse set of texts copied by different hands. As Bautista has shown⁴⁹, it is a working manuscript owned by Juan Páez de Castro (c. 1510–1570), royal chronicler of Felipe II (1527–1598). Its Part II transmits the *Historiae* among several texts from the “Alcobaciensis” collection. It was copied “on October 14, 1562” (“XIV de X^{bre} de 1562”; f. 165r).

Therefore, *Ra* and *MKC* depend on a common archetype (δ). Within δ , *Ra* and *C* depend on the same model; however, Ximénez de Rada had some notes taken from a manuscript close to the model of *K*.

A manuscript derived from δ was also used by Lucas of Tuy⁵⁰ and by the author of the *Chronica Naiarensis* (= ϵ ; I note only the coincidences with *Ra*):

- hist. Gothica* 1.9.46 Occidentis *rel.* septentrionis $\delta \epsilon C$ septentrionalia iuga *Ra*
hist. Gothica 1.9.47 post inhabitantes] circa scitica regna $\delta \epsilon C$ scithica regna *Ra*
hist. Gothica 1.9.63 gaius caesar *rel.* gaius iulius cesar δ iulius cesar *L Ra C*
hist. Gothica 1.10.14 annos *rel.* annis $\delta \epsilon L Ra C$

⁴⁹ BAUTISTA, Francisco – “Juan Páez de Castro”, pp. 7–15.

⁵⁰ One finds in *L* the clearest proof of this contamination from δ : [Isid. *Recap.* 66] goti de magog iafeth filio orti cum scitis una probantur origine sati $\beta \gamma$ gothorum antiquissima origo de magog filio iaphet fuit unde et scytharum genus extitit. nam iidem gothi scythica $\delta \epsilon$ gotorum antiquissima origo de magog iapheth filio orti cum scitis una probantur origine *L*.

<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.1.7	quia <i>rel.</i> qui δ <i>L Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.1.38	patri <i>rel.</i> patris δ <i>Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.7.2	post Athaulfum] post obitum athaulfi δ <i>L Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.9.20	praesidioque suorum <i>rel.</i> presidioque sueuorum $\delta \epsilon$ <i>RaC</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.10.8	regressus <i>rel.</i> reuersus $\delta \epsilon$ <i>RaC</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.12.6	post XVII] menses/mensibus V δ <i>L Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.12.32	post conclusum] ignauum atque inermem exercitum δ <i>L C</i> inermem <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.14.5	poposcerat <i>rel.</i> poposcit $\delta \epsilon$ <i>Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.17.2	post Sisebutus] christianissimus $\delta \epsilon$ <i>C</i> rex christianissimus <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.17.22-23	post inbutus] in iudiciis iustitia et pietate strenuus ac prestantissimus mente benignus splendore regni precipuus $\delta \epsilon$ <i>C</i> in iudiciis strenuus ac prestantissimus pietate mente benignus gubernatione regni precipuus <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.17.29-31	post subiecit] residuas intra fretum (in transfretum ϵ) omnes exinaniuit quas gens (gentes ϵ) gothorum post in ditionem suam facile redegit (redegerunt ϵ in suam redegit facile ditionem <i>Ra</i>) $\delta \epsilon$ <i>Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.17.35	post haustu] alii ueneno $\delta \epsilon$ <i>L Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.17.35-36	post interfectum] cuius exitus non modo (solum <i>Ra</i>) religiosus sed etiam obtimis laicis immodice (<i>om. K Ra</i>) extitit luctuosus $\delta \epsilon$ <i>Ra C</i>

This means that δ is at the origin of the *MK* and *RaC* subgroups, and that a manuscript dependent on δ was used by the *Chronicon mundi* (*L*) and the *Chronica Naiarensis*. There are also errors that indicate a contamination between the model of *RaC* and β , and quite possibly with some representative of the model of the “Soriensis” manuscript (**So*) and *L*:

<i>hist. Gothica</i> 1.17.26	post remouisset] insigni gloria honorantes <i>*So L Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.4.4	post tradiderunt] fueruntque cum Romanis XVIII/XXVIII annis β <i>C</i> fueruntque cum Romanis septem annis <i>L</i> fueruntque sine rege XXVIII annis <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.12.43	post I] menses/mensibus tres β <i>Ra C</i>
<i>hist. Barb.</i> 4.9	proterunt <i>rel.</i> prosternunt β <i>C</i> prostrauerunt <i>Ra</i>

Ximénez de Rada also used a manuscript with the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy (*L*). They share many unique variants:

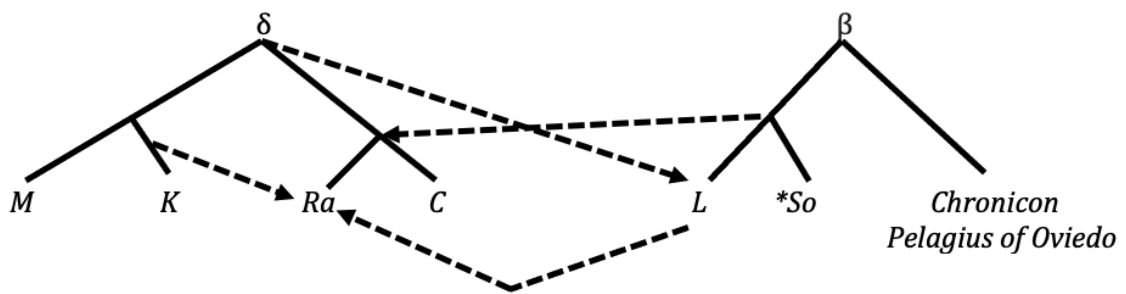
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.7.38	data] dataque est <i>L</i> et data est <i>Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.9.49-50	post constituunt] qui regnauit duobus annis <i>L</i> qui tantum duobus annis regnauit <i>Ra</i>
	Maldra autem tertio regni anno a suis iugulatur] <i>om. L Ra</i>
<i>hist. Gothica</i> 2.13.15	milites <i>rel.</i> extranei milites <i>L</i> Romani milites <i>Ra</i>

- hist. Gothica* 2.14.14-16 qui cum primo christianus haberetur teodosiam filiam seueriani ducis cartaginensis filii regis teoderici duxit uxorem ex qua hermegildum et recaredum filios sucepit *L* duxerat autem leouegildus uxorem nomine theodosiam filiam seueriani ducis prouincie cartaginensis qui fuerat filius regis theuderici *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.18 DCVI *rel.* DCX *L Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.22 omnis] *om.* *L Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.26 exsuperauit *rel.* hispali dolo cepit *L Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.26-29 beatum ermegildum filium suum nefandis ritibus communicare nolentem diuersis tormentis prius excruciatum denique in uinculis positum dira secure interficere iussit et dignum deo martirem illius feralis crudelitas consecrauit *L* et quia nephandis ritibus noluit consentire tormentis uariis cruciatum demum securi percussum parricida impius dignum deo martyrem conscrauit *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.14.55-59 sed antequam moreretur precepit filio suo recaredo ut beatum leandrum archiepiscopum yspalensem ab exilio reuocaret et eum audiret ut patrem et in fide Christi confirmaretur. tunc temporis fulgentius astigitanus episcopus in nostro dogmate claruit *L* set dum infirmitate acriter torqueretur precepit filio recharedo ut episcopos ab exilio reuocaret et leandrum hispalensem et eius germanum fulgencium astigitanum qui in doctrina ecclesiastica fulgebat insignis tanquam patres audiret et eorum monitis obediret *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.15.2 DCXXVIII *rel.* DCXXVIII *L Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.15.17 in deum *rel.* in uno deo *L* unum deum *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.15.23 ante duce] emeritensium *L* emeritensi *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.16.3 DCXXXVIII *rel.* DCXLIII *L Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.17.27 ecclesiam sancte leocadie toleto prefatus princeps miro opere fundauit *L* ecclesiam sancta leocadie toleti miro opere fabricauit *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.17.36-38 ipso tempore mahumet ab ysperia turpiter fugatus in affrica nequiciam nefarie legis stultis populis predicauit *L* huius temporibus nephandus Mahomat nequiciam secte sue stultis populis predicauit *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.18.3 post scepra] qui regnauit annis decem *L* et regnauit annis X *Ra*
- hist. Gothica* 2.18.25-26 post dignus] fine proprio toleto decessit *L* toleti propria morte decessit DCLXXIII *Ra*

None of these errors and additions appears in *C*: hence, these differences result from the direct consultation of *L* by Ximénez de Rada.

In summary, Ximénez de Rada used a manuscript dependent on the “Alcobaciensis” collection (δ). This model probably had some marginalia taken from a manuscript

dependent on β . At the same time, he decided to systematically collate the text of Isidore's *Historiae* included by Lucas of Tuy in his *Chronicon mundi*. Ximénez de Rada was mainly concerned with the new information that Lucas had added, and not so much with the minor variants introduced by Lucas in Isidore's text. Regarding Isidore's text, Ximénez de Rada's *Historia Gothica* and *Historiae minores* do not share any important variant exclusive to either the *Chronica Naiarensis* or the *Chronicon* by Pelagius of Oviedo. Therefore, this is a possible stemma:



*

I still want to take a final step to argue that Ximénez de Rada was indeed a fine historian and that he was exercising editorial judgement in his use of sources. His complex method of composition reveals it.

As noted above, Isidore became a central and often the unique source only after Athanaric. However, the *Historiae* had already been used before. The following excerpt may illustrate Ximénez de Rada's method. In *italics*, we have the text taken from Jordanes' *Getica*, in **bold** that from Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* and in Roman the new text inserted by Ximénez de Rada (comments or information without a known source).

*Hec que diximus de gentis Gothorum principio Abaius descriptor gentis Gothorum egregius uerissima hystoria atestatur, in quam sentenciam multi de maioribus consenserunt. Iosephus quoque annalium relator uerissimus, qui ueritatis regulam et causarum origines retexit fideliter, et Ysidorus Gothice gentis indigena et cronicorum disertor optimus **hec que diximus de Gothorum principio cur omiserint ignoramus. Set tantum ab hoc loco eorum prosapiam***

*memorantes, Iosephus Scithas, Ysidorus Gethas asserunt appellatos. Set cum de eorum antiqua origine opiniones uarie habeantur, plus occultat uarietas quam declaret. Iosephus dicit de Magog filio Iaphet Scithas, qui et Massegetes, processisse. Vnde **quidam nituntur ea que Ezechiel propheta contra Gog et Magog spiritualiter prophetauit Gothorum actibus adaptare.** Isidorus doctor, nullius sciencie expers, **eos Getharum siue Scitharum docet ex genere processisse, et e littera mutata in o Gethe dicuntur Gothi. De quibus poeta: Mortem contempnunt laudato uulnere Gethe.** Set Iosephus et Ysidorus, quia ortum eorum a Schancia omiserunt, Scithas et Gethas ab incolatu patrie, non ab origine appellarunt. **Hii septentrionalia iuga temptantes, Scithica regna montibus ardua possederunt.** Et pars illa adhuc hodie Gothia appellatur. **Interpretatio autem nominis eorum in lingua nostra fortitudo, et re uera; nullius enim gentis strenuitas ita regnis et imperiis se obiecit.** *In primo enim egressu a Schancia gentem stolidam Vlmerrugorum et Wandalorum a suis sedibus eiecerunt, iuga Scithica subiecerunt, Vesosum regem Egipti prelio fugauerunt, Asiam subiugarunt et eorum aliqui inibi remanserunt, ex quibus Parthi, ut dicitur, processerunt. Horum femine relicte a uiris armis in preliis claruerunt et partem Asie subiecerunt, Armeniam, Siriam, iliciam, Galaciam, Pisidiam, Yoniam et Eoliam domuerunt. Thelephus rex Gothorum uicit Danaos, interemit Thessandrum, insecutus fuit Vlixem; eirus famosus a Thamari regina Gothica fuit occissus. Darius filius Ydaspis et filius eius Xerses ab Ancyro rege Gothorum inferiores in prelio sunt inuenti. Hos Alexander uitandos docuit, Pirrus pertimuit, Cesar exorruit. Cum Pompeius pro arripiendo reipublice principatu contra Iulium Cesarem arma mouit, et isti ceteris forcius dimicarunt. Thraciam irruerunt, Ytaliam uastauerunt, Romam ceperunt, Veronam hedificauerunt nomen imponentes, quasi ue Roma in odium Romanorum, Gallias sunt aggressi, Hispanias sunt adepti, ibique apud Toletum sedem uite et imperii locauerunt.* (*hist. Goth.* 1.9.27-68)*

We are in the “prehistory” of the Goths here. Ximénez de Rada used Jordanes’ text for the geography of “Schancia”, the Goths allegedly homeland, and for their first kings. At some point, Jordanes referred to his own sources, wondering why some Josephus (not the author usually known as Flavius Josephus) had not transmitted much on the origins of the Goths (*Get.* 4.28–29). Ximénez de Rada also decided to

record this doubt and added that he himself did not know why Isidore had no concrete information on the subject either. Then he returned to Jordanes' text, to add Josephus' only reference to the Goths' origins: that they were also called Scythians (*Get.* 4.29). Then he turned again to Isidore, who recorded that the Goths were also known as the Getae (*Isid. Goth.* 1; *Recap.* 66). The following reference to the Massegetes did not come from Jordanes or Isidore. This people had been mentioned by Augustine of Hippo, in the *De ciuitate Dei* (20.11), where he had affirmed that "some suspect that *Gethas et Massagethas* derive from Gog and Magog". These two peoples were mentioned in the Bible as God's instrument to punish Israel (Ezekiel 38, 1-17). This Augustinian text is probably the passage Ximénez de Rada was thinking of, because he promptly also referred to the relationship between the Goths and Gog and Magog, mentioned by Isidore (*Isid. Goth.* 1; *Recap.* 66; Isidore's source is probably also Augustine). In the *Recapitulatio*, Isidore also gave more detail, used by Ximénez de Rada to explain the etymological relationship between *Getae* and *Gothi* (*Recap.* 66). The phrase *mortem contempnunt laudato uulnere Gethe* from an unknown is also taken from Isidore's *Recapitulatio* (*Recap.* 67). After a short commentary, Ximénez de Rada added new information from the *Recapitulatio* (66: *hii septentrionalia ...*) and a new note of his own. Then, a new combination of information from different sources: the etymological interpretation of *Gothi* as *fortitudo* is taken from the beginning of the *Historia Gothorum* (*Isid. Goth.* 2); the journey of the Goths from Schancia to the confrontation with the Persians is a summary of Jordanes' much more extensive text (4.26-27; 6.47; 7.51; 9.59-60; 10.61-64). After this, Ximénez de Rada referred to Pompey, using the *Historia Gothorum* (3). Then he added a passage, whose origins are unknown, about the Gothic origins of Verona⁵¹, ending with a new excerpt from the *Recapitulatio*, on the crossing of the Goths into Spain (*Recap.* 66).

As a rule, Ximénez de Rada chooses a main source that he pairs with a secondary source. In this case, the main source is still Jordanes' *Getica*; Isidore's *Historiae* is used for supplementary information. However, this is rarely a paratactic use; Ximénez de Rada must have had both codices in front of him and combined material

⁵¹ See LLANAS, Manuel; QUER, Pere - "La generació de material llegendari historiogràfic a partir d'etimologies medievals de topònims hispànics". *Els Marges* 109 (2016), pp. 31-50 (at pp. 36-38).

from them as he saw fit: he began by referring to the sources (as Jordanes did), then the peoples identified as their supposed ancestors (with material from Jordanes, Isidore and Augustine), the journey of the Goths from their encounters with the Greeks, Persians and Romans to their arrival in Iberia (combining material from Jordanes and Isidore). In this way, he composed a summary of the history of the Goths from their “ethnic” origins to Iberia.

I add a final example:

Isidore's <i>Historiae</i> 54 (δ)	Ximenez de Rada, <i>hist. Goth.</i> 2.15.20-31
Egit etiam gloriose bellum aduersus infestas gentes fidei <i>suscepto</i> auxilio. Francis enim sexaginta ferme ^a milium armatorum Gallias inruentibus misso Claudio duce aduersus eos glorioso <i>triumphauit euentu</i> . nulla umquam in Spaniis Gothorum uictoria uel maior uel similis extitit. prostrati sunt enim et capti multa milia hostium; residua exercitus pars <i>praeter spem in fugam uersa</i> Gothis <i>post tergum</i> insequentibus usque in regni sui finibus caesa est. saepe etiam <i>et lacertos</i> contra Romanas insolentias et inruptiones Vasconum mouit, ubi non magis bella tractasse quam <i>potius</i> gentem quasi in palaestrae ludo pro usu utilitatis uidetur exercuisse.	Egit etiam gloriose bellum aduersus infestas gentes fidei auxilio <i>subleuatus</i> . <i>Francos</i> enim cum sexaginta ferme <i>milibus</i> armatorum <i>Galliam Gothicam irruentes</i> misso aduersus eos <i>Emeritensi</i> ^b duce Claudio aduersus et glorioso <i>triumpho repulit et prostrauit</i> . nulla umquam in Hispaniis Gothorum uictoria uel maior uel similis extitit. <i>prostratis</i> enim et <i>captis pluribus milibus</i> hostium; residua <i>pars exercitus</i> Gothis <i>sequentibus</i> usque <i>ad</i> regni sui <i>confinia</i> cesa <i>fuit</i> . saepe etiam contra <i>insolentias Romanorum</i> ^c et inruptiones Vasconum <i>plurima bella gessit, unde</i> ^d non magis bella tractasse quam gentem <i>Gothicam</i> quasi in <i>ludo palaestre</i> pro usu <i>certaminis</i> ^e uidetur exercuisse.
^a fere β γ ε ferme δ <i>om. L.</i>	^b emeritensium <i>L om. β γ δ ε.</i> ^c romanas β δ ε romanos γ romanorum <i>K L.</i> ^d ubi β γ δ ε unde <i>K.</i> ^e utilitatis β γ ε <i>M certaminis K.</i>

For Reccared's reign, the only source was Isidore's *Historiae*. In the right-hand column is Isidore's text as it was probably copied in δ. Are additions, omissions or transformations of the text. I point out the variants that Ximénez de Rada may have found in other manuscripts.

One can find different types of change:

- a) Syntactic changes: *suscepto* > *subleuatus*; *Francis irruentibus* > *Francos irruentes*; *sexaginta milium* > *sexaginta milibus*; *prostrati sunt enim et capti multa milia* > *prostratis enim et captis pluribus milibus*; *in finibus* > *ad confinia*
- b) Morphological changes: *caesa est* > *cesa fuit*
- c) Lexical changes: *suscepto* > *subleuatus*; *glorioso triumphauit euentu* > *glorioso triumpho repulit et prostrauit*; *multa* > *pluribus*; *insequentibus* > *sequentibus*; *finibus* > *confinia*; *lacertos mouit* > *plurima bella gessit*; *utilitatis* > *certaminis*
- d) Changes in word order: *misso Claudio duce aduersus eos* > *misso aduersus eos duce Claudio*; *pars exercitus* > *exercitus pars*; *Romanorum insolentias* > *insolensias Romanorum*; *palestrae ludo* > *ludo palestres*
- e) Additions: *Gallias* > *Galliam Gothicam*; *duce* > *Emeritensi duce*; *gentem* > *gentem Gothicam*
- f) Deletions: *praeter spem in fugam uersa*; *post tergum*; *potius*

I purposely chose a passage in which Ximénez de Rada did not introduce relevant information of his own. This excerpt represents his “normal” usage of Isidore. My first observation is that, although he closely followed Isidore’s text, he modified it significantly. He added the adjective *Gothicam* to *Galliam* and *gentem*, which above all suggests clarification of the text, especially for a thirteenth-century reader. The addition of *Emeritensi* must depend on Lucas of Tuy’s *Chronicon mundi*; and *certaminis* is probably taken from a manuscript close to the model of *K*. There is an already quite widespread morphological change (the construction of the perfect passive tense with *fuit*). Most changes are, however, simple syntactic and word-order modifications, corresponding to questions of stylistic variety. Ximénez de Rada rarely suppressed concrete information from the *Historiae* (Pelagius of Oviedo, the anonymous compiler of the *Chronica Naiarensis* and Lucas of Tuy did not do so either) or altered the order of events. Like its predecessors, he sought to preserve Isidore’s text, but nevertheless introduced some variation that, while maintaining

the information and a good part of the lexicon and grammar, allowed for some creativity.

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Ximénez de Rada stands at the end of a long tradition of chroniclers in Iberia who took their model from historiographical collections that circulated in the region at least from the Visigothic and early Mozarabic period. Even when they included earlier texts such as the *chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper of Aquitaine, Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclar, these compilations almost always maintained Isidore's *Chronicon* and *Historiae* as their essential foundation. However, when Ximénez de Rada decided to undertake his historiographical project, probably as a reaction to Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon mundi*, he did it in a different way to his predecessors; and in doing so he created a different kind of history that already prepared the ground for Alfonso X.

It was a difficult task to step out from tradition, though. In terms of structure, Ximénez de Rada did not have much latitude for creativity: he did not have very different sources from Lucas; nor did he have many important new models, Jordane's *Getica* excepted. He decided to take on the model of Isidore's *Historiae* and to write a set of histories about the peoples who had passed through Iberia (including the Romans), centered on the Goths and the Christian Iberian kingdoms of the north as their direct and legitimate successors.

The *Historiae* did not just provide the overall idea for Ximénez de Rada's project. It was also one of his main sources. Again, he wanted to innovate. Instead of building his work by paratactic compilation of existing texts, he organized his content by juxtaposing and combining different sources whenever he had more than one for the same period or event. Normally, he chose a primary source to which he added new elements gathered from other texts. For the beginning of the *Historia Gothica*, up to the end of the century, his main source was Jordanes' *Getica*: due to its length, he often chose to summarize it. Isidore's *Historiae* only complemented this with some scattered information. The beginning of the sixth century, the *Historiae* became his main and often only source until the reign of Suinthila (up to 625–6).

Ximénez de Rada read the *Historiae* from a codex transmitting the so-called “Alcobaciensis” compilation, a collection of historiographical texts that circulated in the south of the Iberian Peninsula and whose origins go back to the Visigothic-Mozarabic period. It is possible that this text already had some marginalia taken from other manuscripts. Ximénez de Rada also decided to complete some of the information with the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy. Although Ximénez de Rada made extensive use of Isidore’s text, his quotation is rarely verbatim: without altering Isidore’s information, he inserted lexical, syntactic and word order variants to the text of the *Historiae*, aiming at *uariatio*. A reader who would have known the *Historiae* would certainly recognize Ximénez de Rada’s debt to Isidore. However, one could not have failed to acknowledge that he had not simply copied and slightly adapted the text as his predecessors had done: Ximénez re-wrote the text, making it his own.

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