

Rodrigo Furtado

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE'S «HISTORIAE» (CPL 1204)
IN THE CAROLINGIAN WORLD*

The text that brought fame to Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636) as a historian was his *Chronicon*, on which he seems to have worked repeatedly between 615 and 626¹. Chronicles had become the quintessential historiographical genre during late antiquity, following the Greek model established in the East by Eusebius of Caesarea in 326². In the West,

* This work is financed with National Funds through FCT (Foundation for Science and Technology), though the project UID/00019 Centro de Estudos Clássicos, <https://doi.org/10.54499/UIDB/00019/2020>.

1. J. C. Martín, ed., *Isidori hispalensis chronica* (CCSL 112), Turnhout, Brepols, 2003. See also M. Reydellet, *Les intentions idéologiques et politiques dans la Chronique d'Isidore de Séville*, in «Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome», 87 (1970), pp. 363-400; G. Zecchini, *Ricerche di storiografia latina tardoantica*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1993, pp. 229-40; J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths*, Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 217-24; P. Galán Sánchez, *El género historiográfico de la Chronica. Las crónicas hispanas de época visigoda*, Cáceres, Universidad de Extremadura, 1994, pp. 175-208; G. Zecchini, *Ricerche di storiografia latina tardoantica*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1994, pp. 229-40; J. C. Martín, *La crónica universal de Isidoro de Sevilla: circunstancias históricas e ideológicas de su composición y traducción de la misma*, in «Iberia», 4 (2001), pp. 199-239. In general, see J. N. Hillgarth, *Historiography in Visigothic Spain*, in *La storiografia altomedievale*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 261-311; and R. Furtado, *Narrating the Past*, in «A Companion to Visigothic Iberia» (Brill, in press).

2. The bibliography is almost infinite. For more general contributions, see C. Codoñer Merino, *Las crónicas latinas del siglo IV*, in *VII Simposi d'Estudis Clàssics*, Bellaterra, Secció Catalana de la Societat Espanyola d'Estudis Clàssics, Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1985, pp. 21-140; S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*, Leeds, Francis Cairns Publications, 1990; C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *Historie und Chronographie. Entstehung und Frühzeit lateinischer Chronistik (von Hieronymus bis Beda)*, «Minerva», 14 (2000), pp. 107-27; R. W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, *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.

Autori, testi e manoscritti fra la penisola iberica e l'Italia: da Gregorio Magno a Gregorio VII. In ricordo di Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz. A cura di C. Cardelle de Hartmann e P. F. Alberto, Firenze, SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2026, pp. 103-40.
ISBN 978-88-9290-427-9 e-ISBN (PDF) 978-88-9290-428-6 DOI 10.36167/MEV146PDF
© 2026 The Authors and SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo

Eusebius' *Chronicon* became a sort of bestseller after Jerome translated it into Latin and continued it around 380. Jerome's translation was condensed and/or continued by Prosper of Aquitaine, Marius of Avenches, and the anonymous authors of the *Chronica Gallica a. 452* and *Chronica Gallica a. 511* in Gaul, by Victor of Tunnuna in North Africa, and by Marcellinus Comes in Constantinople up to the mid-6th century. In Iberia, Jerome's translation was known at least from the mid-5th century when it was continued by Bishop Hydatius of Chaves in Gallaecia. At the beginning of the 7th century, Isidore did not simply update or epitomize any one of these older chronicles; he decided to write a new text from scratch, and in the process reinvented the genre. Likely inspired by Prosper's *Chronicon*, Isidore abandoned Eusebius' synchronic columns, preferring to draw up a chronological list of events from different places in a single column. Richard W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowsky call it a «chronicle epitome», since it abandoned «the annalistic structure that is such a fundamental part of chronicles»³. Isidore began his *Chronicon* (CPL 1205) with Adam and organized it by reigns, from the Hebrews up to the Roman emperors. The result was a manageable, easy-to-read text, less than half the length of Jerome's translation of Eusebius. Its huge success in Medieval Europe is understandable: in early medieval Western Europe, the production of a chronicle epitome that provided readers with a concise and accessible overview of world history – easier to read and copy than Jerome's translation – ensured the work's success. Moreover, the success Isidore had already established as the author of the *Etymologiae* provides additional justification for the success of his *Chronicon*. The result, using only the data collected by José Carlos Martín, is clear: we know of 29 manuscripts copied up to the year 1000⁴, of which two have Iberian-Sep-

3. Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time* cit., p. 32.

4. Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, 29 (A); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1686 (D); Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 83 (B); Bruxelles, KBR 5413-5422 (b); Cesena, Biblioteca Comunale Malatestiana, S.XXI.5 (C); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 239 (Y); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 215 (j); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 645 (i); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 6018 (Z); Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 83 (K); Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 20 (u); London, British Library, Add. 16974 (O); Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 490 (L); Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, cód. 78 (r); Modena, Archivio Capitolare, O.I.2 (E); Monza, Archivio Capitolare, C-9/69 (N); Paris, BnF, lat. 1862 (c); Paris, BnF, lat. 1863; Paris, BnF, lat. 4841 (e); Paris, BnF, lat. 4860 (M); Paris, BnF, lat. 9380 (T); Paris, BnF, lat. 10910 (X); Paris, BnF, lat. 12236 (G); Paris, BnF, lat. 12237 (t); Puy (Le), Chapitre de la Cathédrale, 1 (p); Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 133 (s); Sankt-Peterburg, Publichnaja Bibliote-

timanian origins⁵. For the 11th century alone, there are 13 more manuscripts⁶, at least one of which seems to have Visigothic origins, and another was clearly copied in Iberia⁷. These numbers expand considerably in the following centuries.

Isidore's *Historiae* (CPL 1204) had a significantly lesser impact than his *Chronicon*⁸. It is a narrative history, and serves as a notable example of what Walter Goffart termed «barbarian history»⁹. According to Braulio of Zaragoza, the *Historiae*, or *De origine Gothorum et regno Suevorum et etiam Vandalarum historia*, offers a concise overview of the history of the Visig-

ka im. M.E. Saltykova Shchedrina, lat. Q.I.v.20+Paris, BnF, lat. 14144 (P); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 89 (V); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmstedt, 532 (W). In parentheses I give the letters used in Martín's edition.

5. Ms. Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, 29 was probably copied in Septimania in the 8th century; Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, cód. 78 was probably copied in Nájera or San Millán de la Cogolla shortly before 1000.

6. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 691; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1974; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. XX. 54 (F); London, British Library, Add. 12024; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 8831; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10292; Oxford, Bodleian Library, e. Mus. 113; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 288; Paris, BnF, lat. 3088+lat. 5091; Paris, BnF, lat. 4871; Paris, BnF, lat. 4883A; Paris, BnF, lat. 12117; Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B 40. In parentheses I give the letters used in Martín's edition.

7. F was copied in Italy, but it was based on an Iberian manuscript; ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 8831, dating from the end of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century, was copied in an uncertain location in Iberia, possibly Aragón.

8. C. Rodríguez Alonso, ed., *Las Historias de los Godos, Vandalos y Suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio, edición crítica y traducción*, León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación «San Isidoro», 1975; H. Hertzberg, *Die Historien und die Chroniken des Isidorus von Sevilla. 1. Die Historien. Eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Göttingen, Dieterich'sche Univ. Buchdruck, 1874, pp. 19-20; T. Mommsen, ed., *Isidori Iunioris episcopi Hispalensis historia Gothorum Wandalarum Suevorum*, in Id., *Chronica minora 2* (MGH. Auct. Ant., 11), Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1894, pp. 241-303 (on pp. 252-6); Rodríguez Alonso, *Las Historias* cit., pp. 31-9; Luis García Moreno, ¿*Por qué Isidoro de Sevilla quiso escribir una segunda versión de su Historia Gothorum?*, in M. Aurel and T. Deswarte, eds., *Famille, violence et christianisation au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Michel Rouche*, Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005, pp. 387-408; J. Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2012; R. Furtado, *In How Many Ways Can a Text Be Written? The Textual Tradition of Isidore's Histories*, in C. Codoñer and P. F. Alberto, ed., *Wisigothica. After M. C. Díaz y Díaz*, Firenze, SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014, pp. 421-76; I. Velázquez Soriano, *Revisiones de autor y de copistas en las obras de Isidoro de Sevilla. A propósito de la Historia Gothorum*, in «Antiquité tardive», 23 (2015), pp. 67-79.

9. W. A. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, Paul the Deacon*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988.

oths, Vandals, and Suevi, who entered Iberia in the early 5th century. In contrast to the *Chronicon*, Isidore focused here not on a universal perspective but rather on the relationship between these peoples and Iberia. Only two manuscripts prior to the year 1000 are known to contain the complete text of the *Historiae*: one was copied in Iberia, perhaps in San Millán or Nájera, in La Rioja¹⁰. Extending the count to the 11th century reveals only one additional manuscript, also of Iberian origins (although we do not know for sure where it was copied)¹¹. Moreover, these two Iberian manuscripts depend on a common model.

At least two distinct versions of Isidore's *Historiae* have been identified. Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso, following Hugo Hertzberg's thesis, posited that Isidore wrote both, the shorter version after the death of Sisebut in 621, and the longer after Suinthila's victories over the Byzantines in 626-628¹². In fact, when discussing the few manuscripts transmitting the *Historiae* before the 11th century, above, I was referring solely to the "long" version (Rodríguez Alonso's *recensio prolixior*). The shorter version (*recensio breuior*) had even less impact, with only three manuscripts known from the 12th to 13th centuries, none of which even names Isidore as author¹³.

It is necessary to acknowledge the strangeness of this overall absence, which, as far as I know, finds no parallel in other works of Isidore. It is not so much the absence of Iberian manuscripts of the *Historiae* that surprises me (indeed, the *Chronica* presents a similar absence); it is the lack of a robust Carolingian tradition. This absence reveals that the text generally enjoyed little success in trans-Pyrenean Europe, leading scribes to copy it sparingly. Nevertheless, this explanation is not entirely satisfactory, and it is possible to delve deeper. In this paper, I will attempt to revisit the issues raised by the circulation of Isidore's *Historiae*, focusing on what can be reconstructed of this text's circulation in the Carolingian world.

I will begin by briefly outlining the textual tradition and circulation of Isidore's *Historiae* in Iberia, the region from which most of the

10. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1585 (B); Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 78 (R). In parentheses I give the letters used in Rodríguez Alonso's edition.

11. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 8831 (N). In parenthesis I give the letter used in Rodríguez Alonso's edition.

12. Hertzberg, *Die Historien* cit., pp. 19-20; Rodríguez Alonso, *Las Historias* cit., pp. 31-9; Velázquez Soriano, *Revisiones de autor* cit.

13. Mss. Paris, BnF, lat. 4873, copied in the 12th century in northern France from a model in Visigothic script; Paris, BnF, lat. 6815 is a 14th-century French copy of the former; and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 8696, copied in Iberia in the 13th century.

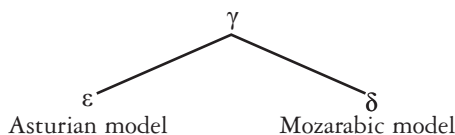
manuscripts transmitting the text originate. Subsequently, I will divide the analysis of the Carolingian circulation of the *Historiae* into two main parts. In the first, I will examine the manuscript Berlin, Phillippus 1885 (= B), the earliest and only known manuscript to transmit the complete *Historiae* by Isidore of Seville. In the second, I will analyze three aspects of the text's circulation in the Carolingian world: namely, the manuscripts that transmitted only the *Recapitulatio* and the *De laude Spaniae*, the Iberian tradition connected to the Carolingian world, and the later manuscripts associated with B.

PROLOGUE: THE IBERIAN INDEPENDENT TRADITION - FAMILY γ

The text of Isidore's *Historiae* today relies almost entirely on an Iberian tradition. This is not unusual; in fact, among early medieval Iberian historiography, only Isidore's *Chronicon* achieved widespread circulation beyond Hispania, in contrast to its relatively limited significance within the peninsula. Beside this *Chronicon*, Iberian historiography generally did not circulate beyond the Pyrenees until the time of Alfonso X: the rich Mozarabic historiography remained confined to Iberia; Asturian historiography did not circulate; the older Leonese historiography was not disseminated until the 12th century; and even the works of Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada had a limited reception outside Iberia. The same holds true for Isidore's *Historiae*¹⁴.

In Iberia, the *Historiae* enjoyed a certain measure of success, albeit unevenly across regions and periods. I will briefly discuss the main family of Iberian manuscripts that transmitted Isidore's *Historiae* without any direct connection to the Carolingian world, which I refer to as family γ . This family can be divided into two main branches:

14. On the circulation of Isidore's *Historiae*, see Rodríguez Alonso, *Las Historias* cit.; J. C. Martín, *Réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite de trois œuvres d'Isidore de Séville: le De natura rerum, la Regula monachorum et le De origine Getarum, Vandalorum, Sueborum*, «Filologia mediolatina», 11, 2004, pp. 205-63 (on pp. 244-6); R. Furtado, *Isidore's Histories in the Mozarabic Scholarship of the Eighth and the Early Ninth Centuries*, in P. F. Alberto and D. Paniagua (eds.), *Ways of Approaching Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. Schools and Scholarship*, Nordhausen, Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2012, pp. 264-87; Furtado, *In How Many Ways* cit.; and F. Bautista, *Juan Páez de Castro, Juan Bautista Pérez, Jerónimo Zurita y dos misceláneas historiográficas de la España altomedieval*, «Scriptorium», 70, 2016, pp. 3-68.



Branch δ represents a Mozarabic version of Isidore's *Historiae*. In this version, the structure comprises the *Historia Gothorum* and its *Recapitulatio* (a concise summary of the *Historia Gothorum*), followed by the *Historia Wandalorum* and the *Historia Sueuorum*. This branch is notable for its association with the so-called *Chronica Muzarabica a. 754* (Díaz 397), a Mozarabic text with very limited circulation composed as an update to Isidore's work. These texts were part of a collection that, by the 12th century, was circulating in border monasteries of what is now Portuguese territory; this compilation is commonly referred to as the *Alcobaciensis* collection¹⁵. It was transmitted in a renowned codex, now lost, which was housed until the beginning of the 17th century in the Portuguese monastery of Alcobça, hence its name.

I think that this collection reached the territory that would become Portugal after the conquest of Coimbra by Fernando I of Castile in 1064. It may have been brought there by Coimbra's first bishop, Paterno de Tortosa, who is recorded as having donated a *Liber chronicarum* to the see of Coimbra¹⁶. The earliest extant copy of this collection is now manuscript Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla-Universidad Complutense, 134¹⁷. Although likely copied in Toledo after 1250,

15. See A. A. Nascimento, *Em busca dos códices alcobacenses perdidos*, «Didaskalia», 9 (1979), pp. 279-88; Bautista, *Juan Páez de Castro* cit.; R. Furtado, *La «Crónica» de Eusebio-Jerónimo en Madrid, BHMV, Complutense 134* (ff. 2va-14vb), in J. F. Mesa Sanz, *Latinidad medieval hispánica*, Firenze, SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017, pp. 69-84; A. del Castillo, *Sobre el códice alcobacense de Vaseo y los Annales Portugalenses Veteres: continuidad del reino visigodo de Toledo*, «Espacio, tiempo y forma», 33 (2020), pp. 117-34.

16. *Dedit huic ecclesie [scil. Coimbra] librum Agustini De ciuitate Dei et Librum chronicarum et cum Etimologiis Isidori et librum canonicum arabice scriptum et alios libros Spalenses*: P. David and T. S. Soares, eds., *Liber anniversariorum ecclesie cathedralis Colimbricensis (Livro das Kalendas)*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1947, vol. 2, p. 122. See A. J. Costa, *Coimbra – centro de atracção e de irradiação de códices e de documentos dentro da Península nos séculos XI e XII*, in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990, vol. 4, pp. 1309-34 (on pp. 1315-8); A. J. Costa, *A biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Coimbra nos séculos XI a XVI*, «Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade», 38 (1983), pp. 1-220 (on p. 16).

17. P. Ewald, *Reise nach Spanien im Winter 1878 auf 1879*, «Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde», 6, (1881), pp. 217-398 (on pp.

its connection to western Iberia is clear: the manuscript begins with a version of the *Annales Portucalenses Veteres* (also known as the *Chronicon Complutense*¹⁸), which circulated in testimonies linked to the Portuguese monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra¹⁹. Isidore's *Chronicon* was also part of this collection. In fact, δ represents a compilation of diachronic texts in which Isidore's *Chronicon* precedes the *Historiae*. According to Martín-Iglesias, the version of the *Chronicon* transmitted in δ derives from an "intermediate" form of the text (referred to as archetype Φ)²⁰.

There is a second branch derived from γ , which I will designate as ϵ . All manuscripts dependent on ϵ circulated in the northern Iberian region. This includes the *Soriensis* collection (whose primary testimony is now lost), possibly dating to the 10th century²¹, as well as the version of the *Historiae* used by Pelagius of Oviedo (?-1153) and Lucas of Tuy (?-1249) in Oviedo and León, respectively, during the first half of the 12th and 13th centuries. In terms of structure, ϵ is characterized by a reordering of the texts: the sequence is now *Historia Wandalorum* + *Historia Sueuorum* + *Historia Gothorum*. The *Historia Gothorum* appears last in the collection to allow for the *Historia Wambae* to be added as its continuation, as seen in

323-7); T. Mommsen, ed., *Victoris Tonnennensis Chronica. Iobannis abbatis Biclarenensis Chronica. Chronicorum Caesaraugustanorum reliquiae*, in Id., *Chronica minora* 2 cit., pp. 163-223 (on pp. 167-72); C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *Victoris Tunnunensis chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iobannis Biclarenensis chronicon* (CCSL 173a), Turnhout, Brepols, 2001, pp. 27*-38*, 85*-89*; R. Furtado, *A Collection of Chronicles from Late Antique Spain: Madrid, Complutense 134, ff. 25vb-47vb. Content, Structure and Chronology*, in M. A. Andrés Sanz and D. Paniagua, 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/Roma, Brepols, 2016, 227-58; Furtado, *La «Crónica» de Eusebio-Jerónimo* cit.; R. Furtado and I. Velázquez Soriano, *BH MSS 134*, in A. López Fonseca and M. Torres Santo Domingo, eds., *Catálogo de manuscritos medievales de la Biblioteca Histórica "Marqués de Valdecilla" (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2020, pp. 643-9.

18. E. Flórez, *Chronicon Complutense*, in Id., *España Sagrada*, Madrid, por Antonio Marín, 1767, vol. 23, pp. 315-7; A. Herculano, *Chronicon Complutense sive Alcobaciensi*, in Id., *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Scriptores*, Olysiptone, Typis academicis, 1856, vol. 1.1, pp. 17-9.

19. See also R. Furtado, *Writing History in Portugal before 1200*, «Journal of Medieval History», 47:2 (2021), pp. 145-73 (on pp. 163-9).

20. Martín, *Isidori hispalensis chronica* cit., pp. 170*-215*. To establish this family, Martín-Iglesias used the manuscripts Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. XX. 54 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 982. The latter also contains Isidore's *Historiae* in a version close to ms. Complutense 134 (which also transmits Isidore's *Chronicon*).

21. Bautista, *Juan Páez de Castro* cit., 36-45.

Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum*. While the *Recapitulatio* was not included in Pelagius' *Liber chronicorum*, it likely formed part of ϵ , given that it precedes the *Historia Gotthorum* in Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon mundi* and was also present in the lost *Soriensis*²². Here, too, the *Historiae* circulated alongside Isidore's *Chronica* in the Φ version²³. Therefore, Φ for the *Chronica* and γ for the *Historiae* represent the same manuscript family²⁴. Since there are elements linking γ to the *recensio breuior* of the *Historiae*, and as Φ represents the intermediate version of the *Chronicon*, Martín argued that γ could also be an intermediate version of the *Historiae*²⁵.

Excluding the *Alcobaciensis* and the *Soriensis* collections – whose earlier representatives are lost and of uncertain date – all surviving manuscripts of this tradition are relatively late. The oldest extant manuscript is Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, ms. 842, copied around 1180 at the monastery of Sainte-Rictrude de Marchiennes, northeastern France. This codex also represents the earliest surviving copy of the *Liber chronicorum* compiled by Pelagius of Oviedo in Asturias during the first half of the 12th century. The manuscript may have reached southern Flanders in the context of the pilgrimage to Compostela²⁶.

The indirect tradition of the *Historiae* deserves attention, as it ultimately depends on γ . Although limited, it is significant: it includes the Mozarabic chronicles that extended and utilized Isidore's *Historiae*, and the Asturian chronicles. For instance, the *Chronica Adefonsi III* (Díaz 520) continues the *Historiae* up to an expanded account of King Wamba, aligning with ϵ , while the *Chronica Albeldensia* (Díaz 514, 521-523) incorporates an *Ordo gentis Gotthorum* of Mozarabic origins, which reflects δ . This indirect tradition demonstrates that γ predates its extant copies, that it was known in Mozarabic contexts from at least the mid-8th century.

Therefore, regarding the main Iberian circulation of the *Historiae* (γ), two key periods emerge after Isidore: the Mozarabic and Asturian periods and the 12th/13th-century revival. Although no manuscripts survive from the first period, indirect evidence points to active reading and transmission. The extant manuscripts belong to the later period, reflecting

22. København, AM 833 4^o, fols. 135v-145v transmits several corrections taken from the *Soriensis*.

23. J. C. Martín, *La tradition indirecte de la Chronique d'Isidore de Séville*, «Revue d'histoire des textes», 31 (2001), pp. 167-225 (on pp. 209, 214-8).

24. See J. C. Martín-Iglesias, *Réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite* cit., p. 252.

25. Martín, *Réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite* cit., pp. 250-60.

26. R. Furtado, Ms. Douai 842: *A New Testimony of the Liber chronicorum by Pelagius of Oviedo*, «Aevum», 97 (2023), pp. 249-79.

renewed interest in Isidore during the revival of Iberian historiography from the 12th century onwards.

I. THE CAROLINGIAN EDITION: B

Compared to the lost and surviving Iberian testimonies, the Carolingian transmission of Isidore's *Historiae* appears highly limited. Only one Carolingian manuscript survives that transmits the entire collection:

B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1885, fols. 1r-29r

This manuscript, written in early Caroline minuscule during the first half of the 9th century²⁷, is particularly notable as the earliest extant witness to the so-called *Excerpta Valesiana* (fols. 37r-47v), which was edited in 1636 by Henri Valois (1603-1676) as an appendix to his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus²⁸. Valois did not consult the manuscript directly, however, but relied on a transcription by the Jesuit Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651)²⁹. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) also used Sirmond's transcription for his

27. *Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum bibliothecae domus professorum Parisiensis. Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum Collegii Claromontano-Parisiensis*, Parisiis in Palatio, apud Saugrin et Leclerc, 1764, pp. 235, 261; T. Mommsen, *Origo Constantini imperatoris sive Anonymi Valesiani pars prior*, in Id. *Chronica minora I* (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1892, pp. 3-6; C. Cipolla, *Ricerche intorno all'Anonimus Valesianus II*, «Buletino dell'Istituto storico italiano», 11 (1892), pp. 7-98 (pp. 9-51); V. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften*, Berlin, A. Asher & Co., 1893, vol. 1, pp. 299-307; R. Cessi, *Fragmenta historica ab Henrico et Hadriano Valesio primum edita. Anonymus Valesianus (Rerum Italicarum scriptores 24.4)*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1913, III-V; Id., *Di due miscelanee storiche medioevali*, «Archivio muratoriano», 13 (1913), pp. 71-96; B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998, vol. 1, p. 93; L. Pani, *La trasmissione dell'Historia Langobardorum di Paolo Diacono tra Italia e Regnum Francorum nel IX secolo*, in P. Chiesa, ed., *Paolino d'Aquileia e il contributo italiano all'Europa carolingia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Civildale del Friuli-Premariacco, 10-13 ottobre 2002*, Udine, Editrice Universitaria Udinese, 2003, pp. 373-403 (on pp. 379-85); G. Tondini, *Un modello per il regno dei Carolingi in Italia. L'Epitome Phillipsiana e l'identità urbana di Verona dopo il 774. Tese de dottorato*, Padova, Università degli Studi di Padova, 2011.

28. H. Valois, ed., *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum qui de XXXI supersunt libri XVIII*, Parisiis, apud Ioannem Camusat, 1636, pp. 471-87.

29. Valois, ed., *Ammiani Marcellini cit.: mihi copiam fecit R. P. Iacobus Sirmondus (Ad*

1655 edition of Isidore's *Historiae*³⁰, while Philippe Labbe (1607-1667) employed the manuscript itself in his 1657 edition of the text³¹.

In 1874, Ludwig Bethmann (1812-1867) proposed that the manuscript may have passed through Metz³², a hypothesis Theodor Mommsen deemed «omnino coniectura, sed fortasse vera»³³. This conjecture has been widely accepted, as several codices originating from Saint-Vincent de Metz were known to have been housed in the library of the Collège de Clermont in Paris³⁴, where manuscript B was stored up to the 18th century with the *shelfmark* DCLXXX³⁵. It was at Clermont that Sirmond and Labbe, both Jesuits, studied the manuscript. Bethmann linked this codex to two other manuscripts: now ms. Berlin, Phillipps 1896 (formerly DCXXVII in Clermont)³⁶ and ms. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 927, a later codex (dated 1181) that transmits a closely related textual corpus³⁷. In 1874, Franz Rühl (1845-1915) analyzed the two Clermont codices: «I became convinced that this codex [Phillipps 1896] was originally united with Codex 1885. This conclusion was reached due to the similarity in script style and format, as well as the matching quaternion numbers and the numbers preceding each individual section»³⁸.

lectorem, [p. 14]); *idem refertur in excerptis mss. de Gestis Constantini, quorum exemplar mihi communicauit Iacobus Sirmondus* (Adnotationes, p. 1).

30. See P. Labbe, *Nouae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum. Tomus primus: Historiae. Chronica*, Parisiis, apud Sebastianum Cramoisy et Gabrielem Cramoisy, 1657: *tres illas historias cum Hugonis Grotii collectione rerum Gothicarum emiserunt in lucem [...] ex apographo R. P. Iacobi Sirmondi Societatis Iesu τοῦ μακαρίτου qui ex nostro codice illud descripserat* (*Syllabus scriptorum*, [p. 3]). Grotius edition: H. Grotius, *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Langobardorum*, Amstelodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1655.

31. Labbe, *Nouae bibliothecae* cit.: *ex optima notae membraneo codice Collegii Claromontano* (*Syllabus scriptorum*, [p. 3]; 'ex codice ms. Collegii Claromontani' (p. 61).

32. L. Bethmann, *Römische Palatina - 927*, «Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde», 12 (1874), pp. 345-7: «Bis hierher ganz wie Metzger hs. Middlehill 1885 und 1896» (on p. 345).

33. Mommsen, *Origo Constantini imperatoris* cit., p. 3.

34. A. Prost, *Notice sur la collection des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Metz*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1877, xxvi-xxviii; Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse* cit., index, p. 513; J. Vezin, *Un manuscrit messin de la première moitié du XI^e siècle* (*Reims, Bibl. mun.* 1429), in P. Cockshaw, C. Garand, and P. Jodogne, eds. *Miscellanea Codicologica F. Masai dicata*, Gand, E. Story-Scientia, 1979, vol. 1, pp. 157-64 (in p. 162); Tondini, *Un modello per il regno dei Carolingi* cit., pp. 230-1.

35. *Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum [...] Collegii Claromontano-Parisiensis* cit., p. 261.

36. *Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum [...] Collegii Claromontano-Parisiensis* cit., p. 235.

37. Bethmann, *Römische Palatina - 927* cit. On this manuscript, see below.

38. F. Rühl, *Über den Codex Meermannianus des Anonymus Valesianus*, «Acta societatis philologiae lipsiensis», 4 (1875), pp. 368-76: «kam zu der Ueberzeugung, dass

The catalog of manuscripts from the Collège de Clermont lists 856 codices. It was compiled in 1764, during the suppression of the Jesuits in France: the library from Clermont was to be sold to pay off the debts left by the Order³⁹. The greater part of it was acquired by the Dutchman Gerard Meermann (1722-1771), who left it to his son, Jean Meerman (1753-1815): our two codices were then numbered 794 and 821⁴⁰. The library was sold in 1824⁴¹ and acquired (at least most of it) by the English baronet Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), a collector who took the collection to Middle Hill, Worcestershire⁴². Those two codices then acquired the numbers by which they are still known today⁴³. Friedrich Maasen (1823-1900) complained that he was unable to obtain permission to consult the collection during his visit to Oxford in March 1866⁴⁴. It seems that Phillipps had some reservations about allowing people to see his codices. According to what he wrote on fol. 1r of what is now Phillipps 1885, «I collected the *Gesta Costantini* in this book for Professor Mommsen [...] in Oct. 1868». When Phillipps died, the codices were left to his son-in-law, John E. A. Fenwick (1824-1903), who lived in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, and apparently had greater tolerance for visi-

dieser Codex ursprünglich mit dem Codex 1885 vereinigt gewesen sei. Dahin führte mich die Uebereinstimmung des Schriftcharakters) und des Formats, sowie das Zusammenstimmen der Quaternionenzahlen und der den einzelnen Stücken vorgeetzten Nummern» (p. 370).

39. L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1868, 434-7.

40. *Bibliotheca Meermanniana sive catalogus librorum impressorum et codicum manuseriptorum quos maximam partem collegerunt viri nobilissimi Gerardus et Joannes Meerman*, 1824, tomus IV, pp. 138 n. 794, 141 n. 821.

41. The catalogue was made in 1824 for the sale of the library.

42. The list of the books acquired by Phillipps is in the *Catalogus librorum manuseriptorum in bibliotheca d. Thomae Phillipps*, impressis typis Medio-montanis, 1837, pp. 17-22.

43. G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuseriptorum qui in bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae M., Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur*, Lipsiae, sumptibus I. C. Hinrichs, 1830, coln. 866 n. 1885; coln. 867 n. 1896; *Catalogus librorum manuseriptorum in bibliotheca d. Thomae Phillipps* cit., 21 nn. 1885, 1896.

44. F. Maasen, *Bibliotheca Latina iuris canonici manuseripta*, «Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse», 56 (1867), pp. 157-212: «Ich habe aber auf die Autopsie verzichten müssen. Bei meinem Aufenthalt in Oxford im März 1866 wurde mir von seingut unterrichteter Seite so entschieden versichert: es sei an einen Zutritt in die Bibliothek des Sir Phillipps und an Recherchen in ihr durchaus nicht für mich zu denken, dass ich es für überflüssig hielt, mir durch eigne Erfahrung die Bestätigung zu verschaffen» (on pp. 169-70).

tors. It was here that Rühl and, later, Mommsen consulted them⁴⁵. Fenwick eventually sold part of the collection to the Royal Library of Berlin in 1887, where these two codices are still housed today.

In 1875, Rühl published a detailed description of this codex Meermannianus. However, since he was primarily interested in the Anonymus Valesianus, and especially because Fenwick demanded two pounds sterling to consult each codex, Rühl never actually studied ms. Phillipps 1896⁴⁶.

*Something caught his attention nevertheless: «A comparison of the quaternion numbers, however, reveals that Codices 1885 and 1896 cannot have constituted the only parts of the codex to which they originally belonged. I consider it highly likely that the remaining fragments are still to be found in the Cheltenham library, as it seems probable that a previous owner disassembled the manuscript to increase the number of items in their collection»*⁴⁷. The catalog of the Clermont library confirms that codex DCXXVII/Phillipps 1896 was indeed more extensive: it also contained an Excerptum ex Libris Trogi Pompeii tribus foliis comprehensum and the Eutropii Historiae Romanae liber primus, which were not copied into ms. Phillipps 1896. It was evident that codex DCXXVII from Clermont had been dismembered somewhere; ms. Phillipps 1896 transmits only part of that codex.

After his visit to Cheltenham, Franz Rühl traveled to Saint Petersburg in the 1870s, where he examined manuscripts of the Russian Imperial Library originating from the collection of Peter Dubrovsky (1754-1816). He sent Hans Droysen (1851-1918) a collation of a 9th-century manuscript (shelfmark 327) containing Eutropius' *Breviarium*, and Droysen noted its similarity to ms. Pal. Lat. 927⁴⁸. Soon after, in 1886, Rühl

45. Rühl, *Über den Codex Meermannianus* cit., p. 368: «Dieser gestattete mir die Benutzung seiner Bibliothek nur gegen Bezahlung von 2 für jeden Codex»; Mommsen, *Origo Constantini imperatoris* cit., p. 3: «ipse et Cheltenhami evolvi».

46. Rühl, *Über den Codex Meermannianus* cit., p. 370: «Da ich jedoch keine Lust hatte, für die Benutzung dieser Handschrift abermals 2 zu bezahlen, so musste ich eine genauere Beschreibung derselben unterlassen». See also K. Zangemeister, *Zum Anonymus Valesianus*, «Rheinisches Museum für Philologie», 30 (1875), pp. 309-16.

47. Rühl, *Über den Codex Meermannianus* cit., p. 370: «Eine Vergleichung der Quaternionenzahlen ergibt jedoch, dass die Codices 1885 und 1896 nicht die einzigen Theile des Codex gebildet haben können, dem sie ursprünglich angehörten, und ich halte es für sehr wahrscheinlich, dass sich auch die übrigen Stücke noch in der Cheltenhamer Bibliothek vorfinden. Wahrscheinlich hat ein früherer Besitzer das Manuscript auseinandergerissen, um die Nummernzahl seiner Bibliothek zu vergrößern».

48. H. Droysen, *Eutropi breviarium ab urbe condita*, Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1879, XIV: «e codice, qui trium familiarum lectiones habebat miro modo coniunctas, descriptus est textus excerptorum, quae exhibent codices Petropolitanus Dubrowski

published his edition of Justinus' *Epitome historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, using another 9th-century manuscript also from Dubrovsky's collection (shelfmark 422). Rühl concluded that both manuscripts were originally part of codex DCXXVII from the Collège de Clermont library⁴⁹. Dubrovsky, who had worked in Paris between 1780 and 1805, likely acquired these folios after the library's sale in 1764, though the codex's exact fate during the intervening years remains unclear. These two manuscripts are now mss. Saint Petersburg, Rossijskaia Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Lat. Q.v.IV.5⁵⁰ and Saint Petersburg, Rossijskaia Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Cl. Lat. Q.v.9⁵¹. Of codex DCXXVII, only the beginning, described in the Clermont catalog as containing a *fragmentum antiqui geographi* (p. 235), and possibly its ending are now lost, their disappearance occurring under uncertain circumstances.

In 1891, while preparing his edition of the *Anonymus Valesianus*, Theodor Mommsen consulted the manuscripts in Cheltenham and Berlin, and used a collation made in Saint Petersburg by Wassili Latyschew (1855-1921)⁵². Mommsen tried to reconstruct the original codex: with

et Vaticanus, alter, cuius collationem nobiscum communicavit Rühl, signatus numero CCCXXVII formae minoris foliorum XXII, saeculo nono scriptus, praemittit excerptis: 'Eutropi VI historiarum Romanorum liber primus incipit', alter Palatinus 927 formae magnae, scriptus anno 1223 in monasterio Montis Oliveti prope Veronam, continet praeter alia foliis XLVII–LVII excerpta sub titulo: 'epythoma ex libris Eutropi Victorini historici de consulibus'. utriusque codicis non eadem sunt excerpta, veniunt autem ex eadem epitoma pleniore, quae processit usque ad Augustum».

49. F. Ruehl, *M. Iuniani Iustini epitoma historiam Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1886, IX: «Codex Petropolitanus 422 (Y), membranaceus, saeculo IX scriptus. In imo folio 1r legitur: *Ex Musaeo* [sic!] *Petri Dubrowsky*. Pars videtur fuisse codicis illius Claromontani, quo solo Anonymus Valesianus prior nobis servatus est».

50. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse* cit., pp. 300–1; A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIII^e siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, Saint-Petersbourg, Imprimerie artistique/Franz Krois, 1910, vol. 1, p. 129; B. Munk-Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, Paris, Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982, tome 1, p. 545; tome III.2, p. 82; O. A. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja and W. W. Bakhtine, *Les anciens manuscrits latins de la bibliothèque publique Saltykov-Ščedrin de Leningrad. VIII^e-début IX^e siècle*, Paris, I.R.H.T., 1991, pp. 90–1; B. Bischoff, *Katalog* cit., 2004, vol. 2, p. 87 n. 2333.

51. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse* cit., 300–1; Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins* cit., pp. 129–30; O. A. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja and W. W. Bakhtine, *Les anciens manuscrits latins* cit., p. 89; Bischoff *Katalog* cit., vol. 2, 87 n. 2333.

52. Mommsen, *Origo Constantini imperatoris* cit., p. 3.

additional clarifications later provided by Roberto Cessi and Giovanna Tondini, this is the reconstruction that remains in use to this day⁵³.

In sum, from the original manuscript, 214 folios survive, now divided across four different codices. At the Collège de Clermont, the manuscript was already split into two parts, but Mommsen and Cessi suggested that this division occurred after an earlier reorganization of the codex, which had altered the original arrangement of its quires. The original structure and contents of the codex can be reconstructed as follows:

CODICES		TEXTS	QUIRES	FOLIOS	NUMBER
?	<i>deperditi</i>	?	I-III	-	I-II (?)
Clermont DCCXXVII	<i>deperditus</i>	<i>fragmentum antiqui geographi</i>		-	III (?)
	Sankt-Petersburg, Lat. Q.v.IV.5	Just. <i>Epit.</i> [<i>excerpta</i>] (LLA 309)	IV-VII	fol. 1r-28v	IV ⁵⁴
	Sankt-Petersburg, Cl. Lat. Q.v.9	Eutr. [<i>excerpta</i>] (LLA 538)	VIII-X	fol. 1v-22r	V
Clermont DCCLXXX	Berlin, Phillipps 1885	Isid. <i>De laude Spaniae</i>	XI	fol. 1v-2v	VI-VII
		Isid. <i>Gotb.</i> (CPL 1204)	XI-XIII	fol. 2v-29v	
Clermont DCCXXVII	Berlin, Phillipps 1896	Jord. <i>Rom.</i> (CPL 912)	XV-XVIII	fol. 1r-30v	VIII
		Jord. <i>Get.</i> [<i>excerpta</i>] (CPL 913)	XX	fol. 31r-38v	VIII
Clermont DCCLXXX	Berlin, Phillipps 1885	Anon. <i>Vales.</i> (CPL 2256a)	XXI-XXIII	fol. 37r-47v	-
		Greg. M., <i>Dial.</i> [<i>excerptum</i>] (CPL 1713)	XXIII	fol. 47v-48r	-
		Jord. <i>Get.</i> [<i>excerptum</i>] (CPL 913)	XXIII	f. 49r-v	
		Paul. Diac., <i>Hist. Long.</i> [<i>excerptum</i>] (CPL 1179)	XXIII-XXVII	fol. 50r-75r	X

53. Mommsen, *Origo Constantini imperatoris* cit., pp. 3-4; Cessi, *Di due miscellanee storiche* cit., pp. 72-3; Tondini, *Un modello per il regno dei Carolingi* cit., pp. 218-26.

54. These numbers appear in the margin of the manuscript, at the beginning of the respective texts.

Clermont DCCXXVII	Berlin, Phillipps 1896	Hier., <i>In Dan.</i> [excerpta] (CPL 588)	XXVIII- [XXX]	fols. 39r-58r	XI
		<i>1Reg. + 2Reg.</i> [excerpta] ⁵⁵ : fols. 58v-60r	[XXX]	fols. 59v-60r	-
		“Origo Romanorum” (<i>inc.</i> “primus omnis Asiae exceptis Indis”)	XXXI	fols. 61r-64r	XII
			XXXI- XXXIII	fols. 64v-82r	
Clermont DCCXXX	Berlin, Phillipps 1885	Hier., <i>Cbron.</i> [excerpta] (CPG 3494)	XXXVIII	f. 30r	-
		<i>Origo Const.</i> (CPL 2256a)	XXXVIII- [XXXV]	fols. 30v-36v	XV
Clermont DCCXXVII	Berlin, Phillipps 1896	Isid. <i>Or.</i> 5.39 [excerpta] (CPL 1186)	[XXXVI]	fols. 83r-84r	-
		Bede, <i>Temp. rat.</i> [excerpta] (CPL 2320)		f. 84r-v	-
		<i>Continuatio Constantinopolitana</i>		fols. 84v-85r (<i>additio</i>)	-
		Isid. <i>Or.</i> 9 [excerpta] (CPL 1186)		fols. 86r-89v	-

* These numbers appear in the margin of the manuscript, at the beginning of the respective texts.

This manuscript is a historiographical miscellany. Gustav Haenel, in 1830, and the Phillipps' library catalog both dated it to the 9th century⁵⁵. Cessi argued that it presents a calligraphic style typical of the 9th-century Verona school⁵⁶. Teresa Venturini also identified it as showing traits of the scriptorium of Pacificus of Verona (ca. 776-844)⁵⁷. Vittorio Lazzarini and Antonio Spagnolo confirmed its origins in Verona but, in contrast, dated it to the late 9th to early 10th century⁵⁸.

55. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum* cit., coln. 866 n. 1885, coln. 867 n. 1896; *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca d. Thomae Phillipps* cit., 21 nn. 1885, 1896.

56. Cessi, *Fragmenta historica* cit., IV n. 3; Cessi, *Di due miscellanee storiche* cit., p. 74. See also V. Lazzarini, *Scuola calligrafica veronese del secolo IX*, «Memorie del Reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti», 27.3 (1904), pp. 1-14.

57. T. Venturini, *Ricerche paleografiche intorno all'arcidiacono Pacifico di Verona*, Verona, La tipografia veronese, 1929, pp. 122-5.

58. V. Lazzarini, *Scuola calligrafica veronese del secolo IX*, in Id., *Scritti scelti di paleo-*

Valentin Rose (1829-1916) identified at least nine contemporary hands in this codex. He associated it with ms. Berlin, Phillipps 1831, as both transmit the list of emperors taken from Isidore's *De descriptione temporum* (Or. 5.39), known as the *Continuatio Constantinopolitana* due to its update including the Byzantine emperors⁵⁹. Rose also observed that the text in ms. Phillipps 1896, starting at fol. 83r and originally ending in the year 741 with Leo III at fol. 84v, was later updated by a copyist, whom he called «Hand XI», to include the accession of Emperor Michael I (811), and by another hand, up to Leo V's murder in 820 (fol. 85r). The text of ms. Phillipps 1831, went even further, including on fol. 89v the accession of Emperor Michael II (December 26, 820)⁶⁰. Therefore, these updates to ms. Phillipps 1896 seem to have been made between 811 and 820. More recently, Laura Pani confirmed this dating, arguing that ms. Phillipps 1896 is the oldest codex of Group G of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*⁶¹. Tondini suggests the original manuscript would have been copied between the time Paul the Deacon wrote his *Historia Langobardorum* (784-796) and the update of the emperor list up to Michael I (811)⁶².

I believe that the hypothesis put forward by Rose, Cessi, Pani, and Tondini is indeed the most convincing: the early 9th century in Verona, before 811, is the most probable period for the copying of most of the manuscript. In the absence of more precise paleographic evidence, the internal information within the codex itself, particularly the presence of the imperial list continued up to Byzantine emperors Michael I and then Leo V by two different hands, serves as an excellent indicator of the codex's date. Cessi argued that the codex was reorganized shortly after its copying: consequently, the texts were renumbered (there are, in fact, signs of correction in the numbering of Opera VI and X) as well as of the quires (quires XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXXII, and XXXIII)⁶³.

grafia e diplomatica, Padova, Editrice Antenore, 1969, pp. 19-25; S. Marchi, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca capitolare di Verona. Catalogo descrittivo redatto da don Antonio Spagnolo*, Verona, Casa Editrice Mazziana, 1996.

59. T. Mommsen, *Additamentum III. Auctaria quaedam chronicorum Bedanorum maiorum. Continuatio Constantinopolitana a. DCXX et DCXLII*, in Id., *Chronica minora 3* (MGH Auct. ant. 13), Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1898, pp. 341-3.

60. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse* cit., pp. 299-307 (about the *Continuatio Constantinopolitana* on pp. 304-5, and 307).

61. Pani, *La trasmissione dell'Historia Langobardorum* cit., pp. 379-85.

62. Tondini, *Un modello per il regno dei Carolingi* cit., p. 230.

63. Cessi, *Di due miscellanee storiche* cit., pp. 79-81.

It is difficult to find a common thread among the various texts, beyond the desire to gather excerpts relating to the history of barbarian populations. Bethmann suggested that the copyist «aimed to compile a history of world empires, especially the Roman Empire»⁶⁴. I believe Rosamund McKitterick's proposal merits consideration⁶⁵. For her, the anthology seems to consist of two parts. In the first, possibly after an introductory geography, the texts provide a universal history from Babylon to the 8th century CE, focusing on the great empires that succeeded each other until the Roman Empire, as well as the peoples interacting with these empires up to the post-Roman period. After Rome, the *imperium*, as indicated by the codex's organization, moves to Theodoric the Great – a figure on whom the copyists evidently sought to gather information – and then passes to the Lombards and, finally, to the Franks. The first part ends with Jerome's commentary on the passage from the Book of Daniel concerning the succession of empires, followed by the passage from the Book of Kings on the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. This destruction seems to symbolize the ultimate end of all empires. The final excerpts, comprising the second part of the codex, are more difficult to explain: the copyist may have wished to compile excerpts concerning civil and military functions, lists of emperors, and the text about Constantine (*Origo Constantini*), which in some way complement the main “narrative”.

In this codex, Isidore's *Historiae* serves as an example of another *translatio*, this time within Iberia. The text was copied after excerpts from Eutropius about the Scythians, which makes sense considering the long tradition associating the Goths with this people. Following the *Historiae* are the works by Jordanes, perhaps because the compiler perceived some thematic affinity between these texts, concerned as they are with the transition from the Roman world to the world of the Goths, in Iberia and Italy, respectively.

The *Historiae* was copied by two distinct hands: almost the entire text by Rose's Hand II, with only fol. 22 (from *Goth. 67 ardui gestu habituque* to *Goth. 70 ipsam Spaniae uidet*) copied by Hand III (which also copied quire XXXVI).

Isidore's text does not seem to have any special relationship with any other work in this codex: none is associated with the *Historiae* in any other

64. Bethmann, *Römische Palatina* - 927 cit., p. 347: «[...] eine Geschichte der Weltreiche, und namentlich des Römischen Reiches, sammeln wollte».

65. R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 52-9.

manuscript. In fact, whoever dismembered this codex, perhaps in Paris, already appears to have considered that there was no relationship between the text of Isidore and that of Eutropius, which precedes it, and so cut the codex into two parts here. After fol. 1r, which had been left blank, ms. Phillippus 1885 (= B) opens with *De laude Spaniae*, attributed to Isidore (fol. 1v). Then follows Isidore's *Historiae: De origine Gotorum et gestis* (fol. 2v) and the *Capitulatio (sic)* (fol. 21v), followed by the *Historia Vandalorum* (fol. 23v) and the *Historia Sueuorum* (fol. 27v):

[Isidorus Hispalensis], *Historiae Gothorum Vandalorum et Sueuorum* (CPL 1204)

1. *rub.* de origine gotorum et gestis; *inc.* Gothorum antiquissimam esse gentem: fol. 2v;
expl. deo fauente repperitur esse porrectum: fol. 21v.
2. *rub.* Capitulatio. Goti de magog iafeth filio orti; *inc.* cum s[c]itis una prouantur origine: fol. 21v.
expl. quibus seruire tot gentes et ipsa spania uidet: fol. 22v.
3. *rub.* Incipit vandalorum. Era quadragesima quarta; *inc.* ante biennium inruptionis romane urbis: fol. 23r.
expl. a Gunderico rege usque ad gelimiri interitum. explicit uandalorum: fols. 26v-27r.
4. *rub.* Incipit sueuorum. Era quadringentesima quadragensima VI; *inc.* Sueui principe ermerico: fol. 27r.
expl. in gotis transfertur quod mansit sex centum LXXVII annis scribitur: fol. 29r.

Regarding γ , B presents numerous errors and omissions:

Goth. 1: retro γ romani B | 5: prosecuti sunt quod tantam gentem uicerit quod patriam γ prosecuti sunt quod patriam B | 6: romani γ romanorum B | 7: aeternitate posteriorem γ om. B | 11: interiit γ moritur B | 21: patricium γ om. B | 31: portuale γ portalem B | 32: finitumque sueuorum reliqui autem sueui qui remanserant in extrema parte galliciae massilae filium nomine masdram sibi regem constituunt regnumque reparatur sueuorum occiso recciaro γ finitumque sueuorum occiso recciaro B | 33: gallias repetit mox deinde partem unam exercitus duce ceurila ad baeticam prouinciam mittit partem aliam sumerico γ gallias repetit patrem [sic] aliam sumerico B; tradidit theudericum post aliquot legati a remismundo masdrae filio rege sueuorum missi ad theudericum uenerunt γ tradidit theudericum uenerunt B | 47: multis casibus fracti atque finiti decessit autem athanagildus toledo γ om. B | 62: patriciorum γ prefectorum B | 73: pacis sueuorum gentem in erbasis montibus obsideret relicta obsidione sueuorum balearicas γ pacis sueuorum balearicas B | diruit γ destruit B | inreuerentes manus in basilicam uincetii martyris ciuitatis γ om. B | 74: spaniis transfretauit cui ualentinianus iunior occidentis

γ *om. B* | 78: gloriose martyrio coronatur qui dum arriani γ *om. B* | 81: moritur cuius tempore fulgentius ruspensis γ *om. B* | 82: trasemundum γ gunthamundum *B*; aut ecclesias aperire aut priuilegia restitueret prius quam regnaret, ne religionem sacramenti uiolaret praecepit sacerdotes catholicos ab exilio reduci et ecclesias aperiri quem gilimer γ aut ecclesias aperire quem gilimer *B* | 88: qui cum eo erant reccimundum sequuntur et cum γ *om. B*.

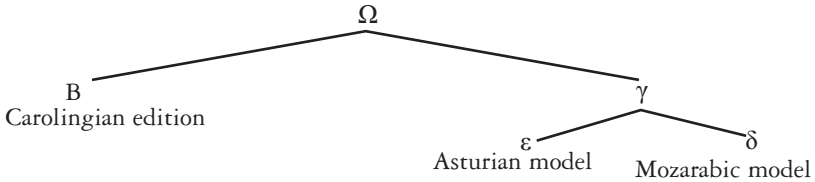
On several occasions the scribe made a *saut du même au même* (*Gothb.* 5, 32, 33 *bis*, 73, 82); sometimes, they seem distracted, as there is a concentration of variants, jumps, and errors (*Gothb.* 32-33, 73-74, 82). However, on several occasions *B* also transmits what appears to be the correct text, especially regarding many strange additions in γ:

Gothb. 3: tunc cesar ait nec pompeium scire uincere nec cesarem posse uinci nam si pompeius uincere nosset hodie cum tam asperrimis uiris cesarem superasset γ *om. B*; 19: et sexto theodosii minoris γ *om. B*; 23: nono theodosii minoris γ *om. B*; 25: pacem deinde theuderidus cum romanis inita denuo aduersus unnos *B* extincto igitur litorio pace deinde theuderidus cum romanis inita denuo aduersus ugnos δ pace deinde theuderidus cum romanis inita denuo aduersus hunos extincto igitur litorio ε; 34: inde paponam et cesaragustam misso exercitu capit *B* exercitum inde alium mittit qui captam pampilonam et cesaragustam misso exercitu capit γ; *om. B* ignaum atque inermem exercitum γ.

In fact, *B* is the oldest manuscript transmitting Isidore's *Historiae* that has reached us, almost two hundred years older than the next testimony⁶⁶. This was the primary reason why both Theodor Mommsen and Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso regarded it as the most authoritative testimony to Isidore's text, superior to any of the Iberian manuscripts. This manuscript is also the only known copy of what could be considered the Carolingian edition of Isidore's *Historiae*. It shows that a complete version of Isidore's text was available in northern Italy in the early 9th century. However, it also confirms that, unlike other works by Isidore, the *Historiae* held only marginal interest for Carolingian authors, likely due to its pronounced focus on Iberia – a region outside the Carolingian Empire – and on populations that had already vanished by the time of Charlemagne. Nevertheless, the copying of Isidore's *Historiae* in *B* was not a matter of chance. It resulted from the will of the scribe who designed the codex in Verona. Indeed, as noted before, in no other manuscript is Isidore's text copied alongside any of the other works found in this codex. It was, therefore, the

66. Ms. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la História, cód. 78. See below.

copyist of B (or of its model) who chose to associate Isidore's *Historiae* with the entire set of universal history, aiming to document the peripheral (from a Carolingian perspective) but sufficiently significant *translatio imperii* in Iberia.



2. THE CAROLINGIAN CONNECTIONS

2.1. *De laude* and *Recapitulatio*

Aside from the *Historiae*, the imperial laterculus taken from the *Etymologiae* and the brief *De laude Spaniae* are the only other Iberian texts preserved in B. The latter (referred to in the codex as *De laude Spaniae sancti Esidori*, fol. 1v) is clearly paired with the *Historiae* (it is copied into fols. 1v-2v, just before the *Historia Gothorum*). This brief, 273-word encomium of Iberia, usually attributed to Isidore of Seville, is rich in classical and mythological allusions, incorporating all the conventional topoi for praising a land. At the conclusion, Isidore employs a matrimonial metaphor to legitimize the idea that Roman valor rightfully desired (*concupiuit*) and claimed (*desponderit*) Iberia, but ultimately the *Gothorum florentissima gens* seized (*rapuit*), loved (*amauit*), and enjoyed (*fruitur*) it⁶⁷.

In fact, B is the only extant codex where the *De laude* and the *Historiae* are associated. Were it not for this, one could regard the *De laude Spaniae* as an independent composition. Despite this, both Theodor Mommsen and Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso – who valued B highly for its antiquity – considered the sequence *De laude Spaniae* + *Historia Gothorum* + *Recapitulatio* + *Historia Vandalorum* + *Historia Sueuorum* to reflect the Isidorian arrangement of the collection. The copyist of B seems to support this interpretation: in the margin, they marked with the number «V» the beginning of the *De laude* (later corrected to «VI»; fol. 1v marg.). The *Historia Gothorum* and *Recapitulatio* lack independent numbering and thus

67. See J. Madoz, *De laude Spanie. Estudio sobre las fuentes del prólogo isidoriano*, «Razón y Fe», 494 (1939), pp. 247-57; Id., *Ecos del saber antiguo en las letras de la España visigoda*, «Razón y Fe», 518 (1941), 229-31; J. A. Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1964, 2nd ed., pp. 17-22.

appear to be understood as a single unit with the *De laude*. The number «VII» is subsequently assigned to the *Historia Wandalorum* and *Historia Sueuorum* (fol. 23r marg.).

It seems that, given the thematic affinity of praise for the union between Iberia and the Visigoths following Roman rule, we are expected to link the *De laude* with the rest of Isidore's *Historiae*, positioning it as a kind of introduction. Nonetheless, the fact that the sequence of Isidore's texts in B is not found in any other known manuscript warrants caution. Whether the copyist of B encountered this arrangement in his model or devised it himself independently, however, remains uncertain.

In Iberia, this *De laude Spaniae* is preserved in only two manuscripts:

- R = Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, cód. 78, fols. 195v-196r, copied ca. 992, perhaps in Nájera or San Millán de la Cogolla⁶⁸
- U = León, Archivo de la Catedral, 22, copied in Córdoba in the 9th century⁶⁹

Isidore's *Historiae* is also copied in R only, though it appears unconnected to the *De laude*. Moreover, as I will discuss below, surprisingly enough, R transmits a version of the *Historiae* which is unrelated to γ . From my point of view, this confirms that the *De laude* did not circulate in γ .

In the Carolingian world, besides B, the *De laude Spaniae* circulated in two manuscripts:

- Y = Sankt-Petersburg, Rossijskaia Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Lat. Q.v.I.20, fol. 69r-v, copied perhaps in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in the 9th century (fol. 69v)⁷⁰. The title appears at the end: *explicit laus hispaniae prouintiae*.

68. See below. It is not copied in ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 8831, which is a manuscript close to R.

69. J. C. Martín, *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2006 (CCSL 113B), pp. 105-6.

70. This is the small part of a manuscript whose larger part is in Paris (BnF, lat. 14144). See L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, Paris, Auguste Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1868, p. 129 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés); Mommensen, *Chronica minora* 2 cit., pp. 257, 392, 404-5 n. 68; Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins* cit., pp. 54-6 (Corbie); L. W. Jones, *The Scriptorium at Corbie: II. The Script and the Problems*, «Speculum», 22 (1947), p. 387, n. 81 (Corbie); Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis chronica* cit., pp. 83*-6* (Corbie); B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Padua-Zwickau, Wiesbaden,

X = Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 83 (X), Part I, fols. 100v-101r, copied at Saint-Rémi de Reims between 882-900⁷¹. As in Y, the title appears at the end: *explicit laus hispaniae prouintiae*.

The collation of these five manuscripts (BRUYX) allows few conclusions about this text, except for one important point – as one would expect, Y and X share several conjunctive errors:

pulcherrima BRU pulcerim Y pulcerima X; principum U principium BRYX; getice BRU geti Y gete X; indulgentior natura BRU indulgentia (-am Y) ornatura YX; bacis BR uacis U pascis YX; segete BRU segetes Y segetis X; torreris BRU terris YX; speciosorum BRU species horum Y speciesarum X; etrurie BRX errurie Y esurie U; gens BRU uirtus YX; orbe BR urbe YXU.

Although the texts of the *De laude Spaniae* copied in Y and X derive from a common model, the relation between these manuscripts and B is not clear (they only transmit one minor common error: *principium* instead of *principum*).

There is also an unexpected detail that may help trace the relationship between these testimonies. In fact, in addition to the *De laude Spaniae*, Y and X also transmit the *Recapitulatio*, a minor and seemingly the least significant section of the *Historiae*. The *Recapitulatio* is a short text that summarizes the history of the Goths from their origins connected to Magog to the rule of King Sisebut. It was copied after the *Historia Gotthorum* in γ and in B⁷². There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that this text was indeed

Harrossowitz Verlag, 2014, vol. 3, p. 217 n. 4963 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés); J. Delmulle, *Un tractatus sur Prou. 30, 15-20 (CPPM I 5027) et la question de son attribution à Grégoire d'Elvire*, in M. Pignot, *Latin Anonymous Sermons from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (AD 300-800): Classification, Transmission, Dating*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021, pp. 207-64 (on pp. 211-7): «la trace la plus ancienne que présente le volume d'une appartenance à la bibliothèque de Saint-Germain est l'ajout, au XVII^e siècle, d'un feuillet de garde liminaire (fol. [ii]) sur lequel on inscrivit une table de contenu, un ex-libris et la cote du catalogue de 1677» (p. 212). I thank Svetlana Abuzina for this information.

71. Bischoff, *Katalog* cit., vol. 1, p. 106 n. 502; H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)*, Bern, Typis B. F. Haller, 1875, pp. 101-2; F. M. Carey, *The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845-882 AD)*, in L. W. Jones, ed., *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward K. Rand*, New York, published by the editor, 1938, pp. 46, 58; Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis chronica* cit., pp. 58*-61*.

72. The only exception is in Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon mundi*, where the *Recapitulatio* was copied before the *Historia Gotthorum*. The *Recapitulatio* was only not copied in Pelagius of Oviedo's *Liber chronicorum*.

part of the archetype common to the entire tradition of the *Historiae*, as a complement or “recapitulation” (*recapitulatio*) of the main text on the Goths. The title of the text is usually given as *Recapitulatio*, to which is added the complement *de origine Gothorum* in manuscripts dependent on δ , or *in Gothorum laude* in manuscripts dependent on ϵ . In Iberia, it never circulated autonomously: even in the famous manuscript Escorial R.II.18, fol. 55r (= W), which was largely copied in Córdoba between the late 7th and early 8th century, the beginning of the *Recapitulatio* (*Goth.* 66) – bearing this title without additions – was copied in the 9th century on a previously blank folio, in association with the opening of the *Historia Gothorum* (*Goth.* 1-3)⁷³.

In the trans-Pyrenean world, on the contrary, the *Recapitulatio* not only circulated in isolation but also seems to have enjoyed slightly greater success than the *Historiae*: it was first used in the Carolingian world by the editors of the *Liber glossarum* in the second half of the 8th century (this is the only excerpt related to Isidore’s *Historiae* found in the *Liber*). The beginning of the *Recapitulatio* was transcribed under the entry *Gothi* (*Goth.* 66)⁷⁴.

In addition, there are three other manuscripts that transmit the *Recapitulatio*: two of them are Y and X, where the *Recapitulatio* is referred to only as *Laus Gothorum* at the end of the text. In both cases, it is copied after Isidore’s *Chronicon* (Y, fol. 69r-v; X, fols. 99v-100v), and just before the *De laude Spaniae*. It seems that the *Laus Gothorum* and the *Laus Spaniae* were understood as a complement to Isidore’s *Chronicon*. Older than these two is the manuscript Saint-Gallen, 133, copied between the late 8th and early 9th centuries, probably in Saint-Gallen (= Z)⁷⁵. It is a composite

73. The main text on this manuscript is M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la Monarquía leonesa*, León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación «San Isidoro», 1983, pp. 15-53. See also G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial* 3, Madrid, Imprenta Helénica, 1913, pp. 481-7; G. Antolín, *El códice ovetense de la Biblioteca del Escorial*, «La ciudad de Dios», 108 (1917), pp. 20-33 and «La ciudad de Dios», 110 (1917), pp. 59-67; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península. Ensayo de distribución regional*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, 1995, pp. 64-9; J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville. Traité de la Nature. suivi de l'Épître en vers du roi Sisebut à Isidore*, Bordeaux, Féret et fils, 1960, pp. 20-3.

74. See A. Grondeux and F. Cinato, eds., *Liber Glossarum Digital*, Paris, 2016, G027 (<https://liber-glossarum.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/libgloss/entry-GO27>). The manuscripts used in this edition are Paris, BnF, lat. 11530, fol. 26rb (= P), Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 36 inf., fol. 137rb (= A), and Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 1773-II, fol. 141va (= L).

75. G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*,

manuscript: the *Recapitulatio*, again explicitly referred to only as *Laus Gothorum* at the end of the text (pp. 590-7), is copied in Part III (pp. 299-657), immediately after the *Chronicon* of Isidore, but this time without the *De laude Spaniae*.

The collation of the manuscripts which transmit the *Recapitulatio* reveals some interesting aspects:

Goth. 66: gothi de magog iapheth filio orti ε BRZYXW gothorum antiquissima origo de magog filio iaphet fuit unde et scitarum genus extitit δ Libgloss | cum scitis una probantur origine sati ε BRZYXW nam idem gothi scitica probantur origine sati δ Libgloss | occidentis ε BRZYX septentriones hac occidentis W septentrionis δ Libgloss | circa scitica regna δ Libgloss om. ε BRZYXW | danubium transeunt ε RZYXW danubium transeuntes B transgressoque danubio δ Libgloss | arma sumunt ε BRZYXW regem sibi ex sua turba legunt δ Libgloss | pirineis rel. principes Z | 67. duri rel. diri YX | uirtus rel. uirius Z | iugo gothicis triumphis adcederet rel. om. YX | 68. actenus rel. catenis X | carere rel. arcere X | 69: regnare licuerit γ BYX reliquerunt R regna reliquerit Z | sese necessitas belandi γ BR necessitas bellandi sese ZY necessitas bellandi esse X | adhibuisse γ BY om. R adibuit se Z ad inbuisse X | quo pergit equo γ RZ quod pergit equo B quo pergit quo Y equo pergit quo X | incendunt γ ZYX incendunt BR | 70: princeps ε BRZYX princeps celesti gratia δ | scepra ε BRZYX scepra eius studiis δ.

– there are two different versions of the *Recapitulatio* (εBRZYXW and δLibgloss). Most of the time, however, based on this text alone, it is difficult to determine which might be the “better” version.

– the oldest manuscripts of both versions of the *Recapitulatio* are contemporary: Z and the manuscripts of the *Liber Glossarum*.

– ZYX share only one similar (although minor) variant (*necessitas belandi seselesse*), and the same title, copied at the end of the text;

– YX seem to be closer testimonies (they share an important omission: *iugo gothicis triumphis adcederet*);

– BR also share a minor error (*incendunt*) between them, but none with ZYX.

Halle, Vrlag der Buchhlandlung des Weisenhauses, 1875, pp. 48-9; A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica*. 2. *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, St. Gallen* 1, Genf, Roto-Sadag, 1936, pp. 65-6; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* 7, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956, p. 911; O. Prinz, *Untersuchungen zue Überlieferung und zur Orthographie der Kosmographie des Aethicus*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», 37 (1981), pp. 476-83; Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis chronica* cit., pp. 86*-7*.

– ε (the Iberian model that circulated in Asturias) and W (the fragment copied in Escorial, R.II.18) are closer to BRZYX than to δ (the Mozarabic model). In ε, the text is called *Recapitulatio de laude Gotthorum*, recovering the title of ZYX. This is puzzling, though, as ε and δ otherwise depend on the same model (γ). The *Recapitulatio* is the sole exception. The simplest explanation is that in ε, the *Recapitulatio* was either corrected or replaced with the version transmitted by BRZYX.

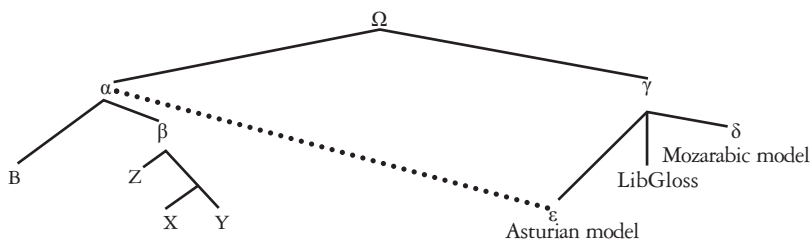
– although copied in Córdoba, W does not depend on δ either. However, there is an intriguing disjunction in the text of W: *septentriones hac occidentis*. The reference to the Goths initially inhabiting the *occidentis glacialia iuga* appears in BRZYX, while δ, certainly more accurately, refers to the *septentrionis glacialia iuga*. Thus, although W usually transmits the text of BRZYX, it also shows at least some knowledge of the text of δ, certainly through a marginal note where the correct version was recorded.

Therefore, I think that in northern Italy there was a copy of Isidore's full *Historiae* (= α), from which B was copied. In the same period, in Saint-Gall and in Neustria there was a second collection also dependent on α: this collection did not transmit Isidore's complete *Historiae*. Only the *Recapitulatio* was copied as a kind of introduction to Isidore's *Chronicon*: I will call the model of this second collection β. In Neustria, the *De laude Spaniae* was also associated with the set. We do not know for sure if the *De laude* was copied in β (and the copyist of Z decided not to reproduce it), or if it was added only to the direct model of YX. However, as the *De laude* is also copied in B, it is probable that it was also copied in α, the model of all these codices.

Isidore's *Chronicon* is not copied in B; however, it does appear in β. José Carlos Martín-Iglesias observed an important detail regarding this text⁷⁶: ZYX transmit the “definitive” version of the *Chronicon*, dependent on Σ⁷⁷. He argues that, since in Iberia, Isidore's *Chronicon* and *Historiae* circulated together in γ/Φ; that B has generally been considered the “complete” version of Isidore's *Historiae*; and in ZYX the *Recapitulatio* is always associated with the *Chronicon*; then, in α, Isidore's *Historiae* and *Chronicon* may have been copied together too, both in their final/definitive versions. In Verona, the *Chronicon* was likely not copied in B because it simply did not fit the purpose of the collection.

76. Martín, *Réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite* cit., pp. 250-9.

77. Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis chronica* cit., pp. 166*-9*.



2.2. Oviedo - La Rioja

At the end of the 10th century, approximately 180 years after B, another manuscript close to α was produced in La Rioja, Spain:

R = Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 78, Part II (fols. 156-232), fols. 156r-158v; 167r-176v⁷⁸

R is one of the Iberian manuscripts which also transmit the *De laude Spaniae* (fols. 195v-196r). It is usually referred to as the Codex Rotensis and is formed of two distinct parts. The first is a 10th-century copy of Orosius' *Historiae* (fols. 1-155). The second part (fols. 156-232), copied slightly later, is mostly composed of shorter late antique and medieval Iberian texts. It was added to Orosius' text in order to complement it.

78. L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Note sur le codex de Meyá*, «Revue des Bibliothèques», 30-31 (1921), pp. 37-56; Z. García Villada, *El códice de Roda recuperado*, «Revista de Filología Española», 15 (1928), pp. 113-30; J. M. Lacarra, *Textos navarros del códice de Roda*, «Estudios de Edad Media de la corona de Aragón», 1 (1945), pp. 193-284; J. Gil Fernández, *Textos olvidados del códice de Roda*, «Habis», 2 (1971), pp. 165-78; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1991, 2nd ed., pp. 32-42; E. Ruíz García, *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 1997, pp. 395-405; A. Martín Duque, *La realeza navarra de cuño hispano-godo y su ulterior metamorfosis*, in P. Henriot, 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. 225-41; H. de Carlos Villamarín, *Alejandro en el códice de Roda*, «Troianalexandrina», 8 (2008), pp. 39-58; H. de Carlos Villamarín, *À l'ombre de Rome: les villes de Tolède et Pampelune dans le codex de Roda*, «Cahiers de civilisation médiévale», 51 (2008), pp. 129-42; H. de Carlos Villamarín, *El códice de Roda (Madrid, BRAH 78) como compilación de voluntad historiográfica*, «Edad Media. Revista de Historia», 12 (2011), pp. 119-42; R. Furtado, *Emulating Neighbours in Medieval Iberia around 1000: A Codex from la Rioja (Madrid, RAH, cod. 78)*, in K. Bergqvist, K. V. Jensen, and A. J. Lappin, eds., *Conflict and Collaboration in Medieval Iberia*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars, 2020, pp. 62-92.

This codex must have been copied around 992, just before al-Mansur's incursions into the region towards the end of the century⁷⁹. Due to the importance given to the Pamplonan genealogies in the codex (fols. 191r-192v), Lacarra and Díaz argued that it had been copied in Nájera in «some palatine church or monastery, prior to Santa Maria La Real»⁸⁰. However, I do not think one should rule out the possibility that ms. Madrid, RAH, cód. 78 may also have been produced, not necessarily at the court, but in a monastery of La Rioja, perhaps in San Millán⁸¹.

R is a very refined manuscript. It is an almost entirely historiographical codex, except for a collection of religious texts copied in fols. 209r-230v. It was already the opinion of Díaz y Díaz that this codex had been conceived as a complete history of the world, focused on Iberia and on its different Christian and Muslim kingdoms. In fact, R also adopts a conception of history as a continuous succession of *regna*. Preceding the *Chronica Prophetica* (fols. 186r-189va), the sequence comprising the *Historia Gotthorum* (fols. 167r-176r) and the *Recapitulatio* (fol. 176r-v), excerpts from the *Reuelatio* of the pseudo-Methodius (fol. 177r-v), and the *Chronica Adefonsi III* (178r-185r) narrates the history of the Gothic ancestors of the Asturian kingdom, notably their victory over the Romans in Iberia, aiming to establish the historical foundations of Alfonso III's neo-Gothic ideology. This suggests that the collection's place of origin was Oviedo.

The set was subsequently brought to La Rioja, the cultural center of the emerging Kingdom of Pamplona. There, probably during the reign of Sancho Garcés II (970-994), a monk copied the collection. The copyist was familiar with the interpretive framework of the Asturian collection. Thus, in La Rioja, the collection was appended to *Orosius' Historiae*, a key text for the *translatio regni* theory, which traced the transfer of world power from the Babylonians through Macedon and Carthage to the Romans. At the late tenth century, the compiler of R retained this interpretive framework. By coupling the collection from Oviedo with *Orosius' Historiae*, the compiler imbued the new codex with a providentialist vision from the outset, adapting the ideological principles of the Asturian collection to suit Pamplona's contemporary context.

The copyist went further: he divided Isidore's *Historiae* into two parts. The *Historia Wandalorum* and the *Historia Sueuorum* were detached from the *Historia Gotthorum* and copied at the beginning of Part II of the

79. See Lacarra, *Textos navarros* cit., p. 196; Martín Duque, *La realeza navarra* cit., pp. 231-2; Furtado, *Emulating Neighbours* cit., pp. 62-3.

80. Lacarra, *Textos navarros* cit., p. 200; Díaz, *Libros y librerías* cit., p. 36.

81. Furtado, *Emulating Neighbours* cit., pp. 63-4.

manuscript (fols. 156r-158v), immediately following Orosius' *Historiae* and preceding Isidore's universal *Chronicon* (fols. 159r-167r). Since Orosius' narrative concluded in 417/418, Isidore's *Historiae Wandalorum et Sueuorum* served as its natural chronological extension, allowing the Goths' eventual conquest of the Vandals and Sueves to be viewed as a continuation of the *translatio regni* process, with the Goths eventually asserting their legitimate dominance over Iberia. Isidore's *Chronicon* could be seen as doubling the set of Orosius' *Historiae* + Isidore's *Historiae Wandalorum et Sueuorum*, already underscoring the notion that history in Iberia was focused on the Goths as the rightful successors to both the Romans and the Vandals and Sueves. Only after the *Chronicon* was Isidore's *Historia Gotthorum* copied. In fact, R is the only known manuscript that splits Isidore's *Historiae* into two non-continuous parts, one copied just before and the other after Isidore's *Chronicon*.

Around one hundred years after R, a second manuscript was produced with a simplified version of this collection:

N = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 8831, fols. 145v-156v⁸²

N was copied in the late 11th to early 12th century, already in Caroline minuscule script. Díaz y Díaz suggested that this codex might have been copied in León, possibly in Sahagún, or in one of its dependent monasteries. However, due to its paleographic characteristics, Jesús Domínguez Bordona and María Dolores Mateu Ibars suggested that it must have been copied in an Aragonese monastery, which could better explain its similarity to R, copied in La Rioja. Furthermore, N must have been produced in a monastery with connections to the trans-Pyrenean world: the version of *De excidio Troiae historia* by Dares Phrygius, as transmitted by N, closely resembles the "vulgate" version found mainly in manuscripts from north-

82. Mommsen, *Chronica minora* 2 cit., pp. 258-9; J. Domínguez Bordona, *Exposición de códices miniados españoles. Catálogo*, Madrid, Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, 1929, p. 181 n. XXIX; E. Pellegrin, *Manuscripts des auteurs classiques de Madrid et du chapitre de Tolède. I Bibliothèque Nationale*, «Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes», 2 (1953/1954), pp. 7-24; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Un poema pseudoisidoriano sobre la creación*, «Studi Medievali», 11 (1970), pp. 397-402 (on p. 399); J. Mateu Ibars and M. D. Mateu Ibars, *Colectánea paleográfica de la Corona de Aragón: siglos IX-XVIII. Textos y transcripciones*, Barcelona, Universidad de Barcelona, 1991, pp. 553-5; *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional de España*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura/Biblioteca nacional, 1995, vol. 13, pp. 115-6; J. Gil, *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII-IX (CCCM 65)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2018, p. 168.

ern France, England, and Germany. Indeed, the *De excidio Troiae historia* does not appear to have circulated in Iberia prior to this copy in N⁸³.

N preserves the same collection copied in R: the *Historiae* of Orosius, the *Chronicon* and *Historiae* of Isidore, the *Revelatio* of the ps.-Methodius, the *Chronica Adefonsi III*, and the *Chronica Prophetica*. However, N does not follow the sequence of R exactly because it does not have Isidore's *Chronicon* in the middle of the *Historiae*; it was copied before (fols. 138r-145v). Nevertheless, it maintains the inversion we saw above: *Historia Vandalorum* + *Historia Suevorum* + *Historia Gothorum* + *Recapitulatio* (without a title). Obviously, this was the sequence copied in the model used by R and N. There is other evidence that this sequence came from Oviedo: this was also the structure of the *Historiae* in ε (the Asturian collection)⁸⁴.

R and N form a very clear family, depending on a codex that was in La Rioja in the second half of the 10th century: I will call it Q. It is characterized mainly by omissions compared to the text of B and γ and by a remarkable number of conjunctive errors and readings:

Goth. 1: ante Gothorum] scitote Q; ultimae rel. om. Q; getas rel. gestas Q | 4: ex quibus illyricum et macedoniam XV ferme annos tenuerunt rel. om. Q | 5: sarmatarum rel. saritanorum Q; uirtutis rel. uirtutibus Q; patriam rel. om. Q | 17: concurrunt undique ad uoces canentium de latibulis agmina christianorum rel. om. Q | 25: inita rel. om. Q | 26: caesorum rel. om. Q; post strage] multitudinem occisorum uel cadauerum N in marg. R | 30: et frigidario rel. om. Q | 34: DIII rel. DVII Q; exercitus inruptione euertit rel. om. Q | 35: post rege] acceperunt legem catholicam N acceperunt legem catholicam gotis in marg. R | 39: DXLVIII rel. DXLIII Q; statuam rel. om. Q | 41: spaniae interclusis francorum rel. om. Q | 55: in uultu gratiam rel. om. Q | 58: extincto liuane rel. om. Q | 71: romanae rel. rome Q; rheno rel. regno Q; constantio rel. constantino Q | 73: post interit] mira opera tua deus in generatione et generatione Q | 77: solis Africae uastationibus nauibus aductus rel. om. Q; prouinciarum rel. om. Q | 78: DVI rel. DVII Q; Gesericum rel. om. Q; suscitatus rel. excitatus Q.

B and Q also share many readings, although it is not easy to determine which branch of the tradition presents the best version⁸⁵. There are, how-

83. See L. Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe. La circulation des manuscrits du de excidio Troiae de Darès le Phrygien (VIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris, École Nationale des Chartes, 2006, pp. 61, 234-46, 332, 344.

84. Pelagius of Oviedo's text of the *Historiae* is not dependent on the model of RN, although he may have known it. That would explain the replacement of the *Recapitulatio* in ε (the model used by Pelagius) by a text closer to Q.

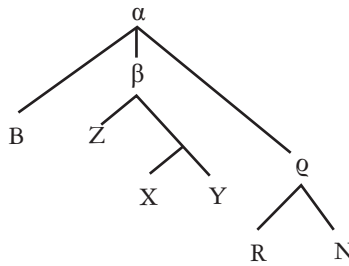
85. *Goth.* 7: superat γ superans QB | 16: gothus γ om. QB | rex γ om. QB | sancti γ

ever, examples where they clearly transmit common errors, which bring them closer to each other and distance them from γ :

9: *ferre non possent* γ *om.* β Q | 15: *in uindictam* γ *om.* β Q | *in uastationem urbis non mitterentur* γ *om.* β Q *inuiolatos securosque esse sinirent* B2 *non occiderentur* N | 32: *finitumque sueuorum regnum* γ *finitumque suorum* β *finitum sueborum* R *finitumque suorum bellum* N.

This set of errors clearly shows that BQ depend on a common model. The third example above is relevant: it seems that in the common model of BQ, the phrase was something like *ut uotum antea darent quod, si ingrederentur urbem, quicumque Romanorum in locis Christi inuenirentur* [something missing]. *post hoc igitur uotum adgressi urbem omnibus et mors et captiuitas indulta est.* Instead, in γ the text flows like this: [...] *quicumque Romanorum in locis Christi inuenirentur in uastationem urbis non mitterentur. post hoc igitur uotum adgressi* [...]. The corrector of B and the copyist of N apparently attempted to remedy the lacuna by inserting text. In B, the corrector introduced *inuiolatos securosque esse sinirent: quicumque Romanorum in locis Christi inuenirentur inuiolatos securosque sinirent esse*⁸⁶. In N, the copyist attempted to resolve this problem in a different way: *quicumque Romanorum in locis Christi inuenirentur non occiderentur.*

I propose that, like B, Q also depended on α :



beati β N *om.* R | *apostolis dei* γ *apostolis* Q β | 22: *relictis hispaniis* γ *om.* Q β | 27: *interierunt* γ *om.* Q β ; *ac diminuti* γ *om.* Q β ; *post eius obitum hunorum gens proprio se insuper excidio deuastauit* γ *om.* Q β | 35: *rex* γ *om.* Q β | 38: *superatus* γ *om.* Q β | 43: *et ui gladii* γ *om.* Q β | 44: *superioris principis dux* γ *om.* Q β | 48: *liuiani regis* γ *om.* Q β | 51: *opibus ablatis proscripsit et* γ *om.* Q β ; *misit* γ *egit* Q β | 54: *copiis* γ *om.* Q β ; *in bello* γ *om.* Q β | 72: *discursionibus* γ *discursibus* Q β | 88: *remanserant* γ *om.* Q β | 90: *reuocatis* γ *uocatis* Q β .

86. This correction was made by using Orosius 7.9.1 *si qui in sancta loca praecipueque in sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos inprimis inuiolatos securosque esse sinerent.*

This means that two texts of the *Historiae* coexisted in Iberia at the end of the 10th century: γ and ϱ . If R is indeed based on an Asturian collection, then ϱ was likely present in Oviedo by the late 9th century. Indeed, even if they do not share any significant conjunctive errors, the copyist of ε (the Asturian family of the text) may have known ϱ : that would explain why the text of the *Recapitulatio* in Oviedo is closer to α than to δ ; why the text is called *Recapitulatio de laude Gotthorum*, recovering β ; and the inversion of the sequence of the texts (*Historia Wandalorum* + *Historia Sueuorum* + *Historia Gotthorum*).

Geographically, if N is indeed from Aragón, as indicated by paleographic evidence, it suggests that ϱ was known in Asturias at the end of the 9th century, and, at least one century later, along the border area between La Rioja (Nájera, San Millán) and Aragón. The absence of circulation before the late 9th century and the concentration in north-northeast Iberia suggest that (1) α was in the Carolingian world at the end of the 8th century, with ϱ representing a reintroduction of Isidore's text in Oviedo, one hundred years later; or that (2) only B's model left for northern Italy during the Carolingian period, while α remained in the Iberian Peninsula⁸⁷.

The copy of Isidore's *Chronicon* in ϱ is dependent on a model distinct from Φ and Σ . According to Martín-Iglesias, it depends on model Λ , which transmitted the first version of the *Chronicon*⁸⁸. This version did not enjoy widespread circulation either. In addition to RN, it was transmitted by two other manuscripts, both Carolingian and much earlier than the Iberian testimonies: Paris, BnF, lat. 12236, copied in Lyon between the late 8th and early 9th century, and Paris, BnF, lat. 9380, copied in Orléans or Fleury between 801 and 818. Therefore, if β correspond to version Σ of Isidore's *Chronicon* and ϱ to version Λ , which version did α transmit? We cannot know for certain. Notably, Σ has no attestations in Iberia, nor does Λ , with the exception of RN. It is possible, as Martín-Iglesias suggests, that α transmitted a copy of Σ ; in this case, one must assume that someone replaced Σ with Λ in ϱ , substituting the more complete version of Isidore's *Chronicon* for the less complete one. Alternatively, it is also possible, and perhaps more plausible, that α transmitted a copy of Λ , which was later replaced by a version close to Σ in the Carolin-

87. By the late 12th century, the *Chronica Naiarensis* – from La Rioja – transmitted a contaminated version of Isidore's *Historiae*. However, a manuscript dependent on ϱ was almost certainly the base text used. In this *Chronica*, the *Recapitulatio* was also placed before the *Historia Gotthorum* (following the sequence: *Historia Wandalorum* + *Historia Sueuorum* + *Recapitulatio* + *Historia Gotthorum*).

88. Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis chronica* cit., pp. 157*-61*.

gian world when β was copied. Given that Λ , apart from RN, circulated exclusively within the Carolingian world, this would support the hypothesis that, as previously noted, ρ represents the reintroduction of Isidore's text into Iberia, specifically to Asturias and the monasteries of La Rioja.

2.3. *Two Last Manuscripts Close to B: P and E*

There are two manuscripts closely related to B:

P = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 927, fols. 122v-123r

E = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. Q. 131, fols. 13r-14r (only *Goth.* 90-92)

P is the manuscript described by Bethmann, copied in 1181 at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of Monte Oliveto, near Verona⁸⁹. While many of the contents of P overlap with B, the two manuscripts are not entirely identical. P includes excerpts from Orosius' *Historiae* (fols. 3v-6r, 57r-68r) and Cassiodorus' *Historia Tripartita* (fols. 74r-121v), which may not have been part of the Carolingian codex to which Phillipps 1885 belonged – unless one assumes that in B these were the two lost works referred to in the margin as numbers I-II. P does not transmit any *fragmentum antiqui geographi*. Like B, P transmits excerpts from the *Epitome historiarum Philippicarum* (fols. 6r-17v), although these do not align exactly with the text of B. The same applies to Bede's text (fols. 18r-30r, 68r-72r), the *Continuatio Constantinopolitana* (fol. 30r-v), which extends to the year 842, and excerpts from Eutropius (fols. 47v-57r), which, as Cessi notes, «agree in their readings but differ in scope and content»⁹⁰. Other texts transmitted by P include excerpts from Jordanes' *Getica* (fols. 123v-125v) and Paul the

89. Bethmann, *Römische Palatina* – 927 cit.; Rühl, *Über den Codex Meermannianus* cit., p. 371; G. Waitz, *Pauli Diaconi Historia Langobardorum*, in *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* (MGH SS rer. Lang. 1), Hannoverae, Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1878, p. 37; T. Mommsen, *Anonymi Valesiani pars posterior*, in Id. *Chronica minora* 1 cit., pp. 259-60; Cipolla, *Ricerche intorno all'Anonymus Valesianus* I cit.; Cessi, *Fragmenta historica* cit., III-v; Cessi, *Di due miscellanee storiche medioevali* cit.; M. L. Giuliano, *Cultura e attività calligrafica nel secolo XII a Verona*, Padova, Università di Padova/Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, 1933, pp. 14-20; D. Walz, V. Probst, and K. Zimmermann, eds., *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Die historischen und philosophischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek* (Cod. Pal. Lat. 921-1078), Wiesbaden, L. Reichert, 1999, pp. 10-5.

90. Cessi, *Di due miscellanee storiche* cit., p. 82: «concordano per la lezione, non per l'estensione e la materia».

Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, along with the *Continuatio Romana ad 825* (fols. 134v-214r), which is incomplete in B. P also transmits the excerpts from Eusebius-Jerome's *Chronica* (fols. 31v-47v), the *Anonymus Valesianus* (fols. 126r-132r), the excerpts from Gregory the Great's *De morte Theoderici* (fol. 132r), and the *Origo Constantini* (fols. 132v-134r), which were transmitted by B. In P, Isidore's *Historiae* were not copied, except for a short excerpt (*Goth.* 13-19) relating to the reigns of Alaric and Ataulf and the sack of Rome. In this case, P shares almost all the readings peculiar to B⁹¹. Based solely on this short text, one could not entirely reject the hypothesis that P could be a copy of B; it is the analysis of the entire codex that prevents such a conclusion. In fact, Bethmann already conjectured that P did not directly depend on B, but on an archetype common to both codices⁹². Waitz stated that P had relied on an archetype from the late 9th or 10th century, so later than B⁹³. Mommsen, although agreeing on the indirect dependence of the two codices, considered the archetype of P to have been copied around 843, «fortasse ab ipso eo librario, qui Berolinensem exeravit vel socio eius et collega»⁹⁴. On fol. 74v of ms. Phillipps 1896, a marginal note reads *hoc loco de alio codice scribe*. Cessi observed that, specifically in relation to the passage indicated by this note, manuscript P presents a different text from B. This implies the existence of another codex, containing a variant text, which was subsequently copied into P⁹⁵.

91. *Goth.* 14: *armatorum rel. armatis armatorum BP | contemptum] contentu B1 contemptu B2P | 15: in uastationem urbis non mitterentur rel. om. B1 inuiolatos securosque esse sinirent B2 inuiolatos securosque sinirent esse P | 16: refrenata rel. refecta BP | sacrario petri rel. sacrario BP | beati petri rel. beati petri apostoli B2P | 17: christianorum concurrunt etiam et pagani atque admixti inter eos dum rel. om. BP; seruos christi rel. christiani BP | 18: post agmina] paganorum qui B2P | regni anno rel. regni B1 anno regni B2P | 19: regno praeficitur rel. in regno praeficitur B2P | ait rel. ut BP | ceperant] caeparant B1 caeperant B2 ceperant P*

92. Bethmann, *Römische Palatina* - 927 cit., p. 347: «Bis hier ist alles gewiß [die Hs. Pal. lat. 927] Abschrift einer einzigen älteren Hs., deren Schreiber ein Geschichte der Weltreiche, und namentlich des Römischen, sammeln wollte, und dazu dieselbe Hs. benutzt habe muß, welche auch der Metzger in Middlehill 1885 zu Grunde liegt».

93. Waitz, *Pauli Diaconi Historia Langobardorum* cit., p. 37: «quorum partem cum in codice tum Cheltenhamensi jam conjunctam videret Bethmann, non scribam Veronensem, sed auctorem s. IX. vel X. hanc continuam fere rerum praesertim in Italia gestarum narrationem composuisse, statuit».

94. Mommsen, *Anonymi Valesiani pars posterior* cit., p. 260: «nihilominus Palatinum mihi constitit derivatum esse ex Berolinensi, scilicet per interpositum exemplar hodie deperditum ex Berolinensi ca. 843. descriptum fortasse ab ipso eo librario, qui Berolinensem exeravit vel socio eius et collega».

95. Cessi, *Di due miscellanee storiche* cit., p. 86.

As previously noted, manuscript B exhibits numerous errors and omissions, many of which can be attributed to the copyist's distractions. In fact, B underwent several corrections by a hand contemporary with the copying of the text (B2). I have identified at least 69 corrections across the manuscript, most of which address minor orthographic issues or syllabic errors⁹⁶. Of these, 24 (35%) are concentrated in *Goth.* 13-19, a section representing only about 9 percent of the text. This is the highest density of corrections in Isidore's *Historiae*. Now, this is exactly the section of Isidore's *Historiae* which is copied in P.

Among these 24 corrections, 22 bring the text of B closer to P⁹⁷. Most are only orthographic corrections. However, four are significant interventions as they are exclusive to these two manuscripts:

Goth. 15: in uastationem urbis non mitterentur *rel. om. B1* iniulatos securosque esse sinirent *B2* iniulatos securosque sinirent esse *P*; 16: beati petri *rel. B1* beati petri apostoli *B2P*; 17: agmina christianorum *rel. agmina B1* agmina paganorum qui *B2P*; 19: regno *rel. B1* in regno *B2P*.

Two of these four cases stand out. As I mentioned above, in *α* there was a gap in *Goth.* 15 – the text read *quicumque Romanorum in locis Christi inuinentur* [then, something was missing; and the text continues] *post hoc igitur uotum adgressi*. In B, this gap remains. It is the corrector, B2, who

96. *Goth.* 3: goti > gotbi; scite > scitbe; 6: gotorum > gotborum; gotos > gotbos; 7: atanatico > atanarico; 9: goti > gotbi; 10: goti > gotbi; gotos > gotbos; 12: goti > gotbi; 13: quadringentesima > quadringentesima; trecensima > tricesima; goti > gotbi; 14: gotorum > gotborum; militibus > milibus; contentu > contemptu; locus > locis; 15: gotorum > gotborum; goticis > gotbicus; goti > gotbi; Ø > iniulatos securosque esse sinirent; ipsi > ipsir; 16: ostium > hostium; gotis > gotbis; honeste > oneste; **** > beati petri apostoli; 17: eis > ei; agmina > agmina paganorum qui; 18: goti > gotbi; regni > anno regni; 19: gotis > gotbis; regno > in regno; goti > gotbi; caeparant > caeperent; 20: gotis > gotbis; 23: dicis > ducis; 24: exercito > exercitu; mal*** > malluisset; 26: montibus > motibus; 29: adflicti** > adflictionibus; reg > regni; si > sic; 34: impeto > impetu; exercito > exercitu; 43: sollicitatum > sollicitatum; 45: algila > – agila; 46: misum > misum; auxili > auxili; 47: iustini > iustiniani; 48: iustiniani > iustini; moris > minoris; 49: potius > potitus; tantem > tantae; 52: prius > pius; 62: gatia > gratia; istra > iste; mirabilem > mirabile; potius > potitus; 63: debita* > debita; 66: sitis > scitis; unnorum > hunnorum; patefactique > patefactisque; pi*** > pirineis; 69: edicere > edicere; 70: prelis > preliis; sca*eptra > scaeptra; 71: gentis > gentes; 73: carterginensem > cartarginensem; 76: unis > hunis; 82: de*cessore > decessore.

97. The exceptions are: *Goth.* 16: honeste > oneste; 19: caeparant > caeperent. P does not transmit these variants.

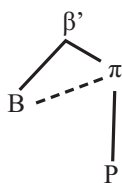
introduced *inuiolatos securosque esse sinirent*, which is the text also found in P: *quicumque Romanorum in locis Christi inuenirentur inuiolatos securosque sinirent esse*.

The second case involves the addition of *paganorum qui*. In all other codices, the text reads *concurrunt undique ad uoces canentium de latibulis agmina christianorum. concurrunt etiam et pagani atque admixti inter eos, dum christianos esse se fingunt*. In α , however, there was a *saut du même au même*: *concurrunt undique ad uoces canentium de latibulis agmina christianos esse se fingunt*. Corrector B2 added *paganorum qui*, which is also the text found in P.

Therefore, still during the Carolingian period, a reviser (B2) corrected B. It is possible that these corrections were made based on the common model for B and P (which I will call β'). It could be that, after B was copied, a corrector noticed the clumsy work of the copyist and collated the text of the manuscript with β' . This would explain why minor corrections were made to the text they share, which consistently bring B closer to the text transmitted by P. However, I do not think this is what happened.

In manuscript B, on fol. 5v, a crux (+) appears in the margin at the beginning of the text corresponding to *Goth.* 13. This is the start of the text of the *Historia Gothorum* as copied in manuscript P. Similarly, on fol. 7v of B, another crux is found at the conclusion of *Goth.* 19, which corresponds to the end of the text in P too. Therefore, these marginal cruces in B demarcate the exact portion of Isidore's *Historiae* that was copied in P at the end of the 12th century. However, one should remember that P is not a direct copy of B, making this alignment noteworthy and requiring explanation.

I propose that the correction of B was not based on the original archetype (β') from which its text derives. Instead, it is more plausible that already in the direct model of P (π), only *Goth.* 13-19 had been transcribed. Therefore, π served as the intermediary:



When B2 undertook his task, he utilized this excerpt, marking with cruces the section in B that required correction based on the text available in π .

A copy of B is the manuscript E, Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. Q. 131, fols. 13r-14r (*Goth.* 90-92)⁹⁸. This manuscript was copied from B by Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) when this codex was still in the College of Clermont in Paris. After Vossius' death, manuscript E was sold with the rest of his collection to Leiden University. The manuscript is mutilated: today it has only 14 folios; it lacks the quires corresponding to the final part of Paul the Deacon's text and almost all of the text of Isidore, which Vossius must also have copied.

In summary, the only place in the Carolingian world where traces of a complete copy of Isidore's *Historiae* exist was in Verona, in the early 9th century (β'). The text was integrated into a collection of universal history texts covering the period from Babylon to the time of Charlemagne, to reference the peoples who had passed through Iberia with the fall of the Roman Empire, before transitioning to the longer narrative dedicated to the Goths of Italy, taken from Jordanes. With approximately the same texts, although with clearly differentiated formats, two similar collections were produced dependent on that model: B and π . B transmitted Isidore's *Historiae* in its entirety and was associated with the *De laude Spaniae*; π transmitted only an excerpt (the same thing happened with other texts copied in β' , but not always in the same direction: sometimes it is π that transmits more of the text). After B was produced, the portion of Isidore's text that it has in common with π (*Goth.* 13-19) was corrected using π . Meanwhile, B was taken to Metz and then to Paris. In the 12th century, in the region of Verona, a copy of π was made: it was manuscript P. In the 16th century, Vossius made a copy of B in Paris: part of this copy is now manuscript E.

*

1. The tradition of Isidore's *Historiae* primarily points towards an Iberian circulation, in line with much of Iberian historiography. The main Iberian family, labeled γ , divides into two subfamilies: one of Mozarabic origins, and one which circulated in Oviedo. In both cases, the *Historiae* is included in a collection of Iberian chronicles, which also feature Isidore's *Chronicon* in the Φ version.

2. In the Carolingian world, at least the *Recapitulatio* circulated in the version transmitted by γ , which was known by the copyists of the *Liber*

⁹⁸. K. A. De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini. 2. Codices in quarto*, Leiden, Leiden University, 1975, p. 283; V. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse* cit., pp. 302-3.

glossarum. Since this version of the *Recapitulatio* never circulated independently, it is likely that it reached the Carolingian world with the rest of the *Historiae*, which was eliminated as it did not meet the requirements of the *Liber*. This family left no other traces in the Carolingian world. Isidore's *Chronicon* in the Φ version also left no traces of extra-Iberian circulation until the mid-11th century (ms. Firenze, Pl. XX.54).

3. The text of the *Historiae* circulated in the Carolingian world in another autonomous family, which I call α . α was likely copied in a collection of Iberian texts, which also included the *De laude Spaniae*, although not necessarily associated with the *Historiae*. It also included Isidore's *Chronicon*.

4. In the Carolingian world, α gave rise to two branches: in one, the *Historiae* was copied in Verona, in the early 9th century, with the *De laude Spaniae* and the *Recapitulatio* preceding and following the *Historia Gothorum*, in a collection of universal history. Clearly, they did not meet with much success.

5. In the other branch, the *Historiae* was not transmitted. The *Recapitulatio*, associated with Isidore's *Chronicon* and *De laude*, was copied between Saint-Gall and the region of Paris-Reims. In this subfamily, the *Recapitulatio* assumes another title: *De laude Gothorum*.

6. There was also a version of the *Historiae* dependent on α that circulated in Iberia: ϱ . This may represent a branch of the *Historiae* that returned to Iberia, with α reflecting an entirely Carolingian or trans-Pyrenean tradition. ϱ represents a manuscript that was likely in Oviedo around the time of Alfonso III, when the collection into which the *Historiae* was inserted seems to have been organized.

ABSTRACT

Isidore of Seville's Historiae (CPL 1204) in the Carolingian World

This paper reassesses the transmission and reception of Isidore of Seville's *Historiae* (CPL 1204) in the Carolingian world, a text traditionally overshadowed by the greater success of his *Chronicon* (CPL 1205). While the *Historiae* circulated north of the Pyrenees, its diffusion was limited and regionally concentrated. This study examines the existence of a distinct Carolingian textual family (designated α), likely compiled in early ninth-century Verona, which transmitted a complete version of the *Historiae* alongside the *De laude Spaniae* and *Recapitulatio* as part of a broader historiographical collection with universal ambitions. The manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillips 1885 (B) is the principal witness to this tra-

dition, exhibiting a unique textual sequence and early corrections informed by related, but now-fragmentary codices. The paper situates this Veronese compilation within the broader context of Carolingian historiography and explores its limited reception. It further identifies a secondary branch of this tradition (β), active in Saint-Gall and Neustria, where only the *Recapitulatio* and *De laude Spaniae* circulated, often as complements to Isidore's *Chronicon*. A parallel Iberian tradition (γ) developed independently, rooted in Mozarabic and Asturian contexts. Additionally, the study identifies a further Iberian tradition (α), likely derived from α , which reintroduced the Carolingian recension to Iberia by the late ninth century, particularly in Oviedo and La Rioja. By tracing two distinct yet interconnected lines of textual transmission – one Carolingian, the other Iberian – this study highlights the complex dynamics of historiographical circulation and reception across post-Roman Europe.

Rodrigo Furtado
Universidade de Lisboa
Centro de Estudos Clássicos
rodrigo.furtado@edu.ulisboa.pt