

Papers

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Translation-Based Chronicles, Twelfth to Thirteenth Centuries. New Sources for the Arabo-Latin Translation Movement in the Iberian Peninsula^{*}

Abstract: Within the well-known panorama of the Arabo-Latin translation movement in the Iberian Peninsula from the twelfth century onwards, the transfer of Arabic biographical and historiographical texts into Latin writing is clearly understudied. Earlier research has focussed on the Arabo-Latin transfer of philosophical, scientific and religious texts without taking into account the role of bio-historical material within the history of cultural exchange and entanglements between Muslims and Christians. And even more recent research on Latin historiographical writing has still not been fully aware of these processes of Arabo-Latin transfer and transformation that also exist. The article analyzes three outstanding Arabo-Latin chronicles from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*, the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Arabum*, thus examining different types of written and oral transfer of Arabo-Latin historical knowledge and finally introducing the notion of 'frontier historiography' to describe these translation-based chronicles.

Keywords: Iberian Peninsula, Arabo-Latin translation movement, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*, *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia Arabum*

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1 State-of-the-Art

Some years ago, when I was preparing a paper on Iberian Arabo-Latin translations of Muslim texts from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, I met for the first time with the phenomenon that I would nowadays call ‘translation-based chronicles’. In this specific form of more or less universal Latin historiography from the frontier societies of the Iberian Peninsula, we do not only find traces of written and oral Arabic traditions, but also information about the religious traditions and writings of Islam, its founder Muḥammad and other leaders of the Maghrebian and Andalusian denominations of this religious movement. When I further asserted that even the *Estoria de España*, from the Court of Alphonse the Wise, had used a Castilian translation of the famous Legend of Muḥammad’s nightly journey to heaven,¹ my research began to look for older Iberian historiographical texts that contain a high degree of traces of Arabo-Latin processes of religious transfer and transformation, and I have become since then more and more aware of their spatial and mental contexts of production. Yet, what can we learn about the translation movement in the Iberian Peninsula when we consider not only the Arabo-Latin transfer of philosophical and scientific texts but also the neighbouring transfer of Arabic historiographical and biographical traditions? For a long time, we have known about the very early integration of Arabic, that is, Muzarabic, traditions on Muḥammad into the Latin polemical literature from the eighth/ninth centuries onwards,² or about the Arabic translation, or better, redaction of the late antique universal chronicle of Orosius in the tenth century.³ What I want to discuss in this paper is the position of three largely neglected Arabo-Latin chronicles from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries within the scenario of the Iberian translation movement: the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*,⁴ the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*⁵ and the *Historia Arabum* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.⁶ Until now these three historiographical entities have

¹ TISCHLER 2011a, p. 131 n. 28; TISCHLER 2011b, p. 339 n. 28.

² TISCHLER 2008; TISCHLER 2012a; TISCHLER 2012b. In her latest overview on Muzarabic historiographical traditions CARDELLE DE HARTMANN 2011 even stops before the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* (p. 41).

³ LEVI DELLA VIDA 1951; LEVI DELLA VIDA 1954; DAIBER 1986; PENELAS 2001a; PENELAS 2001b; PENELAS 2001c; CHRISTYS 2002, p. 135–157; PENELAS 2002; PENELAS 2009; DAIBER 2011; SAHNER 2013 (who has overlooked Hans Daiber’s latest publication mentioned here). See also n. 15.

⁴ *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*.

⁵ *Chronica latina regum Castellae*.

⁶ RODERICUS XIMENIUS DE RADA *Historia Arabum*. These three chronicles are only spuriously mentioned by LINEHAN 1993, p. 320, p. 325 n. 41 and p. 326 n. 45 (*Chronica latina regum Castellae*); p.

been analyzed in a very traditional manner by tracing their written ‘sources’ and by discovering their authors – as the first and second chronicles are anonymous works and the third one, authored by the archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, has only found its rightful place in the concept of contemporary historiographical writing of Castile-Leon some years ago.⁷ Ongoing research has since focused on further traditional topics represented in these chronicles, such as the role of the Iberian military orders or the use of power and violence in the so-called Reconquista.⁸

The main objectives of my paper are 1) to make us more aware of the important role of the translated written and oral traditions, used in these (and other) chronicles, within the general context of the Iberian translation movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; 2) to sensitize us to the methodological problems we are confronted with, when regarding the interrelationship of written and oral traditions within the field of Arabo-Latin translations; 3) to reflect orality as one of the still underestimated and therefore understudied causes for the variety of similar but not identical traditions produced by processes of Arabo-Latin transfer; and 4) to suggest that these particular forms of writing history at the linguistic, cultural and religious edge of Iberian transcultural societies should be qualified as ‘frontier historiography’. To answer these four enquiries, we should first of all investigate the dates, locations, authors and purposes of the three chronicles.

392 n. 23 (*Historia Arabum*). The *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* and the Arabo-Latin transfer within Iberian historiography seem to have been forgotten or neglected in this otherwise invaluable monograph. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ 1994, p. 411 sq. shortly mentions the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* and the *Historia Arabum* without discussing the Arabo-Latin transfer within these two historiographical works. GIL FERNÁNDEZ 1995, p. 20 sq., 83–87 and 105 sq. mentions the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*, the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* and the *Historia Arabum*.

⁷ MASER 2006; MASER 2012.

⁸ JOSSE RAND 2003; JEAN-MARIE 2005.

2 Three Examples for ‘Translation-Based Chronicles’

2.1 The *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*

The *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*⁹ has been called by its first editor Theodor Mommsen *Historia Pseudoisidoriana*.¹⁰ In concert with the observation, made by Giorgio Levi della Vida, that the reference to the Maghreb in c. 7 is not possible before the end of the eleventh century,¹¹ previous research has opted for a Muzarabic Latin translation of an Arabic model,¹² realized in Toledo after the city’s reconquest by king Alfonso VI.¹³ In the meantime, scholarly opinion has favoured the argument for a skilled composition of original Latin and translated

9 *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*: DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1970, p. 320; DE CARLOS VILLAMARÍN 1996, p. 241–256; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000. The only known copy of this work is the South-Western French codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 6113, fol. 27r–49r, second half of the twelfth century, probably from the Narbonnais: TISCHLER 2001, p. 73 sq. The model seems to have been written in Visigothic minuscule, as we can learn from characteristic misspellings: BENITO VIDAL 1961, p. 248–250; GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 17 sq. and 20. For the further textual contexts of this chronicle in this manuscript: *ibid.*, p. 14–16; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 16–18; CHRISTYS 2010. **10** MOMMSEN 1894, p. 377.

11 “ad de·be·llandas marroquinas et affricanas partes”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 146 l. 71 sq.: LEVI DELLA VIDA 1943, p. 186 n. 27; LEVI DELLA VIDA 1954, p. 289 n. 4.

12 MENÉNDEZ PIDAL 1924, p. 16 with n. 1; SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1934, p. 238 with n. 21; SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1942b, p. 34 n. 112. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL 1954, p. 6 and 13 sq. has made the case for a redaction of the Arabic version in Toledo in the first half of the tenth century.

13 SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1942b, p. 30, p. 34 n. 112, p. 35, 38 sq., 41 sq. and 44–46 has argued for a work in Toledo in the years before the town’s reconquest in 1085. SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1946, p. 74, 89–98, 100, p. 101 n. 90, p. 102 and p. 111 n. 119 has then pleaded for the work of a Murcian Muzarabic cleric in Toledo of the late eleventh century. The latter’s opinion is followed with certain reservations by CATALÁN MENÉNDEZ-PIDAL 1975, p. xxxii with n. 25 sq. BENITO VIDAL 1961, p. 252 has then assumed an author working in Sevilla, whereas PASCUAL MARTÍNEZ 1972, p. 49–51 and 56–60 has favoured again a Murcian author of the late eleventh century in Toledo. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1979, p. 85 with n. 51 has even postponed the redaction of the text until the first half of the thirteenth century in the Toledan milieu of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, but this cannot be possible because of the earlier date of the transmitting manuscript: as n. 9. All these suggestions for dating and locating the Latin redaction have not gained general acceptance.

Latino-Arabic and original Arabic¹⁴ traditions¹⁵ from the first half of the twelfth century,¹⁶ made in the geographical and cultural context of Catalonia or Aragón.¹⁷ The chronicle outlines – not without a certain influence of Isidore of Seville’s model – the history of Spain from the beginnings to the Arabic conquest as the history of a geographically and climatically outstanding mega-region of several superseding peoples and cultures. In its final section, the chronicle is based on Arabic traditions telling us about the legend of the kidnapping of Julian’s daughter by Witiza (instead of Rodrigo)¹⁸ and thus offering a different explanation for the reasons of the Iberian Peninsula’s Berber invasion,¹⁹ which the

14 That means a Latin retro-conversion of an Arabic compilation of originally Latin texts, among them especially the world chronicle of Paulus Orosius: as n. 15.

15 Among the Arabic main traditions have emerged the *Aḥbār Mulūk al-Andalus* (‘History of the Kings of al-Andalus’) by the Cordoban Muslim historian ar-Rāzī (889–955), transmitted only in an incomplete Castilian version of a Portuguese translation, and the Arabic translation of Paulus Orosius’ *Historia adversus paganos*, presumably made by the Cordoban Christian historian Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūfī (fl. 889) in collaboration with the learned Muslim courtier Qāsim ibn Aṣḥab: SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1934, p. 240–249 and 257; SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1942a, p. 34 n. 34 sq., p. 168 n. 64 and p. 190–193; SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1946, p. 76 sq., 83, 89–103 and 105 sq.; LEVI DELLA VIDA 1962, p. 181 sq.; CATALÁN MENÉNDEZ-PIDAL 1975, p. xxxii–lxix; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 1990; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 12–16, 22–30, 32, 39 sq., 42, 47–49, 64, 66, 73 sq. and 82–91; CHRISTYS 2006.

16 LEVI DELLA VIDA 1943. The period of redaction can be limited because the reference to S. Nicola de Bari (c. 1) before the translation of the saint’s relics in 1087 (GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 24), the naming of Santiago de Compostela (c. 8: “Sanctus Iacobus”) instead of Iria as the diocese of Braga before December 5, 1095 (BENITO VIDAL 1961, p. 251) and the mention of Saint-Gilles (c. 1) (probably as Mediterranean harbour for the crusaders) are not possible before the twelfth century (GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 24; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 94). Further arguments for dating the redaction into the first half of the twelfth century are the passing mention of the “byzanteus” as coin not before ca. 1100 in Latin texts (GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 24; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 94 sq.) and the quasi no longer existing column of Hercules in Cádiz, which had been destroyed in 1145 (GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 25; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 95) (c. 1: *ibid.*, p. 94 sq.). In the meantime MONTENEGRO VALENTÍN/DEL CASTILLO 2004, p. 1060–1062 tend to date the work again to the late eleventh century.

17 The chronicler’s standpoint, relating to Aquitania and Narbonne, depends on his point of view (c. 1): “Primus igitur angulus ad orientem se extendit, habens Aquitaniam ad sinistram partem, Narbonam vero ad dexteram iuxta mare Mediterraneum, cuilibet ad orientem spectanti, ad occidentem vero aspicienti Narbona est illi e converso ad sinistram, Aquitania ad dexteram”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 110 l. 10–14; GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 28; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 27.

18 DESWARTE 2000, p. 70–72 and 76.

19 CLAUDE 1988; KAMPERS 2008, p. 222–235.

Arabic historiography had collected from oral traditions.²⁰ With regard to this specific Arabo-Latin historiographical background, the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* is a somewhat methodological precursor of the *Historia Arabum*, written by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the thirteenth century. So we can confirm that at least two Latin chronicles with a Latino-Arabic and Arabic background have come to light in the Iberian context between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The phenomenon of ‘historiographical translations’ is thus another characteristic feature of the era of Arabo-Latin translations between the old region of Septimania, the Ebro valley and Toledo and does not exist only since Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the thirteenth century, as one can read even in most recent literature.²¹

With his division of Spain between a Southern part of the Muslims and a Northern part (of the Christians), the author clearly reveals his Christian position,²² which explains his very poor knowledge of Islam: Apart from two small references to Muḥammad’s lifetime,²³ we only find one short passage from a now lost *Liber prophetarum*,²⁴ which has been used by Aḥmad ar-Rāzī in the tenth century,²⁵ referring to Muhammad’s alleged journey to the town of Eribon (“Oribe”),

20 SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1934, p. 247 with n. 48; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 21 and 79–82; CHRISTYS 2006, p. 359, 361 and 363–369; CHRISTYS 2010, p. 80 and 86. For the further evaluation of this final section see below p. 195.

21 This has been ignored by DREWS 2006, p. 262; MASER 2006, p. 67; MASER 2012, p. 230 sq., because they have not taken into consideration the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* and the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*.

22 § 1: “refertur etiam ab illis [sc. “auctoribus”] duas esse Yspanias, superiorem scilicet et inferiorem vel citeriorem et ulteriorem, altera citima Mauris, altera plane ab illis remota”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 110 l. 21–23; GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 28. GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 28 has assumed here the influence of Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XIV IV, 30, who, however, does not show any concept of religious spatial structures between Christians and Muslims. The author’s opinion on the moral squalidness of the Moorish parts of Spain does not exceed common Christian anti-Muslim polemics: “superior Yspania Gallia Braccata appellatur, ubi tanta est insolentia, tantusque fastus, nec non et arrogancia copiosa”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 112 l. 1–3; GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 29 sq.

23 § 17: “anno Mahomet xxx annis”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 174 l. 15; § 18: “decem annis anno Mahomet”, *ibid.*, p. 178 l. 5; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 20.

24 § 18: “hic [sc. “Gondolus”] direxit legatos ad barbaros et ad gentes Oribe, sicut narrant libri prophetarum”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 178 l. 3 sq.; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 73 sq.

25 *Crónica del moro Rasis* c. 130: “E este [sc. “Gundasulid”] enbio sus cartas a los barbaros ... E yo falle escrito en los libros de los christianos, en aquellos que fablan de los mandados de los rreys, que este enbio su mandado a los de Oribe et a los de Semeden, e luego se le rrindieron et le obedecieron”, AR-RĀZĪ *Crónica del moro Rasis* 1975, p. 270 § 2 and 5 (version Ca from Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulat, Caj. 26–24). The Arabic original of the chronicle is lost. The Castilian version

as it is attested by the so-called Pseudo-al-Kindī.²⁶ This restricted knowledge of (Latino-)Arabic traditions, and the narration coming to an end only shortly after the Moorish conquest of Visigothic Spain, may indicate an early redaction of the Chronicle. But where in Catalonia or Aragón should we look for the location of this ‘historiographical translation’? What seems certain is the fact that the model of the only surviving manuscript of the Latin chronicle has been written in Visigothic scripture and that this codex should consequently have been the manuscript of a Muzarabic author, because in the first half of the twelfth century this scripture was already out of use in Catalonia for a long time and even became outdated in Aragón after the end of the eleventh century. This palaeographical observation goes perfectly well with the alleged provenance of the manuscript from the Narbonnais and with the author’s specific interest in the old Visigothic ecclesiastical province of Narbonne and some of its sites,²⁷ which would reveal an author with some relationship to that region.²⁸ We should therefore conclude that the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* has been written in the Northern or

mentions at its very beginning a Portuguese translation made for king John I of Portugal: “Incipit liber Rasae, historici Dalharab Marrochiorum Miramolini Cordubaeque regis quem ipsius iussu composuit. Versus est in linguam Lusitanam ex Arabica, per me magistrum Machometum Saracenum nobilem architectum. Et scribebat mecum Aegidius Petri, clericus Domini Petri Joannidae Portellensis, patris Domini Joannis Auolini”, *ibid.*, p. 3 § 1–3; COLBERT 1962, p. 122.

26 GIL FERNÁNDEZ 1973, p. xli. GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 79 casts doubts on this interpretation.

27 The author probably translates “al-garb” (‘Algarve’, i.e. ‘the West’) into “Allogobrorum montes”, because the Allobroges, defeated by the Romans, were resettled in the antique Roman province of “Gallia Narbonensis” (c. 1, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 110 l. 25); GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 17 and 19; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 18 and 23. The author misunderstands “Scamberia”, a geographical name of the Celtiberia, as the name of the Septimanian monastery of “Sanctus Tiberius”, currently Saint-Thibéry, only 15 km away from Béziers (*Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 112 l. 29); GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 19 sq.; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 18 and 23. He makes the Emperor Carus destroy his native city Narbonne (Eusebios-Hieronymus, *Chronicon*: “regnavit Carus cum filiis Carino et Numeriano ann·os· .ii. ... Carus Narbonensis cum omni Parthorum regione vastata Cochem et Ctesifontem, nobilissimas hostium urbes, cepisset, super Tigridem castra ponens fulmine ictus interiit”, EUSEBIUS-HIERONYMUS *Chronicon* 1956, p. 224 l. 19 – p. 225 l. 1), for whence he has to die, struck by lightning: c. 7: “Carus regnavit ii annis. Ipse equitavit contra Narbonam ut eam destrueret, ubi fulmine periit”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 136 l. 35 sq.; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 48. Among the six Hispanic church provinces, allegedly founded by the emperor Constantine the Great, the first is just the Gallic one of Narbonne: “Prima metropolis est Narbona capud Galliae Braccate. sub metropolitania eius sunt Biteris, Tolosa, Magalona, Nemausum, Carcassona, Luteba, Albia”, *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 138 l. 11–13; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 53 and 57.

28 For the narrow political and cultural relations between the Narbonnais and Northeastern Spain until the twelfth century: MAGNOU-NORTIER 1974, *passim*; CHRISTYS 2006, p. 370.

Northeastern parts of Spain, where Muzarabic traditions were still alive.²⁹ Furthermore, the transmission of an excerpt of the so-called *Chronicon Anianense* in the context of our only surviving manuscript of the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* may draw our attention to a monastery of the former Benedictine congregation of Aniane,³⁰ whose radiance ranged from Septimania to Northeastern Spain with its Catalan centre at Ripoll.

Nevertheless, our chronicle seems to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, evidence for the restoration of Latin historiography in this area, which could perfectly explain its horizon of narration not reaching further than 719, due to the lack of suitable younger traditions. This lack of ongoing historiographical evidence has obviously directed the author's interest to Latino-Arabic and Arabic traditions and their translation into Latin.³¹ The exact localization of this 'historiographical translation' will decisively contribute to a more detailed mental map

²⁹ A further indication of a centre with Arabo-Latin traditions is the mistake of transforming the actually Latin-Greek-speaking emperor Hadrian (Eusebios-Hieronymus, *Chronicon*: "regnavit Hadrianus annos .XXI. ... Hadrianus eruditissimus in utraque lingua", EUSEBIUS-HIERONYMUS *Chronicon* 1956, p. 197 l. 9 sq. and 21 sq.) into a Latin-Arabic-speaking one: "Helius Adrianus regnavit annis XXI, peritus in arabica lingua et latina", *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 132 l. 35 sq.; GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ 2000, p. 47 sq.

³⁰ CHRISTYS 2006, p. 371 erroneously speaks about 'Charlemagne's testament', taken from Einhard's *Vita Karoli*: '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'; CHRISTYS 2010, p. 80: '... an extract from Einhard's *Vita Karoli*'; *ibid.*, p. 89: '... the extract from Einhard's *Vita Karoli* ... Here the compiler used the Testament of Charlemagne, almost verbatim, but with two significant interpolations, copied from the so-called *Chronicon Anianense*. Charlemagne's testament is altered in favour of Aniane. Describing the division of his wealth into three parts, and the division of two of the three parts among the twenty-one metropolitan cities of his kingdom. ... In the 'appendix' to Pseudo-Isidore, part of this apparently inalienable third is now assigned to Aniane. As if to confirm this donation, Benedict's name was added to the list of signatories to the will.' In fact, it is a direct extract from the *Chronicon Anianense* itself: TISCHLER 2001, p. 73 sq. with n. 119 sq.

³¹ GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1984, p. 32: "C'est sans doute que l'auteur considérait, à tort ou à raison, que ce texte arabe avait quelque chose à dire – avait peut-être même plus à dire – sur ce passé, et qu'il éprouvait à son égard un respect extrême. Et par là, cette entreprise originale vient s'inscrire dans un plus vaste ensemble. Si l'on veut bien accepter la datation proposée, on ne peut en effet manquer de la rapprocher du mouvement d'intérêt pour les textes scientifiques en arabe qui se développe au XII^e siècle, et se manifeste par de nombreuses traductions, à Tolède mais aussi en Aragon et en Catalogne. En rejoignant ce courant, la 'Pseudo-Isidoriana' cesse d'être un phénomène absolument isolé: elle participe du même intérêt, de la même fascination qui accorde aux érudits musulmans une supériorité indiscutable. Phénomène marginal cependant: son domaine est l'histoire, et secondairement la géographie, étrangères aux préoccupations

of the early Arabo-Latin translations, made in the Iberian Peninsula from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onwards.³²

2.2 The *Chronica latina regum Castellae*

Our second historiographical item is the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*.³³ This work is more focused on the regional history of Castile from its beginnings as a small Northern Spanish county until the end of November 1236, when it closes its narration with the epoch-making reconquest of Córdoba in that year.³⁴ Conceived as a mirror of princes for the royal court of Castile and its political interests against those pronounced by the kingdom of León with regard to its former leading ('imperial') position in Spain,³⁵ this historiographical work has been written in and for a decisive phase of the Reconquista.³⁶ Offering a real contemporary history, the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* reveals in many ways notable knowledge of Islam. But who is its author,³⁷ who remarkably enough has correctly inserted into the narration of king Alfonso VI's reign of Castile-León a short biography of Ibn Tūmart, the "mahdī" of the Almohads?³⁸ Previous research has

purement scientifiques des traducteurs du XII^e siècle. Mais, comme l'histoire et la géographie parlent des hommes, l'auteur n'a pu empêcher que se révèlent les réactions de l'homme derrière le traducteur."

32 For a positioning of the Catalan monastery of Ripoll in the context of early transcultural translation activities from the tenth century onwards: ALVAR 2010, p. 56 sq.

33 CIROT 1912; CIROT 1912–1913; CIROT 1917–1919; CIROT 1919–1923; CIROT 1920; CIROT 1926–1927; CHARLO BREA 1998; O'CALLAGHAN 2002; FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ 2002–2003, p. 93, 95 sq., 99, 105–108, 112, 114 sq., 117 sq., 121, 126 sq. and 132 sq.; BAUTISTA 2006; LINEHAN 2006; ARIZALETA 2008a, p. 108 sq., 111–117 and 127–133; REILLY 2010; CHARLO BREA 2011. The only medieval manuscript of this chronicle is Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 9/450 (olim G-1), fol. 88v–122v, a late fifteenth-century copy of the original.

34 FALQUE REY 2001, p. 177–179 with n. 7; FALQUE REY 2006.

35 MARTIN 2006.

36 RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ 2004b, p. 156; BAUTISTA 2006.

37 Scholars disagree about the number of authors: CHARLO BREA 1995 has argued for a break after king Alfonso IX's (of León) death in 1230 and the re-start of a second author working on this last section of the chronicle. See also O'CALLAGHAN 2002, p. xxx–xxxvii. HERNÁNDEZ 2003, p. 106 n. 2 has pleaded again for one single author. FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ 2006 has favoured a three-step redaction of a single author between 1223 and 1237. Most recently REILLY 2010, p. 143 has argued again for one single author.

38 "Circā incīum regni Imperatoris predicti surrexit quidam Sarracenus, Aven Tummert nomine, qui veniens de partibus civitatis nobilis et famose scilicet Baldac, ubi longo tempore studuerat, predicavit in regno Marroquitano, quod tunc tenebant Mauri, qui speciali nomine

claimed several ecclesiastical authors for the history, especially the bishops Dominicus of Plasencia and Baeza³⁹ and Johannes of Burgo de Osma,⁴⁰ whereas María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt has made a case for the archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada himself.⁴¹ Another argument for Rodrigo or at least his entourage, not yet recognized by Cabanes Pecourt, could be the knowledge of the Latin translation of Ibn Tūmart's *Book on the Unity and Uniqueness of God* (*al-'Aḳīda*), the so-called *Tractatus* (or: *Libellus*) *Habentometi de unione Dei*, prepared by the canon Mark of Toledo in summer 1213, and the explicit reference to this booklet in the chronicle.⁴² Furthermore, we certainly know that Rodrigo was a member of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215,⁴³ a fact the anonymous author ascribes to himself.⁴⁴

dicebantur Moabite, quos vulgus vocat Almorauedes, et nomen regis eorum Ali. Predicavit igitur specialiter contra superbiam et opressionem Moabitarum, qui gentes sibi subditas crudeliter oprimebant, exactiones inmoderatas facientes frequenter ut liberalitatis sue, imo potius prodigalitatis viciū, quo laborabant et in quo gloriabantur, possent pro libitu suo exerce^{re}. Ascivit autem sibi gentes innumeras, que libenter ipsum sequebantur volentes excutere de cervicibus suis iugum durissime servitutis, concilians sibi, tanquam vir sapiens et discretus licet infidelis, animos hominum promittens eis munus inestimabile libertatis. Inter illos autem qui sequebantur predictum Aven Tummert fuit vir discretus, largus et bellicosus, nomine Abdelmum, cuius ministerio in arduis negociis frequencius utebatur. Pugnavit autem predictus Aven Tummert, et fautores sui, contra regem Moabitarum supradictum et contra gentem et sepe victi ab ipsis Moabitis, tandem ipsos vicerunt et eos de regno expellentes, civitatem famosam, scilicet Marrocos, occupaverunt. Institutus est autem rex in predicta civitate et in regno Moabitarum Abdelmum supradictus per manum Aven Tummert, quasi prophete sui. Nominati sunt autem illi sic qui obtinuerunt regnum predictum Almohades, hoc est Unientes, quia scilicet unum deum se colere fatebantur, quem predicavit Aven Tummert, sicut in libello quodam, quem ipse composuit, manifeste declaratur", *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 6 l. 22 – p. 7 l. 22.

³⁹ CIROT 1919–1923, p. 200.

⁴⁰ LOMAX 1963, p. 207–211. For Johannes of Burgo de Osma furthermore: BALLESTEROS BERETTA 1940–1941; SERRANO 1941; FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN 1964; LINEHAN 2003a; LINEHAN 2003b.

⁴¹ CABANES PECOURT 1964, p. 11.

⁴² "... quia scilicet unum deum se colere fatebantur, quem predicavit Aven Tummert, sicut in libello quodam, quem ipse composuit, manifeste declaratur", *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 7 l. 20–22. The existence of this translation (MARCUS TOLETANUS *Tractatus Habentometi de unione Dei*) has been overlooked by O'CALLAGHAN 2002, p. 14 n. 6: 'Whatever the book may have been, it does not appear to be extant'. But see GRIFFEL 2005, p. 770 sq. and 774 sq. Another candidate for this knowledge could be Johannes of Burgo de Osma himself, who had been educated in Burgos, where Mauritius, the former initiator of Mark of Toledo's translations of Ibn Tūmart's works, became bishop and was succeeded by Johannes in 1240. Furthermore, Johannes, like Rodrigo, could have had access to Mark's translations in the Toledo Cathedral library.

⁴³ TANGL 1922, p. 224; RIVERA RECIO 1951, p. 336, 338, 340, 342 sq. and 345; LOMAX 1963, p. 205 sq.

⁴⁴ "Ex illo tempore Latini obtinuerunt Constantinopolim et ecclesia Constantinopolitana obedit ecclesie Romane, cuius patriarcham, non predictum sed successorem eius, vidi ego in concilio

With his knowledge of contemporary Islam, the author presents himself in the best light: He knows – no matter of course in his time – the Arabic names for the Almoravids and Almohads,⁴⁵ and he knows about the political and religious dissent and the gradual decline of the Almohads' rulership;⁴⁶ he is able to assess

Lateranense convocato sub Innocencio tercio. Quod concilium celebratum est anno revoluto post mortem gloriosi regis, in quo interfuerunt CCCCXX episcopi et LXXII archiepiscopi et patriarcha Constantinopolitanus et Hierosolymitanus et Aquilēnsis et Grandensis. Abbatum vero et priorum et aliis dignitatibus fulgencium non erat numerus. Hoc autem fuit in festo Omnium Sanctorum et idibus mensis iulii sequentis dominus Innocencius tercius, vir bonus, cuius facta properavit Deus, ingresus est in viam universe carnis", *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 46 l. 18–29. But the same holds true for Johannes, who participated in this Council as a member of archbishop Rodrigo's "familia", as we know about a certain "Iohannes abbas" among the Spanish attendees: RIVERA RECIO 1951, p. 350. Is it possible to prove the stay in Rome for Rodrigo and Johannes respectively, when the author witnesses the ordination of the first Latin patriarch of Constantinople by pope Innocent III in March 1205: "Eligitur in patriarcham quidam Venetus, quem ego vidi consecrari Rome in ecclesia Sancti Petri per manum domini Innocencii III", *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 46, l. 15–17? An indication of the author's origin is his pejorative opinion about the Basques, which would be in line with a nobleman of Navarrese-Old Castilian origin born in Puente la Reina (Rodrigo), or a nobleman born in the Old Castilian town of Soria (Johannes): "Nobilis igitur rex Castelle licet, tanquam vir sapiens et discretus, inteligeret quod laborare in acquisitione Vasconie hoc esset litus arare, necessitate quadam compulsus, non poterat desistere ab incepto. Paupertas siquidem terre, inconstancia hominum, in quibus rara fides inveniebatur, terram Vasconie ipsi regi rediderant odiosam, sed amor coniugis, et ne ipsam contristaret, ipsum cepto pertinaciter insistere compellebat. Videns tandem quod non proficeret, Vascones ipsos, tam nobiles quam populos civitatum, absolvit a iuramento et omaggio, quo ei tenebantur astricti. Felix dies et regno Castelle semper amabilis, qua gloriosus rex pertinacie cessit et destitit ab incepto! Auri fontem irriguum dessicasset Vasconia et nobilitatem procerum hausisset", *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 21 l. 25 – p. 22 l. 9.

⁴⁵ But the chronicle still equalizes "Moabite" and "Almorauedes": as n. 38.

⁴⁶ "Tunc vero divisus votis in curia Almohade apud Marrocos, que quidem floruerat multis diebus usque ad tempus illud, electus fuit unus in regem, quem alii, quibus non placebat, post paucos dies interfecerunt. Ex qua causa tanta discordia inter potentes illius terre orta est, quanta sedari non potuit usque modo et durat adhuc, et utique duret in eternum. Sicque factum est ut alii alium in regem nominarent, et quisque pro libitu suo vellet habere dominum, quem sibi sperabat fore propicium. Illa igitur discordia, ultra mare orta, redundavit in Yspaniam, ita quod rex Murcie nominatus fuit in regem Marroquitanum, et Hispalis ei favebat et maior pars terre Sarracenorum citra mare. Rex vero Biacie et qui dominabatur Valencie, frater ipsius, et fautores ipsorum opposuerunt se predicto regi Murcie, iam nominato regi Marroquitano. Sicque divisio magna facta est inter Mauros ultra mare et citra mare, et iam non regnum, quod nutare constat illud Marroquitanum, sed discidium verius poterat nominari. Ex quo quidem factu quisque vere potest scire quod Daniel propheta dixit: 'quia regnum hominum in manu Dei est et cuicumque voluerit dabit illud.' [Dn 4, 29 and 5, 21] Impletum est illud oraculum Ysaye prophete: 'Ve qui predaris! nonne depredaberis? et qui spernis, nonne sperneris? cum consumaveris, depredationem, depredaberis' [Is 33, 1]", *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 64 l. 19 – p. 65 l. 10.

in this context the significance of Ibn Tūmart,⁴⁷ and he even knows king Ferdinand III's private image of Muḥammad and his followers in 1224.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the author reveals his own opinion of the godless Moors of Córdoba,⁴⁹ characterizes in the light of the nearly reconquered capital of the former caliphate the Christians as a people of different religion and language,⁵⁰ and assesses the reconquest of Córdoba as an act of restoration of the former Visigothic rulership after a very long period of captivity,⁵¹ clearly positioning himself as a supporter of the ideology of Leonese Neogothicism. But this historian also has the idea of a religious act of restoration in mind, for he writes as a bishop who, like many

Furthermore: "Ea vero tempestate surrexit in regno Murcie quidam almogar plebeyus, sicut dicebant, strenuus tum in armis, nomine Abenhut, qui pugnavit contra Murcianos, et eis devictis regem eorum cepit et in vinculis posuit, et civitatem et regnum obtinuit, usus consilio cuiusdam ... Mauri potentis et prudentis, quem postmodum idem Abenhut interfecit. Hodio inexorabili persequeretur Almohades, predicans publice non esse obediendum illis tanquam scismaticis in lege sua, quia non obediunt domino de Baldac, qui est de genere Mahometi. Propter quam causam mezquitas suas dicebat purgandas esse tanquam pollutas Almohadum superstitione. Dicebat eosdem Almohades oppresores populi et violentos exactores, se vero asserebat liberatorem populi de Handalucia. Sic enim vocatur cismarina terra Maurorum, unde et populi Handaluces vocantur, quos quidam credunt Vandalos esse. Handaluces autem, credentes virtutem divinam in eodem operari – quia mos est populo illi levi persuasionem nova sequi – recedentes a domino Almohadum secuti sunt Auehut quasi regem et dominum, qui, ut placeret eis et inimicicias capitales firmaret inter Almohades et Handaluces, atrocissime decrassatus est in eosdem Almohades, viros capitando, iugulando, diversis penis interimendo, mulieribus mamillas amputando, puerorum vitam morte miserabili extinguendo", *ibid.*, p. 75 l. 17 – p. 76 l. 8.

47 "Sic et el Mahedi, qui dicebatur Abdelmun de hazedus, qui Moabitas, dominos suos, ad praedicationem Auen Tummert, philosophi de Baldach, regno privavit contra iusticiam sibique gentes et regna subiecit, cum consummavit ista, per Deum zelotem, qui visitavit peccata parentum 'in filios in terciam et quartam generationem' [Nm 14, 18; Ex 20, 5], privatus est regno in posteris suis in diebus nostris. 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum' [Ps 112, 2]", *ibid.*, p. 65 l. 11–17.

48 "Porta siquidem aperta est et via manifesta. Pax vobis reddita est in regno nostro; discordia et capitales inimicicie inter Mauros, secte et rixe de novo exhortae. Christus Deus et homo ex parte nostra; ex parte vero Maurorum infidelis et dampnatus apostata Mahometus. Quid ergo restat?", *ibid.*, p. 62 l. 18–22.

49 "Mauri Cordubenses, qui nec Deum timent nec hominem reverentur, more solito in necem regis et domini sui, regis scilicet Biacie, conspiraverunt", *ibid.*, p. 71 l. 7–9; RICHARD 1971, p. 122.

50 "Aspexit Corduba populum alterius religionis et linguae, quem non nutrierat", *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 93 l. 25 sq.

51 "Sic igitur per virtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi Corduba, famosa civitas, nitore quodam peculiari et ubere solo predita, queque tanto tempore captiva tenebatur, scilicet a tempore Roderici, regis gotorum, redita est cultui christiano per laborem et strenuitatem domini nostri regis Ferrandi", *ibid.*, p. 99 l. 12–16.

Christian authors before him in the Iberian Peninsula⁵² and in the Near East,⁵³ articulates the idea of Christian churches polluted by the Muslims, so that these houses of prayer could only be restored by church dedications and holy messes after their military reconquest.⁵⁴ It seems promising to compare again in detail all

52 The idea of restoring former Christian churches, polluted by the sacrilege of the ‘Muḥammadan’ cult, is already formulated in Peter of Aragón and Navarra’s charter of donation for the Cathedral of Huesca, April 5, 1097: “atque ubi dominici corporis et sanguinis celebrata fuerant sacramenta nefanda demonum spurcissimique Mahomat colebantur figmenta ... In qua [sc. “urbe Osca”] ad restaurandum antiqui pontificatus apicem, Petro Aragonensi episcopo omnibus Hispaniarum urbium mezquitam contuli excellentiorem. Quam in honore domini Ihesu Christi Nazareni necnon beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri santeque Marie genitricis Dei et sancti Iohannis baptiste atque evangeliste ... dedicari ecclesia feci”, *Diploma Petri I regis Aragoniae et Navarrae*, p. 90 l. 6–8 and 15–23, or in Alfonso I of Aragón’s charter of donation for the Cathedral of Tarazona, 1122. The mosques of the diocese shall be reconverted into Catholic churches: “Similiter concedimus ei [sc. “Michaeli Tironensi episcopo”], ut in omnibus villis ipsius episcopus omnes mezquitas ac omnes hereditates omnium illarum mezquitarum in usum ecclesieque eius vendicent; quatenus eliminata ab eisdem omni spurcicia Satane, et sequaces ipsius Mahometh, Iesus Christus Dominus noster in eis adoretur, glorificetur simul et sanctificetur, et unde demoniorum cultores sustentari videbantur inde videlicet pauperes Christi ad laudem et gloriam nominis ipsius Domini nostri devote [“devolè” ed.] servientes ac humiliter, in eisdem restauratis et noviter consecratis ecclesiis militantes, pro ut ex Evangelio et apostolico precepto accepimus, dignum est, ut qui altari serviunt, quae de altario [!] sunt participant, et ab his sustententur”, *Diploma Alfonsi I regis Aragoniae*, p. 333 l. 5–15. The anonymous author of the *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris* II 66 talks about the purgation of Coria, ca. 1147/1149: “Postquam autem reddita est civitas imperatori, mundata est ab inmunditia barbarice gentis et a contaminatione Mahometis et, destructa omni spurcicia paganorum civitatis illius et templi sui, dedicaverunt ecclesiam in honore sancte Marie semper virginis et omnium sanctorum ...”, *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris* 1950, p. 125 l. 1–6; *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris* 1990, p. 225 l. 1–5; HARRIS 1997, p. 159 sq. n. 9 and p. 162 n. 26 (with the erroneous allegation of the destruction of the mosques in Coria). The evidently French author of the *Translatio brachii S. Eugenii Toletani episcopi* § 29, ca. 1153, expresses the idea of Muslim pollution of the Toledan churches: “templa sanctorum titulis consecrata, pro dolor!, mahometici cultus sacrilegio fedarentur”, *Translatio brachii S. Eugenii Toletani episcopi*, p. 176 l. 22 – p. 177 l. 1. For the evaluation of this text: HENRIET 2000, p. 70–75. The only manuscript of this valuable text is the lectionary Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, Ms. 48-10, fol. 98v–100v, late thirteenth/early fourteenth century.

53 In the tradition of the crusades to the Holy Land, the debate on religious pollution of Christian holy places is a central theme: COLE 1993; ANGENENDT 2009.

54 E.g. the purgation of Campos de Alcoraz (near Huesca): “In die Ascensionis receptus fuit rex gloriosus in eadem villa cum procesione solempni ab archiepiscopo Toletano, purgata Maurorum spurcicia, recedentibus ipsis de villa; et eadem die archiepiscopus missam celebravit ibidem”, *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 37 l. 6–9; purgation of the mosque of Capilla (near Badajoz): “Archiepiscopus vero Toletanus et episcopus Palentinus et alii viri religiosi, qui cum episcopis erant, mezquitam maurorum, omni spurcicia mahometice superstitionis per virtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et victoriosissime Crucis eius purgatam, dedicaverunt ecclesiam

these political and religious concepts with the irrefutably authentic historiographical work of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.⁵⁵

The author of the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* had not only had direct access to the royal archives and their written official documents; as a political agent of the royal court he had also collected a lot of detailed information from the Muslim side, which had been made available only as oral Arabic or vernacular, but not as written Latin traditions. Yet, these traces of transcultural orality at the royal court of Toledo are neglected by nearly all recent scholars who have dealt with the chronicle's passages on contemporary Almohadian Islam in al-Andalus and in the Maghreb.⁵⁶ Despite the already recognized alterity of contents and narrations in these sections, the latest scholar has only asserted that we could read here 'borrowed *material*' or 'inserted *material*', which had been 'borrowed from another *text*, presumably not a Muslim one for the narrative style is not that of Muslim historical writing', without taking into consideration the possibility of oral communication about this very detailed information on Andalusian Islam and its specific traditions.⁵⁷ Even if we accept the creation of a written Latin short history of Ibn Tūmart and the Almohads in the Cathedral chapter of Toledo,⁵⁸ which Rodrigo himself could have used for his own chapter on the appearance of the Almohads in *De rebus Hispaniae* VII 10 ("De ortu Almohadum"),⁵⁹ and even if

Domino Iesu Christo, missam et divina officia cum magno gaudio celebrantes", *ibid.*, p. 72 l. 16–22; purgation of the famous central mosque of Córdoba and its transformation into the Cathedral: "Felix per omnes mundi cardines dies illuxit Christianis in felice festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli: annua ipsa solempnitas ipsa die agebatur. Circa versperas cancellarius, scilicet Osomensis episcopus, magister Lupus cum eo, qui vexillum Crucis in turrem predictam primo intromisit, intraverunt in mezquitam et preparantes, que necessaria erant ad hoc, ut ecclesia fieret de mezquita, expulsa Mahometi superstitione vel spurcia, sanctificaverunt locum per asperionem aque cum salibus benedicte, et quod prius erat cubile diaboli facta ecclesia Iesu Christi, vocata nomine Genetricis ipsius gloriose", *ibid.*, p. 99 l. 28 – p. 100 l. 8. For the concept of religious purity in a transcultural comparative perspective: BURSCHER/MARX 2011; BLEY e. a. 2014.

⁵⁵ First comparisons relating to the information on contemporary Islam have been drawn between the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* and Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispaniae* by CIROT 1912–1913, *passim*; GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ 1975, p. 63–66. A comparison of both works concerning their conceptions of royal ideology and policy in Castile-León during the first half of the thirteenth century has been drawn by RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ 2003; RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ 2004a (also Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon mundi*); RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ 2004c (also Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon mundi*); RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ 2006.

⁵⁶ ARIZALETA 2006 is the only researcher who has explicitly expounded orality as a source for information on contemporary Islam, but only in one isolated case.

⁵⁷ REILLY 2010, p. 145 sq.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146 sq.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

we may emphasize as well the personal memory of the author,⁶⁰ we should not forget orality as a decisive, but almost neglected source of new information about Islam.

Until now, however, this historiographical Arabo-Castilian-Latin transfer has not been compared systematically with other contemporary written or oral traditions, nor has it been integrated into the general panorama of the Arabo-Latin translation movement in the Iberian Peninsula. With the determination of the author and the place of his historiographical activity, we would locate a further piece of the puzzle of our still patchy map of Iberian Arabo-Latin translations within the understudied interlinguistic system of written and oral communication about religious alterity. Whether it has been Johannes, new chancellor for the kingdoms of León and Castile since 1231, and bishop of Burgo de Osma between 1232 and 1240, or Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo since 1209 and thus Johannes' own archchancellor in Castile, in both cases we can record another Arabo-Latin translation of the late 1230s⁶¹ for the Spanish metropole of Toledo.

2.3 Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia Arabum*

To the same historical and geographical context belongs the *Historia Arabum*, which the aforementioned archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1209–1247) finished in 1245.⁶² But in comparison with my first two historiographical items, this history is based much more on authentic texts on Islam from the Andalusian environment, as it actually paraphrases the content and the language of the older

⁶⁰ FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ 2006, p. 32–34.

⁶¹ The latest recorded event is the sale of Paredes de Nava by Álvaro Pérez de Castro, July 24, 1237: FERNÁNDEZ ORDÓÑEZ 2006, p. 11 with n. 25.

⁶² FERRÉ 1966a; FERRÉ 1966b; REINHARDT/SANTIAGO OTERO 1986, p. 303–306; PICK 2004, p. 6, 75, 77–79 and 177; MASER 2006; DREWS 2011, p. 46–59.

Arabic historiography of the Iberian Peninsula,⁶³ thus constituting a ‘historiographical translation’.⁶⁴ Besides known Iberian Latin texts like the *Chronica Muzarabica* and the *Liber apologeticus martyrum* of Eulogius of Córdoba,⁶⁵ Rodrigo uses Arabic traditions⁶⁶ for a highly authentic Life of Muḥammad which he integrates at the very beginning of his ‘History of the Spanish Arabs’ (c. 1–6).⁶⁷ The life of the Muslims’ prophet is therefore the well reflected external starting point for this history of the Arabs living between the Near Orient, Northern Africa and al-Andalus until the end of the eleventh century.⁶⁸ With the end of the caliphate of Córdoba in 1031 and the invasion of the Almoravids between 1086 and 1091 – at least in the eyes of Rodrigo – al-Andalus is losing its specific Hispanic identity; the progress of its history beyond the middle of the twelfth century, when the Almohads finally took over the reign from the Almoravids, therefore plays no further role in Rodrigo’s concept of a global ‘History of Spain’, which I shall present in what follows. From now on, the history of Spain is the history of the Christians alone.

Following Rodrigo, Muḥammad withdraws from Mekka to Medina, preparing his war against Byzantium and the conquest of Damascus, where he finally is

63 Former research has pleaded for Aḥmad ar-Rāzī’s *Aḥbār Mulūk al-Andalus*, on the one hand, and for Ibn Ḥayyān’s *al-Muqtabis II* in a shorter version or selected form, on the other hand: SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1942a, p. 308–316; FERRÉ 1966a; FERRÉ 1966b; CREGO GÓMEZ 2006. But MASER 2006, p. 140–193 and 359–590; MASER 2012, p. 229–232 has shown that this use of texts is not so clear as we would like to see it, because we do not know whether Rodrigo himself is the actual author of this special history or rather the mastermind behind the whole historiographical project.

64 MASER 2007, p. 256. This type of translation explains the numerous namings and explanations of Muslim rulers, as was already indicated by RICHARD 1971, p. 130.

65 MASER 2006, p. 144–146, 194–196, p. 200 n. 228, p. 202 n. 237, p. 210, 222 sq., 264, 267–272 and 290 sq.; p. 220 n. 18 sq. and p. 291 n. 302. Following D’ALVERNY/VAJDA 1951–1952, p. 118 with n. 1 and p. 261 sq. n. 6 and 1; CUTLER 1965, p. 336 with n. 72 and p. 337 sq. with n. 87, Mark of Toledo was acquainted with the works of Eulogius of Córdoba and his friend Paulus Albarus, so that these texts could have been known to Rodrigo as well. Rodrigo could already have read the *Chronica Muzarabica* in the Cathedral library of Burgo de Osma, where an early copy was available: MOMMSEN 1894, p. 331; GIL FERNÁNDEZ 1973, p. LIX.

66 Ibn Ishāq’s *Kitāb sirat rasūl Allāh* in the version of Ibn Hišām, the Qur’ān in its second Latin translation by Mark of Toledo, initiated by Rodrigo, and hadiths: MASER 2006, p. 224–293; MASER 2012, p. 235.

67 RODERICUS XIMENIUS DE RADA *Historia Arabum* 1999, p. 88–96; SERRANO Y SANZ 1931–1932, p. 379 sq. with n. 1; RICHARD 1971, p. 110 sq. and 113–117; GAUTIER-DALCHÉ 1981, p. 48 sq.; SCHWINGES 1998, p. 109; TOLAN/JOSSERAND 2000, p. 161–164; TOLAN 2003, p. 251; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA 2005, p. 139 sq.; MASER 2006, p. 213–293; DREWS 2011, p. 51; MASER 2012, p. 233–237.

68 For Rodrigo’s knowledge and perception of Islam: FERRERO HERNÁNDEZ 2008; PICK 2011.

proclaimed king. He is said to have been a disciple of the Jewish astrologer Sergius-Bahira, foretelling him his future role as a prophet. In Mekka, furthermore, Muḥammad shall have re-erected the old Christian church, lapsed into ruins, and he shall have told fairy-tales to the Christian communities in Syria, e.g. his nightly journey to heaven, with the purpose to persuade them of his prophetic status.⁶⁹ Right here, Rodrigo integrates a short history of the ‘religious sect’ of the Muslims, portraying Muḥammad as a strong adherent of the contemporary opinion of Islam as being a heresy.⁷⁰ In Rodrigo’s eyes, Muḥammad’s religious movement is rooted both in Catholic and in Jewish faith.⁷¹ Rodrigo’s additional knowledge of Islam already displays his mostly Latinized Arabic vocabulary.⁷² The novel, groundbreaking fact is clearly not a ‘global’ perspective of the integration of knowledge about Muḥammad and his movement,⁷³ already existing in earlier chronicles,⁷⁴ but its adoption for a global reflexion of the non-Spanish and non-Christian preconditions of the Iberian history of the thirteenth century.

On closer inspection, the ‘History of the Spanish Arabs’ is neither the first exclusive Latin history of ‘another religion’⁷⁵ nor – despite all mentioned inner-Islamic struggles since al-Manṣūr’s death and the resistance of the Andalusian Muslims against the Almoravids and Almohads – a religious history of the Spanish Arabs since the nemesis of the Umayyad dynasty in the Near East. This *Historia Arabum* is certainly no *Historia Sarracenorum*; it rather forms part of an early profane ‘national’ and political ‘History of Spain’ under the leadership of Castil-

69 Rodrigo witnesses the discovery of this text “in eius secundo libro” (c. 5). That means that he and his team must have translated a written text. Rodrigo knows two versions of the *Mi’rāğ*, the one given in the redaction of the *Kitāb sirat rasūl Allāh* by Ibn Hišām and the short version in the Qur’ān: “In eius secundo libro reperitur scriptum quod ...” and “ut ipse in libro suo mentitur ... Addidit etiam in hoc libro”, RODERICUS XIMENIUS DE RADA *Historia Arabum* 1999, p. 92 l. 11 sq., p. 93 l. 15 sq. and 31 sq.; ASÍN Y PALACIOS 1919, p. 314; ASÍN Y PALACIOS 1943, p. 376 sq.; MASER 2006, p. 279 with n. 252 and p. 284.

70 RICHARD 1971, p. 113; SCHWINGES 1998, p. 111 sq.

71 C. 2: “... unde et ipse postmodum aliqua de fide catholica, aliqua de lege veteri in sue secte subsidium usurpavit”, RODERICUS XIMENIUS DE RADA *Historia Arabum* 1999, p. 89 l. 9–11.

72 C. 3: “Tunc precepit ut in turribus ubi consueverant campane pulsari, Sarracenus quispiam proclamaret ... Precepit etiam ut in mense Ramadan ieunarent xxx diebus”, *ibid.*, p. 91 l. 12 sq. and 14 sq.; c. 6: “... precepta aliqua proferebat, que sub uno compacta capitulo zohara appellabat; et per tales zoharas distinguitur liber eius qui dicitur Alchoranus, in quo tot ignominiosas zoharas predicavit quod puderet dicere, nedum sequi”, *ibid.*, p. 96 l. 24–27.

73 So DREWS 2011, p. 51.

74 TISCHLER 2008, p. 37–48.

75 So PICK 2005, p. 407 (‘the first extant work of history in Latin to treat exclusively the rise and spread of Islam’).

ian Toledo. The Arabs of this history are no longer the simple object of conventional religious polemics, but a self-contained people that a Latin Christian author places for the first time in the correct historical context of the superseding peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.⁷⁶ This concept of a first ‘national history’ is an absolute necessity for the new kingdom of Castile-León, reunited in 1230 by king Ferdinand III, since the tremendous territorial expansion of Old Castile to al-Andalus after the reconquest of Córdoba in 1236 has confronted the Christians with the enormous problem of the social and religious integration of the numerous Muslims remaining in their former homeland.⁷⁷ In Rodrigo’s own words, “Hispania”, because of its many strokes of fates and fragmentations by invaders and foreign rulers, is in need of a new consciousness of unity.⁷⁸ Therefore, his *Historia Arabum* necessarily forms part of a comprehensive historiographical compilation with the *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* at its centre, as do the translated biographical and historiographical Arabic texts, which are integrated in both single histories. This integration of Arabic traditions is the intellectual model and precondition for the social and religious integration of the Muslims in the new Christian territories. Rodrigo compiled his comprehensive historiographical work between ca. 1240 and 1246 (the *Historia Arabum* in 1245); it is his mature late work, written exactly in the years before the reconquest of Seville in 1248 by Ferdinand III, king of Castile-León, when the Christian expansion reached out to the Algarve coast and when the Mendicant missions to the Muslims in Southeastern Spain and Northern Africa was coordinated by the metropolite of Spain – archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.

⁷⁶ DREWS 2006, p. 275–281; DREWS 2011, p. 48.

⁷⁷ DREWS 2006, p. 265 sq.; DREWS 2011, p. 49.

⁷⁸ *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* Prologus: “Cum igitur Hispaniarum successus variorum principum cruentis cladibus iteratus et linguam mutaverit et originem sue gentis pluribus intercepta dominiis sit oblita, iam fere gens et origo incolarum Hispanie ignoratur”, RODERICUS XIMENIUS DE RADA *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, p. 6 l. 49–53.

3 An Understudied Methodological Problem. The Interrelationship of Written and Oral Traditions within the Field of Arabo-Latin Translations⁷⁹

In analyzing the multiple oral, literate and written processes of transfer and transformation of knowledge about Muḥammad's life and work between the Muslim and Christian societies, we are considering the crossing of boundaries between different modes of narrations and their cultural patterns, on the one hand, and we are rethinking the well-established model of interdependent perception and interpretation, on the other hand. One fundamental issue of this paper is the analysis of the processes of crossing and creating boundaries within the transcultural/religious space of 'passages' of oral, literate and written representations of Muḥammad's life and work,⁸⁰ which have been constituted between the transmitting and receiving Muslim and Christian sides. These representations may therefore be called 'textual events'.⁸¹ Whilst considering the multifaceted medieval conception of 'text',⁸² we have to assess the relationship between biographical and historiographical writing, stating that each form of representation may occur within the other and that different textual conceptualizations did exist.⁸³ However, until now, this crossing of biographical and historiographical writings has not been thoroughly studied, particularly as it was Christian hagiography (and historiography) in context alone, which has been considered from an almost intracultural perspective.⁸⁴ Furthermore, we see fluid boundaries between Lives and Legends, and both forms of biographical writing are entitled to historical

⁷⁹ The following chapter is an enlarged and revised version of TISCHLER 2013.

⁸⁰ For the difference between literacy ('Verschriftung') and writing ('Verschriftlichung'): OESTERREICHER 1993.

⁸¹ SPONSER 2002 describes 'the shifting process of appropriation', but this is unilateral and monolinear thinking. BURKE 2000 prefers the bilateral term 'cultural exchange'. I suggest 'passage(s)' (following Walter Benjamin) in BORGOLTE/TISCHLER 2012a, p. 12–15. The papers in FEUCHTER e. a. 2011 underline the necessity of being sensitized to cultural, social and ideological conditions and implications for and in the representations of cultural transfer.

⁸² KUCHENBUCH/KLEINE 2006.

⁸³ LIFSHITZ 1994 wrongly argues that separating historiography and hagiography is not possible until the twelfth century. This statement should be regarded as unfounded since both modes of inquiring into the past belong to different areas of handling knowledge (education, liturgy ...).

⁸⁴ BAUER/HERBERS 2000.

truth and authenticity. Legendary writing within historiography is an item of research as well, yet again almost from an intracultural point of view.⁸⁵

When scrutinizing the aforementioned ‘passages’, we consider a whole bundle of medial and linguistic, as well as cultural and religious, processes of transfer and transformation. Curiously enough, exchanges between oral, literate and written traditions on Muḥammad’s life and work have not been discussed in the relevant literature on medieval memory,⁸⁶ even though the massive transition from oral to literate representations and oral traditions, especially in historiographical work from our research period, has been studied.⁸⁷ Thus, it is expected that behind the variance of recurring components of narratives on Muḥammad’s life and afterlife there would be no implicit proof of intertextuality, but instead clear hints of foreign and proper orality, which does not mention explicitly the bearers of private information and public opinion.

This short evaluation of the state-of-the-art could well be extended to the studies that have been conducted on our three selected Arabo-Latin chronicles. A clear deficit of methodological reflection on transcultural processes of transfer and transformation can be observed, which is consequently followed by a lamentable lack of historical insight into the creation of new Christian narratives of Islam.

Medieval writing about the new cultural and religious phenomenon, considered very early,⁸⁸ and which involved changing the conceptual framework of linguistic and cultural dispositions of the historians, was highly influenced by the authors’ social, linguistic and cultural proximity to the object of perception and interpretation. Therefore, the written work on cultural and religious alterity depends on the ability to cross at least two barriers: on the one hand, the linguistic and cultural barrier of missing proficiency in Arabic, Syriac and Greek, and on the other hand, the mental and intellectual barrier of ignorance and indifference towards the potential of a challenge to one’s own position by the religious other.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, in this model of cultural transfer between relatively distant semi-

85 BIETENHOLZ 1994; GOETZ 1999, p. 147.

86 YATES 1966; STOCK 1983; GOODY e. a. 1986; GOODY 1987; ZUMTHOR 1987; CARRUTHERS 1990; COLEMAN 1992; GEARY 1994; RICHTER 1994a; RICHTER 1994b; RICHTER 1995; WENZEL 1995. Even the Freiburg Sonderforschungsbereich (i.e. Collaborative Research Centre) 321 ‘Übergänge und Spannungsfelder zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit’ (1985–1996) did not offer a research project on this central topic.

87 VOLLRATH 1991 (intracultural perspective).

88 Especially in the Byzantine world: TISCHLER 2012c.

89 TISCHLER 2009.

otic systems, the central role of orality or oral communication has not been sufficiently determined. Orality in the processes of transfer and translation in its proper sense would mean that we do not consider processes of translation between four eyes⁹⁰ or between two hands,⁹¹ but processes of convers(at)ion between two mouths *and* brains. The traces of these processes of oral communication are hidden in the specific forms of narration in our texts.

Different forms of orchestration of oral and written texts may be distinguished here. In the *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*, our first model, only the final section on the conquest of Spain⁹² is written as a sequence of dialogues: firstly, at the royal Visigothic court between Witiza (“Geticus”) and an unnamed general (“dux”) on the (dishonest) capture of Julian’s daughter, then between Julian himself and his squire on this fraudulent act, and eventually between Julian and Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād on the possible conquest of Spain to avenge this act (c. 19);⁹³ subsequently, after Witiza’s death we are presented with a dialogue between his sons and Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād on how to ensure the victory over king Rodrigo (c. 20);⁹⁴ and finally, there is a conversation between Theudemir and Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and between the latter and Julian on the final phase of conquest (c. 21).⁹⁵ This is clearly the Christian-Arabic re-enactment of oral traditions filtered out of the Arabic models of anecdotic and dialogic narrations, the so-called “aḥbār”-tradition.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ ROMANO 1971.

⁹¹ D’ALVERNY 1989.

⁹² For the (earliest) Arabic traditions on the conquest of al-Andalus from 711 onwards and for their often contradictory and lamentably scarce contents: COLLINS 1989, p. 4 sq.; MOLINA MARTÍNEZ 1998; MANZANO MORENO 1999; CHRISTYS 2002, p. 6; THOMAS 2008, p. 101–117 (with some methodological weaknesses in his argumentation). For a general assesment of the Arabic, Latin and Romance traditions of the following events: KRAPPE 1923; MENÉNDEZ PIDAL 1924.

⁹³ *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 182–184.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186. Parallel Arabic tradition: AR-RĀZĪ *Crónica del moro Rasis* 1971, p. 132 sq. (Ms. U): MANZANO MORENO 1999, p. 413 n. 74.

⁹⁵ *Chronica gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* 2000, p. 188–190. Parallel Arabic tradition: AR-RĀZĪ *Crónica del moro Rasis* 1971, p. 134–142 (Ms. U). However, Theudemir’s surrender of Murcia and Orihuela to Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād in April 713 and its anachronistic positioning between Rodrigo’s fall (July 711) and the occupation of Toledo by Ṭāriq (October 711) is paralleled in the *Aḥbār Maḡmū’a*: *Aḥbār Maḡmū’a*, p. 12–15 (Arabic text) and 26–28 (Spanish version).

⁹⁶ After the monograph SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ 1944, there has been at least a spurious debate on the multiple oral character of many traditions of the historiographical compilation *Aḥbār Maḡmū’a*: CHALMETA GENDRÓN 1973, p. 30 and 54 sq.; MOLINA MARTÍNEZ 1989, p. 520 sq., 533 and 535; OLIVER PÉREZ 2000–2001, p. 517 sq., 529 sq., 536–538, 540–548, 551 and 553; OLIVER PÉREZ 2001, p. 81, 87–89, 96–98 and 103–105; OLIVER PÉREZ 2002, p. 132, 139 and 143.

Another mode of orality in written texts is signalled by keywords or ‘rubrics’ introducing explicit oral narratives on contemporary Islam in al-Andalus. In this way, the opinions and news of individuals or whole groups of persons are referenced. We can assess this manner of written orality in the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, which has not yet been studied from this perspective – and curiously enough – not even in its latest critical edition.⁹⁷ Rubrics like “dicebatur”, “sicut dicebant”, “dicebat”, “asserebat”, “sicut asseritur a multis”, “ista didicimus fama referente” or “creditur” refer to detailed information on Abd al-Mu‘min’s (Ibn Tūmart’s successor) defeat of the Almoravids,⁹⁸ on Ibn Hud’s (alias al-Mutawakkil’s) rebellion in Murcia and his victory over the Almohads,⁹⁹ on Muḥammad I ibn Naṣr’s cruel punishment of the brother of the ṭā’ifa king of Baeza¹⁰⁰ and on Abū Yaḥyā at-Tinmalālī’s death, full of grief of despair about his son’s decapitation,¹⁰¹ whereas “vocatur” or “vocantur” display specific Arabo-Latin vocabulary.¹⁰² In his report of the reconquest of Úbeda (1233), the author even mentions explicitly Moorish prisoners of that town as his informants,¹⁰³ and he also relies on (Christian) eye witnesses for his description of the marvellous Muslim palace of Córdoba.¹⁰⁴

Another clearly understudied aspect of the Arabo-Latin historiography is the persistence of the Arabic tradition; namely, that already in the Arabic models the oral “aḥbār”-tradition is an essential reason for the sophisticated techniques of

⁹⁷ CHARLO BREA 1997.

⁹⁸ As n. 47.

⁹⁹ As n. 46.

¹⁰⁰ “Quod ut oblatum est ei [sc. “regi Marroquitano”], sicut asseritur a multis, virga, quam tenebat in manu, percussit, verbis contumeliosis usus in dedecus ipsius [sc. “regis Biacie”] et tocius parentele eius. Cui cum respondisset aspere quidam frater regis Biacie, percussus est ab ipso rege Marroquitano cum gladio, et sic orta seditione mul-ti ex utraque parte cede mutua occubuerunt. Ista didicimus fama referente”, *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 71 l. 14–20.

¹⁰¹ “Capta fuit igitur predicta civitas [sc. “Maiorica”] ultima die mensis decembris, anno ab incarnatione domini MCCXXIX. Rex Maiorice post paucos dies mortuus est, decapitato filio eius, quem tenerrime diligebat; unde pre dolore nimio creditur expirasse”, *ibid.*, p. 79 l. 10–14.

¹⁰² As n. 46.

¹⁰³ “Sicut referebant aliqui de Mauris ipsis, qui tunc in eadem villa [sc. “Úbeda”] capti fuerunt”, *Chronica latina regum Castellae* 1984, p. 35 l. 7 sq.

¹⁰⁴ “Missa igitur sollempniter celebrata per Osomensem episcopum et benedictione super populum data, dominus rex intravit in palacium nobilissimum, quod reges Maurorum sibi preparaverant, de quo tot et tanta dicuntur ab his qui viderunt, quod a non videntibus incredibilia iudicantur”, *ibid.*, p. 100 l. 15–19.

compilation in Islamic historiography¹⁰⁵ and that this very manner of writing history is one of the intrinsic reasons for the variance of narrations of the same historical events. Nevertheless, to our dismay, the memory of the authors of Arabo-Latin processes of transfer was intricately involved in an intensive communicative situation between Arabic-vernacular orality and Latin literacy, which implies that the multilingual communication situation is a tricky filter for creating Latin memory. Orality is therefore not only one of the still underestimated reasons for the variety of similar but not identical traditions produced by processes of Arabo-Latin transfer; it is also responsible for the reduction of this variety of traditions lost in Arabo-Latin translation. It is exactly this third mode of a more hidden orality that can be found in the *Historia Arabum*, in which Rodrigo's translation team shows this very sophisticated scholastic way of homogenizing the varying Arabic traditions about the same historical events.¹⁰⁶ The central challenge in our ongoing research is thus the detection and comprehension of these oral processes, since written records of the vernacular step between the Arabic and Latin versions have only been preserved from the thirteenth century onwards.¹⁰⁷

With regard to the historiographical background on the Muslim side, we are now able to understand why, for instance, Wibert of Nogent explicitly mentions orality as the source for his first knowledge of Muḥammad and Islam, creating a narrative plot of his most reliable referees.¹⁰⁸ And we can also better assess the variance of the seemingly analogous but never identical legendary narratives of Muḥammad, which apparently emerged in the context of Arabo-vernacular-Latin communication situations during their encounters in Northern Spain and which

105 ROSENTHAL 1968, p. 66–71; CHALMETA GENDRÓN 1972, p. 360 sq. and 368; CHALMETA GENDRÓN 1973; LEDER 1992; NOTH/CONRAD 1994, p. 62; DONNER 1998, p. 6, 14 sq., 255 sq., 260, 262–266 and 279–281; ROBINSON 2003, p. 15–19; HIRSCHLER 2006, p. 86.

106 This complex of orality behind Arabo-Latin (historiographical) translations and its transforming effects have not been considered by MASER 2006, p. 143 sq., 154 sq., 171 sq., 174, 180, 188 sq. and 192; MASER 2012, although he has detected some traces of orally transmitted knowledge of Muḥammad: MASER 2006, p. 236, 292 sq. and 431 (“alii dicunt”).

107 MENÉNDEZ PIDAL 1951, p. 365 sq.; D'ALVERNY 1989, p. 199–201.

108 I 3: “Plebeia opinio est quendam fuisse qui, si bene eum exprimo, Mathometus nuncupetur ... Cuius mores vitamque cum nusquam scripta didicerim, quae a quibusdam disertioribus dici vulgo audierim nulli debet esse mirum si dicere velim”, GUITBERTUS DE NOVIGENTO *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 94 l. 244 sq. and 253–255; MUNRO 1931, p. 333; SOUTHERN 1962, p. 31; DANIEL 1975, p. 236; BISCHOFF 1984b, p. 108; FLORI 1992, p. 253; ROTTER 1994, p. 82 sq. with n. 81 sq.; LUCHITSKAJA 1999, p. 724. Guibert's oral tradition stems from the Christian-Arabic context of the Eastern Mediterranean because of some striking similarities with Embricho of Mayence's *Vita Mahumeti* (ROTTER 1994, p. 82 n. 82), whose narration comes from the Near East: HOTZ 2002, p. 29–35, 86 sq. and 96.

then were inserted into several French chronicles from the late eleventh century onwards, as for instance in Hugh of Flavigny or Hugh of Fleury.¹⁰⁹

4 ‘Frontier Historiography’

We may briefly summarize our observations. a. From the geographical perspective, we can identify a gradual shift of the translation activity to the South of the Iberian Peninsula, following on the one hand the Reconquista from Northern and Northeastern Spain to the centre in Toledo and confirming on the other hand the already known map of the Iberian Arabo-Latin translation areas of other spheres of knowledge. b. From the social and religious standpoint, we see perhaps a change of the translation activity from the monastic to the canonical milieus, that is, from monasteries to cathedral chapters. c. With regard to the typology of texts, we clearly observe a typical Iberian mixed genre between translation and historiography, the ‘translation-based Arabo-Latin chronicle’, which perfectly represents what we call nowadays ‘entangled history’. d. Finally, in terms of the notion of frontier, we may be encouraged to characterize this specific form of historiographical writing at the edge of languages, cultures and religions of the Iberian frontier societies as ‘frontier historiography’. Especially its geographical and communicative vicinity to the Arabic side seems to plead for this new notion, coined in view of the already introduced term ‘frontier hagiography’.¹¹⁰

Abbreviations

BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina
CChr.CM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis
CChr.SL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
PL	Patrologia Latina

109 HUGO FLAVINIACENSIS *Chronicon*, p. 323 l. 32–41: KEDAR 1984, p. 86 sq. and 211; ROTTER 1994, p. 87 sq. with n. 113; ROTTER 2004, p. 332 with n. 239; TISCHLER 2008, p. 39. HUGO FLORIACENSIS *Historia ecclesiastica* a. 1109; HUGO FLORIACENSIS *Historia ecclesiastica* a. 1110: D’ALVERNY 1965, p. 599 with n. 46; DANIEL 1975, p. 235–237; KEDAR 1984, p. 87 and 208–210; DANIEL 1993, p. 31; NOTH 1993, p. 379; ROTTER 2004, p. 333 sq.; TISCHLER, 2008, p. 38 with n. 31.

110 Whereas this notion generally pertains to texts with a certain geographical distance to the Muslim side: VIÑAYO GONZÁLEZ 1984, p. 74–77; GARCÍA DE LA BORBOLLA 2000; GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ 2003, p. 158–163; GARCÍA DE LA BORBOLLA 2006.

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