

THE CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III AND ITS
SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF
THE ASTURIAN KINGDOM 718 - 910 AD

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE CONTENT, PURPOSE AND THEMES
OF A LATE 9TH-CENTURY HISTORICAL TEXT

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To the memory of my mother and father.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AB. Analecta Bollandiana, Bruussels.
- ACTAS. Actas del Simposio Para el Estudio de los Códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1978-1980)
- AE ARQ. Archivo Español de Arqueología, Madrid.
- AE ART. Archivo Español de Arte, Madrid.
- AEM. Anuario de Estudios Medievales, Barcelona.
- AHDE. Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Espanol, Madrid.
- AST. Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia, Barcelona.
- AL. Archivos Leoneses, León.
- BIDEA. Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo.
- BN. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- BRAE. Boletín de la Real Academia Espanola, Madrid.
- BRAH. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
- CCM. Cahiers de Civilisation Mediévale, Poitiers.
- CCCM. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout.
- CHE. Cuadernos de Historia de España, Buenos Aires.
- CCSL. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Turnhout.
- CSEL. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna.
- CSM. Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum, ed. J. Gil, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1973).
- DHEE. Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España, eds. Q. Aldea Vaquero, T. Marin Martinez, J. Vives, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1972-1987).
- EI. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 4 vols. and supplement, (1st ed., Leiden, 1913-1942; 2nd., 1954-).
- ES. España Sagrada, H. Flórez, M. Risco, 51 vols. (Madrid, 1747-1879).

- ESTUDIOS. Estudios Sobre la Monarquía Asturiana (Oviedo, 1949).
- MGH. Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- AA. Auctores Antiquissimi (Berlin, 1877-1919).
- EPISTOLAE. (Berlin, 1887-).
- LEGES. Leges Nationum Germanicarum (Hannover and Leipzig, 1826-1934).
- SRG. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (Hannover and Leipzig, 1871-).
- PL. Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864).
- SC. Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1941-).
- SETT. SPOLETO. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 1954-).
- SYMP. OV. Symposium Sobre Cultura Asturiana de la Alta Edad Media (Oviedo, 1967).

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ABSTRACT

The Asturian kingdom provided the earliest organised resistance in the Iberian peninsula to the Muslim invaders who overthrew the Visigothic state at the start of the 8th century. Information on the origins of the Asturian kingdom is regrettably sparse. Historians of the kingdom are totally reliant on a late 9th-century cycle of Asturian chronicles associated with the royal court, the most substantial of which is the Chronicle of Alfonso III. This work has survived in two fundamental recensions from the 10th century. Historians' gratitude for its existence is tinged with frustration at its readily apparent weaknesses, such as a chronological imprecision on events and an enigmatic brevity in the commentary.

This thesis considers the 9th-century Asturian chronicles in the context of their own time. In particular, it examines the Chronicle of Alfonso III not as a disappointing source which fails to yield to modern scholars the information they crave on this obscure period of early Spanish history, but, rather, as an expression of the aims of a medieval author and his copyists. The Chronicle was the product of scarce and valuable resources. Its author, within the limits of his literary ability and source of information, transmitted a message which interacted with the individual understanding of its intended audience. This shift of emphasis in analysing the Chronicle of Alfonso III rests on the assumption that its original text may be recognised in the later recensions which used it, by addition or omission, as a vehicle for their own interests.

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CHAPTER I: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ASTURIAN KINGDOM (718-910 AD)

A: The Origins and Growth of the Asturian Kingdom

During the half-century which followed the successful Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula in 711 AD, Christians in part of north-western Spain, protected by the fastnesses of the Cantabrian mountains and by the conquerors' reluctance to exert the force required for pacification in an uncongenial part of their new lands, maintained their independence. Writers of the late 9th century saw a religious explanation for this, although it is of a piece with the local resistance to a central power that would have been recognised by Visigothic and, earlier, Roman authorities. This resistance crystallised into the kingdom of the Asturias which pursued a cautiously expansionist policy, especially towards the west, into Galicia. By around 800 AD, Alfonso II (791-842 AD) had established a royal seat in Oviedo, where it was to remain until the start of the 10th century. Originally a mid 8th-century monastic foundation, this site, though poor and small by comparison with the great cities of the south, became the kingdom's major urban settlement. Under Alfonso III (866-910 AD), the Asturian kingdom grew in ambition and strength. Its self-confidence reached a peak of such exaltation that the imminent collapse of Muslim power could be anticipated with optimism.

These expectations proved falsely optimistic. Nevertheless, after 910 AD, under Alfonso's sons, the capital was transferred southwards from Oviedo to the city of León which lay in an exposed position on the northern fringes of the Meseta, tied in

to the ancient Roman road network which now facilitated the movement of hostile forces from Muslim Spain. The traditional ruling dynasty continued in power but the move marked a symbolic change. The Asturian kingdom evolved into the kingdom of León which itself was to have an illustrious future. It marks a convenient historiographical division. Oviedo now began to lose its political and spiritual pre-eminence. In political matters, it was supplanted by León as the royal seat. In spiritual matters, despite an awe-inspiring arsenal of relics held in the cathedral church of San Salvador, it was ultimately overshadowed by the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela. By the early 12th century, despite the efforts of Bishop Pelayo, a keen builder and reformer, as well as an inventive forger and manipulator of documents, Oviedo's slide into provincial obscurity was irreversible, broken, in an unwelcome way, by foreign invasion in the 19th century and by civil war in this century. Besides the city's legacy of pre-Romanesque churches, a reminder of its glorious past still survives in the title 'Prince of the Asturias' which has been carried by the heir to the throne of Spain since the 14th century.

B: The Kingdom of the Asturias and the Reconquest

The 'differentness' of Spanish history and its isolation from the European mainstream are familiar, and rather overworked, historiographical themes. The development of the Asturian kingdom, to 910 AD, has a fundamental interest not just for the specialist in Iberian history but for anyone interested in early medieval Europe. Don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz's monumental

three-volume collection of articles on the subject has a title, 'Orígenes de la Nacion Española. Estudios Criticos Sobre la Historia del Reino de Asturias.', that picks out one element of its author's philosophical understanding of Spanish history.(1) With hindsight, Pelayo's victory over the Muslim forces at Covadonga, whether in 718 AD or 722 AD, marked the birth of the Asturian kingdom and the beginning of the Reconquest.(2) It was perceived as the first link in a chain which threaded through the later centuries, ending in 1492 AD with the conquest of Granada and a final transfer of political power in the Iberian peninsula from Muslim to Christian hands.

While belief in the desirability and possibility of a Reconquest contained a sustaining vigour, it was persistent rather than consistent. The pious and long-cherished view that Spanish Christians, driven on by spiritual motives, engaged in a prolonged crusade lasting over seven hundred years, was challenged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by those intellectuals who formed the 'Generation of '98'. Their vision of the Reconquest played down the role of religion which, as 'fanaticism', became an unwelcome 11th-century import from Christian France and Muslim Morocco, and played up a political desire by Christians to recover the lost inheritance of the Visigoths. Americo Castro argued that the Muslim invasion of 711 AD had caused a fundamental break in Spanish history and that Spaniards were the product of 'convivencia' between Christians, Jews and Muslims. His understanding was fiercely contested by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz who saw an essential continuity in Spanish history, acknowledging the contribution made to the

national character by different groups, before and after the Muslim invasion, and stressing the traits shared by the people of the Iberian peninsula.(3) This interpretation of the Spanish past, as a long quest for unity, celebrated the triumph of Castilian nationalism. In post-Franco Spain, a greater regional self-confidence has encouraged a pluralist view of the Reconquest, which, together with the Portuguese contribution, looks beyond the rise of Castile to take into account the experience of other peninsular regions and states.(4) As well as this geographical 'breadth', there is a social 'depth', as the attitudes and responses of Christian frontier settlers differed from those of their superiors, whether clerical, noble or royal. Historians from outside the peninsula who take an interest in these subjects need to approach regional sensitivities with a due sense of caution but may have an advantage in a lack of partisan advocacy, although this has not invariably been the case in British treatment of Spanish historiography.(5)

C: The Significance of the Kingdom of the Asturias

The Asturian kingdom to 910 AD is of a significance beyond the distorting perspective of a backwards view from 1492 AD. It may not have been the sole source of the Reconquest but, nevertheless, it was of singular importance in that process. The origins and consolidation of the Asturian kingdom are of considerable intrinsic interest for students of early medieval history. Under Pelayo and his successors, it had the distinction of being the first independent Christian kingdom to emerge from the wreckage of the Visigothic state. In maintaining and, later, expanding its territories, the ruling dynasty invented an

identity for the kingdom and a unity for the disparate peoples over whom it exercised power in practice or over whom such authority was claimed. This process was not so much 'ethno-genesis', as no single ethnic identity was forged, but rather, to mix classical roots, one of 'regnum-genesis'. A tempting parallel is with the emergence of 'barbarian' kingdoms from the 5th-century political collapse of the western Roman Empire. The internal political difficulties of the Asturian kings would have been appreciated by their Carolingian and West Saxon contemporaries of the 8th and 9th centuries. The court-cycle of historical writings associated with Alfonso III, 'the Great', articulated, through the written word and the plastic arts, a conscious self-image and a definition of royal aspirations. This method and some aspects, at least, of its message would have been comprehensible to other 9th-century European rulers on whom the title 'Great' has been conferred, the Frank Charles (c.742-814 AD) and the more directly contemporary West Saxon Alfred (849-899 AD) who also deployed the written word as an aid for the practical purposes of government.

From another perspective, the uniqueness of the Asturian kingdom requires some qualification. Without diminishing its remarkable achievements, especially in pre-Romanesque architecture, the kingdom belongs to the broad political and religious culture of Christian Western Europe with which it was in contact.(7) However deep may have been the penetration of Roman/Visigothic culture into what were to become the heartlands of the kingdom, it was clearly reinforced by the extension of control over the more urbanised areas of Galicia and by the influx of refugees from the south in the immediate wake of the

Muslim conquest and after, during the 9th century. The young Asturian kingdom was certainly in contact with the Carolingian Empire at first as protector and, eventually in the 9th century, as a rival for power in trans-Pyrenean regions. Letters from a 9th-century Pope John came to be lodged in Oviedo's cathedral archive, but are of such hugely improbable authenticity that communication with the papacy, never frequent in Visigothic times, cannot be assumed for the Asturian kingdom. One part, at least, of the Asturian church was involved in the complicated dispute over Adoptionism at the end of the 8th century, with its international ramifications linking Archbishop Elipandus of Toledo, spiritual leader of Muslim Spain's Christians, two popes (Hadrian I 772-795 AD and Leo III 795-816 AD) as well as the Emperor Charlemagne and his spiritual advisers, at councils in Ratisbon (792 AD), Frankfurt (794 AD) and Rome (799 AD). The justly famous churches and mural paintings of the Asturian kingdom are rich in elements drawn from a variety of Christian and Muslim sources. Decorative motifs in the 9th-century complex of buildings on Monte Naranco, overlooking the city of Oviedo, suggest Late Roman, Byzantine or even Near-Eastern artistic influences, among others.

On the theory and practice of kingship, the Asturian rulers faced problems that were common to the Christian monarchs of the early Middle Ages and which are of interest to modern historians. The consolidation of a ruling dynasty, alongside other factors such as longevity, fertility and general good luck, was dependent on its relationship with the church and nobility. These dealings, together with the process of king-making and the

confirmation of royal authority, whether elective from below or inherited and conferred by divine grace from above, were as significant in the Asturias as elsewhere in early medieval Europe, and have received due study. In particular, the custom of anointing kings, known from Visigothic times and practised in 11th-century Christian Spain, remains a tantalisingly uncertain subject for speculation in the 8th/ 9th-century Asturian kingdom.

It also shared many of the military challenges that confronted its neighbours. From a much weaker position than the major Christian states of the 8th and 9th centuries, the Asturian kingdom was compelled to negotiate with the centres of Muslim power while coping with cross-border skirmishing typical of frontier societies, as well as full-scale military expeditions. During the 9th century, Viking raids along its extensive coastline involved the Asturian kingdom, to a limited extent, (although this would not have been the understanding of those unfortunate enough to be directly affected) in the great sweep of raiding, trading and settlement by Scandinavians that transformed, either by destruction or creation, the life of Europe. The kingdom, then, did not exist in a vacuum, isolated from the rest of western Christendom. Its roots lay in the Romano-Gothic past. In the 8th and 9th centuries, as well as in its later evolution, the Asturian kingdom, for all the distinctive features of its cultural inheritance, belonged to a common Christian culture. Using the Latin language, its writers deployed their skills in the production of documents, lay or secular, whose content and format tied them in to a wider literary tradition. The basic social organisation of the kingdom,

the problems confronting it and the responses of its rulers, allowing, of course, for differences in detail, are all recognisable within the general context of the 8th/9th centuries. In short, the Asturian kingdom's identity, with all its local nuances and distinctive achievements, was drawn from the mainstream of Western European political and religious culture.

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CHAPTER 2: SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ASTURIAN KINGDOM

718-910 AD: AN INTRODUCTION

A: An Overview of the Sources

The term 'Dark Ages', as an historiographical cliché to describe the period between the decline of classical culture in the 5th/6th centuries and the emergence of a 'true' medieval culture in the 11th century, served a double purpose. It was both a moralistic lament for the perceived fall of Western Europe from classical civilisation into barbarism and as a frustrated indictment of the lack of surviving historical evidence.

On the first point, the melancholy tale of 'decline and fall' in the late-antique world has been sharply modified by recent research which emphasises, in more positive style, the extent of continuity and evolution into the early Middle Ages. On the second point, it remains true enough that more evidence would be welcomed generally by students of the early Middle Ages in general. Auxiliary disciplines such as archaeology and numismatology can add to the sum total of knowledge. A more fruitful approach to the variety of existing evidence has been to extend its range by asking different questions so that, for example, the vitae of medieval saints, even if held to be written long after the events described and unreliable for constructing a narrative history, remain, at least, as a valuable source for an 'histoire des mentalités' of the period of composition.

The first two centuries of the Asturian kingdom are not a 'dark age' either in terms of cultural attainment or of extant evidence although, admittedly, this is limited in scope. In the

written sources there is a variety of material which is broadly similar in form and style to that being produced elsewhere in contemporary Europe. There are collections of charters, royal and private, lists of kings, brief annals and, relatively, more substantial chronicles. To this can be added the late 8th-century theological works of Beatus of Liébana and a small amount of hagiographical writing on saints, from the time of Alfonso III. There are also the highly suspect, and much-debated, accounts of two church councils said to have been held at Oviedo by Alfonso II, 821 AD, and by Alfonso III, 900 AD. In non-Asturian written sources, both Christian and Muslim, there are passing references to the kingdom's history. Monumental and artistic remains, such as churches, crosses, inscriptions and paintings, supplement the literary information.(1) Archaeology, particularly with the recovery of structural ground-plans, can confirm, in part, the testimony of the written sources as well as add a new dimension of material evidence.

B: Problems Relating to the Evidence

Attempts to construct a history of the Asturian kingdom from this material faces obvious difficulties. Although the surviving evidence is not negligible in quantity, the modern historian of the kingdom, understandably enough, still wishes for more. The sources which do exist pose problems in understanding and interpretation. Setting aside the question of how far the surviving evidence represents only the visible tip of an ice-berg of information, its coverage of the kingdom's early history is patchy, especially for the early decades. The charter evidence grows in quantity and range from the late 8th to the early 10th

centuries although the authenticity of many items and the extent of interpolation have been hotly debated by scholars. As a source of information on legal or social subjects such as landholding and kinship groups, these charters are of prime importance. This evidence reveals particular aspects of the kingdom's life. It is not, however, the stuff from which to compile a narrative history although it can yield incidental detail as corroboration or contradiction of information from the comparatively fuller Asturian chronicles of the late 9th century. The same caveat must be placed on other written sources, such as the royal genealogies, as well as the physical remains.

References to the kingdom in non-Asturian written sources are valuable although their brevity, and scarcity, are more in the way of a sideways glance rather than a sustained observation. The first narrative accounts of any substance from which the history of the Asturian kingdom must be created are chronicles associated with the late 9th-century court of Alfonso III. They raise many perplexing questions over their transmission and content but are of fundamental importance for a narrative history. The Chronicle of Alfonso III outlines the kingdom's history from its origins to the death of Ordono I (850-866 AD) while the Chronicle of Albelda takes it forward, with a continuation, to November, 883 AD. For the remainder of Alfonso III's reign, up to 910 AD, we are dependent on two accounts, the early 11th-century Chronicle of Sampiro and the 12th-century Chronicle of Silos, although caution is needed because of their lateness and uncertainty over the sources of their information. Other compilations such as the Chronicle of Nájera, mid-12th century, together with Lucas of

Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi* and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispanie*, both from the early 13th century, have no reliable detail to add to the earlier accounts.

There is, perhaps, a rough parallel here with the 6th/7th century Visigothic kingdom in that the relatively rich sources such as law codes and the records of church councils are, for the most part, denied a full historical context by the lack of adequate narrative sources.(1) For the Asturian kingdom, such a context is supplied by the late 9th-century chronicles. All of these only exist, however, in collections from the 10th century and beyond. The *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, as it has survived in its two fundamental forms, is, according to the respective prologues, an early 10th-century version and it is that which has been preserved in the later compilations. Both are, therefore, at least one remove from the original text, with the resultant possibilities of alteration and interpolation although some of these problems can be eased by close comparison of the two extant forms.

In trying to comprehend the origins of the Asturian kingdom these chronicles are the basis of our knowledge. For later scholars they have long served as a quarry of information, either corroborating or being corroborated by other sources. And yet a more accurate metaphor for the chronicles would be as windows on the past created by writers of the 9th and 10th centuries. We are looking at this past as they wanted it to be seen. Setting to one side modern questions on the limitations of the source material available to them, these writers produced texts which by addition, omission and invention are their conscious presentation

of the kingdom's past. While the interests of modern scholars are not totally inconsistent with the intentions of 9th/10th century historians, the chronicles are our only source for much early Asturian history and it is clearly advisable to adopt a cautious approach in dealing with their unsupported information. These Asturian chronicles, and especially that associated with Alfonso III, project what were then current dynastic aspirations and propaganda on to the past to produce a shaped account of the kingdom's history. Their greatest value lies in what they reveal about court attitudes of Alfonso III and his sons at a particular point in time through an interpretation of the past which is manipulated to carry a message for the present and future.

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CHAPTER 3: SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ASTURIAN KINGDOM

718-910 AD: A SURVEY OF THE EVIDENCE

A: Diplomatic Evidence

The diplomatic evidence relating to the Asturian kingdom, with a brief commentary on each document, has been gathered most conveniently in two volumes by A. C. Floriano.(1) His collection of 204 documents covers the period 718-910 AD and the seven distinct regional zones of production which he identified within the kingdom from an analysis of their main diplomatic features. Volume I opens with a forged charter of Pelayo, founding father of the Asturian kingdom and comprises 84 documents up to 866 AD. The second volume contains 119 documents solely from the reign of Alfonso III. In content they are overwhelmingly preoccupied with the donation, exchange, inheritance or sale of goods, land and property within a variety of situations from monastic foundation pacts to dowry contracts. The majority record donations to the Church. Interesting departures from this norm are publications of legal judgements and Alfonso III's letter, preserved in the cartulary of St. Martin's at Tours, replying to the clergy of Tours' offer of an imperial crown for sale. These documents feature a cross-section of society in the Asturian kingdom, invoking the royal family and its secular subjects as well as the clergy and its dependents. The procedures and the norms of Visigothic law-code, the Forum Iudicum, were followed in the Asturian kingdom and its later Leonese development. This diplomatic material is now found in the codices of cathedral/monastery archives or in the great collections of the Archivo Historico Nacional and the Real Academia de la Historia

in Madrid. Few of these documents survive as originals or as independent, individual items and some are known only through the copies of now-lost material made by scholars in the 16th to 18th centuries.

There are two points that need to be made about these documents. The first is that the chronological spread of material is heavily biased towards the end of the period, with the preponderance of charters dated between 866-910 AD and very little material from the 8th century. This may, however, reflect the actual use of the written word.

The second point, on the question of their authenticity, is altogether more controversial. In 1919, Lucien Barrau-Dihigo published a crushingly rigorous assessment of the Asturian kingdom's charters.(2) From an analysis of 68 documents, this distinguished French Hispanist took 19 to be authentic or apparently so, with only five of these, (a figure he later revised to seven), having survived in their original form. Apart from two royal diplomas (Silo, 23rd August, 775 AD and Ordone I, 28th June 860 AD), the other 17 authentic charters were executed in the reign of Alfonso III. Documents were rejected on the grounds that they were 'interpolated', 'suspicious' or of 'doubtful tenor'. Apart from this, there was a mass of clearly apocryphal texts. Some of these documents, characterised by Barrau-Dihigo as the grossest falsehoods, had fooled only the most credulous while others, forged or rewritten in the 12th and 13th centuries, had misled the majority of scholars.(3) Whatever their relative age, in his judgement, the content of these charters could not be used, even in part, by historians.

Such conclusions have proved unpalatable to Spanish historians.

Don Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz, a towering figure in the historiography of the period, responded to them in magisterial style. He welcomed Barrau-Dihigo's healthy reaction against earlier scholars' indiscriminate acceptance of medieval documents as authentic but rejected his 'hypercriticism' as ultimately reducing the stock of information on early medieval Spain to a point which would make the writing of history impossible.(4) The French scholar was not a historian in the most rigorous sense of the word, Sánchez-Albornoz mused on another occasion, as his scientific approach to the examination of evidence was not matched by a creative artistic spirit that could breathe life into the people of the past whom he studied.(5) There is also a sense of bruised patriotic sentiment in his views. The ghosts of ancient disagreements hover over discussion of Asturian charters. In his analysis of this material, Barrau-Dihigo regretted the destruction of Astorga cathedral's archive, 'burnt in 1808 by the English'. Armando Cotarelo Valledor, in his detailed biographical study of Alfonso III, written in 1914 but first published in 1933, considered the diplomatic sources and presented this loss with a different emphasis, noting tactfully that the documents had '...disappeared during the French invasion.'(6)

Sánchez-Albornoz reacted forcefully and at length against what he saw as 'hypercriticism' and its deplorable influence on Spanish medievalists. In recent times his patriarchal authority has been held to have contributed to 'the relegation and virtual oblivion' of Barrau-Dihigo's work which was 'unknown, practically, by the general public and scarcely used by later historians'.(7) The results of a more flexible approach to the

material can be seen in Floriano's analysis of the charters. In volume I of his collection, he identified 49 authentic documents, including 11 originals, with 17 characterised as false out of the 84 which were analysed. In volume II, he accepted the authenticity of 93 of the assembled 119 documents with 16 labelled false.(8) This decidedly more positive assessment of the Asturian diplomatic material cautions against hypercriticism but also gives warning of a misplaced patriotism that might seduce investigators into an acceptance of flagrant falsehood.(9)

At the bottom of these different approaches is the issue of the survival, preservation and purpose of such documents. It may reasonably be taken as axiomatic that not all of the 8th and 9th century diplomatic material has made the journey of over 1000 years to reach the present time. Few exist in an original form from the period when they were first written. To the genuine charters of the Asturian kingdom, and there are considerably more survivors from the second half of the 9th century, which have been transmitted as copies, with all the consequent hazards of scribal error or intentional emendation, there have to be added those that were deliberately manufactured in later centuries. The 12th century, in particular, was a golden age for charter forgery in north-west Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, with churchmen protecting what they believed to be the rights of their sees through documents which gave them an acceptably ancient justification. One 12th-century forgery invented a victory over the Muslims in 844 AD at Clavijo, won by an appearance of St. James, which spurred Ramiro I (842-850 AD) to reward his shrine at Compostela with a special and perpetual tax.(10) Other centres of forged documents were the cathedral churches of

Astorga, Braga, León and the monastery of Sahagun. Oviedo, for example, in the first half of the 12th century fought to maintain its independence against the claims to metropolitan authority of Toledo and Braga, while, at the same time, it contested diocesan boundaries with the neighbouring sees of Burgos and Lugo. The efforts of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, (1101-1130 AD), whose career will be considered in the coming pages, were particularly noteworthy. In addition to his remarkable achievements as administrator, builder, historian and reformer, he was a forger of such enterprise and productivity as to earn the title 'gran falsario' from Sánchez-Albornoz. He also awarded Bishop Pelayo the further distinction, in the only example known to him, of being a forger who also worked simply for the love of learning, rather than for a more practical purpose.(11)

As noted above, the scholarly interpretation of this material has produced varied results. The differences in notarial form and content of the Asturian charters up to 910 AD have been analysed at length. Barrau-Dihigo, working from the, few, documents which he accepted as genuine, identified three broad categories of diploma:

- 1: 'Actes solemnes'
- 2: 'Actes Semi-solemnes'
- 3: 'Jugement'

Within the first two categories there were various formulae that could be used for the purposes of authentication, although he conceded that four diplomas of 775 AD, 869 AD, 904 AD and 909 AD, recognised as authentic, each had a different notarial style. These 'scientific and mathematical' methods of analysis,

according to Sanchez-Albornoz, were regrettable in that they were used to force texts into a rigid schema. Even Barrau-Dihigo acknowledged that if the 775 AD charter of King Silo had not survived as an original document, its authenticity would have been questioned.(12) This points up clearly enough the difficulty of applying prescriptive analytical formulae as a test of authenticity to what were evolving diplomatic practices. Without abandoning their critical sense, other scholars such as M. Gómez-Moreno and R. Menéndez Pidal moved away from this approach.

In assessing Asturian charters, Floriano applied more flexible categories, recognising authentic documents (as originals and unaltered copies), interpolated documents (with four different classifications), and false documents, in a diplomatic sense, with a distinction between forgeries made before and after the 16th century. His approach not only recognised more texts, as original and authentic, for a history of the Asturian kingdom, but, crucially, accepted the possibility of recovering genuine 8th/9th century material from interpolated documents. This readiness to seek authentic elements in later, copied texts was in clear distinction to the view of Barrau-Dihigo although it was one shared by other scholars such as Manuel Gómez-Moreno, Ramon Menéndez Pidal and, especially, by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz. That the analysis of such material is hardly an exact science may be seen in one example, of four royal donations to the monastery of Samos (Alfonso II, June 11, 811 AD; Ordono I, 17 April, 852 AD; 13 July, 853 AD; 20 May, 856 AD).(13) Where Barrau-Dihigo saw all as being suspicious, Sánchez-Albornoz accepted their authenticity while Floriano rejected the first one as false while

supporting the other three as authentic. Despite detailed criticism on diplomatic, palaeographic and historical grounds, the authenticity of the charters and the extent to which they preserve genuine nuggets of information, remain controversial matters.

B: Conciliar Acts

The acts of two 9th-century church councils, each celebrated in Oviedo, have survived respectively from the reigns of Alfonso II and Alfonso III. An ocean of ink has flowed in debating their relative authenticity and the extent to which either may contain a record of genuine events. At bottom, the problem is that both texts are only known from the substantial body of writing produced in the first half of the 12th century by Bishop Pelayo and his scriptorium in Oviedo.

1: The Life and Work of Bishop Pelayo.

Pelayo stands out as by far the most distinguished personality among Oviedo's bishops until the time of Gutierre de Toledo (1377-1389 AD). As an author, Pelayo's work is a unique light among the culturally dim ranks of the episcopate in the 12th-century Leonese kingdom. Nothing is known for certain about Pelayo's early life, although he appears to have been of either Asturian or Leonese origin, until his consecration as a bishop in 1098 AD, when he served as auxiliary to Martin I (1094-1101 AD), the titular head of the Oviedan church. After Martin's death, Pelayo held the see of Oviedo from 1101 until 1130 AD, when he was deposed from office at the council of Carrión for unknown reasons, which may, perhaps, have been to do with his opposition to the marriage of Alfonso VII (1126-1157 AD) and Berenguela.

Pelayo's retirement, apart from a brief resumption of the see in the period between the death of Bishop Alfonso, in 1142 AD, and the election of Martin II, the following summer, lasted until his death in 1153 AD.(14)

From the mid-11th century onwards, the Spanish church underwent a remarkable period of change as it was drawn more closely into the mainstream of European life. Royal patronage of the Burgundian monastery of Cluny, with its reformed Benedictine monasticism, encouraged the spread of Cluniac practice and jurisdiction within the kingdom of León. These monks played a prominent part in furthering papal involvement in the Iberian peninsula. Under Pope Gregory VII (1073-1084 AD) there was a drive to achieve uniformity of liturgical practice and the centralisation of authority in Rome as well as a reduction of lay control of the Church. A dramatic symbol of the changing times came at the Council of Burgos in 1080 AD, when the Roman rite was formally accepted in place of the ancient native liturgy of Spain. The French clergy, such as Bernard of Sedirac at Toledo, who benefited from the royal favour of Alfonso VI to reach some of the highest and most desirable offices in the Leonese church were imbued with the new reformist spirit. Besides sweeping away an ancient liturgy, they introduced new forms of church organisation, establishing regular cathedral chapters and emphasising the practice of holding councils at diocesan as well as provincial level.(15)

At the same time, the success of the reconquest and, especially, the landmark capture of Toledo in 1085 AD, gave rise to a reorganisation of the church's diocesan and provincial structure that harked back to the time before the Muslim

invasion. This flew in the face of some 11th and 12th-century realities. All of the ancient church province of Baetica was still held by Muslims, along with much of two others, Lusitania and Cartaginensis, while the provinces that were held by the Christians, Gallaecia, Tarraconensis and parts of Lusitania, cut across the boundaries of the 12th-century independent kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, León and Portugal. In addition, there were 'new' bishoprics, such as Burgos, Oviedo, León and Zamora, which had come into existence since the Muslim invasion and now had to be fitted into the traditional scheme of things. This fuelled old quarrels while generating fresh rivalries over territorial limits and ecclesiastical jurisdiction at provincial as well as diocesan levels.(16)

In 1088 AD, Archbishop Bernard secured from Pope Urban II confirmation of Toledo's metropolitan status and primacy over all of the churches in Spain. His success encouraged other Leonese bishops to take their claims to the papal curia. These appeals to Rome matched a pattern of development found elsewhere in western Europe. Here, the claims of a reformed papacy to be the source of authority met the needs of a reformist cleric who wanted to advance an important local claim to ecclesiastical authority against entrenched local interests and traditions. For the papacy, the power to confirm or grant immunities, possessions or rank was also a valuable revenue raiser as well as an assertion of its moral prestige. The unprecedented number of bulls issued by the papal chancery after the 11th-century reforms coincided with another significant development, observable throughout western Europe in the 12th century, the transition from non-literate to literate government. Claimed rights or privileges gained credibility in law for being presented in

written form and were enhanced by being placed in a suitably distant past. Where such documentary evidence was not available, either because it had been destroyed or, indeed, had never existed, it was invented so that '...the period from 1000-1150 saw more activity in forging charters than any other'.(17) Through their appeals to the papal curia and the increased reliance on documentary evidence, bishops of the Spanish church were drawn into a common evolving European culture.

At this time of profound change when, to the distress of conservative clergy, many of the old ways had been supplanted, there were now new opportunities that lay open to the ambitious and the adaptable. Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo was an impressive model of an active 12th-century bishop. He was a regular attender at the royal court. Within his diocese, Pelayo worked assiduously for the well-being of his bishopric, visiting outlying areas of the see as part of his pastoral duties. Pelayo promoted the reputation of the relics held in his cathedral, making them a draw for the faithful that was second only to St. James' shrine at Compostela. During his episcopate Pelayo introduced and cultivated new reformist practices. He encouraged the entry of Cluniac monasticism into the Asturias. For the better administration of his diocese at parish level Pelayo established regional archdeaconries whose incumbents were to carry out visits during the year and hold local assemblies. Besides attending episcopal councils, a touchstone of reform, Pelayo was present at Burgos (1117 AD) and Sahagun (1121 AD) when the assemblies were convoked under the auspices of a papal legate. Pelayo held his own major assembly, of clergy and lay people from throughout the Asturias, at Oviedo in 1115 AD to end

unrest in the area. Its decisions were eventually taken beyond the borders of the see of Oviedo and included among the lawcodes of some of the Spanish kingdoms. Pelayo reformed the cathedral chapter, fixing new regulations for the communal life of the canons. His involvement with three appeals to Rome, another sign of the new age, secured three papal bulls (1099 AD, 1105 AD and 1122 AD) that were favourable to the Oviedan church.(18)

Pelayo's episcopate was distinguished by a cultural renaissance at Oviedo. The fabric of the cathedral of San Salvador was restored although here his work has been lost to the later Gothic building. A cathedral school was set up to raise the standards of clerical education. Pelayo's development of a scriptorium was his reform that generated the most enduring results, as it produced the documents which defended the interests of Oviedo.(19)

To sustain his claims, Pelayo deployed written evidence that was falsified, interpolated and invented. During his episcopate, he was engaged in long-running disputes on different fronts:

- i) Since the mid-11th century, the councils of Coyanza (1055 AD) and Compostela (1063 AD), strengthened by the tide of gregorian reform, had attempted to end the system of proprietary churches, by which a lay founder regarded as his own a church that he had built on his own land and endowed with his own resources. Pelayo consolidated many of these churches into Oviedo's possessions and gave their ownership a legal basis with false diplomas.
- ii) At metropolitan— level, Pelayo used falsified and interpolated documents as a defence against the claims of

the archbishops of Braga and Toledo who each wished to end Oviedo's independence and reduce it to suffragan status.

iii) At diocesan-level, Pelayo used the products of his scriptorium in a dispute with the see of Lugo over ownership of a number of Galician parishes and with the see of Burgos over the territory of Asturias de Santillana.(20)

The earliest surviving work that has a direct connection with Pelayo is the Liber Testamentorum, now the pride of Oviedo cathedral. Written in a Visigothic script, its 113 folios are essentially a collection of the donations and privileges granted to the Oviedan see, extending back in time to the reign of Alfonso II and ending at 1118 AD, which gives a terminus post quem for its composition. It is especially distinguished by quality of its illustrations, seven full page and six miniatures. The most recent study of the Liber Testamentorum reports that of its 87 documents only 14 are taken as authentic, with a further 6 qualified as 'doubtful'. From the cathedral archive as a whole there are only five 10th-century documents (and these are unrelated to the cathedral itself) which were not copied into the Liber by Pelayo's scriptorium. To remedy the deficiency, false documents dated to the 10th century were incorporated into the Liber. The collection is permeated with a deep pride in the Asturias. It contains material that was either an invention or local tradition on subjects like the foundation of the see and the origins of its relics. There is also a Gregorian reformist flavour in the Liber's references to church councils. Rome is deeply involved in the calling of these assemblies, often through legates, and the king's role in councils, as well as episcopal appointments, is broadened by the inclusion of the clergy and

people. If the Liber Testamentorum must be handled with caution as a source for the history of the Spanish church in the early Middle Ages, it is, nevertheless, a splendid indicator of the aim of Bishop Pelayo, that is, the defence of the interests of his Oviedan see.(21)

Although the original texts have disappeared, there is another substantial collection of writings associated with Pelayo, the so-called Corpus Pelagianum, contained in a number of manuscripts and compiled over an uncertain period of time. The varied nature of the compilation suggests the range of Pelayo's erudition and antiquarian tastes. He is present as the named author of short treatises on the cathedral church of Oviedo as well as on the origins of famous Spanish cities, and is the recipient of letters from the clergy of Jerusalem.(22) The texts demonstrate an interest in genealogy and history from the Old Testament onwards. Isidore of Seville is the source for diagrams, with explanatory comment, on the peoples of the world, the winds and the grades of human kinship. The fullest version of the Pelagian corpus is in Ms. 1346 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Compiled in the late-16th century by the distinguished scholar Ambrosio de Morales, using, at least four older manuscripts. Two of these, BN Ms. 1358 and BN Ms. 1513, from the 12th and 13th century respectively, have survived to the present day.(23)

The first 96 folios of Ms. 1346, taken from a now-lost 'liber vetustissimus Ovetensis', contains valuable copies of Visigothic letters, connected for the most part with King Sisebut (612-621 AD), and, uniquely, a collection of legal formulae, probably composed during Sisebut's reign. Alongside genuine historical writing such as the late 9th-century Chronicle of Alfonso III and

Julian of Toledo's late 7th-century History of Wamba, Pelayo included the mysterious Liber Itatii, an otherwise-unknown text which was a simple list of Suevic, Vandal, Alan and Visigothic kings that served to house pelagian material on the foundation of Oviedo's predecessor as an episcopal see and on a supposed division of the bishoprics of the Spanish Church by the Visigothic king, Wamba (672-680 AD). Although he did not copy all of its content into Ms 1346, Morales did include an index for the 'liber vetustissimus' in his compilation. This index is invaluable because it lists texts that are also known in a Pelagian context such as the church council held by Alfonso II, with associated letters from a Pope John, and an account of the translation of the celebrated Holy Chest of relics from Jerusalem to Oviedo.

From BN Ms. 1513, Morales copied the decisions of three ecclesiastical councils held in León (1017 AD), Coyanza (1055 AD) and Oviedo (1115 AD).(24) Some of the texts in the Pelagian corpus deal specifically, and in some cases exclusively, with issues of Oviedan property and privileges. There are those, such as the three papal privileges of Urban II (1099 AD), Paschal II (1105 AD) and Calixtus II (1122 AD), which are genuine, while others, such as the Testament of 812 AD, a donation by Alfonso II (791-842 AD) to the church of San Salvador in Oviedo, are severely edited.(25) Some texts, such as the church council allegedly held in the time of Alfonso II or the translation of the chest of relics from Jerusalem to Oviedo, are either Pelagian inventions or, possibly, a form of local tradition.(26)

The most substantial historical part of the Pelagian corpus is the 'Liber Chronicorum ab exordio mundi usque ad eram MCLXX (1142

AD), a universal chronicle of the type that was popular in the 12th century.(27) It is a sequence of Latin chronicles, each continuing on from its predecessor, ending, in fact, in 1109 AD. Bishop Pelayo himself is the author of the final element of the Liber Chronicorum which extends from Vermudo II's accession in 982 AD to the death of Alfonso VI. The chronicles are introduced by a prologue which breaks down their subject matter into six sections, each with a separate author. If the prologue is genuine, however, it is impossible to equate with the actual chronological limits and authorship of the chronicles. The works that make up the Liber Chronicorum are:

- a) The Histories; Isidore of Seville
- b) The History of Wamba; Julian of Toledo
- c) The Chronicle of Alfonso III
- d) The Chronicle of Sampiro.
- e) The Chronicle of Pelayo.

The History of Wamba and the Chronicle of Alfonso III exist elsewhere in the Pelagian corpus.(28) Here in the Liber Chronicorum, all of the texts used, apart from the History of Wamba and Pelayo's own chronicle, are significantly interpolated. Some of the elements of particular interest to Pelayo, such as Wamba's division of bishoprics, the translation of the chest of relics and the church council at Oviedo, which stand either as discrete elements or as inclusions to other works in the Pelagian corpus, are now relocated as interpolations into genuine historical texts of the Liber Chronicorum.(29) Although it is not possible to set precise dates as to when the Pelagian corpus was copied, there may be indications of Pelayo's methodology. It

may have evolved as he tried to give the rights and privileges of his Oviedan see an added historical lustre. Individual documents may have carried less conviction than those in substantial, and known, chronicles, although it raises awkward questions on the level of scholarship and the availability of texts in 12th-century Spain.

Pelayo's historical writing was accepted without reserve by the great chroniclers of the 13th century, Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada. Regrettably for Pelayo's reputation, since his writings reached a wider audience from the 16th century onwards, they have provoked hostile, not to say downright abusive reactions. It is perfectly clear that he adopted, adapted, improved and invented literary or historical material to suit his purposes. But the interests of a medieval bishop with antiquarian tastes are not those of modern historians and so Pelayo stands shamed as a 'gran falsificador o retocador de diplomas' and worse.(30) Perhaps the harshness of such a judgement springs from disappointment. At the very least, Pelayo's scriptorium preserved otherwise unknown texts, such as the Visigothic legal formulae, and made valuable copies of important chronicles, such as that of Alfonso III or of Sampiro. For the most part, his falsifications and interpolations can be easily recognised. Pelayo's use of the written word, and the willingness to forge and invent, are typical of 12th-century practice. It would be interesting to know how Pelayo regarded his own work from a moral perspective: did he see himself as a falsifier of the truth or as a recifier of unfortunate gaps in the written evidence that undermined the true status of the see of Oviedo? His literary/historical output is of comparatively great distinction among the feeble intellectual attainments of

his contemporaries in the Leonese episcopate. In outlook and methods, Pelayo was a man of the new age in Spanish ecclesiastical life: his work uses the chronicles and documents, oddly at times, but in a persistent, interlinked way that says much about his interests, cultural background and perception of the needs of his Oviedan see in the early 12th century.

2: Pelagian Texts of a Council at Oviedo.

The account of the church council said to have been held by Alfonso II in 821 AD has been transmitted, under the title 'Antiquum privilegium archipraesulatus ovetensis ecclesiae', through two compilations of miscellaneous texts associated with Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo. The oldest extant account of this council is in the 12th-century Liber Testamentorum. The other copy, probably from the 12th century, is named in Morales' index of the 'liber vetustissimus Ovetensis'.(31)

The acts of another council, said to have been held by Alfonso III, have also survived to the present after passing through the scriptorium of Bishop Pelayo. Along with other Pelagian interpolations, they were incorporated into the Chronicle of Sampiro, an early 11th-century Leonese work, which was one element in a sequence of texts that Pelayo used to create a universal history, the Liber Chronicorum.(32) Sampiro's chronicle has also been transmitted, independently, as a crude insert into the Historia Silense, which was written at a time roughly contemporary with Bishop Pelayo's heyday in the first third of the 12th century.(33) The Silense version of Sampiro, which is substantially the shorter, has no reference to the

council at Oviedo. The passage relating to the council, therefore, with its emphasis on Oviedo's rank and privileges, carries all the hallmarks of a self-interested Pelagian interpolation with its assertion of Oviedo's ecclesiastical rank and privileges.

There are contradictory indications on the date of the second council. In the Pelagian Sampiro the council at Oviedo was concluded on June 14, 872 AD (XVIII kalendas Iulii era DCCCCX), a significant detail in a work that is otherwise short on precise chronological information apart from royal deaths and marriages.(34) The date does not tally with another piece of information from the Pelagian interpolation in which the council at Oviedo is said to have been held eleven months after the consecration of the church at Santiago de Compostela. This event is dated, with an apparent confusion of chronological systems, to 'nonas Maii anno Incarnacionis era DCCCLXVIII', which at face-value is 7 May 869 AD although other dates of 879 AD and 899 AD, also using the incarnation dating system, exist in the manuscript tradition.(35) (The Spanish 'era' system of dating still in use in the 12th century, was 38 years ahead of the familiar 'Anno Domini' system that had come into vogue throughout Western Europe since its use by the 8th century Northumbrian monk Bede.) However, the 869 AD date may be a copyist's error for 'DCCCLXXXVIII', 899 AD, assuming a misread use of the 'X aspado' abbreviation for the number 40. There is reliable charter evidence for dating the consecration of Alfonso III's new church at Compostela to 6 May 899 AD (... die consecrationis templi II nonas Maii.).(36) This date has been used as the basis on which to calculate that of the Oviedan council by the addition

of the 11 months given in the Pelagian Sampiro. The council can then be dated to 900 AD. Attaching the council to an accepted historical event confers a spurious authenticity which is not warranted by its content or by the 'pick and mix' methodology used to calculate its date. Here, it will be referred to as the council of 872 AD, using the date given in the Pelagian text of Sampiro.

3: Letters from Pope John.

Two papal letters are connected to each of the council texts, although in very different ways. The description of the council of 872 AD, in the Pelagian interpolation of Sampiro, is the climax of a complex narrative passage which, as an introduction, weaves in two papal letters and the consecration of Alfonso III's new church at Santiago.(37) The 821 AD council is a free-standing, self-contained element in the Liber Testamentorum, as it is in Morales' index for the 'liber vetustissimus Ovetensis', although, in both cases, while the text is followed directly by the same two papal letters as in Sampiro, there is no narrative connection.(38)

In the Liber Testamentorum, each of the papal letters has a month, although not a year, dating in the text and, equally vaguely, is said to have been sent by an otherwise unidentified Pope John to an unidentified King Alfonso. A year date is supplied by introductory headings to the texts which say that the first letter was brought from Rome by two priests; Severus and Siderius, in July 821 AD (... mense Iulio era DCCCLVIII) and the second by Rainaldus in November 822 AD (...mense Novembrio

era DCCCLX). The Pelagian Sampiro, however, has, for the first letter, a minor difference in its bearers, Severus and Desiderius. It gives a common date, of July 871 AD, (...mense Iulio era DCCCCVIIII), for both letters.(39) In neither case (821/822 AD and 871 AD) does the dating correspond to the pontificate of a Pope John, whether John VII (705-707 AD), John VIII (872-882 AD) or John IX (898-900 AD). The letters of 821/822 AD belong to the pontificate of Paschal I (817-824 AD) and those of 871 AD to that of Hadrian II (867-872 AD). Any attempt to reassign the 871 AD letters to John VIII on the grounds of copyist error smacks of wishful thinking. These letters are absent from the three, non-Spanish, codices which serve as a base for the collection of 55 documents that constitute the Register of Pope John VIII, one of the few to have survived before the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216 AD).(40)

On the grounds that a church at Compostela was dedicated by Alfonso III in 899 AD, the papal letter authorising a consecration to St. James has been reassigned to the time of John IX. Both letters have diplomatic formulae appropriate to the 9th century and yet they also have anachronistic touches more consistent with 'privileges' and later 12th-century papal chancellery practice. It must be stressed that there is no record of contact of the papacy with the 9th-century Asturian kingdom. The papal letters in question are known only from Oviedan sources. There is no real reason to doubt that the letters are forgeries and that, in all probability, they were produced by the scriptorium of Bishop Pelayo.(41)

In content, both versions of the letters are identical, with those in the Pelagian Sampiro having two small but significant additions, which will be considered below. The first letter carried the concession of metropolitan status to the church of Oviedo, a matter of importance for both councils, with greater emphasis by repetition, being given in that of 821 AD. The second letter thanked Alfonso for his devotion to the see of Rome and appealed for military aid against the 'pagans', in the form of a special breed of especially swift Spanish horses, 'caballos alfaraces'. As the content has no obvious connection with the see of Oviedo or of the councils held there, it may be that Bishop Pelayo writing in the first half of the 12th century, was inventing a tradition of military assistance for Rome by a Spanish king at a time when the papacy was soliciting aid in prolonged struggles against schism and the Western Empire.(42)

4: The Council of 872 AD and Santiago de Compostela.

The different forms in which the councils were transmitted have been mentioned above. The elaborate narrative structure of the Pelagian interpolation to Sampiro which deals with the second council of Oviedo, deserves closer consideration. It begins with Alfonso (III) sending the two priests, Severus and Desiderius, to Rome with word of his triumphs over the Muslims. The involvement of Rome as the legitimising source of authority in church councils which involve the clergy and the people, is a recurrent motif throughout the writings of Bishop Pelayo, a supporter of Gregorian reform.(43) It is significant, however, that, while councils are held after royal appeal to the papacy, the king remains the principal figure at these assemblies. Here, the

envoys return in the company of Rainaldus, carrying papal letters, whose content is not revealed at this point, as well as permission to consecrate a church in honour of St. James and hold a church council with the bishops of Spain. The detail on Pope John's instructions, unnecessary at this point, is a clear indicator of the writer's intentions and a guide for his audience. This signal is soon repeated as an addition to the text of the second papal letter in the Pelagian Sampiro which alone distinguishes it from the Liber Testamentorum.(44)

Having introduced these important and interconnected events (consecration of the church to St James and the calling of a council), the Pelagian Sampiro then gives the texts of the two letters from Pope John. In the first letter, the concession of metropolitan rank is followed by an interpolation, absent from the Liber Teastamentorum text, confirming in perpetuity all grants, past and future, to the church of Oviedo. The question of privileges was, understandably, very dear to Bishop Pelayo and one which he pursued with vigour throughout his collected writings. After the second papal letter, carrying an interpolation of the papal injunctions, Alfonso acts to fulfil them by consecrating St. James' church and assembling a church council, with the association between the two events being emphasised once more in the text.

The consecration of Alfonso III's church at Compostela on 6 May 899 AD is known from a charter, preserved in the archives of the later cathedral, by which the king conferred generous endowments on the see.(45) At best, this document is interpolated, if not an out and out invention. There is, however, a detailed account

of the church's fabric and altars as well as its consecration. Sanchez-Albornoz noted the existence of three editions of the acta. The earliest of these was published in 1610 AD by Castella Ferrer who said that he had taken the text from a copy kept in the church of Oviedo. An earlier copy had been made by Ambrosio de Morales following his research visit to Oviedo in 1572 AD. Under the title 'Compostellani templi instauratio', it is one of the early pieces that make up BN Ms. 1346.(46) An Oviedan source for the acta is significant as it constitutes, albeit in abbreviated form, the basis of the account of the church consecration in Bishop Pelayo's addition to the chronicle of Sampiro. The interpolation describes the layout of the altars in the new church but omits detail on their hoard of relics as well as on the physical appearance of the church. It also leaves out information at the end of the acta text that places the consecration in 899 AD but, rather oddly, leaves in the mixed date 'anno Incarnacionis Domini, era DCCCLXVIII'. This does not tally with the date of the preceding papal letters, even if the correct reading should be 899 AD, as mentioned above, rather than 869 AD. The Pelagian interpolation to Sampiro has a list of 17 consecrating bishops in common with the acta, although it omits the privileged position of the 'home' bishop of Iria, Sisnandus, but differs by including the names of 11 counts, with their geographical areas of authority, who took part in the ceremony with Alfonso III.(47)

The shared Oviedan link for the two texts of the consecration and the involvement of the inventive Bishop Pelayo raises some concern over their authenticity. The list of bishops given in the consecration texts contain demonstrably genuine figures as

well as those whose authenticity is, at best, unproven. Neither this common episcopal list nor the list of counts in the interpolated Sampiro can be fully reconciled with the bishops and magnates who are named as witnesses in Alfonso III's generous donation charter to the new church on the day of its consecration, 6 May 899 AD. Given that the consecration acta refers to Alfonso II as 'Adefonsus Magnus', a usage of the 9th century Asturian chronicles which had been transferred to Alfonso III by the 12th century, and has a detailed knowledge of Alfonso III's church at Compostela, which was destroyed by al-Mansur in 997 AD, it seems more likely that Pelayo, in the 12th century, was making use of an existing text than that he was its inventor. Nevertheless, it remains an oddity that this account of a church consecration, principally of interest to the see of Compostela, should have been preserved in Oviedan sources.

According to the interpolation to Sampiro, after dedicating the church to St. James at Compostela, the bishops then moved on, by royal command, to carry out another consecration ceremony. On the steep, almost conical, hill of Mons Ilicinarius, a dozen or so kilometres to the south-east of Compostela, at a place associated with the translation of St. James' body, a small church was dedicated to the martyr, St. Sebastian. From that time onwards, the site, now identified as Pico Sacro, was known as 'Mons Sacratus'. This information is confirmed by a charter of Bishop Sisnandus of Iria which carries a reassigned date of 1 September 904 AD.(48) It reveals that before being entrusted with the foundation of a monastery on the hill, the priest Landulfus had been responsible for the church of St. Sebastian

and lists the resources he had amassed by his own labour and from lay donations. As a minor curiosity, it is noteworthy that the church's hill site, now known as 'Pico Sacro', was said, by the Sampiran interpolation to have been called called 'Mons Sacratus' after the act of consecration whereas, according to the charter, much closer in time, the place had been known as 'Monssacer' by the people of olden times, 'ab antiquis'.

Following this act of consecration, the distinguished gathering disbanded and its members are said by the Pelagian Sampiro to have returned joyfully to their homes. After 11 months, the king and his family, together with the bishops and the lay magnates met together in Oviedo to celebrate a council. From this point, the text of the Pelagian Sampiro describes a council in 872 AD which closely follows the account of the council in 821 AD in the Liber Testamentorum.

As regards the papal letters associated with either version of the Oviedan council, scholarship in modern times has taken them to be forgeries.(49)

5: Themes of the Oviedan Councils.

The texts of the two councils are virtually identical, with each being called on the authority of Pope John and benefiting from the counsel of Charlemagne and his bishop, Theodulf. Essentially, they deal with three themes:

- a) The elevation of the see of Oviedo to metropolitan rank.
- b) The establishment of a system of archdiaconates and a warning on the punishment for those who failed to fulfil their obligations.

c) A definition of the resources allocated for the material well-being of bishops attending the council.

Both texts are steeped in local patriotism, with the prosperous Asturian region seen to be secure in the protection of divine favour behind its God-given mountain ramparts. The 821 AD council text is the more substantial of the two, with additions that emphasise the transfer of metropolitan status to Oviedo, detail on ecclesiastical discipline and an exhortation to unity that draws on, erroneous, examples from Asturian history.(50) These passages are absent from the 872 AD council, which carries its own specific addition listing the possessions of the Oviedan church in Galicia.(51)

There are differences between the two accounts. The 821 AD council is a straight narrative whereas the 872 AD council is presented as a dialogue between the king and the other ecclesiastical participants. The 821 AD council names 10 bishops as being present, although only Adulfus of Oviedo is of demonstrable authenticity, in contrast to the 17 listed in the 872 AD council, which has its own problems of episcopal identity and chronology. Both councils have four bishops in common: Gomellus of Astorga, Vincentius of Leon, Ioannes of Oca and Didacus of Tuy, whose sees appear to have been restored only in the late 9th or early 10th centuries. The bishop of Oviedo, a central figure in the council, is named either as Adulfus, in the 821 AD version, or Hermenegildus, in the 872 AD version. Each of these men is known from other sources and is a suitable choice for the context.(52)

The texts of the councils contain historical errors and anachronisms. A lament for the bishops who had been driven from their sees and found refuge in the Asturias, although found in both texts, was more appropriate for the reign of Alfonso II, when the kingdom suffered repeated invasion, than of Alfonso III, when the frontiers were expanded in Portugal and the central meseta.(53) The 821 AD council closes with an exhortation to unity and peace, drawing on the examples of the usurper king Mauregatus and the Meridan refugee Mahmud. There is, however, no reference to military activity during Mauregatus' time in the late 9th-century chronicles and Mahmud's rebellion, with foreigners and false Christians, seems to have taken place around 840 AD, towards the end of Alfonso II's reign, too late for its inclusion in a contemporary account of the 821 AD council.

The most teasing of the anachronisms concern 'Magnus Karolus', Pope John and Bishop Theodulf. The problems surrounding the identity of Pope John have been discussed in the context of the papal letters. With regard to the 821 AD council, neither the involvement of the Frankish ruler Charlemagne (king and emperor: 768-814 AD) nor that of Bishop Theodulf of Orleans (c.798-821 AD) is chronologically possible. With regard to the 872 AD council, the involvement of Charlemagne and Theodulf is even more fantastic, although, on the other hand, letters from Pope John VIII (872-882 AD) are acceptable on chronological grounds, at least. Attempts to tease the problematic names into a more concordant chronology by reading Charles the Bald (838-877 AD) or Charles the Simple (king:893-929 AD) for 'Magnus Karolus' and accepting Theodulf, Bishop of Paris (911-922 AD), in place of

Theodulf of Orleans, are ingenious, if hardly convincing.(54)

From the above, it seems clear enough that the council texts, and the associated papal letters, are two versions of the same event. The tendency among modern scholars is to see the councils as inventions.(55)

6: The Oviedan Councils and 12th-Century Culture.

They are steeped in language and ideas that flowed into Spain from a reformed papacy. Both council texts associate the holding of a major assembly with permission from Rome. The title to the 821 AD council, 'Antiquum privilegium archipresulatus ovetensis ecclesiae', by which it is introduced in the Liber Testamentorum, has a strong 12th-century flavour. No Visigothic church council was drawn up as a royal privilege. As the term 'privilegium' is only used from the 12th century to describe royal documents, its use in material from the Asturian kingdom indicates a falsification. Similarly, the use of 'praesul', in both councils, for bishop, while common in Visigothic times, is associated only with forgeries in the Asturian kingdom, although it is found frequently in material from the 12th century, especially that connected with Bishop Pelayo's scriptorium. Conciliar interest in defining the requirements and duties of an archdeacon also reflects 12th century concerns. Archdeacons, who served as important aides to Visigothic bishops, are unknown among the records of the Asturian kingdom until the end of the 11th century. The revival of the office was an integral part of the 12th-century changes. These were aspects of the new customs that were supplanting traditional practice and placing Christian Spain in the cultural framework of the western Church in the late 11th and early 12th centuries.(56)

An antiquarian by-product of the changes was the rediscovery of Charlemagne, and his invocation, not always favourably, by Spanish writers at a time when the highest circles of lay and ecclesiastical society were being deeply penetrated by people and ideas from modern France and Italy.(57) These influences were carried by the pilgrims, churchmen, warriors, merchants and minstrels who journeyed along routes that led not only to St. James' shrine at Compostela but also to the marvellous collection of relics housed at Oviedo.(58) The incomers brought with them a popular culture, part of which, in the 12th century, was making the transition from oral epic to vernacular prose. The most celebrated of these 'chansons de geste' honoured Charlemagne and Roland.(59) As many leading figures in the Church and at court originated across the Pyrenees, the invocation of Charlemagne's authority by Spanish writers suggests a sensitivity to changing political atmospheres. In the 12th century, the golden age of forgery, when written documents were invented or enhanced to support privileges, the use of Charlemagne's prestige, as the claimed liberator of Spain and the first pilgrim to Compostela, could set a dazzling sheen of antique respectability on claimed rights.(60)

This connection must have served as a valuable source of legitimisation for the incoming Frankish elite, who could be seen as renewing ancient attachments, as well as for those native to the kingdom of León who were flexible enough to exploit outside cultural traditions for their own purpose. Among the second group was Bishop Diego Gelmírez (1100-1140 AD), another remarkable early 12th-century ecclesiastical entrepreneur, who secured for his see at Santiago de Compostela the rank and

exemptions for which his Oviedan contemporary Pelayo hungered. Gelmirez commissioned the *Historia Compostellana*, an important source for the period, to celebrate his glory as well as that of Compostela. It united the local authority of Alfonso II, who had transferred the episcopal seat of Iria to Compostela, with the prestige of Charlemagne, as the champion of western Christendom, and the spiritual clout of St. James, whose relics were housed in the only apostolic shrine in western Europe apart from St. Peter's. This potent combination established a status for Compostela that was barely inferior to Rome in theory and which sufficed to achieve the practical aim of an escape from the primacy of the Spanish church that the metropolitan see of Toledo, restored in the late 11th century, claimed as its ancient heritage.(61)

Another piece of writing from the first half of the 12th century, the *Liber Sancti Iacobi* (or *Codex Calixtinus*), has, as one of its five books, a *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (or *Pseudo-Turpinus*). (62) This, too, linked the authority of St. James with that of Charlemagne who supposedly made two pilgrimages to Compostela, showering the new church with gifts and later, through a council he had summoned, endowing it with the leadership of the Spain, the title of apostolic seat, the right to an a yearly census payment, to call councils and to crown Spanish sovereigns.

Faced with these associations, Bishop Pelayo joined battle on behalf of his see, deploying the written word to justify Oviedo's independence as a bishopric and to claim metropolitan status. Lacking an apostle's remains, he emphasised the extraordinary arsenal of relics held in the cathedral church of San Salvador,

which was said to have been founded and endowed by Alfonso II. Pelayo worked the link with Charlemagne in a variety of ways. He associated Alfonso II with Francia through an otherwise unknown marriage to a Frankish princess, Bertinalda, although in deference to the king's well-known chastity, he was said not to have seen the bride.(63) Charlemagne's presence was invoked in each version of the 9th century-church councils said to have been held in Oviedo.(64)

These associations were elaborated by later writers. The extraordinary time-defying adventures of the legendary Bernardo del Carpio, who fought against invading Franks as well as Muslims, were to entwine Charlemagne, Alfonso II and Alfonso III in the 13th-century histories of Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada of Toledo.(65) The account in Lucas drew heavily on the Pseudo-Turpinus for its information about Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Compostela. According to the Chronicon Mundi Charlemagne carried out a further expedition to Spain after the defeat of Roncesvalles, in which he made a pilgrimage to Santiago where he advised Alfonso II to destroy the city of Iria, the former seat of the bishopric, and raise the church of Compostela to metropolitan rank, with the agreement of Pope Leo III (795-816 AD). Charlemagne left Spain with Bernardo as an esteemed figure in his entourage. In a bizarre piece of chronology, Bernardo reappears as the champion of Asturian independence in the reign of the Carolingian emperor Charles III (881-887 AD), who is identified as 'Charles Martel' (d. 741 AD), and the Asturian king Alfonso III (866-910 AD). Charles and Bernardo repeat the adventures of Charlemagne's time; invasion of Spain by a Frankish emperor, his defeat in the Pyrenees, reconciliation between the

Asturian king and the emperor. On this occasion, Charles visited Santiago at Compostela and San Salvador at Oviedo, securing from a Pope John the elevation of both churches to metropolitan rank.(66) In this way, Pelayo's connection of Charlemagne and the Oviedan councils influenced later historical writing even though it failed to secure the desired metropolitanate for his see.

7: The Councils and the Defence of Oviedan Rights.

The texts of the two councils illustrate some of the claims for the see of Oviedo which were asserted and elaborated throughout the first half of the 12th century in the body of writings attributed to Bishop Pelayo. In the late 11th century, the success of the Christian reconquest stimulated efforts to restore the ancient diocesan and provincial organisation of the Spanish church which had been disrupted by the Muslim invasion. The Visigothic church structure could not be reconciled with contemporary realities. The provincial church boundaries of the unitary Visigothic kingdom stretched uncomfortably across the multiple kingdoms of the 12th-century Iberian peninsula. By 1117 AD, of the five metropolitan sees, three, Braga, Toledo and Tarragona, had been restored while the other two, Mérida and Seville, remained in Muslim hands until the 13th century. The traditional primacy of Toledo, confirmed by Urban II in 1088 AD, was vigorously challenged by the other metropolitans. In 1124 AD, the metropolitan status of Mérida was transferred to the see of Santiago de Compostela. The revived ecclesiastical order also had to take into account 'new' bishoprics such as Burgos, León and Oviedo which had been established after the Muslim invasion in the early 8th century and were not, therefore, part of the

Visigothic structure. They were particularly valued prizes in the intense quarrels over boundaries between 12th century metropolitans.(67) At a lesser level, bishops were embroiled in disputes over parishes.(68) In the conditions of the new age, documents, usually forged, and appeals to the papacy were essential weapons in successful litigation. Pelayo was to use them in his fight for exemptions from the metropolitans of Braga and Toledo as well as in his disputes over diocesan boundaries with Burgos and Lugo.(69)

There had been no bishopric of Oviedo in the church organisation of Visigothic Spain. At the start of the 9th century a bishop was resident at Oviedo in a royal see which enjoyed a special relationship with the king. Despite the much-quoted statement from the Chronicle of Albelda that 'Alfonso II established the Gothic order in Oviedo, as it had been in Toledo, in the Church as well as in the palace', there is no specific indication of how or when the Asturian capital acquired its bishop.(70) Pelayo acted in defence of his see's independence and territorial integrity. His scriptorium produced the remarkable claim that the Arian Vandals had established a Catholic bishopric at Lucus Asturum (Lugo de Llanera), which had never been within the jurisdiction of any metropolitan. This see was said to have been transferred to Oviedo by Fruela I (757-768 AD).(71) In this way, the alleged origin of the seat at Oviedo contradicted the claim that it was the translated bishopric of Britonia, and so, by right, a suffragan see of Braga.(72)

Both texts of the council of Oviedo make it clear that the bishopric was elevated into a metropolitan see. The 821 AD version alone elaborates on the theme. It claimed that

metropolitan status had been transferred to Oviedo from Lugo and Braga.(73) The attached list of suffragan sees was made up of bishoprics taken mainly from Braga, with others from Mérida, Toledo and Tarragona.(74) The reader is directed to another text, the Pelagian 'Liber Itatii', for further information about little-known sees from Visigothic times and earlier, specifically naming León, Sasomon and Celenes, although, in fact, it has nothing to say on the last two named bishoprics.(75) In two other passages which repeat the transfer of the metropolitanate, the argument, found elsewhere in the Pelagian corpus of writings, is advanced that Toledo had fallen by the judgment of God and that Oviedo had been raised up in its place.(76) The repeated assertion of metropolitan status could have been a tactical ploy to bolster a long-standing objective, the defence of Oviedo's exemption from ecclesiastical authority. Nevertheless, in the climate of ecclesiastical reorganisation and with the specific example of Compostela acquiring the metropolitan rights of Merida between 1120 and 1124 AD, there is reason to believe that Bishop Pelayo may well have had realistic prospect of success in his aspirations for the historic see of Oviedo.

The 872 AD council asserted Oviedo's metropolitan status but left out explanations of the translation process and of Toledo's fall. Instead, it developed another Pelagian theme, the possessions of the Oviedan church. At the close of the council, a substantial list is given of the churches and possessions that had been granted to Oviedo in perpetuity by Alfonso's predecessors and earlier by the Vandal kings, echoing claims on the origin of the see.(77) The claimed possessions were exclusively Galician and included territories that were disputed with the see of Lugo. These limits for Oviedo's possessions are

claimed in other works of the Pelagian corpus.(78) One further Pelagian touch is a note that the parishes assigned for the upkeep of those present at the council could be found at the end of 'this book' ('in finem libri huius'). This list is the final item among the Pelagian writings that make up the 13th-century BN Ms. 1513 and which was copied from there by Morales into his 16th-century compilation, BN Ms 1346.(79) The parishes, all close to Oviedo, were said to be for the maintenance of 16 bishops and 2 archbishops, with Braga and Oviedo each being awarded metropolitan status. These parishes were among the extensive donations that were claimed to have been conferred on Oviedo in 905 AD by Alfonso III, although it is another Pelagian falsification.(80)

The change of emphasis in the two council texts suggests an evolved response to circumstances. Three papal bulls relating to Oviedan concerns were copied in the Pelagian corpus of writings.(81) In the earliest, dated to 4 April 1099 AD, Urban II responded to an appeal from Bishop Martin of Oviedo, for whom Pelayo had been acting as auxiliary bishop since the previous year, by confirming the see's possessions and forbidding interference by neighbouring bishops in its diocesan limits. On 30 September 1105 AD, Paschal II responded to the lobbying of Pelayo to confirm Oviedo's possessions and grant an exemption from the metropolitan authority of Toledo, to which the see had been subjected by a decision of Urban II in 1099 AD. Pelayo's Oviedo was again made a suffragan see of Toledo by papal bull in 1121 AD. In the following year, however, Pelayo secured from Calixtus II a confirmation of the possessions, rights and territorial limits of the Oviedan church. There is no specific

reference in this privilege to exemption from Toledan control as there had been in Paschal II's bull, although papal documents show that it had certainly been achieved by the end of 1135 AD.(82)

All three bulls favouring Oviedo indicate that documents expounding Pelagian themes had been presented in Rome to support the appeals. The bulls of 1099 AD and 1122 AD refer to a council held in Oviedo by Alfonso. In the 1122 AD bull of Calixtus II the 'rex Adefonsus, Ordonius filii' is clearly Alfonso III and the council seems to be that of 872 AD. The original of the 1099 AD bull dates the council of king Alfonso to 'era..octingentesima nona', 771 AD. This anachronism would place the council in the reign of the Asturian king Aurelius (768-774 AD) The date was corrected in the Pelagian Liber Testamentorum to 'era octingentesima quinquagesima nona', 821 AD, but another version from the Pelagian corpus, in BN Ms. 1513, dates it to 'era noningentesima nona', 871 AD. A reference to the king's own writing, found in all versions of the text, seems to indicate that he is Alfonso III, known in the 12th century as author of the chronicle bearing his name.(83) It may be that the 872 AD council text, and associated papal letters, was used in Pelayo's defence of territorial claims while the 821 AD text, with its emphasis on metropolitan status and its transmission, may have been used separately in disputes over exemption and moves to acquire a metropolitanate, as Compostela had done after 1124 AD.

In the inter-linked struggles he fought for the rights, real and claimed, of Oviedo, armed with forged and interpolated documents from his scriptorium, Bishop Pelayo achieved much, although this did not amount to total victory. The territorial

disputes with Burgos over Santillana de Asturias, and with Lugo over Galician parishes were resolved, respectively, in 1154 AD and 1184 AD. In both cases, the decision went against Oviedo. Pelayo was successful, however, in extending jurisdiction over other territories in León and Galicia which were also within the extensive limits claimed for his bishopric. Through his energetic advocacy and the output of his scriptorium, Pelayo reasserted episcopal control over the proprietary churches of the nobility, consolidated diocesan possessions and established a legal basis for their tenure. In this way, he created an extended see of Oviedo with limits that endured until the reforms of 1954, which rationalised the Spanish church, took away outlying parishes in Astorga, León, Santander and Zamora. Despite these losses, the reforms produced a significant gain. Although disappointed in his bid to win metropolitan rank for Oviedo, Pelayo had defended and preserved the see's exemption. This lasted until the church reforms of 1851 when Oviedo was placed under the jurisdiction of Compostela. On 27 October 1954 Oviedo was raised to metropolitan rank, finally fulfilling the cherished aspiration of Bishop Pelayo who is the true founder of the see of Oviedo.(84)

8: Conclusion.

The understandable desire to rescue an assumed core of authentic information from these contradictory sources has induced even the most eminent of scholars into methodological contortions. Don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, for example, shared in the denial of the 872 AD council's authenticity while accepting as genuine one of the two papal bulls. The letter authorising consecration of the new church at Compostela was

linked with two other documents describing Alfonso III's donations to St. James' shrine and the actual dedication. He concluded as 'very, very probable' that, on the appeal of Alfonso III, Pope John IX (898-900 AD) gave permission for the church consecration at Compostela in a letter dated to 29 November, 898 AD.(85) The difficulty with this is that, as has been pointed out above, both of the letters attached to the 872 AD council are dated to July 'era DCCCCVIIII' (871 AD). With regard to the council of 821 AD, the letter requesting Moorish horses is dated to 29 November era DCCLX (822 AD) and the letter giving leave to consecrate the church at Compostela to 15 July, 'era DCCCVIIII' (821 AD). In other words, the date given by Sanchez-Albornoz for the papal authorisation is a composite which is justified more by faith than by any compelling logic.

There are three strands of reliable information surrounding the Oviedan councils:

- a: The activity of Charlemagne and his spiritual adviser, Bishop Theodulf Orleans, in calling councils; their theological, political and, in Theodulf's case, personal connections with Spain.
- b: The existence of an episcopal see in Oviedo in the 9th century.
- c: The consecration of Alfonso III's new church at Santiago de Compostela.

They have led scholars to seek out a basis of authenticity for the accounts of the Oviedan councils. Whether both councils are accepted as genuine events, conflated into a single event or have their chronological difficulties resolved by juggling dates,

all remain as unsustainable speculation from the actual sources. If there was an historical event contained within the description of the Oviedan councils, it is beyond retrieval.(86) The texts of the councils and the associated papal bulls, abounding in errors and misrepresentations, reflect 12th century interests in general and the preoccupations of Bishop Pelayo's Oviedan scriptorium in particular. They cannot, therefore, be employed to illuminate the ecclesiastical organisation of the 9th-century Asturian kingdom.

C: Theological Writing and Saints' Lives

1: Beatus of Liebana.

a) Beatus and the Origin of the Adoptionist Debate.

Writing in the last quarter of the eighth century, Beatus of Liébana was the author of the first literary and intellectual works of any substance produced in the Asturian kingdom. Beatus' involvement in the great Adoptionist debate on Christ's nature took his name far beyond the obscurity of his native region to the attention of the period's great and good, men such as Bishop Elipandus of Toledo or Alcuin of York, as the issue dragged into conflict the papacy, the Frankish empire and the traditional leadership of the Spanish church. The principal work attributed to him is the 'Commentary on the Apocalypse' which has survived in 35 manuscripts from the 9th to 13th centuries although, rather ironically, scholarly interest in them in modern times has tended to focus less on the text than on the associated masterpieces of Mozarabic art.(87)

There can be no surprise in that little is known about this shadowy figure. A Vita which Juan Tamayo de Salazar, a known collector of legends, claimed to have taken from an otherwise unknown martyrology of Astorga is generally held to be unreliable.(88) The only information on Beatus' life and career has to be gleaned from the works that are attributed to him. There are incidental references to him, which are favourable, in Alcuin's letter addressed to Beatus and his polemical *Adversus Felicem* as well as in some letters of the mid-9th century Cordoban Paulus Alvarus.(89) Apart from some limited geographical information, the letters of Bishop Elipandus, Beatus' great opponent in the Adoptionist controversy, offer only abuse.(90)

The date of Beatus' birth is unknown as is that of his death, despite the Vita's claimed 798 AD. He was described as a priest of the Liébana region, by Paulus Alvarus, and as an abbot, although only by Alcuin.(91) There is no definite association with any monastery although the ferocity of Elipandus' attack on Beatus, including a secret letter dispatched to the Asturian abbot Fidelis, and the sharp response, in collaboration with Bishop Etherius of Osma, might seem to suggest a more exalted rank than simple monk. During the Adoptionist debate in the mid 790's, a letter from Elipandus of Toledo, representing Spanish bishops to their colleagues in 'Gaul', depicts Beatus as apparently acting as if he were Christ during the ordination of a certain Rufinus.(92) This might suggest that Beatus was more than a simple monk or priest. In a highly polemical context, however, this kind of allegation is more like clerical contumely, as Beatus had already used it against Elipandus.(93) The fertile

Asturian valley of Liébana was colonised by Alfonso I in the mid-8th century, probably with immigrants from Muslim Spain.(94) The chief monastery in the Liebanan valley, dedicated to Santo Toribio de Liébana from the 12th century, was originally founded as San Martin de Turieno. The earliest extant charter of San Martin is dated to 828 AD but it could have been founded earlier. There is a possibility that Beatus may have been the abbot of San Martin de Turieno. Vincentius, the Spanish clergyman who brought back Alcuin's letter to Beatus from Tours, is said to have been visiting the shrine of St. Martin who was '...our father and your protector..'.(95) This clearly suggests a connection between Beatus and St. Martin, probably represented by the Liebanan monastery.

The only two known events in Beatus' life that can be dated with confidence are known from his response to the Adoptionist theology and personal criticism of Bishop Elipandus. He was present at the ceremony when Adosinda, widow of the Asturian king Silo (774-783 AD), entered the cloister on 26 November 785 AD, which suggests some association with the royal court. While it may reasonably be supposed that the service took place at Pravia, then the capital of the kingdom, there is no hint of the political circumstances that might have precipitated such a course under the successful usurper, Mauregatus (783-788 AD), nor of Beatus' relationship, personal or professional, with the widowed queen. If Beatus was a member of a court faction that supported Adosinda against Mauregatus, it is difficult to see him as a spokesman for orthodox Christian belief against Adoptionism as the Asturian kingdom gradually asserted its political and

spiritual authority against Toledo.(96) Indeed, there is no evidence that directly links Beatus in person with any of the Asturian kings. At the ceremony to mark Adosinda's profession of faith, Beatus became acquainted with a stinging attack on himself as a heretic and, indeed, as antichrist in the letter that Archbishop Elipandus had sent, in great secrecy, to Abbot Fidelis in October 785 AD, but now, as the aggrieved party complained, the contents had been fully revealed throughout the Asturias. Beatus and his collaborator, Bishop Etherius, must have worked quickly to compose their substantial reply in kind, 'Adversus Elipandum', as its opening sentence places the offending letter to Fidelis, of October 785 AD, as being in the present year (anno praesenti).(97)

b) The Adoptionist Debate.

Elipandus' letter has survived as the first hostile act in a theological quarrel that slipped, almost imperceptibly, in the 780's from Toledo's suppression of an unorthodox view on the nature of the Holy Trinity, 'Migetianism', into the defence of another on Christ's human nature, 'Adoptionism', that was to be condemned by the Western Church as it could be mobilised by Charlemagne and a succession of popes. Adoptionism centred on the argument that Christ, in human form, was not the true Son of God but rather the adoptive son of God, which implied two persons in Christ. Frustratingly, the limited survival of the evidence has left us a partial understanding of complex and wide-ranging events through the transmission of only one side of the theological debate. The progress of the Adoptionist debate within Spain is particularly obscure.(98)

In the 780's, Elipandus had fought the teachings of Migetius who appears to have argued, although his views are known only through his opponents' writing, against there being any difference between the divine and human nature of the Trinity, which had appeared on earth as David, Christ and Paul. Success against the Migetians, who are not heard of again after the Council of Cordoba in 839 AD, seems to have led Elipandus into an alternative unorthodox belief known as Adoptionism. This emphasised the difference between the divine and human nature of Christ, with the incarnate Christ only being the Son of God through adoption as the divinity 'adopted' the humanity.(99) Possibly influenced by Nestorian ideas, (that there were two separate natures, human and divine, in the incarnate Christ) of which translated Latin manuscripts were circulating in Spain or North Africa at this time, Elipandus defended his Christological opinions with quotations from influential Visigothic churchmen, such as Isidore and Ildefonsus, although their meaning was distorted to produce the unorthodox views of Adoptionism.(100) To judge from Elipandus' letter to Fidelis as well as Beatus' prompt response, by the end of 785 AD, and in all probability some time earlier, the Adoptionist issue was testing the unity of the Spanish Church.

The strength of the dissenters is impossible to assess. Writing around the middle of the 9th century, Paulus Alvarus names earlier opponents of the Adoptionist case as Teudila, bishop of Seville, Basiliscus, perhaps from the Asturian kingdom, and, possibly, Vincentius.(101) Nevertheless, although the only known Adoptionist sympathisers of prominence were Bishop Felix of

Urgel, Bishop Ascaricus and Abbot Fidelis (the latter pair from the Asturias), Elipandus seems to have rallied a majority of bishops around the traditional leadership of Toledo as may be judged by the letters sent to Charlemagne and Frankish bishops soon after the Council of Ratisbon in 792 AD.(102)

In a letter to the bishops of Spain, at some time between 785 and 791 AD, Pope Hadrian I (772-795 AD) warned against both Migetianism and Adoptionism, seeing the latter as a form of Nestorianism.(103) This was a prelude to the 'internationalisation' of a theological debate which was to highlight fundamental contradictions at the heart of the Spanish Church's organisation in the late 8th century. Central to the well-being of the Visigothic kingdom in its final century had been a close alliance of palace and Church, centred on the capital city of Toledo. The defeat of King Roderick by the Muslim invaders in 711 AD destroyed the Visigothic state as a political entity, despite continuity at local levels of administration, but the ecclesiastical order had survived. It was of value to a Muslim authority, not committed to the enforcement of mass religious conversion, in the government of Spain's Christian population. By the very end of the 8th century, the unity of the Visigothic Church structure and the primacy of Toledo's bishop were being stretched on a rack of political reality. The Ummayyad emirate in Spain did not correspond to the geographical limits of the former Visigothic kingdom. In the independent Christian kingdom of the Asturias, Beatus showed that it was possible to challenge the spiritual leadership of Spain over the Adoptionist issue without apparently

incurring any penalties. The issue of Adoptionism itself has been presented as a rejection of Toledo's traditional authority.(104)

At the close of the 790's, the Asturian king, Alfonso II (791-842 AD) perhaps concerned about further Muslim assaults on his kingdom, and possibly wary about his powerful Carolingian neighbour, sent ambassadors to Charlemagne and his son Louis.(105) As the power of Carolingian Francia made itself felt over former Visigothic territories in Septimania and south of the Pyrenees in the Spanish peninsula proper, with the conquest of Muslim-held areas, bishops subject to Toledan authority came under the influence of a Christian secular power which was able to muster papal support for intervention in ecclesiastical matters. Felix, the bishop of Urgel from c. 785 AD, whose see was rooted in the Visigothic Church organisation, endorsed the Toledan line on Adoptionism and, as a result, was in the front line against Charlemagne's action to enforce orthodoxy in the West at a time when the doctrinal correctness of the Eastern Christian Church was in question.(106) The two issues were discussed at the Council of Frankfurt with Adoptionism taking primacy as the first item on the agenda.(107) In short, Elipandus was unable to exert any practical authority over dissenting churchmen, however few, in the kingdom of the Asturias which, in the late 9th-century, was courting the Carolingian power that now held sway in part of the former Visigothic kingdom and prosecuted, as unorthodox, the views of a Spanish bishop to whom the primate of Spain, securely beyond the reach of Charlemagne, could give no effective help despite the endorsement of his views.

The realities of the late 8th century, as the Franks reshaped the culture of the north-eastern peninsula and the Asturian kingdom consolidated its independence, rather than the single episode of Adoptionism, undermined the effective authority of Toledo, which was only restored after the Christian reconquest of the city in 1085 AD. Nevertheless, the ancient Visigothic Church organisation survived to a remarkable degree. A small number of new bishoprics, as in the royal residences of Oviedo and León, were created in the 8th and 9th centuries but even they did not achieve metropolitan status as alternatives to Toledo or any of the other provincial sees. The major changes to the Visigothic provincial system came at the time of its restoration in the late 11th/early 12th centuries AD, and even then, despite the strenuous lobbying of Bishop Pelayo, Oviedo never attained metropolitan rank. (108)

The seriousness of the threat to orthodox belief that was posed by Adoptionism can now only be guessed at from the extent of its opponents' response. Bishop Jonas of Orleans (780-843 AD), writing in 840 AD, referred to the Adoptionists' unsuccessful plans for missionary work in Gaul and Germany after having infected the greater part of Spain. He recalled having met some of Elipandus' Asturian followers, but, regrettably, gives no precise date for this nor does he explain why he was present among the Asturians. (109) The only known such proselytiser, Felix of Urgel, was particularly successful in attracting support in Septimania which caused concern among such leading figures of the day such as Archbishop Leidrad of Lyons, Bishop Theodulf of Orleans and Abbot Benedict of Aniane, although his

proselytising plans for Gaul and Germany came to nothing.(110) The involvement of churchmen, such as Benedict of Aniane and Theodulf of Orleans, from former Visigothic territories in the fight against Adoptionism in Septimania suggests that the heresy may have found a fertile seedbed among the 'Hispani' refugees from Muslim Spain to Carolingian territory.(111)

Alcuin, Charlemagne's leading spiritual adviser, led the orthodox in condemning Adoptionism. He defeated Felix in a face to face debate at Aachen, 800 AD, although in the prevailing climate of opinion, this was hardly a very surprising achievement. Apart from Bishop Paulinus of Aquileia with a single tract, Alcuin was the leading polemicist against Adoptionism, with letters to Elipandus and Felix as well as a pamphlet that was taken by Abbot Benedict to Septimania, and, after Aachen, seven books against a recidivist Felix with a further four against Elipandus.(112) Conciliar decree was the other great weapon in the dispute involving regional, royal and papal authority. At the great Council of Frankfurt in 794 AD, attended by papal legates and bishops from the whole of the Carolingian kingdom, the Adoptionist problem was the first issue on the agenda, forcing a condemnation of the recently-adopted iconodule policy of Constantinople into second place. This is also the order in which the main Frankish annalistic sources discuss the council and its results.(113) At a time when the western Church was challenging the orthodoxy of the Byzantine Church, the evident preoccupation in the suppression of deviant behaviour within its own territories becomes comprehensible.

The battle over Adoptionism was fought around the person of Bishop Felix and he is the only known casualty. Summoned to appear before a council at Ratisbon, 792 AD, Felix accepted its decision that his teaching was unorthodox. After signing a document against Adoptionism, while being held in Rome, and swearing to uphold his recantation, he was allowed to return to his see at Urgel. It is not possible to judge how far his case had been helped by Elipandus' corporate letter to the bishops of Gaul or a personal appeal to Charlemagne himself.(114) Certainly, his letter to Alcuin is a robust defence of Adoptionism, laced with abuse of the Asturian Beatus.(115) Once back in Spain, Felix resumed his former beliefs. In 794 AD, Charlemagne gathered a major synod at Frankfurt. Its condemnation of Adoptionist belief was made clear in the dispatch of two refutations with an accompanying letter from Charlemagne to Elipandus warning of the political consequences that would follow from dividing the Church. Undeterred, Felix circulated a new Adoptionist tract. A council held by Pope Leo III in Rome condemned Adoptionism as heretical and laid an anathema on Felix in the same year, 798 AD, that an anti-Adoptionist mission of Leidrad of Lyons and Theodulf of Orleans to Septimania ended in failure. Felix was persuaded to appear before yet another synod, this time at Aachen in 800 AD, and, after debating Adoptionism with Alcuin over six days, once more recanted his views. On this occasion, he was given no further opportunity to backslide, being consigned to the custody of Archbishop Leidrad in Lyons, where he died in 818 AD. The claim by Agobard, Leidrad's successor, that he had found another defence of Adoptionism among the deceased Felix's papers, if true, casts doubt on the sincerity of the

redoubtable heretic's recantation. (116)

Felix's Adoptionist partner, Elipandus, enjoyed better fortune, dying in Spain around 804 AD, without having renounced his beliefs. Thereafter, the entire issue seems to have faded away, with no formal resolution by the early 9th century when Paulus Alvarus, in what had been the Adoptionist stronghold of Cordoba, quoted anti-Adoptionist writers with approval while disparaging Elipandus as a heretic or a plague and the church resumed its distinctively Visigothic but orthodox heritage.

c) Beatus and the Later Stages of the Adoptionist Debate.

During the attack on Adoptionism, Beatus, and Etherius, disappear from sight. Apart from a short, curious anecdote in which Beatus' preaching of the imminent end of the world ends in bathos, told in a style likely to arouse ridicule, even if there were a grain of truth in it, Elipandus' references to his Asturian opponent which associate him with heretics and the antichrist are routinely vitriolic.(117) Alcuin's letter to Beatus, probably written in 797/8 AD, is naturally more supportive but tells us next to nothing about its recipient.(118) From Felix's own works, Alcuin believed Beatus to be the first challenger of Adoptionist views, a point made in the letter and also in the later 'Adversus Felicem'.(119) Interestingly, the letter was brought from St. Martin's church at Tours, where Alcuin had been abbot since 796 AD, by Vincentius, a Spanish pilgrim. This suggests that contact with south-west Gaul, even if infrequent, was a possibility for the kingdom of the Asturias. From the letter, it is clear that Alcuin had not met Beatus. The

Annals of Aniane report the presence of Galician clergy at the Council of Frankfurt, 794 AD, although this is not found in the other main source for the council, the Royal Frankish Annals.(120) There are difficulties with these reports as they give different names for the papal legates who were present.

However, if there were any Galician clergy present, it is unlikely that Beatus was part of the group as Alcuin, who played a leading part in the council, gives no hint of any personal acquaintance with the recipient of his letter. After this, Beatus and Etherius, the earliest known opponents in the protracted wrangle over Adoptionism, disappear from the historical record. The date of his death that is given in the Vita, 19 February 798 AD, lacks credibility as Elipandus, on his own admission in a letter of 799 AD, was still launching theological tracts against Beatus.(121) The Vita's claim that Beatus ended his career at Valcavado, south of Leon, seems to have come about through an apparent confusion of identity between Beatus and Obecus, the scribe of the Valladolid copy of Beatus' Commentary on the Apocalypse.(122)

d) Beatus' Writings.

Beatus is the first known author of any substantial written work in the Asturian kingdom. As Roger Collins has recently commented: 'The literary and intellectual culture of the Christian north in the eighth century might almost be summed up in this one name.'(123)

Three important texts have been attributed to him, with varying

degrees of conviction:

i: Adversus Elipandum. Libri duo.

ii: Commentary on the Apocalypse.

iii: A hymn in honour of St. James.

i) Adversus Elipandum.(124)

As has been noted above, the authorship of the polemical work against Bishop Elipandus and the date of its composition are two reliable facts in the otherwise mysterious career of Beatus. It is clear from the personalised abuse of Beatus in Elipandus' letter to Fidelis that there was a background to their quarrel of action and reaction which cannot now be recovered. How, for instance, did Pope Hadrian I become aware of the Adoptionist views of Elipandus and Ascaricus which he criticised by papal letter?(125) How did Beatus come to be in possession of the declaration of faith by Elipandus which he incorporated in his attack on the Bishop of Toledo?(126) Through the 'Adversus Elipandum' text we see a response to an unknown sequence of events. Elipandus' letter to Abbot Fidelis, which is quoted in Beatus' tract with a spirited commentary, abuses Bishop Etherius of Osma, Beatus' colleague, as an adolescent not to be taken seriously, who had been led astray by unsuitable schismatic company.(127) Graver charges are laid against Beatus by associating him with notorious heretics from the late 4th century AD such as Bonosus and Faustus the Manichaeon. Both comparisons have an elegant balance. Bonosus is held to have believed that Christ had been adopted as the Son of God through his mother and had not been born of the Father whereas Beatus is presented as

believing that Christ was born of the Father and had not adopted a human nature through his mother. Faustus is introduced for his condemnation of the patriarchs and prophets, so serving as a parallel for the contemporary Beatus who denigrated the venerable teachers of modern times, by which Elipandus may well have meant himself.(128)

For Elipandus, his illustrious predecessors and the prestige of the see of Toledan were the absolute guarantee of his theological correctness, as may be seen in his outraged comment that it was unheard of for the people of Liébana to teach those of Toledo.(129) A feeling that Toledo's authority was being infringed led him to make similar accusations against Migetius, a late 8th-century heretic whose views are known largely through the writings of Elipandus.(130) Interestingly, the ignorant and schismatic companions influencing Etherius are named as 'Felicem et Beatum antifrasios', that is, they are inappropriately named as happy (Felix) and blessed (Beatus) despite being, in fact, the opposite of these qualities.(131) (It is unlikely that this Felix is the bishop of Urgel who, in later years, was such a champion of Adoptionism, as Elipandus says elsewhere that he had been associated with him from youth.)(132) Following the success of the Baetican clergy in eliminating the heresy of Migetius (heresem Migetianam), Elipandus urges Fidelis and others to end the heresy of Beatus (heresem Beatianam) in Asturian territory.(133)

All of this raises questions on the origins of Beatus' opposition, the extent of the Adoptionist debate before it comes into historical sight and the manner of its conduct. If Beatus objected to some of the content of Elipandus' letter against

Migetius, then, on the reasonable assumption that it circulated in the Asturias, his dissent, by word or by letter, must have been reported to Toledo and must have been seen as serious enough to warrant a secret message against an apparent heresy. In this case, the fact that such material was being sent to and received from a remote area of the only independent Christian kingdom in Spain by the head of the Spanish Church, who was resident in the Muslim emirate, seems more interesting than the content of Beatus' theological argument. Elipandus' rather furtive method of persuasion by secret letter points to the difficulties of enforcing Toledan authority on recalcitrant clergy 'beyond the line'. Beatus' tract against Elipandus certainly came to be known in the Muslim south although how and when it travelled cannot be discerned. The work and Beatus himself, although not his co-author Etherius, are cited several times by the Cordoban Paulus Alvarus.(134) He does not make mention of the other, and much more substantial, treatise attributed to Beatus, the 'Commentary on the Apocalypse', although this is known and used by other.Mozarab sources.(135)

The Adoptionist issue has been seen as an assertion of independence by the Christians of the emergent Asturian kingdom against the traditional authority of Toledo.(136) As a leading protagonist in the struggle, and one of the first in the field, Beatus' own words on the subject are illuminating, even when allowance is made for the polemical context of the overall source. Beatus warned the Christian flock against false prophets, Adoptionists in this case, who, as wolves in sheep's clothing, had dared to drive off the shepherds of the Church.(137) He follows Visigothic tradition in specifying the

equal role in suppressing heresy of the metropolitan bishop, ' by the sword of the word', and the king (princeps terrae), ' by the rod of government'. The sting in the tail is that Beatus poses a direct question to ask Elipandus whether they had been driven completely from his domain, '... de terra vestra funditus auferatur?'.(138) This echoes the exhortation of St.Paul, cited by Elipandus' own letter to Fidelis, to drive evil from your land' ('Auferte malum de terra vestra.' I Cor. 5, 13.)(139) He suggests that this belief had spread not just in the Asturias but throughout all of Spain and even as far afield as Francia BECAUSE two opinions had arisen which split the Asturian church. From this division came two peoples and two Churches.(140)

The defeat of King Roderick in 711 AD had removed one of the principal defenders of the faith. Henceforward, this role had to be performed by the metropolitan bishop of Toledo. Beatus' criticism of Elipandus was not that Toledo had no right to intervene in Asturian affairs but rather that it had failed to act in an appropriate manner to suppress the growth of unorthodox views, hence the rumour which was claimed to have spread through Spain and abroad. Far from indicating a desire for independence, this passage smacks of an orthodox loyalist's disappointment, although the result in practice might be a withdrawal of support for a traditional authority. When Beatus proceeds to discuss the effects of the split in the Asturias, he notes that it affected not just the 'little people' but also the episcopate. We do not know the attitudes of the Asturian kings to this division, although it was a time in the last decade of the 8th century when, under Alfonso II, diplomatic ties with Charlemagne's

Francia were cordial enough for religion and politics to encourage a move away from Toledo.(141)

We do not know the relative strength of the two groups. It has been questioned whether Beatus and Etherius spoke for the whole of the Asturian Church. This is not a claim made by Beatus who identified Etherius and himself as belonging to the group of anti-Adoptionist bishops.(142) Possible supporters of Beatus have been indicated earlier. A Basiliscus who served as an ambassador for Alfonso II to the Franks in 798 AD has been identified with a similarly named opponent of Adoptionism who was quoted by Paulus Alvarus.(143) Another anti-Adoptionist, also mentioned by Paulus Alvarus, is Vincentius who has been equated with the messenger from Alcuin to Beatus. There is no evidence to indicate that he was of Asturian origin and the fact that he is referred to as 'noster nunc doctor Vincentius' suggests that he may have been a contemporary of the Cordoban letter-writer.(144)

Although Beatus does not name any of the opposing faction, some of the Asturian Adoptionists can be identified. From Elipandus' letter, it is clear that the bishop of Toledo saw the Asturian abbot Fidelis as an Adoptionist. He also names, with evident approval, a Bishop Ascaricus for a suitably respectful attitude to Toledo's authority, and passed on to Fidelis a letter from the bishop as proof. Ascaricus has previous form as an Adoptionist, having been identified as such, along with Elipandus himself, in Pope Hadrian's letter to the Spanish bishops c.785 AD. While he may not have been the metropolitan bishop of Braga, as has been suggested, Ascaricus' letter to Tusered at least indicates an Asturian location for the writer.(145) Other possible

Adoptionists may be found in Elipandus' letter to the recently converted Felix ('.ad Felicem nuper conversus') in which Cordoba appears as a stronghold of the belief, although, here the Asturian connection has disappeared.(146)

ii) Commentary on the Apocalypse.

The most famous, and certainly the most substantial, work attributed to Beatus is the 'Commentary on the Apocalypse'.(147) This has survived, complete or as a fragment, in 32 manuscripts from the 9th to the 13th centuries, of which 26 carry the extraordinary miniatures. The majority of scholars accept the existence of different editions of the Commentary rather than a single archetype.(148) From a detailed comparison Sanders concluded that there had been three recensions of the work, corresponding to his classification of the manuscripts, in 776 AD, 784 AD and 786 AD, during Beatus' lifetime, with a fourth after his death. These dates were based on a passage of millenarist speculation, taken from Isidore of Seville, and a helpful figure, which varied in different manuscripts, for the number of years remaining to the completion of the 6th Age and, hence, the end of the world, 6000 years after Creation, in 800 AD.(149) There is no solid evidence, however, for Sanders' explanation that the interval between the Commentary's first edition in 776 AD and the second in 784 AD was due to Beatus being too preoccupied with affairs at the royal court. In Sanders' view, it was only the death of King Silo, in 783 AD, and Beatus' own retirement to a monastery which made possible the second recension. The third edition, of 786 AD, is attributed to Bishop Etherius, named in a dedication that is absent from the two earlier recensions, who

was co-author with Beatus of the 'Adversus Elipandum' text, from the previous year, which had cited the Commentary. Etherius, it is suggested, may then have wanted his own copy of the work.(150) This is a tempting but unprovable speculation and its tentative nature has been emphasised by arguments that the third recension of the Commentary belongs to the 9th or 10th century, long after Beatus' death.(151) The earliest full copies of text with 108 canonical images belong to the mid-10th century although, in the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, there is an illuminated fragment attributed to the last decades of the 9th century.(152) Most regrettably, no manuscript of the work has survived that is contemporary with its author.

It may seem surprising that Beatus' authorship of the Commentary has recently been questioned.(153) The association of Beatus and the Commentary has long been taken for granted since being made in the 16th century by the royal chronicler, Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591 AD). From the dates in the text and a dedication to '..sancte pater Etheri', Morales established a link with Beatus.(154) There are some difficulties with this connection. In the later manuscripts the authorship of the Commentary is ascribed variously to Apringius, Rhabanus Maurus, Alcazar, Amandus or others. In the oldest extant manuscripts the Commentary is anonymous.(155) Nor is the dedication to Etherius found in all manuscript sources. The Cordoban Paulus Alvarus only names Beatus for his anti-Adoptionist writings, without reference to the Commentary although this seems to have circulated albeit anonymously among the Christians of Muslim Spain. No Mozarab writer identifies Beatus as the author of the

Commentary although the text itself is cited in an 8th/9th century work, the 'Indiculus de Adventu Enoch et Eliae', which deals with the two prophets whose martyrdom at the hands of Antichrist was to be a key event in the Last Days. The Indiculus itself has been preserved in two manuscripts, one, Ms BC 1 of Córdoba cathedral, and the other, Ms R.II.18 of El Escorial. The second of these had reached Oviedo, probably from Córdoba, where it was seen by Ambrosio de Morales in the 16th century. It also contains a list of books, dated to 882 AD. The second item in the list is an 'Expositum Danielis et Apocalipsin et Canticum Canticorum', which may, in reality, be Beatus' Commentary and the work with which it is customarily associated. As the extant versions of the Commentary are anonymous, it may be that, although the Christians of Muslim Spain knew the text, they could not identify its author.

Beatus was a man of learning, as shown by the *Adversus Elipandum* tract, which associates him with Bishop Etherius. It is surely significant that it incorporated material from the Commentary on the Apocalypse.(156) Elipandus further connects him with apocalyptic matters in two ways. In the letter to Fidelis, Beatus' heresy is discussed immediately before Elipandus asks for details of the birth of the Antichrist which he had heard was being preached in the Asturias by a 'precursor Antichristi'. This 'precursor' is presumably Beatus who, elsewhere in Elipandus' letters is abused as a 'disciple of Antichrist' and even as a 'pseudo-Christ and pseudo-prophet'.(157) Elipandus also gives an odd anecdote in which the sense of exaltation induced in an Easter vigil by Beatus' preaching of the world's imminent end was broken with much bathos by a certain Ordone who urged the

congregation to break their fast by eating and drinking so that they should, at least, die with full stomachs.(158) This may be no more than black propaganda although such material is best when it contains a grain of truth. Nevertheless, the association of Beatus, assumed author of a substantial commentary on the Book of Revelation, with Antichrist and the end of the world is suggestive.

The rich, and indeed surprising, variety of the source material deployed in the Commentary makes it a hugely important cultural landmark in the history of the Asturian kingdom. Although the question of authorship is hardly answered beyond a shadow of a doubt, it is difficult to imagine an alternative to Beatus from the Asturian kingdom, given his known contribution to polemical theology with its use of passages from the Commentary itself as well as the association by his enemies with apocalyptic matters, and so the customary identification will be followed here.

The purpose of the Commentary is given in the preface (*..ob aedificationem studii fratrum..*).(159) It was meant to be an aid to devotional practice rather than an intellectual exercise. The Book of Revelation with its terrifying images of the world's final days was a work of profound allegorical complexity. At the Fourth Council of Toledo, in 633 AD, it was the subject of canon XVII which ordered that, as many people still refused to accept the authority of Revelation despite frequent synodal decisions, henceforward it was to be read at Mass from Easter to Whit, with excommunication for recalcitrants.(160) Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo, towering figures in 6th-century Visigothic literary culture, both wrote on the six ages of human history

although they denied that the end of the last era could be known.(161) This went against speculation that the world would end 6000 years after Creation, using Old Testament allegory, from the six days of creation, and scriptural reference that indicated a thousand years as being only a day in the eyes of the Lord.(162) The conclusion was that the Second Coming must be expected 6000 years after the Creation. While the computation of this period was by no means an exact science, (in early 8th-century England, Bede incurred an accusation of heresy for his own radically different calculation) the most widely accepted figures for the time from Creation to Incarnation, taken from Eusebius/Jerome, Isidore and Julian, varied from 5196 to 5200 years.(163) Julian's 5200 year estimate, preferred by the Mozarabic 'Chronicle of 754 AD' for being '..a perfect number, most full of beauty..' from the alternatives, was also followed by Beatus.(164)

In the context of 5200 years to the Incarnation, the year 800 AD took on an ominous significance as the close of the 6th age of the world.(165) The Book of Revelation was the means to understand the signs that would precede the Second Coming. There is evidence that concern over the last days may have been acute in the Asturian kingdom in the late 8th-century. A letter from the Adoptionist Bishop Ascaricus dealt with problems on the earthly resurrection of the body and quoted Revelation.(166) As noted earlier, Archbishop Elipandus aware that a forerunner, who would announce the birth of Antichrist, had appeared in the territory of his Asturian correspondent, Fidelis, asked the abbot for further information. Elipandus also connected Beatus with a

failed prophecy on the end of the world. These particular associations and a general context of mounting apprehension in the last quarter of the 8th century over the imminence of the Last Judgement, during the last quarter of the 8th century, suggest that Beatus' Commentary was meant to prepare souls for the expected end of the world.

Beatus' Commentary is essentially a sequence of passages taken from earlier writers on the Book of Revelation and then strung together to form a continuous commentary. There is a lengthy praefatio in which the author describes his intentions, explains his method of working, names his sources and a substantial summary of the overall text. The Commentary itself is made up of 12 books of unequal length, with the first six being the most detailed and extensive. In general, the biblical text is given and then followed by an explanation incorporating relevant earlier commentaries. There are three additions to the core Revelation text: a lengthy excursus 'De ecclesia et synagoga', a short section on the Antichrist which is taken from Augustine's 'City of God' and a treatise of Gregory of Elvira on Noah's ark. Beatus' Commentary is very frequently, although not quite totally, linked in its manuscript transmission with Jerome's commentary on the Book of Daniel, which is concerned with similar apocalyptic matters. Less commonly, it is associated with information on relationships, 'De adfinitatibus et gradibus', drawn from Isidore of Seville's Etymologies. Some codices have the Beatus Commentary preceded by some pages of biblical genealogies.(167)

The Commentary is not a work of great originality. Apart from

the miniatures, its significance lies in the range of sources named and used. Beatus identifies Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Fulgentius, Gregory of Elvira, Gregory the Great, Tyconius, Irenaeus, Apringius and Isidore although there are other unnamed sources.(168) His eclectic style of compilation is particularly helpful in reconstructing other, poorly-known, texts on this subject by Tyconius, a 4th-century African Donatist, and Apringius, a 6th-century bishop of Beja. Irenaeus, on the other hand, is cited but he does not appear to have been used directly, it may be that Beatus came across his name as a reference in other works.(169) It is possible that Beatus may have been using an earlier compilation rather than enjoying direct access to his identified sources. From the *Adversus Elipandum* (certainly Beatus' work) and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (probably Beatus' work), it is clear that Beatus had access to a library with impressive resources, which emphasises the tone of vulgar abuse in 'Elipandus' accusation of Liebanan ignorance.(170) There is little evidence that the Asturias had been a centre of learning before the 8th century.(171) It may be that books used by Beatus had been brought there by Christian refugees from Toledo or Córdoba. Whether such resources were held by an Asturian monastery or formed the core of a royal library, their ultimate fate is unknown.(172) In 1572 AD, Ambrosio de Morales reported that in the cathedral archive of San Salvador in Oviedo there were more ancient books than in the rest of the kingdom of León, Galicia and Asturias.(173) Even so, this collection amounted to only around 25 manuscripts, none of which matched the sources used by Beatus.

iii) The Hymn in Honour of St. James.

The third literary work associated with Beatus is a hymn in honour of St. James, acclaimed here for the first time as the patron of Spain, with an acrostic form that uses the initial letter from its 60 lines to eulogise King Mauregatus.(174) The reference to Mauregatus, an uncommon name and one which belonged to a successful usurper of the Asturian throne from 783 to 788 AD, offers a plausible time and place for the poem's composition.(175) Speculation that Beatus' reference to divisions in the Asturian church over Adoptionism might correspond to a political split and an enforced taking of the veil in 785 AD by Adosinda, the widow of Mauregatus' predecessor, is interesting but lacks any substantial proof.(176) The late 8th-century date for the hymn is the accepted one although there are unusual features to it such as the acrostic's use of the title 'king' for Mauregatus rather than 'princeps', although this is not unique in Asturian sources, and the use of 'Ispania'/'Ispanie' to describe the whole Iberian peninsula when the term was customarily applied, in a post-invasion context, to the territories under Muslim control.(177)

Beatus' authorship of the hymn has been deduced from supposed signs of anti-Adoptionist sentiment and parallels in imagery and content with his Commentary.(178) Careful translation of the hymn's first four lines reveal no concern with Adoptionism, while analysis of the text suggests the use, albeit with some differences, of common sources. If Beatus was a member of a court faction surrounding Adosinda and her nephew, Alfonso II, then the composition of this undated hymn to the usurper King

Mauregatus represents an impressive political flexibility. Essentially, the identification of Beatus as author rests on the difficulty of finding two men of sufficient literary attainment in Mauregatus' tiny kingdom who were capable of producing the hymn to Saint James and the Commentary, although this is to ignore the bishops, Ascaricus and Etherius, and Abbot Fidelis.

If doubts are entertained on Beatus' authorship of the Commentary on the Apocalypse, then it must be accepted that they have even greater force with regard to St. James' hymn. The acrostic indicates that the hymn was written by a partisan of Mauregatus, or, at least, someone seeking the king's favour, possibly, it has been argued, for the dedication of a church to St. James. Although the origins of the special devotion to the Apostle James in Spain, which came to be centred at Compostela in Galicia after the discovery of his alleged remains in the 9th century, remain obscure, this hymn from the late eighth-century Asturias is the first association of a king with the cult.(179) The hymn, however, contains no specific information that could be utilised to flesh out a narrative history of the Asturian kingdom. It exercised an influence on later liturgical texts in western Spain.(180)

2: Saints' Lives.

The purpose of hagiographical writing lay in honouring men and women of perceived sanctity, especially those who had died for the sake of their Christian faith. Their lives, through the acceptance of martyrdom, the overcoming of temptation or the performance of good deeds, displayed uplifting behaviour for the

devout. Such writing was more concerned with the values of spiritual truth than a detailed recording of historical events. Nevertheless, when they are not simply a collection of stock themes, the lives can offer, at least, a valuable indicator of cultural values and attitudes as well as a glimpse of day to day life.

In contrast to elsewhere in western Europe of the 7th and 8th centuries, very little hagiographical writing has survived from Visigothic Spain.(181) In Muslim-controlled territories after the invasion, a brief life of Bishop Ildefonsus (657-667 AD) was produced, probably by Cixila, a successor in the office, during the 8th century, while in the mid-9th century Paulus Alvarus and Eulogius recorded the 'voluntary martyr' movement in Cordoba.(182) There are very few pieces of hagiographical writing from the period of the Asturian kingdom up to 910 AD and, with a single exception, all refer to holy men from the time of Alfonso III (866-910 AD). The Vita of Beatus printed by Tamayo de Salazar, and which has already been mentioned, is an acknowledged forgery. Other lives of late 9th-century saints suffer from defects that are endemic to the hagiographical genre; the distance in time of the recorded traditions from their subject and/or the application of stereotypically sanctified traits to produce an identikit holy man. On these grounds, there is little value to be placed on the Vita of St. Atilan, bishop of Zamora, or on the Laudatio of St. Vintila, a hermit, although there is other documentary and inscriptional evidence for their existence.(183)

St. Atilan also appears in another text which carries greater

authority, a Vita of St. Froilán, hermit and bishop of León.(184) This was added to the end of a manuscript, now in Leon cathedral, which was made up almost entirely of books from the bible. The copyist was a certain John the deacon whose work was completed in 920 AD. John's name is associated with the Vita, although it has a slightly different palaeographical style from the rest of the codex. Unfortunately, the Vita's text is incomplete. A 12th-century lectionary, also in León cathedral, takes up, continues and completes the life of St. Froilán, giving vital chronological information on its subject's life and career. As his death is set in 905 AD ('obiit era DCCCCXLIII'), the Vita seems to have been completed some 20 years or so later. This brief biography of St. Froilán and his disciple/companion St. Atilan is of great interest. Together with the Testament of St. Genadio, bishop of Astorga, recording a large donation to the monastery of San Pedro de Montes (Bierzo), (although admittedly this is not hagiography), St. Froilán's Vita offers glimpses of religious life at the close of the 9th century.(185) Through them, we see aspects of eremitic and communal life, the restoration of old monastic foundations (by St. Genadio in the Bierzo) or by the establishment of new ones (by St. Froilán in Leon and Portugal) and, in particular, royal intervention to appoint bishops in key sees (St. Froilán in León, St. Genadio in Astorga).(186)

D: Inscriptions

Inscriptions carved in stone as well as dedications on objects of devotion such as crosses from the Asturian kingdom, although few in number, are a useful complement and supplement to the

written sources of information. Like inscriptions from the Visigothic past and from contemporary Christians in Muslim Spain, they are more limited in scope and style than those of the Roman period. Essentially, inscriptions relating to the Asturian kingdom are either epitaphs or commemorations of building activity, which, for the most part, was to do with churches and monasteries. In content, they generally offer the name of the subject, either as the deceased or the dedicator, with some indication of rank, as well as the date of death or of a building's dedication. Some inscriptions identify other people present at dedications by their name and status. An unusual exception to this type of material was a carved stone, from the church at Santianes de Pravia, divided into squares with a central letter 'S' from which the message 'Silo princeps fecit' could be read along the four arms of a cross. This acrostic was copied by Ambrosio de Morales in the 16th century and, although later destroyed during building work in the 17th century, archaeological excavation has recovered some corroborating fragments. In Oviedo, he also found ancient manuscripts with an introductory acrostic which read 'Adefonsi principis sum', probably referring to Alfonso III.(187)

Inscriptions, then, can be a significant source of information. They also require some caution in their handling. Some have been destroyed and now exist only as copies made at various times from the 12th to the 19th centuries. Even when an honest reproduction was intended, there was always the possibility of a faulty transcription. Where an inscription has survived to the present-day, it may have been reused or relocated, reducing its

value as a source by taking it out of an architectural context. For the region of the Asturias itself, the best authority for inscriptions remains C.M. Vigil's massive work 'Asturias Monumental, Epigrafica y Diplomática'. For the broader territories of the Asturian kingdom, the detailed compilations of E. Hubner and J. Vives are invaluable in enabling comparison with Christian inscriptions from earlier periods as well as from other regions of Spain.(188)

E: Annals

Information on the Asturian kingdom to 910 AD can be found in annalistic compilations of the 9th and 10th centuries which link simple events to a single year. From his analysis of the material, Barrau-Dihigo identified three independent regional groupings among the oldest of the annals:

- a) Portuguese annals: *Chronicon Laurbanense*, (866-1110 AD). This is a 9th-century work, with two later additions for the years 1064 and 1110 AD.
- b) Castilian annals: *Anales Castellanos I*, also known as the *Chronicon Sancti Isidori Legionensis*, (618-939 AD).
- c) Navarrese annals: *Codex of Roda* (882 AD-end of the 10th century).
- d) He also identified a fourth, later, group of annals of no great value:
 - i) *Annales Complutenses*, (1-1126 AD).
 - ii) *Annales Compostellani*, (1-1249 AD).

iii) Chronicon Burgense. (1-1212 AD).

iv) Anales Toledanos I, (1-1219 AD), text in Castilian.

v) Cronicon de Cardena I, (1-1327 AD) text in Castilian.

The elements in this fourth group, which is of Castilian origin, are mutually dependent and, apart from the exceptions given below, they add nothing to the information given in the Anales Castellanos I.(189)

Any information on the Asturian kingdom is welcome to the student of the period although the haul of 14 separate statements from these annals is very limited and sometimes unintelligible. From the first three annalistic collections identified by Barrau-Dihigo, there are nine relevant references in the Anales Castellanos I, four in the Chronicon Laurbanense and one from the Codex of Roda. From the fourth group, the Annales Compostellani give two items relating to the Asturian kingdom.(190)

Precious as these few pieces of annalistic data are for an historical period of considerable obscurity, they are also tantalisingly elusive in their significance. There are the familiar problems of textual transmission. In the case of the sole piece of information from the Codex of Roda which is relevant for the Asturian kingdom, the text is mutilated and incomplete: 'Era DCCCCXXXVIII (900 AD) fuit coniunctio duorum regum, id est Adefonsus Astu...'.(191) Allowance has to be made for the chance of scribal miscopying. The most teasing difficulty derives from the nature of the annalistic format itself. The information is given in a series of bald and apparently unrelated statements so lacking in context as to be

blankly enigmatic. An entry from the *Anales Castellanos I*, such as 'In era DCCCCIIII (866 AD) adeptus est in regnum domnu Adefonsu' is clear enough in its general sense, although the precise meaning of the terminology for elevation to the kingship might be considered to have a particular significance.(192) There are other entries, however, whose nature remains hidden, always assuming that they had a meaning for their author/copyist and have been accurately transmitted, such as, from the *Anales Castellanos I*, 'In era DCCCLII (814 AD) exierunt foras montani de Malacoria et venerunt ad Castella.'(193) For the student of Asturian history, hungry for more information, there is a temptation to establish links between the gnomic statement that 'In era DCCCCIIII fregit Rudericus comes Asturias', indicating disturbances, and a separate entry from the same year, 866 AD, on the accession 'domnu Adefonsu', with the evidence of disorder described by the late 9th-century Chronicle of Albelda at the start of Alfonso III's reign.(194) There is also a frustrating lack of discrimination between events of a narrowly local relevance and those of wider significance.(195)

From his study of annalistic sources for the history of Portugal, P. David identified three elements, constituting the 'Annales Portugalenses Veteres' which served as a foundation for later compilations of historical data:

- a) A brief outline of the Visigothic history from their entry into Spain to the destruction of their kingdom and the start of Pelayo's reign in the Asturias.
- b) A list of Asturian kings, with their regnal lengths in years.

months and days, from Pelayo to the accession of Alfonso II.

c) A series of annalistic references, concentrating on the lands which would later make up Portugal and starting with the capture of Coimbra by al-Mansur in 987 AD, which was continued in different recensions to 1079 AD or 1111 AD, with a further extension to 1168 AD.(196)

Setting aside the third element as of no relevance to the Asturian kingdom, the first two sections on Gothic history and Asturian rulers have been seen as a 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium', paralleling earlier lists of Roman emperors and Gothic kings.(197) The sections on Gothic history and Asturian kings are found in full in an early 12th-century homiliary from Coimbra, a 13th-century manuscript of the Chronicon Alcobacense (or Complutense) and a 14th-century copy of a 12th-century text, the Chronicon Conimbricense IV.(198) The 12th-century Chronica Gothorum (or Chronicon Lusitanum) carries the first element on Visigothic history but substitutes for the second part, a list of Asturian kings up to and including Alfonso III, with some information on his reign, which is all taken from the late 9th-century Chronicle of Albelda.(199) The first two elements, of obvious relevance to the Asturian kingdom, were omitted by later recensions of the Portuguese annals, such as the mid 13th-century Chronicon Lamecense, which retained only the third for events from 987 to 1168 AD.(200)

An alternative version of Gothic history to the Muslim conquest and of the list of Asturian kings was copied by Juan Vaseo from an ancient, now lost, manuscript in the 16th century. It was also used as a source by an extant text, a short chronicle

associated with some manuscript versions of the 12th-century *Historia Compostellanae*.(201)

The Two Versions of Gothic History

Chronicon Alcobacense
(Chronicon Complutense)

Era CCCXLVIII. Egressi sunt
de terra sua.

Era CCCLXVI. Ingressi sunt
Ispaniam. Dominati sunt
Ispaniam gens Gotorum annis
CCCLXXXIII et de terra sua
pervenerunt in Ispaniam per
annos XVII.

Era DCCXLVIII expulsi
sunt de regno suo,
era DCCL Sarraceni Ispaniam
obtinent.

Chronicon Ex Historiae
Compostellanae.

In era CCCC coeperunt Gothi
regnare usque in eram DCCXLVII

qui per CCCLII annos et menses
IV et dies V Hispaniam
obtinuerunt donec ingressus fuit
transmarinus dux sarracenorum
nomine Taric.

Qui Roderico ultimo rege
gothorum die V feria hora VI
Era DCCXLVIII interfecto totam
fere Hispaniam cepit.

The suggestion was made by Sánchez-Albornoz that the two versions may have been derived from a common source, which he identified as a lost chronicle from the time of the Asturian king Alfonso II (791-842 AD), that was later used by the 9th-century cycle of Asturian texts.(202) Apart from a general agreement that the Visigoths migrated to Spain where they ruled until their overthrow by the Saracens, the two accounts share no points of detail. The year figures given in the *Chronicon Ex Historiae*

Compostellanae are not internally consistent. The Chronicon Alcobacense dates for the fall of the Gothic kingdom are very similar to those given in the Chronicle of 754 AD, the first post-conquest account of the Muslim invasion by a Christian living in 'occupied' Spain.(203) The exact dating of the Muslim invasion and conquest of Spain is still a subject of scholarly debate.(204) The Chronicon Alcobacense places it in 711/712 AD while the Chronicon Ex Historiae Compostellanae dates it to 710 AD. Neither of the dates is consistent with the year 714 AD given by the 9th-century Asturian chronicles and which appears to be a deliberate distortion of the historical record.(205)

The Chronica Gothorum (or Chronicon Lusitanum), as noted earlier, has the key elements of the Annales Portugalenses Veteres but with a different version of the Asturian kinglist.(206) The use of this alternative list in the Chronica Gothorum, and the absence of an Asturian regnal list from the Chronicon Conimbricense II, suggests that the passages on Visigothic history and Asturian rulers, which are connected in the Annales Portugalenses Veterenses should not necessarily be linked together.(207)

F: Asturian Regnal Lists

Besides the suite of royal biographies that constitute the 9th-century Asturian chronicles, the sequence of Asturian kings is known from genealogical lists. There is a series of royal genealogies for the Asturian kingdom, running initially to the time of Alfonso II (791-842 AD), then continued to Alfonso III (866-910 AD) and on down through his successors in León. Some of these genealogies show a clear interdependence although the

sequence as a whole has interesting variations which suggest more than simple error in their transmission.

1: Laterculus Regum Ovetensium

The oldest form of the Asturian regnal list, as given in the *Annales Portugalenses Veteres*, is most likely to have been concluded in its extant form in the reign of Alfonso II whose accession forms the last element in the list:

Antequam domnus Pelagius regnaret Sarraceni regnarunt
in Hispania annis V.

Pelagius regnavit annis XVIIII.

Fafila regnavit annis II, mensibus VI.

Adefonsus regnavit annis XIX, mense I, die I.

Froila regnavit annis XI, mensibus V, diebus XX.

Aurelius regnavit annis VI, mensibus VI.

Silo regnavit annis IX, mense I, die I.

Mauregatus regnavit annis V, mensibus VI.

Sub uno fiunt anni LXXXI.

Tunc positus est in regno domnus Adefonsus XVIII
kalendas octobris sub era DCCCXXVIII (14 Sept. 790
AD.)

The name of Vermudo I (788-791 AD) is not included in this list. Its date for Alfonso II's accession is a year earlier than the 14 September 791 AD which is given in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. Although the *Laterculus* is the earlier source, it is the 791 AD date that has become the accepted date for Alfonso's accession. (208) The introduction to the king-list in the *Chronicon Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice* ('..et tunc

sarraceni in Asturiis annos V regnaverunt.') gives a rather different and more specific geographical emphasis from the annals. The content of the list, with the addition of Vermudo as well as the omission of the year total and the information on Alfonso II, was incorporated in the Chronicon Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, which continued the sequence on to Fernando I of León (1035-1065 AD).

2: 'Laterculus Legionensis'

The Asturian king-list was pursued up to the reign of Alfonso III and then continued on on to 954 AD, that is the fourth year of Ordoño III (950-955 AD). This extension, a 'Laterculus Legionensis', survives in a Leonese copy of the Fuero Juzgo, the ancient Visigothic law-code, which was completed in 1057 AD:

Pelagius regnavit annos XVIII.

Faffila regnavit (space left) ms.VI.

Adefonsus regnavit annos XVIII.

Froyla re. an. XII ms. V d. XX.

Aurelius re. an. VI ms. VII

Silo re. an. VIII ms. I d. I.

Mauregatus re. an. V ms. VIII.

Vermudos re. an. VI ms. VI.

Positus est in regno dominus Adefonsus XVIII Klds.

Octubres in era DCCXXVIII et regnabit annos LII ms. V d. XVIII.

Ranemirus regnavit annos VII.

Nepozianus r. (space left).

Orduinus regnavit annos XV ms. III. Quod fiunt in sub uno de domno Pelagio usque ad domino Ordonio principe

anni CXLVII.

Positus est in regno domnus Audefonsus filius domni
Ordonii II Klds Maias era DCCCCII et regnavit annos XLVI
ms. VI.

Garcia regnavit annos III d. III.

Ordonius re. an. VIII et ms. III.

Froila regnavit annos III.

Adefonsus re. an. VI ms. II.

Rademirus re. an. XVIII m. VII d. XI.

Ordoinus regnavit annos IIII.

In this compilation, unlike the earlier *Laterculus Regum Ovetensium*, the regnal length of Vermudo I is included.

The stylistic similarity of the entry for Alfonso III with that of Alfonso II in the earlier list, with the recalculation of years from the accession of Pelayo, implies a conscious parallel and a terminal point for the first extension of the list prior to its continuation to 954 AD.

3: 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium'

There are two versions of the 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium', a regnal list for the Asturian kingdom and its Leonese successor, which are found in three 10th-century codices.(210) Both versions extend from Pelayo to Ramiro II (931-950 AD), with a limited continuation in the *Codex Albeldensis*' text to Ramiro III (966-984 AD). They include the names of Alfonso, son of Fruela II (who reigned for a few months in 925 AD) and Sancho, son of Ordoño II (who reigned only in Galicia between 925 and 929 AD). Both of these kings are absent

from the 'Laterculus Legionensis', considered above, where they ought to have been inserted after number 16 (Frúela II 924-925 AD) and before number 17 (Alfonso IV 925-930 AD). This may be due simply to its copyist's eyes having been caught by the next 'Alfonso', i.e. Alfonso IV, in his list and the text having been resumed from that point, rather than from a conscious act of censorship.

One version of the 'Nomina Legionensium' occurs in the Codex Albeldensis and, as a marginal addition, in the Codex Aemilianensis.(211) In both cases the list is connected to the text of Chronicle of Albelda at the point where a suite of royal Visigothic biographies concludes and a series on the Asturian kings, called the 'Ordo Gotorum Obetensium' by the Albeldensis, is begun. This list contains no regnal lengths and, in effect, simply records the sequence of rulers. Unlike its sister, it omits three kings from the canonical total; Silo (774-783 AD), Mauregatus (783-788 AD) and Vermudo I (788-791 AD). Both codices containing this version of the Nomina Legionensium run from Pelayo to the reign of Ramiro II (930-951 AD), concluding with a note on the number of preceding kings: 'Post frater eius Ranemirus. Sunt sub uno XVI.' The list in the Codex Albeldensis is continued with three further references, in the same style, to Ordono III (951-956 AD), Sancho I (956-958 AD and 960-966 AD) and Ramiro III (966-984 AD), the final entry.

The other, more chronologically detailed, version of the 'Nomina Legionensium' is in the Codex of Roda where it is associated with the so-called 'Prophetic Chronicle' of the late 9th century, which has been reincorporated into the Chronicle of

Albelda by its latest editors.(212) This list differs from the one discussed above by giving regnal lengths for each ruler and by including Silo, Mauregatus and Vermudo in the sequence of kings. The Roda text appears to have extended initially from Pelayo to 928 AD in the reign of Alfonso IV (925-930 AD): 'et de Pelagio usque in era DCCCCLXVI regnante Adefonso filio Ordonii anni CCXI.' The list actually ends with a reference to Alfonso IV's brother and successor, Ramiro II (930-951 AD). This left a blank space for the era date and regnal length which suggests that the final entry to the list was written before the end of Ramiro's reign. Apart from Ramiro II, three other kings in the list do not carry a regnal length. For two, Nepotian and Sancho, son of Ordoño II, a space was left for the respective figures. The third example, that of Alfonso IV, is more complicated. The entry for his reign has no space for a regnal length but makes the anodyne comment, found in both versions of the list, that Alfonso gave up his kingdom and converted to the Lord (..qui dedit regno suo et convertit ad Dominum.). Alfonso's surrender of the crown to his brother Ramiro II may not have been voluntary, as he soon attempted a restoration which only ended with him being blinded and promptly returned to contemplative life in a monastic cell. The completion of the list in the reign of Ramiro II, a capable and ruthless king, may have necessitated a degree of caution.

There is also the possibility that the baffling repetition of a few royal personal names may have induced an error by the compiler of this list. Alfonso, son of Fruela II, who ruled for a short time in Galicia in 925 AD, precedes Alfonso IV in the list and is given a regnal length, of five years and 10 months,

which is more appropriate for his namesake. Another error is contained in one of the list's two era dates. The date given in the list for the accession of Alfonso III (866-910 AD) is wildly inaccurate: 'II Idus Februarias era DCCCCLXIIII.' (12 February, 928 AD). This may have been through a misreading of a correct 'era DCCCIIII' (866 AD). The era date for Pelayo's accession, 'Era DCCLVI' (718 AD), however, is consistent with information from the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' and the Asturian chronicles.

Contained within the two versions of the *Nomina Legionensium* is a small amount of incidental information. This refers to the dynastic relationships between some, although not all, of the listed kings. Some of these details, such as Alfonso I being the son-in-law (gener) of Pelayo, are known from other sources.(213) Other connections within the royal family are found here for the first time. Fruela I (757-768 AD) is presented as the brother of Alfonso I rather than his son, as the 9th-century Asturian chronicles have it.(214) The Chronicle of Alfonso III associates a brother Fruela with Alfonso I's military campaigns and unequivocally identifies him as the father of two future kings, the brothers Aurelius and Vermudo I, who himself was the great-grandfather of Alfonso III. A 12th-century source, the *Historia Silense*, looks to have used the *Nomina Legionensium* in giving Fruela, the brother of Alfonso, an associate royal status and a regnal length which was taken from Fruela I, the son.(215) As it also recognised the succession of Fruela I, Alfonso I's son, the *Silense* was faced with a difficulty which was resolved

by declining to allot his reign any number of years, in distinction to its usual practice.

The *Nomina Legionensium* is the first to suggest that Nepotian, an unsuccessful usurper, was a relative (cognatus) of the Alfonso II whose throne he tried to occupy at the expense of Ramiro I, thus attaching him to the ruling dynasty. It also offers an incredible revelation on Pelayo's ancestry, making him the son of a Vermudo, otherwise unidentified, and the grandson of 'King Roderick of Toledo'. Both versions associate Pelayo with the mountain of Covadonga. The Riojan/Navarrese origins of the codices containing the *Nomina Legionensium* may account for their reference to Ordoño I's destruction of Albelda, an event which was described in some circumstantial detail by the Asturian chronicles. Less obviously, the *Nomina Legionensium*, in both forms, attributes to Alfonso III the destruction of 'Ebrillos', possibly Ibrillos in the Riojan region, giving this incident, of local interest, the same emphasis as the more significant event at Albelda. (216)

4: Assessment of the King-lists.

In the table below there is a comparative listing of the regnal lengths of the Asturian kings (in years, months and days) from Pelayo to Alfonso III as given in (1) the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium', i.e. the second element of the *Annales Portugalenses Veteres*, (2) the 'Laterculus Legionensis', (3) the Rotensis version of the 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium', (4) the Chronicle of Albelda and (5) the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GENEALOGICAL INFORMATION

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<u>Kings</u>	<u>Ovetensium</u>	<u>Laterculus</u>	<u>Rotensis</u>	<u>Albeld</u>	<u>Alfonso</u>
PELAYO:	19y.	18y.	18y.9m.19d.	19y.	19y.
FAFILA:	2y.6m.	--- 6m.	2y.7m.10d.	2y.	2y.
ALFONSO I:	19y.1m.1d.	19y.	19y.1m.2d.	18y.	18y.
FRUELA I:	11y.5m.20d.	12y.5m.20d.	12y.6m.20d.	11y	11y.3m
AURELIUS:	6y.6m.	6y.7m.	6y.6m.	7y.	6y.
SILO:	9y.1m.1d.	9y.1m.1d.	9y.1m.	9y.	9y.
MAUREGATUS:	5y.6m.	5y.8m.	5y.6m.	5y.	6y.
VERMUDO I:	(-----)	6y.6m.	2y.6m.	3y.	3y.
ALFONSO II:14/9/790 AD.		52y.5m.18d.	51y.5m.16d.	51y.	52y.
		14/9/790 AD.	14/9/791 AD.		
NEPOTIANUS:	(-----)	-----	-----	-----	-----
RAMIRO I:	(-----)	7y.	7y.6m.19d.	7y.	7y.
ORDOÑO I:	(-----)	15y.3m.	16y.3m.1d.	17y.	16y.
ALFONSO III:(-----)		47y.6m.	44y.8m.	-----	(-----)
		31/4/864 AD.	12/2/938 AD.	27/4/866 AD.	

N.B: (-----) indicates the name does not form part of the list whereas ----- indicates the name is given but with no relevant chronological information. The 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' dates the accession of Alfonso II but has no further information

on the length of his reign. Only the Rotensis version of the 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium' is given as it alone supplies regnal lengths. For the chronicles of Albelda and Alfonso III the relevant genealogical information has been compiled from their texts. The Chronicle of Albelda has 'era' dates for the death of some, although not all, kings. Those with 'era' dates are Pelayo (737 AD), Fruela (768 AD), Ramiro I (1 February, 850 AD) and Ordone I (27 May, 866 AD).

a) Inconsistencies in Regnal Lengths.

The inconsistencies between the respective figures for regnal lengths are obvious enough although the variations may be seen as falling within reasonably close parameters. The precise nature of some dates, down to months and days, gives grounds for caution as the ultimate sources of these data, whether through tradition or invention, are unknown. In the absence of corroborative diplomatic material there are few grounds from which to choose between alternative dates. There may have been an element of rounding years up or down. In these circumstances, the likelihood of some Latin numerals having been miscopied, adds to the difficulties.

Dates of accession for Alfonso II and Alfonso III merit a comment as they serve to confuse rather than clarify chronological detail. The Laterculus Regum Ovetensium and the Laterculus Legionensis both place the accession of Alfonso II on 14 September 790 AD whereas the Chronicle of Alfonso III puts it on the same date but a year later in 791 AD and this has been accepted as the canonical date. Estimated dates for the death of

Alfonso II vary from 23 February 841 AD, in the *Anales Castellanos I*, to 843 AD, in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, with the most acceptable figure of 20 March 842 AD being drawn from obituaries in the cathedral of San Salvador and the monastery of St. Vincent, both in Oviedo, where his anniversary was commemorated.(217) If this date for Alfonso II's death is taken together with his accession date of 14 September 790 AD, it indicates a regnal length of around 51 and a half years, which is broadly compatible with totals in the comparative table given above, allowing for the rounding up or down of the total. The omission of Vermudo I from the list of kings in the '*Laterculus Regum Ovetensium*' complicates matters, as does its lack of era dates. In the absence of reliable corroboratory sources, there is no reason to accept the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*'s accession date of 14 September 791 AD for Alfonso II in preference to the 790 AD of earlier sources.(218)

There are also problems with the chronological data relating to Alfonso III in the regnal lists. The accession date given for Alfonso III in the '*Laterculus Legionensis*', 30 April 864 AD, does not match the generally accepted date (27 May 866 AD) for the death of his father Ordone I, which is given in the late 9th-century *Chronicle of Albelda*.(219) It is clear from official documents and from the invaluable inscription on the reverse of the Cross of Victory which Alfonso III donated to the church of San Salvador that regnal years were counted from 866 AD.(220). The extraordinary accession-date of 12 February 926 AD for Alfonso III, as recorded in the *Codex Rotensis* text of the '*Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium*', is clearly due to a transcriptional error in that it applies more accurately to

Alfonso IV (925-930 AD), to whose reign two of the three dates in the list are attributed.(221) It was, perhaps, caused by a scribe distracted by the similarity in their names and, perhaps, by the resemblance of their dates of accession: era DCCCCIIII (866 AD) for Alfonso III and era DCCCCLXIIII (926 AD) for Alfonso IV.

Alfonso's death is generally dated to 910 AD and his regnal length taken to be 44 years, although there are differences between the sources.(222) The *Anales Castellanos I*, for example, set Alfonso's accession in 866 AD but fixed the regnal length at 41 years, 'annos XLI', which may well be a miscopy, lacking a final V, for the 44 year total.(223) In the 'Laterculus Legionensis', which dated Alfonso III's accession to 864 AD, his reign is given a total of 47 years and six months.(224) If, however, the difference in regnal length is due to anything more than copyist error, and there are obvious problems of accuracy with the 'Laterculus Legionensis', it may well be indicative, in an admittedly confused style, of Alfonso's association with the throne during his father's lifetime, echoing a practice known in Visigothic times and for which there is some evidence from the Asturian kingdom.(225)

b) Calculations on the Origin of the Asturian Kingdom.

The regnal lengths of Asturian kings have been used to fix a date for the origin of the kingdom. The earliest form of the king-lists, the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium', concludes with the accession of Alfonso II and a calculation of the years back from that time to Pelayo and the kingdom's origin. The figure given

in the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' for the period from Pelayo to the accession of Alfonso II is seductively precise: 'Sub uno fiunt anni LXXXI'. Attempts have been made to use this total of 81 years, as justification for a count-back from Alfonso II's accession on 14 September 790 AD to establish the date for Pelayo's election as the first Asturian king. Setting to one side the issue of the accuracy of individual items in the list of regnal years, the 81 year total given in the text does not match the actual total, produced by simple addition of the regnal lengths of the Asturian kings, of 73 years, 1 month, 22 days. When these figures are subtracted from the 790 AD accession date, Pelayo's reign may be dated from 717/718 AD.

There are, however, two further elements in the equation: the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' contains the period of Muslim control in Spain and omits the length of Vermudo I's reign. If, most crucially, the 5 years of Muslim rule, mentioned at the start of the list, are added, a figure of just over 78 years is reached. This is still three years short of the list's own total of 81 years. The discrepancy can be accounted for by the omission of Vermudo I's three year reign. As the 'official' figure of 81 years, given in the text, includes Vermudo's reign but omits his name, it seems clear that the list reflects either slipshod copying or, more intriguingly, a royal 'damnatio memoriae' which has been exposed by faulty arithmetic. When the figure of 81 years is subtracted from the list's terminal date of September, 790 AD, the Muslim invasion appears to be placed in 709/710 AD, with the accession of Pelayo, five years later, in 714/715 AD. In this case, the date for Pelayo's accession clearly conflicts with the accepted year of 718 AD, given in the

'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium' (Rotensis text), and in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, where Pelayo is said to have died after completing 19 years of rule in 737 AD.(226)

The method of counting-back has also been used for the 'Laterculus Legionensis'. This list includes Vermudo I in its total but allots him a reign of 6 years rather than the usual three. Counting back from Alfonso II's accession in 790 AD to the accession of Pelayo, it gives an actual total of 77 years, 9 months, 21 days, with no reference in the list to any period of Muslim rule which might need to be included. This total, when subtracted from the given accession date of 790 AD for Alfonso II, places Pelayo's accession in 712 AD. The 'Laterculus Legionensis' continued the list of Asturian kings from Alfonso II and offered a total of 147 years for the period from Pelayo to Ordone I, Alfonso's father.(227) Its arithmetic is faulty, however, with the actual total being 152 years 5 months and 39 days. When the total is subtracted from the date given by the 'Laterculus Legionensis' for the accession of Alfonso III, i.e. 864 AD, the origins of Pelayo's kingdom are dated incorrectly to 711/712 AD. The list in the 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium' (Codex Rotensis version) indicates that from Pelayo to the 928 AD in the reign of Alfonso IV, there were 211 years. In this case, the date of 717/718 AD reached by subtracting the 211 years from the given date of 928 AD is consistent with this list's preceding statement that placed Pelayo's accession in 718 AD.(228)

c) Inclusions and Omissions from the Lists.

Besides their information on regnal lengths, the lists are of interest for the names they include or omit. The Chronicle of Alfonso III, much more fully than its Albeldan contemporary, recounts the unsuccessful attempt of Nepotian, a 'comes palatii', to seize the throne from Ramiro I in the period of uncertainty following Alfonso II's death.(229) Nepotian is portrayed as a failed pretender. Naturally, he is absent from the earliest king-lists which end with Alfonso II. The late 9th-century chronicle texts, mentioned above, incorporate him and his unsuccessful coup in their accounts of Ramiro I's troubled reign. Long after Nepotian's blinding and monastic incarceration, he was awarded a pyrrhic consolation by being included among the Asturian kings listed in the 'Laterculus Legionensis' and the 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium', although in neither case is his alleged reign allocated a span of time.

The case of Nepotian illustrates some of the difficulties in dealing with the success or failure of 'usurpers'. The king-lists record a sequence of rulers without an indication of their legitimacy. The 9th-century Asturian chronicles, especially the Chronicle of Alfonso III, offer a more substantial text, as with the account of Nepotian's seizure of power, but one which, nevertheless, enshrines a particular political and dynastic perspective. From the narrative in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the earliest record of any substance, the circumstances surrounding the accession, deposition, return and eventual succession to Alfonso II remain shrouded in mystery.(230) Perhaps this was the result of the writer's lack of

information or failings as a writer. It is more probable, however, that in a work which demonstrates a readiness to manipulate its historical material, the chronicle is presenting a version of sensitive events in accordance with royal dynastic perception of the late 9th century. The king-lists, within the limitations of their format, transmit an ideological judgment on 'rulers' by the simple expedient of omitting them.

The absence of Vermudo I from the king-lists in the *Chronicon Alcobacense* (Complutense) and the *Chronicon Conimbricense* IV has been mentioned above as being a form of 'damnatio memoriae'. Together with immediate predecessors, Silo and Mauregatus, his name is missing from the version of the 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium' contained in the *Codex Aemilianensis* and the *Codex Albeldensis* (although all are contained in the *Rotensis* text). If all of these omissions are deliberate, it is not easy to find an explanation. All three are counted as kings in the standard lists taken from the 9th-century Asturian chronicles. Mauregatus, although acknowledged by them as a usurper is, nevertheless, counted among their sequence of kings. The failure of Mauregatus' heirs, assuming he had any, to secure the throne probably ensured a hostile treatment in 'official' writings of the successful line.(231) The Chronicle of Alfonso III specifically identifies Alfonso II as the victim of Mauregatus' usurpation. It makes no such allegation against Vermudo I, the next Asturian king, who also denied Alfonso the throne for a further three years until resigning in his favour to resume an ecclesiastical life as a deacon.(232) This silence is explicable in that Vermudo is named as the father of Ramiro I, who was to be the successor to Alfonso II and grandfather of Alfonso III

However, this dynastic connection only serves to make the deliberate omission of Vermudo's name from the king lists even more mysterious.

The answer must lie in the hidden currents of dynastic politics and a purposeful structuring of Asturian history in the late 9th century. The king-list from the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' was completed in its extant form after the accession of Alfonso II which it dates to 790 AD. The 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium', which ran to the middle of the 10th century, closely follows the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium', with only minor discrepancies, and, in the Rotensis version, contains the three kings (Silo, Mauregatus and Vermudo I) who are absent from its sister text. As the dynastic exclusivity of the late 9th century could not have been anticipated by the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium', there was no need to make family allowances for Vermudo I, the direct patrilineal ancestor of Alfonso III. The omission of either one king (Vermudo I) or three kings (Silo, Mauregatus and Vermudo I) from the different lists may be seen as connected to the complicated pattern of succession to the Asturian throne after King Aurelius (768-774 AD) (especially with regard to Alfonso II) and as an indication of different dynastic perceptions.

From the narrative account in the Chronicle of Alfonso III it is clear that the establishment of Alfonso II on the throne was a protracted and messy business.(233) On the death of his father, Fruela I, in 'era DCCCVI' (768 AD), Alfonso was passed over in favour of Aurelius, a family relative but one who belonged

to the other main branch of the royal family. This was presumably on the basis of age, as Asturian kings, like their Visigothic predecessors in Toledo, needed to be effective military leaders. Aurelius, who died in 'era DCCCXII' (774 AD), was succeeded in turn by Silo whose claim to the throne was based on his marriage to Adosinda, the sister of Fruela I and the aunt of Alfonso II. Once again, Alfonso had been passed over, perhaps, once more, through age, although this is not known. One of the two principal recensions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III reveals that during this reign 'Alfonso, the son of Fruela and grandson of Alfonso the elder (Adefonsus Maior, i.e. Alfonso I) governed the palace because Silo had no son born of his wife Adosinda'.(234) There is much of interest in that sentence with its specific genealogy, indication of administrative practice and suggestion of a form of regency, but there is no reason to believe that it should be taken as an accurate portrait of late 8th-century custom rather than a statement of late 9th-century practice and/or back-projected dynastic claims. No such linkage of 'palace government' and accession to the throne is made elsewhere in either version of the chronicle, regardless of whether a king had produced an heir in person.

After Silo's death, the Chronicle of Albelda notes only the length of Mauregatus' reign and that he had usurped the throne. The Chronicle of Alfonso III makes it clear that the victim of Mauregatus' action was his nephew Alfonso who had at last fulfilled his destiny in being raised to the throne by Adosinda and the palace magnates but was now forced to seek refuge among his mother's people in Alava. The acknowledged usurper

Mauregatus was succeeded in 'era DCCCXXVI' (788 AD), not by the long-suffering Alfonso, but by Vermudo I, without the charge of usurpation levelled at his predecessor by the chronicles, whose three year reign ended in 'era DCCCXXVIII' (791 AD), voluntarily, according to the Chronicle of Albelda, and with a resumption of his diaconate, according to the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Now, at last, Alfonso II assumed the throne he was to occupy for the next half century. His chastity, much commented-on by later chronicles, ensured no direct personal heir. His successor, Ramiro I, was, according to the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the son of Vermudo I who had been the immediate predecessor of Alfonso II. Ramiro was also the grandfather of the Alfonso III in whose reign the chronicle was compiled.

The rather opaque language of the chronicles, and the paucity of their information, for the reigns from Silo to Ramiro I camouflage much infighting for possession of the throne. The Chronicle of Alfonso III, especially, displays a dynastic ideology. It alone gives each member of the Asturian royal line a direct, named filiation through the male side, Silo excepted, that forms a link with the ruling dynasty. It is the earliest source for the family relationships of kings preceding and immediately following Alfonso II. The true founders of the dynasty were the two sons of an otherwise unknown Duke Peter of Cantabria: Alfonso I, who came to the throne as the third of the Asturian kings by marriage to Pelayo's daughter, and his brother Fruela, who, as Vermudo I's father, was the direct male ancestor of the ruling branch of the Asturian dynasty after Alfonso II. (235) The Chronicle of Albelda, however, gives the relationship of kings with their predecessors for the first four

Asturian kings, that is, Pelayo, Fafila, Alfonso I and Fruela I. After these, it says nothing for Aurelius, Silo, Mauregatus, Vermudo I, Alfonso II and Ramiro I. It resumes the practice for the reigns of Ordoño I and Alfonso III, the final two kings in the narrative. This silence may point to a greater complexity in the web of dynastic relationships than is suggested by the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Interestingly, this pattern of detail on relationship and then silence is found in both versions of the *Nomina Legionensium*, with two significant differences: both lists identify Nepotian, a failed would-be usurper in the chronicles, as a relative of Alfonso II and only the Rotensis text names Silo, Mauregatus and Vermudo I in its list. One further indicator that the dynastic relationships were more complex than suggested by the Chronicle of Alfonso III may be the absence of reliable evidence for the name Vermudo, among the claimed descendants of Vermudo I, until after the reign of Alfonso III.(236)

The omission of Vermudo I alone from a king-list looks odd when set alongside the inclusion of Mauregatus, whose stigmatisation as a 'usurper' in the Asturian chronicles reflected official attitudes of the late 9th-century. It may possibly have been done to defend the ecclesiastical proprieties by a clerical compiler in the reign of Alfonso II who was unable to reconcile Vermudo I's diaconate with the Visigothic conciliar exclusion of those who had received the tonsure and taken holy orders.(237) Perhaps the key to understanding the omission from regnal lists of Vermudo I and/or Silo and Mauregatus, all of whom who preceded Alfonso II, is to accept that they represent earlier, dynastic

traditions, revealing different attitudes to the men who delayed or prevented his accession. If these approaches partly survived in the Chronicle of Albelda, they were reshaped by its contemporary work, the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which offered a version of dynastic history that was more properly to the taste of that king.

G: Chronicles and Histories from the 11th to 13th Centuries

The first chronicles of any substance to deal with the history of the Asturian kingdom belong to the last quarter of the 9th century. Apart from the so-called 'Prophetic Chronicle' which foretold, unsuccessfully as events transpired, the end of Muslim rule throughout Spain by 11 November 884 AD, there are two more conventional works of narrative history on the Asturian kingdom. The Chronicle of Alfonso III, which is the more substantial text, begins with the reign of the Visigothic king Wamba in 672 AD and ends with the death of Ordoño I in 866 AD. The Chronicle of Albelda summarises the lives of Asturian kings up to Ordoño I with remarkable brevity before dealing with the reign of Alfonso III in increasing detail until its terminal point in 883 AD. The content and value of this cycle of Asturian historiography will be considered in the following chapters.

The Chronicle of Albelda is a rich source of information for the reign of Alfonso III up to 883 AD. For the rest of his time as king, historians are dependent on texts which are known from their incorporation into 12th-century works. These sources are the 11th-century Chronicle of Sampiro, attributed to a court notary who may have risen to be bishop of Astorga, and an alleged

continuation of the Chronicle of Alfonso III in the Historia Silense. The Chronicle of Sampiro and the two important 12th-century compilations, the Historia Silense and the Cronica Najarense, are considered below.

1: The Chronicle of Sampiro.(238)

a) The Author.

The Chronicle of Sampiro is the major source for a narrative history of the Asturian/Leonese kingdom in the 10th century. Written early in the following century, it has been credited to Bishop Sampiro of Astorga on the basis of an attribution made by Bishop Pelayo, Oviedo's own indefatigable man of letters. The Chronicle of Sampiro is one of the texts included in Bishop Pelayo's 'Liber Chronicorum ab exordio mundi usque ad eram 1170 AD', a universal history, assembled by stringing together several earlier historical works, which ends with the death of Alfonso VI in 1109 AD.(239) The Liber Chronicorum comprises the following texts:

Chronica Maiora. } Isidore

} of

Historia de Regibus Gothorum, } Seville.

Wandalorum et Suevorum.

Chronica Regum Visigotorum.

Historia Wambae of Julian of Toledo.

Chronicle of Alfonso III.

Chronicle of Sampiro

Chronicle of Bishop of Pelayo.

A prologue that introduces the compilation is full of oddities but seems firmly attached to the Liber Chronicorum in the manuscript tradition.(240) It breaks down the contents of the Liber Chronicorum into six sections, each with a separate author. These divisions are artificial, reminiscent of the six historical ages described by Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo, or of the six days of Creation. They do not conform either to literary reality nor to the actual content of the Liber Chronicorum:

- i) Old and New Testaments; Isidore Junior, Bishop of Beja.
- ii) King Athanaric to King Wamba; Bishop Isidore of Seville.
- iii) King Wamba to King Pelayo; Julianus Pomerius, Archbishop of Toledo.
- iv) King Pelayo to King Alfonso (II) 'the chaste'; Bishop Sebastian of Salamanca.
- v) King Alfonso (II) 'the chaste' to King Vermudo (II) 'the gouty'; Bishop Sampiro of Astorga.
- vi) King Vermudo (II) 'the gouty' to Alfonso (VII), son of Count Raymond and Queen Urraca; Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo.

The penultimate division of the prologue is the only evidence that Bishop Sampiro of Astorga was the author of an historical narrative.(241) There was a Sampiro in the see of Astorga from 1035 AD until his retirement in late 1040 AD or early 1041 AD. As his name is found up to 1042 AD among witnesses to charters

that had been drawn up for donors of some standing, there is no reason to assume that Sampiro had been disgraced. Sampiro's last known charter, in 1042 AD, refers to his blindness and has the feel of affairs being arranged by a man of advanced old age in the expectation of imminent death.(242) The name Sampiro is an unusual one. The bishop of Astorga has been identified with a namesake who enjoyed considerable patronage as a notary, now known from charters that were written in León or referred to the Leonese region, who was attached to the royal court at the end of the 10th and at the start of the 11th century.(243) This association is tempting but rests essentially on two grounds. One is that in his last charter of 1042 AD, the bishop displays a skill in writing, 'Sampirus Dei gracia aepiscobus in hanc scriptura manu mea', that would have been essential for a notary. The other reason to connect the two men is the subscription to a foundation charter of the monastery of Carracedo (November 990 AD):

'Sanct Pirus qui dictavit (post Astoricensis sedis episcopus) confirmat.'(244)

The information in parenthesis, referring to the period after 1035 AD, cannot have been part of the original donation text. It must have been included in a later copy, which may also explain the peculiar form of the name Sampiro.

It is certain that there was a Sampiro, Bishop of Astorga after 1034/5 AD, and a Sampiro, royal notary at the Leonese court in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. These two may plausibly be considered as the same man in different stages of a successful ecclesiastical career, although either had the skills and

connections to write a work of history. The only clear identification of Bishop Sampiro as chronicler is made in a prologue to the collection of chronicles assembled by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, a proven manipulator and inventor of historical evidence. From this, the identification of Sampiro as the author of the chronicle that now, by custom, carries his name and which is accepted here, must be seen as probable rather than certain.

b) The Texts.

The chronicle attributed to Sampiro has survived within two 12th-century compilations, the *Liber Chronicorum* and the *Historia Silense*. Neither compiler seems to have been aware of the work of the other. There are significant differences between the two in content and chronological length although there is a considerable amount of material that they have in common.

i) The Chronicle of Sampiro in the *Liber Chronicorum*.

The prologue's entry for Sampiro has already been considered in discussing the authorship of the chronicle. It credits the bishop of Astorga with having written a chronicle '*..ab Adefonso rege casto usque ad Vermudum regem podagricus..*'. Where a division of the prologue runs up to (*usque*) a named ruler, his actual reign forms the start of the next division. The prologue claims that Sampiro's began with '*..Adefonso rege casto..*'. The epithet 'the chaste' was attached to the name of Alfonso II from the 11th century onwards. In other words, the prologue is giving Sampiro's chronicle a span from the accession of Alfonso II to the death of Ramiro III (967-984 AD). Within the *Liber*

Chronicorum itself, however, the actual Sampiran text starts with the accession of Alfonso III, in 866 AD. The difference may possibly be accounted for by the quirky nature of Bishop Pelayo's historical work. Elsewhere in the corpus Pelagianum, in BN Ms 1346, there is a copy of the version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which is preceded by an introductory letter to a 'Sebastiano nostro' from an 'Adefonsus rex'. In the Pelagian edition of the text, the letter-sender is identified as 'Adefonsus rex castus'. If, from this, the 'Adefonso rege casto' of the prologue may be taken to be Alfonso III, then there is no discrepancy between its attribution and the actual length of Sampiro's chronicle as it stands in the Liber Chronicorum.(245)

ii: The Chronicle of Sampiro in the Historia Silense.

Nothing is known of the origins or place of work of the anonymous monk who was the author of the work known as the Historia Silense beyond what can be gleaned from the text itself.(246) Its title is taken from the Castilian monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos which a marginal note in the earliest extant manuscript, from the 15th century, identified as being the otherwise unknown 'Domus Seminis' where the Historia's author said that he had taken his monastic vows. This association is far from proven but the Silense's customary title will be retained for this discussion.(247)

The author of the Historia Silense says that his aim was to write a biography of Alfonso VI (1065-1109 AD):

'...statui res gestas domini Adefonsi, orthodoxi Ispani imperatoris, vitamque eiusdem carptim perscribere.'(248)

If this aim to write the king's biography was ever fulfilled, the completed work has not reached the present. The Silense's distinctive literary structure may harbour more complex purposes, with coded criticism of Alfonso VI. It begins with a series of historical vignettes, relating to the Roman emperor Constantine and Visigothic kings to Wittiza. After outlining his intentions, the chronicler alternates three short passages on Alfonso VI with two on his brother, Sancho II (1065-1072 AD), outlining the unsavoury circumstances which brought Alfonso to sole power in Castile and Leon. The Silense then resumes with brief sections on Wittiza, Roderick and, unusually for a 12th-century Spanish text, a hostile portrait of Charlemagne. The rest of the work is, in effect, an extended discussion of Alfonso VI's ancestry, through the female Leonese and male Navarrese lines, culminating in an extensive biography of Alfonso's father, Fernando I (1035-1065 AD) who stands out as the true hero of the Silense.

On completing its account of the Leonese king Ordono II (914-924 AD), the Silense breaks off abruptly after the words 'Post cuius obitum...'. At this point the Chronicle of Sampiro is included, covering the period from the accession of Alfonso III in 866 AD to the accession of the child-king Alfonso V in 999 AD. The Silense then resumes with very brief, and unspecific, passages on Leonese kings from Sancho I (955-967 AD) to the death of Alfonso V before outlining the Navarrese line of descent to Fernando I and Alfonso VI. The awkwardness of the Sampiran interpolation is shown by the manner in which it overlaps with the extant, and very different, Silense account of the kings from Alfonso III to Ordono II at the start and from Sancho I to the

death of Vermudo II and the accession of his three year old son Alfonso V. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation for this usage of Sampiro is that the relevant part of the Silense having been lost or destroyed, a copyist simply plugged the gap in the most convenient way with a chronicle that was to hand.(249) If this is the case, the loss must have occurred at an early date, as the Cronica Najerense, compiled after 1174 AD, which made extensive use of the Silense, also drew information from its version of Sampiro's work.(250)

iii) The Chronicle of Sampiro in the Cronica Najerense.

Sampiro's chronicle is also found buried in a chronicle from the mid 12th-century, the 'Cronica Najerense'. In content, it operated within the same historical framework, popular in the 12th century, as the Liber Chronicorum, proceeding from Creation to the death of Alfonso VI, drawing on a variety of sources which included the Historia Silense and Bishop Pelayo's own chronicle. The Cronica Najerense contains the Chronicle of Sampiro although the text does not conform exactly to either of the two principal versions. This has prompted the suggestion that it is a distinct, third recension of the chronicle. Although it adds some era dates, this third version has no information that cannot be found in either of the Pelagian and Silense texts of Sampiro. Given that the Najerense's anonymous author clearly had access to both and worked in a highly eclectic style, it is surely simpler to assume selection of material rather than a separate edition of Sampiro.

c) Comparison of the Two Versions of Sampiro.

Although the two versions of the Sampiran chronicle are virtually identical in language, there are significant differences in content raising the question of which is closer to the original text.(251) They do not share the same point of conclusion despite both starting with the accession of Alfonso III at 14 years of age. The Silense's Sampiro ends with the death of Vermudo II and the accession of his young son Alfonso V in 999 AD.(252) Pelayo's version effectively ends with the death of Ramiro III in 984 AD, with a few concluding lines on al-Mansur's great raid against Santiago de Compostela, in 997 AD, omitting all mention of either Vermudo II or Alfonso V.(253) The Silense's favourable account of Vermudo II's reign begins with a typical Sampiran sentence construction:

'Mortuo Ramiro, Veremudus Ordonii filius ingressus est Legionem, et accepit regnum pacifice.'(254)

In the *Liber Chronicorum*, however, this same sentence introduces a hostile portrait of Vermudo II (982-999 AD) as the first royal biography in Pelayo's own chronicle, which follows on from the Sampiran work.(255) Pelayo also introduces the second reign in his chronicle proper, that of the child Alfonso V (999-1027 AD), with the same sentence used by the Silense Sampiro;

'Quo defuncto, Adefonsus filius eius, habens a nativitate sua annos quinque (Silense: tres), era MCXXXVII.'(256)

(The difference in the given ages for the boy-king Alfonso may be a Pelagian doublet of the accession of five year old Ramiro III

in 967 AD.) From this, it would seem that the Silense version more accurately reflects the chronological limits of the Sampiran original.(257)

Pelayo's Sampiran text carries many interpolations, for the most part on those points of genealogical and architectural detail which appealed to the Oviedan bishop. This is particularly true for the reign of Alfonso III, where the Pelagian additions amount to roughly 1/3 of the total chronicle.(258) These interpolations, on the church consecration at Santiago de Compostela, letters from a 'Pope John', the church council at Oviedo and a list of the royal donations made to the see, have been discussed earlier in section B: Conciliar Acts of Chapter three. Their absence from the Silense text tells its own story. Pelayo had copied them elsewhere in his collection of miscellaneous historical writings and the Liber Testamentorum before placing them in a universal chronicle which would enhance their credibility. Of the two versions of Sampiro, the text in the Historia Silense is closer to the original and may well be an faithful transcription.

d) The Chronicle of Sampiro and the reign of Alfonso III.

As regards the Asturian kingdom, Sampiro's chronicle, without the Pelagian interpolations, is an essential source for the reign of Alfonso III.(259) The Chronicle of Albelda, contemporary with the events it described, is a valuable check on Sampiro's account. It seems to have been used, directly or indirectly, as a source by Sampiro, with a degree of paraphrasing and correction which does not conceal the origin of the information. Both chronicles refer to Fruela a failed Galician pretender to the

throne, a Muslim campaign against Leon, the capture of Deza, Atienza and Coimbra, the repopulation of Braga, Oca, Porto and Viseu, the capture and ransom of Abu Ali and the battle of Polvovaria. Sampiro only follows the Albelda to the defeat in 878 AD of a Muslim expedition, without naming its leader al-Mundhir the future *emir* of Córdoba (886-888 AD), and the ensuing three year truce. It may be that Sampiro had access either to a common source or to a recension of the Albelda which ended in that year, rather than one of its later continuations to 883 AD.(260)

Unlike the Albelda text, Sampiro has no 'era' dates up to 878 AD. After referring to the start of the truce of 878 AD, the Pelagian Sampiro embarks on a long interpolated passage, beginning with letters to 'Pope John', 'era DCCCCVIII' (871 AD) and ending with the close of the Council of Oviedo, 'era DCCCCX' (872 AD).(261) Both Sampiran versions resume a common text on the conclusion of the three year truce, 'Ac triennio peracto....' with an account of Alfonso's repopulation policy along the line of the river Duero and his defeat of the self-styled Muslim 'prophet' Alkaman outside of Zamora, the only two dated events in their joint account.(262) Unfortunately, the two pairs of dates are incompatible. The Pelagian Silense places the acts of repopulation to 'era DCCCCXIII' (875 AD) and the victory over Alkaman to 'era DCCCCXV' (877 AD). This, at least, links the repopulations to the Council of Oviedo via the three year truce, although it lacks any external support. The Silense text, on the other hand, sets the acts of repopulation in 'era DCCCCXXXVII' (899 AD) and Alkaman's defeat in 'era DCCCCXXXIX' (901 AD). As

this latter date is consistent with Muslim accounts of the affair, greater weight ought to be conceded to the Silense chronology.(263) In that case it must be noted that there is a gap of some 11 years, on which the Silense Sampiro is silent, from 878 AD to 899 AD. The Silense Sampiro's account gives an illusion of seamless continuity. It offers no date for the campaign which brought about the agreement with Córdoba in 878 AD, unlike the Chronicle of Albelda, and indicates that the three year truce period ended in 899 AD:

'Ac trienio peracto, sub era DCCCCXXXVII (899 AD), urbes desertas ab antiquitas populare iussit.'(264)

There are significant additions in the Sampiran account of Alfonso III's reign to 878 AD by comparison with the Chronicle of Albelda. Sampiro adds detail to the reported unrest among the Basques by naming a Count Gilo (or Eylo) as leader of the Alavan rebels, and on the Muslim defeat at Polvovaria in 878 AD.(265) He also includes information not found in the Albelda on the repopulation of Sollanzo and Cea, the king's marriage to Ximena, the revolt of Alfonso's brothers and a further defeat for the Muslims, following Polvovaria, in Valdemora.(266) The omission by Sampiro of Alfonso III's expedition to Merida and his victory at 'Mons Oxiferius', 881 AD, the events which end the first redaction of the Chronicle of Abelda, is puzzling.(267) The most satisfactory explanation may be that Sampiro was actually using as source a text which included an early version of the Chronicle of Albelda without the later continuations.

After the expiry of the three year truce, Sampiro relates the repopulation activity of Alfonso III and his son Garcia, the

victory at Zamora, which are the only dated events in the text common to the Pelagian and Silense versions, the successful campaign against Toledo, the punishment of Adamninus, the arrest of the heir Garcia, the conspiracy by the king's sons, Alfonso's dethronement, his pilgrimage to Compostela, his final campaign against the Muslims and his death at Zamora.(268) Sampiro's source for this information is unknown. There is corroboration, from Muslim sources, for the Silense text's date of Alfonso's victory over Alkaman at Zamora. Another valuable piece of information from Muslim histories says that Alfonso fortified the stronghold at Zamora in the Muslim year 280 AH (23 March 893 AD-12 March 894 AD), and populated it with Christians from Toledo.(269) The conflicting dates in the versions of Sampiro, 875 AD or 899 AD, only increase the uncertainty as to when Duenas, Simancas, Toro and Zamora were fortified and repopulated. Sampiro's account of the campaign against Toledo led by Alfonso is not substantiated by any other sources.(270)

The most extraordinary passage in Sampiro is the summary of events which preceded and followed Alfonso III's deposition.(271) Sampiro's brevity simply adds to the confusion. If Alfonso had been deposed against his will, it seems improbable either that he would have been permitted to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela or, even more unlikely, that he would have been given charge of a large army to campaign against the Muslims, as Sampiro says that Alfonso was permitted to do after his deposition. Although Sampiro states that all of Alfonso's sons took part in the conspiracy, he does not say that they divided the kingdom between them, although this has been suggested by modern historians.(272) Sampiro has Alfonso, after deposition,

appealing only to his son García, the eventual successor, for permission to undertake a last campaign. Where some critics have rejected Sampiro's tale as incredible, others have tried to salvage something, detecting an echo here of now-lost epic poetry.(273) It may be that this 11th-century writer on an incident from the 10th century was no clearer about events than those who read him in the 20th century.(274)

Apart from the information also found in the Chronicle of Albelda, the sources of Sampiro remain unknown. In view of its uncertain chronology for the period 878 AD-899 AD and the evident confusion in its account of Alfonso III's last days, the uncorroborated elements in the Chronicle of Sampiro, however seductive as a source, must be treated with some caution. This raises the uncomfortable question of the extent to which, apart from the Chronicle of Albelda information, Sampiro may be considered a reliable guide for the rest of Alfonso III's reign.

2: The Historia Silense.

In describing the ancestry of Alfonso VI, the Historia Silense follows the sequence of Asturian kings to Alfonso III and on to his son, Ordono II. As has been mentioned, the text breaks off abruptly after his death with the words 'Post cuius obitum...' and the Chronicle of Sampiro is crudely inserted. The Silense proper resumes with the reign of Sancho I and continues to the death of Alfonso V in 1028 AD, naming two children, a son who was to succeed him as Vermudo III and a daughter Sancha who was to be the maternal link for Alfonso VI with the Asturo-leonese monarchy.(275)

a) The Sources of the *Historia Silense*.

The *Silense* as a whole reveals its creator to be an educated scholar, writing in an elevated manner that aspires, not always consistently, to the style of classical Latin. There are allusions to Christian writings, biblical, patristic and liturgical, as well as to Roman literature from the late republican and early imperial periods. The classical historian Sallust, with his accounts of Catiline's conspiracy and the Numidian war against Jugurtha, and the Carolingian historian Einhard, with his life of Charlemagne, were fundamental sources of inspiration, organisation and expression. In its account of Spanish history, the *Silense* drew on a variety of sources. It identifies the Dialogues of Gregory the Great and refers twice to the Histories of Isidore of Seville, who is also mistakenly credited with the work on Duke Paul's rebellion against the Visigothic king, Wamba, that was actually written by Julian of Toledo in the late 7th century. The *Silense* also deployed information from unnamed sources: the early 7th-century Lives of the Fathers of Merida, the 9th-century cycle of Asturian historical writing and Arab chronicles. A liturgical source may have given the *Silense* the information it used for the mid 11th-century translation of St. Isidore's remains to León.(276)

For the period from the fall of the Visigothic kingdom up to the accession of Alfonso III, the *Silense* took its information from the Chronicle of Alfonso III, certainly using the version now known from the 10th-century Codex of Roda. It seems to have had access to the other main redaction of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which differed from the Roda text in tone and on

points of detail. Much of the evidence for this is negative in that it deals with omitted material so that an episode which is present in the Roda text, such as the enforced marriage of Pelayo's sister to Munnuza, the Muslim governor of Gijón, is absent from the Silense and also from the other principal version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(277) This may, however, reflect a deliberate discarding of material seen as inappropriate or irrelevant to the themes rather than the use of an alternative source. There is an interesting variation in the genealogy of Duke Peter of Cantabria, the father of Alfonso I. In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the Roda text identifies Alfonso I as '*..filius Petri Cantabrorum ducis, ex regia prosapia ..*' whereas in the other version of the chronicle, Alfonso's ancestry is given more specifically, albeit omitting Peter's territorial authority, as '*.. filius Petri ducis ex semine Leuwigildi et Reccaredi regum progenitus.*'(278) In this case the Silense seems to have abandoned its customary source to follow the more specific information by stating '*Petrus ex Recaredi, serenissimi Gotorum principis progenie ortus.*'(279) The omission of Leovigild is explicable in the light of his severe condemnation as an Arian heretic by the Silense in an earlier passage.(280)

b) The Silense and Its Use of Sources.

The Silense did not copy its sources verbatim although some phrases reveal their place of origin.(281) It was prepared to improve the literary quality of the used texts with its own turn of phrase and also to enhance their tone by adding moral judgments and spiritual associations.(282) emphasising the association of the Virgin Mary with her cult centre at Covadonga,

the site of Pelayo's victory. It made changes to the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which may have been meant to clarify the text, although some are themselves faulty. Basques rebelling against Fruela I are described as Navarrese in the Silense. Munnuza, the Muslim governor of Gijón, is transformed in the Silense to Muza, the commander who had defeated Roderick's Visigothic army. As this connection is made quite specifically, it looks as if the alteration was deliberate, perhaps with the intention of tying up loose ends, rather than one produced by an accident of transcription.(283) Sometimes the alterations are themselves defective. The Silense took a reference to a Frankish King Charles (843-877 AD) from the account of Ordoño I's reign (850-866 AD), and, in a misplaced display of learning, added a son, Louis (814-840 AD), and a grandson, Lothar (817-855 AD), which confused him with his more illustrious ancestor, Charlemagne (768-814 AD).(284)

The Silense added distinctive elements to its basic sources. For the events surrounding the collapse of the Visigothic kingdom, the Silense adds much personal detail on the personal quarrel between Roderick and the traitor Count Julian, as well as the just punishment inflicted on those who had brought the invaders into Spain, which is not to be found in either version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III and is derived from Muslim sources.(285) Two miraculous events, the translation of the famous chest of relics to Oviedo (different from the version incorporated by Bishop Pelayo in the Liber Chronicorum's text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III) and the supernatural manufacture of the Cross of the Angels, are placed in the account of Alfonso

II's reign.(286)

There are also significant omissions and contractions from the Silense's source material. The reigns of the kings, Fafila, Aurelius, Silo and Mauregatus, are suppressed entirely from the Silense, probably on the grounds that they were not relevant to the historian's purpose of tracing the direct ancestry of Alfonso VI. Elsewhere, the Silense was selective in the material it drew from the Chronicle of Alfonso III. The account of the events at Covadonga is much reduced from that in the Chronicle of Alfonso III although the overall sense is retained. The conquests of Alfonso I, given as an extended list in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, are dismissed in a rather throwaway line that many cities oppressed by the barbarians were captured in war: *'..quamplurimas a barbaris oppressas civitates bellando cepit...'*.(287) Nothing is said on the upheavals of Fruela I's reign during which the king murdered his brother and himself suffered a violent death in turn. The Silense keeps quiet on the diaconate of Vermudo I although it attributes to him an early love of letters.(288) For Alfonso II, the Silense omits the account, given in its source, the chronicle of Alfonso III, of a double Muslim campaign against Galicia in the thirtieth year of his reign.(289) The Silense mentions the first landing of Vikings on the Iberian peninsula in the reign of Ramiro I and their defeat near La Coruña, adding detail on the numbers of ships that were destroyed, but does not follow their expedition to Muslim Spain, unlike the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(290) For the reign of Ordoño I, the Silense only follows the account in the Chronicle of Alfonso III to the defeat of Musa and the Banu Kasi, leaving out the capture of Coria and Talamanca as well as the second Viking assault in 859-860

AD.(291) In general, on matters of chronology, the Silense does not follow the pattern of the Chronicle of Alfonso III in giving each reign an era date for its conclusion and a regnal length. The Silense gives no era date for the kings from Pelayo to Alfonso III. It also omits regnal lengths for Pelayo and Fruela I while crediting Alfonso II with a life of 52 years rather than a reign of that duration.(292) Starting with Ramiro I, the Silense gives regnal lengths for its sequence of kings that follow the *Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium* to the death of Ordoño II in 924 AD, the point at which the History of Sampiro is inserted into the text of the *Historia Silense*. From this, it is clear that the author of the Silense was not interested in registering all of the material contained in his principal source, the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

At the close of his account of Alfonso II, the Silense's author explains that his purpose was to trace Alfonso VI's ancestry. In order to do so with clarity, he rearranged the actual sequence of Asturian kings. From Pelayo to Alfonso II, it has already been noted that there were four absentees: Fafila (Pelayo's son), Aurelius, Silo and Mauregatus. These discards must have been rejected as irrelevant to the dynastic sequence that the Silense chose to emphasise, that is, Pelayo, Alfonso I, Fruela I and Alfonso II. The text gives no indication that there were difficulties surrounding the succession to the throne. With the exception of Alfonso I, who was Pelayo's son-in-law, the succession passed from father to son although the absentees ensure that this makes for a neater structure than was actually the case.

After the account of Alfonso II, the Silense's author picked up a central theme, clarifying the dynastic ties that linked the 12-century Alfonso VI, through his maternal ancestors, with the Asturo-Leonese dynasty and, ultimately, with Duke Peter of Cantabria. To do so, he purposely restructured the sequence of kings. He began with Count Fruela, son of Duke Peter and brother to Alfonso I, and Vermudo I, both of whom preceded Alfonso II. For the Silense, Count Fruela posed a problem in source management. The Chronicle of Alfonso III associated Fruela, the brother, with Alfonso I's campaigning, gave the king a regnal length of 11 years and 3 months but identified the successor, Fruela I, as his son.(293) The Silense also had access to another source, the genealogy known as the *Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium*, which, in its Codex of Roda text, identified Fruela I as the brother of Alfonso I and allocated him a regnal length different from that in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(294) The Silense created a composite version by drawing on both texts. In the account of Alfonso I, it follows the Chronicle of Alfonso III, naming Count Fruela, the brother, in connection with military expeditions and Fruela, the son, as Alfonso I's successor but omitting any regnal length. For the separate passage on Count Fruela, Alfonso I's brother, the Silense builds up his association with the throne to the point where he becomes a joint king. This Fruela is allocated a reign of 12 years, 6 months and 20 days, which corresponds to the *Nomina Legionensium*'s figure for the reign of Fruela I, whom it saw as Alfonso I's brother, and unlike the Silense's own account of Fruela I which, significantly, lacks any total at all. The Silense fills the void of Count Fruela's life with broadbrush

platitudes on his military success against the Muslims and the benefits that were obtained for Christians.(295)

The linear descent from Count Fruela is then followed, with the family relationship of each king to his predecessor being given. Vermudo I, Fruela's son, is given a more serene reign than was actually the case. The Silense glosses over the circumstances of Vermudo's accession and makes his abdication a positive desire to fulfill a religious vocation, without referring to his status as deacon, which is noted by the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(296) The length of Vermudo's reign, described in the Silense as 'around three years', might be seen as a compromise between the two years and six months in the *Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium* and the three years given by the Chronicle of Alfonso III. After Vermudo, the Silense passes directly on to his son, Ramiro I, without reference either to the intervening Alfonso II or the manner in which the new king came to the throne. From this point onwards, after its account of Vermudo I, the Silense's genealogy follows the actual sequence of kings down to Ordoño II when the text breaks off and the Chronicle of Sampiro is added.

c) The Silense and a Continuation of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

For the reigns of Alfonso III, García I and Ordoño II, the Silense drew its information elsewhere than from the Chronicle of Albelda for Alfonso III alone, and the Chronicle of Sampiro for all three kings. This source, which the Silense is thought to have followed closely, has been seen as a continuation of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. A more extreme line has suggested that

the Silense's account of the three kings preserved the final section, now detached and lost, of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(297) Both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III end with the death of Alfonso's father, Ordoño I, although each carries an incipit introducing a 'chronica Visegotorum' gathered ('collecta') from the time of Wamba up to, in one case, Ordoño, son of Alfonso and, in the other, to García, son of Alfonso.(298)

The author of the 'continuation' has been portrayed as a contemporary partisan of Ordoño II on the grounds that he says nothing on the role played by Ordoño in the supposed conspiracy against his father, Alfonso III, or on the defeats that the Muslims inflicted on his hero. A late 10th-century authorship has been suggested as, in the account of Alfonso III, reference is made to churches he built at Santiago de Compostela and Sahagun which were destroyed, at the same time, by Muslims.(299) This information actually fuses two of al-Mansur's campaigns against the Christian north, 988 AD for the destruction of Sahagun and 997 AD for Santiago de Compostela. The blurring of the campaigns might indicate an interpolation from a later time when knowledge of the events was less precise. There is also the possibility to be considered that the entire work was composed at a later date, and perhaps by the author of the Historia Silense.

The section on Alfonso III, the last of the Asturian kings to rule from Oviedo, in the 'continuation' used by the Silense is brief but important, given the scarcity of narrative accounts for his reign. It gives some information on Alfonso's personal life, (education, accession, marriage, death and eventual place of

interment), and on his public life, (double victory over the Muslims, civil and religious constructions, donations, in particular a valuable cross, to the church of Oviedo).(300) The 'continuation's' account of Alfonso III is not derived from the Chronicle of Albelda or of Sampiro. There is a limited similarity in the structure of the 'continuation' and Sampiro texts in that both announce the marriage of Alfonso III with Ximena after his repulse of invading Muslim forces, and identify Zamora as the place of Alfonso's death at the age of 58.(301)

There are difficulties with elements of the information given by the 'continuation'. Some points of detail, especially on Alfonso's family, contradict other texts. Alfonso III's age at accession is 13 for the 'continuation' whereas for Sampiro it was 14, an easy slip by a copyist, and 18 for the Chronicle of Albelda.(302) The 'continuation' makes him Ordoño I's only son whereas the Chronicle of Sampiro names another three, (Frúela, Odoario, Vermudo), who were involved in a conspiracy against Alfonso, although there is no solid evidence for their existence.(303) Alfonso III and his wife Ximena are credited with six sons and three daughters, all unnamed, by the 'continuation', unlike the Pelagian version, alone, of Sampiro which names four sons, (Frúela, García, Gonzalo, Vermudo), although there is reliable documentary proof for five sons.(304) Both the 'continuation' and Sampiro refer to Alfonso's marriage to Ximena but dress it in a different explanation. Sampiro claims that Alfonso established a relationship with all of Gaul, (the 'universam Galliam' must be Gallia Comata, employed from the 9th century at least to describe Basque settlement areas, rather

than an anachronistic reference to the Frankish kingdom), and with Pamplona through his marriage to Ximena, who was of that stock, 'ex illorum prosapia generis'. The Silense version of Sampiro adds that Ximena was cousin, 'consuabinam', to a King Charles, who may be presumed to be the Frankish ruler, Charles the Bald (838-877 AD) with long Aquitanian connections, although this family tie is not recorded elsewhere.(305) The 'continuation' gives the marriage a different perspective and detail in its report that, after a successful campaign against the Muslims, Alfonso returned to the Campi Gotorum, (roughly the cereal-growing area bounded to the south by the Duero, to the west by the Cea and to the east by the Pisuerga), and, aged 21, married Ximena, of royal Gothic descent.(306) This lineage, as unlikely as that given in the Silense Sampiro, plays down her ethnic and dynastic connection with the family whose descent from Duke Peter of the Cantabrians through the maternal (Asturo-Leonese dynasty) and paternal (Navarrese) lines is promoted throughout the Historia Silense as a whole.

In the account of Alfonso III's reign in the 'continuation' there is no clearly dated event around which to establish a chronology until the king's death on 20 December 910 AD (XIII kalendas Ianuarii ..Era DCCCCXLVIII). The sequence of events becomes decidedly confused in places. The only military activities described in any detail, a double triumph for Alfonso on the banks of the river Duero and in Castile against Muslim forces, carry no date, although they are said to have taken place in the same year, and have elements which could apply to either of the major campaigns described by the Chronicle of Albelda prior to the truce of 878 AD. In Sampiro, Alfonso III's marriage

to Ximena is placed after his defeat of a Muslim attack on Leon whereas in the 'continuation' the wedding takes place after Alfonso's victory over a Muslim army in Castile.(307) There is no mention of any political disturbance within the Asturian kingdom in contrast to the conspiracies and Basque uprisings which mark the reign in the Chronicles of Albelda and Sampiro.(308) There are welcome specific references to the work of Alfonso as builder and patron.(309) He is given credit for the construction of churches over the remains of St. James at Santiago de Compostela, and of Saints Facundus and Primitivus, at Sahagún. Alfonso built another church, also dedicated to San Salvador by three bishops, Sisenand of Santiago de Compostela, Naustus of Coimbra and Reccared of Lugo, within the fortress at Gauzon which he raised to protect the church at Oviedo from seaborne attack.(310) The presentation to the church of Oviedo of an impressive gem-studded gold cross, probably the celebrated Cross of Victory, is singled out for comment among Alfonso's other donations. For the most part, however, Alfonso's reign is given over to broad platitudes on his education, piety, generosity, courage and military skill.

The vagueness in the 'continuation's' life of Alfonso is reminiscent of the broad-brush treatment, given earlier in the Historia Silense, to Count Fruela, the son of Cantabria's Duke Peter. The account of Alfonso's domestic life and education anticipates elements of the Silense's highly favourable presentation of Fernando I (1035-1065 AD).(311) With its omissions, lack of chronological detail and general vagueness, the extent of the 'continuation's' knowledge is

questionable.(312) Its more specific account of Alfonso's building-work makes associations with Sahagún and Santiago de Compostela which are known from other 12th-century diplomatic and narrative sources.(313) The destruction of the monastery of Sahagún by Muslims in 883 AD was described in the Chronicle of Albelda. Its restoration by Alfonso III was reported in 12th-century copies of two donation charters to Sahagun in 904 AD and 905 AD.(314) The Pelagian text of Sampiro carries a passage on Alfonso III's building work, which is absent from the Silense version. In it, Alfonso III is said to have replaced a church built by Alfonso II at Santiago de Compostela with a more impressive structure.(315) Apart from the omission of the reference to Alfonso II, this information, absent from the Silense Sampiro, is given by the 'continuation' in the Historia Silense. The reported destruction of these ecclesiastical buildings by 'Mauri', which was the result of late 10th-century campaigns by al-Mansur, was knowledge that would have been available to a writer of the 12th century.(316) The Cross of Victory, now preserved in the Cámara Santa of Oviedo's cathedral, carries an inscription recording its completion 'in castello Gauzon' in era DCCCCXLVI (908 AD), the 42nd year of Alfonso's reign.

After taking its content on Alfonso III into consideration, the suspicion must be that the 'continuation' is not a now-lost document from the 10th or 11th centuries but a concoction assembled by the author of the 12th-century Historia Silense from generalities, information that was accessible to writers of the time and a certain amount of personal knowledge. If it had any

reliable information from the 10th century, this may have amounted to little more than the specific era date that is given for the death of Alfonso III.

After the short and eventless reign of Garcia I (910-914 AD), the 'continuation' has a comparatively full account of Ordoño II (914-924 AD).(317) At its conclusion the text breaks off and the 'Chronicle of Sampiro' is inserted. The version of Ordoño's reign in the 'continuation' bears virtually no relation to the account in Sampiro.(318) Their only common element is the campaign on the Duero which ended in Muslim defeat outside the walls of San Esteban de Gormaz. In Sampiro, this is covered at the start of the reign in a few lines, amounting to roughly 1/10 of the total account, whereas the origins, events and results of the campaign take up almost a third half of the 'continuation'. In general, Sampiro gives a broader portrait of the reign, noting Ordoño's cooperation with the kingdom of Pamplona and his difficulties with the counts in Castile.(320) There is detail on the names of Ordoño's three wives.(321) Sampiro describes Ordoño's military activity against the Muslims, giving his successes but also identifying the serious defeat at Valdejunquera (920 AD).(322) Apart from what it has to say on the election/anointing of Ordoño and the building of a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary within the royal palace at León, the 'continuation' is limited to recounting successful campaigns, of uncertain chronology, against the Muslims, with an emphasis on the acquisition of booty.(323)

The text is written in a similar style to that of the Silense proper, with allusions to classical or Frankish sources and turns

of phrase found elsewhere in the chronicle. Perhaps the most unusual expression is the use of the biblical term Amorite to describe Muslims, which is used elsewhere in the Silense's account of Fruela I.(324) It is clear that the version of Ordono's reign in the 'continuation' drew on a number of sources, including Muslim historical writing, for details of Ordono's military activity.(325) Linehan pointed out that in the first 200 years of Spain's post-Visigothic history there are just three reports of royal anointing and two of these, Alfonso III and Ordoño II, are in the 'continuation'.(326) He also raised the question of whether the description of Ordono's service of anointment in Leon might have been put together around the time of Alfonso VII's imperial coronation here in 1135 AD.(327) Like the account of Alfonso III, Ordoño II's reign bears signs of having been composed by the author of the Historia Silense in the 12th century and is not, therefore, a 10th-century continuation of an earlier chronicle. The Chronicle of Sampiro, with its radically different version of the kings, Alfonso III and Ordoño II, may better represent such a continuation, taken up by a later 10th-century chronicler.

3: The Cronica Najerense.

a) Its Sources.

This 12th-century chronicle, compiled after 1174 AD, has been known variously as the Crónica Najerense, (from the place where a copy was made in the 13th century for the monastery of San Zoilo de Carrión), the Crónica Leonesa, (from its discovery towards the end of the 18th century in the library of San Isidoro de León)

and the *Crónica Miscelánea*, (from the method of its compilation).(328) In content and structure, it extended in three books from the Creation of the world to the death of Alfonso VI in 1109 AD, moving from a universal to a national history. It drew its information from a variety of written sources, of which the principal ones were the Universal Chronicle and Histories of Isidore of Seville, the Division of Wamba, the Chronicle of Alfonso III, in the version from the Codex of Roda, the Chronicle of Albelda, the Chronicle of Sampiro, in both versions, the *Historia Silense* and the Chronicle of Bishop Pelayo, with a small number of entries from the *Annales Compostellani*.(329) The compiler was willing to reorganise the material it was using and also to combine information from a number of sources, so that, for example, whereas the Chronicle of Alfonso III only blamed Wittiza's sons for the entry of the Muslims into Spain, the *Najerense* added to them the names of Taric 'Strabo' and Count Julian which were found in the *Historia Silense*.(330) The *Najerense* also added information taken from the Chronicle of Albelda on a conspiracy which temporarily deposed Alfonso II to an account of the reign taken from the Roda text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(331) At times, however, the sources were handled in an unquestioning way which produced some awkwardness, most notably, in the blind repetition of the *Historia Silense's* double version of the reigns from Alfonso III to Ordoño II.(332)

b) Its Value as a Source.

Overall, the *Chronica Najerense* has a little to say on the Asturian kings that goes beyond the information given in its

known sources. In general, its chronology for the Asturian kings followed the Chronicle of Alfonso III to its close on the death of Ordoño I and then drew on the Chronicle of Sampiro and the Anales Compostelanos for the reign of Alfonso III. The one great oddity is that the Najerense dates the death of Fafila to 'era DCCLXXVII' (739 AD), following the Chronicle of Alfonso III, but then sets the accession of the next ruler, Alfonso I, in 'era DCCLXXXII' (744 AD), which, in the absence of any explanation for an otherwise unknown interregnum, may be assumed to be a copying error.

The Najerense follows earlier historical practice in specifying the length of Visigothic rule in Spain, 352 years, three months and five days, and the number of their kings, 36:

'Ex quo regnare ceperunt in Yspania Goti sunt anni CCCLII, menses tres, dies V, reges XXXVI.' (334)

The point of interest here is that this information is placed at the end of Pelayo's reign. In its precision the year figure is so close to the one given in the Chronicon Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice for Gothic rule ('CCC et LII annos et menses quatuor, et dies quinque..') that despite the difference in months the Najerense must have known it, perhaps indirectly, or, less likely, used a common source.(335) The number of Visigothic kings in the Historia Silense is drawn from the 35 named rulers, Athanaric to Roderick, in the Ordo Gentis Gothorum section of the Chronicle of Albelda, with the addition of Pelayo to make up the total. None of the earlier texts on the Asturian kingdom makes such a direct association. In the late 9th century, although the sequence of Asturian kings in the Chronicle

of Albelda was introduced as the Ordo Gothorum Regum, or in one version as the Ordo Gothorum Obetensium Regum, this list was given a separate and distinct identity from the one for the Visigothic rulers.(336) Roderick is described as the last of the Visigothic kings by both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III and by the Chronicon Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice.(337) The Testament of Alfonso II, a donation of 16 November 812 AD to the church of San Salvador in Oviedo, praises the brilliance of the Visigoths before their sins provoked the loss of King Roderick and the kingdom's glory.(338) It then records the transfer of divine favour to Pelayo whose subsequent victories protected the Christian and Asturian people (.et christianorum asturumque gentem victor sublimando defendit.). With the exception of two falsified charters there is no other diplomatic evidence associating the Asturian kings with their Visigothic predecessors.(339)

By bridging the disaster of the Muslim invasion and attaching Pelayo to the line of Visigothic kings, the Najerense emphasised the historic rights of the ruling dynasty in León whose descent in the paternal line was, in fact, Navarrese, through Sancho III Garces (1000-1035 AD). No other Asturian king, not even Pelayo's only male heir, Fafila, is added to the sequence of Visigothic rulers in similar fashion. The Najerense had already suggested the continuity of the Visigothic kingdom by interrupting its account of Pelayo's rebellion and election as leader, taken from the Codex of Roda version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, to state that until that happened the Visigothic throne had been unoccupied for four years since the Muslim invasion in 714 AD:

'Vaccaverat enim per IIII annos regnum Gotorum ab era
scilicet DCCLII.'

This gap had ended, as a preceding statement makes clear, with the election of Pelayo as 'princeps' by a gathering of Asturians: 'Quo omnes Astures mandatum dirigente, in unum concilium collecti sunt et sibi Pelagium principem elegerunt, era DCCLVI.' (340)

The Chronicle of Nájera contains a very limited amount of detail on the Asturian kingdom which was not taken from its known sources. This is either genealogical information on some members of the ruling dynasty or related to the process of repopulation and its practitioners. The Najerense follows the Roda text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III in reporting the marriage of the future Alfonso I to the daughter of Pelayo, named here as Armesendam. It added a distinctive touch with a list of Alfonso's children, including those born outside the bounds of matrimony. With one exception, its content could have been gleaned from scattered references in the Chronicle of Alfonso III. There are three legitimate children: Fruela I (757-768 AD), the immediate successor to Alfonso I; Wimara, who was killed by his brother Fruela I; Adosinda, whose marriage to Silo (774-783 AD) raised her husband to the Asturian throne. Mauregatus (783-788 AD), who seized the throne on Silo's death by ousting the favoured choice, Alfonso II, is identified as the son of a female slave. The oddity is Aurelius (768-774 AD), the successor to Fruela I, who is identified as having been Alfonso I's son by a concubine. In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, however, Aurelius is described as Fruela I's cousin, being the son of the Count

Fruela who was Alfonso I's brother.(341)

Later in the Najerense, the date of Ordono I's death is given as 'sub die VI kalendas iulii' (Era DCCCCIIII, 866 AD).(342) This is in contrast to the 'iunii' of the Chronicle of Albelda, although a version of the text in a pair of 12th-century manuscripts, otherwise composed of material associated with Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, contains the same month as that in the Najerense.(343) Although this could be no more than a coincidental copyist's error, it probably reveals a source for the Najerense.

Other pieces of information of unknown origin in the Najerense are to do with episodes of repopulation. The actions of Count Roderick in populating Amaya, 860 AD, on the order of Ordoño I and of Count Diego in populating Burgos, 884 AD, on the order of Alfonso III, are also noted elsewhere in the Anales Castellanos I and the Annales Compostellani. For both men, the Najerense adds the date of death, and for Diego only, the place where it occurred. It also adds a comment that the castle of 'Grannos', location unknown, was populated at the same time (In eodem anno et in eadem era...') as the monastery of Cardeña. This follows on immediately from the date of Count Diego's death, in 'era DCCCCXXIII' (885 AD) and there would seem to be a connection.(344) If there is, it conflicts with the information in both the Annales Compostellani and the Chronicon de Cardeña which place the population of Cardeña in 'era DCCCCXXXVII' (899 AD).(345)

4: The Chronicon Mundi and the De Rebus Hispanie.

The Chronicon Mundi of Lucas, Bishop of Túy and the De Rebus

Hispanie of Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, both from the first half of the 13th century, are the last extended works on Spanish history in Latin before the rise of a vernacular historiography.

a) The Chronicon Mundi.

Lucas of Túy's Chronicon Mundi was written at the request of Queen Berenguela, mother and chief counsellor to Fernando III (1217-1252) who finally united the kingdoms of Castile and León. Divided into four books, it moved along a familiar path from a universal to a national history in following events from Creation to the Christian conquest of Córdoba in 1236 AD. Its obvious pride in the achievements of a united Christian people in Spain was not tempered by a critical approach to the source material.(346)

b) The De Rebus Hispanie.

The Chronicon Mundi was used very extensively as a guide by Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada (c.1180-1247 AD), Archbishop of Toledo, the greatest historian of medieval Castile, for his Historia De Rebus Hispanie, otherwise known as the Historia Gothica, which was written at the personal request of Fernando III. Rodrigo, a major player in political and religious life during the first half of the 13th century, was also a scholar whose substantial literary output included histories of the Romans, the Ostrogoths and other barbarian peoples who threatened the Late Empire. His Historia Arabum, from Mohammed to 1243 AD, was the first such work to be written in western Europe. The nine books of the De Rebus Hispanie begin with the peopling of Europe by the

descendants of Japhet and the, mythical, origins of Iberia before turning to the history of the Goths, their entry into Spain, the Muslim invasion and the Christian recovery with special emphasis on the achievements of the Castilian kings in Rodrigo's own time to the conclusion of his history in 1243 AD. Spain's ancient Visigothic heritage was restored and the place of Toledo at the heart of the kingdom's life was renewed. Through its distinctive literary style and presentation of the past, the *De Rebus Hispanie* had a profound influence on later historiography.(347)

c) Their Value as Sources.

Overall, there is still much work to be done on these two histories. The *Chronicon Mundi*, for example, lacks a modern edition. For the *De Rebus Hispanie*, the traditional view that it embodies a simple, profound devotion to patria and the Christian faith must be nuanced by recent arguments that emphasise Rodrigo's assertion of Toledo's primacy against the historical rights of Seville as outlined by Lucas of Túy who served for many years as a canon at the Leonese shrine of its greatest saint, Isidore.(348) In general, the two men employ different methods, where Lucas strung together passages that were faithful, for the most part, to the original sources, rather like the *Cronica Najerense*, Rodrigo preferred to paraphrase. For their information on the Asturian kings from Pelayo to Alfonso III, they drew on the sources discussed above, the versions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, the *Chronicle of Albelda*, the two versions of Sampiro, the *Chronicle of Bishop Pelayo*, the *Historia Silense* and the *Cronica Najerense*.(349) Because of his extensive use of the *Chronicon Mundi*, it is not clear whether Rodrigo's knowledge of a chronicle, such as the *Historia Silense*, was at

first-hand or through Lucas's work. On the other hand, it is possible that Rodrigo may have known the Chronicle of Nájera, of which there is no sign in the Chronicon Mundi. They also both draw on other sources, such as popular legend and epic poetry, and also, in the case of Rodrigo, on Muslim writing, especially Isa Ahmad al-Razi.(350)

Lucas and Rodrigo were separated by more than three centuries from Alfonso III, the last of the Asturian kings whose reigns they recorded. Their selection of material, not always identical, from a known range of written sources, spanning the 9th to the 12th centuries, which were themselves not always compatible, indicates some of the underpinning ideological assumptions and cultural interests of two 13th-century historians, each writing by royal commission and with an understanding of the past as a source of moral edification and practical example. As there is no evidence in Lucas and Rodrigo of an otherwise lost source for the Asturian kingdom, common sense warns against accepting the authority of these 13th-century histories against earlier texts where their information is contradictory or where supplementary detail is added. Some of the additions to Lucas and Rodrigo are points of genealogical interest, mostly to do with alleged wives and sisters of the Asturian kings or dynastic relationships. There are dates which are not in accordance with those given in the oldest Asturian chronicles.(351) Above all, the 13th century histories are laced with legends, some referred to briefly, such as the tribute of 100 virgins paid to the Muslims by Mauregatus, while others, such as the career of Bernardo del Carpio, are discussed at length.(352) Despite its intrinsic interest, none of this can be

added to the materials from which a history of the Asturian kingdom can be constructed.

H: Frankish Sources for Asturian History

1: St. Martin of Tours and the Asturian Kingdom.

The surviving written records testify to the range of contact that the Frankish world had with the Christians and Muslims of al-Andalus in the 8th and 9th centuries.(353) Paradoxically, perhaps, there would seem to have been far less contact between the Franks and the kingdom of the Asturias, the first independent Christian state to have emerged after the Muslim invasion, even though Carolingian expansion south of the Pyrenees in the region of Pamplona brought a loose association with the Asturians' fluid, widening borders.(354) There is an undated letter, probably of 797 AD or 798 AD, from Alcuin, recently installed as abbot of St. Martin's at Tours, to Beatus of Liébana, approving his stand against Adoptionism.(355) Over a century later, there is Alfonso III's odd, but probably genuine, letter of 906 AD to the clergy of Tours, replying to their sale-offer of an imperial crown. This letter, the only surviving example of Asturo-Leonese royal correspondence before the 12th century, was preserved at Tours in a cartulary copied between 1132-1137 AD and which was destroyed at the close of the 18th century.(356) Assuming that the letter's content is authentic, the solicitng letter from St. Martin's, to which it refers, has not survived in any archive within the kingdom of Oviedo. There is nothing in the 9th-century cycle of Asturian chronicles to indicate direct contact with the Frankish world in the period between Pelayo's rebellion and the reign of Alfonso III.

In the case of the letters, it might be argued, taking a rather extreme position, that they represent the only written communication that occurred rather than an indeterminate proportion of now-lost evidence. It is suggestive, however, that both surviving letters demonstrate contact between the kingdom of the Asturias and the church of St. Martin at Tours, echoing earlier close associations of the saint's shrine with Galicia that had been described by Gregory of Tours in the 6th century.(357) Over fifty churches between the rivers Minho and Mondego were dedicated to St. Martin, making him by far the most popular dedicatee.(358) The Asturian monk Beatus, recipient of Alcuin's letter, is associated with the Liebanan monastery which, until the 12th century, was dedicated to St. Martin. Letter delivery called for human agency, as with Alcuin employing the 'vir venerabilis' Vincent who was a pilgrim to the shrine of St. Martin, 'our father and your protector' in the late 8th century. Without the survival of this letter, Vincent's pilgrimage would not have been known. In 585 AD, Gregory of Tours noted that while the Frankish king Guntram attacked Septimania, the Visigothic king Leovigild (569-586 AD) ordered the seizure of cargo from ships sailing from Gaul to Galicia.(359) The extent to which human contact between the regions of the Asturian kingdom and Frankish territories continued, whether for commercial, diplomatic or spiritual reasons, is unquantifiable, but that it persisted is a reasonable assumption.

2: Alfonso II and the Carolingian Empire.

In contrast to the silence of the Asturian chronicles, Frankish

historical sources have something to say, although it is little enough, on diplomatic relations between Charlemagne's Aachen and Alfonso II's Oviedo in the last decade of the 8th century. During the 790's, the Adoptionist debate moved to a wider international stage linking Spain, the Carolingian empire and the papacy while there was substantial military activity involving the Asturian kingdom as well as the disputed frontier areas south of the Pyrenees. The evidence for these events is partial and incomplete, permitting speculation on possible relationships between some of these events.

The earliest accounts of diplomatic contact between Franks and the Asturian kingdom belong to the confused and difficult period immediately prior to 800 AD. Muslim sources tell of attacks launched by Hisham I, the Emir of Córdoba (788-796 AD), almost on an annual basis between 791 and 796 AD against the Asturian kingdom of Alfonso II.(360) In 794 AD, his new capital of Oviedo was pillaged by a Muslim army, an event the Asturian chronicles ignored while celebrating the defeat of the attackers on their homeward march.(361) Another Muslim campaign in the following year again forced Alfonso II to flee before it from refuge to refuge in September 795 AD.(362) It is within this context of vulnerability to external assault, which goes unmentioned in the Asturian sources, that the anonymous author of the 'Life of Louis'(that is, Louis the Pious, 814-840 AD, who was the heir of Charlemagne) written soon after the death of its subject in 840 AD, recorded the arrival of Alfonso's emissaries at a general assembly held in Toulouse by King Louis of Aquitaine.(363) The text, which suffers from some confusion in its early chronology, is the only source for the embassy, which is undated. It is

associated with a number of other events: an embassy from a Muslim leader Bahlul, Louis' betrothal to Irmingard and the strengthening of defences along the frontiers of Aquitaine. The Life of Louis places them all at two years before Charlemagne's imperial coronation in Rome on Christmas Day, 800 AD, although this too is not dated.(364) The Asturian embassy, which has been placed in 795 AD, ought rather, on the evidence of the text, to be dated to 798 AD. Louis graciously accepted the gifts which had been sent by the Asturian king in confirmation of friendship ('pro amicitia firmanda') before allowing the ambassadors to depart in peace. The word 'confirmation' has been taken to imply earlier contact, possibly at an earlier assembly in Toulouse, 790 AD, where messengers were received from unnamed people 'bordering on the kingdom of Aquitaine'.(365) Nothing is said, however, on the results of the Asturian legation to the later gathering at Toulouse and the Life of Louis notes only that the ambassadors were allowed to depart in peace.(366)

Frankish sources record two other Asturian embassies which took their messages, and gifts, to Charlemagne in person. The compilation known since the mid-19th century as the Royal Frankish Annals is the most important single source for the political and military history of the reign of Charlemagne.(367) The Annals cover the period from 741 AD to 829 AD, with separate continuations for the eastern and western Frankish kingdoms after 830 AD.(368) Four stages of composition have been distinguished in the annals to 829 AD with multiple authorship. The period from c. 795 AD to 807 AD, which covers the Asturian embassies, is thought to be the work of more than one author.(369) An edited

form of the Annals, probably produced under Charlemagne's son Louis, introduced significant revisions in an improved Latin style and more detailed content for some of the years from 741 AD to 801 AD, revealing setbacks that had been passed over by the earlier annals. Although not now attributed to Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, the revised annals were probably the work of someone within Louis' court circle.(370)

The revised Annals fix the arrival of an unnamed legate from Alfonso 'king of Asturias and Galicia' to Charlemagne's Saxon base on the river Weser at Herstelle in the winter of 797 AD.(371) The Royal Frankish Annals have a slightly later date for the mission in the early months of 798 AD, name the ambassador as Froia and identify his gift as a campaign tent of exquisite workmanship.(372) This tent may have been war-booty. In 796 AD while returning from what turned out to be the last of a series of annual raids against the Asturian kingdom, a Muslim army had to undertake forced marches to evade ambush by Christian defenders. The loss of some, at least, of the Muslim leader's baggage has been seen as the explanation of how Alfonso II came to acquire a tent of such magnificence, probably beyond the resources of his small kingdom, that it could be used as an appropriate diplomatic gift.(373) The suitability of this present is shown by Charlemagne's acceptance of a large multi-coloured tent sent to him in 807 AD, along with other diplomatic gifts, by the 'king of the Persians', that is, the Abbasid caliph, Harun al-Rashid (786-809 AD).(374) There is no indication given of the cause, purpose or result of Alfonso's embassy, although it may have been a tardy announcement of the rather limited victory of 796 AD.(375)

Another Asturian legation reached Charlemagne's court at Aachen late in 798 AD.(376) The Royal Frankish Annals record that as a token of his success (*insignia victoriae suae*) in plundering Muslim-held Lisbon, Alfonso sent two legates, Froia and Basiliscus, to present Charlemagne with some of the spoils in the form of mail-shirts, mules and Moorish (*Mauros*) prisoners. The revised text shares the basic core of fact, adding that there were seven captives. It also adds that the Asturian ambassadors were given a gracious reception, rewarded and then sent on their way with honour. The most intriguing variation is that, while both versions of the Annals refer to Charlemagne receiving the tokens of victory (*insignia victoriae/insignis victoriae*), the revised text says that they had been sent as gifts, suggesting a difference of perception that will be considered below.

From the brief record of the Annals, it is not possible to define clearly the nature of the Asturian relationship with the Frankish empire although a general comment might be attempted. The Annals give an insight into the practice of Carolingian diplomacy. They are replete with foreign envoys and favour-seekers at the court of Charlemagne, seeking to win influence. Besides the official ambassadors, there were disaffected rebels, exiles and independent local rulers playing diplomatic games. Charlemagne also dispatched missions to the great powers of the day, to the Christian emperors in Constantinople, to the Muslim caliph in Baghdad and the emirs of Córdoba as well as to the rulers of the pagan Avars and Bulgars. The Carolingians practised a forward diplomatic policy by intervening in the affairs of the peoples on their frontiers.

One example of this would be the Obodrites, the most westerly Slav tribe, who, surrounded by hostile neighbours, served Frankish interests in return for protection. Frankish intervention in succession disputes among adjacent peoples could produce a favourably disposed neighbour or, at least, weaken a potential enemy by civil war. The most serious and binding agreements were emphasised by the receipt, or exchange, of gifts, the swearing of oaths of submission, the surrender of hostages and, in the case of some (although not all) non-Christian peoples, by baptism.(377)

The above comments may help to place in context the Asturian embassies to the Carolingians. Each of the three diplomatic missions is recorded as bearing gifts. The second embassy, 797/8 AD, to Aachen presented Charlemagne with the tokens of Alfonso II's success at Lisbon. The significance of this may be seen from two events recorded in the Annals for 799 AD. In the first, the Balearic Islands are said in the Annals to have 'surrendered themselves to us' in return for protection against Muslim attack, as a result of which 'the military insignia of the Moors were seized in battle and presented to the lord king'(i.e. Charlemagne). In the second event, Count Wido overran Brittany and presented Charlemagne with the weapons of defeated Breton leaders, inscribed with their names as a token of subjugation.(378) From this, it might seem that Alfonso's dispatch of tokens of victory is establishing a kind of subordinate relationship, as the revised Annals indicates that, although parts of the plunder from Alfonso's raid on Lisbon had been sent to Charlemagne as gifts, they had been accepted as

'insignis victoriae'. This attitude is found in Einhard's Life of Charlemagne, written between 829 AD and 836 AD, where it is claimed that, whenever Alfonso sent letters or messengers to Charlemagne, he insisted on being recognised as the King's own man.(379) The passage occurs, however, in a sequence which exaggerates the extent of Charlemagne's conquests and influence over foreign rulers. That diplomatic contact with the Asturias, as far as it can be seen, was limited to the provision of gifts, however pleasing, for the courts of Charlemagne and Louis suggests that from a Frankish perspective in the Royal Frankish Annals this was a matter of little importance. There is no indication of specific commitments from the Asturians nor are accusations of faithlessness made against them.(380) Nor is there any indication of diplomatic missions sent by the Carolingians to the kingdom of Oviedo. The explanation for the apparent breaking-off of contact may lie with Pamplona which, after Charlemagne's disastrous expedition of 778 AD, had acknowledged Frankish authority on two further occasions, in 806 AD and 813 AD. It finally threw off Carolingian control after 824 AD and established an independent kingdom.(381) This pushed the Frankish frontier back on the line of the western Pyrenees and so farther away from the Asturian kingdom. The internal difficulties of the Carolingian empire in the later 9th century, which facilitated the independence of those counties of the eastern Spanish March that are now part of modern Catalonia, would have served to diminish further Frankish concern about a peripheral area of north-west Spain of no strategic interest, accessible overland by a hazardous route through the western Pyrenees.(382)

The Annals and Revision make clear that some foreign embassies presented themselves at Charlemagne by his command.(383) This is not said to be the case with the Asturian diplomatic missions. If they were unsolicited then it is worth considering their purpose from an Asturian perspective. There is no evidence that relations began with Charlemagne's brief occupation of Pamplona. It has been argued that by 785 AD the Adoptionist dispute had spilled into Frankish territory, spreading itself through existing links with the Asturias. This precipitated contact between the Frankish and Asturian kingdoms. The polemical letter of Beatus and Etherius against Elipandus of Toledo declared that news of the divided Asturian church had spread not just through the Asturias but also the whole of Spain and even as far as 'Francia'. Bishop Jonas of Orleans (780-843 AD), in his treatise against the cult of images, mentions a visit, regrettably undated, to the Asturias where he recalled having seen followers of the Adoptionist Elipandus.(384) Another element in the linkage of the Asturias to the Carolingian world through Adoptionism has been adduced from Alfonso II's ambassadors. Of the two named men, Froia, who was a member of both legations in the Annales, is otherwise unknown. The other emissary of 798 AD, Basiliscus, has been the subject of speculation.(385) His name has been interpreted as a distorted version of Velasco, a Basque who governed Pamplona early in the 9th century.(386) More plausibly, he has been identified with a Basiliscus, part of whose anti-Adoptionist tract, directed against Elipandus, who was cited extensively by Paulus Alvarus in a letter sent to Bishop John of Seville, probably between 849 AD and 851 AD.(387) On this interpretation, Basiliscus would have been sent by Alfonso

II as an envoy to Charlemagne, who was concerned with orthodoxy in belief, because of his theological prowess while Froia was the political representative of the Asturian kingdom.(388)

The struggle against Adoptionism was certainly prosecuted most vigorously by Charlemagne and his papal allies in the 790's when Alfonso II was sending embassies to Frankish courts. That there was a connection between the two events is a matter of conjecture. The issue of Adoptionism has been considered above in the survey of Beatus' literary output. It is possible that in a heated polemic, Beatus may have exaggerated the spread of awareness on the divisions within the Asturian church caused by Adoptionism. There is no indication from Beatus, or any other source, that the Asturian kings (Mauregatus, Vermudo I, Alfonso II) were involved in the defence of orthodoxy against Adoptionist views. If the Basiliscus of Alfonso's second embassy to Charlemagne was indeed the writer quoted by Paulus Alvarus, he could have been included in the legation for his intellect or literary talent rather than for his impeccable non-Adoptionist theology. His learning is all the more impressive for being that of a layman, as the Annals does not indicate that he had a clerical rank. In other words, although it may be conjectured that diplomatic contact between the Asturian and Carolingian courts was initiated through the Adoptionist controversy, there is no real evidence to support the view.

The Asturian embassies of 797/8 AD to Charlemagne have been interpreted as elements in the building of a grand coalition against the new Cordoban emir, al-Hakem I (796-822 AD).(389) This also included Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman, the uncle of al-Hakem,

who, having returned from a negotiated exile in North Africa, was in rebellion against his nephew, as he had been, unsuccessfully, almost ten years earlier against his brother, the Emir Hisham I (788-796 AD). Abdallah 'commended himself in person' to Charlemagne at Aachen in 797 AD, presumably soliciting military aid, before being escorted back to Spain by Charlemagne's son, Louis, the king of Aquitaine. The same year saw the restoration of the city of Barcelona to the Franks by its governor, Sadun, who visited Aachen to 'commend himself, with the city, to the king'.(390) As events turned out, these promises had no value and not until 801 AD was the city captured after a lengthy siege by Louis.(391) Apart from the fact that these encounters took place in the same year of 797 AD, according to the Annals, with the Alfonsine legations and the capture of Lisbon in the following year, there is no other testimony for a coalition. If the Life of Louis' account of the Asturian envoys can be dated to 798 AD rather than 795 AD, then it and the contemporary diplomatic mission to Toulouse sent by Zaragoza's ruler, Balul ibn Marzuk, who was an ally of Abdallah, might be considered as part of a larger canvas.(392)

Despite the confused chronology, it seems clear that there was renewed Frankish involvement in the affairs of Spain in 796-798 AD, with Charlemagne and Louis engaged in negotiations with Muslim rebels and frontier warlords in the Ebro valley during the customary period of uncertainty while a new Emir consolidated his authority. The role of the Asturians in this diplomatic web is obscure. Charlemagne exploited the political dependency of the Slav Obodrites, who lived just beyond the Frankish frontier, to

establish a forward defence and an auxiliary military force.(393) There is no indication that this was similar to the relationship with the Asturians. They were too distant from Frankish territory for there to be such subservience. If Alfonso's embassy to Toulouse was in 795 AD, it took place at a time when the Asturian kingdom was being hammered by regular Muslim attacks, with Oviedo itself pillaged in 794 AD. From a Frankish perspective, the Asturians could not have seemed valuable allies and there is no indication that they received any help to alleviate their difficulties. There is no evidence that Alfonso requested Frankish permission or acted under Frankish orders with regard to the raid on Lisbon in 798 AD which followed the cessation of Muslim attacks on his kingdom.

If the embassy to Louis as well as those to Charlemagne can be dated to 798 AD, as has been suggested above, then another explanation for this diplomatic activity may be proposed. The missions took place after the sequence of devastating Muslim raids had ended. There had been increasing Frankish activity on their Spanish frontier from 796 AD. It may be thought that, given the memory of Charlemagne's Spanish expedition of 778 AD, the Asturians were preempting possible future problems by the establishment of favourable relations with a Christian super-power that, unlike the emirate of Córdoba, might have serious aspirations at permanent conquest. In this interpretation, Alfonso's gifts were meant to win good-will rather than to secure military aid or a place in grand coalition.

By 800 AD circumstances along the three Muslim frontier zones

were ominous for the Cordoban emirate.(394) Besides the provocative Asturian raid on Lisbon, Pamplona had successfully rebelled, Abdallah had established himself in the frontier-city of Huesca and the siege of Barcelona had been undertaken by the Franks. An army sent from Cordoba to Barcelona's aid, reached Zaragoza and, confronted by a blocking force of Franks, veered off to attack the Asturian kingdom, where it sustained more casualties than it inflicted. Muslim sources do not show great acuity in distinguishing between the Christian powers of northern Spain. The raid did not distract the Franks from their siege of Barcelona and indicates something of the range of Christian enemies as seen from Cordoba rather than any genuine unity or cooperation between them.(395) This event, not known from any Asturian text is recorded in the Life of Louis and forms the last occasion in which the Asturian kingdom intrudes into Frankish narrative sources.

I: Islamic Sources for Asturian History

1: Muslim Historiography.

Al-Andalus, on the far western rim of the Muslim world, shared the heartland's Islamic culture and, despite the retarding effects of distance and political disturbance, was reached by developments in intellectual activity. This broad culture was to stimulate the flowering of Andalusian artistic achievement under the Umayyad dynasty in the 9th and 10th centuries. The writing of history was a fertile field of attainment, with a rich and varied output from over 300 known authors. Initially, such work followed the traditional forms and themes of Eastern

historiography.(396) The Muslim approach to history and the composition of historical works differed from that of Christian writers. It was not written by men who belonged to a distinct religious hierarchy, as was the case with most Christian authors of the Middle Ages. Biographical writing was the favourite literary-historical genre of the Muslim world.(397) It classified information relating to the subject's life, his teachers and works, with some element of physical description, taken from earlier sources or personal knowledge. This historiography was anecdotal, biographical and morally edifying. The collation of illuminating anecdotes within the reigns of individual rulers provides a deceptive chronological structure. There are also annalistic compilations which are much closer to the familiar form of Christian medieval historiography. The impressive amount of detail that is given, especially in the anecdotal histories, on the personal appearance lends a beguiling air of authority, that must be questioned, to information of doubtful reliability.(398)

One distinctive feature of Muslim historical writing is the inclusion of passages from named sources.(399) developed from the study of 'hadith', traditions relating to the actions and words of the prophet Mohammed.(400) Their authenticity was proved by being part of an authoritative chain of transmission, in which the reputation of each named human link was taken into consideration. The practice of quoting extensively from earlier authorities, whose reputation was taken as a gauge of reliability, has ensured the survival, within later compilations, of historical works which would otherwise have been lost.(401) In this way, the 17th-century compilation by the North African Ahmed

ibn Mohammed al-Maqqari on the Muslim conquest and settlement of Spain by virtue of its excerpts from much earlier authorities, becomes a vital source for events that took place a millenium earlier.(402) An author's moral status counted for more as validating quality than his skills as an historian. Where passages are quoted without a named source, it is often possible to identify the author by a comparison with similar, attributed, accounts in other compilations. Contradictory authorities or, worse, the attribution of a reliable authority's name to an unlikely story posed uncomfortable problems for Muslim historiography which placed much store on the line of transmission. In such cases, the author might pass on the problems of source material to his readers by recording the alternatives without further comment.

Most of the substantial Muslim historiography on Spain has been lost.(403) In an effort to consolidate his irregular position as military dictator in the last quarter of the 10th century, al-Mansur placated religious feelings by purging the caliphal library of books that were held to be immoral or unorthodox. These losses were exacerbated with the destruction of Córdoba and the nearby palace-complexes in 1008 AD and 1009 AD during the disturbances that marked the end of al-Mansur's short-lived dynasty. Centuries later, in 1499 AD, Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros pursued his campaign of conversion for Muslims with a public burning of some 80,000 Arabic manuscripts, according to the best estimates.(404) Many of the works which escaped the zealot's fire or a smuggled journey to Muslim North Africa were gathered up in the reign of Philip II (1556-1598 AD) and held in

the royal monastery of El Escorial. In 1671 AD, much of this collection was lost in a fire, accidental on this occasion, which swept through the royal library, destroying about three-quarters of the contents.

Despite these grievous losses, some works have survived intact while others have been preserved as fragments, usually with a clear attribution of author, within later historical compilations.(405) Most of the extant material on the Umayyads in al-Andalus, 756-1031 AD, is later than the dynasty it describes. The *Ajbar Machmua* gives the history of al-Andalus from the defeat of the Visigoths to the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty to the reign of Abd al-Rahman III (929-961 AD).(406) It is an important source, replete with colourful anecdotes and snatches of poetry, although, overall, it is of uneven value. Despite the uncertainty surrounding its literary pedigree, with possibly more than one compiler, and date of composition, either 10th or 11th century, the *Ajbar Machmua* is of fundamental value for the early history of al-Andalus. For the period to 756 AD, the *Ajbar Machmua* casts interesting light on the Asturian kingdom. Although it has nothing on the conquest of north-west Spain, it refers to the Visigoths who fled to Galicia, Pelayo's uprising and the revolt of the Berber settlers that made possible the sudden expansion of the Asturian kingdom under Alfonso I (739-757 AD).(407) For the period after the establishment of Abd al-Rahman I in 756 AD, the most valuable source on relations with the Asturian kingdom, which amount to military campaigns, is Abu Merwan ibn Hayyan (987-1076 AD).(408) Regrettably, his 50 historical works have been lost almost in their entirety. Parts of the 10 volume *al-Muqtabis* relating to

the 9th century have survived in their own right while other fragments are known through having been copied into later compilations. A similar fate befell the writing of Ahmad ibn Mohammed al-Razi (d. 955 AD) who wrote a general history of Spain until his own time.(409) The most important of the compilations which preserved fragments of earlier histories are those of Ibn al-Athir (13th century) from 756 AD to 997 AD, Ibn Idhari (13th century) from Creation to 1197 AD and al-Maqqari (17th century) from the earliest foreign invasions of Spain to the expulsion of the Muslims at the end of the 15th century.(410) If not directly dependent on one another, they used common sources. One further work on Muslim history deserving of mention is the *Historia Arabum* of Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, which ran to 1243 AD.(411) For the period of the Asturian kingdom, it followed a tradition very similar to that used by Ibn al-Athir.

A striking feature of this historical writing is its concentrated focus on the Muslim intellectual and military elite of al-Andalus. The Christians, who appear to have comprised a majority of the population until the 10th century, remain virtually invisible, even in the historical writing of two of their 8th-century co-religionists in Muslim territory.(412) In the 11th century, Ibn Hazm's unique work on comparative religious history, which was prohibited by orthodox believers, indicates the presence of Christianity and Judaism in Spain.(413) Muslim geographers, in general, display more interest than historians proper in the Christians of al-Andalus.

More notice is taken of the Christians beyond Muslim frontiers, with whom reported relations were usually conducted at the point

of lance or sword. Muslim accounts of late 8th-century events in the upper Ebro valley and in the Pyrenean regions involving Charlemagne and his son are a valuable supplement, despite an inconsistent chronology given by Ibn al-Athir, to the near-contemporary Frankish sources.(414) In the second half of the 10th century, curiosity led the caliph al-Hakem II, a scholar in his own right, to request a history of the Franks from a bishop of Gerona.(415) Fragments of Ibn Hayyan's Muqtabis illuminate aspects of Muslim dealings with the Basques and the origins of the kingdom of Pamplona as well as activity linking Christians and Muslims along the line of the Ebro in the 9th century.(416) Although the Asturian kingdom developed into the most important Christian power in the Iberian peninsula. There is no indication that Muslim historians wanted to record its history although the modern suggestion that this paralleled the lack of interest shown in the Visigothic period by writers like Isidore of Seville for rebellious peoples of northern Spain, such as the Basques and Cantabrians, is rather overstated.(417) In the 9th century, under Alfonso III, the independent Asturian kingdom had ambition enough to present itself as heir to the Visigothic state and had sufficient strength to offer a realistic military challenge to the Umayyad emirate of Córdoba which was weakened by internal unrest.

2: Muslim Historiography and the Asturian Kingdom.

It would not be possible to determine the significance of the growth and consolidation of the Asturian kingdom from the Muslim sources alone, despite their great value in providing supplementary information. Muslim tradition embodied in later

historical compilations has disappointingly little to say on the Muslim penetration and occupation of north-west Spain, the former Roman province of Gallaecia, in the aftermath of the invasion.(418) There are some indications that this region became the destination of refugees escaping from the Muslim invaders.(419) Information on Pelayo's uprising against the Muslims is sparse and contradictory in its chronological indications. Al-Maqqari, in his 17th-century compilation, quoted unnamed historians for the escape of the hostage Pelayo from Córdoba during the governorship of al-Hurr (c.716-718 AD) in 98 AH (716-717 AD), the sixth year since the conquest. He also cites two named historians, 'Isa ibn Ahmed al-Razi and Ibn Hayyan, who place Pelayo's rebellion under the governor Anbasa (721-725 AD) in describing the hardships that reduced his followers to 30 men and 10 women who were forced to scavenge for honey among the rocks.(420) The anonymous Ajbar Machmua dates the uprising to the governorship of Uqba (734-739 AD).(421) The Christian tradition, enshrined most fully the Chronicle of Alfonso III, has the death of Pelayo in 737 AD during or after the 19th year of his reign, with his accession in 718 AD, or 719 AD, followed immediately by the great Christian victory at Covadonga. On the basis of extant texts, the 9th-century Christian version has to be weighed against an 11th-century Muslim version.

From a detailed examination of the Muslim sources, Sánchez-Albornoz accepted the customary date for Pelayo's uprising but proposed assigning the battle of Covadonga to 722 AD.(422) His arguments are not overwhelming, as has been pointed

out in recent studies and the traditional date of 718 AD is defensible.(423) While the case for the 722 AD date for Covadonga remains debatable, it is fair to point out that the chronology of the Chronicle of Alfonso III is not very precise and that it is eminently possible that a lengthy period of time elapsed from Pelayo's election as leader of the rebels to the aggressive response from Córdoba, subject to an awareness of the rising, commitments farther afield and relief from more pressing difficulties closer to home.

Muslim sources offer a wider perspective and supplementary detail for events known from 9th-century Christian historiography. There is information on the succession of the Asturian kings although the supporting chronology is often wayward and not to be preferred to Asturian writings. As an example of this, the Fath al-Andalus and Isa al-Razi, who is cited by al-Maqqari, both give the correct sequence of Asturian kings of Pelayo, Fafila (737-739 AD) and Alfonso I (739-757 AD), noting that the 'Banu Alfonso' continued to rule over Galicia, but the former puts the death of Pelayo, incorrectly in 133 AH (750-751 AD) while the latter, equally incorrectly, gives that date for the death of Fafila.(424) Ibn Hayyan has incidental, but valuable, information on the Asturian dynasty, noting under the year 200 AH (815-816 AD), the death in battle of 'Garsiya ibn Lubb, son of the sister of Barmud (the Asturian king Vermudo I), the maternal uncle of Idfuns (the Asturian king Alfonso II)'.(425) In fact, on this point, Ibn Hayyan is in error, as Vermudo I's father, Count Fruela, was brother to Alfonso II's grandfather, Alfonso I, which meant that the family relationship was through the paternal line.

Periods of aggression and expansion by the Asturian kingdom become more comprehensible in the context of upheavals in al-Andalus which are revealed in the Muslim sources. King Alfonso I is said, in the Asturian sources, to have captured most of the major settlements of the northern Meseta, Galicia and the north of what was later to become Portugal. Their populations were led away, the lands devastated and an empty no-man's land created as a cordon sanitaire in the face of Muslim territory.(426) Alfonso's activity, however much it reflects the interests of 9th-century Asturian writers rather than 8th-century realities, was made possible by the Berber revolt, which caused their withdrawal from garrisoned areas in the north-west of Spain, and the civil wars of the 740's and 750's.(427) These complex events are seen only through Muslim sources, such as the *Ajbar Machmua*.(428) The startling self-confidence and aggression of Alfonso III's Asturian kingdom in the last decades of the 9th century becomes comprehensible in the light of Muslim descriptions of an Umayyad emirate enfeebled by persistent, wide-spread rebellion against the authority of Cordoba.

Above all, Muslim military activity against the Asturian kingdom, as well as against Basques and Franks, is recorded. Muslim sources can add further detail to expeditions noted in Christian sources by identifying their leaders, although there is not always unanimity in this matter, by righting garbled versions of their names or by indicating the destinations of their raids. In turn, these Muslim writers distort Christian titles for persons and places or give geographical names that are no longer identifiable with certainty.(429)

The writers of Muslim history understandably share the tendency of Christian historians to glorify their own successes and minimise or keep silent on their defeats. The Asturian victory at Lutos over Muslim forces returning from the destruction of Oviedo in 794 AD, for example, is preserved only in the work of Ibn al-Athir and his follower al-Nuwairi although other, successful, raids from the start of the decade were more widely recorded.(430) Muslim sources say nothing about Alfonso II's raid on Lisbon in 797/798 AD or Alfonso III's advances in northern Portugal that led to the occupation of Coimbra and Oporto at the end of the 9th century. It would be interesting to know more from a Muslim perspective of Alfonso III's relations with those rebels like the Banu Kasi of Aragon, Ibn Marwan 'the Galician' of Merida or Omar ibn Hafsun of Bobastro, who challenged Umayyad authority. Al-Maqqari reports that Histories, now lost in their entirety, were written about each of those rebels.(431)

Equally understandable is the Muslim emphasis on their military successes, such as the sequence of repeated assaults against the Asturian kingdom in the 790's which climaxed in the destruction of its capital, Oviedo.(432) The defeat on the Guadacelete, in 854 AD, of an army sent by the Asturian king Ordoño I to assist Toledan rebels is found only in the Muslim record and goes without comment in 9th-century Asturian historiography.(433) At a slightly later date, the campaigns undertaken against Alava and Castile in 863, 865 and 866 AD, culminating in a great victory for the attacking forces at the defile of La Morcuera, are known from Muslim sources alone.(434)

These accounts of military success are fatally flawed in that, too frequently, they are described as events such as raids or massacres without a clear indication of purpose. The chronologies given by Muslim historians for such activity often lack mutual consistency. There is a lack of geographical precision in these accounts. For some military operations against Christians, it is not clear whether the theatre of activity is the Spanish March or the kingdoms of the Asturias or Pamplona. Some writers, such as Ibn Khaldun and al-Maqqari, customarily refer to the entire territory belonging to the Asturian kingdom as Galicia and identify the Oviedan rulers as kings of Galicia. There is some further differentiation in that 'Galicia' and 'Alava/Castille' are used to designate, respectively, the western and eastern areas of the Asturian kingdom that came under attack from military expeditions dispatched by the emirs of Cordoba, particularly in the 790's AD.(435) To compound the confusion, for the eastern historian Ibn al-Athir, from northern Iraq, all the Christians of Spain were identifiable as Franks.

J: Mozarabic Sources Relating to the Asturian Kingdom

1: The Mozarabs of al-Andalus.

'Mozarab' is the term conventionally used by historians to describe the Christians who continued to practice the venerable hispano-Gothic rite, while living under Muslim authority in al-Andalus after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom. The word 'mozarab' is held to be derived either from the Arabic 'Musta'rab', meaning 'Arabised', or from 'Musta'rib', meaning

'tribes not originally descended from Arabs'.(436) In recent times, its appropriateness has been questioned.(437) The term is not found in Christian texts from al-Andalus nor in Muslim texts when referring to Christians. It is used in Christian sources, from the first quarter of the 11th century, to describe Christians of Muslim culture living in the Christian kingdoms, and was applied especially to the Arabised people of Toledo after the city's conquest in 1085 AD by Alfonso VI. Here, as elsewhere in this work, 'Mozarab' will be used in the customary way to describe the Christians of al-Andalus, who formed a majority of the population of al-Andalus, in the countryside, at least, until the 10th century.(438)

The body of writing which has survived from the Mozarabs includes chronicles, letters, hymns and musical verse, vitae of holy men as well works on church practice, ecclesiastical organisation and religious orthodoxy.(439) By far the most substantial element in this collection is the mid 9th-century writing of Eulogius and his close confidant Paulus Alvarus on the Christians in Cordoba whose deliberate challenge to the Muslim establishment in the greatest city of al-Andalus courted, and earned, martyrdom.(440) It is a disappointment that Mozarabic writing has little to contribute to a history of the Asturian kingdom in the 8th and 9th centuries.

2: The 'Continuatio Byzantia-Arabica'.

The 'Continuatio Byzantia-Arabica' is the earliest Latin chronicle written in Spain after the Muslim conquest.(441) It is also known as the 'Chronicle of 741' from a reference to the 24 year reign of the Byzantine emperor Leo III (717-741 AD) which is

held to give a terminus post quem for its composition, although its final reference is to the accession of the Ummayyad caliph al-Walid II in 743 AD. The overwhelming bulk of its content relates to the Byzantine empire and the caliphate of Damascus. Its use of the Spanish era system for the eight dates that are given confirms its origin although other systems of chronology are used.(442) Apart from brief passages, at its start, on Visigothic kings from the death of Reccared to the accession of Suinthila, there is a surprising absence of information on Spain, with nothing apart from a reference to the conquest by Musa and a concluding section on the unsuccessful Muslim raid on Toulouse in 721 AD. There is, therefore, nothing on the rising by Pelayo or the Asturian kingdom.

3: The 'Chronicle of 754'.

Another anonymous historical work, the 'Chronicle of 754', so-called from the assumption that it was written soon after the last event that is mentioned in the text although it has enjoyed a variety of titles, is of the greatest importance for an understanding of the early conquest period.(444) It shared the Mediterranean-wide vision of the 'Chronicle of 741', dating events by the years from Creation and the regnal lengths of Byzantine emperors as well as the years from the hegirah and the regnal lengths of caliphs, with the Spanish era system always used first. Inevitably, this ambitious attempt to reconcile these different forms of chronology produced errors. The significance of this chronicle lies in its closeness to the events of the Muslim conquest and after, which it describes. Not only is this the only detailed near-contemporary Christian

record, it antecedes the earliest surviving Muslim accounts, although the traditions that form their bases are still areas of historiographical debate. Regrettably, another historical work by the author of the 'Chronicle of 754 AD', on the civil wars between Arabs and Berbers in Africa and Spain, has not survived to the present.(445)

The 'Chronicle of 754' says nothing about Pelayo's uprising, the origins of the Asturian kingdom or its expansion in the mid-8th century. There is a curious echo of the Asturian revolt in an episode involving the governor, Abd al-Malik (732-734).(446) After taking command in al-Andalus, he was reproached by the caliph, Hisham I (724-743 AD), for failing to win victories in the land of the Franks. Abd al-Malik led an army from Cordoba against the inhabitants of the Pyrenees but achieved no successes and left the small band of Christians holding the mountain tops through God's mercy. If this story does refer to the Asturian region, seeing the Cantabrian mountains as a westerly extension of the Pyrenees, it may be a military operation that was quite distinct from Pelayo's rebellion. The chronicler was sufficiently well versed in geography to be able to identify the mountains of the Basques and the rivers Garonne and Dordogne, in Aquitaine, on the governor Abd al-Rahman's invasion route to defeat at the celebrated battle of Poitiers in 732 AD. It is possible, therefore, that he could have been more specific if he had meant to indicate the area under Pelayo's control. He was also prepared to describe civil war among the conquerors, Arab defeats by Muslim Berbers in civil war or, more sensitively, at the hands of Christians. This leaves it unclear whether the

chronicler's silence on the Asturian kingdom is through ignorance of events in the north, lack of interest in this far-off region or, the least likely, evidence of a certain discretion in dealing with matters that were disagreeable for the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus.

4: Asturians and Mozarabs.

For the most part, the individuals associated with the Asturian region who are identified in Mozarabic sources are simply names in a literary rather than an historical context. The exception is Beatus of Liébana in the late 8th century, whose career has been considered earlier.(448) His anti-adoptionist stance provoked equal measures of vulgar abuse and lofty disdain from Archbishop Elipandus of Toledo. Apart from linking Beatus with the anti-Christ as well as notorious heretics, and making him the central figure of an 'end of the world' vigil which ended in bathos, Elipandus reveals nothing of the man or the Asturian kingdom. In fact, it is only the response of Beatus and Etherius, the bishop of Osma, against the secret letter sent by Elipandus to Abbot Fidelis, which they learned about at the entry of the widowed queen Adosinda into the cloister on 26 November 785 AD, that gives a secure date in their quarrel and a specific event of some significance in the history of the Asturian kingdom.

Elipandus' letter to Fidelis contrasts unfavourably the arrogant attitude of Beatus towards the authority of Toledo with the more properly humble Bishop Ascaricus. The last-named is probably to be identified as the man criticised together with

Elipandus as an Adoptionist in an undated letter of Pope Hadrian I (772-795 AD) to the bishops of Spain.(449) He may also be the Ascaricus identified from his own correspondence as a bishop resident in the Asturias. This letter, part of an exchange with Tusered, a 'servant of God', on matters broadly relating to the Resurrection of the body, lacks a date, however, and exists almost in a vacuum which is typical of Mozarabic references to the Asturian kingdom.(450) This Ascaricus also composed an acrostic epitaph for his spiritual adviser Tusered, which was made up of selections from verses of Prudentius.(451)

One other Asturian, Ordoño from the people of Liébana, is known by name from a letter written by Elipandus.(452) He is presented as the man who broke the spiritual tension that followed on from Beatus' prediction at the Easter vigil of the imminent end of the world. Ordoño, touched by pangs of hunger, is said to have urged the congregation to eat and drink on the grounds that if they were all going to die, they might as well be full. The anecdote, while probably no more than an attempt to ridicule Beatus' concerns over apocalyptic matters, is typical of Mozarab references to the Asturian kingdom in its lack of a broader context for named individuals.

As has been discussed earlier, Beatus' writings against Elipandus and his Adoptionist theology were specifically cited on three occasions in the correspondence of Paulus Alvarus, the most prolific Christian man of letters in 9th century Córdoba. He also quotes another opponent of Adoptionism, who is named only as Basiliscus. Modern attempts have been made to connect him with the Asturian kingdom, as being the Basiliscus sent by Alfonso II

as an envoy, along with Froia, to Charlemagne, during the winter of 798 AD, with gifts of mail, mules and prisoners of war. His orthodox Christology would have made him acceptable at the royal Frankish court in Aachen so that Basiliscus would have served as a theological counterpart to Froia, the political ambassador, in representing Alfonso II. It must be pointed out, however, that anti-Adoptionist writing was not confined to the Asturian kingdom as Paulus Alvarus also cites a work against Elipandus by a certain Teudula who was metropolitan of Seville. The identification of Basiliscus, opponent of Adoptionism, and the envoy of the same name is tempting but lacks any corroboration.(453)

Paulus Alvarus was the close confidant of Eulogius whose writings stand as the principal source of information on the Cordoban martyrs.(454) All of Eulogius' works deal with these men and women. He championed their cause for eight years before being martyred himself in 859 AD. Of the 47 martyrs identified in the years 850-857 AD, 35 belonged to the clergy, with 16 monks and 5 nuns. Most of the martyrs came from al-Andalus, with the majority, some 24, from Cordoba or its immediate vicinity. To these must be added three men from outside of al-Andalus, one a captive from 'Gallia Comata', probably the heavily wooded region in the north-west of Navarre reaching from Alava to the mountain passes over the Pyrenees into modern France, and the other two from the Middle East.(455)

From the scarce information given by Eulogius, it is known that one of the martyrs, a monk named Felix, had a connection with the Asturian kingdom.(456) He is described as originating from the

town of Alcala de Henares. His ethnic background is connected with the Gaetuli. This unusual name, referring to a nomadic tribe in the south of Mauretania and Numidia, is rarely used in other Christian sources.(457) Here, it seems to indicate a Berber origin. So far, Felix is of interest in its proof of the complex ethnic mosaic of al-Andalus. Eulogius also reveals something that is far more arresting, that Felix had travelled to the Asturias where he learnt about the Christian religion and monastic life. This information is tantalising in its implications. It suggests a kind of contact between al-Andalus and the Asturian kingdom, apart from the military, for which there is little evidence in the written sources. If Felix was a Muslim, as seems a reasonable assumption, before converting to Christianity, then he had effectively forfeited his life as an apostate, according to Islamic law, before actually courting death in the company of his fellow-martyr, Anastasius, in 853 AD. The brief summary of Felix's career raises unanswerable but intriguing questions on the nature of movement between Christian and Muslim lands, as well as the methods and manner of conversion.

There are no further references to Asturians or the Asturian kingdom in Mozarab writing. The material discussed above, although casting some light on individuals, has disappointingly little to say on the Asturian kingdom and is, therefore, of no value in recording its political history. Men like Eulogius and Paulus Alvarus, whose work enjoyed a restricted circulation among Christians, were ready to challenge the existing Muslim order by sharp criticism of the Prophet Mohammed and Islam. It is to be regretted by modern scholars that they, and other Mozarab

writers, do not seem to have chosen to record their knowledge of, assuming that they had any, and attitudes to the Asturian or other Christian kingdoms on the border of al-Andalus. In texts of the 8th and 9th century that are, for the most part, to do with religious practice and the struggle against unorthodox belief, whether Christian heresy or Islam, the Asturian kingdom does not appear as a liberator or defender of the faith. This contrasts with the clear self-image promoted by the 9th-century cycle of Asturian historiography.

K: Miscellaneous Sources

1: The Wedding Hymn of Leodegundia.

The Codex of Roda comprises an important miscellany of texts.(458) It contains three 11th-century dates, the latest being Alfonso VI's defeat at Sagrajas in 1086 AD, but these are later additions.(459) Palaeographical analysis has placed the Visigothic script of the codex within a time-frame 'from the second third of the 10th century to the beginnings of the 11th'.(460) There are helpful pieces of internal evidence. The concluding item in a list of Frankish kings says 'Et fuimus sine rege annis VII. postea regnavit Leodeuicus annos XVII. Et postea regnat Leutharius filius eius', which suggests that the entry was made before Lothar's death in 984 AD.(461) A brief chronicle, 'De Pampilona', ends with the death of the king García Sanchez, dated to 970 AD, and the death of his son Ramiro, which is not dated but occurred in 981 AD.(462) A series of obituaries of Pamplonan bishops ends initially in 988 AD, although it is continued to 1021 AD in a later addition.(463) A marginal note

to the 'Prophetic Chronicle', a late 9th-century Asturian work which predicted the expulsion of the Muslims from Spain by November 11th 884 AD, says that there were 382 years from the time of Mohammed's preaching to 992 AD.(464) This must represent a date after the completion of the codex as it is written in the same style of lettering and, possibly, by the same hand as the text. All of this suggests that the codex had been copied before the closing decade of the 10th century.

The Codex of Roda is a substantial compilation of 232 folios. The majority of its texts, such as the histories of Paulus Orosius or of Isidore, had been of long-standing interest in Christian Spain. Some of its texts, such as the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the *Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium*, are of more specific interest for the historian of the Asturo-Leonese kingdom. The desperate shortage of information on the confusing early history of the kingdom of Pamplona make the relevant texts in the codex of enormous value as the earliest collection of sources. Their distinctly local interest, and the fact that they were not reproduced by later copyists, suggests a Navarrese origin for the Codex of Roda.(465) Essentially these are genealogical records of the Pamplonan kings as well as the rulers of Pyrenean and adjacent regions.(466) There are also two small Pamplonan chronicles and an obituary list of the city's bishops.(467) The codex also contains two unusual items relating to Pamplona. There is the 'De Laude Pampilone Epistola'.(468) This represents the text of an official letter sent in the name of the western emperor Honorius (395-423 AD) to the garrison of Pamplona. The fact of the letter's survival, the only such example of such a document from the western empire in this

period, is far more surprising than that its content contains obscurities, possibly through a garbled transmission. It was attached, in the 10th century or earlier, to a eulogistic description of the city of Pamplona, which was composed in Visigothic times, probably the 7th century.(469) The last item in the codex, the 'Versi Domna Leodegundia Regina', is an epithalamium for Leodegundia, daughter of Ordoño, to celebrate marriage into the royal house of Pamplona.(470) This text is of interest for its own artistic merit although there are difficulties in using it as an historical source.

The wedding hymn was written in acrostic form, with the initial letters of the verses spelling out 'Leodegundia Pulcra (sic) Ordonii Filia'. Her beauty, learning and personal qualities are described in the extravagant style required by such an occasion. The poem urged the inhabitants of Pamplona to sing the praises of Leodegundia to the accompaniment of flutes and lyres.(471) The first verse carries musical notation and has been acknowledged as the oldest European wedding song preserved with music.(472) It has been suggested, plausibly enough, that the anonymous author of the epithalamium was an ecclesiastic, belonging to the monastery of St. Zacharias or one of the other Navarrese monastic houses whose intellectual resources had impressed Eulogius of Cordoba during his visit to the region shortly before 850 AD.(473)

Setting aside the literary merits of the epithalamium, its historical interest lies in the recording of the marriage of Leodegundia, daughter of Ordoño, to an unnamed king of

Pamplona, or at least to someone with a strong prospect of ascending to the throne. The absence of a date from the wedding hymn makes any attempt to establish a chronological and political context for the marriage a matter of supposition. The text of the epithalamium makes it clear that the wedding is to a king of Pamplona. The entire citizens of Pamplona are urged to sing the praises of the bride Leodegundia. The beauty and learning of the new bride are singled out for praise, along with the high distinction of her royal ancestry.(474) There are scattered references to the social significance of the occasion: some of the specially prepared and blessed royal food will reach the poor whose prayers to God on behalf of their rulers will then achieve a favourable hearing.(475) The epithalamium closes with a prayer that Leodegundia may enjoy in peace the kingdom entrusted to her.(476) Tantalisingly, the name of the king of Pamplona who is Leodegundia's husband is not given.

This lack of information on the circumstances of the wedding has prompted much scholarly speculation. The consensus of opinion places it in the 9th century, with Leodegundia, whose own royal ancestry is acknowledged by the epithalamium, given a less shadowy identity as a daughter of the Asturian king Ordoño I (850-866 AD).(477) In essence, these conclusions have been justified on the grounds that Leodegundia's name does not figure among the known queens of 10th-century Pamplona, while the only 9th-century royal Ordoño, a name unknown among the Navarrese dynasties, was the Asturian king.(478) There are no solid grounds for identifying Leogundia with a nun, of the same name, known from a manuscript note in which she mentions her work as a

copyist at the religious house of Bobadilla, near Samos in Galicia. 'regnante Adefonsus principe in DCCCCL (912 AD)'.(479)

The acrostic message of the epithalamium, 'Leodegundia Pulcra (sic) Ordonii Filia', announcing the bride as the daughter of Ordone, rather than as the sister of his successor Alfonso III, has been taken to suggest that the marriage took place before their father's death in 866 AD. A counter-argument stresses the enduring prestige of Ordoño I, transcending his death, which would have justified the language of the acrostic.(480) This would permit placing the wedding in the years after 866 AD. It has been connected with the marriage of Alfonso III to Ximena as forming two links in a diplomatic chain connecting the Asturian and Pamplonan kingdoms.(481) The suggested date of 869 AD for Alfonso III's marriage, and also that of Leodegundia, has been reached by a rather tortured process.(482) It is generally agreed that Alfonso III took the throne in 866 AD. The 12th-century Historia Silense says that Alfonso succeeded his father at the age of 13 and married at 21. Curiously, the Silense's given age for Alfonso on succeeding his father is dropped in favour of the 9th-century Chronicle of Albelda's figure of 18 years at the time of his accession in 866 AD.(483) The date of 869 AD was calculated, therefore, by a form of chronological sleight-of-hand, combining in a highly selective manner information from two different sources and may not be entirely secure.

Besides this speculation on persons whose identification lacks clarity, suggestions have been made on the identity of the unknown king of Pamplona who was the bridegroom. The early history of

the Pamplonan monarchy is decidedly obscure but it is generally accepted that for most of the 9th century, after independence had been asserted against the Franks in 824 AD, its kings came from the Inigo family.(484) After 905 AD, with the death or abdication of Fortun Garcés, there was a change of dynasty, with kings now being drawn from the Ximeno family. The circumstances of the change are as uncertain as is the relationship between the supplanting dynasty and its predecessor. Leodegundia's husband has been variously identified with two of the three members of the Iñigo family (Iñigo Arista, García Iñiguez and Fortun Garcés) who dominated Pamplona until 905 AD.(485) With uncharacteristic caution, Sánchez-Albornoz hesitated in his choice between the last two, wishing to avoid 'vacilantes y problemáticas conjeturas'.(486) Sancho Garcés, the brother of Fortun Garcés, was named as Leodegundia's husband.(487) The unknown bridegroom has been identified with the dynasty that supplanted the Iñigo family, through a certain 'Ximeno', grandfather of Sancho Garcés I, whose accession as king, in 905 AD, began the 10th-century domination of Pamplona by the Ximeno dynasty.(488) The absence of Leodegundia's name from the regnal lists of the kingdom of Pamplona and the lack of further information means that no certain conclusion is possible.

By the 9th century the kings of Oviedo ruled over substantial numbers of Basques, in parts of the modern provinces of Alava and Vizcaya, although they did not always make docile subjects. At the same time, the eastern margins of the Asturian kingdom in medieval Alava and Castille, lay open to Muslim attack, following the valley of the upper Ebro or the old Roman road from Zaragoza to the junction of the routes which led to Leon or to Pamplona,

as invasion routes. It is clear that Ordoño I was active in military cooperation with the kingdom of Pamplona and in efforts to weaken the power of its ally, the Banu Kasi, a Muslim frontier clan. With such a vulnerable frontier zone, it would be surprising if the Asturian kingdom had not engaged in diplomatic relations with its Basque-Navarrese neighbours, and especially Pamplona, seat of the only other independent Christian royal dynasty in the Iberian peninsula.(489)

Within the history of the Asturian kingdom to 910 AD, there are examples of Asturian kings taking Basque wives. Munia, wife of the Asturian king Fruela I and mother of Alfonso II, was certainly a Basque.(490) Her son, Alfonso II, took refuge among his maternal relations in Alava, after being dispossessed of the throne by Mauregatus.(491) Ramiro I, at the time of the death of his predecessor Alfonso II in 842 AD, was absent 'in provinciam Barduliensem', probably a Basque-dominated area, for the purpose of taking a wife, who may be the Paterna known later from an inscription as his queen.(492) The 9th-century Asturian chronicles emphasise the dealings of Ordoño I and his son Alfonso III with the Basques as well as the Muslim Banu Kasi, lords of the upper Ebro region, who were themselves closely allied by marriage with the kings of Pamplona.(493) If Leodegundia were indeed Ordoño I's daughter, the reference to her mother's distinguished ancestry might imply that her father had married into the ruling dynasty of Pamplona. Alfonso III also consolidated ties with Pamplona by marrying Ximena although it is not clear to which of the ruling dynasties she belonged.(494) Their first-born son, García, carried a Navarrese name, common

among Pamplonan rulers, but which had previously been unknown in Asturian or Visigothic royal circles. (As it was customary in the Asturian and Pamplonan dynasties to name first-born sons after their paternal grandfather, this may indicate that Ximena was the grand-daughter of García Iñiguez and the daughter of Fortun Garcés, c.875-905 AD.)

There is a clear historical and political context for wedding alliances between the Asturian and Pamplonan kingdoms. It is highly tempting to add Leodegundia's marriage. The problem is that there is no other evidence for her either in Asturian documents and inscriptions, as there is for Ximena who, like Leodegundia, is absent from the, admittedly defective, Pamplonan genealogies, which frequently have a lacuna in place of a wife's name. In the 18th century Flórez argued against the possibility of Leodegundia being the daughter of Ordoño I.(495) He has been followed in this century by Barrau-Dihigo, whose scepticism earned another attack for his 'hypercriticism', and, more recently, by Floriano who denied Leodegundia's very existence as a daughter of the Asturian king.(496) Despite the temptation to transmute Leodegundia's undated epithalamium into historical fact, perhaps the most sensible approach is to accept her marriage into the royal house of Pamplona as certain, her relationship to Ordoño I as probable but that her husband's identity remains unknown. To draw conclusions from these suppositions is simply to build on sand.

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CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL WRITING IN THE 9TH-CENTURY ASTURIAN KINGDOM

A: The Chronicles of the Asturian Kingdom

The best sources for the history of the Asturian kingdom, and indeed for much of its history the only ones, are short chronicles, written in the late 9th century. These now survive as copies in manuscripts of which the earliest are from the 10th century. The cycle of chronicles associated with Alfonso III's court in Oviedo marked the first flowering of historical narrative writing in independent Christian Spain since the Muslim invasion.(1) Behind this development is the personality of Alfonso III, a man of learning according to the Chronicle of Albelda.(2) He is the only one of the Asturian kings to be connected with the collection of manuscripts.(3) His library held codices, some of which have survived to the present, bearing distinctive features that form a kind of royal ex-libris.(4) These works are an impressive testament to the kingdom's human and written resources although the range of material, as recorded by Ambrosio de Morales in the late 16th century, does not match that used by Beatus of Liébana's Commentary on the Apocalypse.(5) They show something of the range of manuscripts that could be found in Oviedo and demonstrate a cultural maturity in their use of history for ideological purposes.

- i) The most substantial chronicle running from 672-866 AD, is found in the two principal versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which takes its name from the king held to be its author.

- ii) The Chronicle of Albelda, so-called from the Riojan monastery where it was copied at the end of an extensive collection by the monk Vigila in 976 AD, is a collection of texts rather than a single work. It has two lists of Visigothic kings. The first ends with Roderick and the Muslim invasion, dated to 714 AD. The second list refers to the Asturian kings, proceeding from Pelayo to 881 AD, in the reign of Alfonso III, with a further extension on to 883 AD.
- iii) A third source, the 'Prophetic Chronicle', was exhumed by M. Gomez-Moreno, its first editor, as a collection of texts drawn from the content of the 10th-century Codex Rotensis, soon after its rediscovery in 1927. It took its name from a prediction as to when the Muslim occupation of Spain would end. A recent editor of the 'Prophetic Chronicle' have ended this independent existence with a reattachment to the Chronicle of Albelda which it follows in all source manuscripts, apart from the Codex Rotensis and its copies. The fullest collection of all these texts, including the Chronicle of Albelda and the 'Prophetic Chronicle', is the 10th-century Codex Aemilianensis although the Rotensis has the greatest assemblage of writings linked to the 'Prophetic Chronicle' alone.

B: The Chronicle of Albelda

1: A Summary of the Text.

The Chronicle of Albelda (Albeldense), together with the reincorporated texts of the 'Prophetic Chronicle', is found at

greater length in the 10th-century Codex Aemilianensis (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 39) and a pair of 12th-century manuscripts, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. 1358 (the Liber Complutensis) and its nearly identical twin, BN Ms. 2805, than in the Codex Albeldensis from which its name has been traditionally taken.(6) Either of those texts might, therefore, have supplied a more appropriate title. It was called the Epitome Ovetense by Mommsen, acknowledging its laconic style and probable place of composition.(7) Nevertheless, its traditional, although inappropriate, name has survived in customary use and will be used here.

The Albeldense is a miscellany of texts, largely of a genealogical, geographical and historical nature. In their content, they span the divide of the Muslim invasion. These texts deal with national, i.e. Spanish, and universal topics, forming a sketchy historical encyclopaedia with material on the rulers of the Arabs, although this is no more than a list of their names, the Romans and the Visigoths, who have regnal lengths and a few events attached to their names. The final list, of Asturian kings, continues on from that of the Visigoths and begins in a similar style, becomes more developed from the reign of Alfonso II, and is minutely detailed for the years 881-883 AD dealing with Alfonso III. A providential conception of history, drawn from Isidore of Seville, whose historical writings were a fundamental source for this compilation, sustained the portrait of the Asturian kingdom, through divine grace, as successor to the Visigoths.(8)

The universal texts comprise a description of the world (drawn

from the Cosmography of Julius Honorius, a 5th-century geographer), a list of famous buildings, an aphoristic summary of dominant national characteristics, notes on the pronunciation of letters (drawn from Isidore's Etymologies) and two summaries of the stages of world history from Creation to the present year of 883 AD (the first was a computation made by Julian of Toledo and extending initially to 672 AD in the reign of King Wamba, the second was a list of the Six Ages, drawing on the chronicles of Jerome and Isidore).

There are texts which combine universal and national elements: the list of Roman and Byzantine rulers from Romulus to Tiberius III (698-704 AD) includes information on the Visigothic kingdom in Spain (all of this taken from Isidore's *Chronica Maiora* but with a very confused chronology from the reign of King Suinthila (621-631 AD) when this source ends), a list of the kings from Athanaric to Roderick which follows the Visigoths to their home in Spain (taken from Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* with a continuation on from the reign of Suinthila) and the line of succession among the Arabs from Abraham's son Isaac to the prophet Mohammed and then on to the Umayyad emir of Córdoba, Mohammed I (852-886 AD) (evidently taken from Muslim sources).

There are also texts which have a specifically national character: a description of Spain (taken from Isidore's *Etymologies*), a list of the six ecclesiastical provinces of the Spanish church together with their episcopal sees (drawn from the *Nomina Civitatum Hispaniae* in Ms. R.II.18, now in the library of El Escorial, an 8th-century Cordoban manuscript which came to be held in Oviedo), a list of the major rivers of Spain (taken from

Julius Honorius and Isidore), a list of Spain's most famous products (source not known), a versified list of 12 bishops in the Asturian kingdom together with a eulogy of Alfonso III (source unknown), the list of Asturian kings which includes part of the reign of Alfonso III (the sources of this will be considered below), a short passage on the Muslim invasion of Spain (possible Mozarab source), a prophecy and its explanation foretelling the end of Muslim Spain (Mozarabic influences) and a list of the Umayyad rulers in Spain (source unknown).(9)

2: The 'Ordo Gotorum Regum.'

This list of Asturian kings, under the title 'Ordo Gotorum Regum' (or 'Ordo Gotorum Obetensium Regum' in the Codex of Albelda), follows on, in all codices of the Chronicle of Albelda, from two similar lists of Roman/Byzantine (Ordo Romanorum) and Visigothic rulers (Ordo Gentis Gotorum).(10)

a) Chronological Structure.

The list of Asturian kings opens with the rebellion of Pelayo and continues on to 881 AD, when it closes with a brief eulogy of Alfonso III, the end of which repeats the concluding phrase of the section on Alfonso II, ('..de regno terre ad regnum transeat celi.'). An amen, although found only in the Codex Aemilianensis text, emphasises the sense of finality as does the list of the Asturian kingdom's bishops which the Liber Complutensis text carries at this point.(11) This is customarily taken to be the first recension of the text. Juan Gil in his recent edition of the chronicle has suggested that as the Chronicon Lusitanum, which used the text as a source, ended before the eulogy of

Alfonso, with the account of his campaigning around Merida, it may be that the detailed information which followed, introduced by the words 'a short time earlier', (relating to the capture and ransom of Hisham ibn Abd al-Aziz, the defeat of Al-Mundhir and the victory of Mount Oxifer) was a restatement of previously mentioned events. In effect, the repetition is a later addition and begins a continuation of the basic text. The standard opinion is still that the Chronicle was pursued from 882 AD to 883 AD as a second continuation although M. Díaz y Díaz, a distinguished scholar of early medieval Spanish manuscripts, has argued that the passages relating to 882 AD and 883 AD were, respectively, second and third continuations.(12)

From its own clear testimony, the Chronicle was concluded in November 883 AD. It refers to 883 AD as the current year (..in era DCCCCXXI, quod est praesenti anno..).(13) As this is the only use of such a phrase specifying contemporary time, it may indicate the retrospective nature of the preceding passages on 882 AD, strengthening the argument for there having been a single continuation of the basic text. In September 883 AD Alfonso III is reported to have sent the Toledan priest Dulcidius on a diplomatic mission to Córdoba. He had not yet returned by November, (..unde adhuc usque non est reversus novembrio discurrente..).(14) At this point the chronicler laid aside his pen with the fatalistic observation that events would turn out as the Lord disposed.(15)

b) Content.

In the Chronicle, the account of the Asturian kings begins with

Pelayo.(16) He is said to have entered the Asturias before the Muslim invasion, after having been driven out of Toledo by King Wittiza. The victory at Covadonga, although the site of Pelayo's triumph is not named, and the birth of the 'regnum Asturum' are reported in the dry, laconic style, lacking emotion and devoid of miracles, that is typical of the Chronicle. From Pelayo, the chronicle moves on at a very brisk pace through his successors from Fafila to Alfonso II.(17) The account of Alfonso's reign is the longest of any of the Asturian kings up to his namesake, Alfonso III.(18) It describes the principal building work of Alfonso II in and around the royal capital at Oviedo. Reference is also made to his military successes over the Muslims. The lives of Ramiro I and Ordoño I are treated less extensively than that of Alfonso II but in significantly greater depth than any other of their predecessors.(19)

The early years of Alfonso III's reign up to 877 AD are treated in the same style although the information is slightly fuller on the main events: the unsuccessful usurpation of Count Fruela, the suppression of the Basques, the failure of Al-Mundir's campaign against the city of León, the defeat of another Muslim army in the Bierzo region, the capture of Deza, Atienza and Coimbra, the repopulation of cities in Galicia and northern Portugal and Alfonso's campaign in the region of Merida. Apart from Count Fruela's coup, which happened in the first year of Alfonso's reign (..primoque regni anno..), there are only vague indications of a chronology for these events which are introduced by phrases such as '..illius tempore praeterito iamque multo..', 'Ipsisque diebus..' and 'Eius tempore..'. From 877 AD, or 878 AD in some

versions of the text, the Chronicle deals with a much smaller number of events but in far greater detail and, as argued above, it appears to be repeating earlier information. It supplies era dates for some of these events:

877 AD or 878 AD: the capture and ransom of Hisham ibn Abd al-Aziz, a leading minister of Mohammed I.

878 AD: the expedition of Al-Mundhir, Mohammed I's son, against Astorga and León.

881 AD: Alfonso III's expedition into Lusitania.

The events of these years occupy the same amount of space in the Chronicle as the account of Alfonso's early years as king from 866 AD to 876 AD.

In the Chronicle's continuation for 882 AD and 883 AD, it becomes a minutely-detailed annalistic account of the relations, mainly military, between Oviedo and Córdoba, with a gallery of named individuals.(20) Its field of vision broadens to take in not just the dealings of the Asturian kingdom with the Banu Kasi of the upper Ebro valley but also those of this Muslim border clan with the emirs of Córdoba. Through this round of peace treaties, embassies, hostage exchanges and, most surprisingly, the dispatch of Alfonso III's second-born son, the future Ordono II (914-924 AD) to the Banu Kasi for his education, a picture emerges of the complex diplomatic ties that shaped the relations, cordial and hostile, between Muslims and Christians.(21)

c) The Identity of the Author.

The identity of the Chronicle's author remains unknown.

Gómez-Moreno, in his valuable study of the Asturian sources, gave the chronicler a Riojan base, suggesting that he may have been a Mozarabic monk from a monastery on Monte Laturce.(22) Such a conclusion was drawn from a mysterious passage in the Chronicle which described how Musa, the wounded Banu Kasi chief, had been rescued after Ordoño I's victory at Monte Laturce in 859 AD by a certain friend among the Christians (*..ab amico quodam e nostris*). (23) In Gomez-Moreno's argument, this 'certain friend' belonged to the monastic community on Monte Laturce, as did the chronicler. This connection with the monastery explained the Chronicle's detailed knowledge of people and events in the upper valley of the Ebro. More recently, Gil noted a series of indications in the spelling of place-names that the archetype of the known manuscripts of the Chronicle of Albelda was written in the Riojan region.(24) Only a scriptorium far-removed from the scene could have altered the name *Auriensis* (Orense), from the list of Galician and Lusitanian conquests made by Alfonso III, to *Aucensis* (Oca) in Castile or, in referring to Lamego from the list of the Asturian kingdom's bishoprics, write 'Lamencense' for the correct form *Lamecense*.

The breadth of knowledge shown by the Chronicle, even in the continuation from 882 AD with its detail on the Ebro valley, is greater than would have been available to a monk in the monastery of Mount Laturce, for which, in any case, there is no evidence prior to 924 AD.(25) The Chronicle is aware of military campaigns in Lusitania and around the city of León. Its references to the churches built in and around Oviedo have something of an eyewitness flavour. This sense of personal observation may account for the closing words of the section on

Alfonso II which appear to have been taken from his versified epitaph.(26)

The textual evidence for the chronicler's Riojan origin does not carry total conviction. The principal codices, which all transmit the form Aucensis (Oca) for Auriensis (Orense) in the list of Alfonso III's conquests, are, nevertheless, able to record the accurate form of the name in identifying Sebastian of Orense (Sebastianus quidem sedis Auriense) among the list of bishops of the Asturian kingdom.(27) By contrast, the form 'Lamencense' is used in the list of bishops for the place-name Lamecense, whereas the correct form is used by the Chronicle of Albelda when listing Alfonso III's conquests in Portugal.(28) As none of the source manuscripts represents an original version of the text, the simplest explanation for the differences looks to be a miscopied transmission, although the later versions may have been copied in the Riojan region.

The most likely candidate as author of the Chronicle would seem to be a person associated with the royal court. There is no reason to accept the identification with either Alfonso III, made by A. Blazquez, or Bishop Sebastian of Orense, made by F. Fita, as both are more properly connected with the Chronicle of Alfonso III by an introductory letter to one of its two principal versions.(29) More tempting is the anonymous clerical courtier at Oviedo proposed by Sánchez-Albornoz.(30) It is possible that the author of the Chronicle's continuations in 882 AD and 883 AD, who need not have been the writer of the core text, could have had personal knowledge of León, a centre of important events in Alfonso III's reign, or of the Riojan and upper Ebro regions.

d) Problems with the Text.

The Chronicle's text on the Asturian kings presents problems. It places the rebellion of Pelayo (traditionally 718 AD or, possibly, 722 AD) in the governorship of Yusuf (Dec. 746/7-756 AD).(31) There is the mysterious rescuer of the wounded Musa at the battle of Mount Laturce. In places, the laconic style of the chronicle distorts chronological reality, as, for example, when it connects two victories won by Alfonso II at Lodos and Anceo in the same sentence although, in fact, they were separated by a quarter century.(32) Its bare statements can also be bafflingly enigmatic, as with the report that King Silo maintained peace with Muslim Spain '*..ob causam matris..*' or that Fruela I killed his brother Vimara '*..ob invidia regni..*'.(33)

e) Differences Between the Albeldense Text and the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

For the most part, it shares a common core of information, from Wamba to the death of Ordoño I, with the more substantial, and undated, Chronicle of Alfonso III.(34) There is, however, a small but significant number of differences. They carry different regnal lengths for the Asturian kings Aurelius, Silo, Mauregatus and Alfonso II.(35) The Chronicle of Alfonso III gives a list of some thirty settlements captured by Alfonso I, who removed their Christian settlers to his Asturian kingdom, whereas the the Chronicle of Albelda reduces this impressive achievement to the cities of Astorga and León, with the note that he ravaged the '*campos Gothicos*' to the river Duero and extended the '*regnum Christianorum*'.(36)

The Chronicle of Albelda also contains information not found in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, referring to events as well as giving clarifying detail on dates and names. It reports that Pelayo, having been expelled from Toledo by King Wittiza, was present in the Asturias before the Muslim invasion, that Silo established his capital at Pravia, that Vermudo I fought a battle with the Muslims in the Burbia region, that Alfonso II was deposed in the 11th year of his reign, that Ramiro I put an end to the practice of magic and that the Muslims attacked Galicia by sea in the reign of Ordoño I. It gives the names of Teuda, leader of those who restored Alfonso to the throne after Fruela's coup, and Count Peter, who defeated the second Viking raid on the Asturian kingdom in 858 AD. It reveals the place of death for Fruela I (at Cangas), Silo (at Pravia) and Ramiro I (at Lillo on Monte Naranco). It provides precise figures, down to the day and month, for the deaths of Ramiro I (1 February, 850 AD) and Ordoño I (26 May, 866 AD), unlike its earlier practice of giving a regnal length and, sometimes, an era dating.(37)

The Chronicle of Albelda has interesting omissions of material from the parallel content of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. It does not name Covadonga, the site of Pelayo's victory over the Muslims, which the Albeldense itself describes as having been responsible for the return of liberty to the Christian people.(38) Despite its brevity here, in other places the Chronicle identifies geographical locations, both for Christian victories and defeats. In its description of Alfonso II's building activity in and around Oviedo, the the Chronicle of Albelda surprisingly omits any mention of the church of St.

Julian.(39) For the reign of Ordono I, it omits the Basque rebellion at the start of his reign. It notes part of his military successes over the Muslims. Where the Chronicle of Alfonso III reports Ordono's capture of Coria and Talamanca, the Chronicle of Albelda only identifies Talamanca, adding the detail that its ruler and his wife, after their voluntary surrender, were restored to liberty by the Asturian king.(40)

The Chronicle of Albelda is a contemporary source of fundamental importance for understanding the first 17 years of Alfonso III's reign from 866 to 883 AD after the close of the Chronicle which carries his name. In the view of Barrau-Dihigo its fullness and contemporaneity, especially for the period 881-883 AD, made it a unique source in the Latin historiography of the early Middle Ages in Spain. For the period from Pelayo's rebellion to the death of Ordono I in 866 AD, despite its interesting differences, the Chronicle of Albelda shares a common core of information with the Chronicle of Alfonso III. The purposes and sources behind this information will be considered below in the survey of the Chronicle of Alfonso III in the following chapter.

f) Themes in the Albeldense.

Within the Chronicle of Albelda's spare, unemotional prose-style, two themes have been identified that gave an ideological underpinning. The significance of Pelayo's victory over the Muslims lies in his execution of the divine will. He embodied the qualities of a new Moses and other great patriarchal figures from the Old Testament as the agent who restores the

covenant between God and His chosen people when they have fallen from grace. At Covadonga, Pelayo recovered liberty for the Christian people by success in battle, with the seal being set on his success when the fleeing Muslim survivors were crushed in the valley of Liebana by landslides that were the judgement of God. In this way, through divine providence, the kingdom of the Asturians is brought into existence '... et Astorum regnum divina providentia exoritur.'(41) Such a biblical model for the interpretation of past events would have been an obvious one for a clerical author with anything more than the most basic of groundings in Christian scripture.

Another theme, found elsewhere in the 9th-century cycle of chronicles, is the attachment of the Asturian kingdom to its Visigothic predecessor. For modern scholars, the most famous expression of this 'neo-Gothic' ideal lies in the frequently-quoted sentence from the Chronicle of Albelda that Alfonso II established at Oviedo all the arrangements of the Goths, as they had been at Toledo, in the palace and in the church.(42) It must be said, however, that there is no repetition of the political concept underpinning this sentence which nestles, rather anonymously, between the brief descriptions of Alfonso's architectural achievements and his military successes. Assuming that it was read aloud, the sentence in the 'Albelda' on Alfonso II's actions must have required an alert audience or have been given a special emphasis, in some way, if it was to have scored what has been seen as a crucial ideological point. The intention may rather have been to glorify Alfonso's achievement in establishing his capital at Oviedo by reference to the most appropriate historical example, the *urbs regia* of

Toledo.

Overall, the Chronicle has little evidence of a 'neo-Gothic' theme. The 'Ordo Gotorum Regum', the list of Asturian kings in the Chronicle of Albelda, associates Toledo with Pelayo in a way which suggests his Visigothic background although the explanation for this is given elsewhere.(43) In the texts of the Codex Aemilianensis and the Liber Complutensis, the information on Pelayo's expulsion from Toledo and entry into the Asturias is connected to the preceding 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum', the list of Visigothic kings, by the phrase '..ut supra diximus'. There, it is explained that his departure was the result of a quarrel, in the city of Táy, between Wittiza, the heir to the throne, and Duke Fafila, Pelayo's father, over a wife, although whose she may have been is not specified. Wittiza struck Fafila about the head with a stick inflicting a wound which proved fatal, and later, as king in Toledo, he expelled Pelayo from the royal seat.(44) The other major source for the Chronicle of Albelda, the Codex Albeldensis, omits '..ut supra diximus' from its sequence of Asturian kings, the 'Ordo Gotorum Regum', and the whole of the quarrel story from the 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum'. It may be, therefore, that these are additions to a basic text.

The two lists of rulers, the 'Ordo Romanorum' and 'Ordo Gentis Gothorum' that precede the 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum', refer to King Roderick and the Muslim invasion in terms that indicate the definitive fall of the Visigothic kingdom. The first of the lists, the 'Ordo Romanorum', gives the sequence of Roman rulers from Romulus to Tiberius II (698-705 AD). In this list, the Codex Aemilianensis and the Liber Complutensis close with the

comment that, after the 'Saracens' had seized Spain, '...regnum Gotorum exterminatur'. A marginal note to the Codex Albeldensis also implies the fall of the Visigothic kingdom: 'Tunc Sarrazeni Spaniam possederunt et regnum Gotorum era DCCLII (714 AD)'.(45)

All of the principal texts of the 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum' report the Muslim capture of the kingdom of the Visigoths in era DCCLII (714 AD) in the reign of Roderick, and their retention of part of it up to the present.(46) They agree that it was the Christians, rather than a more specific ethnic group, such as the Asturians, who were engaged in a state of constant warfare with the Muslims. Their conclusions, however, strike different notes. In the Codex Aemilianensis and the Liber Complutensis, the description of the continuing Christian military effort is completed by a dry, comment that they (the Christians) have been unable to drive them (the Muslims) out of Spain.(47) The Codex Albeldensis ends with a fatalistic invocation of ultimate success that looks to the future, with Christians having to fight the Muslims until divine providence orders that the invaders should be cruelly expelled.(48) There is no particular emphasis or indication here of a continuation of the Visigothic kingdom after the Muslim invasion.

The 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum' is also found in the late 8th-century 'Chronologia Regum Gothorum', known, in almost identical detail, from two manuscripts, the Codex Regiovaticanus 667 and the Codex Coenobii Moissiacensis.(49) They share the providential ending of the Albeldensis text of the 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum', foreseeing a continual struggle with the Muslim invaders until their expulsion by divine judgement.(50) These two texts have a short

continuation, beyond the endings of the 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum' that have already been given in the Codex Albeldensis and the Codex Aemilianensis/Liber Complutensis, which clearly signals the end of the Visigothic royal line and which estimates the duration of the Visigothic kingdom at 314 years.(51) The same sentence and period of time concludes a different list of Visigothic kings which is contained in the Codex Rotensis, the 'Nomina Sebigotorum' (sic).(52)

A. Barbero and M. Vigil argued that the list of the Visigothic kings had its final redaction in Septimania at some time in the last quarter of the 8th century. They based their argument on the final sentence of the 'Chronologia Regum Gothorum'. The two texts conclude 'In era (X) regnavit Carolus Francorum rex et patricius Romae'.(53) The dating of the redaction is based on the fact that Charlemagne carried the title of 'patricius Romae' from 774 AD to 800 AD when he abandoned it for the title of 'imperator'.(54) The list is given its location by the use in the text of the geographical terms 'Gothia et Gallia' to describe the areas disturbed by the rebellion of Duke Paul against King Wamba. 'Gallia' was the Visigothic name for Septimania whereas 'Gothia' was a Frankish term for the same region introduced, probably, at a time when it was part of the Frankish kingdom. The use of Spanish 'era' dates in the concluding passages that are not found in the Chronicle of Albelda would seem to place the text of the 'Chronologia' in Visigothic cultural circles. More specifically, Moissac, the source of one of the 'Chronologia' manuscripts, and Aniane, both places in Septimania, produced chronicles which replicated the basic content, although not the

form, of the 'Chronologia'.(55)

This suggests that at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries in Septimania, there was a taste for Isidoran-style historical resumes of Visigothic history. The context of the 'Chronologia' was a desire to present Charlemagne as the defender of Christians and legitimate heir to the clearly-fallen Visigothic kingdom. Its statement, 'Reges Gotorum defecerunt', is more emphatic in ending the line of Visigothic rulers than the conclusion to the 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum'.(56) In the Chronicle of Albelda as a whole, including all three lists of rulers, there is no sense of the Visigothic kingdom having had an existence after the Muslim invasion, nor is there much to sustain a supposed neo-Gothic ideal. Here, Pelayo is not given Visigothic royal blood and his divinely-aided victory at Covadonga, which began the restoration of Christian liberty, is acknowledged as the origin of the kingdom of the Asturians.

C: The 'Prophetic Chronicle'

1: Summary of the Text.

The 'Prophetic Chronicle' was the name given in 1932 by M. Gómez-Moreno, its first editor, to material that, in fact, carries few characteristics to justify such a title, despite being of considerable interest as an historical source.(57) He took this information from the Codex of Roda, a late 10th-century manuscript which had been rediscovered in a private library in 1927 after having been lost in the 19th century. The material, at its most expanded in the Codex of Roda, is also found, with some omissions, in the principal manuscripts containing the

Chronicle of Albelda, with which it forms a continuous sequence of texts. Its most recent editor has sensibly ended the independent existence of the 'Prophetic Chronicle' and reattached its component parts to the Chronicle of Albelda.(58)

The 'Prophetic Chronicle' identified by Gomez Moreno in the Codex of Roda is made up of the following elements:

- i) The prophecy itself, attributed to the Old Testament figure of Ezechiel, and its explanation, with the prediction of the divinely-ordained collapse of Muslim power in Spain by a specified date.(59)
- ii) A genealogy of the Saracens, which appears to have been taken from Muslim sources, connecting biblical patriarch Abraham with the prophet Mohammed and the Ummayyad emirs of al-Andalus.(60)
- iii) A short biography of Mohammed.(61) This life is also found among the mid-9th century writings of Eulogius of Córdoba who claimed to have found it in a manuscript he saw on his visit to the Navarrese monastery of Leyre. It is possible that, for unspecified reasons, Eulogius may have been concealing his own authorship. The text, as anti-Muslim polemic, which carries the stamp of eastern influences, was probably written in al-Andalus, although the exact time and place of composition remain uncertain.
- iv) Description of the Muslim invasion of Spain and an explanation of the collapse of the Visigothic kingdom in moral terms, 'Ingressio Sarracenorum In Spania Ita Est'.(62) The account is matter-of-fact in tone. The fall

of the Visigothic kingdom is dated to 11 November 714 AD, in the third year of Roderick's reign. It is also attributed to the year 100 AH of the Arab calendar, in the caliphate of al-Walid I (705-715 AD), although this must be either an error of calculation or transmission as the date corresponds to August 717/July 718 AD.(63) Roderick's defeat by Tariq occurred in the third year of Muslim campaigning in Spain. The first assault was commanded by 'Abuzubra', so-called in the Codex Rotensis but named 'Abzuhura' in the other chief texts. He is clearly distinguished here from Tariq.(64) The 'Chronicle of 754', also indicating military activity spread over more than a single year, records that in 711 AD Roderick sent his forces against the Arabs and Berbers from Africa, who were led by 'Taric Abuzara et ceteros'.(65) Unless Abuzara is a distorted form of Tariq's patronymic, ibn Ziyad, and this is a clear possibility given the difficulties involved in the transcription of Muslim names by Christian writers in the Middle Ages, it seems that two men are indicated. This is clearly the conclusion to be taken from the 'Ingressio Sarracenorum...' text, the author of which must have had access to the tradition used by the 'Chronicle of 754' or even to the text itself. Certainly, the two accounts have an unusual coincidence in presenting the conquest as the result of campaigning over a number of years, in contrast to Muslim and other Christian sources, which describe a short, sharp intervention. The 'Ingressio Sarracenorum' also reports that nothing is known about Roderick's death 'up to the present day'.(66) In the Codex Rotensis text

alone, there is a continuation that explains the humiliation of the Visigothic kingdom and its capital, Toledo, as the judgement of God on a people who had abandoned the ways of righteousness.(67)

v) A brief account of Visigothic/Muslim relations in the aftermath of the invasion, 'De Goti Qui Remanserint Ciuitates Ispanienses'.(68) This focuses on a seven year struggle which was concluded by the surrender on terms of the mysterious settlement of 'Ubilbila'. (The text is riddled with errors but the unidentified town may be Roman Bilbilis, on the hill now known as Cerro de Bambola, a few miles from the 8th-century Muslim stronghold of Calatayud in Aragon, although the name may be a distortion of a more general phrase such as 'civitas vel villa'.)(69) After the negotiations, the Goths elected their own counts who were responsible for the collection of imposed payments. By contrast, the inhabitants of places conquered by the Muslims lost all their goods and were sold into slavery. After making allowance for the probable mythic significance of the seven year period of warfare, the text has a clear Mozarabic influence which takes it close to the 'Chronicle of 754' and its account of post-conquest warfare that devastated the Aragonese lands around Zaragoza.(70) (It is worth mentioning that the settlement of Bilbilis, mentioned above, lies to the south-west of Zaragoza, on the Roman road to Mérida.) The difference in terms of treatment for communities between surrender on terms and conquest reflects, although in a rather distorted form, the reality of circumstances following the collapse of the centralised

Visigothic authority.(71)

vi) A list of the governors (duces) and Ummayad emirs (reges) of Muslim Spain with their time in office.(72) This collection of names does not differ significantly in its content from Arabic sources and seems likely to have had a Mozarab origin. In the Codex of Roda, as is the case with the other principal texts, the list of governors from Musa (711-713/4 AD) to Thuwaba ibn Salama (April 745-Sept/Oct. 746 AD) is given as a continuation of the preceding text, the 'Ingressio Sarracenorum In Spania Ita Est', without any introductory title. Oddly, the last of the governors, Yusuf ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Fihri (Dec. 746/Jan. 747-May 756 AD), is named at the head of the list of Ummayad emirs which begins with Abd al-Rahman I (756-788 AD) and continues to Mohammed I (852-888 AD). This list is introduced in the Codex of Roda, with variant titles in other sources, as 'Item Reges Ex Origine Beni Umeia Qui Regnaverunt In Cordoua'. If not a copyist's error, the inclusion of the governor's name here in the list of emirs may indicate his loyalty to the Ummayad dynasty which had, by 750 AD, been supplanted as the ruling dynasty of the Muslim world by the Abbasids.

As has been indicated above, the Codex Rotensis collection of 'Prophetic Chronicle' texts is fuller than and significantly different from the similar assemblages in the other principal codices (Codex Aemilianensis, Codex Albeldensis and Liber Complutensis) and their derivatives:

a) The Codex Rotensis has texts found in some but not all of the

similar compilations:

The life of Mohammed, in the Codex Rotensis, is also contained in the Codex Albeldensis but not in the Codex Aemilianensis and Liber Complutensis.(73)

b) The Codex Rotensis has texts not found in other compilations:

The following texts are contained only in the Codex Rotensis: a moral explanation of the fall of the Visigothic kingdom, given after an account of Roderick's defeat by Muslim invaders, (This longer text is here called the 'Ratio Sarracenorum De Sua Ingressione In Spania' rather than the 'Ingressio Sarracenorum In Spania Ita Est' by which the shorter version is known in other codices.), the 'De Goti Qui Remanserint Civitates Ispanienses' and a specific prophecy that the Muslims would be expelled from Spain in November, 884 AD.(74)

c) The Codex Rotensis has significant differences in the texts which it shares with all of the other compilations:

The list of the Muslim emirs and governors of Spain in the Codex Rotensis differs, in its content and dates, from those in the Codex Aemilianensis, Codex Albeldensis and the Liber Complutensis, which are in mutual agreement over the numbers of rulers but with a few variations, however, in the length of their time in authority.(75)

The Codex Rotensis text 'Ratio Sarracenorum De Sua Ingressione In Spania' and its equivalent in the other compilations agree

that the Saracens took possession of Spain on 11 November 714 AD, (although the era date of 752 is a marginal note to the Codex Albeldensis) in the third year of Roderick's reign, when the Visigothic kingdom was destroyed. The continuation to the 'Ratio' and the following text, 'De Goti Qui Remanserint Ciuitates Ispanienses', are unique to the Codex Rotensis. Here, there is a direct attribution of the kingdom's fall to the wickedness of the Visigothic people which broke the spiritual compact that had brought earthly success. The consequent withdrawal of divine favour brought, as punishment, the Muslim conquest of Spain.(76)

Significantly, the flower of the Visigothic people is said to have been destroyed 'by fear or by iron' and to have been reduced almost to nothing. The Codex Rotensis also reported that many were known to be living in humiliation under Muslim rule up to the present time. There is no indication here of a Visigothic flight to the Asturias or anywhere else in northern Spain. The punishment of the Visigoths is described without any indication at all that recovery of their former glory might be possible. Elsewhere in the Codex Rotensis, however, in its explanation of the prophecy which gives this particular collection of text its name, the restoration of the Visigothic kingdom under Alfonso III, of the Asturias, is anticipated, as is the triumph of the Christian people and the Church. The Visigoths were not presented as the source of this recovery nor were they its beneficiaries, either in the Codex Rotensis or in the other collections of 'Prophetic Chronicle' texts.

2: The Prophecy and Its Explanation.

a) The Prophecy.

At the heart of the texts identified as the 'Prophetic Chronicle', providing them with an identity, is an extraordinary piece of writing which foretells the imminent end of Muslim rule in Spain. Political aspiration as well as mystical anticipation are enmeshed in this prophecy and its explanation.

The prophecy itself is a fantastic reworking of chapters 38 and 39 from the Book of Ezekiel. In the adapted text, said to be taken from the words of the Prophet Ezekiel in a mysterious 'liber pariticianus', the message of God is addressed through him to Ismael, a deformation of the biblical Israel. He will be raised up to be the strongest among the world's nations. After entering the land of Gog, Ismael will reduce him and his people to slavery. As punishment on Ismael for abandoning God, however, the tables will be turned. Gog will rise up and force Ismael into servitude. The dramatic overthrow will happen after 170 years, although the version of the prophecy in the Codex Albeldensis consistently makes this 270 years.(77)

This is followed by an explanation which reveals, in rather lumbering style, the hidden message of the prophecy. Ismael and his people are the Muslim Arabs who invaded Spain.(78) Gog and his people are the Visigoths. The derivation of the name Goth from that of Magog, son of Japheth, is taken from the quoted authority of the 'Chronica Gothorum' which, unconvincingly, stresses the significance of the second syllable. Another work, the 'Liber Generationum', is used to corroborate this

etymology.(79) These points are important in that they add convincing detail to sustain the central claim of the prophecy's interpretation that the 170 years of subjection to Muslim control would soon be completed, with a reversal of fortune to match that of Gog and Ismael. In the Codex Aemilianensis and the Codex Albeldensis the prophecy's explanation concludes with the expectation of a reduction in the enemy's power and a restoration of the Christian Church.(80)

The version of the prophecy in the Codex Rotensis is longer, with passages lacking from other texts, richer in detail and more emphatic in tone.(81) It alone has an addition which itemises the years of the Gothic domination in Spain (paralleling the list given in the *Laterculus Regum Ovetensium/Annales Portugaleses Veteres*) and is completed with a distorted biblical genealogy, part of which is drawn from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*.(82) While all versions of the prophecy give a specific date (11 November, 714 AD) for Roderick's defeat at the hands of the Muslim invaders, the text in the Codex Rotensis repeats it on two further occasions.(83) At the time of the text's composition there were seven months left before the end of the 169th year and the start of the 170th. The Codex Rotensis declares that the Muslims themselves, through astrological signs and natural prodigies, predicted their forthcoming annihilation. It anticipates the restoration of the Church and the well-being of Christians. But there is also a more secular emphasis here with the imminently-expected restoration of the kingdom of the Visigoths and the extension of the Asturian king Alfonso III's rule over the whole of Spain.(84)

b) Commentary on the Prophecy and Its Explanation.

The prophecy text and its explanation raise some interesting points.

i) The Prophecy and Isidoran Ethnographic Tradition.

The actual chapters 38 and 39 of the Book of Ezekiel from which the prophecy is drawn, describe the divine retribution to be taken against Gog and the northern people should they attack Israel. In the prophecy, Gog and Magog, here identified as the Goths, are transformed from being a scourge of Israel to being themselves the victims of the Ismaelites as a consequence of their moral failings. Gog and Magog, Old Testament figures embodying the threat of invasion from the north, came to be associated with the dangerous barbarian peoples who prowled beyond the limits of the civilised world. The attachment of Gog and Magog with the Goths connected two distinct and distorted ethnographic traditions.(85)

Greek writing on ethnography, especially by Herodotus in the 5th century BC, was recycled by the continuing inclination of later authors, until well after the classical period, to clothe those current (usually troublesome) peoples, who were seen as newcomers, in the respectably ancient identity of now-vanished earlier groups. The name of the Scythians was conferred, among other people, on the Goths. In the last decade of the fourth century AD, Jerome advanced the claim, made by unnamed 'earlier scholars', that the Goths were Getae, a people identified by Herodotus as the most manly and law-abiding of the Thracian tribes.(86)

An alternative ethnic genealogy tied the Goths to Christian history through Gog and Magog from the Old Testament. Towards the end of the 1st century AD, the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus made a connection between Magog and the Scythians. In the winter of 377/378 AD, almost on the eve of the battle of Adrianople, Bishop Ambrose of Milan took the Goths to be Gog, drawing on the Book of Ezekiel. This opinion was rejected by Jerome, as mentioned above, writing around 391 AD, who named the Goths as Getae, a Thracian tribe from the lower Danube, rather than either Gog or Magog. In the 'City of God', Augustine, however, refuted the claim that Gog and Magog were to be equated, through the similarity of their names, with the Getae and the Massagetae.(87) The latter, found in Herodotus, were another of the Scythian peoples, who, although they had disappeared by the 4th century AD, supplied an identity for the hitherto-unknown and terrifying Huns.(88) In the mid 5th century AD, the African bishop Quodvultdeus, a disciple of Augustine of Hippo, demonstrated the imprecise nature of such ethnographic speculation in his uncertainty as to whether Magog should be identified with the Mauri or with the Massagetae.(89)

Written in the 6th century AD, two of Isidore of Seville's works, the 'Etymologies' and the 'History of the Goths', offered a blend of genealogical traditions.(90) Isidore accepted a descent for the Goths from Magog, son of Japheth who was, in his turn, one of Noah's three sons. He reported that some people deduced this origin from the similarity of 'Goth' with the final syllable of Magog's name. The ancestry was shared with the Scythians. Isidore noted in the 'History of the Goths' that, in

the past, scholars had called the Goths 'Getae' rather than 'Gog and Magog'. Farther on, almost at the close of the History, he compounds this Gothic/Getic/Scythian connection through a curious etymology, more akin to a parlour game rather than serious scholarship, by which '..with one letter changed and one removed', the name 'Getae' became 'Scythae'.(91) To complicate matters further, Isidore gave the Massagetae a Scythian origin and associated them with the Getae.(92)

One further strand in this extraordinary cat's cradle of etymological speculation is the alleged relationship of the Goths with the Mauri of North Africa. Prior to the rise of Islam, Visigothic ethnographic knowledge, drawn from Roman sources, recognised the difference between Arabs and the Berbers, that is 'Mauri', of North Africa. The Getuli, nomads from the Saharan fringe of modern Algeria who were known to the Romans, were said by Isidore to have taken their name from the Getae who had carried out a sea-borne invasion of the Syrtis region in Libya.(93) From this Getae/Getuli association, Isidore reports 'a belief among the Goths' that they and the Mauri were related.

The Getuli continue to appear in Spanish Christian ethnography in the 9th century and after. The monk Felix was identified as 'natione Getulus' by Eulogius in his *Memoriale Sanctorum*.(94) An 18th century copy of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, uniquely, makes a similar connection in describing Musa, leader of the Banu Kasi, as 'Gothus alias Getulus', although the point at which this comment, demonstrating an awareness of Isidoran writing, entered the body of the text cannot be determined.(95) The Getuli are named in the Chronicle of Albelda, making up the armies defeated

at Lodos and Anceo by Alfonso II's forces, although the title appears to be a general description of Muslims rather than a specific ethnic identification.(96) There is no other reference to the Getuli in Asturian texts. In the early 11th century the term enjoyed a brief limited antiquarian revival through a single usage to describe the Arabs.(97)

After the Muslim invasion, the name 'Mauri' continued to have the specific meaning of Berbers from Mauretania in the Chronicle of 754, which reflected Arab prejudice. It is not used in the 9th-century Chronicle of Alfonso III while in the Chronicle of Albelda and the texts associated with the 'Prophetic Chronicle', where it is employed, it appears to be moving towards a more general form of reference for Muslims.(98)

Overall, the prophecy carries the stamp of Isidoran writing. Only the Codex Rotensis version of the prophecy gives the descent for Goths and Mauri from Japheth, repeating the association made by Isidore of Seville.(99) In doing so, however, it broke with a different lineage given by Isidore which traced the ancestry of the Ishmaelites, also identified as Saracens and Hagarenes, back through Ishmael to Shem, another of Noah's sons.(100) It seems likely to be the the case that it was the Isidoran connection of Goths with the Getuli, especially, and Mauri which led the prophecy to place the victory of Gog (that is, the Goths) over the oppressing Ishmaelites in the territory of Libya.(101)

The prophecy cites two authorities for its identification of Goths with Gog and Magog:

a) The 'Chronica Gothorum'. This is given as source for the information that the ancient Gothic people took its origin from Magog, the son of Japheth, and that 'the Gothic name came from the similarity of the final syllable, that is, Gog'.(102) In fact, this is a paraphrase of statements made in Isidore's Historia Gothorum and Etymologies.

b) The 'Liber Generationum'. This source is used to confirm the descent of the Goths from Japheth's son, Gog, with an additional comment that Gothia and Scythia were named from Magog. The Liber Generationis, as it is more commonly known, forms part of the collection of pieces in the 'Calendar of 354', an almanac composed of a large variety of Christian and pagan documents which constitute the oldest extant Roman Christian calendar.(103) Although the Liber Generationis deals with the origins of the peoples of the world, it does not contain the information on the Goths that is given in the explanation of Ezekiel's prophecy. The actual source for this Gothic genealogy is Isidore of Seville's Etymologies.(104)

ii) The Length of Time for the Prophecy's Completion.

The reason for the choice of the 170—year span for the completion of the prophecy is not at all clear. There is no obvious or direct correlation with events from biblical history although it is possible that the writer's intention may have been to recall the 70—year captivity of the Jews in Babylon that had been foretold by Jeremiah (Jer. 25,11). It might conceivably have been based on the cycles of years used for calculating the date of the great Christian religious festival of Easter.(105)

In the wider collection of texts associated with the prophecy, the total figure for the length of Muslim rule in Spain is given at the end of the list of Muslim governors and emirs of Spain as 168 years 5 months, in the Codex Rotensis, and 169 years, in the other principal texts.(106) Perhaps the 170 years required for the prophecy's fulfilment represents the closest 'round' figure after the Muslim occupation is taken into account. This practice had been followed in the Chronicle of 754. Its author chose to abandon the calculation of 5196 years from Creation to the Incarnation, given on the authority of Eusebius of Caesarea and Isidore of Seville, for a figure of 5200 years, given without a named authority, on the grounds that it was '..a perfect number, most full of beauty'.(107)

iii) The Date of the Muslim Invasion.

Having established that the prophecy required 170 years for its completion, it was obviously important to fix a point in time from which the calculation could be made. Only the Codex Rotensis text, twice, gives the date of 11 November, 714 AD (die III Idus Novembris era DCCLII) for the Muslim invasion of Spain in its explanation of the prophecy. In the wider collection of texts that make up the 'Prophetic Chronicle', all versions of the 'Ratio Sarracenorum de sua ingressione in Spania', as it is called in the Codex Rotensis, agree in placing the Muslim invasion on 11 November, 714 AD, in the third year of Roderick's reign.(108) What is, in fact, a double error on date and regnal year is also found in the Ordo Gentis Gotorum of the Chronicle of Albelda and in the older of the two basic versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(109)

There is much uncertainty about the precise circumstances, dates and events of the Muslim invasion of Spain and the Visigothic collapse. Nevertheless, the information given in the prophecy is clearly mistaken. Muslim sources place Roderick's defeat in 711 AD (92 AH).(110) Despite variations in the actual day of Roderick's defeat, there is no support in the recorded Muslim tradition for the 11 November date. Numismatic evidence shows that Muslims were striking coins in Toledo, the Visigothic capital, in 712 AD.(111) Nor is there any justification for accepting the suggested three year reign for Roderick rather than the single year attributed to him by the Chronicle of 754.(112) Most tellingly, two Christian texts, connected with Asturian matters but written prior to the late 9th-century chronicles, each place the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in 711 AD (Era 749).(113)

The 170 years preceding the fulfilment of the prophecy were calculated from the Muslim triumph in 11 November 714 AD. All versions of the prophecy report that these years will soon be completed.(114) In its version of the list of Muslim rulers, the Codex Rotensis gives a total figure of 168 years and five months for their authority in Spain. This total is not consistent with the actual total of the given figures, which is only 168 years.(115) The Codex Rotensis adds further crucial detail which supports its given total. In a unique addition to the prophecy texts, the Codex Rotensis reports that there are seven months before the ending of the 169th year on 11 November.(116) This suggests a date of April 883 AD for the writing of the prophetic text. The 170th year required for the prophecy's achievement,

therefore, would end on 11 November 884 AD. There is no other known significance for the year 884 AD. The prophecy may have served to raise Christian morale early in 883 AD at a time of renewed Muslim military pressure on the southern frontier of the Asturian kingdom, despite the earlier successes of Alfonso III in 878 AD and 881 AD.(117) The choice of 170 years for the accomplishment of the prophecy was discussed above. As a rounded 'beautiful number' it placed the prophecy's message of hope at an encouragingly close point in time. Everything was superimposed on the crucial foundation date of 11 November 714 AD for the Muslim invasion of Spain.

Two Asturian texts from the time of Alfonso II (791-842 AD), the *Laterculus Regum Ovetensium* and the 'Testament of Alfonso II', date the Muslim invasion to 711 AD.(118) The 'Testament', an authentic and original royal charter of 812 confirming donations to the church of San Salvador in Oviedo, places Roderick's defeat in 711 AD when it describes the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in providentialist terms.(119) Up to Alfonso II's reign, at least, it is clear that the now-conventional date of 711 AD for the Muslim overthrow of the Visigoths was known and accepted in the Asturian kingdom.

The incorrect date of 714 AD, however, was used in the late 9th-century cycle of Asturian chronicles and this needs to be explained.(120) The prophecy, from April 883 AD, was not the earliest of these Asturian texts. The *Chronicle of Albelda*, in its first redaction to 881 AD, was earlier. At the end of its sequence of Visigothic kings, the '*Ordo Gothorum Regum*', Roderick is awarded a three year reign and the fall of his kingdom is

placed in 714 AD. This shows that the 714 AD date was in use prior to its adoption by the prophecy text. It might be suggested that the Chronicle of Albelda date was later altered to conform with the prophecy's chronology.

As was noted above, however, the Visigothic king-list in the Chronicle of Albelda used a late 8th-century Septimanian redaction of a source which had originated in the Kingdom of Toledo. Two other versions of this 'Chronologia Regum Gothorum' exist and each shares the information given in the Chronicle of Albelda. It may be, therefore, that the 714 AD date actually refers to the Muslim conquest of the most distant, north-eastern reaches of the Visigothic kingdom in Septimania, where a minor kinglet, Achila II, credited with a three year reign, is known to have struck coins at Gerona, Narbonne and Tarragona.(122) The conclusion must be either that the late 9th-century cycle of Asturian chronicles deliberately changed an accepted chronology on the fall of the Visigothic kingdom to conform with a prophecy or that, more probably, from the use of a Septimanian source in a chronicle that was pre-prophecy, there was an imperfect knowledge of the early eighth century.

c) The Life of the Prophecy.

The Codex Rotensis text of the prophecy is the most emphatic in tone, as well as the most substantial, of the different versions. As has been seen above, it gives a precise date for its composition and its completion. There is a heightened sense of anticipation in its confident assertion that, with divine aid, enemy territory has been reduced and that the Church has been

restored. In a short time, Alfonso (III) would rule over all Spain, restoring the Visigothic kingdom. His expected triumph was confirmed in the signs and portents that had been revealed by Christians. It even claims that the Muslims themselves, on the basis of prodigies and astrological configurations, foretold their own destruction and Alfonso's imminent triumph.

These assertions may well be more than empty propaganda. In the disturbed political conditions of the mid 9th century, there is evidence of prophecies circulating among the three great religious communities of Spain, Christian, Jewish and Muslim, which anticipated the end of the existing order. Paulus Alvarus in Córdoba, at the heart of al-Andalus, drew inspiration from the Old Testament prophets to anticipate the fall of Islam in 870 AD, 16 years on from the year in which he wrote the 'Indiculus Luminosus'.(123) From his polemic with Alvarus, which has to be followed through the Christian sources, Eleazar, the former deacon Bodo whose conversion to Judaism in 838 AD caused a sensation, seems to have used Danieline prophecies to predict the long-awaited restoration of the Temple in the year 4628 from Creation (September 867-August 868 AD) and fulfilment of the messianic mission in the year 4668 (September 907-August 908 AD).(124)

There is also evidence in Muslim sources of anxiety about future disasters.(125) The 9th-century History of Ibn Habib, an encyclopaedic collection of disparate texts, contained prophecies on the end of Ummayyad Spain.(126) These told of divine anger at Cordoban wickedness, leading to an all-consuming civil war in al-Andalus. The fall of Córdoba would finally be accomplished

either by a fatal blow from across the mountains or by a leader with a large nose and sinister appearance. In this catastrophe, the only secure place would be the hill of 'Abu Abda' where stood a church built in earlier times. Although Ibn Habib died in 853 or 854 AD, his History contains a list of Spain's Muslim rulers extending to 888 AD, the first year of Abdallah's reign (888-912 AD). This indicates an addition to Ibn Habib's History which may be the commitment to writing by a student of the master's oral teaching, with further material.

The prophecies of Ibn Habib might belong to the mid-9th century but they had a continuing relevance at the end of the 880's when the rebellion of Umar ibn Hafsun (d. 917 AD) and his sons, who were later alleged to have converted to Christianity, posed a prolonged threat to the Ummayyad regime from his mountain stronghold at Bobastro in the modern province of Malaga.(127) Ibn Hafsun himself was said to have been inspired to rebel against the Ummayyads by a prophecy made to him while hiding away in North African exile.(128) A curious footnote to these events, echoing Ibn Habib's History, is that, after capturing Bobastro with its church in 927 AD, Abd al-Rahman III (912-961 AD) is said to have preserved it as a refuge for his family in the light of a prediction which foretold disasters for Spain.(129)

By 883 AD there was a realistic basis for hopes of Christian military success against Muslim Spain. In north-east Spain Wifred 'the Hairy', count of Barcelona, exploited a de facto independence from the weakening Carolingian empire to secure control of the Spanish March counties (apart from Pallars and Ribagorça) which now form part of modern Catalonia.(130) The

Asturian kingdom, the most powerful by far of the independent Christian states in Spain although still far inferior in resources to a united Cordoban emirate, was practising a precocious expansionism. Its king Alfonso III led his armies to victory over Muslim forces, extended his kingdom's territorial limits in northern Portugal as well as along the line of the Duero, and raided deeper into Muslim-held territory than any previous Asturian ruler. Nevertheless, the Asturian kingdom remained vulnerable to Muslim attack along the traditional invasion routes into Castile and Galicia.

The strength of al-Andalus, on the other hand, was sapped by internal disunity. The period 852-912 AD, covered by the reigns of the emirs Mohammed I, al-Mundhir and Abdallah, was marked by rebellion and secession from the Córdoba's central authority. There were repeated local civil wars between Arabs, Berbers, Muwallads (Christian converts to Islam) and Mozarabs. The most important of the independent areas were in the north-east around the Ebro valley with the Banu Kasi, in the west around Badajoz and Mérida with Ibn Merwan and, most dangerously for Cordoba, in the south-east with Umar ibn Hafsun.(131) Even in these circumstances, the prophetic expectation of the collapse of Muslim power by 11 November 884 AD called for a leap of faith but it was not beyond the realms of possibility.

The precision of the prophecy's date may have enhanced its authority but also gave an unforgiving test of its worth. When St. Martin's Day, 11 November 884 AD, came and passed, without the overthrow of the Cordoban emirate, the value of the prophecy was fatally undermined. As its basic theme was the withdrawal of

divine favour through the failings of the 'chosen people' and its eventual restoration, the non-fulfilment of the prophecy might have been taken to reflect poorly on the Christians of the Asturian kingdom or their ruler. After all, the ruin of the Visigothic kingdom, for example, in the Chronicle of Alfonso III and other sources was blamed variously on the immorality of the last kings, church and people.(131)

Despite the prophecy's disappointing failure in 884 AD, it was copied into the 10th-century codices which form the earliest extant versions of the text. For the true believer, there was always the possibility of breathing fresh life into a failed prophecy by recalculating its crucial dates. In the Codex Albeldensis, completed in 976 AD by the monk Vigila from the Riojan monastery of Albelda, the prophecy was revived by the expedient of converting the 170 years required for its fulfilment into 270, placing it in 984 AD.(132) If the new figure of 270 years was the work of the copyist Vigila, he was placing the end of Muslim Spain some eight years in the future. This called for even greater faith in divine providence, perhaps, than the original prophecy for 884 AD.

Perhaps Vigila meant to lift Christian morale after the humiliating defeat that had been inflicted on the combined forces of Leon, Castile and Navarre at the fortress of Gormaz in July 975 AD by a Muslim army.(133) Under Abd al-Rahman III (912-961 AD) and his son al-Hakem II (961-976 AD), the power of the Cordoban state was not just revived but taken to new heights of wealth and glory. In the last quarter of the 10th century the military dictator, al-Mansur (976-1002 AD), nominally acting on

behalf of al-Hakem's son, Hisham II (976-1013 AD), exercised complete military supremacy over Christian Spain.(134) In the political reality of the last quarter of the 10th century, a prediction on the end of Muslim Spain in 984 AD was far more improbable than the earlier version for 884 AD. There do not appear to have been any further attempts to resuscitate the prophecy.

d) The Author of the Prophecy.

The 'Prophetic Chronicle' has rightly been reattached to the other texts which make up the Chronicle of Albelda. As has been indicated above, the identity of the author of the Chronicle of Albelda is not known. The prophecy itself also lacks a named author although there are interesting and suggestive elements in the text. Its associated texts are rich in information on Arab genealogy, Islam and the Muslim rulers of Spain. In its presentation of the Ishmaelites as a scourge of God and in its expectation of the end of Muslim Spain, the prophecy shares the attitudes of the Cordoban Christians, Eulogius and Paulus Alvarus.(135) The Codex Rotensis carries information on the surrender terms agreed by Gothic settlements in the wake of the invasion which corresponds to Muslim sources. It also has a poignant lament for the fall of Toledo, the former ruler of nations, that forms a coda to the fulsome praise of Spain, the 'De Laude Hispaniae', by which Isidore of Seville introduced his History of the Goths. All of this underlines the Mozarabic character of the chronicle. From the mid-ninth century onwards there was an increasing flow of Christian migrants from Muslim Spain into the Asturian kingdom, bringing with them a highly

distinctive culture.(136) One intriguing possibility is that the author of the prophecy might possibly be the Toledan priest Dulcidius, who came from an appropriate Mozarabic background, and whose absence on a diplomatic mission to Cordoba in November 883 AD was reported at the close of the Chronicle of Albelda.(137) His absence on an embassy, the result of which was unknown to the writer, rules Dulcidius out of being the author of the Chronicle of Albelda. It has been suggested, on the basis of Mozarabic knowledge and sentiments, that he may also have been the author of the Roda version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(138)

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CHAPTER 5: THE CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: CONTENT AND FORM

A: The Chronicle and Its Importance

The Chronicle of Alfonso III is the most substantial of the narrative sources for the history of the Asturian kingdom. Covering the period from the accession of the Visigothic king Wamba (672 AD) to the death of Ordoño I (866 AD), it is connected in content and language with two other products of Asturian historiography from the early 880's, the Chronicle of Albelda and the so-called 'Prophetic Chronicle'. The birth and development of the Asturian kingdom in the 8th and 9th centuries has to be drawn from these sources which supply a vital supplement to the information of charters, inscriptions and regnal lists. Of this cycle of Asturian writing, the Chronicle of Alfonso III has the greatest substance and sophistication. Nevertheless, for all its importance, this chronicle presents many difficulties in transmission and interpretation. The content, principal versions, date of composition and authorship of the Chronicle of Alfonso III will be outlined before considering the ideological purposes that shaped its structure.

B: The Content of the Chronicle of Alfonso III

The Chronicle survives in two basic versions, amounting to 17 and 18 pages in the edition of Juan Gil. Each spans the years from 672 AD to 866 AD, constituting a national history focussed on events within Spain rather than a universal history with the wider horizons of the texts in the Chronicle of Albelda. They contain similar information, with a small, and interesting, number of variants which will be considered below.

The two basic forms of the Chronicle of Alfonso III share a common structure that is reminiscent of Isidore of Seville's History of the Goths and its sequence of short, royal biographies. There is a marked difference in their language and style although for the reign of Ordone I, the last in the Chronicle, they give an account that is virtually identical word for word. For the most part, events are reported in a rather matter-of-fact style with few passages where strong feelings burst from the text.(1) Although only Julian of Toledo is named as a source, and this is only in one version, the text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III is enriched by biblical quotations, phrases taken from saints' lives, legal expressions and flourishes of Visigothic literary style.(2)

A series of brief lives of the Visigothic kings opens with Wamba, continues on through Erwig, Egica, Wittiza and Roderick, leading into an account of Pelayo's successful defiance of the Muslim invaders and the creation of an independent Asturian kingdom. The description of the battle at Covadonga, with attendant events, is strikingly different from anything else in the Chronicle by virtue of its detail, length and epic style including a dramatic face-to-face confrontation between the rebel leader Pelayo and the Bishop Oppa, a collaborator with the Muslim army.(2) It serves as a kind of centre-piece in a triptych, uniting the Visigothic and Asturian rulers in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

After Pelayo, the Chronicle continues with short biographies of his successors that match the preceding lives of Visigothic kings. The sequence of Asturian kings corresponds to the royal

lists in the Laterculus Legionensis, the Rotensis version of the Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium and the Chronicle of Albelda.(4) It proceeds from Pelayo to Fafila, Alfonso I, Fruela I, Aurelius, Silo, Mauregatus, Vermudo I, Alfonso II, Nepotian and Ramiro I, ending in 866 AD with the death of Ordoño I, Alfonso III's father. There are no solid grounds for supposing that the lives of Alfonso III and his sons, contained in the Historia Silense or the Chronicle of Sampiro, were originally a part of the Chronicle of Alfonso III which had become detached in the vagaries of transmission.(5)

The royal lives are of unequal length. Apart from Covadonga and its immediate aftermath, the 19 year reign of Pelayo is dismissed in a few lines, with no other detail given apart from the reference to the marriage of his daughter, Ermesinda, with the future Alfonso I.(6) The longest biographies in the Chronicle, with the exception of Wamba in the series of Visigothic kings, are those of Alfonso I, Alfonso II, Ramiro I. and Ordoño I.

There is a chronological skeleton within the Chronicle which, with a few exceptions, gives a regnal length for each king and an era date for the end of the reign.(7) Apart from this, there are two specific dates, one for the Muslim invasion and the other for the anointing of Alfonso II. These are found only in one version of the Chronicle and may well be later additions to the text.(8) For the reign of Alfonso II, both versions of the Chronicle date two separate Muslim invasions of the Asturian kingdom by reference to the king's regnal years, the third and the thirtieth, which enables the actual year to be calculated in each case by reckoning from his accession in 791 AD. This is little

enough, admittedly, but it is hardly inferior to the chronological information given by Isidore of Seville's History of the Goths.

The Chronicle is, in essence, a tale of kings and their actions. For most of the rulers it specifies the relationship with their predecessor or the ruling dynasty, makes a judgement on the legitimacy of their succession, gives a regnal length and an era date for the end of their reign.(9) It is a record of conquests, conspiracies, invasions and rebellions. For the Visigothic kings in the Chronicle, the holding of church councils and synods is the principal peacetime activity with which they were associated.(10) Wittiza, in particular, is singled out for his immorality in breaking canon law and enforcing clerical marriage, which is specifically blamed for the fall of Spain.(11) The Asturian king Fruela I, although in one version only of the Chronicle, is credited with ending the Wittizan abuses.(12) In general, for the Asturian kings, the principal peacetime activity was the building or restoration of churches, fulfilling one part of Pelayo's prediction on the restoration of Christian rule in Spain. This construction work is of importance in the Chronicle and is referred to in general as well as specific terms.(13)

Apart from members of the Asturian dynasty, rebels against the crown and battlefield opponents, there are very few named individuals in the Chronicle of Alfonso III after the election of Pelayo.(14) There are only two named clerics in the Chronicle and each has strong royal connections. The first is the collaborating Bishop Oppa, son of King Wittiza, who was instructed on theology by Pelayo during a shouted exchange at

Covadonga and later disappears from the Chronicle, after the Muslim defeat, as a captive of the victorious Christian rebels.(15) The other is King Vermudo I, who was elected to the throne, reigned for three years and then abdicated on the surprising grounds, stated baldly in the Chronicle, that he recalled having been ordained as a deacon before becoming king.(16)

Within the Chronicle a strongly providentialist theme portrays the Christians, as the Chosen People, enduring the travails of the Old Testament Jews. Pelayo's victory signified a restoration of the divine favour which had been withdrawn, because of moral failings in both church and crown, to such a disastrous effect as to permit the Muslim invasion.(17) After Covadonga, the Chronicle reports no Muslim successes against the nascent Asturian kingdom, contrary to the actual historical record, in describing the recovery of the Christian church and people.

There is a small number of miracles and acts of direct divine intervention in the Chronicle. A bee is said to have hovered over Wamba's head during his coronation, an incident taken from Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae*.(18) A heavenly choir is said to have sung a lament over the corpse of Alfonso I, an event similar to the psalm-singing described by Gregory the Great for the body of the martyred Hermenegild (d.585), killed by his Arian father, Leovigild.(19) Divine intervention is invoked most strongly in the battle of Covadonga and ensuing events. During the battle at Covadonga, Muslim missiles, hurled towards the sanctuary of the Virgin Mary, were turned back on their launchers by an unseen power.(20) Afterwards, in its desperate flight to

safety after the battle, the Muslim army was overwhelmed by a landslide, which the Chronicle compared to the inundation of Pharaoh's army by the Red Sea.(21) The supernatural episodes which occur in the aftermath of the battle carry a short statement emphasising their credibility.(22)

C: The Principal Versions of the Chronicle

1: Editions of the Text.(23)

Since the pioneering scholarship of Prudencio de Sandoval in the 17th century and the outstanding work of Henrique Florez in the 18th century, both of whom used only one version of the text, there have been many editions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(24) Although there had been other versions of the text, the 1980's proved to be a golden age for students of the text with the publication of three extensive editions of the Chronicle, covering both versions, together with a valuable commentary, by Jan Prelog (1980), Juan Gil (1985) and Yves Bonnaz (1987).(25) The Gil Fernández edition will be used for the following study of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. The process of establishing a satisfactory text for historians, however, has not always met the criteria of linguists, given the tendency of editors to correct the orthography and morphology of the Chronicle's 'barbarous' Latin.(26) Important supplements to the textual editions are the commentaries on the Chronicle by L. Barrau-Dihigo, M. Gómez-Moreno, R. Menéndez Pidal and C. Sánchez-Albornoz.(27)

2: The Principal Versions of the Chronicle.

The Chronicle of Alfonso III exists in two basic forms. These

served as the basis of two further texts which were significantly interpolated. The four versions of the Chronicle were identified by Z. García Villada as, respectively, 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D', following their chronology of composition.(28) His terminology will be used in the following pages.

a) The 'A' text.(29)

This is also called:

- i) 'Original' (redaccion primitiva), after Garcia Villada's argument that other versions of the Chronicle were only recastings of this text.
- ii) 'Ad Sebastianum', after the letter from King Alfonso to 'our Sebastian' which introduces the Chronicle proper.
- iii) 'Oviedan', from a codex in the archive of Oviedo Cathedral containing the text.
- iv) 'Erudite', from its more elevated literary style.

b) The 'B' Text.(30)

This is also called:

'Rodan' or 'Rotense', from the codex containing the earliest extant text.

c) The 'C' Text.(31)

This is called the 'Pelagian'.

It is the 'A' text with substantial interpolations. In the early 12th century, Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo incorporated it into

his universal history, the Liber Chronicorum, a sequence of chronicles which extended from Creation to the death of Alfonso VI in 1109 AD. The earliest full version of 'C' is in the 13th-century Ms. 1513 (the Book of Batres), of the Biblioteca Nacional. This was copied by Ambrosio de Morales in the 16th century as part of his compilation of Oviedan material, B.N. Ms. 1346, on the grounds that it corresponded to the content of a 'liber vetus Ovetensis' he had seen in Oviedo.(32) It omits the introductory letter of King Alfonso which is attached to the 'A' version but otherwise contains the full Chronicle text from Wamba's accession to the death of Ordono I. Another collection of Pelagian material, associated with the Tumbo Negro of Santiago, has an abbreviated version of 'C' which begins only with the death of Mauregatus and the accession of Vermudo.(33) Marginal notes taken from a Salamancan codex, which give a reading that corresponds to the 'C' text, were added to a 17th century copy of the 'A' text. This codex, now lost, may have had its origin in Oviedo as Bishop Diego de Muros, who held the see from 1512 to 1526 AD, founded a college at the University of Salamanca and bequeathed to it his library, which contained old manuscripts from the church.(34)

The 'C' version closely follows the text of 'A' that is associated with Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo and to which he added information on royal burial places in order to enhance the prestige of the Asturian monarchy.(35) In its own right, the 'C' text incorporated passages to enhance the temporal rank or spiritual prestige of Bishop Pelayo and his see. They occupied a key position for defending Oviedan interests in the complicated

jurisdictional disputes that preoccupied the leading Spanish clergy at the start of the 12th century:

- i) King Wamba's reorganisation of the Spanish Church. The so-called 'Division of Wamba' was a late 11th/12th century invention for use in the wrangles over ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Within this version of the list of sees are given the territorial limits of Lugo 'in the Asturias' (Lucus Asturum, now Lugo de Llanera), a bishopric claimed here to have been established by the Vandal king, Guntamundus. Like the neighbouring see of Leon (which was said to have been founded by an Alan, King Atacis), Lugo 'in the Asturias' is said to have always enjoyed independence from the authority of any metropolitan. (This so-called 'Division of Wamba' was a late 11th/early 12th century invention.)(36)
- ii) The translation of a chest of relics, the Arca Santa, from Jerusalem to Toledo and then on to Oviedo, by Archbishop Julian, in the reign of King Pelayo.(37)
- iii) The transfer of the see of Lucus Asturum to Oviedo in the time of King Fruela.(38)
- iv) A military expedition to Merida by King Silo that brought back the remains of St. Eulalia to Pravia.(39)
- v) The collocation of the remains of St. Eulalia and the chest of relics in the chapel of the Archangel Michael (the Camara Santa) by Alfonso II.(40)
- vi) The role of Bishop Pelayo in clarifying the identity of St.

Eulalia's relics in 1102 AD which were then rehoused in a magnificent silver chest, thanks to the generosity of King Alfonso VI (1065-1109 AD) and Queen Sancha.(41)

- vii) Alfonso II is said to have had a royal wife from Gaul, named Bertinalda, although he never actually saw her.(42)
- viii) Details on the churches built by Alfonso II including the Cámara Santa, a building on two levels, with the upper storey being a chapel of the Archangel Michael, and the lower, a crypt, dedicated to St. Leocadia.(43)
- ix) Reference to a church of John the Baptist (which is not directly attributed to Alfonso II). This later served as the final resting-place for the translated remains of St. Pelayo, a boy-martyr in early 10th-century Córdoba.(44)
- x) A keen endorsement of the spiritual benefits to be derived by pilgrims from a visit to Oviedo's shrines and the receipt of a blessing from the bishop.(45)
- xi) A full list of the contents of the relics in the Holy Chest.(46)

Through these interpolations Pelayo asserted the desired territorial limits of his see and how these had been passed on to Oviedo as an inheritance from earlier bishoprics. He emphasised the range and importance of Oviedo's relics, with the marvellous spiritual benefits to be derived by pilgrims who venerated them in the cathedral-church of San Salvador. Pelayo's self-promotion with regard to these relics enhanced not only his own status but also that of his see, and should be seen in a similar light to

the early 12th-century *Historia Compostellana* by which Pelayo's contemporary, Diego Gelmírez (1100-1140 AD), celebrated the glories of Compostela and of himself as its first archbishop.(47) The odd statement on Alfonso II's marriage to Bertinalda of Gallic royal stock points to Pelayo's political sensitivity as Frankish influence had grown at the Leonese court, and elsewhere in the Iberian peninsula, under Alfonso VI, his daughter Urraca (1109-1126 AD) and her son Alfonso VII (1126-1157 AD).(48)

Some of the interpolations (numbers v,vi,viii,ix) were evidently based on Bishop Pelayo's personal knowledge. Others (numbers iii,iv,vii) report traditions, unknown in earlier sources, which might conceivably represent local belief but are more likely to have been invented by Pelayo, whose antiquarian interests, also found in other writings, had practical applications. The most substantial of the interpolations (numbers i,ii,x,xi) incorporate documents known from elsewhere in the body of writings associated with Pelayo. The information on the metropolitan sees and their suffragans that is given in number i appears to have been taken from the *Liber Itacii* and the *Notitia Sedium Hispaniae Episcopaliū* which in BN Ms. 1346.(49) Numbers ii,x,xi appear to have been taken from a document 'Haec scriptura docet qualiter arca cum multorum pignoribus sanctorum Oveto ab Ierusalem sit translata' which is contained in the *Liber Testamentorum*, a compilation of privileges, real and imagined, relating to Oviedo.(50)

Interpolations on similar themes to those in the 'C' text, defending Oviedan possessions and ecclesiastical precedence,

occur elsewhere in Bishop Pelayo's Liber Chronicorum, of which it is an integral part. B.N. Ms. 1346, Ambrosio de Morales' collection of material from Oviedo, is the most extensive assemblage of texts from the corpus Pelagianum. The 13th-century Book of Batres (B.N. Ms. 1513), which included the Liber Chronicorum, comprises folios 116 to 214 of B.N. Ms. 1346. It followed on from another compilation of Pelagian material, the 12th-century B.N. Ms. 1358 (the Liber vetustus Complutensis), some of which Morales copied into folios 97 to 112 of Ms. 1346.

The first 106 folios of Ms. 1346 contain miscellaneous writings taken from what Morales described as an ancient Oviedan source ('vetustissimus codex ovetensis'). This part of Ms. 1346 preserves genuine Visigothic material, such as letters and diplomatic formulae, much of which is otherwise unknown. Besides the 'B' version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, it contains historical writings by Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo. Among such texts are two, the Liber Itacii (unknown elsewhere) and the Notitia sedium Hispaniae episcopalium, which contain information that becomes the 'Division of Wamba' in text 'C' of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

Ms. 1346 carries two indices, the first, on f.2, lists the actual content of the whole manuscript while the other, on f.115, only lists material up to the Book of Batres, that is, to folio 96. The second index seems to be a record of the content of the 'vetustissimus codex ovetensis' that had been seen by Morales. It names texts which were not actually copied into the body of Ms. 1346. One of these is the description of the Holy Chest of relics and its movements (Haec scriptura docet qualiter arca cum

multorum pignoribus sanctorum Oveto ab Iherusalem sit translata) that was copied into the Liber Testamentorum and interpolated into the 'C' text. Two other texts, identified in the index but not included in Ms. BN 1346, were the letters sent by a Pope John in the care of Severus/Siderius and Reynaldus. These are obviously the letters, discussed earlier, authorising church councils at Oviedo. One version of these, dated to the time of Alfonso II, exists in the Liber Testamentorum. The other version, dating them to the lifetime of Alfonso III, occurs as a major interpolation to the Chronicle of Sampiro, which followed the 'C' text in the Liber Chronicorum.

From this, it may be that Ms. 1346 reveals an evolutionary process in the use of documents by Bishop Pelayo although the lack of reliable dates for the composition of the corpus Pelagianum make any attempts at such an analysis highly speculative.(51) Embroiled in continuing territorial disputes with the neighbouring bishoprics of Burgos and Lugo, struggling to evade Toledo's attempts to make Oviedo a suffragan see and engaged in a prolonged contest with Santiago de Compostela over pilgrims, relics and archiepiscopal status, Pelayo used the written word to confer authority and respectability on the self-asserted rights of his see. In this and the use of appeal to the papal curia, Pelayo, as the very model of a 12th-century reformed clergyman, showed how far the Spanish Church, famously independent in Visigothic times, had rejoined the mainstream of ecclesiastical life.(52) Across Western Christendom churchmen defended their claimed rights through the manufacture of documents which remedied any inconvenient gaps in the historical record left by the ravages of time or by the oversight of those

who had gone before. Such action has led the 12th century to be characterised as the golden age of forgery.(53) Bishop Pelayo's distinctive contribution may have been to relocate crucial texts, forgeries in crude modern terms, for the defence of Oviedo's interests into the most convincing setting. Key individual documents were placed in collections of genuine historical material. Some, also gathered into the Liber Testamentorum, were ultimately inserted into those historical works which were linked to form the Liber Chronicorum.

d) The 'D' Text.(54)

This forms the basis of the account of the Visigothic/Asturian kings given in the 12th century Chronicle of Nájera. In effect, it is the 'B' text. There are additions, however, identifying Alfonso II's alleged wife as well as the wife and children of Ordoño I which have been taken from the 'C' text. The anonymous author of the Chronicle of Nájera drew on other sources associated with Pelayo of Oviedo, including the Chronicle of Sampiro and the bishop's own brief chronicle. This seems to indicate access to the Liber Chronicorum.(55)

D: A Comparative Study of the Chronicle of Alfonso III in Its Two Principal Forms

There are significant differences between the two principal versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, identified in the preceding section as 'A' and 'B'. These need to be considered along with the origins of the Chronicle and its relationship to the other Asturian writings before an assessment can be made of the Chronicle's purposes, themes and, crucially, its value as

an historical source.

1: The Two Principal Forms of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

a) The 'A' text.

The oldest extant versions of the 'A' text are copies made in the late 16th and early 17th centuries from earlier codices which themselves are no longer extant:

- i) In 1572/3 AD, while carrying out a royal commission to search for manuscripts and relics in north-west Spain, Ambrosio de Morales copied the 'A' text from a now-lost Oviedan codex into ff. 11v-17v of what is now Ms. 1346 in Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional. Gil identified this text as O.(56)
- ii) Juan Bautista Perez, Bishop of Segorbe from 1591 AD, made a copy of an old codex, written in Visigothic hand, which Jorge de Beteta y Cardenas, a nobleman from Soria, had presented to the royal library of El Escorial in 1578 AD. The original codex was destroyed in a great fire in 1671 AD. The uncertainties of manuscript survival are further illustrated by the fate of the copy (in Ms. G-1 of Segorbe cathedral), which was lost in this century during the Spanish Civil War, although a microfilmed copy remains in existence. Gil identified this text as S.(57) Another version of the Sorian text, British Library Egerton 1873, was copied in 1584 AD, with additions to the text and the margin in a different hand, that of a Jesuit scholar, Juan de Mariana (1535-1624 AD).(58) This text, along with other copies of S, has no variants of interest.(59)

iii) In 1606 AD, Mauro Castellá Ferrer, bishop and historian of Santiago de Compostela, made a copy of the Chronicle from an Oviedan codex which carried marginal notes in the hand of Ambrosio de Morales. In Gil's edition, this manuscript, BN Ms. 1237 folios 1r-20r, is identified as F.(60)

These are the most important editions of the text, forming the basis of later copies, although it is not clear how far they are removed from the original of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(61) The readings of the FO texts are normally in agreement, as might be expected, and there are some differences from S.(62) The consensus of scholarly opinion has taken the S text rather than the FO texts to be closer to the Chronicle's original. This view was reversed by Juan Gil in his recent edition of the Chronicle although he conceded that FO did contain alterations that must have transformed the meaning of the original.(63)

The 'A' text is the shorter of the two principal versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. An incipit introduces the work as a history of the Visigoths from the time of King Wamba up to the present, which had been assembled in the time of King Garcia, that is, Garcia I (910-914 AD), son of Alfonso. (He was the first of Alfonso III's three sons to follow their father on the throne.) (64) The text proper of the Chronicle is preceded by a letter, found only in the 'A' version, from a 'King Alfonso' to 'our Sebastian', offering thanks for help in gathering information for a history of the Goths and explaining why this was needed for the time of King Wamba onwards.(65) The significance of the incipit and the letter for the dating and

authorship of the Chronicle will be considered in the sections which follow.

The text itself in this version of the Chronicle falls within the same chronological limits as the 'B' version, that is, from the accession of Wamba in 672 AD to the death of Ordone I in 866 AD, although in content there are interesting differences and omissions. The Latin of the 'A' text shares stylistic features with 'B' but it is held to be superior in quality, principally on the grounds that it is closer to the classical forms.(66)

b) The 'B' text.

There are three essential strands to the manuscript tradition of the 'B' text:

- i) The oldest extant text of the Chronicle, in either of its two principal versions, is in the 10th century Codex Rotensis. Written in the scriptorium of San Millan de la Cogolla in the Rioja, the manuscript disappeared in the 19th century and was only recovered in 1927 in a private library. It is now held in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia as codex 78, with the 'B' text occupying folios 178r-185r. In Gil's edition, this manuscript is identified as R.(67)
- ii) There is a 12th century version of the text contained in BN Ms. 8831 ff. 157r-163r. In Gil's edition this is identified as M.(68)
- iii) There are two 16th-century copies of a now-lost codex which had been in the possession of Michael of Medina, a

Franciscan monk. One copy is now held in folios 144v-149r of Ms. b.I.9. in the library of El Escorial. This is identified as E in Gil's edition. The other copy, as folios 1v-9r, forms part of BN Ms. 1512 in Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional and constitutes N in Gil's edition.(69)

The 12th-century text M, although closely related to R, is not a direct copy as was first suggested by Mommsen in the last century. It shares common omissions and readings with the 16th-century texts that distinguish it from the Codex Rotensis. The M text seems rather to be a bridge between R and EN.(70)

The 'B' text is the fuller of the two principal versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. An incipit introduces the work as a history of the Visigoths from the time of King Wamba up to the present in the time of King Ordoño. The rather garbled Latin that follows has been interpreted to identify this Ordoño as Ordoño II (913-924 AD), the second of Alfonso III's sons to succeed him.(71) The Latin of the 'B' text, especially, has been damned as being truly barbarous for the weakness of its constructions, the poverty of its vocabulary and the use of stereotyped formulae. This criticism of the style should not overshadow the fact that its content is spiced with literary and legal allusions as well as scriptural quotation.(72)

Overall, the two versions of the Chronicle share a common structure with a small number of significant differences by addition and omission to the respective texts. A comparison of these will be made below. From a structural perspective, there is an unexpected convergence of the two texts for virtually the whole of the reign of Ordoño I, the father of Alfonso III. Given

the marked differences in literary style and vocabulary between both versions, such a word-for-word common account is surprising. Introduced with a protestation of veracity (Sed nec illud silebo quod verum factum esse cognosco), it moves to its conclusion by describing the exploits of the powerful Banu Kasi clan of the Ebro valley, their decisive defeat by Ordoño I, his successes against other Muslim kings, an excursus that follows Viking raiders on their raids into al-Andalus and North Africa before concluding with the death and burial of Ordoño I.(73) An explanation for this common ending will be proposed when the problem of the Chronicle's authorship is considered.

2: The Relationship of the 'A' and 'B' Texts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

Neither of the principal texts exists in its original form. The earliest 'A' version dates from the late 16th century and that of the 'B' version from the late 10th century. Each is at least one remove, and probably more, from an original text. Each has interpolations and omissions that are unique to it, as well as a small number of interesting variants in common material. The 'A' text is more positive in stressing a neogothic continuity for the Asturian kingdom and in minimising the Church's involvement in the behaviour of immoral kings. The 'B' text, on the other hand, emphasises the Asturian origins of the kingdom and projects more of a lay bias.(74) Such differences raise questions as to the precedence of the two principal Chronicle versions and of their relationship to an original source.

In the early 20th century, for Z. García Villada and L.

Barrau-Dihigo, who disagreed on the actual authorship of the Chronicle, there was common ground in their acceptance that the 'A' version was the elder and better of the two, with 'B' a coarse copy.(75) At the start of the 1930's, C. Sánchez-Albornoz and M. Gómez-Moreno developed arguments that stood this view on its head. For these historians, the 'B' text came first. They argued that the 'A' text was an edited and polished version of the original 'B' text which had been written by Alfonso III himself. Their claim was partly based on linguistic grounds, in that a copyist would have been unlikely to debase the original 'A' text, of royal authorship, to produce the barbarous Latin of the 'B' text. They also suggested that the 'A' text was an enhancement of the ideological themes laid out in the older 'B' version as well as the realisation of the desire to produce a work of superior literary quality.(76)

The Gómez-Moreno/Sánchez-Albornoz view of the relationship between the Chronicle's versions enjoyed general acceptance.(77) It was questioned in the early 1960's by A. Ubieta Arteta as part of a wider examination of the links between the 'B' version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the kingdom of Pamplona. He argued for a dependent relationship between the two versions of the Chronicle but gave chronological precedence to the 'A' text on the basis of the incipit's information, against the Gómez-Moreno/Sánchez-Albornoz line on the quality of Latin.(78)

More recently, J. Prelog, in a detailed analysis of the problem, offered a different interpretation. His conclusion, shared in its essentials by J.Gil, was that the 'A' and 'B' versions were mutually independent derivations from a common

source. Prelog argued that the Chronicle's original was recast between 910 and 914 AD, in the reign of García I. This then became the source from which the 'A' and 'B' texts were derived. From a careful study of the two versions, Prelog pointed out examples where the readings of the 'A' text carried greater authority than those of 'B' and vice versa. For Prelog, this common source carried the incipit referring to King García and the introductory letter of King Alfonso, which were both later included in the 'A' text.(79)

In 1984, Georges Martin proposed an alternative solution to the problem of the Chronicle's double version. He proceeded from the fact that after Alfonso III had been deposed the kingdom was shared between his three sons (García, Ordoño and Fruela), each of whom enjoyed the title of king. The eldest, García, who held Leon with the Castilian frontier, had a loose hegemony over his younger brothers, Ordoño in Galicia/northern Portugal and Fruela in the Asturias. In Martin's ingeniously complicated suggestion, the Chronicle of Alfonso III was written at Ordoño's court and was meant to cover the kings from Wamba to Ordoño himself. When this text came into the possession of his brother García, it may already have been incomplete, perhaps through the author's death. If not, García chose to eliminate the material from Alfonso III onwards because it touched on his father's messy deposition and enhanced the status of his brother Ordoño as successor. After Ordoño followed García onto the throne at León, he chose not to restore the Chronicle, if its abbreviated status had been due to censorship rather than death. It was this shortened version that was taken up by posterity. For Martin, it would be more correct to stop referring to a double redaction of the Chronicle of

Alfonso III and, instead, to recognise a 'Chronicle of Ordono' and a 'Chronicle of García'. This explanation seems improbable but, at least, it considers the problem raised by the incipits to the different versions of the Chronicle.(80)

Prelog's arguments on the Chronicle of Alfonso III were firmly rejected by Y. Bonnaz in his edition of the Asturian chronicles. He argued that the Chronicle of Alfonso III, in both versions, were steeped in themes which were most appropriate for the reign of the king whose name it carried. There was no justification for accepting that the two principal extant versions of the Chronicle, 'A' and 'B', were derived from a single text established as late as the reign of García I (910-914 AD). For Bonnaz, the incipits of the 'A' and 'B' texts did not support Prelog's interpretation. He preferred to take them at face-value as being copies made, respectively, in the reigns of Garcia I and Ordono II by copyists who proposed to extend the Chronicle of Alfonso III to the limits indicated by the incipit. Bonnaz offered no explanation, however, for the non-survival of these continuations.(81)

Prelog's case for 'A' and 'B' being independent copies of an earlier text is convincing. His reliance on the incipits to 'A' and 'B' as support for the view that the Chronicle had been recast between 910 and 914 AD makes this less certain. The introduction to the 'A' text and two versions of the 'B' text describes a history of the Visigoths from Wamba '.. up to now in the time of the glorious King García, Alfonso's son' (...a tempore Wambani regis usque nunc in tempore gloriosi Garseani regis

Adefonsi filii collecta).(82) The remaining versions of the 'B' text have an introduction which describes a history of the Visigoths from the time of King Wamba up to the present in the time of glorious King Ordoño of pious memory, (..a tempore Bambani regis usque nunc in tempore gloriosi Ordoni regis dive memorie Adefonsi regis filio collecta). The concluding reference here to a King Ordoño is particularly troubling and has usually been taken to refer to Ordoño II (914-924 AD), one of Alfonso III's sons.

These incipits raise serious difficulties. There is a basic problem in accepting either incipit as a description of the original text. Following, as a basic position, the accepted view that the Chronicle was produced in the reign of Alfonso III, it is clear that these incipits had to be later additions to the Chronicle. Neither the 'A' nor the 'B' version of the Chronicle is continued beyond Ordoño I's death in 866 AD, despite the assertion made by the respective incipits. Although attempts have been made to identify these continuations in later chronicles, it may be thought, following Oscar Wilde, that for one version of the Chronicle to retain its incipit despite losing its continuation is a misfortune while for it to happen to both versions is carelessness.(83) In other words, the incipits for the 'A' and 'B' texts may reflect their copyists' skill in dealing with an earlier version.

The 'B' text incipit can be seen to follow the known limits of the Chronicle from Wamba to Ordoño I with his son Alfonso III as its author, if the peculiar '..Adefonsi regis filio' of the 'B' text was a miscopying of '..ab Adefonso rege filio'.(84) The

'..Ordoni regis' of the incipit, therefore, is not Ordono II (914-924 AD), as is generally assumed, but Ordono I (850-866 AD).

The 'A' text seems more complex. If the copyist's intention can be divined, it may be simply that in recording a version of the Chronicle, to which he had made additions, he was updating or trying to make sense of an incipit carried by the original text. In doing so, the incipit was altered to name García I. In the Chronicle itself, the 'A' text is prepared to reorganise material to make its meaning more accessible, although, at times, this effort confuses rather than clarifies.(85) That the 'A' and 'B' texts carry variants of the incipit which enjoy a common vocabulary suggests they are developing an earlier text, either consciously or through misunderstanding of the basic source.

There is evidence to suggest that the 'B' text is closer to the original version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III than the 'A' text. Duke Paul's rebellion against Wamba in 673 AD and the campaign which led to its suppression are described, with some detail, in the 'B' text. This account is drawn from Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae* or, possibly, an abbreviated version.(86) The 'A' text, on the other hand, simply mentions the rebellion and refers those who wish to know more about its events to Julian's history of the period.(87) In describing the origins of Pelayo's kingship, the two versions of the Chronicle offer different explanations. The 'A' text has Pelayo elected to leadership by Visigothic refugees of royal stock who had fled to Asturias, whereas in the 'B' text he was accepted as leader by an assembly of Asturians.(88) Such an

Asturian context for the monarchy is given in an early 9th-century document, the Testament of Alfonso II, dated to 812 AD.(89) The two versions of the Chronicle have different literary styles even though their content is overwhelmingly similar. For much of the reign of Ordoño I, starting with the account of Musa and the Banu Kasi, they offer the same word-for-word text. This common text for Ordoño I has phrases which connect it on the grounds of style with the 'B' version of the Chronicle.(90) Finally, the 'A' text has a tendency to rewrite sections of the Chronicle that, on first sight, in the 'B' text seem confused but which are clear and consistent in their message.(91)

In a recent, extensive survey of medieval Spanish historiography, Peter Linehan brought characteristic good humour and sharp observation to scholarly attempts at establishing a reliable stemma for manuscripts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Referring to the writing on the Asturian chronicles in the 1980's, he noted that if, in the late 20th century, publication dates cannot be trusted and scholars are unaware of each other's work, '..what prospect can there ever be of establishing relationships between medieval and post-medieval manuscripts of 9th-century texts?'.(92) With due allowance for such uncertainty and the likely accretion of later material to an original text, some broad assumptions on the Chronicle's two variants will be accepted here. The 'A' and 'B' texts are independent versions of an older work compiled in the time of Alfonso III, although this does not necessarily imply a refoundation of the Chronicle under García I. Accepting the argument that a copyist, if not simply

reproducing a text, is more likely to improve the quality of Latin than debase it, the 'poorer' language and style of the 'B' text is closer to the original source. It may also be true for the content although, here, the lack of earlier texts means that this can only remain a tempting conjecture. More certainly, the differences between the 'A' and 'B' texts indicate omissions from or additions to the original Chronicle, and these will be considered below.

3: A Comparison of the 'A' and 'B' Texts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

The 'A' and 'B' texts of the Chronicle share a common format and core of information despite their contrasting literary styles. Within this broad similarity, there are differences between the two versions. Both texts converge to offer an identical account of Ordono I's life. The significance of the convergence and variations will be considered below.

a) The Content of the 'A' and 'B' Texts.

i) General Differences.

There is a valuable summary of the differences in content between the two principal versions in Juan Gil's edition of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Most of them are of minor significance. They offer additional, and occasionally contradictory, material on personalities and ranks.(93) Other differences relate to personal taste or knowledge in their citation of different scriptural passages to describe the same event. The references to Roderick's Cordoban palace, only in the 'B' text, or the description of Alfonso II's churches, only in

the 'A' text, suggest personal knowledge.(94) Both versions of the Chronicle have added comment in places that suggests reasonable conclusions were being drawn from basic source material.(95) Each of the texts, 'A' and 'B', has information, also found in the Chronicle of Albelda, which the other either abbreviates or omits.(96) Some of the differences appear to have been marginal notes which were incorporated into the text, a process that, occasionally, produced confusion rather than clarification.(97)

Many of the variations lie beyond effective critical assessment either in establishing a link with the original text or fixing their reliability as evidence. While both versions of the Chronicle describe an astonishing and incredible conspiracy by which Wamba, drugged and apparently at death's door, was bundled from the throne and into a monastery by Ervig, only the 'B' text, like the Chronicle of Albelda, mentions the deposed king's later revenge in persuading Egica, the successor and son-in-law to Ervig, to repudiate his wife.(98) The Chronicle's source for this episode and the purpose behind its inclusion remain mysterious.(99) Nor is it clear why the 'A' text should be silent on the church councils held by Wamba and Ervig when these are mentioned in the 'B' text and both versions versions of the Chronicle refer to the councils that met under Egica.(100)

More tantalising for historians of the Asturian kingdom, who have few narrative sources with which to work, are the pieces of information found only in one version of the Chronicle. The burial places of some, although not all, Asturian kings are identified, a process which was brought to completion in the 'C'

text of the Chronicle.(101) On occasion, the information given in one text is corroborated in another source although this is not necessarily a guarantee of its reliability.(102) In one instance, at least, an inscription confirms information given only by the 'B' text on the church, dedicated in 737 AD to the Holy Cross, that was built by Fafila at Cangas de Onis.(103) While some differences seem to be embroideries on a fantasy, as with the variants in both texts to the improbable list of Alfonso I's conquests, others, such as the 'B' text's reference to Fruela I and his repopulation of Galicia, seem likely but remain frustratingly unprovable.(104)

The Chronicle of Alfonso III follows its Isidoran model in having few specific dates to help fix a chronology. The 'B' text alone carries a date for the Muslim invasion of Spain and a precise day/month for the anointing of Alfonso II as king. These dates may be additions to the basic text.(105) For the rest of the Chronicle, there is a common format with a regnal length and a date for the king's death being given for each ruler.

There is an intriguing difference in the way that the 'A' and 'B' texts deal with the two kings, Wamba and Vermudo I, whose reigns ended not in death but by a deposition which they survived by several years. The case of Wamba had constituted a difficult parallel with the life of Alfonso II, an important figure in the Chronicle, who was initially denied the throne by the usurpation of Mauregatus and who was to become king after Vermudo I had abdicated. The 'B' text gives Wamba a period of nine years one month as king, a life of seven years seven months as a monk, reports his peaceful death and concludes the account of his reign

with a date of 680 AD (Era DCCXVIII). In the case of Vermudo I, the 'B' text reports that, after a three year reign, he surrendered the throne to his nephew Alfonso II and lived in harmony with his successor for many years prior to undergoing a peaceful death. The death of Vermudo I is reported and the section ends with the date 791 AD (Era DCCCXXVIII).(106) For Wamba and Vermudo, the 'B' text has been accused of confusion in that the date which ends their respective sections appears to conflate their time as king and monk. It has been suggested that for the author of 'B', '...it was unthinkable that an ex-king should be allowed to understudy his successor'.

The 'A' text account of Wamba and Vermudo has enjoyed greater approval among historians because of its apparent clarity. It deals with Wamba by sharing the 'B' text's information but omitting the era date (680 AD). For Vermudo I, it noted the king's decision to give up the throne after three years on recollecting that he had been ordained as a deacon at some point in the past. The 'A' text shifted the era date (791 AD) from the end of the section on Vermudo to the point at which he made Alfonso II his successor, before noting that uncle and nephew lived in a warm relationship for many years.(108)

In fact, the 'B' text deserves greater appreciation for its consistency in handling difficult information. Both versions of the Chronicle begin their account of Wamba with his election as king in era DCCX (672 AD) and report that he reigned for nine years and one month. The era date, corresponding to 680 AD, which completes the 'B' text on Wamba is consistent with the information given for his actual time as king. This does not

suggest a cover-up of any kind. It will be remembered that the 'A' text carries no comparable era dating. The 'B' text is equally consistent in providing arithmetical data and an era date for Vermudo I. Overall, the 'B' text presents no difficulty if it is realised that the era dates at the end of each biographical section mark a change of ruler. For the most part, as might be expected, these dates corresponded to the death of a king and were given at such a point. In the exceptional cases of Wamba and Vermudo I, who abdicated for years of monastic life, the 'B' text's era dates, which are omitted or moved in the 'A' text, clearly indicate the time at which these kings left the throne rather than the year of their death.

ii) The Two Texts and Pelayo.

The most substantial differences between the 'A' and 'B' texts lie in their account of Pelayo's rise to power in the Asturias. His emergence is tied to the origins of the Asturian kingdom. The account of Pelayo's victory at Covadonga is the narrative heart of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. It constitutes the longest single episode in the Chronicle, forming a crucial link between the histories of the kingdoms of Toledo and Oviedo. While the two versions of the Chronicle offer a generally similar account of the battle, they differ significantly in explaining the origins of Pelayo's rebellion and his rise to supreme authority.(109)

In common with the Chronicle of Albelda, the 'A' and 'B' texts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III acknowledge Pelayo as the Asturian kingdom's first ruler. The Chronicle of Albelda places

Pelayo in the Asturias prior to the Muslim invasion, as an exile from the court of Wittiza.(110) The 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III is rich in details and events that suggest its roots lie in a form of popular epic.(111) According to this, Pelayo and his unnamed sister entered the Asturias, at a time after the invasion when Munnuza was governor in Gijón, to escape oppression from Muslims. Sent on a bogus diplomatic mission to Cordoba, Pelayo returned north to find that Munuza had tricked his sister into marriage. Pelayo then acted on his secret aim to rescue Christianity. After a hairsbreadth escape from a Muslim trap, Pelayo fled into the mountains where a council of Asturians elected him as their leader. A huge Muslim army, led by Alcama and one of Wittiza's collaborating sons, Oppa, described here as the Bishop of Toledo, laid siege to Pelayo's forces in the cave at Covadonga but divine aid secured a Christian victory. The 'A' text is much briefer. After the Muslim conquest, some Visigoths of royal blood fled to the territories of the Franks but the majority escaped to the Asturias. There, they elected Pelayo as their leader. On hearing of this, a Muslim army was sent against him, led by Alcama and Oppa, here identified as the Bishop of Seville. Their expeditionary force was defeated at Covadonga.

These differences suggest that there was no universally known and accepted version of Pelayo's background. The 'A' text is clear in its neo-Gothic emphasis on continuity between Toledo and Oviedo. The 'B' text, on the other hand, definitely places the origin of the kingdom in an Asturian context, and, in this, it shares information given in the Testament of Alfonso II in 812 AD. Apart from Pelayo himself, the personalities involved in the

accounts are mysterious, particularly the quisling bishop, Oppa.(113) This is in contrast to the events before and after the battle at Covadonga on which there is agreement between the 'A' and 'B' texts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III as well as, more generally, in the Chronicle of Albelda.(114)

iii) Different Perspectives of the Two Texts.

Through their variations, the two versions of the Chronicle have been taken to reflect different attitudes: the 'A' text is characterised by an Asturian and royalist perspective while the 'B' text contains an ecclesiastical and Galician point of view.(114) Such a distinction presses the evidence of the text beyond reasonable limits. Both versions of the Chronicle are overwhelmingly similar in content, if not in their actual phrasing. From the reign of Ordone I they are identical in language. Their differences are in style and tone rather than the events which they report. Both texts praise and censure the same events and personalities.

For the most part, the 'A' and 'B' texts present common attitudes for the kings in the Chronicle although there are some differences. Both blame Wittiza and his sons for the fall of Visigothic Spain.(116) Alfonso II's victory over Muslim invaders at Lodos in 794 AD is credited to the king himself by the 'A' text whereas the 'B' text awards it to the Asturians.(117) In two instances the 'A' text specifically emphasises a royal ancestry in connecting Asturian rulers, Pelayo and Alfonso I, with the Visigothic monarchy. Pelayo is said to be of royal stock, while Alfonso I is given a descent from the distinguished

Visigothic kings, Leovigild and Reccared.(118) The 'B' text reports that Pelayo had been a spatarius, a member of the royal bodyguard, for Wittiza and Roderick.(119) In the late 7th century there is evidence that a spatarius could be of high rank and, given the vagaries of dynastic politics, might conceivably have shared royal blood.(120) It is difficult, however, to know what a late 9th century audience would make of this reference to an institution that had its roots in the Roman-Byzantine empire and existed under the Visigothic monarchy but which is not known in the Asturian kingdom. Both texts record the royal ancestry of Alfonso I, who is the real founder of the Asturian royal line. The 'B' text says that he was the son of Duke Peter of the Cantabrians and was of royal lineage.(121) The 'A' text reveals more of this royal descent by naming Leovigild and Reccared.(122) The point is that the 'A' text adds detail to a theme it shares with the 'B' text, perhaps giving clarification as it had tried to do with the abdication of Vermudo I, but is not developing a different line.

In their attitudes to ecclesiastical matters the two versions of the Chronicle show the same overwhelming similarity as in their treatment of the monarchy. Neither the 'A' nor 'B' text has anything to say on clerical personalities, with the exception of the penitent monk-king Wamba, the collaborationist Bishop Oppa and the forgetful deacon-king Vermudo I, or Church organisation in the Asturian kingdom. Both versions report that, as part of his general immorality, Wittiza enforced marriage on members of the Church.(123) The ending of celibacy is not said to have provoked resistance among the clergy. The fall of Spain is attributed to the abandonment of God by kings and priests. While

both versions deal with this common theme, it is the 'B' text, with its claimed ecclesiastical leaning, which emphasises the failings of the Church through the use of two telling biblical quotations.(124) The evidence does not suggest in any convincing manner that the 'B' text is more 'ecclesiastical' in outlook than the 'A' text.

The argument for a Galician/Asturian emphasis between the two versions of the Chronicle also lacks conviction. Galicia is named in the 'B' text of the Chronicle almost as frequently as the Asturias while in the 'A' text the Asturias is named more frequently than Galicia. Galicia is named slightly more often in the 'A' text than the 'B' text.(125) Both versions employ the same expressions when referring to the Asturias or Galicia. Each calls Galicia a 'provincia', and refers to the peoples (populos) of Galicia.(126) The 'A' text also describes the territory of the Galicians as a 'patria'.(127) For the Asturias, each version invariably uses the term 'Asturias' for the geographical area and 'Astures' for its inhabitants.(128) Both versions describe Munnuza, the Muslim governor of Gijón, as being resident '..in hac regione Asturiensium'.(129) The 'A' text alone refers to the Asturias as a 'patria'.(130)

Isidoran etymologies may supply a key to unlocking the political ideas behind these terms: a 'provincia' is a subjugated territory, a 'regio' is part of a 'provincia' and a 'patria' is common to all who are born there.(131) Isidore used Galicia as an example of a 'provincia', with Asturias and Cantabria as examples of 'regiones'.(132) In general, the 'B' text is more consistent in its use of these Isidoran terms.(133) It does,

however, use *regio* and *patria*, respectively, to indicate the home destination of Viking raiders after their two reported raids on Spain.(134) The 'B' text has information on the Asturians not found in the 'A' text and, conversely, the 'A' text has references to Galicia not found in the 'B' text. Only the 'A' text links the use of 'patria' to a specific part of the kingdom but it does so for both Asturias and Galicia. Rather than revealing something of its author's background, such usages may suggest a straining after literary effect or imprecision in the writer's mind.

One further point on the difficulty of assessing the extent of an Asturian/royalist or Galician/ecclesiastical perspective can be made in relation to the Chronicle's treatment of King Fruela, the son of Alfonso I. Both texts report on his successful campaigning against the Muslims at Pontubio.(135) Fruela is also said to have successfully suppressed rebellions (terminology which itself underlines the political perspective of the Asturian kingdom) by the Basques and the peoples of Galicia.(136) The violence of the king's character is shown starkly by both Chronicle versions when they reveal that Fruela, in person, murdered his own brother Vimara before being killed himself soon afterwards.(137) The 'A' text interpreted Fruela's death as by the 'just' *lex talionis* whereas the 'B' text presented it as divine retribution for fratricide.

The 'B' text also carries significant information on Fruela which is not found in the 'A' text. Fruela is said to have ended the 'immoral' practice of clerical marriage, imposed by the Visigothic king Wittiza.(138) Persisting offenders were flogged

and relegated to monastic confinement. The Church then grew great through the enforcement of clerical celibacy and as a result of the renewed observance of canon law.(139) In addition, the 'B' text adds one further important piece of information in that, under Fruela, Galicia was populated up to the river Mino.(140)

The absence of the above material from the 'A' text is perplexing and well illustrates the difficulties of trying to draw conclusions about texts which are copies of a lost original. It is possible that this information in 'B' is an addition to the original text. It is possible that the 'A' text was taken from a defective copy of the original text. It may be that the 'A' text deliberately chose to omit this information on Fruela. As the 'A' version had mentioned Wittiza's imposition of clerical marriage, it is not at all obvious why the ending of this practice, inimical to Church law, by another king should have been omitted, irrespective of the text's alleged bias. The suggestion that Fruela's action was left out to protect the reputation of the Church which had been harmed by the delay in redressing Wittiza's behaviour seems unlikely.(141) After all, the imposition of the offence was clear enough, even in the 'A' text, and the failure to signal its end would reflect more badly on the moral standing of the Church.

Perhaps the difference between the two versions over Fruela was due to political expediency. Without Fruela's corrective behaviour towards the Church and the extension of his territory up to the river Miño, the 'A' text's account can be seen as a more hostile account of the king than the one given in the 'B'

text. This might be appropriate to the period after 910 AD, following the deposition of Alfonso III, when the kingdom was divided between his three sons, García, Ordoño II and Fruela II.(142) In such political circumstances, a copyist of the Chronicle could have adapted the account of Fruela I for propaganda purposes, most probably against his namesake Fruela II (924-925 AD) who ruled in Oviedo and the Asturias until acceding to the whole of Alfonso III's kingdom in 924 AD. Such manipulation was not possible for Alfonso's other two sons as there is no García in the Chronicle and, for reasons which will be considered below, both versions of the text contain the same account of Ordoño I. Fruela I's claimed territorial expansion into Galicia and involvement in Church affairs could have struck contemporary resonances in an audience between 910 and 925 AD that are now lost to the modern world.

However tempting such speculation may be on the significance of the differences between the two main Chronicle versions, few conclusions of any substance can be drawn from them. Like many other pieces of historical writing from the medieval period, the Chronicle of Alfonso III was affected by additions and omissions. The loss of the original text means that the extant copies, the earliest 'B' text from around a century later and the 'A' text from several centuries later, lack a comparative context for the alterations. The evolutionary use of this Chronicle, as with others, places the circumstances and purpose of the differences beyond effective evaluation. Overall, the two principal versions of the Chronicle are recognisable as twins, even if they are not identical. The most significant of the differences lie in the

'A' text's emphasis on the Visigothic origin of the Asturian monarchy and the royal ancestry of Pelayo and Alfonso I, its founding fathers.

iv) The Common Ending.

After being distinguished by differences in content and linguistic style, the two versions of the Chronicle enjoy a shared ending for the reign of Ordoño I. They begin the summary of Ordoño's life in their particular styles, noting his accession, assessing his character, reporting his repopulation of deserted cities and his victories over invading Muslims as well as rebellious Basques.(143) This material is dealt with in a few lines. For the majority of Ordoño's reign, the longest account in the Chronicle, the two texts offer an identical reading that starts with the protestation of the account's veracity.(144) From this point onwards, the common text deals with Ordoño's defeat of Musa of the Banu Kasi, his further successes in capturing the cities of Coria and Talamanca, the second Viking raid on Spain and, finally, Ordoño's death and burial.(145) The two versions have different conclusions: the 'A' text ends with an invocation to the Trinity while the 'B' text reports the accession of Alfonso III, Ordoño's son.

On the assumption, argued above, that the 'A' and 'B' texts are independent versions of the original, or refounded, Chronicle, the reasons for this shared text need to be considered. The single version of Ordoño's reign must reflect the core source. In its use of language, the shared account is more consistent with the 'B' text rather than the 'A' text.(146) The convergence of the texts may be due to the failure of the A text's copyist to

complete his version of the Chronicle through illness/death or, less probably, some form of disgrace.(147) The neatness of the join between the 'different' and 'identical' versions of the text may be held to count against this view.

Another explanation for the common ending concerns Alfonso III himself. The identity of the author of the Chronicle which is customarily identified by that king's name will be considered below. The use of a shared account for most of the reign of Ordoño I might suggest that this was of particular interest and importance. This respect could be explained if Alfonso, showing filial respect for the achievements of his father, had been the known author of a biography which later formed an essential part of the larger 'Chronicle of Alfonso III'.(148)

The sentence which starts the common text, 'I will not be silent on what I know to be true.', is also used, in the 'B' text only, as an introduction to the story of the celestial lament over Alfonso I's corpse. It echoes phrases found in the writings of Gregory of Tours (c. 539-594 AD), especially the *De Virtutibus Beati Martini Episcopi*, and of Gregory the Great (590-604 AD), especially Book III of the *Dialogues*.(149) Several works by Gregory the Great were well-known in the Asturian kingdom. Some are directly connected with Alfonso III in Oviedo.(150) Gregory of Tours' hagiographical writing on St. Martin, his outstanding predecessor in the see and its patron saint, may have reached Oviedo while negotiations were taking place on the sale of an imperial crown to Alfonso III. The deal, which was initially proposed to Alfonso by the clergy of St. Martin's church at Tours, is known in detail from a 17th-century copy of the answering

letter from Alfonso III which had been contained in a now-lost 13th-century cartulary. Despite its oddities, which are not surprising given the line of transmission, an acute modern critic, Richard Fletcher, has given convincing arguments for the letter's authenticity.(151) In it, besides the main business, Alfonso shows his taste for uplifting literature with a request to the Tours clergy for a written account of St. Martin's posthumous miracles as, at that time, he had only a text on those which had been performed in the saint's own lifetime. By way of exchange, Alfonso offered a work on the lives of the holy fathers of Mérida.(152) From this letter, and other charter evidence, it is clear that Alfonso had in his possession Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Sancti Martini*, covering the saint's achievements before his death.(153) Although there is no record of further contact on either the sale of the imperial crown or the exchange of hagiography, this clearly seems the most likely route for Gregory of Tours' work on St. Martin to have reached Alfonso III and the Chronicle which carries his name.

The association of Alfonso III with texts containing the sentence 'Nec hoc miraculum silebo..' suggests another possibility, in addition to the life of Ordoño I, with regard to his involvement in the construction of the Chronicle. The sentence (Nec hoc miraculum silebo..) that introduces the common version of Ordoño I's reign, occurs in almost identical form earlier in the 'B' text only and seems to indicate another passage attributable to Alfonso III. The sentence introduces what looks to be an addition to the core-text of the Chronicle, with its melancholy end to the otherwise highly successful life of

Alfonso I. It describes the miraculous circumstances in which an invisible choir of angels chanted a lament over the corpse of Alfonso I.(154) They sang the words of an antiphon from the office for Holy Week which was derived from the Old Testament Book of Isaiah 57,1.(155) The celestial choir suggests a parallel with Gregory the Great's account of the death of Hermenigild (d. 585 AD), son of the Arian King Leovigild (569-586 AD), who was presented as a martyr for the Catholic faith.(156) The passage ends with another protest about its credibility, and this seems to be drawn from Sulpicius Severus' Life of St. Martin, a text known to have been kept in Alfonso III's library.(157) Although the 'A' text's introductory sentence to the lament for Alfonso I differs in form from the 'B' text, it is identical in sense.(158) For most of the remainder of the passage, the language is identical. The differences may be explained by the 'A' text's taste for improving a text by selected rewrites and its failure to recognise that here, in this passage on Alfonso I, as with the account of Ordoño I that closed the Chronicle, lay the literary handiwork of Alfonso III himself.

E: The Relationship of the Chronicle of Alfonso III with the Chronicle of Albelda

The historical silence on the origins of the Asturian kingdom is broken by two chronicles from the time of Alfonso III, one carries the name of the king himself and the other is the Chronicle of Albelda, including the 'Prophetic Chronicle'. The relationship between the two has, naturally, attracted critical consideration by historians.

1: Comparison of the Chronicles' Content.

The Chronicle of Albelda covers the same sequence of kings, from Wamba to Ordoño I, as the Chronicle of Alfonso III. This is part of a broader historical treatment that covers the Visigothic kings from Athanaric to Roderick (the Ordo Gentis Gotorum) and the Asturian kings from Pelayo up to the year 883 AD in the reign of Alfonso III (the Ordo Gotorum Regum). It shares the same format of royal lives that is used in the Chronicle of Alfonso III but reports them in a more briskly concise style with a distinct lack of emotional flourishes. The reigns of Alfonso II, Ramiro I and Ordoño I are treated in greater length, although they are still significantly smaller than in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

The Chronicle of Albelda shares a core of common information with the Chronicle of Alfonso III, with interesting differences. It omits important specific detail, such as the list of Alfonso I's conquests, as well as general statements on matters like the building or restoration of churches.(159) The elements of the miraculous found in the Chronicle of Alfonso III are lacking in the Chronicle of Albelda.(160) There are regnal lengths for the Visigothic and Asturian kings in the Chronicle of Albelda but few orientating Era dates to fix a chronology, unlike the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(161) The Albeldan chronicle carries some information on the capitals and burial places of the Asturian kings.(162) The laconic style of the Chronicle of Albelda offers ambiguities that are clarified by the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(163)

Within its limited length, the Chronicle of Albelda supplies information relating to the Asturian kingdom that is not found in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, most famously on the restoration of the Visigothic order in Oviedo.(164) Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz argued strongly that, from their similarities, both chronicles drew on a now-lost chronicle up to the end of Vermudo I's reign, after which the differences in style and content in the accounts of the kings from Alfonso II to Ordono I proved the common source was no longer available.(165) The case for a lost Asturian chronicle will be considered below in a review of the sources used by the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(166) There are, however, sufficient similarities in content for the Chronicles of Albelda and Alfonso III in their treatment of the Asturian kings from Alfonso II to indicate that the common source extended to Ordono I.(167)

There are also clear connections between the 'Prophetic Chronicle' and the Chronicle of Alfonso III. The 'Prophetic Chronicle', with its strongly Mozarab influence, shares common information and sentiment.(168) It dates the Muslim overthrow of the Visigothic kingdom to 11 November 714 AD, in the third year of Roderick's reign, as does the 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. There is agreement that the cause of Roderick's death remained unknown.(169) Both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, especially the 'B' text, refer to the submission pacts, described in the Chronicle of Albelda, by which local rulers and communities surrendered on terms to the Muslim conquerors.(170) Together, they have a shared presentation of the fall of the Visigothic kingdom as divine chastisement for the moral imperfections of its people.(171) They agree further with

a confident belief in the recovery of Church and state through the restoration of divine favour.(172)

Overall, there are more similarities between the 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the Chronicle of Albelda/'Prophetic Chronicle'. The Chronicle of Albelda has information that is also found in both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. It also has material contained only in either the 'A' text or the 'B' text.(173) In its language, however, the Chronicle of Albelda is closer to the 'B' text, with which it shares phrases in common.(174) The same is also true of the 'Prophetic Chronicle'. The 'B' text shares, almost word for word with the 'Prophetic Chronicle', a brief lament on the fall of Toledo, 'victorious over all nations', to the Ishmaelites (the Muslims), which is drawn from Isidore of Seville's description of Rome's capture by the Visigoths.(175) There are more common phrases that connect the 'B' text and the 'Prophetic Chronicle' rather than the 'A' text.(176)

2: The Relationship of the Chronicles.

Interpretations of the relationship between the principal versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, and their links to other historical writings associated with the Asturian kingdom, have attracted much scholarly speculation. In the view of Barrau-Dihigo, the Chronicle of Albelda was an abbreviated version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, more dependent on the 'B' text than the 'A'.(177) For García Villada, the 'A' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the Chronicle of Albelda drew their information from a, lost, common source (with the 'B' text

having been taken, in turn, from the 'A').(178) In the early 1930's, Gómez-Moreno and Sánchez-Albornoz turned the accepted relationship between the 'A' and 'B' texts on its head.(179) Gómez-Moreno argued, on the basis of similar language and themes, that the 'Prophetic Chronicle', completed in 883 AD, was known by the 'B' text's author, whom he took to be Alfonso III himself. This was not the case with the Chronicle of Albelda which, at most, may have supplied some minor points of detail.(180) Sánchez-Albornoz shared a belief in the anteriority of the Chronicle of Albelda, which he saw as the source of the 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. In turn, the 'A' text was derived from the 'B' text although its author also had a copy of the Chronicle of Albelda to hand.(181) P. David proposed a complex scheme for the elements of the Asturian historiographical cycle, without specifying in detail the extent to which they were interdependent for their content.(182)

In the most exhaustive recent study of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, Prelog argued that there had been an original work, now lost, from which were derived, independently, the Chronicle of Albelda, the 'Prophetic Chronicle' and the text that, recast in a different form between 910-914 AD, served as a (lost) model for the 'A' and 'B' versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(183) It may be more appropriate to substitute a collection of source material or a rough draft, as suggested by Gil, for Prelog's putative original chronicle.(184) This would have provided information on the Muslim invasion for the 'Prophetic Chronicle' as well as supplying the core material for the Chronicle of Albelda and the Chronicle of Alfonso III. The possibility of a lost source for the Chronicle of Albelda and the Chronicle of

Alfonso III had been put forward as early as the the 18th century by Henrique Flórez.(185) In this century, Sanchez-Albornoz maintained with great vigour that a lost chronicle up the time of Alfonso II was the fundamental source for the Chronicle of Albelda and its derivatives.(186) Overall, as the common material continues from the reign of Alfonso II, it seems better to accept the existing cycle of Asturian historical writings as having been drawn from materials collected by Alfonso III, or his agents, rather than from a completed chronicle which has disappeared.

F: The Authorship and Date of the Chronicle of Alfonso III

There is no precise indication in the Chronicle of Alfonso III of a date for its composition. The 'A' text carries an introductory letter which, although confused in its style and demonstrably inaccurate in its content, has been held to identify the author of the chronicle which bears his name. The importance of the Chronicle for Asturian history has produced much speculation by modern scholars on the twin questions of its authorship and date.(187)

1: The Authorship of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

As with much early medieval writing, the 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III carries no specific statement on the identity of its author. Such a loss removes a potentially valuable test of the writer's access to information and the themes that underlay his work.(188)

The 'A' text seems to restore this link but in a decidedly

curious manner through its incipits, explicits and introductory letter. All of its principal versions, except the two most closely associated with Oviedo, carry a title which connects the Chronicle to a King Alfonso and a certain 'Sebastian'. These titles identify the king variously as Alfonso III of Leon or Alfonso the Great while Sebastian is named as the Bishop of Salamanca.(189) All of these are later additions to the text and merit no trust for the purpose of identifying the author. Equally, the end of the 'A' text, in the two versions most closely associated with Oviedo, carries an addition which identifies it with the 'historiae' or 'chronicorum' of Bishop Sebastian of Salamanca.(190) These, too, can be safely set to one side as later additions to the text and are not, therefore, proof of its authorship. This leaves only a letter which precedes the main body of the text in all 'A' versions of the Chronicle as a guide to the author's identity.

The text of the brief letter is ambiguous at a crucial point, as will be seen in the following rough translation:

'King Alfonso to our Sebastian, greetings. Let the history of the Goths be known to you, for which you have sent us information (notuisti) through the priest Dulcidius, and on which earlier writers, through idleness, did not want to report but covered with silence. And because the history of the Goths up to the time of the glorious King Wamba has been fully revealed by Isidore, Bishop of Seville, we are going to reveal to you briefly events from that time as we have heard them from ancient times and from our ancestors, and which we know to be true.'(191)

The letter is beset with difficulties. The text itself is

tantalisingly obscure with what appears to be a lacuna in the crucial first sentence. The key verb 'notuisti', for example, has been interpreted in the sense of seeking information rather than giving it.(192) It is tempting to identify Dulcidius, involved in the collection of material for the Chronicle, with the Toledan priest whose diplomatic mission to Córdoba ended the Chronicle of Albelda. The Oviedan text copied by Ambrosio de Morales, provides further information on the main protagonists, by naming Sebastian as the bishop of Salamanca but in adding the epithet 'the Chaste' to Alfonso's name seems to confuse him with Alfonso II. The content is also puzzling. It seems surprising that a king should write a history at the request of one of his subjects (if 'notuisti' can be taken to mean a request for information) even if addressed to a royal relative.

The oddities in the letter have led to its authenticity being questioned. Its most fierce critic was Barrau-Dihigo who took issue with the text of the letter on three points. He argued that, although the letter suggested the chronicle of events from Wamba was based on oral tradition, the narrative, in fact, drew on Julian of Toledo, the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754 and an unknown 9th century source. He also pointed out that Isidore, who died in 636 AD, did not write a history of the Goths up to Wamba's accession in 672 AD. Besides this, the A text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III gave the lie to the assertion that no writer had recorded events since then by referring directly to Julian of Toledo's account of Duke Paul's rebellion (673 AD) as well as by its use of the historical writings identified above. Barrau-Dihigo was prepared to concede that an anonymous

chronicler could have continued Isidore's History of the Goths. He was even prepared to concede, more casuistically, that Julian of Toledo's historical writing was not a general history of the Goths but rather a report of a particular episode. Nevertheless the failure of the letter to acknowledge the existence of the Chronicle of 754 and the lost 9th-century source weakened its credibility.

These objections are hardly overwhelming. The letter is attached to the 'A' text in both of the main families of the manuscript tradition. Barrau-Dihigo accepted that the letter was anchored to the 'A' text by the opening word 'Igitur', which is omitted from the 'B' text. There is also something of the letter's style of address to its recipient in the early part of the 'A' text where the author speaks directly to his audience.(194) García Villada stoutly defended the letter's authenticity. To support the letter's claim on the lack of written sources, he backtracked on his certainty that the 'A' text had used the Chronicle of 754 as a source and claimed, rather feebly, that, if used, it would not have counted as a history of the Goths as it principally dealt with the Arabs.(195) More convincingly, he argued that the claims made in the letter with regard to written sources were exaggerated as it would not have possible to write a history of the preceding two centuries without them.(196) Despite its unusual features that have continued to arouse doubts, the authenticity of the letter is generally accepted.(197)

The letter has formed the basis of most speculation on the identity of the author of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

Principally, this has focussed on King Alfonso or Sebastian and, to a much lesser extent, on Dulcidius. Barrau-Dihigo concluded that the attribution to Alfonso III was precarious, to Sebastian was inadmissible, and so he proposed an unknown author, a 'pseudo-Alfonso', of a chronicle 'said to be of Alfonso III'.(198) Constantino Cabal made a radical departure when he deduced from the Chronicle text that its author had to be an intimate of the king, possibly a member of his family, a cleric (to judge by scriptural references in the text) with a knowledge of the Liébana region of the Asturias (to judge by references to the flight of the Muslims to Cosgaya after the battle at Covadonga). In Cabal's opinion, this profile fitted Sisenand, chaplain to Alfonso III, who had been born in the Liébana, knew Oviedo and, in 881 AD, occupied the see of Iria Flavia, close to the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela. It was not essential, as Sánchez-Albornoz pointed out, for the author to have been a royal intimate, a bishop or to have lived in the Liébana nor, indeed, was Sisenand the only person who could have fulfilled such requirements.(199)

Since the 16th century, antiquarians and historians have debated the identity of the author of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(200) The earliest opinion favoured Sebastian, the Bishop of Salamanca. In the 17th century, Nicolas Antonio was the first to attribute the Chronicle to Alfonso himself. His arguments were challenged by H. Flórez, who championed Bishop Sebastian of Salamanca, and scholarly opinion divided on the authorship. Juan Bautista Mariana modified his original position in favour of Alfonso to propose that the Chronicle was composed by Sebastian on the king's orders.(201)

Early in this century Fidel Fita questioned the accepted identity of Sebastian as the Bishop of Salamanca and supported Alfonso III's authorship of the 'A' text.(202) García Villada revived the line that the Chronicle was either written by Alfonso III or, at least, on his initiative.(203) This was denied by Barrau-Dihigo. He took the view that Alfonso III's reign, although almost half a century long, was so taken with the suppression of rebellion at home and campaigning against the Muslims abroad as to leave little opportunity for the king to act as a chronicler. Besides this, the Chronicle's rich seam of scriptural quotation indicated that it was the work of a churchman.(204)

The author's identity and the relative precedence of the two versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III were given a new direction by Gomez-Moreno. He identified Alfonso as author, not of the 'A' text, but of the 'B' text, which was then dispatched to his relative Sebastian for improvement. He then enhanced the quality of Latin, added some passages and edited out others in supplying a suitable literary and spiritual polish to the work. It was Sebastian, as improver, who placed the king's letter at the head of the present 'A' text as proof of its superiority, and this may have been a possible abuse of the confidence placed in him by Alfonso.(205)

This interpretation was taken up and developed by Sánchez-Albornoz.(206) In his view, the author of the 'A' text was a churchman with literary pretensions who improved, sometimes by expansion but more usually by abbreviation, an existing text

with the aim of protecting the reputations of the monarchy, the clergy and the Visigoths. The 'B' text with its simpler Latin, the elder of the two versions, was probably the work of a layman, identified by Sánchez-Albornoz as Alfonso III. This identification was clinched by the use of the phrase 'iusso nostro' to describe the repopulation of Viseu, when the tomb of the Visigothic king Roderick was discovered. Such a phrase could only have been employed by the king himself, as such repopulation could only be carried out in his name and by his command. The corresponding phrase in the 'A' text is 'a nobis', which suggests the discreet alteration of an inappropriate expression in the mouth of a clerical author.(207) Diplomatic evidence from the 8th and 9th centuries relating to donations and repopulation which shows individuals acting at the king's command or which describe direct royal intervention, uses terms similar to those of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(208) This points, at least, to royal inspiration behind the Chronicle, if not direct royal authorship.

The direct authorship by Alfonso III of either version of the Chronicle was challenged by Menéndez Pidal and other historians who were unconvinced by the 'iusso nostro' argument. The phrase was appropriate to the circumstances and might have been known to a churchman associated with the issuing of charters. In any case, both phrases were compatible with royal usage.(209) For Menéndez Pidal, neither version was the personal work of Alfonso III who was, rather, the inspiration behind the 'A' and 'B' texts of the Chronicle in the way that the Castilian king Alfonso X (1252-1284 AD) 'the Learned' did not write the works of which he was the author.(210) A further variation was offered by Díaz y

Díaz who suggested that the 'B' text could have been written or compiled in the king's name, or by his order, on the basis of materials already present in the royal library and that the reworked 'A' text could have been the king's own work.(211)

The question of Sebastian's identity complicates the broader issue of his possible authorship of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Apart from the worthless manuscript headings, the only detail on who Sebastian might be, is given in the letter attached to the Oviedan text, copied by Morales. Its information, linking King Alfonso the Chaste and Bishop Sebastian of Salamanca, is odd, as the epithet 'castus' was applied to Alfonso II rather than Alfonso III and even then not in chronicles before the 11th century. The text's association with the enterprising Oviedan forger, Bishop Pelayo, is a warning for caution, especially as he is associated with the only other statement that makes Sebastian an author and Bishop of Salamanca. Pelayo's *Liber Chronicorum*, a 12th-century compilation of historical texts, has already been considered.(212) In its prologue, the *Liber Chronicorum* is divided into six sections, each with an author, although these divisions do not correspond to the actual content. It reports that the history of the kings from Pelayo to Alfonso the Chaste and Catholic was written by Bishop Sebastian of Salamanca. (This does not reflect the actual limits of the Chronicle of Alfonso III and there is a confusion in the application to King Alfonso's name of the epithets 'Catholic', applied to Alfonso I, and 'Chaste', applied to Alfonso II) The identification of Sebastian was repeated elsewhere in the text in a marginal gloss.(213) Pelayo may have known from the 'A' text letter that Sebastian was

an author and added his name to the prologue's list of authors, elevating him to the episcopal rank enjoyed by the five other historians. The use of Salamanca may have come from a marginal note relating to Dulcidius, the other named person in the letter, and who is known to have held that see early in the 10th century.(214) The general reputation of Bishop Pelayo who is the link between the Oviedan 'A' text's letter and the prologue to the Liber Chronicorum, as well as his confusion over King Alfonso do not inspire confidence in his naming of Sebastian as Bishop of Salamanca.

Despite Pelayo's unreliability, the attribution of the Chronicle of Alfonso III to Bishop Sebastian of Salamanca was accepted from the 16th century by historians such as Ambrosio de Morales, Prudencio de Sandoval and others. The real difficulty with this is that there is no evidence of a Sebastian as Bishop of Salamanca in the relevant period.(215) The see is not included in the Chronicle of Albelda's list of the Asturian kingdom's bishoprics.(216) Salamanca itself, sacked by the Muslims in the early 8th century, was only repopulated under Ramiro II (930-950 AD) shortly before the middle of the 10th century.(217) The only known contemporary of Alfonso III named Sebastian was the Bishop of Orense. He appears in the Chronicle of Albelda's list of bishops, a compilation which is confirmed by diplomatic and epigraphic evidence.(218) Bishop Sebastian's name appears in Asturian diplomas.(219)

At the turn of this century Fita drew attention to a royal charter, dated August 900 AD, on the restoration of the endowment of the see of Orense which names Sebastian as a refugee from

Arcabica (modern Cabeza del Griego) in the province of 'Celtiberia' who, having been driven out by the Muslims, was established in Orense as its first spiritual leader in Alfonso III's repopulation of Galicia.(220) The charter was addressed to Sumna, the third bishop of Orense, and granted to the church of Santa Eugenia properties that had been bought from a Bishop Sebastian, described as by Alfonso III as 'suprinus meus'.(221) In the overall context of the document, it makes most sense to see Alfonso as returning to the see of Orense property that had been alienated by Sebastian, to whom Sumna was the second successor, after Censericus. The fundamental problem with the charter is that, like so many others of the Asturian kingdom, it is of highly questionable authenticity.(222)

In the new guise of Bishop of Orense, Sebastian continued to be acknowledged as a writer of chronicles. Fita offered a new twist by crediting him with the authorship of the Chronicle of Albelda while Alfonso is said to have composed the chronicle bearing his own name and title.(223) In a highly complex sequence of arguments, Blazquez united the names of Dulcidius and Sebastian, which were found in the letter, with the sees of Orense and Salamanca.(224) He suggested that the Chronicle of Alfonso III, in each of its two principal versions, extended beyond the death of Ordone I and that it had two different authors:

- i) Dulcidius, Bishop of Salamanca, was the author of the 'A' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III which continued up to 883 AD.
- ii) Sebastian, Bishop of Arcabica and Orense, was the author of the 'B' text which continued with the reigns of Alfonso III,

García I and Ordoño II up to his victory over a Cordoban army at Gormaz. (This extension formed the basis of the information in the 12th-century *Historia Silense*.)

Here, Bishop Sebastian is shifted from an association with the 'A' text to authorship of the 'B' text to make way for a Dulcidius who, at least, is a genuine Bishop of Salamanca.(225) In demolishing Blazquez' arguments, Sánchez-Albornoz pointed out that, prior to its account from Alfonso III to Ordoño II, the *Historia Silense* relied on the 'B' text rather than the 'A' version attributed to Dulcidius.(226)

Sánchez-Albornoz did not entirely disprove the possibility that Dulcidius could have been the author of a version of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. He accepted Gómez-Moreno's suggestion that Dulcidius, the Toledan priest whose diplomatic mission to Cordoba is known from the *Chronicle of Albelda*, could have been the author of the *Prophetic Chronicle*.(227) Mozarabic sentiments and knowledge of Muslim Spain displayed in the 'B' text, the similarity of the 'B' text and the *Prophetic Chronicle* and the Dulcidius's status as a trusted agent of the king, led Bonnaz to suggest that the Toledan priest was also the author of the elder version of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.(228)

The loss of the original *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, as well as later copies, has bedevilled any analysis of its evolutionary use. There is no reason to reject out of hand the possibility that Dulcidius or Sebastian took part in the gathering of material for the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* or that they could have been involved in writing the original or the extant 'A' and 'B'

texts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. If the authenticity of the 'A' text letter may be accepted, Dulcidius and Sebastian have a connection with the Chronicle of Alfonso III, although this testimony does not preclude a role for an unknown clerical author.

Alfonso III's direct involvement in the Chronicle which carries his name is highly probable. In this, he can be seen to emulate the literary and military achievements of his illustrious English contemporary Alfred the Great, king of Wessex from 871-899 AD. Alfonso had the time, during his long reign from 866 to 910 AD, to engage in cultural activity, especially with the Cordoban emirate in crisis at the close of the 9th century. He evidently had a taste for learning, to judge from the manuscripts carrying the legend 'Adefonsi principis liber' and the Cross of Oviedo which appears as a kind of royal 'ex-libris'.(229) In the Chronicle of Albelda, Alfonso III is described as 'scientia clarus', a phrase similar to those used for distinguished Christian scholars from earlier times such as Augustine of Hippo and Fulgentius of Ruspe.(230) With such a background, there is no reason to suppose that Alfonso would not have been sufficiently familiar with sacred scriptures to provide the rich seam of quotation found in the Chronicle.(231)

Alfonso may have been a contributor to the Chronicle, or its collection of sources, rather than an author responsible for an entire text. It was argued above that the common ending to the two versions of the Chronicle was Alfonso's tribute to his father, Ordoño I. Treated with suitable respect, because it was Alfonso's own work, unaltered in either version of the text, it

was set in a chronicle that had much more ambitious historical and ideological aims. There are phrases and sentences in the Chronicle of Alfonso III which seem to be taken from Sulpicius Severus' Vita of St. Martin, a work known at Alfonso's court. The passage describing the angelic lament over the deathbed of Alfonso I, which may well be the work of Alfonso III, begins and ends with statements emphasising its authenticity. It ends with an expression taken from Sulpicius Severus' Vita S. Martini, a work that was known to Alfonso III from a reference in his letter of 906 AD to the clergy of Tours.(232) The statement of emphasis at the start of the passage seems to be drawn from Gregory of Tours' four books on the miracles of St. Martin, De Virtutibus Beati Martini Episcopi, works that may have been known to Alfonso III following his request in the letter mentioned above.(233) A similar protestation to reinforce credibility introduces the comparison of the Muslim forces crushed by a landslide with pharaoh's army swallowed by the Red Sea.(234) This may indicate the hand of Alfonso III. Overall, it is the 'B' text, the elder and closer to the original of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which may contain most traces of the king's writing.

2: The Date of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

There is no explicit statement in the Chronicle of Alfonso III to identify its date of composition. There are some clues in the text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III which suggest very broad chronological limits. Its report of Ordone I's death in 866 AD gives a terminus post quem. The discovery of Roderick's tomb at Viseu gives a further marker as the repopulation of the city took place around 870 AD.(235) A further pointer might be the

disappearance of Bishop Sebastian of Orense as a participant or signatory from charters after 889 AD.(236) If he were the Sebastian of the 'A' text letter, and this is by no means certain, it would give a rough terminus ante quem. This would give a broad spread of time for the Chronicle's composition between 870-890 AD, a period of expansion for the Asturian kingdom despite the failure of the prophecy that foretold the end of Muslim Spain.

The picture is different for the other elements of the Asturian historiographical cycle: the Chronicle of Albelda indicates it was completed in November 883 AD, and the Prophetic Chronicle, indicates that it was completed in April 883 AD.(237) Despite the shared content and language, it is not certain whether the Chronicle of Alfonso III was written first. The silence in the Chronicle of Albelda and the 'Prophetic Chronicle' on the discovery of Roderick's tomb might suggest that the Chronicle of Alfonso III was produced after the other two. Ubieta Arteta argued that both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III were written after 905 AD.(238) This was the time when the settlement of Deyó, said in the Chronicle to have been liberated and governed by its own people since the time of Alfonso I (739-757 AD), was conquered by Christians.(239) Sanchez-Albornoz rejected this argument in a stinging attack on Ubieta Arteta and his work. He denied that the reference to Deyo touched on contemporary events, as it would have been known that the settlement had been in the hands of the Banu Kasi, and suggested that the information had been taken from an 8th-century source, without, however, referring to his favoured '*cronica Asturiana perdida*'.(240)

There may be other reasons, however, for questioning the accepted dating for the Chronicle of Alfonso III c.883-890 AD. In circumstances that remain very obscure, Alfonso III was deposed by his sons, possibly in the winter of 909 AD, and spent some in enforced retirement before his death in 910 AD. This period would have created a time of leisure for an ex-king with a taste for learning to channel his energies into literary pursuits. The Chronicle of Alfonso III deals with two royal depositions, Wamba and Vermudo I, which must have had a greater historical resonance after the events of 909/910 AD. If this was not the period when the Chronicle of Alfonso was written, it might, at least, be the time at which significant additions were made to the text. The otherwise inexplicable passage, the angelic lament over the body of Alfonso I for the unjust treatment of a just man, seems to have the hallmark of Alfonso III's own writing.(241) It would indicate, at least, an early evolutionary stage in the development of the Chronicle. If the Chronicle of Alfonso III was actually composed in the last 20 years of the 9th century, the loss of the original text has taken away the possibility of comparison to measure the extent and significance of later additions.

G: The Sources of the Chronicle of Alfonso III

These sources of the Chronicle of Alfonso III need to be considered before its own value as an historical source can be assessed.

1: Visigothic Sources.

The letter heading the 'A' text indicates that the Chronicle

was meant to be a continuation of the Chronicle of the Goths up to the time of King Wamba. This may have confused the historical writings of Isidore of Seville (d.636 AD) with a continuation up to the accession of Wamba in 672 AD.(242) A range of Isidore's works were known at the royal court in Oviedo by the late 9th century, if not before. Besides the History of the Goths, there were the Etymologies and Sentences.(243) Isidore's influence shaped the language and structure of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Isidoran political thought permeates the Chronicle, especially on the nature of kingship.(244)

For its account of the accession of Wamba, with the miraculous bee which foretold his future success, and the rebellion of Duke Paul, 672/3 AD, the Chronicle has a summary of Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae*.(245) For the campaign against Paul in 673 AD, the 'A' text refers directly to Julian's writing whereas the 'B' text does not mention any source.(246) In its literary style Julian's history is far richer than either version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. It may be that there are echoes of Julian's writing elsewhere in the Chronicle: the choir of angels that mourned the dead Alfonso II might have been suggested by the angel 'bodyguards' that protected Wamba.(247)

There are differences between the two versions of the Chronicle and the *Historia Wambae*. The 'B' text alone identifies the modern name of Gerticos, the place where Recceswinth died, as Bamba.(248) More interestingly, it reports that, after his capture, the rebel Paul was condemned to be blinded. Julian commented that the death sentence passed on Paul was quickly commuted to the punishment of 'decalvatio'.(249) This difference

in the 'B' text may reflect a more vigorous response to rebellion in the Asturias.

The Asturian king Ramiro I imposed sentences of blinding on the dissidents Nepotian and Aldroitus although another rebel count, Piniolus, together with his seven sons, were put to death.(250) The option of death or blinding for rebels was a choice that lay with the king, according to a law of Chindasuinth (642-653 AD) that formed part of the Forum Iudicum, the great Visigothic legal code that continued in use in the Asturian kingdom.

Both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III say that Wamba was anointed as king in the Toledan church of St. Mary rather than, as Julian states, in the praetorian church of Sts. Peter and Paul, which was the required practice.(252) The change of location in the 'A' and 'B' texts may have been motivated by a neat artistic and ideological balance that had the Chronicle and Wamba's reign open in the Toledan Church of St Mary while the interment of Ordoño I in the Oviedan church of St Mary marked its close.(253) Given these differences, there is the possibility that the Chronicle of Alfonso III drew its information from an abridgement of Julian's work rather than the full text.

Besides using regnal lists for the Visigothic kings from Wamba, the Chronicle of Alfonso III took information from non-narrative sources of historical value. A knowledge of Church councils and their canons is indicated although there is no detail on the dates of assembly.(254) Church councils and their canons are mentioned although these references supply no wider detail on the dates of assembly, the numbers of councils or their results. The records of the great Visigothic church councils were known at the

court of Alfonso III.(255) The Chronicle of Alfonso III develops the mysterious circumstances surrounding Wamba's abdication, which are given briefly in the records of the XII Council of Toledo (681 AD), into a full-blown conspiracy although clerical and lay dignitaries in the immediate royal entourage are specifically excluded from Ervig's plot.(256) This episode, at the end of Wamba's reign, is the last in which the conciliar canons can be used for contemporary historical events and issues within the Visigothic kingdom. The 'B' text reports the holding of councils at Toledo by Wamba, Ervig and Egica whereas the 'A' text does so only for Egica.(257) If the 'A' text is silent on councils under Ervig because he is portrayed as a usurper and a corrupter of his predecessor's laws, it is not at all clear why it should also be silent on Wamba, who is presented in a positive light.

For the period of the Asturian kingdom proper, following Pelayo, there is no direct invocation of the conciliar canons. If they no longer have a value as an historical source, their pronouncements may be seen, at least, as setting moral and legal justifications from which the legitimacy and role of Asturian kings could be established. The issues which seem to reflect most closely the canonical declaration of the Visigothic church are on clerical celibacy and, particularly, the qualifications for kingship.

According to the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the ultimate collapse of the Visigothic kingdom lay in the immorality of Wittiza who enforced clerical marriage, dissolved church councils and broke their canons.(258) Such a picture of Wittiza,

'much-given to women' and whose behaviour provoked God's anger, is given in the Chronicle of Moissac.(259) Wittiza's attack on clerical celibacy has been linked ingeniously by Collins to the missing acts of the XVIII Council of Toledo, held in 704 AD during Wittiza's reign, which, it is suggested, met to ratify canons on clerical marriage arising from the 'Quinisext Council' of Constantinople (694 AD) which were opposed by the papacy and the Western Church.(260) The Chronicle of 754 AD, it must be said, gives a highly favourable portrait of Wittiza, despite some difficulty at his accession.(261)

Only the 'B' version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III marks a clear end to the breach of clerical celibacy which had been encouraged by Wittiza. Fruela I relegated to monastic confinement those churchmen who persisted in their unorthodox domestic arrangements. This echoes canon five of the VII Toledo (653 AD).(262) The silence of the 'A' text has been suggested as an attempt at discretion in order to protect the good name of the clergy. It might be thought, however, that as so much heat had been generated in describing the origin of clerical uxoriousness, some kind of clear resolution would have been artistically desirable, especially as the 'A' text had singled out Roderick for failing to put an end to the wickedness of Wittiza's reign.(263)

In its treatment of two Asturian kings the Chronicle of Alfonso III touches on the essential qualities of a king that had been established by Visigothic Church council, VI Toledo (638 AD). (264) The usurper Mauregatus was the illegitimate son of Alfonso I by a servant.(265) Canon 17 of the VI Council had specifically

excluded those of servile origin from the throne. His successor, Vermudo I, abandoned the throne after a three-year reign, on recalling, in the curious phrase of the 'A' text, that he had been ordained a deacon.(266) The actual cause of his abdication may have been a defeat by an invading Muslim army on the banks of the river Burbia.(267) Whatever the implications here for political infighting within the branches of the ruling dynasty, and the reason for his initial acceptance of holy orders may not have been simple piety, there is another echo of canon 17 which excluded from the throne anyone 'tonsured and under the clerical habit'. This canon may also lie behind the Chronicle's treatment of Alfonso II. The elaborate praise awarded to his chastity is endorsed by the Chronicle of Albelda, which hints at an explanation for his restraint. It is the only source that refers to the conspiracy in the 11th year of Alfonso's reign which led to his enforced relegation to a monastery .(268) The imposition of holy orders in these circumstances is highly probable.(269) The awkward juxtaposition of Alfonso II's political misfortune and the preceding account of Vermudo I's abdication because of holy orders, may well have been the rationale behind the Chronicle of Alfonso III's decision to omit material that, in the light of canon 17, removed Alfonso II's legitimacy as king. Above all, there was the sorry tale of the conspiracy which had forced Wamba to resign the throne and from which he had then been debarred by the acceptance of holy orders.

After the Muslim conquest the Visigothic law code continued in use among the Christians of al-Andalus and in the Asturian kingdom. The Chronicle of Alfonso III, especially in the 'B'

text, has some evidence of the use of punishments that were prescribed by the Forum Iudicum. The 'B' text reports that Fruela I punished priests who broke the laws on clerical celibacy with a flogging. In the Forum Iudicum this penalty, although usually reserved for the lesser ranks of society, was also applied to the clergy.(270) The royal punishment of the rebel Paul, as given in the 'B' text, was to be blinded. Both versions of the Chronicle report that the Asturian king Ramiro I enforced sentences of blinding on the rebels Aldroitus and Nepotian whereas another rebel, Piniolus, and his seven sons were condemned to death.(271) The option of punishing rebels by death or blinding lay with the king, according to a law of Chindasuinth (642-653 AD).(272) Legal terms and turns of phrase from the Forum Iudicum are found throughout the Chronicle.(273) The Visigothic church council canons and the law codes provide the inspiration for language in the Chronicle, especially in defining usurpation and loyalty.(274)

2: Mozarabic Sources.

There is a clear Mozarabic influence in the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Both versions use the term 'Chaldaean' to describe the Muslims of al-Andalus, as had Eulogius and Paulus Alvarus in mid 9th-century Cordoba.(275) Despite some errors, there is a core of information on the rulers of Muslim Spain as well as on their administration and subjects. The 'A' and 'B' texts are both informed on ethnic, geographical and social matters in al-Andalus. Both versions follow the movements of Viking raiders, who attacked the Asturian kingdom in the time of Ordone I, as they journeyed south to raid Muslim Spain and North

Africa.(276) The 'B' text especially carries a Mozarabic flavour. Its lament on the fall of Toledo echoes Isidore of Seville's comments on the fall of Rome.(277) On two occasions, it gives information on Muslim Spain that might seem to suggest direct and personal knowledge. In the first, it refers to Roderick's palace in the city by the Arab word 'balat'. In the other, it refers to the ultimate destination of Viking raiders after their attack on Seville.(278) Each concludes with a sentence on returning to the main theme of the text, perhaps revealing an interpolation by the hand of a single author.(279)

Scholarly opinion on the use of the Chronicle of 754 in the Chronicle of Alfonso III has been divided, although the most recent view has gone against it.(280) It has nothing to say on Pelayo's rebellion and the Asturian kingdom. Its literary style is far more elaborate than that of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. The Chronicle of 754's treatment of the last two Visigothic kings is in striking contrast to the Chronicle of Alfonso III. In the Mozarabic text, Wittiza is treated favourably and Roderick is a rebel whereas in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, Wittiza is a depraved figure whose successor, Roderick, is legitimately elected.(281) Both texts present Oppa as a Christian working with the Muslims. For the Chronicle of Alfonso III, he was one of Wittiza's sons whose treason had led to Roderick's defeat, and a collaborator at Covadonga. In the Chronicle of 754, Oppa, a son of King Egica, cooperates with Musa, the Muslim conqueror of Toledo to crush the city's Visigothic nobility.(282)

There is a possibility that the Chronicle of Alfonso III may be reacting against the Chronicle of 754 rather than using it as a

source. The Chronicle of 754 accepted the Muslim conquest. It warmly praised Theodemir, a local Christian ruler in south-eastern Spain, for his personal qualities and for his negotiated pact of surrender with the Muslims.(283) Both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III refer to such treaties.(284) There could not be a sharper contrast with Pelayo, the first ruler of the Asturian kingdom, who explicitly rejected the temptations of such a peace treaty, when offered by the collaborationist Bishop Oppa, in order to restore the health of Spain and the well-being of the Gothic army. Although the manuscript history of the Chronicle of 754 is too uncertain to be able to establish a clear link with the Asturian kingdom, its content may have been known given the many Mozarabic traits of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(285)

3: Biblical and Hagiographical Material.

Both versions of the Chronicle draw heavily on the Bible for imagery and ideology. Its direct quotations are not valuable as sources of information on the Asturian kingdom but they do point up lines of thought and emphasis for the Chronicle.(286) Both texts use direct scriptural references although these are not always used in common. Biblical quotation is used especially to point up Wittiza's shocking immorality. The 'B' text deploys four citations, all different from the single quotation of the 'A' text.(287) Direct quotation is used to enrich the dialogue between Pelayo and Bishop Oppa at Covadonga, which, in the 'B' text, recalls the conversation between God and Adam in the Book of Genesis.(288) A choir of angels sings an antiphon of the Holy Week office, which is taken ultimately from the Book of Isaiah,

over the corpse of Alfonso I.(289) In both versions of the Chronicle there is imagery drawn from the Old and New Testament. The destruction of the Muslim army, swept away by a landslide, in its flight from Covadonga, is compared to the fate of pharaoh's army, swallowed by the Red Sea.(290) In Pelayo's speech to Bishop Oppa the recovery of the Church is likened to the growth of a mustard seed by 'B' and to the cycle of the moon by 'A'.(291) The chief Muslim ruler after the invasion of Spain is identified as the King of Babylon.(292) The Muslims themselves are most frequently identified as Chaldeans in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

The scriptures supply an explanation of the disaster which overcame the Visigothic kingdom, prophetic parallels and a spiritual framework from which to draw inspiration. The travails of the Jews in the Old Testament were a counterpart to the sufferings of the Spanish Christians. The abasement of the chosen people as divine punishment for their sins and recovery through the restoration of God's favour was an obvious metaphor for a writer with any knowledge of the scriptures. The Muslims were a 'scourge of God' in causing the fall of the Visigothic kingdom. The use of the term 'Chaldaean' for Muslims evokes the Babylonian captivity of the Old Testament Jews, the chosen people who had fallen from grace. The true cause of the Visigothic collapse was the immorality ('iniquitas' and 'nequitas') of the kings and priests whose failings brought catastrophe on the people as a whole. This theme of the punishment of a people for its sins was accepted in the Asturian kingdom at the start of the 9th century, if not earlier.(295) The recovery of Spain's

Christians, like that of the biblical Jews, was accompanied by military success won against overwhelming odds, most signally by the victory of Pelayo's loyal handful of supporters over a Muslim army, said to be 187,000 strong, at Covadonga.(296)

The identification of biblical quotations in the Chronicle of Alfonso III is simpler matter than recognising the possible use of other hagiographical sources such as liturgical works. The vitae of saints and, especially, the passiones, which record the deaths of martyrs, would have provided a ready supply of literary phrases and parallel situations.(297) The obvious difficulty lies in disentangling what was borrowed, from cliché or the use of common phrases to describe comparable circumstances.(298) The use of verification phrases drawn from the Vita Sancti Martini of Sulpicius Severus and the De Virtutibus Sancti Martini of Gregory of Tours has already been mentioned. Besides hagiographical sources, the Chronicle has language that seems to bear the stamp of classical learning.(299) These literary sources have no significant contribution to make to the historical content in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

4: Sources for the History of the Asturian Kingdom.

The sources identified and discussed briefly to this point have nothing of a genuinely historical nature to say about the Asturian kingdom that could serve as the basis of a narrative account. Without the Asturian chronicles, and the Chronicle of Alfonso III in particular, material relating to the kingdom's history would be almost non-existent rather than merely tantalisingly slender. Neither version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III gives a direct or indirect reference in the text to

the sources of its information covering the period after the Muslim invasion. External sources for the period up to Alfonso III's accession are, for the most part, insufficient to corroborate information in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(300)

The basic sequence of the Asturian kings in the Chronicle of Alfonso III must have been drawn from regnal lists. These have already been considered in detail. The differences in the royal genealogies provide evidence for dynastic politics as the line of kings was trimmed and reshaped, especially in the difficult period prior to the accession of Alfonso II.(301) Both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III carry the same sequence of kings.

After analysing the B text, Stero identified, on linguistic grounds, that corresponded to the hand of different authors.(302) For Stero, the inserts concern the angelic voices that praised the deceased Alfonso I and, more significantly, the account of the battle of Covadonga. Pelayo's rise to power in the Asturias and his 'great victory' are described with such verve that they stand out from the rest of the Chronicle in both forms. The exposition of events immediately before, during and after the battle of Covadonga serves as a hinge between the narrative of the kingdom of Toledo and that of the Asturian kingdom. Gómez Moreno, too, pointed out the distinctive style of the Covadonga episode and its rhetorical conventions.(303) The theme was developed by Menéndez Pidal who argued that the narrative in the 'B' text was taken from an epic poem with its rich mix of romantic intrigue (the seduction of Pelayo's sister by Munnuza, the Muslim governor of Gijón), a hairsbreadth escape and Pelayo's

dramatic confrontation with Bishop Oppa before the climactic account of the battle with its marvellous events.(304) A different interpretation of the Covadonga story was put forward by Sánchez-Albornoz who saw it, not as epic poetry, but as the writing down of a popular legend that had crystallised around the core of a genuine historical event. This transcription was the work of clerics and, if the 'A' text omitted the fuller account of Pelayo's journey to Covadonga, it was because it did not fit into the reinforced neo-gothic theme of the later version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(305)

The use of ancestral carmina by the Goths for the edification and inspiration of their young was mentioned by Isidore of Seville. (306) There is, however, no evidence of their survival and use in the 9th-century Asturian kingdom. The phrase 'Ut supra dixi...' used in Bishop Oppa's harangue of Pelayo, in the 'B' text only, referring to the assembly of the Gothic army before its defeat by the Muslims, is puzzling because it cannot be attached to any earlier comment.(307) While it may well indicate a clumsy attempt to copy an existing text, there is the possibility that the phrase is a maladroit 'editorial' interpolation by the author of the Chronicle that harks back to the preceding passage on Roderick's defeat.(308)

The two versions of the Chronicle, and indeed the Chronicle of Albelda, do not agree in their respective accounts of how Pelayo came to be a refugee in the Asturias. The 'A' and 'B' texts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III agree in their general outline of the events associated with Pelayo's victory at Covadonga but differ significantly in the language and imagery used by the

Asturian leader in his dialogue with Bisho Oppa.(309) The variety in these accounts does not indicate a fixed consensus of belief. It suggests that the accepted tradition of Pelayo's victory at Covadonga, an important theme in Asturian royal culture, was not matched by knowledge of his background, leaving open the opportunity for historical and literary invention. In reporting the origins of Pelayo's uprising, the 'B' text, with its stronger Mozarabic flavour, describes how he evaded his would-be Muslim captors by swimming across the swollen river Piloña, in an incident that recalls the equally dramatic escape across the Euphrates by Abd al-Rahman, the Ummayad founder of the Cordoban emirate that was to overshadow the Asturian kingdom.(310) The most likely source of inspiration for the epic elements in the story of Pelayo and Covadonga is the Old Testament which, with its heroes securing victory against great enemy hosts as well as acts of divine intervention, would offer clear and obvious parallels.

Gomez-Moreno drew attention to the differences in language and style between the battle of Covadonga and the rest of the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(311) The most obvious feature of the account of Pelayo's rebellion is its length, which, in the 'B' text, is the most extensive episode in the entire Chronicle. By contrast, the Chronicle of Albelda's account of Pelayo's victory is brief and matter of fact, although it explicitly states that this was the origin of the Asturian kingdom.(312) After the victory at Covadonga, the Chronicle of Alfonso III reports nothing on Pelayo's 19 year reign apart from the marriage of his daughter Ermesinda to Alfonso, son of Peter 'Dux Cantabrorum', a

generalised reference to the victories he won with his son-in-law and a, possibly interpolated, note of his death at Cangas.(313) The account of events immediately before, during and after the battle of Covadonga acts as a literary hinge between the section of the Chronicle dealing with the kingdom of Toledo and that on the kingdom of the Asturias. Pelayo's exploits form an heroic foundation legend in passages of the Chronicle which have their importance clearly flagged but the kingdom's true founder is his son-in-law Alfonso I whose significance is manifested through the detailed record of the activities attributed to him.(314)

Some of the differences in content between the two versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III appear to be based on personal knowledge. The 'B' text's identification of a building in Córdoba as Roderick's palace and the lament that is given to once-victorious Toledo suggest a direct awareness of Muslim Spain.(315) In the 'A' text there is a fuller description of the royal building-programmes pursued in and around Oviedo by Alfonso II and Ramiro I.(316) The 'A' text's enthusiasm for the church dedicated by Ramiro I to the Virgin Mary leads to a boast that its beauty could not be matched in 'Hispania', meaning here Muslim Spain, as is the practice in the Asturian chronicles.(317) This local pride and knowledge points to an Oviedan background for the 'A' text. It would be interesting to know the contact or sources from Muslim Spain that must lie behind the account of the second Viking raid as it moved from the Asturian kingdom to al-Andalus, North Africa and the Mediterranean.(318)

The extent to which the Chronicle of Alfonso III drew on earlier written sources is uncertain. There is a possibility

that it used the *Annales Bertiniani*, a detailed record of events in the Carolingian world from 832 to 882 AD. Apart from shared words and turns of phrase that are the cliched stock-in-trade of medieval historiography, the second element of the *Annales*, composed around the middle of the 9th century by Prudentius of Troyes, gives some detail of a Viking attack on the coasts of Galicia in 844 AD.(319) This may have been the raid that the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* reported as having been defeated by Ramiro I.(320) The possibility that Prudentius' work may have been known to the *Chronicle of Alfonso* is made more piquant by the fact that he was of Spanish origin himself.(321)

The case for a lost historical work from which the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* drew its information on the Asturian kingdom has been made since the 18th century.(322) For many years this century, Sánchez-Albornoz championed the cause of a lost 8th-century chronicle, written at the start of Alfonso II's reign with growing certainty and conviction.(323) He argued that although the *Chronicle of Albelda* and the 'B' text of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* were independent, the similarities between the two texts suggested that they used a common source. These resemblances are said to have ended on the accession of Alfonso II.(324) Within the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* there was evidence of the lost source in the *Chronicle's* use of phrases from the Visigothic period that were not known otherwise after 812 AD in Asturian sources, and in the disappearance of phrases of biblical or religious inspiration. Very specific points of detail, surprising in their precision, contained in the *Chronicle's* text, such as the list of Alfonso I's conquests, were taken from the lost source rather than oral tradition.(325) Some pieces of

information from the part of the Chronicle preceding Alfonso II do not correspond to late 9th-century realities.(326) Evidence for the lost chronicle could be deduced from the surviving 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' (annalistic material on Visigothic history and the list of Asturian kings up to Alfonso II), which either drew on or summarised this source.(327) It was also used by the Muslim historian al-Razi(d.955 AD) whose work, copied by the Iraqi Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233 AD), contained extensive information on the Asturian kings up to the abdication of Vermudo I.(328)

Overall, these arguments for a lost chronicle are not overwhelming. The break in style and theme after the accession of Alfonso II is not as abrupt as Sanchez-Albornoz suggested. There are similarities between the elements of the Asturian historiographical cycle from the reign of Alfonso II onwards.(329) The presence of miracles in the Chronicle, as in the account of the battle at Covadonga, was essential, in literary terms, to enhance the importance of the event. The use of biblical quotation and miraculous happenings, as in the account of Covadonga, was essential, in literary terms, to enhance the importance of the event. The description of the bee, an omen of future success, at Wamba's coronation was taken from a known source, Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae*, while, another miracle, the angelic choir that sang over the dead Alfonso I, seems to be a later addition.(330) There are phrases up to the end of the Chronicle that seem to be drawn from biblical inspiration, and descriptions of kings that suggest a liturgical background.(331) There were sufficient historical, legal and

religious texts from the Visigothic period available in the 9th-century kingdom of Oviedo to have provided models of phrases for the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(332) The apparent discrepancy between the information in the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the realities of the late 9th century is not as great as Sanchez Albornoz argued.(333) Neither the Chronicle of Albelda nor the Chronicle of Alfonso III has an obvious connection with the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' in terms of shared content. They do not have its information on the length of Visigothic rule in Spain, the date of the Muslim invasion, the death of Roderick and the period of Muslim rule in the Asturias nor do they omit Vermudo from the sequence of Asturian kings, as does the Laterculus.(334) There are considerable differences between the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the writing of Ibn al-Athir, who may, admittedly, have deformed the source he used. In any case, al-Razi (c. 887-955 AD) could have used the Chronicle of Alfonso III itself, or its sources, for the information which is used in common, rather than the putative lost source from the time of Alfonso II.

The case for the lost chronicle is, at best, unproven.(335) This still leaves open the question of sources used by the Chronicle of Alfonso III. From the reign of Alfonso II onwards, the lives of the kings become fuller and more detailed as the Chronicle approached its own time. Undoubtedly, this was because it was possible to draw on the memories of the elderly, 'sicut.. a praedecessoribus nostris audivimus' as says in the letter heading the 'A' text. For the earlier years of the Asturian kingdom, up to Alfonso II, the Chronicle could have used the oral tradition and popular memory that constituted historical knowledge in a

society with limited literacy.(336) These sources, ultimately unknowable, are beyond effective evaluation of their worth as a record of actual events.

From the regrettably few occasions when comparative material is available, it becomes clear that information in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, especially for the time prior to Alfonso II, needs to be approached with great caution. Only one example will be given here, as the problem is considered in the following section which examines the Chronicle's value as an historical source. The 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' and the Testament of 812 AD place the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in 711 AD. Both texts of the Chronicle of Alfonso III place Roderick's accession in 711 AD. The 'B' text alone puts Roderick's defeat in the third year of his reign and dates it to 11 November 714 AD.(337) From this, it is clear that the Chronicle of Alfonso III used an inaccurate alternative to the date of the Muslim conquest known in the Asturian kingdom at the start of the 9th century. There are, also, elements in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, such as the list of settlements captured by Alfonso I, which seem too specific to be the simple hand-me-downs of social memory.(338) They may, therefore, reflect contemporary political concerns of the late 9th century projected into the past. The conclusion has to be that when the Chronicle can be tested, its content shows clear signs of manipulation and need to be handled with due care.

H: The Value of the Chronicle of Alfonso III as an Historical Source

Despite its importance for an understanding of the Asturian kingdom's history, the Chronicle of Alfonso III has frequently

incurred the displeasure of modern scholars. Their criticism rightly points out its failings for the purposes of academic study but does not always do justice to the Chronicle in fulfilling its own purposes.

1: The Chronicle of Alfonso III and Modern Criticism.

For many historians in the 20th century the two versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III are a disappointment in their style and content. The 'B' text, in particular, has been savaged for the barbarism of its Latin, the poverty of its vocabulary and the repetition of stereotyped formulae, although Gomez-Moreno conceded that there was a rough spontaneity to it.(339) In his analysis of the content of the Chronicle's 'A' text, Barrau-Dihigo condemned the scarcity of detail, with the notable exceptions of the battle of Covadonga and the exploits of Musa, leader of the Banu Kasi.(340) In many instances the Chronicle makes statements that are so concise as to be enigmatic.(341) Apart from marking the change of reign by an era dating (and there are even exceptions to this in the 'A' text), the Chronicle, like its Isidoran model, has few dates from which to fix a timescale of events.(342) There is no certainty that events were placed in the correct sequence.(343) For Barrau-Dihigo, the self-justifying nature of the Chronicle led it to describe a continuous series of Christian victories, omit defeats and exaggerate Muslim losses.(344) The Chronicle has obvious loose ends in its narrative, such as the fate of Pelayo's unnamed sister, whose marriage to a Muslim governor precipitated her brother's rebellion, and of Bishop Oppa.(345) In short, the Chronicle was a semi-official work of 'lamentable poverty'.(346)

The essential value of the Chronicle was stoutly defended by Sánchez-Albornoz although he conceded that its brevity and lack of substance only permitted a fragmentary reconstruction of the Asturian monarchy's inner life.(347) The glorification of victory, suppression of defeats and partial presentation of the facts were not confined uniquely to historical writing in the Asturian kingdom. Sánchez-Albornoz argued that the reliability of the Chronicle's information could be tested against other types of source. Archaeology confirmed the Chronicle's testimony on the buildings erected in Oviedo by Alfonso II.(348) Muslim sources confirmed detail, such as the palace of Roderick in Córdoba, as well as events in Spain, such as the settlement of the Meridan rebel Mahmud in Galicia, and farther abroad, such as the Viking expedition which raided North Africa and the Balearic Islands. The Chronicle's faults as an historical source narrative seem to lie more in omission, exaggeration and embellishment in areas of detail rather than sustained purposeful invention. Apart from the miraculous bee at Wamba's coronation and the heavenly choir over Alfonso I's corpse, the supernatural is only invoked in the highly distinctive passages surrounding the battle of Covadonga and its aftermath. Divine punishment is invoked as the reason for Roderick's defeat and, later, for the annihilation by landslide of the defeated Muslim army in its flight from Covadonga. The only truly miraculous happening occurs in the desperate fighting at Covadonga when Muslim missiles entering the sanctuary of the Virgin Mary are returned by an unseen spiritual hand.

Sánchez-Albornoz warned apocalyptically that, lacking

historical sources spiced with legends and surrounded by the supernatural 'a good part of the history of humanity would be in ruins'.(349) With greater restraint Ruíz de la Peña asked, rhetorically, what would be known about the history of the Asturian kingdom without the chronicles produced in the time of Alfonso III.(350) In short, the Chronicle of Alfonso III is a source that cannot be dismissed or ignored.

2: The value of the Chronicle of Alfonso III as an Historical Source and Its Presentation of the Past

The Chronicle has been criticised as a disappointing mine of raw information on the history of the Asturian kingdom. It deserves to be considered in terms of the author's intentions. Studied in its own right, the Chronicle, as a consciously-crafted work, is of interest for what it shows of the writer's perception of his contemporary world through the events of the past and the manner in which he chose to present them. There is much to be gained from studying the Chronicle for what it reveals of ideological, political and religious attitudes around the Asturian monarchy in the late 9th century.

If the full extent of information available to the author is unknown, it is clear that the actual content of the Chronicle has been manipulated and molded. The Chronicle was always likely to have been best informed on matters closest to its own time. For events from the reign of Alfonso II (d.842 AD) and after, there was the possibility of direct consultation with eye-witnesses of advanced years, the 'praedecessores' of the 'A' text. There would have been more of these for the reign of Ordoño I

(850-866 AD), as well as the personal knowledge of his son and successor, Alfonso III. Despite this, the Chronicle is very selective in its content. It says that Ramiro I repressed frequent rebellions but only identifies two. Similarly, the Chronicle reports that Ordono I fought many times with the Muslims and seized many fortified places but only refers directly to one battle and only names two of the conquered places. It is discreetly silent on the major defeats suffered by Ordono's armies in 854 AD and 865 AD.(352)

The question of how the Chronicle used its sources becomes more complex for the sections from Covadonga to Alfonso II. After the great Christian victory, Pelayo and his successors were treated with marked brevity, apart from the life of Alfonso I. The survival of a document from early 9th-century Oviedo which refers to earlier Asturian history provides an important comparison with the late 9th-century Chronicle. Confirmation of a royal donation by Alfonso II to the cathedral-church of San Salvador in 812 AD, the Testament of Alfonso II has, in its opening lines, a small amount of precious historical information on the Asturian kingdom and its origins.(353) The Testament, like the later Chronicle, interpreted the collapse of the Visigothic kingdom as a proof that divine favour had been withdrawn.(354) The elevation of Pelayo as the victorious defender of the Asturian and Christian people signified its restoration. The Testament clearly sets the Christian defeat to 711 AD, sharing the date given by the *Laterculus Regum Ovetensium*. By contrast, in the late 9th century, the Chronicle's 'B' text, like the Chronicle of Albelda and the Prophetic Chronicle, dates Roderick's defeat to 714 AD.(355) The Testament also reports the building of two churches

in Oviedo, one dedicated to San Salvador and the other to saints Julian and Basilissa, by Fruela I, the predecessor of Alfonso II.(356) Both versions of the Chronicle are silent on Fruela's activity although they name Alfonso II as builder of the fore-mentioned churches.(357) From this, it seems clear that the Chronicle chose to adapt historical information that had been available to the royal court at Oviedo at the start of the 9th century.

Throughout the Chronicle, there are indications of how its content was manipulated. This can be seen through the presentation of the military activity. As noted above, the Chronicle says nothing about the defeats of Ordone I's forces on the river Guadacelete, to the south of Toledo, in (854 AD) and at Hoz de la Morcuera, a pass linking La Rioja with Old Castile, in (865 AD). Nor does it mention the Muslim raids against the Asturian kingdom from 863 AD.(358) These are known from Muslim sources, as are earlier Asturian disasters such as the sack of Oviedo in 794 AD and 795 AD.(359) In the Chronicle there are no Christian defeats apart from the cataclysmic fall of the Visigothic kingdom. From this point onwards, the repeated military successes of Christian kings demonstrate the return of divine favour.(360) The downplaying of defeats by an enemy is hardly unusual in medieval historiography. More surprisingly, not all of the successes of Asturian arms are recorded in the Chronicle of Alfonso III. It says nothing about the successful raid sent by Alfonso II against Lisbon in 798 AD, which is known only from Carolingian royal annals.(361)

The Chronicle stays silent on matters concerned with the

organisation and regular practice of Christianity in the Asturian kingdom. It records the building of churches by Asturian kings but there is nothing on the clergy who conducted services within them. Unnamed monasteries serve as places of confinement for rebels against the crown and sexually-incontinent clergy.(362) Apart from the quisling Bishop Oppa at Covadonga, Vermudo I, the forgetful deacon, is the only churchman named in the Chronicle. There are no bishops in name or office to be found in the Chronicle after Covadonga.(363) The 'B' text alone mentions priests, in connection with Fruela I's enforcement of clerical celibacy.(364) There is no comment, even indirect, on the role of the higher clergy in the rituals of king-making or in the government of the kingdom. Clerics play no explicit part in the kingdom's expansion.(365) There is no indication of the Adoptionist issue or the acrimonious debate between Beatus of Liéban and Elipandus, the metropolitan of Toledo.

The 9th-century origins of the cult of St. James at Santiago de Compostela are hopelessly obscured by pious invention and self-interested fraud.(366) Both Alfonso II and Alfonso III built churches at the shrine.(367) In its early days the cult of St. James was essentially a local affair, supporting a distinctive Galician identity. By the middle of the 9th century, at the latest, it must have been known to the royal court at Oviedo. In his letter to the clergy at Tours, Alfonso III replied to their request for information on the apostle whose tomb was in Spain and gave directions on how to find the shrine.(368) The absence of any reference to St. James, his cult or his shrine in the Chronicle of Alfonso III must be the result of the

author's deliberate choice in the selection of his material.

The Chronicle is virtually silent on the relations of the Asturian kingdom with its Christian neighbours. It says nothing about the kingdom of Pamplona on its eastern flank. The diplomatic missions sent by Alfonso II to Charlemagne's court, known from the Carolingian royal annals, are absent from the Chronicle. There is no direct contact recorded in the Chronicle between the Asturian kingdom and the Carolingian empire.(369) The emigration of Mozarab Christians northwards out of Muslim al-Andalus during the 9th century had important consequences for the general level of cultural attainment in the Asturian kingdom. The Chronicle is rich in Mozarabic ideology and imagery. Although the Chronicle reports that, in part, Ordoño I repopulated the settlements of Amaya, Astorga, Leon and Tuy with Christians from Muslim territory, it otherwise has nothing to say on the Mozarabs.(370) The drama of the mid 9th-century Cordoban martyrs is not mentioned although this must have been known at Oviedo. Dulcidius, the Toledan priest, whose mission to Córdoba ended the Chronicle of Albelda in November 883 AD, returned to Oviedo in the following January with the relics of Eulogius, a central figure in the martyr crisis, and Leocritia, herself a martyr.(371) Their remains were interred with great ceremony in the cathedral of San Salvador. If the martyrdoms were not mentioned it could only have been because they were rejected as inappropriate to the themes of the Chronicle.

The sudden flowering of historical writing in the late 9th-century Asturian kingdom was a remarkable achievement, more so if the mysterious and unproven chronicle championed by Sánchez

Albornoz is to be rejected. Royal inspiration and patronage from Alfonso III seems to lie behind this outburst. In an age when literacy was a prized skill of the few, when resources for study were scanty and the materials to produce the written word were expensive, the compilation of an historical work had to be driven by a clear sense of purpose. The importance of history as a vehicle for the moral instruction and edification of the present, was clearly stated by Isidore of Seville in the Etymologies, a fundamental source for medieval learning and one which formed part of the royal library at Oviedo.(372) The writing of history was not the product of a broad antiquarian interest in the past but the deployment of a powerful cultural weapon to justify and sustain the ruling dynasty.(373) The existence of the Chronicle of Alfonso III in a double form indicates a shifting emphasis of theme and purpose. In fulfilling his own purposes the author, within the limits of his skill, revealed as much information as was necessary (or he knew). The themes that underlie the Chronicle of Alfonso III have something in common with the other Asturian chronicles but the work, as a whole, is distinguished from its contemporaries by a multi-layered depth of meaning.

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CHAPTER 6: THE CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III AND ITS THEMES

Written in the late 9th century at a time of high optimism when the recovery of Spain from Muslim hands seemed likely, the cycle of Asturian chronicles are a testament to the growing assertiveness and confidence of the Christian North. They share a providentialist belief in the restoration of the Visigothic state and the Christian Church by divine grace. The Chronicle of Alfonso III is the richest of the texts in terms of its depth, carrying an Isidoran stamp by which the past becomes a medium for foundation myth, moral drama, political self-assertion and territorial aspiration. Through a filter of Mozarabic culture, it represents the concerns of the royal court at Oviedo. The Chronicle deals with kingship by means of critical issues such as dynastic legitimisation and the maintenance of unity. It has a clear understanding of the Asturian monarchy's status in regard to its neighbours. There is the intriguing possibility that elements of the Chronicle may be a mirror for the events of Alfonso's own reign.

1: The Two Kingdoms: Association Between the Asturian and Visigothic Kingdoms.

The presentation of the Asturian kingdom as the successor of the Visigothic is a key element in the Chronicle of Alfonso III. The cultural inheritance drawn from Toledo is unmistakable although not stated here as directly as in the Chronicle of Albelda's famous declaration on the restoration of the old order.(1) It may be significant for this notion of continuity that the Chronicle of Alfonso III begins its account of the Visigothic kings with an event in the church of St. Mary in

Toledo and it ends the account of the Asturian kings with an event in the church of St. Mary in Oviedo.(2) There are the same processes of kingmaking and the symbols of the Visigothic monarchy, the throne and sceptre, are associated with the Asturian kings. Visigothic palace officers have their counterparts in the Asturian kingdom.(3) The law code of the Visigoths, the Forum Iudicum, and the canons of the great Church councils held at Toledo continued in use. As heir to the Visigothic kingdom, the Asturian monarchy had title to its former territories, not just those under Muslim control but also those held by Christian neighbours. The Asturian monarchy took on the prestige and symbolic authority of its Gothic predecessor.

The Chronicle presents the Asturian kingdom as the political and spiritual heir of the Gothic kingdom but not as a simple continuation. Despite its attachment to the Gothic past by the alleged royal connections of Pelayo and, even more emphatically, of Alfonso I, the Asturian monarchy was a recent and distinct development after Covadonga. By the start of the 9th century, if not earlier, the fall of the Visigothic kingdom was being attributed to the withdrawal of divine favour. The Chronicle of Alfonso III took up the theme and developed it. The fall of the Visigothic kingdom, attributed to the withdrawal of God's favour, was caused by Wittiza's immorality, shared by the clergy, continued under his successor Roderick and provoked the loss of God's protection. The treachery of his sons sealed the success of the Muslim invaders who, unwittingly, served as the instruments of a divine punishment that would be ended by the return of Christians to the paths of righteousness. Pelayo's

victory at Covadonga marked the restoration of an Old Testament-style covenant with God from which would come the recovery of the 'salus Hispaniae'.(4) The battle constitutes a watershed between the Gothic and Asturian monarchies. Pelayo's successors in the Asturias are not named as being Gothic. The Testament of 812 AD, Alfonso II's donation to the church of San Salvador, specifically identifies Pelayo as defender of 'the people of the Christians and Asturians'.(5) After Covadonga, even the name of the Goths slips from the Chronicle of Alfonso III to be mentioned on only one further occasion as the ethnic origin of Musa, leader of the troublesome Banu Kasi.(6)

The Chronicle distinguishes the last Gothic kings from the post-invasion rulers in the Asturias. Both of its versions report the discovery of an epitaph at Viseu for Roderick describing him as 'the last king of the Goths'.(7) The significance of this sensational discovery becomes intelligible if the inscription is taken as a deliberate settling of accounts, with the closure of the Gothic line of kings as a rival of the Asturian monarchy.

Something similar is true of Wittiza and his sons who are responsible for the fall of Spain. The ferocity of the Chronicle's attacks on Wittiza, although partly repeated in the Chronicle of Moissac, is in clear contrast to the favourable verdict of the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754 AD, a generally trustworthy guide that was much closer in time and space to the events it described.(8) Both texts of Alfonso III castigate the treachery of Wittiza's sons, especially Bishop Oppa whose fate after being captured at Covadonga is left unreported. The phrase

'sons of Wittiza', perhaps reflecting a broader set of relations like the Arabic banu (literally 'sons of') indicates a tribe or clan, seems to include political supporters as well as actual children.(9) The 'A' text is more explicit on the treason of the sons of Wittiza and its ultimate reward of execution by the invaders.(10) These statements on the sons of Wittiza do not conform to information given in the Chronicle of 754, that Oppa was the son of King Egica (in other words, he was Wittiza's brother, and in the Muslim sources, on Wittiza's children in al-Andalus.(11)

Attempts to explain the difference in the treatment of Wittiza have lacked total conviction. Sánchez-Albornoz argued that it reflected the continuation of a dispute between Wittiza's partisans and those of his successor, Roderick, who had fled north.(12) More recently, Bonnaz discerned divisions, provoked and maintained by Wittiza, in the late—Visigothic Church, although these are of a nature that is now difficult to determine. The hostility shown to Wittiza in the Chronicle reflected the animosity of a faction of the Toledan clergy which was transferred northwards and, apparently, brooded over for the next 250 years.(13) Both arguments seem to be undermined, firstly, by the Chronicle's unfavourable treatment of Roderick, under whom the immorality of Wittiza's time was not ended, but rather increased, and, secondly, by the failure to resolve the central issue of clerical marriage until the reign of Fruela I.(14)

More credibly, the explanation for the hostility to Wittiza in the Chronicle of Alfonso III may be due to the desire to defend

the rights of the Asturian monarchy. There is evidence from the Asturias that indicates a disapproving knowledge of the Wittizan line. In 785 AD Beatus of Liébana and his collaborator Bishop Etherius produced a strong defence against the accusations of Elipandus, metropolitan of Toledo, and a refutation of his Adoptionist errors. Elipandus is criticised for comparing himself with Christ by Beatus and Etherius who make an interesting comment on Wittiza: 'Wittiza was a king. But today many take from him the name Wittizani, even poor people, so that by the name it may be known that they are of royal stock could have been king, if the name made one king.'(15) There is no similar evidence of continuing support for the descendants of Roderick. If Beatus and Etherius may be believed, in the late 8th century there were still those who claimed a connection with Wittiza, asserting royal descent, real or pretended, and a claim to be king (although it would be helpful to know more about the nature of this claimed kingship). If, as is argued here, it was defending the prestige of the Asturian monarchy, the Chronicle would be obliged to suppress the claims of the Wittizan line. This explanation of anti-Wittizan feeling is less far-fetched than the alleged prosecution of a clerical quarrel in the first historical writings from the Asturias of an ecclesiastical dispute across a gap of two and a half centuries.

The Chronicle of Alfonso III draws a line between the Asturian kings and their Visigothic predecessors. Wittiza is discredited for immorality, the sons of Wittiza for their treachery and Roderick is laid to rest as the last of the Gothic kings. In this way, the Asturian kingdom was protected against any challenge by royal ghosts from the Visigothic past to its

self-invented role as heir to the kingdom of Toledo.

2: The Making of Kings and the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

Kingship lies at the heart of the Chronicle of Alfonso III. It accepts unquestioningly the existence of kings, without offering any explanation of the theoretical sources of their authority. The assumptions and language of the Chronicle in describing the Asturian monarchy reveals, as might be expected, a debt to the late-Visigothic period.

The key elements in the making of Visigothic kings had evolved in the 6th and 7th centuries. From its earliest appearance in the sources, kingship was determined by election. In practice, the elective principle was often set aside as ruling kings designated their successors or associated them with royal power. Moves towards the establishment of an hereditary succession under a single dynasty were effectively checked by the need for a king to be competent in war-leadership. After the murder of Amalaric (511-531 AD) which ended the line of Theoderic I (419-451 AD), no dynasty was able to establish itself. Conspiracy, military defeat and the accession of a child-king caused dynastic failure. Under Leovigild (569-586 AD) the authority of the ruler was emphasised by the adoption of late-Roman or Byzantine symbols such as a crown, sceptre and throne. The acceptance of Catholic Christianity by Leovigild's son, Reccared (586-601 AD) enabled Visigothic kings to use the Church as a powerful support. In the 7th century, councils at Toledo recognised the elective nature of kingship, determined the eligibility for the throne and offered protection for the king and his heirs.(16) The throne was

limited to noble Visigoths of good character, while churchmen, foreigners, slaves and those who had suffered the punishment of decalvation were excluded.(17) The anointing of kings, first recorded for Wamba in 672 AD although it may have been practised earlier, conferred a semi-priestly character on the king which would further protect the royal person. It added an ecclesiastical element to the other rituals of kingmaking: election, acclamation and investiture with regalia. For Julian of Toledo, the process of kingmaking had to be performed in the capital of the Visigothic kingdom. Overall, attempts to regulate the rituals making kings and to protect the ruler were ineffective. Hereditary succession was tried but failed in the late 7th century and after, when the male line failed or successful usurpation conferred a legitimacy that, contrary to the canons of the Toledan councils, was acceptable to the Church and the nobility.(18)

The Visigothic requirements of a king appear in part in the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Mauregatus (783-788 AD), who ousted Alfonso II, is described in both versions of the Chronicle as being the son of a female slave.(19) In this, he breached canon 17 of the VI Council of Toledo (638 AD) which had specifically excluded usurpers and those of servile origin from the throne.(20) The same canon, barring those who had received the tonsure, had been used against Wamba. It was also the justification for returning Vermudo I, who recalled that he was a deacon after three years on the throne, to monastic life.(21) The application of the law was not invariable. Alfonso II is said in the Chronicle of Albelda to have been forced from the throne in the 11th year of his reign and relegated to the monastery of

Abelania.(22) This probably required the enforced imposition of a monastic habit on Alfonso, who may have already spent some time as a youth in the monastery of Samos, and explains the chronicles' emphasis on his chastity.(23) There is also architectural and inscriptional evidence for Alfonso II having been a monk.(24) His retention of the crown for over a half century despite the handicap of holy orders, like Mauregatus' hold on the throne for six years, is in pointed contrast to the experience of Vermudo I. These examples warn that the enforcement of canons relating to kingmaking was conditional on the strength of factional support.(25)

Neither version of the Chronicle has much to say on the regalia associated with the making of kings nor on the place of the ceremony.(26) The titles 'rex' and 'princeps' are used indiscriminately in the Chronicle which reflects the usage in 8th century Asturian diplomas.(27) The 'A' and 'B' texts report that, with divine grace, Alfonso I took up the sceptre of the kingdom (*qui cum gratia divina regni suscepit sceptrum*). (28) The phrase '*regni suscepit sceptrum*' was borrowed from Isidore's History of the Goths and suggests an attempt at appropriately elevated style as there is no other evidence in Asturian charters or iconography of a sceptre.(29) Alfonso II was said to have been placed on his father's throne, '*in solio paterno*', an expression used frequently in other Asturian documents.(30) This indicates the use of one element of royal regalia in common with Visigothic custom. There is no indication of a specific place designated for the rites of kingmaking in the Asturias. To some extent, this may have been due to the fact the capital moved

from Cangas de Onís to Pravia before being fixed at Oviedo by Alfonso II at the end of the 8th century. There may be a clue in that up to Alfonso III, Asturian kings were interred in the Oviedan church of Santa Maria, built by Alfonso II, and which became a sort of royal pantheon. In the Visigothic period there had been a strong devotion to the Virgin Mary.(31) In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, her shrines are named in its first event (the coronation of Wamba), in its final event (the burial of Ordono I) and in its central event (the battle of Covadonga, where enemy missiles were miraculously turned back).

In the Chronicle of Alfonso III the ritual of kingmaking is described in various places by the language of Visigothic culture but there is no clear statement of all the required elements. Royal authority is conferred on Pelayo by election before the battle of Covadonga. In the 'A' text he was elected by refugee Goths of royal blood, suggesting a more aristocratic body, while in the 'B' text the electing assembly was gathered from all parts of the Asturias, suggesting a more popular assembly.(32) Both versions of the Chronicle use the same expressions to describe the making of Asturian kings. The relevant phrases are variations on 'successit in regnum', used most frequently in the 'A' text, and 'eligitur in regnum'. The 'B' text is more consistent than the 'A' text in its use of 'successit' to indicate an hereditary succession and in using 'eligitur' to indicate a non-hereditary succession.(33) A narrowing of the electoral body may be indicated by the language of the 'B' text in that Alfonso I was elected by all of the people while his grandson Alfonso II was initially established on the throne by the choice of the leading figures in the palace and the widowed

queen, Adosinda. (34) In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the transmission of the throne from Ramiro I to his son Ordoño I effectively marked the triumph of hereditary succession over the elective principle, and from Alfonso III onwards, dynastic problems came from a surfeit of ambitious male heirs.

Significant variations are found at points where the issue of succession became complicated. In the 'B' text, Silo (774-783 AD) took the throne, 'adeptus est regnum', as a result of his marriage to Adosinda, the daughter of Alfonso I. As mentioned above, both versions of the Chronicle report that, on the death of Silo, the great figures of the palace and Queen Adosinda established ('constituerunt in regno') Alfonso II, on the throne. (35)

The precise meaning of the 'king-making' terms used in the Chronicle is unclear. The Visigothic liturgy for the ordination of a king, preserved in a Mozarabic Antiphony of Leon cathedral, was completed in the first decades of the 10th century and based on an original from the time of Wamba. (36) It probably reflects later practice, with coronation, anointing and enthronement, rather than what had actually happened in the Asturian kingdom up to the time of Alfonso III. Within the Chronicle of Alfonso III there is no indication that the full process of kingmaking from the late Visigothic period was being practised on Asturian rulers. There is no religious ceremonial to suggest that royal authority was conferred from above by divine authority and no indication of clerical involvement in the making of kings. The act of anointing a Visigothic king (perunctus est in regno) is mentioned with regard to Wamba, by

both versions of the Chronicle, and Roderick, by the 'B' text alone.(37) For the Asturian kings, it is also only the 'B' text which says that Alfonso II was anointed on 14 September, 791 AD.(38) One of only two specific dates in the Chronicle, it seems to be an interpolation to the text that was appropriate to the confused circumstances of Alfonso II's accession. There are two other references to royal anointing, for Alfonso III and his son Ordoño II (914-924 AD), in the 200 years after Wamba's accession and both are made in the Historia Silense.(39) Linehan, in challenging the case for royal anointing in the Asturian kingdom, suggested that the latter two cases were inventions aimed at strengthening the position of Ordoño II, a new king with a murky past in a new capital at Leon, and that these circumstances were applicable to Alfonso II in Oviedo and could have influenced the report of his anointing.(40)

After moving on from the Visigothic sources, there is no reason, in the text, to believe that the authors of the Chronicle had any certain knowledge of the 8th-century Asturian kingdom's rituals. It seems reasonable to assume that local practices, evolving as the Asturian kingdom grew, would have been influenced by the culture of Mozarabic churchmen who had fled north from al-Andalus, especially in the late 8th and 9th centuries. The language of the Chronicle cannot be pressed to reveal the actual nature of kingmaking ceremony in the Asturian kingdom.

3: The Shaping of Dynastic Tradition.

Like the king-lists discussed earlier, the sequence of royal biographies in the Chronicle of Alfonso III makes important

statements on the Asturian monarchy. Regnal lists, by their choice of name for inclusion or omission, can eliminate the losers in dynastic struggle, confer legitimacy on usurpation and graft newcomers onto the official line.(41) This type of information needs to be validated by corroborating material. The line of kings given in the Chronicle of Alfonso III can be checked against the regnal lists, the Chronicle of Albelda and diplomas. Crucially, the text of the Chronicle allows an insight into its ideological purposes.

The issue of dynastic legitimacy is an important one in the Chronicle. In one important respect the Asturian monarchy differed from its Visigothic predecessor in that the crown remained within one family. Apart from his great victory at Covadonga, the Chronicle has no other specific event involving Pelayo in a 19 year reign apart from his peaceful death at Cangas de Onís.(42) Fafila (737-739 AD), Pelayo's son and heir, was killed by a bear as a result of his carelessness.(43) From a dedication stone in the church of the Holy Cross, which he built at Cangas de Onís, it is known that Fafila had a wife, Froiluba, and children.(44) The 'B' text refers to the church but neither version of the Chronicle mentions Fafila's family nor its eventual fate, if, indeed, this was known. Their disappearance was essential to ensure the royal legitimacy of Pelayo's son-in-law, the future Alfonso I who is the true founder of the ruling dynasty in the Asturias.

Alfonso's appearance in the Chronicle merits consideration. In its account of Pelayo, the 'B' text reports the entry into the Asturias of Alfonso, the son of Peter, Duke of the Cantabrians

and of royal lineage, his marriage to Ermesinda, Pelayo's daughter, and, afterwards, successful military campaigning with his father-in-law Pelayo.(45) The 'A' text presents a different picture. Here, all that is said about Alfonso is given in the passage which reports his accession to the throne after Fafila's death. Nothing is said about his marriage to Ermesinda or the resulting relationship with Pelayo. Alfonso's father is named only as Duke Peter and their family connection with the Visigothic kingdom is strengthened by a claimed descent from Leovigild and Reccared.(46)

In comparison with the 'B' text, the 'A' text enhances the royal lineage of Alfonso, as it had done earlier with Pelayo.(47) There is no other evidence on the figure of Duke Peter. The title 'dux' was used in the Visigothic period although not in the Asturian kingdom. It has been suggested that the shadowy figure of Duke Peter was a Visigothic leader who had resisted the Muslim invaders from his stronghold of Amaya in Castile.(48) Given the absence of further information on Duke Peter, a more significant point may be his alleged authority over the Cantabrians. As the descendants of Duke Peter, through the lines of Alfonso I and his brother Fruela, ruled in the Asturias, it may be that the Chronicle was actually justifying the late 9th-century political aspirations of the Asturian kingdom, although these were not of such importance to the 'A' text. Despite reporting his marriage to Ermosinda, even the 'B' text does not suggest directly that this was the cause of Alfonso's accession to the throne, unlike the case of Silo (774-783 AD), a later king, whose attainment of the crown is explicitly attributed in both versions of the Chronicle to his marriage with Adosinda, the daughter of Alfonso

I.(49) The complete silence of the 'A' text on Alfonso's wedding might suggest overall a degree of discomfort on the possibility that Alfonso's royal status might have been attained through the female line.(50) The Testament of 812 AD identifies Fruela I as the son of Pelayo's daughter, emphasising descent through the female line rather than through Alfonso I, and offers an important alternative to the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(51)

The Chronicle associates Alfonso I with his brother Fruela in successful campaigning that led to the capture of many settlements and the evacuation of their Christian inhabitants.(52) This might suggest a form of shared monarchy such as the Chronicle attributes to the Visigothic king Egica and his eventual heir Wittiza, and has been argued for Alfonso III himself with his father Ordoño I, in Galicia.(53) It certainly fixes Fruela, the direct patrilinear ancestor of Alfonso III, as a partner in the establishment of the Asturian kingdom. The Historia Silense and the Nomina Legionensis both identify Alfonso I's successor, Fruela, as his brother, whereas the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the Chronicle of Albelda make Fruela his son.(54) This second view is supported by the Testament of 812 AD which names Fruela I as the grandson of Pelayo.

From the death of Alfonso I to the accession of Ramiro I in 842 AD, the crown appears to have been a prize accessible to descendants of Alfonso I and Fruela, his brother. With Ramiro I, it finally settled in the line of descent from Fruela. These family connections make it problematic to attach the value judgement of usurper to those bidding for power, especially if successful. If the throne passed between the families of Alfonso

I and Fruela, it must have been because the kingdom needed effective military leadership which could not have been given by a child-ruler. This may explain the decision to pass over Fafila's children in favour of Alfonso I. His experience and that of Silo point up the importance of marriage as a means to attach a male consort to the dynasty.

There is no universal agreement on who should be acknowledged as king in the regnal lists. The period before the establishment of Alfonso II on the throne was especially troublesome for later interpreters of dynastic orthodoxy. Vermudo I, omitted from the oldest kinglist (the *Laterculus Regum Ovetensium*), had his legitimacy recognised in the *Laterculus Legionensis*, a continuation of the list to Alfonso III which was extended to the reign of Ordoño III (950-955 AD), the *Laterculus Legionensis*.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The *Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium*, known from three 10th-century codices, exists in two forms which extend from Pelayo to Ramiro II (931-950 AD). In the list from *Codex Aemlianensis* and the *Codex Albeldensis*, the names of Silo, Mauregatus and Vermudo I are omitted. All three are included in the list given by the *Codex Rotensis* but its compiler's doubts on their legitimacy are revealed by a comment that Aurelius, who preceded Silo, was succeeded by Alfonso II, who followed Vermudo I.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, like the *Chronicle of Albelda*, includes Silo, Mauregatus and Vermudo I in its sequence of kings.

It seems clear that from the death of Aurelius to the abdication of Vermudo I, the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* gives a sanitised version of dynastic struggles for the throne. Alfonso

II's route to the throne was particularly troubled. Setting aside as an interpolation the 'B' text's statement on the anointing of Alfonso II, the Chronicle's account of his reign begins awkwardly in the third year.(58) This is not its customary style, which invariably refers to a king's accession at the start of his reign, even in the delicate case of Ervig who took the throne after a conspiracy which left his predecessor Wamba alive and disgruntled in a monastic habit. The difficult circumstances surrounding the accession of Alfonso II are reflected in the rather guarded language of the *Laterculus Regum Ovetensium* which says that he was placed on the throne (*..positus est in regno domnus Adefonsus..*).

The trail leading to Alfonso's accession begins in the Chronicle of Alfonso III with Silo's assumption of the throne in 774 AD. This was dependent, as the Chronicle makes clear, on his marriage to Adosinda, the daughter of Alfonso I.(59) Such an arrangement suggests that there was no suitably aged male candidate in either line of descent from Alfonso I or Fruela, his brother. This impression is reinforced by a further statement, made only in the 'B' text, that while Silo reigned, Alfonso (II) son of Fruela (I) ruled the palace (*..palatium guernauit..*) because Silo had no son born to his wife Adosinda.(60) After eventually coming to the throne in 790 or 791 AD, Alfonso II enjoyed a lengthy reign of 52 years. If he had been born in 768 AD, the year of his father's death, Alfonso II would have been 22 or 23 years old by the time he took power and 74 or 75 years old by the end of his reign. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that Alfonso II could have been born much earlier than 768 AD,

which would make him around six or seven years old at the time of Silo's accession. Alfonso's position in the palace, whatever the precise meaning of the 'B' text's phrase may be, is presented as being dependent on Silo's continuing failure to produce a male heir. This is not the same as the kind of association of ruler and heir with the crown that the Chronicle describes for Egica and Wittiza in the late 7th century.

On the death of Silo in 783 AD, Alfonso was unable to make good his claim to the throne, despite the backing of his aunt, the widowed queen Adosinda, and the leading figures in the palace. Adosinda may have acted to keep the royal title in the possession of descendants of her father, Alfonso I, and to exercise authority through her nephew Alfonso II. On the interpretation given above, Alfonso II would have been about 13 years old and close to an age when he could be taken as a credible candidate for the crown. Despite his supporters, Alfonso II was denied power and forced into exile among his mother's relatives in Alava by his uncle Mauregatus, an illegitimate son of Alfonso I in 783 AD.(61)

For the next six years after 783 AD, until his death in 788 AD, Mauregatus retained power despite the stigma of illegitimacy that, according to the VI Council of Toledo (638 AD), was a disqualification from royal office. There is no indication given of the support Mauregatus must have needed to seize and retain power. The Chronicle is silent on the fate of Adosinda, who is otherwise known to have taken monastic vows on 26 November 785 AD.(62) This may have been in accordance with canon 5 of the IIIrd Council of Zaragoza, 691 AD, which ruled that a royal widow

should enter a community of nuns immediately after the death of her husband.(63) If so, the delay before Adosinda's acceptance of a nun's habit requires explanation. It might be thought that her act was not a voluntary one motivated principally by religious devotion but resulted from pressure by Mauregatus. Despite his success in defending the throne, Mauregatus' reputation in the Chronicle never recovers from the initial act of usurpation. As in the Chronicle of Albelda, this is the only event recorded for his entire reign.(64)

After the death of Mauregatus in 788 AD, the Chronicle reports, without further comment, that Vermudo I, the son of Alfonso I's brother, Fruela, was elected to the throne.(65) It refers to only two other events in Vermudo's three-year reign; his abdication because he was a deacon and his nomination of Alfonso II as his successor. There is much that is puzzling here.

Vermudo was the brother of King Aurelius (768-774 AD) who had preceded Silo on the throne. It was not until 14 years after Aurelius' death that Vermudo became king. His youth probably counted against him in the moves to find an immediate successor to Aurelius. Vermudo, who left the throne in 791 AD because he was a deacon, must have held this clerical office in 788 AD. Canon 1 of the II Council of Toledo (527 AD) had ruled that candidates for the diaconate should be 25 years of age.(66) This suggests that Vermudo was born before 763 AD and that at the time of Silo's accession in 774 AD, he was still below the age of majority. At some unknown point before his actual accession Vermudo either chose holy orders through conscience or was compelled to accept them in order to be disqualified from the

throne. This would have happened most probably in the reign of Silo when Alfonso (II) seems to have been the designated heir of choice. The 12th-century *Historia Silense* describes Vermudo as having been more interested in the kingdom of heaven than the one on earth, giving a more spiritually edifying explanation for joining the Church although it may be doubted whether this fully reflects 8th-century reality.(67)

The Chronicle implies that Vermudo had been married. Ramiro I, who succeeded Alfonso II in 842 or 843 AD after his 52 year reign, was Vermudo's son, according to the Chronicle, although it says nothing about his legitimacy. The II Council of Toledo had established that children dedicated to the Church from infancy would confirm their commitment to celibacy when 18 years old, attain the office of subdeacon at 21 and be eligible for the diaconate at 25. If Vermudo married, and there are no allegations of illegitimacy made against his son Ramiro who succeeded Alfonso II, nothing is known about his wife. The marriage must have taken place before he was 18 or during his three-year sabbatical from monastic life.(68) Such a marriage can be assumed to have had an effect on the political equilibrium of the kingdom. Vermudo's acceptability for the kingship rather than Alfonso II, who was left to continue his exile, must reflect the relative balance of factional strength in 788 AD. If they knew the reasons why Alfonso had been passed over, the Asturian chronicles chose to exercise discretion and stayed silent.

In practice, despite the ruling of canon law, Vermudo's entry into a monastery did not preclude a return to active public life, despite Visigothic precedent. This was the case with the Leonese

king Alfonso IV (925-930 AD) who abdicated in favour of his brother Ramiro II (930-951 AD) and retired to the monastery of Sahagún, only to emerge within a year in an unsuccessful bid to regain the throne.(69) Alfonso II's own career also suggests that relegation to a monastery need not be a permanent bar to the throne. In Vermudo I's case, behind the alleged recollection of his clerical status that, according to the 'B' text, led to a voluntary surrender of the throne in favour of Alfonso II, there may lie the reality of his failure as a war-leader against the Muslims with a defeat on the river Burbia.(70) The 12th-century *Historia Silense* presents Vermudo's abdication after three years as the deliberate fulfilment of a vow, and from this it has been argued that he was serving as kind of transitional king until the return of Alfonso II from exile.(71) Vermudo's omission from the earliest king list, compiled in the reign of Alfonso II, and the absence of the oath-explanation from the 9th-century Asturian sources suggest that the *Historia Silense* was a later rationalisation of events.

The accession of Alfonso II in 791 AD, according to the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, was a sensitive subject. In the *Laterculus Regum Ovetensium*, completed in the reign of Alfonso II, he is described as having been 'placed' on the throne (*Tunc positus est in regno domnus Adefonsus...*). Apart from the interpolation to the 'B' text on Alfonso's royal unction, the *Chronicle* is uniquely silent on the circumstances of his accession, in contrast with the practice for every other king, and begins its account of the long reign with an event in the third year. The *Chronicle* also smooths over the difficulties of Alfonso's reign. It says nothing of the coup, reported in the

Chronicle of Albelda, by which Alfonso was driven from the throne and relegated to the monastery of Abellania from which he was rescued by supporters and restored to office in Oviedo.(72)

Alfonso's celebrated chastity inevitably precluded the possibility of an hereditary succession. While this ageing king moved towards the end of his life in 842 or 843 AD, there must have been intense manoeuvring as potential successors positioned themselves to follow Alfonso on the throne. It is likely that Alfonso participated in the process of kingmaking by designating a preferred successor although the strength of his influence cannot be discerned.

The struggle for the succession was more complex than is suggested by the Chronicle of Alfonso III. Following Alfonso's death, the throne was contested between Nepotian and the eventual winner, Ramiro I.(73) The sequence of events given by the Chronicle of Alfonso III in describing the accession of Ramiro is intriguing. At the start of the account, Ramiro is said to have been elected as king after Alfonso II's death, but when this actually happened he was absent from Oviedo and Nepotian took the throne. Understandably, the Chronicle favoured Ramiro, who was the grandfather of Alfonso III, and depicts Nepotian as a usurper. The 'B' text, which seems to reflect its sources more faithfully than 'A', reports the seizure of the throne by Nepotian in language that it had previously used only to describe Silo's accession.(74) It gives no indication of the length of time that Nepotian held power in Oviedo. The 'Laterculus Legionensis', a kinglist that initially continued the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium' from Alfonso II up to the 17th year of Alfonso

III's reign, and the 10th-century 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium', in both forms, include Nepotian in the list of Asturian rulers although there is no indication of the length of his rule. This suggests that Nepotian's attempt to take the crown was prolonged and serious.

The Chronicle presents Ramiro I as the more legitimate candidate for the throne. There is a possibility that during Alfonso II's lifetime, Ramiro I, his successor, enjoyed a degree of association with the king.(75) This may have involved the exercise of power in Galicia as Ramiro hurried there, from the far eastern part of the Asturian kingdom where he had been taking a wife, to raise an army against Nepotian. The basis of Nepotian's acceptability as king in Oviedo is unknown. The 'Nomina Regum Catholicorum Legionensium' describes him as a relative (cognatus) of Alfonso II. In Isidore's Etymologies the word keeps its classical sense of 'first-cousin'.(76) It has been suggested that the usurper Nepotian's namesake grandfather, known as a witness to a donation by Silo in 775 AD, was related to the Basque Munia, wife of Fruela I and mother to Alfonso II.(77) If so, Nepotian may have enjoyed Alfonso II's support. Other evidence indicates a Basque connection for Nepotian. He is said to have relied on the support of Asturians and Basques in his bid for the crown. After his defeat by Ramiro at a crossing of the river Narcea, Nepotian was captured by two counts, Scipio and Sonna in the district of Primorias, the middle reaches of the river Sella in the Asturias, apparently in flight towards the Basque territories. He then disappears from historical view, having suffered the punishment of blinding and incarceration in a

monastery for his failure to defend the throne.(78)

After Ramiro had established himself in Oviedo the Chronicle says that he was frequently involved in civil wars although it names only two nobles, Aldroitus and Piniolus, in this context.(79) Each was an important figure in the Asturian kingdom. The 'B' text implies that they acted in conjunction while the 'A' text, which makes Piniolus the successor to Aldroitus as 'comes palatii', indicates two separate uprisings. In the Chronicle of Albelda, Nepotian, Aldroitus and Piniolus are all characterised, without distinction, as usurpers.(80) There is no indication as to why or when Aldroitus and Piniolus plotted against Ramiro in his seven year reign, nor if either or both had a connection with the Asturian dynasty. If either or both aspired to the throne without being attached to the ruling family, this was a challenge to the status quo unlike anything else recorded in the Chronicles for the Asturian kings before and after Ramiro I. There is no evidence that he was an especially harsh ruler despite being involved in frequent civil wars.(81) The problems of Ramiro's reign demonstrate the difficulties attendant on finding a successor to a long-lived king who left no undisputed heir. After Ramiro I, kingship remained in the direct hereditary line of his male heirs. By the time the Chronicle of Alfonso III was written, in the late 9th century, the throne was fixed in the branch of the ruling dynasty that traced its history back to Alfonso I's brother, Fruela. This shaped its presentation of dynastic history.

Violence between members of the ruling dynasty is explicitly recorded by the Chronicle of Alfonso III in only one instance.

Fruela I, the son of Alfonso I, is described as a man of violence, who, after murdering his brother Vimara, was himself killed, soon afterwards, by the followers of the dead man. There is no further explanation offered for this murderous family dispute. The most obvious reason is given in the Chronicle of Albelda where Vimara is said to have been killed because he coveted the crown, although here his death is not specifically connected with that of Fruela.(82) It is possible that Nepotian, clearly a usurper in the judgement of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, was related to the ruling dynasty despite the silence of the late-9th century Asturian sources, if, indeed, they knew of this fact. There is no indication that Aldroitus and Piniolus were connected with the Asturian dynasty. As a work of committed ideology, the Chronicle of Alfonso III, even more so than the Chronicle of Albelda, smoothed out the struggles that surrounded the transmission of the crown from one king to the next.

In recording the sequence of Asturian kings the Chronicle of Alfonso III projected the self-image of the late-9th century court. It gave emphasis to a foundation legend at Covadonga, legitimised the royal line of Alfonso III's ancestors, stigmatised usurpers (even when successful) and stressed peaceful, legal continuity in the transfer of power. The omission of Vermudo I from the 'Laterculus Regum Ovetensium', drawn up in the time of Alfonso II, warns of something more complex than the friendly relations between the two that are depicted in the Chronicle. The 'Nomina Legionensis', initially completed in the reign of Alfonso III, restored Vermudo, the great-grandfather of the ruling king, to the list of rulers. This act brought its own problems. There is evidence, which will

be considered below, for the respect felt by Alfonso III towards his namesake, Alfonso II. Mauregatus is stigmatised as a usurper for the coup against Alfonso II which deprived him of the throne. As Vermudo succeeded Mauregatus, rather than the exiled Alfonso II, he might have also shared the stigma. As an official record, the Chronicle glossed over the irregularities of Vermudo's official and personal circumstances to present as positive a version as was possible.

The troubled situation at the start of Alfonso III's reign, when the capital and throne were seized by a Galician count, Fruela, as well as later rebellions against the king's authority can only have served as part of the inspiration behind an 'official' chronicle that promoted royal issues. Sadly for Alfonso, his mysterious deposition at the hands of his own sons in 910 AD suggests a partial failure, at least, of the chronicle as a propaganda weapon meant to preserve and protect the security of Asturian kings.

4: The Chronicle of Alfonso III and the Ideals of Kingship.

a) Moral Failure and the Collapse of the Visigothic Kingdom.

In the Chronicle of Alfonso III the fall of the Visigothic kingdom is blamed on the moral failures of kings and clergy. The concept of divine punishment for an errant people goes back to the Old Testament. It is an historiographical idea used elsewhere in the early Middle Ages, as, for example, by Gildas in the early 6th century to explain the coming of the Saxons to Britain.(83) This providential explanation for unwanted developments in history was given in the Testament of 812 AD

where the defeat of the Visigoths is attributed to their overweening pride. It characterised the Muslim invasion as a plague from which Pelayo was rescued by the hand of God to become, through his victories, the defender of the Asturian and Christian people.(84) The writings of Eulogius of Córdoba, the mid 9th-century martyr, present the fall of Visigothic Spain in moral terms. He deeply regretted that the 'sceptre of Spain' had been transferred to the Muslims because of Christian sin. For Eulogius, a golden age was represented by the lost Visigothic kingdom, '..which long ago was outstanding in the most blessed practice of the Christian faith and blossomed with worthy and venerable priests, and was radiant in wonderfully constructed basilicas'.(85) These sentiments may have been taken northwards to the Asturian kingdom by Mozarabic refugees.

b) The Chronicle of Alfonso III and the Qualities of Kings.

In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, Pelayo's speech to Bishop Oppa at the cave of Covadonga contains an exalted vision of a king's role. Through his person would come the restoration of divine favour after due punishment. With God's help, victory would be achieved, despite the numbers of the enemy, that would restore the health of Spain and the army of the Goths.(86) After the great victory at Covadonga, the Chronicle reports, with great exaggeration, that the country was repopulated, the churches restored and the strength of the Christians increased while the Muslim threat diminished.(87) Through its presentation of Pelayo, the Chronicle established the standards by which a late 9th-century Asturian king chose to have his ancestors and himself measured. In these, it followed Book I of the Visigothic

law code, the Forum Iudicum, which saw the king as custodian of law, with the maintenance of unity at home and the achievement of conquest abroad as the seals of his success.(88) For the Chronicle of Alfonso III the essential merits of a king were demonstrated in church-building, preserving order in the kingdom and waging war, especially against the Muslims of al-Andalus.

c) Asturian Kings and Warfare Against the Muslims.

When Pelayo flatly rejected Bishop Oppa's offer of a peace treaty with the Muslims that would bring material benefits, the Chronicle was defining an ideal of resistance to the Arab invaders that had a particular resonance in the late 9th-century as the weakness of the Cordoban emirate encouraged continuing Christian expansion. The same period saw the triumphalist prediction in the 'Prophetic Chronicle' of the recovery of Spain by Alfonso III.(89) The Chronicle of Albelda closed its account of the Gothic kings with the declaration that, after Roderick, the Christians had been engaged in constant warfare against the Muslims without being able to recover Spain in its entirety.(90) Having established a standard of resistance with Pelayo and overstated the extent of recovery in the foundation-legend of victory at Covadonga, the Chronicle of Alfonso III offers a more complex picture of Christian/Muslim relations.

Warfare was a constant backdrop to the life of the Asturian kingdom but after Pelayo's victory at Covadonga there is no element of holy war or proto-crusade in the Chronicle's treatment of Muslims.(91) Apart from Fafila, Pelayo's son, and Vermudo I, for whose short reigns there is no indication of military

activity, only two kings, Aurelius and Silo, are specifically named as having lived in peace with the Muslims.(92) The phrase used, '...pacem habuit.', suggests a different relationship with the Muslims, a truce between equals rather than the more humiliating '...paci foedus' with its implication of submission to a superior power. There is a pragmatic reality to dealings with the Muslims. Alfonso II's welcome to Mahmud, the Muslim rebel from Mérida, his settlement in Galicia and his eventual defeat carry no suggestion of religious war.(94) The greatest criticism of Musa, leader of the Banu Kasi, is not that he was descended from Gothic converts to Islam but that he was so puffed up with pride, the vice of rebels and usurpers, as to be styled 'the third king of Spain' by his followers.(95) After Musa's defeat at Monte Laturce, his son Lope, who governed Toledo, submitted to Ordono I and served as his ally.(96) Further evidence that relations with Muslims were not invariably predicated on religious hostility lies in the Chronicle of Albelda which reports that Alfonso III entrusted the education of his son, the future Ordono II, to Mohammed ibn Lope, Musa's grandson.(97) Only in the account of Covadonga are Muslims characterised as pagans, a term used later to describe the Viking raiders who attacked Galicia in Ramiro I's time.(98)

In short, after the exalted tones of resistance spoken by Pelayo, the Chronicle of Alfonso III deals with the Muslims as it does other groups, Basques, Galicians and Vikings, that disturbed the tranquility of the kingdom, and ignores the huge disparity in resources between Christian and Muslim Spain. Resistance to the Muslims is not based on religious differences, although these were understood, but on the unjust Muslim occupation of Spain.

This theme is more fully developed in the 'Prophetic Chronicle'. Admittedly, religion and politics were difficult to disentangle in the medieval mind but, as presented in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the struggles of the Asturian kings against the Muslims, although sanctified by spiritual considerations, were a secular contest for the recovery of the lost heritage of the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo. It was the end of this struggle, with a Christian triumph under Alfonso III, that now seemed to be imminent.

Some of the attitudes in the Chronicle on resistance to the Muslims are rooted in Mozarabic views. With its knowledge of Muslim Spain, the Chronicle of Alfonso III, especially the 'B' text, carries a strong Mozarabic flavour. Both variations of the Chronicle frequently describe Muslims as 'Chaldaeans', employing a distinctive biblical term, uncommon in other Asturian historical texts, which was drawn from Mozarabic literature of the mid 9th century. Interestingly, the Chronicle of Alfonso III's presentation of Pelayo at Covadonga forms a striking contrast to the Visigothic noble Theodemir in the Chronicle of 754 AD.

This work, the earliest Christian account of the fall of the Visigothic kingdom, has a neutral, possibly collaborationist, tone in dealing with the Muslim conquerors that was a sensible enough policy for a Christian author in al-Andalus. In a passage marked by lacunae at the beginning and end, the Chronicle of 754 AD praised the fame, military skill and religious devotion of Theodemir, the Visigothic lord of several towns in south-eastern Spain.(99) By a treaty with Abd al-Aziz (713/4-715/6 AD), the

second Muslim governor of Spain, which was later confirmed by the Caliph al-Walid II (743-744 AD) in Damascus. Theodemir surrendered on terms which allowed him to retain his lands on payment of tribute.(100) This is the very model of behaviour condemned by the Chronicle of Alfonso III, by the 'B' text especially, when describing the consolidation of Muslim power in Spain and in Pelayo's speech to Bishop Oppa at Covadonga.(101) Theodemir's treaty with the Muslims is described by the Chronicle of 754 AD in terms (*..pacem cum eis federat habiendus.*) that prefigure those used in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(102) The personal qualities attributed to Theodemir, that is, eloquence, high rank, knowledge of holy scripture and military skill, are all associated with Pelayo, especially in conjunction with his victory at Covadonga.(103) Pelayo is the very image of Theodemir's qualities, with the crucial difference that he was unwilling to accept submission to Muslim authority. Perhaps here, the passages in the Chronicle of Alfonso III dealing with the events of Covadonga, even if drawn from epic poetry or popular tradition, reflects the rejection of collaboration that would come naturally to a Mozarabic refugee whose feelings of anger at the past and hope for the future may have been sharpened by personal knowledge of the Christian martyrs of mid-9th-century Cordoba.

d) Asturian Kings and the Unity of the Kingdom.

Asturian kings are presented in the Chronicle of Alfonso III as engaging in warfare to defend the integrity of the kingdom and to extend its frontiers. Internally, the *regnum* and *patria* must be protected by its rulers against disturbances that threaten the

crown itself, the existing social order and the fundamental unity of the kingdom. These qualities are celebrated in the panegyric to Alfonso III which precedes the continuation of his reign from 882 AD in the Chronicle of Albelda.(104) Alfonso, praised as having a warrior's skills, is further commended for being famous among the Asturians, steadfast among the Basques, a defender of the cities and a punisher of the Arabs.

The Chronicle manifests a deep concern with the matter of the kingdom's unity. By the 9th century, the Asturian kingdom, with Oviedo as the royal capital, incorporated groups of people, such as Basques, Galicians or Mozarabic emigres, with distinctive cultural, ethnic and social identities. Under Alfonso II, the mix was further complicated by the unsuccessful settlement of the Meridan rebel Mahmud and his followers in Galicia.(105) The identity of the Asturian kingdom had become an awkward issue by the late 9th century. After Pelayo's victory at Covadonga, the kingdom's political centre shifted westwards to Cangas de Onís and Pravia until Alfonso II fixed his capital at Oviedo. Its location, midway between the Basque and Galician regions, at a junction of ancient Roman roads, is suggestive of the needs of an expanding kingdom yet mindful of the necessity of a defensive site for the capital. In Alfonso's donation of 812 AD to the Oviedan church of San Salvador, Pelayo is presented as defender of 'the people of the Asturians and Christians'.(107)

Giving the kingdom an identity caused problems for the Chronicle of Albelda and that of Alfonso III. The Chronicle of Albelda distinguished its list of Visigothic kings from Athanaric to Roderick, the Ordo Gentis Gothorum, from what follows next, a

list of Asturian kings from Pelayo to Alfonso III, the *Ordo Gothorum Regum*. Within the text there is no other indication of a Gothic identity for the Asturian kings. Pelayo's victory at Covadonga brought on the birth, through divine providence, of the kingdom of the Asturians, the '*regnum Asturum*'.(108) After this, it is identified in the reigns of Alfonso I and Ordoño I as the kingdom of the Christians, the '*Christianorum regnum*'.(109) The Chronicle of Alfonso III gives no equivalent for the Asturian rulers in the same way that it refers to a '*rex Gothorum*', a '*rex Francorum*' and a '*rex Spaniensis*', describing kings by ethnic and territorial titles.(110) The Visigothic name is not used in relation to the Asturian kingdom after Pelayo's reign. The kingdom is not peopled with Visigoths but by Asturians, Basques and Galicians. Finding a general name for the different ethnic elements in the kingdom was not easy for the Chronicle. The general term 'Christians' is used only once, to describe the people Alfonso evacuated from the cordon sanitaire he created around the central core of his kingdom.(111) Lacking an acceptable non-specific title, the Chronicle remained vague on an identity for the kingdom's peoples: all, '*omnes*', are said to have praised God after Pelayo's victory, while Ordoño I repopulated abandoned settlements partly from his own people, '*..populo partim ex suis..*', and partly from Spain.(112)

Unlike the Chronicle of Albelda, the Chronicle of Alfonso III reports uprisings by Basques, especially, and Galicians against the Asturian kings.(113) In this respect the experience of the Asturian kingdom matches its Visigothic predecessor.(114) The presentation of Basques and Galicians as rebels against the crown

reflects centralist assumptions, presumably those of Alfonso III's court, on the nature of the political relationship with the centre which would not have been accepted by the peoples caught up in the kingdom's expansion. Alfonso III's own reign was marred by rebellions in Galicia and the Basque territories.(115) The difficulties of assimilating conquered territory ensured that the kingdom's unity remained fragile. In the contest for the throne after Alfonso II, the fault lines of the kingdom are indicated in the Chronicles of Alfonso III by Ramiro I's reliance on an army raised in Galicia to fight Neptian whose supporters were Asturians and Basques.(116) Just as the Chronicle faced the problem of attempted usurpation and conspiracies against the crown by presenting a peaceful, orderly royal succession, so it dealt with the persistent danger of separatist risings on the flanks of the kingdom by emphasising the king's role as military leader in the maintenance of unity.

Like the earlier Visigothic rulers, a fundamental requirement of the Asturian kings was the ability to defend their territory. Besides the longstanding external threat to the Asturian kingdom from Muslims, the mid 9th century brought a new menace in the sea-borne raids of a previously unknown people, the Vikings.(117) The kingdom's frontiers were expanded by Alfonso I, Fruela I and Ordono I.(118) Many of the settlements seized by Alfonso I were only held for a short time, with their Christian population being evacuated after the Muslim garrison had been executed.(119) Ordono I is said to have captured many settlements although only two, Coria and Talamanca, are named but neither was a permanent acquisition although this is not made clear in the Chronicle.(120) Such conquests resemble the large-scale raids

against Muslim territory that led to the capture of Lisbon in the time of Alfonso II and the expedition led by Alfonso III against Lusitania.(121) The Chronicle, which only reports Muslim defeats after Covadonga, attributes Christian military success to the Asturian kings. There is no indication that armies were led by members of the Asturian nobility although it is clear from other sources that such men executed royal commissions on the field of battle albeit with varying success and in the settlement of territory.(122)

e) Kings and Buildings in the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

The Chronicle of Alfonso III emphasises another important aspect of kingship in its treatment of the building activities of Asturian rulers. Alfonso III himself is praised in the Chronicle of Albelda for restoring churches and building at Oviedo a city that was endowed with royal palaces.(123) There is an echo here of Eulogius of Córdoba's earlier lament for the fallen Visigothic kingdom which had been '.. radiant in wonderfully constructed basilicas'.(124) He brackets the destruction of churches together with the oppression of priests and heavy taxation as the principal burdens afflicting the Christians of al-Andalus.(125) Eulogius blames the Cordoban emir Mohammed I (852-886 AD), a 'savage ruler', for the overthrow of Christian churches.(126) Eulogius' contemporary and friend, Paulus Alvarus, was equally concerned with such acts of destruction of churches.(127)

For these men, limits on the practice of their Christian religion and violence shown against places of Christian worship were the

unacceptable symbols of Muslim superiority in the former Visigothic kingdom.(128) The building of churches was emphasised by the Chronicle of Alfonso III, with, in some instances, statements of praise for their workmanship that was a contrast to the outburst of Eulogius against the crudeness of repairs or additions to churches which had been carried out under Muslim rule.(129) In the aftermath of Covadonga, the construction of churches was included as one of the, exaggerated, consequences of the victory, along with the repopulation of the country and the rendition of thanks to God by a grateful people for their deliverance.(130)

The late ninth-century chronicles are the fundamental source of information on churches built in the Asturian kingdom after Pelayo's reign. Only the 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III identifies Fafila as the constructor of a church of wonderful workmanship, consecrated to the Holy Cross.(131) Unusually, this information can be corroborated by a dedicatory inscription of 27 October 737 AD from Cangas de Onís.(132) In the 'A' text Alfonso I is said to have built and restored many basilicas. This appears to be an expansion of the simpler comment in the B text that he had 'made basilicas'.(133) In neither case is there a named example, and there is no known building or location that has been attributed to his reign. After Alfonso I no Asturian king is credited with building churches until the reign of Alfonso II.(134) Both versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III identify by name, with some detail on their structure, the four churches, dedicated to the Holy Saviour (San Salvador), the Virgin Mary (Santa Maria), St. Tyrsus and, jointly, to Saints Julian and Basilissa, that he built at Oviedo. The Chronicle

also refers, more generally, to his other constructions such as palaces, baths and associated buildings.(135) The 'A' text is the fuller of the two. It also carries a more detailed description of Ramiro I's building work outside Oviedo, on the slopes of nearby Monte Naranco, naming a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the principal features of which are given with a pride that suggests personal knowledge, as well as a substantial palace complex with baths. The 'B' text limits itself to reporting the construction by Ramiro I of 'many buildings' of impressive workmanship.(136) For Ordoño I, there is no report on the building of churches although the 'B' text enhances the common information in both versions on the repopulation of Astorga, Amaya, León and Túc by declaring that the king protected them with encircling walls and lofty gates.(137) For Alfonso III, the Chronicle of Albelda has no specific information on his buildings and the Chronicle of Alfonso III ended with the death of his father. Alfonso III is connected with the church of San Salvador de Valdedios, for which there is an extant dedication stone of 16 September 892 AD, and monastic church of San Adrian de Tunon.(138)

The Asturian chronicles' references to royal church-building have been used to establish a broad chronological framework within which to place the changes in architectural and artistic style that could be recognised in extant buildings. These features in turn provided a yardstick to assess churches that were not mentioned in the chronicles, so including them in the historical and developmental record. The loss of structures attributable to the 8th-century Asturian kings before Alfonso II

is to be regretted. For the 9th century the situation is markedly better, with sufficient material surviving in and around Oviedo to identify three distinct phases of artistic development, corresponding to the reign of Alfonso II, the reign of Ramiro I (possibly together with his son, Ordoño I) and finally, the reign of Alfonso III.(139)

In a recent article, Roger Collins, with his customary iconoclasm, pointed out the difficulties of reconciling the chronicles' information on the building of churches with the surviving material remains. The similarity of church building and decoration for the reigns of Alfonso II and Alfonso III is broken by the Ramiran period with its distinctive styles in art and architecture.(140) Collins questioned whether such a dramatic transformation of taste and ideas could have occurred in a period of no more than 80 years, challenging the accepted tripartite division of Asturian art.(141) His scepticism was derived from the way information given by the chronicles had been used to squeeze the material remains into a mold created by the literary evidence, along with the tendency to accept a broad attribution of church building without due regard for its specific details.(142) While examining the ways in which the chronicles have been used as a Baedeker for Oviedan buildings, Collins touches on the crucial point that this information was shaped by their interpretation and purpose, reflecting the realities of their own time rather than of the period they were recording.(142)

There is little evidence from other sources with which to test what the Asturian chronicles have to say about churches.

Inscriptions are rare, usually surviving as later copies, and, even when original, may have been relocated. Similarly with charters, few refer to the extant buildings that are associated with the chronicles and, as might be expected, there are questions over their authenticity, especially the documents included by the enterprising Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo in the *Liber Testamentorum*.(144)

Despite the problems with corroboratory evidence, it is clear that the information in the chronicles is more than a simple guide to churches. There are no known locations or structures for the many churches that Alfonso I is said by the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* to have built. Nothing is said in the chronicles about the church of Santianes de Pravia built by King Silo in the at his new court.(145) None of the chronicles mentions the church known to have built by Alfonso II over the shrine of St. James at Compostela and which was later replaced by Alfonso III. The particular focus of the Asturian chronicles is the churches of Alfonso II and Ramiro I at, or near, Oviedo that are described in some detail. Alfonso II's buildings at Oviedo are named without giving any indication that earlier construction had taken place on the site. A monastic pact agreed on 25 November 781 AD between Abbot Fromistanus and the priest Montanus with his followers, names a church that had been built and dedicated to San Vicente 20 years earlier on the deserted hill of Oviedo.(146) Unfortunately, the authenticity of the document, which exists in a 12th-century copy in the cartulary of the monastery of San Vicente, has aroused doubts.(147) More securely, in the Testament of 812 AD, Alfonso II names two churches, dedicated to San Salvador and to Saints Julian and Basilissa, that had been

built in Oviedo by his father, Fruela I. Alfonso commemorated the restoration of the church of San Salvador, which had probably been destroyed in the devastating Muslim raids of 794/795 AD, by confirming and also enhancing the endowment given by Fruela. The Testament implies that the church of Saints Julian and Basilissa had survived.(148) In making this donation, Alfonso reveals that Oviedo had been a settlement of some importance before his reign in saying that it was there he had been born and reborn, that is, baptised into the Christian faith.(149) This information on Fruela's church of San Salvador is confirmed by an inscription, set up by Alfonso II, which is now known only through a copy in Bishop Pelayo's Liber Testamentorum.(150)

The information in the chronicles on Alfonso's churches is not easily reconcilable with the extant evidence. Of the churches attributed to Alfonso II by the Chronicle of Alfonso III, two, San Salvador and Santa Maria, have been lost in their entirety, while part of the outer wall of San Tirso survives within a later church.(151) The only extant church associated with Alfonso II is that of Saints Julian and Basilissa, now known as San Julian de los Prados or, traditionally, as Santullano.(152) It is not mentioned by the Chronicle of Albelda which names the other three churches and adds that these, like the royal palaces built by Alfonso II, were covered with various pictures.(153) As Collins points out, the description in the Chronicle of Alfonso III of the church of Saints Julian and Basilissa, with its two altars, does not correspond to the physical remains of Santullano, with its three-aisled basilica ending on its eastern side in three rectangular barrel-vaulted apses.(154)

A further problem for the dating of the church arises from its internal decoration. Santullano, the largest pre-Romanesque church in Spain, is especially famous for its wallpaintings which reproduce architectural and geometrical motifs of late Antique origin. No human or animal figures are depicted in the frescoes. A distinctive feature, appearing four times in the overall pattern, is a jewelled cross. Significantly perhaps, its shape reproduces not the Cross of the Angels, associated with Alfonso II, but rather the Cross of Victory, associated with Alfonso III. Churches built by Alfonso III seem to have the closest affinity to Santullano in architectural and artistic detail. This is especially relevant for San Salvador de Valdedios where a painting above the altar in the main chapel depicts Alfonso II's Cross of the Angels, flanked on either side by Alfonso III's Cross of Victory.(155) Collins gives a salutary reminder that as Santullano is the only source from which to identify the principal artistic features of Alfonso II's time there needs to be real confidence in its dating. He raised the possibility of a later reconstruction of the church, which may be recognisable through archaeological excavation, and suggested that the church of Santullano might be reassigned to the reign of Alfonso III, although this leaves the question of the location of Fruela I's church dedicated to Saints Julian and Basilissa.(156)

There are also difficulties in relating references in the Asturian chronicles to Ramiro I's buildings on Monte Naranco with the existing remains. The Chronicle of Albelda and the Chronicle of Alfonso III were impressed by the vaulted style of their architecture.(157) The 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III

reports only that Ramiro raised many buildings while the Chronicle of Albelda says that they were a church and palaces. The fullest and most enthusiastic account is in the 'A' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which reports that Ramiro founded a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the like of which could not be found anywhere in Spain, with palaces and baths built nearby.(158) There are two known medieval buildings on the southern slope of Monte Naranco, the churches of Santa Maria de Naranco and San Miguel de Lillo. Santa Maria de Naranco is an odd-looking church, however, with its two barrel-vaulted storeys, the upper having an open arcaded portico at each end.(159) The western portico contains an altar with an inscription recording its consecration on 23 June 848 AD by Ramiro I and his wife Paterna in a church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, that had been restored against the ravages of time.(160)

The accepted solution to the problem has been to see this building as a royal palace, which was later converted for use as a church, and the nearby San Miguel de Lillo having been the palace chapel. The altar raises difficulties, however, by clearly indicating that the church of the Virgin Mary was a restoration rather than an original foundation. It has been suggested that the altar was brought to the palace from San Miguel de Lillo, which was the original Santa Maria, a Visigothic church restored by Ramiro I.(161) Certainly, the church suffered from a serious collapse that has left only the western end still standing. The problem is that the damage seems to have happened in the later Middle Ages after the church of San Miguel had been identified, for the first time, in the 12th-century *Historia Silense*.

In the late 9th century, however, the 'A' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III appears to be referring to the actual building of Santa Maria de Naranco in describing Ramiro's church of San Miguel. Going against conventional opinion that would connect the two buildings on stylistic grounds, Collins would like to separate them in time despite their spatial proximity. He argued that in its decoration and ground plan San Miguel should be associated with the known churches of Alfonso III.(162) If Santa Maria de Naranco was a building that Ramiro had restored as a church, Collins proposed that the magnificent little gem of a church situated a few miles south of Oviedo, Santa Cristina de Lena, which is closely linked with it on artistic grounds, would also have to be redated to an unknown earlier period.(163) On this argument, the palace and the baths of Ramiro have not yet been found.(164)

Future archaeological excavation may help resolve some of the problems in reconciling the testimony of the Asturian chronicles with the extant remains. It is important to bear in mind that their information may reflect the intention and knowledge of Alfonso III's time rather than actual information from the early 9th century. The emphasis on Alfonso II's building activity in Oviedo capital has to be seen, firstly, in the context of Fruela I's known church-building there and, secondly, in Alfonso III's desire to associate himself with his distinguished royal namesake.(165) Apart from its reference to Fafila's church of the Holy Cross, the only named churches in the 'B' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III are those attributed to Alfonso II. Despite being able to identify Alfonso II's Oviedan churches, it

remains curiously discreet about Ramiro I's 'many buildings' on nearby Monte Naranco, failing to distinguish them by function or name.(166) In doing so, it is passing on the information that it considers important, as with Alfonso II, and passing over what it considers less significant, as with Ramiro I.

The 'A' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III gives more detail on the buildings of Alfonso II and of Ramiro I. This version of the Chronicle, as has been shown, represents an attempt to improve the style of the original source and, on occasion, to clarify its content. It supplies the fullest account of Alfonso II's Oviedan churches. Within the church of the Virgin Mary, the 'A' text identifies a room in the western part that it says was intended to serve as a royal pantheon.(167) Although the church is now lost, it was described, together with the chamber of royal burials, by Ambrosio de Morales in the 16th century.(168) According to the Chronicle, three kings (Alfonso II, Ramiro I and Ordoño I) were entombed in this chapel. It may be, however, that the chamber, with its small dimensions, was originally meant for the interment of Alfonso II alone, an unmarried king who was unlikely to leave direct heirs.(169) The 'A' version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III may have used its local knowledge of the three kings buried in the church of the Virgin Mary from which to draw a reasonable conclusion that it had been Alfonso II's purpose to establish a royal pantheon. Similarly, what it has to say about Ramiro's buildings may also reflect the author's local knowledge. In enhancing the text, however, it distorted the original purpose of the Chronicle, given in the 'B' text, which was to single out Alfonso II's achievement for praise. Because

the Chronicle of Alfonso III presents a manipulated picture of the past, its information on the churches built by Asturian kings must be approached with caution, not least because the Chronicle of Albelda in its continuation to 881 AD specifically honours Alfonso III himself for having restored all the churches of the Lord and for having built a city in Oviedo with royal palaces.(170)

5: The Asturian Kingdom as the Heir of the Visigoths.

By the late 9th century it was possible for the Asturian kingdom to anticipate the imminent collapse of the Cordoban emirate. The exalted vision of the 'Prophetic Chronicle' expected a Christian triumph by 11 November, 884 AD. The Muslims, having fulfilled their role as the scourge of God in chastising Visigothic decadence, were now the illegitimate occupants of the Christian kingdom. In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the Asturian kings are presented as the successors of the Visigoths. Prior to Roderick's defeat by the Muslims, the Goths had to defend the state against internal revolt and external invasion. The recreation of their long-lost kingdom had to be achieved not simply by defeating the Muslim emirate of Cordoba but also by imposing authority on independent Christian peoples such as Basques and Galicians. Combining the political aspirations of the late 9th century with Mozarabic nostalgia for the past, the Chronicle has the Asturian kingdom as the only legitimate source of Christian authority in the Iberian peninsula. Within its ideological frame of reference, the Chronicle has to deal with the existence of the neighbouring kingdom of Pamplona and, in the far north-east of the peninsula,

the Carolingian empire. In effect, it does so by ignoring them. Only a Cordoban emir is acknowledged as the equal of an Asturian king, despite the enormous imbalance in their wealth and military strength. In this view, there is a hierarchy of royal status.

The rulers of al-Andalus appear in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, with some variations between the two principal texts. After reporting the invasion in Roderick's reign, both versions of the Chronicle thereafter use the terms 'Hispania/Spania' as being synonymous with Muslim territory. After establishing governors in the freshly conquered lands and paying tribute to the 'king of Babylon' for 'several years', the Muslims set up their own kingdom in Córdoba.(171) As it was not until 756 AD that the Ummayyad refugee Abd al-Rahman (756-788 AD) entered Spain from North Africa and ended the sequence of governors by founding an independent state, the 'B' text is mistaken in reporting that it was an unnamed king of Cordoba who had sent an army against Pelayo.(172) Farther on in the Chronicle, the Meridan rebel Mahmud, who fled to Alfonso II for safety around 833 AD, rose up against Abd al-Rahman, who is described as 'his king' in the 'B' text and as 'king of Spain' in the 'A' text with its customary elaboration.(173) After the point in the reign of Ordone I when the two texts merge, they refer to the rebellion of Musa against the 'king of Córdoba'.(174) Curiously, the 'B' text, while acknowledging the Muslim rulers in Córdoba as kings, does not add to the title any indication of the people or territories over which they ruled, unlike the 'A' text. When the two versions of the Chronicle merge, they name the 'king of Córdoba', a term also used throughout by the Chronicle of Albelda. This would seem to have been the accepted diplomatic form of address for the ruler

of Muslim Spain at the late 9th-century Asturian court, conferring an equality of status.

The Chronicle of Alfonso III displays a different attitude to Muslim kings other than the rulers of Córdoba. It reports the claim by Musa of the Banu Kasi to be 'the third king of Spain' in terms of the dangerous and self-inflated pride that is associated elsewhere in the text with would-be usurpers.(175) In this case, Spain must refer to more than the Muslim territory of al-Andalus. In declaring himself to be the third king, Musa is recognising the Muslim ruler in Córdoba and the Christian king in Oviedo, although he gives no idea of their precedence. There were two Christian kings, one at Pamplona who was not mentioned, and the other, the Carolingian king/emperor with, admittedly, a rather titular power over the Spanish March, who was named once as the king of the Franks who was helping Musa.(176) There are also two other Muslim kings, of Coria and Talamanca, who are mentioned in the Chronicle.(177) Musa's claim to be the third king in Spain looks rather like a place in a league table. The Chronicle of Alfonso III records with evident pride the decisive defeat at Albelda (862 AD) inflicted by Ordoño I on Musa who had previously enjoyed notable successes at the expense of the Carolingians and Ummayyads.(178) After Ordoño's triumph, a suitably-chastened Musa never again enjoyed a victory. It was sufficient to induce his son Lope, the 'consul' of Toledo, to offer Ordoño submission, so restoring the correct political order of things, and support him in battle against Muslims. The full diplomatic picture was more complex, as the leaders of the Banu Kasi, Christian converts to Islam, maintained strong ties with the ruling dynasty of Pamplona

and swung between confrontation or cooperation with the rulers of Córdoba and Oviedo from strongholds in Zaragoza, Huesca and Tudela.(179) A glimpse into peaceful contact between the Asturian kings and the Banu Kasi is given in the Chronicle of Albelda, with Alfonso III entrusting the education of his son Ordoño to the care of Lope's son, Mohammed, who is presented as another loyal friend of Oviedo.(180)

The other Muslim kings identified by the Chronicle of Alfonso III are given short shrift. Ordoño I is also credited with the capture of the cities of Coria, with its king Zeiti, and of Talamanca, with its king Mozeror and his wife.(181) He is said to have slaughtered the garrisons of the two cities and sold off the rest of the population, including women and children, into slavery. The extent of the brutality and the violence are significantly reduced in the Chronicle of Albelda. It only places the capture of Talamanca in the reign of Ordoño, Coria is said to have been taken by his son, Alfonso III. If Ordoño did seize Coria, as the Chronicle of Alfonso III states, his exploit had no permanent result. Equally, there are difficulties in the account of the capture of Talamanca. Unlike the Asturian chronicles which attribute this to Ordoño, the Anales Castellanos I give the achievement to Count Roderick in 860 AD.(182) His success was equally short-lived, more a raid, as soldiers from the city followed in the wake of the Cordoban force that campaigned against Astorga and Leon in 878 AD.(183) The Chronicle of Albelda offers a tellingly different aspect to the report of Ordoño's capture of Talamanca by reporting that he voluntarily released the city's king and his wife, who is named as Balkaiz, although nothing is said about their subjects in

contrast with the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

The identification of the rulers of Coria and Talamanca as kings must be deliberate. Throughout the Chronicle of Alfonso III there are sufficient examples of non-royal titles of rank to supply alternatives. Muslim rulers are described variously as consul, dux, praefectus, praepositus, praeses and tyrannus. In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the kings of Coria and Talamanca are straw figures set up to be knocked down by the exercise of the Asturian monarch's power.

The propagandist need of the Chronicle of Alfonso III to enhance the prestige of Asturian kings and diminish rivals also applied to Christian rulers. It remains silent on the relations between Oviedo and Pamplona, the urban centre of the nearest independent Christian state. The origins of this kingdom are obscure and, for lack of sources, its development up to the early 10th century, apart from a window in the first quarter of the 9th century, is hidden from sight.(184) During the life of the Visigothic kingdom Pamplona, a 1st-century BC Roman settlement guarding the Pyrenean crossing of the Astorga to Bordeaux road, had been an island of Christianity and urban civilisation in Basque territory. After surrendering to the Muslims on terms, probably by 718 AD, Pamplona had recovered its independence by the middle of the century. None of this is known from the Chronicle of Alfonso III, which first refers to Pamplona, in its account of Alfonso I's reign, as being among the settlements that had always remained in the hands of their citizens.(185) Like Oviedo and unlike Toledo, Pamplona was being excused the stigma of a Muslim occupation. Desite the continuing vulnerability of

the Oviedan kingdom's eastern flank to Muslim invasion along the corridor of the Ebro valley, the Chronicle is silent about a city with a strategic position which had attracted, temporary, Carolingian and Muslim occupation in the late 8th and early 9th centuries. During the course of the 9th century Pamplona's interests became intimately linked with those of the Muslim Banu Kasi in the upper Ebro valley. In its report of Ordoño I's victory at Albelda (862 AD), which consolidated Asturian control of Alava, The Chronicle of Alfonso III stresses the defeat of the Banu Kasi and plays down the role of their Christian allies from Pamplona.(186)

The Chronicle's silence on the kingdom of Pamplona is probably connected with Basque disturbances on the Asturian kingdom's eastern frontier. At the very start of the Chronicle in 672 AD and on their first appearance in the Chronicle, the Basques are labelled as 'frequently rebelling' although it is also said that they were regularly reduced to submission by Wamba.(187) Significantly, this sentence is not found in Julian of Toledo's Historia Wambae which is the Chronicle's source for the rebellion of Duke Paul. Fruela I, the first Asturian king said to have faced a Basque rising, is said to have defeated rebellious Basques and an invading Muslim army although in this case the two events may not be connected and need not have occurred at the start of the reign.(188) Like Wamba, Ordoño I, the final royal life in the Chronicle, had to face a double threat at the beginning of his reign in 850 AD from a Basque uprising and a Muslim invasion.(189) There may well be collusion here rather than coincidence, as the close relations between the kingdom of

Pamplona and the Banu Kasi are known. The Chronicle is discreet on these links, even in its account of Musa's defeat at Albelda, and says nothing about the Pamplonan connection.

The perception of the Basques as rebels in itself makes an important political statement. The language of the Chronicle is emphatic in defining the relationship of the Basques to the Asturian kings. Fruela is reported to have 'overcome' (superavit) Basque rebels. With Wamba and Ordoño, the Basques are said, respectively, to have been 'subjugated to his authority' and 'restored to their proper dependence'.(190) Any claim by the Asturian kingdom to be the successor of the Gothic kingdom would have to include the submission of the Basques and would therefore preclude the existence of an independent kingdom of Pamplona.

Within the Chronicle of Alfonso III there are indications of other, diplomatic methods by which the Asturian kingdom dealt with the Basques. The marriage of Fruela I to Munia, a young Basque captive, after the suppression of an uprising by her people, points to an attempt by a man of acknowledged violent inclinations, to use diplomacy, as well as warfare, to shore up his kingdom's eastern territories.(191) His efforts succeeded in securing peace for almost a century up to the reign of Ordoño I, when the Chronicle reports further warfare. During this time Basques played a significant part in the expansion of settlement in the Asturian kingdom.(192) Fruela's dispossessed son, Alfonso II, was able to find a safe refuge among his mother's relatives in Alava after being forced from the throne by Mauregatus in 783 AD. Difficulties on the Asturian kingdom's eastern frontier over

territory disputed by the kingdom of Pamplona and populated with Basques of uncertain political allegiance, may have encouraged Asturian kings to shift their attention westwards to Galicia where the possibilities for expansion were greater. At the start of his reign, Ramiro I used Galicia as the base from which to defeat the pretender Nepotian whose support was Asturian and Basque. Ramiro's son, Ordoño I, pursued a policy of expansion that may have triggered a hostile response from Basques as well as Muslims.

The Chronicle of Alfonso III's silence on the kingdom of Pamplona is a simple strategy to deal with an unpalatable political reality that challenged the aspirations of the Asturian rulers to restore the Gothic kingdom. The mysterious description of Peter, the father of Alfonso I and Fruela I, founders of the Asturian dynasty as '*..ducis Cantabrorum*', a title of which no more is heard, may serve to reinforce the Asturian claim to legitimacy over its late 9th-century neighbours. The 'frequently rebelling' Basques, who enjoyed a poor reputation in Visigothic historiography, may well be serving here as cover for the people subject to Pamplona whose rulers' right to the prestigious rank of kingship was accepted only in a subordinate sense by the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

The treatment of Franks and the Carolingian empire in the Chronicle is significant for what it omits as much as what it says. Relations between the Goths and their Frankish neighbours had rarely been comfortable between the 6th and 8th centuries.(193) The last serious Frankish involvement in the affairs of the Visigothic kingdom was their participation in the

rebellion of Duke Paul that was centred on Gallia Narbonensis. Julian's account of Wamba's campaign, the basis of the version in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, is rich in abuse not just of the Franks but also of the Gauls of Narbonensis.(194) The Visigothic king Egica is said to have fought three battles against the Franks, who had invaded Gallia Narbonensis, but without success.(195) After Covadonga, the Franks are absent until the account of the Banu Kasi and Ordoño I. Musa is said to have harassed both Franks and Gauls with plundering raids. He is also credited with the capture, in battle, of two Ummayad leaders and, by trickery, of two Frankish leaders, Sancho and Epulo.(196) These humiliations were acknowledged in the gifts sent by Charles the Bald (king 843-877 AD, emperor 875-877 AD), 'rex Francorum', to Musa, possibly as a ransom, and which were captured by Ordoño I after his victory at Albelda.(197) The triumph of the Asturian monarchy is in pointed contrast to the failure of Carolingian and Ummayad power. Besides the unfavourable association given to the Carolingian Charles the Bald in the Chronicle, his title is of interest. There is some evidence that the Chronicle of Alfonso III was aware of the Annales Bertiniani, spanning the years from 830 to 882 AD in the Carolingian world. The Chronicle was certainly written after 875 AD when Charles had been anointed as emperor. As it closes in 866 AD, with the death of Ordoño I, the use of the title 'king' for Charles may possibly indicate a concern for historical accuracy. More likely, it was a deliberate playing down of Carolingian rank to maintain the dignity and prestige of the Asturian crown.

The silence of the Chronicle of Alfonso III on the Carolingian Empire conceals diplomatic contacts from the time of Alfonso

II.(198) The dispatch of gifts to Charlemagne's court in the last decade of the 8th century, recorded in the Carolingian royal annals, was prompted by the need to establish ties with a Christian power that was becoming more interventionist in the Iberian peninsula under Louis the Pious, the king of Aquitaine. After the capture of Barcelona in 801 AD, the Spanish frontier of the Carolingian empire hardened along lines that changed little until the 11th century. As emperor, Louis responded encouragingly in 826 AD to an appeal for help from the Mozarab rebels of Mérida but failed to supply practical assistance due, no doubt, to the problem of distance.(199) By the late 9th century the lands of the Spanish March had achieved a de facto independence from Carolingian authority although they preserved cultural and social associations.(200) In Oviedo, the perception of the Carolingian state changed as the Asturian kingdom grew in political aspiration and military strength. From being a source of intervention in the affairs of the Ebro valley in the late 8th century, a century later the remnants of the Carolingian Spanish March had become a block to the grand vision of a recreated Visigothic kingdom that was central to the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

The difficulties of reconciling the memory of Visigothic unity with the fragmented political reality of Alfonso III's time may have served as midwife to the birth of an imperial ideal. In 914 AD, Ordoño II (914-924 AD), Alfonso III's second son, established his capital at Leon which gave its name to what was a continuation of the Asturian kingdom. During the 10th century the Leonese kings describe themselves variously as 'basileus',

'princeps magnus' or 'rex magnus', indicating a superior royal status and expressing aspirations to rule over all Spain. Apart from false diplomas, the title 'imperator' is used only for Leonese kings by their successors, their subjects and in foreign sources.(201) Intriguingly, the Leonese kings themselves describe their royal ancestors by this title rather than use it as a term of self-reference.(202) The concept of empire that lay behind such titles was not the universal state of Rome but a more limited, national understanding that marked out hegemony over the other rulers of the Iberian peninsula, resembling that of King Athelstan (925-939 AD) in Britain.(203) Lacking a juridical framework, this imperial idea was demonstrated by the titles applied to Leonese kings although it resided, crucially, in their aspiration to be the successors of the Visigothic kingdom.(204)

The origin of the imperial idea in Leon remains obscure because of the lack of information in the sources. It has been seen as a response to the adoption by Abd al-Rahman III (912-961 AD), the Cordoban emir, of the title 'caliph' in 929 AD, which challenged the claims of the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad to spiritual and temporal authority over the whole Muslim community.(205) Although this enhanced rank may have had an influence on the Leonese kings, there is evidence, which will be considered below, that the imperial idea was being embodied in titles before 929 AD. There is no convincing reason to see the adoption of imperial titles by the Leonese kings as a declaration of their independence from the Carolingian emperors, who, from the late 9th century onwards, were increasingly unable to exert real authority in the Spanish March.(206)

The imperial ideal appears to be strongly rooted in the reign of Alfonso III. He is described as 'magnus imperator' in three charters of his son Ordoño II from 916 and 917 AD.(207) The term, also used in the Chronicle of Albelda for Roman and Byzantine emperors, does not represent here filial flattery nor the narrower classical meaning of 'successful military leader', which is unknown in Visigothic legislation and church councils.(208) After Alfonso III's deposition in 910 AD, his three sons, each with the title of king, exercised a regional authority without, however, dismembering the kingdom, which passed in turn from one brother to the other until the death of Fruela II in 925 AD.(209) It is unlikely that their father Alfonso would have been given the title 'imperator', that is, over-king, after an act of deposition which seems to have deprived him of any real power. Towards the end of his reign Alfonso may have associated his sons with the throne. Ordoño is known to have exercised authority in Galicia during Alfonso's lifetime and held it afterwards, following his father's deposition, although the earliest reliable evidence for the use of the title of king is in a diploma of 911 AD.(210) It has been suggested that the imperial ideal was Alfonso III's response to the appearance in 905 AD of a new dynasty, the Ximenez, in Pamplona, to which he was linked by marriage and, possibly, by material backing.(211) Despite the close connections between the two kingdoms during the 10th century, especially under Ordoño II, the Pamplonan kingdom was not, in itself, new, having existed since the start of the 9th century.(212)

While the circumstances outlined above could have contributed to the development of the imperial ideal, its origins lay in the

expectations of Alfonso III and his court. The Cordoban emirate was plagued rebellions that Mohammed I (852-886 AD) seemed increasingly unable to suppress.(213) In 881 AD Alfonso III had launched a raid into al-Andalus that took him to Mérida, farther south than any previous Asturian king.(214) The 'Prophetic Chronicle', anticipating the restoration of the Visigothic kingdom in November 884 AD, which was only seven months in the future, took heart from the astrological signs that warned Muslims of their imminent destruction. For Christians there were revelations that foretold how Alfonso would soon rule over all of Spain.(215) With the failure of these signs, a cooler assessment of the Asturian kingdom's position was possible. In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, there are indications of Carolingian influence with a heartland exercising control over neighbouring regna. The Chronicle has elements of imperial rule, with Asturian kings having authority over 'gentes' and 'populos' while rebels are forced to submit to the royal imperium. In this context, Alfonso's letter to the clergy of St. Martin's abbey at Tours in 906 AD, following up their attempts to sell him an imperial crown, is significant, accepting its authenticity.(216) The monks of Tours were under financial pressure to repair the destruction caused in 903 AD by a Viking raid. Whether it was by cunning market-research or through the revival of traditional connections with the Asturian kingdom, the Frankish clergy had found a king whose demonstrable interest in the imperial idea would make him the likely purchaser of an imperial crown.

6: The Chronicle and the Life of Alfonso III.

The Chronicle of Alfonso III may be seen to have a further

layer to its purposes. Although it ends with the death of Ordone I, the Chronicle's content celebrates the achievements of Alfonso III by illuminating events from his reign through examples from the history of the Asturian kingdom. Clearly associated with the royal court in Oviedo, the Chronicle represented a substantial investment in learning and resources. Its intended audience is uncertain but, given the links with the crown and the Chronicle's ideological content, this must have included, even if it was not meant exclusively for, those powerful figures in lay and ecclesiastical life who could threaten the security and well-being of the kingdom. There is no way of reaching fully across a gulf of over 1000 years to understand fully the effect of the Chronicle on those who read it or, the great majority, who listened to it. In Oviedo and at the highest level of Asturian society, however, they would bring a personal knowledge of Alfonso III, and possibly his father, that interacted with the content of the Chronicle. The medieval love of allegory is well-known and there are episodes in the Chronicle that seem to foreshadow events from the life of Alfonso III. At the very least, the similarities underscored those continuing problems which beset the Asturian kingdom.

Alfonso III, the last ruler of the Asturian kingdom before its capital was shifted to Leon, enjoyed a long and successful reign from 866 AD despite the mysterious act of deposition by his sons with which it was ended in 910 AD.(217) Like his English contemporary, Alfred (871-899 AD), Alfonso was a man of scholarship as well as a successful soldier. During his reign he was tested by similar difficulties to those that had bedevilled

his predecessors, with attempted usurpation and Basque uprisings.

The cultural life of his kingdom was invigorated by the flow of Christian refugees, clerical and lay, from al-Andalus.(218) Besides contributing to the repopulation of the Asturian kingdom, the Mozarabs brought with them attitudes to the Visigothic past and the Muslim present that were highly influential in shaping late-ninth century historical writing, especially the 'Prophetic Chronicle' and the Chronicle of Alfonso III.(219) Through the cycle of Asturian chronicles Alfonso can be seen as a patron of the written word. He was also responsible for a construction programme in Oviedo and beyond, that included civil and ecclesiastical buildings.(220) Alfonso commissioned splendid examples of the jeweller's art, of which two, the Cross of Victory (now in Oviedo cathedral) and reliquary (now in Astorga cathedral), have survived.(221)

Despite the kingdom's internal problems, Alfonso was able to follow up his father Ordoño's policy of expansion. He extended his territory into northern Portugal, along the line of the river Duero and into Castile.(222) A chain of repopulated settlements consolidated Alfonso's advances.(223) In the field, he was highly successful in beating off attempted Muslim assaults on the Asturian kingdom and took the initiative by raiding deep into al-Andalus.(224) For the first time, a Cordoban emir was forced to open truce negotiations with an Asturian king.(225) Alfonso engaged in diplomatic activity with Muslim rebels inside al-Andalus and on the upper Ebro frontier, as well as with the neighbouring kingdom of Pamplona.(226) Despite the failure of

the 'Prophetic Chronicle's message of imminent Christian triumph, at the time of the deposition by his three sons Alfonso III left a strengthened kingdom which seemed capable of taking further advantage of a fragmenting Cordoban emirate.

The structure of the Chronicle of Alfonso III may hint at its purpose. Apart from Pelayo, whose reign is largely a report of the battle of Covadonga, the most substantial accounts, as might be expected, deal with the last two kings in the Chronicle, Ramiro I and Ordono I, for whom more information would have been available. These men were, in reverse order, the father and grandfather of Alfonso III. The Chronicle makes little of the admittedly difficult reign of his next patrilinear ancestor, Vermudo I. The only other lives treated in any depth are the two royal namesakes of Alfonso III.(227) The reign of Alfonso I, excepting the added anecdote of the angelic choir by his deathbed, is essentially a list of settlements conquered and territories repopulated by the king and Fruela, his brother, together with a smaller list of places that had never been conquered.(228) The Chronicle of Albelda is more restrained in its treatment of Alfonso's reign, reporting only that he devastated the 'campos Goticos', the modern Tierra de Campos, and captured two towns, Astorga and Leon.(229) The detail of the list in the Chronicle of Alfonso III is impressive.(230) The places on the list form a line that moves roughly from west to east in three groups, from Galicia and northern Portugal to the upper Ebro valley.(231) It is difficult to believe that the list describes reality or that it would have been transmitted accurately over two centuries. Several of the named places, such as Braga, Porto, T  y, Viseu, Simancas and Zamora, are known to

have been repopulated by Alfonso III or in his name.(232) There is, it may be thought, a conscious connection being made here between Alfonso III and his distinguished ancestor.

Such an association between the reign of Alfonso III and that of a royal namesake is even more striking in the case of Alfonso II. In the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the comparatively long account of Alfonso II's reign describes his achievements in defeating two Muslim invasions, crushing the rebellion of the Meridan Mahmud and raising churches in Oviedo. There are intriguing parallels with the events in Alfonso III's own time. Early in his reign he won victories over Muslim forces at Polvoraria and Valdemora in 878 AD.(233) Like Alfonso II, who was forced to defeat Mahmud in 840 AD seven years after providing him with a refuge in Galicia, Alfonso III first protected, in 877 AD, and then quarrelled, in 884 AD, with Abd al-Rahman ibn Marwan ibn al-Djilliqi, another refugee from al-Andalus.(234) Both rebels were of muwallad families, i.e. they were converts to Islam. The breakdown of relations with their respective hosts came in the eighth year of their stay in the Asturian kingdom, which seems curiously coincidental. One further, surprising connection is that in his rebellion of 828 AD Mahmud assassinated the Ummayyad governor, Marwan al-Djilliqi, who was the father of the later refugee to Alfonso III's court.(235) The Chronicle of Alfonso III reports Alfonso II's building activity in some detail. This has echoes of Alfonso III's own architectural work. The Chronicle of Albelda, at the end of its first continuation, carries a eulogy which singles out Alfonso III for having restored all the churches of the Lord and built royal palaces in

Oviedo.(236) Within the city, he built a fortress, a palace and an encircling, defensive wall. Alfonso III was also responsible for the Foncalada, a fountain which is the only surviving civil monument from the period in Oviedo.(237) Outside of Oviedo, Alfonso also erected a coastal fortress at Gozon, as well as several churches, of which the most important were those dedicated to Santiago at Compostela and to San Salvador at Valdedios.(238)

With regard to Alfonso II, it is clear that not only was Alfonso III aware of his namesake but that he wished to associate himself with his predecessor. A dedicatory inscription of 872 AD, by Alfonso III and his wife Ximena, which is now located within the nave of the cathedral of San Salvador, to the left of the entrance of the chapel of the Rey Casto, establishes a connection between Alfonso II and Alfonso III.(239) In this inscription, the building of a church at Oviedo is credited to Alfonso II by Alfonso III, who describes himself as bearing the same name and being the fourth of his line. This emphasis ignores Fruela I, whose ecclesiastical buildings were restored by Alfonso II, and Vermudo I, who was the direct patrilinear ancestor of Alfonso III.

There are other written examples, both explicit and implicit, of Alfonso III's acknowledgement of Alfonso II. Among the documents from the time of Alfonso III that are generally accepted as authentic, there are references to Alfonso II as '...tius noster domnus Adefonsus..' and '... avus noster dive memorie domnus Adefonsus..' (240) Churches over the shrine of St. James at Compostela were built by both Alfonso II and Alfonso III

although, oddly, neither building is mentioned in the Asturian chronicles of the 9th and 10th centuries.(241) In the Act of consecration, 899 AD, for his church, Alfonso III identifies himself as the son of Ordoño I and expresses his determination to restore the shrine over the grave of St. James which had been built by 'Adefonsus Magnus', that is, Alfonso II.(242) The two exquisitely-worked crosses that Alfonso III presented to the churches of Santiago, the Cross of Santiago in 874 AD, and Oviedo, the Cross of Victory in 908 AD, both carried the inscription 'Hoc signo tuetur pius. Hoc signo vincitur inimicus.', which had been used by Alfonso II on the Cross of the Angels that he presented to the church of Oviedo in 808 AD.(243)

The depiction of the crosses of Alfonso II and Alfonso III in wall-paintings suggests a further connection between the two kings. The Cross of the Angels, presented by Alfonso II to the church of Oviedo, is composed of a central disk with four arms of almost equal length which are slightly wider at the farthest point from the centre. Finding no stylistic parallel for this type of cross in the Visigothic period, Helmut Schlunk emphasised its similarity with Lombard crosses and especially the so-called Cross of Desiderius, presented to San Giulio in Brescia by King Desiderius (756-774 AD), with which there are resemblances in shape and proportion as well as the closest proximity in time. The possibility of foreign workmanship is further suggested by the legend reported in the *Historia Silense* that Alfonso II's cross had been manufactured by visiting angels who were mistaken for pilgrims.(244) Alfonso III's Cross of Santiago (874 AD), now lost since 1906, was an exact copy of the Cross of the Angels, which had probably been modelled in Oviedo.(245) The Cross of

Victory, presented to the church of Oviedo in 908 AD, also has a central disk, but is larger than the other two crosses and significantly different in form. It is a Latin cross having a longer lower arm, designed for processional use. The arms themselves widen almost imperceptibly towards their ends and conclude in three small disk-like projections.(246)

A cross is a central feature of the aniconic decoration, patterns of buildings or draperies within architectural borders and geometrical shapes, of the church of Santullano which, following the attribution in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, has been associated with Alfonso II. Roger Collins has suggested that what now survives at Santullano in terms of its architectural features and painting-style might be reassigned to the time of Alfonso III.(247) As noted above with regard to his new church at Compostela, Alfonso III was conscious of 'restoring' the architecture of his predecessor.(248) Significantly, the cross in the frescoes of Santullano is not the Cross of the Angels of Alfonso II but resembles Alfonso III's Cross of Victory. The Santullano cross differs slightly, however, in that its arms have only two disk-like projections, rather than the three of the Cross of Victory.(249) The exact parallel is with the Santullano cross and a variant of the Cross of the Angels, having two disk-like projections on each arm, which is associated with Alfonso III in carved inscriptions.(250) This form of the cross was inscribed on the exterior of Alfonso III's church of San Salvador de Valdedios.(251) The motif, linking Alfonso II and Alfonso III, is also found within the church where, above the main altar, there

is a wall-painting of three crosses, a Cross of the Angels flanked on either side by a smaller Cross of Victory (with two disk-like projections).(252)

Alfonso III does not appear in the chronicle which carries his name and yet his reign seems to be evoked repeatedly in the text by references that were meant to strike a resonance with more contemporary events. The Chronicle of Albelda reports what might be seen as a parallel between the lives of Alfonso II and Alfonso III in that each king suffered a temporary deposition after being established in Oviedo.(253) The omission of this event from the life of Alfonso II in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, even though it records the usurpation of Mauregatus which delayed his accession, suggests a sensitivity to an event which revived memories of Alfonso III's own temporary deposition by the Galician count, Fruela.(254)

Such discretion was not necessary elsewhere in the Chronicle of Alfonso III in pointing up the kingdom's recent territorial conquests. The probability that the list of Alfonso I's conquests reflected something, at least, of Alfonso III's achievement has been considered above.(255) Several of the named settlements are reported by the Chronicle of Albelda and Sampiro among those that were conquered by Alfonso III. The Chronicle of Alfonso III carries material on Ordoño I which is known from other sources to carry allusions for Alfonso III's time. It deals at length with Ordoño's defeat of Musa, the so-called third king of Spain.(256) The Chronicle of Albelda took on the story of relations between Alfonso III and the Banu Kasi, with an indication of their surprising cordiality.(257) Túy

is said, by the Chronicle of Alfonso III, to have been captured by Ordoño I, although it seems to have been permanently settled by Alfonso III.(258) Chronicle of Alfonso III describes the capture of Coria and Talamanca by Ordoño I.(259) Both places were to be recovered by Muslims and played a part in the achievements of Alfonso III. The Chronicle of Albelda, which had only reported Ordoño I's capture of Talamanca, identified Coria as a conquest of Alfonso III.(260) It also identified men from Talamanca as having taken part among the Muslim forces in the campaign of 878 AD that ended with Alfonso III's triumph at Polvoraria.(261) The Chronicle of Alfonso III may, therefore, have been pointing up the connection between Ordoño I and his son, Alfonso III. It may not be entirely coincidental that figures from the Chronicle of Alfonso III, such as Fruela and Wittiza, who are identified in a hostile manner, carry names which are known to have been held by rebels against Alfonso III.(262)

7: Conclusion.

The Chronicle of Alfonso III is a work of considerable depth and sophistication. Its two principal, complementary versions develop clear themes, although not without inconsistencies. Inspired by Alfonso III, and probably containing some of his own literary work, it reflected court perspectives. The Chronicle of Alfonso III is, at the same time, 'a mirror for princes', a consciously-crafted identity for the dynasty and the kingdom, a polemic against collaboration and a monument to Alfonso III himself. Despite the criticisms levelled by modern historians frustrated at the paucity of its content and the poverty of its

style, the Chronicle of Alfonso III stands, in its two principal versions, as a work of considerable intelligence and vitality that succeeds within its own perspectives and terms of evidence.

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73: Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, p.177 and f.4v-r in Liber Testamentorum.

74: On the list of sees reported to be under Oviedo's jurisdiction by the Liber Testamentorum's council of 821 AD, see text in EL LIBRO, pp.394-395: '..in Bragara, in Tude, in Dumio, in Iria, in Coimbra, in Aquas Calidas, in Veseo, in Lamego, in Celenes, in Portugale, in Boenes, in Britonia, in Astorica, in Ambas Legiones quae sunt una sedes, in Palentia, in Auca, in Saxomone, in Segovia, in Oxoma, in Abela, in Salamantica, subditi sunt ecclesiae Ovetensi Salvatoris Nostri..'. This list includes suffragans of Braga, Merida, Tarragona and Toledo, as well as other sees of uncertain origin, see EL LIBRO, pp.135-136.

75: On bishoprics in the list and the Liber Itacii, see pp.393-394 and commentary p.135 in Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO. The Liber Itacii is essentially a list of Suevic, Vandal, Alan and Visigothic kings that appears to serve as a home for matters of interest to Pelayo i.e. the foundation of Oviedo's ecclesiastical predecessor, Lucus Asturum, and the allocation of suffragan sees by Toledo at a council held at Toledo. The reference to the Liber Itacii is significant as this was another part of the Corpus Pelagianum. The fullest analysis of the Liber Itacii, as part of a study of similar ecclesiastical divisions, is in L. Vázquez de Parga, LA DIVISION DE WAMBA (Madrid, 1943).

76: Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, p.395 and p.397 for the 821 AD council text.

77: SAMPIRO (Pelagian text only) pp.302-304 for Galician territories.

78: For the Galician territory claimed by the Liber Itacii in BN Ms. 1346, ff.7-11 (text in Vázquez de Parga, LA DIVISION, pp.97-103), and for the Division de Wamba interpolated in the version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III carried by the Liber

Testamentorum in BN Ms. 1513, ff.38-42 (text in Vazquez de Parga, LA DIVISION, pp.111-115.

79: Lists in BN Ms. 1513, f.117 and BN Ms. 1346, f.181.

80: For the text and discussion, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, no.175, pp.296-308.

81: Bull of Urban II (4 April 1099 AD): BN Ms. 1513, ff.69v-70r and BN Ms 1346, ff.162r-163r. Further references and discussion in Fernández Conde EL LIBRO, pp.330-333.

Bull of Paschal II (30 September 1105 AD): BN Ms. 1513, ff.70v-71r and BN Ms 1346 ff.163r-164r. Further references and discussion in EL LIBRO, pp.348-350.

Bull of Calixtus II (26 June 1122 AD): BN Ms. 1513 ff.71v-72v and BN Ms. 1346 ff.164r-165r. Further references in EL LIBRO, pp.388-389.

82: Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.100-106 and Fernández Conde EL LIBRO, pp.79-80.

83: Bull of Calixtus II of 26 June 1122 AD (ref. above n.81): '..Adefonsi bonae memoriae, regum scripta determinata continetur...' in p.339, Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO.

84: See DHEE, pp.997-998, for exemption of 12th-century Oviedo and the current situation, pp.1014-1014; Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.79-80.

85: Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Bula de Juan IX..', ORIGENES, Vol.III, p.815.

86: Summary of different views in Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, p.137 n33.

87: J. Williams, A SPANISH APOCALYPSE. THE MORGAN BEATUS MANUSCRIPT (New York, 1991) and idem, THE ILLUSTRATED BEATUS: A CORPUS OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE (London, 1994), Preface, p.8. Of 35 manuscripts, 26 mss. and fragments were illustrated, with over 1500 illustrations in total.

88: The Vita was compiled by Juan Tamayo de Salazar (d. c. 1662 AD) for a work which has been categorised as 'fictions, errors and lies': Juan Tamayo de Salazar, MARTYROLOGIUM HISPANUM SIVE COMMEMORATIO OMNIUM SANCTORUM HISPANORUM (Lyons, 1651 AD), vol.I, 2, pp.184-186 (Migne, PL 96, cols.890-894.).

89: Alcuin's letter to Beatus: text and commentary in W. Levison, 'A letter of Alcuin to Beatus of Liebana' in ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY (Oxford, 1986), pp.314-323.

Alcuin, ADVERSUS FELICEM, in Migne, PL 101, cols. 127-230. Paulus Alvarus, 'Albari Opera' in vol.I, CORPUS SCRIPTORUM MUZARABICORUM, ed. J. Gil, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1973): Ep.I, pp.144-151, and Ep.IV, pp.162-186.

90: Elipandus, 'Elipandi Opera' in CSM, vol.I: Ep.III ad Fidelem,

pp.80-81, Ep.IV episcoporum Hispaniae, pp.82-93, Ep.V ad Carolum Magnum, pp.93-95, Ep.VI ad Albinum (Alcuin), pp.96-109, Ep.VII ad Felicem ad nuper conversum, pp.109-111.

91: Beatus and Etherius call themselves '.. nos Libanenses..' in ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM LIBRI DUO, ed. B. Löfstedt, CCCM 59 (Turnhout, 1984), p.104. Paulus Alvarus, vol.I, CSM has '.. Libanensis Beatus..', Ep.I, p.148 and '.. Beatus Libanensis presbiter..', Ep.IV, p.179. Elipandus has '.. beati nefandi Asturiensis presbiteri..' in Ep.IV, p.82, vol.I, CSM. Alcuin, ADVERSUS FELICEM, col.133 has '.. Beatum abbatem..'

92: Elipandus, Ep. IV, p.92 in vol.I, CSM.

93: Elipandus was outraged at Beatus' presumption: 'Nam numquam est auditum ut Libanenses Toletanos docuissent.' in Ep.III, p.81 in vol.I, CSM.

94: Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.144-145; Sanchez-Albornoz, DESPOBLACION, p.138ff.

95: Alcuin's letter to Beatus, Levison, ENGLAND, p.318: 'Gaudens de adventu viri venerabilis Vincentii, qui orationis gratia liminis beati Martini patris nostri et protectoris vestri visitavit..'

96: Beatus as champion of an orthodox independent church, see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, LA BATALLA DEL ADOPCIONISMO EN LA DESINTEGRACION DE LA IGLESIA VISIGODA (Barcelona, 1949), p.165ff.

As supporter of Adosinda/Alfonso II, see M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los Himnos en Honor de Santiago de la Liturgia Hispanica' in DE ISIDORO AL SIGLO XI (Barcelona, 1976), pp.237-288. C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El 'Asturorum Regnum' en los Dias de Beato de Liébana', pp.19-32 and L. Vázquez de Parga, 'Beato y el Ambiente Cultural de su Epoca', pp.33-45, both in vol.I, ACTAS DEL SIMPOSIO PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LOS CODICES DEL 'COMENTARIO AL APOCALIPSIS' DE BEATO DE LIÉBANA, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1980).

97: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, p.1.

98: Most recent survey in R. Collins, THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SPAIN 710-797 (Oxford, 1989), pp.217-230. See E. Amann, 'L'Epoque Carolingienne' in HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE, eds. A. Fliche and V. Martin, vol.VI (Paris, 1947); E.P. Colbert, THE MARTYRS OF CORDOBA (850-859): A STUDY OF THE SOURCES (Washington D.C., 1962), esp. chs.II and III; R. d'Abadal, LA BATALLA; J.F. Rivera, EL ADOPCIONISMO EN ESPANA- SIGLO VIII- HISTORIA Y DOCTRINA (Toledo, 1980).

99: Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.65-67; Recio, ADOPCIANISMO, pp.89-154.

100: On Nestorian influence, see P.B. Gams, DIE KIRCHENGESCHICHTE VON SPANIEN, 3 vols. (Regensburg, 1862-1879), II,ii, pp.261-271. For Elipandus' citation of Ildefonsus and Isidore in defence of Adoptionism, see Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, pp.82-93. The use of Spanish authorities was rejected in favour of more 'universal' authorities by Alcuin, see, for example, CONTRA HAERESIM

FELICIS,

ed. G.B. Blumenshine (Vatican, 1980), pp.55-99.

101: Paulus Alvarus, Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, pp.162-186.

102: On Felix, see Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.80-84; On Ascaricus, see Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.54-60 and Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.227-228; On Fidelis, see Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.66-70 and Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, p.227.

103: Text of 3 letters, see MONUMENTA GERMANIAE HISTORICA, EPISTOLARUM III, EPISTOLAE MEROWINGICI ET KAROLINI Aevi I (Berlin, 1892), ed. W. Gundlach, pp.636-648. For a discussion of the mss, editions and the chronology of the letters, see *ibid.*, pp. 469-475. See Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.59-62.

104: R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, LA BATALLA, for the view that Adoptionism was a declaration of Asturian independence against the political and spiritual authority of Toledo. J.D. Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1991), p.143 n.97, argued that the aniconic decoration of the Oviedan church of San Julian de los Prados was a sign of Alfonso II's opposition to Adoptionism. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.229-230, rejected an Asturian resistance movement as 'probably anachronistic' and saw the residual unity of the Visigothic church as broken by a combination of ecclesiastical and political circumstances.

105: These contacts will be considered below in Section H: Frankish Sources for Asturian History.

106: On the iconoclast dispute in the Byzantine Empire, see the Cambridge Medieval History (Cambridge, 1966), vol.IV,Pt.1, 'Ch.III. Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule 717-842', pp.61-104. J. Herrin, THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM (Princeton, N.J., 1987), pp.307-343.

107: On the decisions of the Council of Frankfurt and letters from Charlemagne and Elipandus, see MGH, CONCILIA, II, Concilia Aevi Carolini, I, pp.111-171. On the Council of Frankfurt in Frankish chronicles: ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM, s.a. 794 AD, ed. F. Kurze in MGH SCRIPTORES RERUM GERMANICARUM, VI (Hannover, 1895 and 1950), pp.26-114 (even-numbered pages only) and 116--141, Eng. trans. in B.W. Scholz, CAROLINGIAN CHRONICLES; Revised version of the ANNALS in F. Kurze op. cit., pp.27-115 (odd-numbered pages only); ANNALES MOSELLANI, s.a. 794 AD, ed. J.M. Lappenberg in MGH SS, XVI, pp.494-496; ANNALES LAURESHAMENSES, s.a. 794 AD, ed. G.H. Pertz in MGH SS I, pp.32-39. C. de Clercq, 'La Legislation Religieuse Franque de Clovis à Charlemagne' (Louvain-Paris, 1936), pp.184-191; F.L. Ganshof, 'Observations Sur le Synode de Francfort' in MISCELLANEA HISTORICA A. DE MEYER, i, (Louvain, 1946), p.306ff; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, THE FRANKISH CHURCH (Oxford, 1983), pp.217-225 on Theodulf.

108: On metropolitan rank, see Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.212 and ARAB CONQUEST, pp.225-226.

109: Jonas of Orleans, DE CULTU IMAGINUM in Migne, PL 106: 'Deinde apostolorum Christi actus imitari videri volentes, cum ipsi non apostoli Christi, sed praecones esent hostis antiqui, unumquisque separatim diversas provincias, eadem sua insana doctrina imbuendas, appetivere. Eliphantus scilicet Asturias et Galliciam, cujus discipulos apud Astures me aliquando vidisse memini..' (col.308).

M. Defourneaux, CARLOMAGNO, p.95, speculates that Jonas was on an official mission.

110: B. Sholod, CHARLEMAGNE, pp.49-53, on Charlemagne and the Spanish church; mission of Leidrad and Theodulf to Septimania in 798 AD; Leidrad and Nefridius, his successor at Lyons, were responsible for the custody of Felix to 818 AD; Nefridius and Benedict of Aniane preached against Adoptionism in Septimania.

111: On Benedict, see Wallace-Hadrill, FRANKISH CHURCH, pp.229-230. On Theodulf, idem, p.217. Claudius of Turin, a defender of religious images, was attacked by Jonas of Orleans, DE CULTU IMAGINUM, PL 106, cols.309ff., who used his Spanish origin to connect him with Felix, Adoptionism and the Nestorian heresy. On Charlemagne and Spanish emigres, including churchmen, see Sholod, CHARLEMAGNE, pp.46-49.

112: On the writings, see Alcuin's letter to Felix, Ep.23 (c.793 AD) in ed. E. Dümmler, MGH EPISTOLARUM IV (Berlin, 1895), pp.60-65; Alcuin, ADVERSUS FELICIS HERESIN, Migne PL 101, cols. 87-120; Alcuin, CONTRA FELICEM URGELLITANUM EPISCOPUM. LIBRI SEPTEM, Migne PL 101, cols. 119-230; Alcuin, CONTRA EPISTOLAM SIBI AB ELIPANDO DIRECTAM. LIBRI QUATTUOR, Migne PL 101, cols. 243-300; Paulinus of Aquileia, SACROSYLLABUS in ed. Werminghoff, MGH, CONCILIA, II, CONCILIA Aevi Carolini I, i, 130-142. See D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven' in CAROLINGIAN ESSAYS: ANDREW W. MELLON LECTURES IN EARLY CHRISTIAN STUDIES, ed. U-R. Blumenthal (Washington D.C., 1983), pp.39-40 and 49-59.

113: On the Council of Frankfurt, see no.107 above.

114: Elipandus, Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, pp.82-93 and Ep.V, vol.I, CSM, pp.93-95.

115: Elipandus, Ep.VI, vol.I, CSM, pp.96-109.

116: Collected works of Agobard of Lyons, LIBER ADVERSUS FELICEM URGELLESEM in Migne, PL 104, cols.29-70 and L.van Acker, AGOBARDI LUGDUNENSIS OPERA OMNIA in CCCM 52, (Turnhout, 1981)

117: Elipandus, Ep.V, vol.I, p.92: Beatus' prediction on the end of the world ended in bathos. During the Easter vigil a fasting congregation waited in fear until the 9th hour of Sunday when a certain Ordoneo of Liebana, clearly overcome by hunger, urged all present to eat and drink so that they could at least die with full stomachs.

118: Levison, ENGLAND, p.317 for a date 797/798 AD. For a date of Spring/Summer 798 AD, see Bullough, 'Alcuin..', p.51 n.115.

- 119: Alcuin learnt of Beatus from Felix's reply to his pamphlet, ADVERSUS HAERESIM FELICIS as he indicates in his letter to Beatus in Levison, ENGLAND, p.318: 'Legimus in cuiusdam Felicis Urgillitanae sedis episcopi litteris reprehensionis vestrae verba, qui vos adfirmavit primos omnium adoptionis nomini in Christo contradicere.' See also Alcuin, ADVERSUS FELICEM, I,8, col.133.
- 120: See the Annals of Aniane in the HISTOIRE GENERALE DE LANGUEDOC, vol.II, PREUVES (Toulouse, 1875), eds. Dom Devic and Dom Vaissete, cols.1-12. For a comparison of the versions in the Annals of Aniane and the Royal Frankish Annals, see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, LA BATALLA, pp93-95.
- 121: Elipandus, Ep.V, vol.I, CSM, p.109.
- 122: See John Williams, CORPUS, p.159 for the source of this confusion.
- 123: Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, p.224.
- 124: Beatus, ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM. See Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.70-75.
- 125: Hadrian's letter to the bishops of Spain, c.785 AD, is one of 3 papal letters sent to Spain which are included in the Codex Carolinus, see n.103 above for reference. Gundlach dates all three between 785 and 791 AD. On the 3 letters, see P.Jaffe and W Wattenbach, REGESTA PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM (Leipzig, 1885), nos.2445, 2446 and 2479.
- 126: Simbolus Fidei Elipandianae in ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, pp.27-29 and as separate item in Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, CSM, pp.78-80.
- 127: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, pp.30-31 and as a separate item in Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, 80-81.
- 128: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.31 and Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, CSM, p.81. For Bonosus and Faustus, see the entries pp.125 and 321 in ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE EARLY CHURCH, 2 vols., ed. A. di Berardino, Eng. trans. Adrian Walford, (Oxford, 1992).
- 129: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.30 and Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, p.81: 'Nam numquam est auditum ut Libanenses Toletanos docuissent.'
- 130: Elipandus, Ep.I, vol.I, CSM, pp.68-78, esp. 68 and 77-78. On Migetius, see Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.56-59.
- 131: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, p.31 and Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, CSM, p.81.
- 132: Elipandus, Ep.V, vol.I, CSM, p.94: Felix episcopus '.. quem novimus ab ineunte etate in Dei servitio proximum partis nostrae defensorem..'. Elipandus, Ep.VI, vol.I, CSM, p.97: 'Felicem confessorum quem novimus ab ineunte aetate caritate summum,..'. This Felix may have been the bishop of Cordoba who was involved

in an exchange of letters with a certain Peter on a matter of church discipline, PETRI ET FELICIS EPISTULAE, vol.I, CSM, pp.55-58.

133: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.31 and Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, p.81.

134: References to Beatus in the writing of Paulus Alvarus: Alvarus, Ep.I, vol.I, CSM, p.147 (see ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, pp. 14-15) and p.148 (see ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.95); Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, p.179 (see ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.95) and p.184.

135: INDICULUS DE ADVENTU ENOCH ET ELIAE, vol.I, CSM, pp.130-131 for passages from Beatus' COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE. For the text of the Commentary, see the edition and commentary of H. A. Sanders, BEATI IN APOCALIPSIN, LIBRI DUODECIM in Vol.VII, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome (Rome, 1930).

136: See R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, LA BATALLA.

137: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.9: 'Cabete a pseudoprophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces'. Cf. Matt.7,15. In his letter to Fidelis, Elipandus had abused Beatus as a sick sheep, 'Et nunc una ovis morbida doctor nobis appetit esse.', in ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.30 and Elipandus, Ep.III in vol.I, CSM, p.81.

138: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.9: 'Et episcopus metropolitanus et princeps terrae, pari certamine hereticorum scismata, unus verbi gladio, alter virga regiminis, ulciscens (hereticorum scismata), de terra vestra funditus auferatur?

139: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.30 and Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, p.80. The letter is quoted by Beatus in Book I of the ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM. Beatus refers to Elipandus later in Book I, p.35: 'Quod si certa talia inveneritis scripta, qualia nuper scripta est ab Elipando, Toletanae sedis episcopo, tunc credite ei, quod heretici sumus et antichristi discipuli, et proicte nos a terra vestra et secundum illius praeceptum 'auferte malum de medio vestre'.

140: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I,p.9: 'Certe iam rumor est, iam fama est; et non solum per Asturia, sed per totam Spaniam et usque ad Franciam divulgatum est, quod duae quaestiones in Asturiensi ecclesiae hortae sunt; et sicut duae quaestiones, ita duo populi et duae ecclesiae. Una pars cum altera pro uno Christo contendunt. Cuius fides vera an falsa sit, grandis intentio est, et hoc non in minuta plebe, sed inter episcopos est.'

141: For the view that anti-Adoptionism and patronage of St. James were 2 facets of a Carolingian interest in establishing the authority of a new Spanish church, see p.157f. O. Engels, 'Die Aufänge des Spanischen Jakobusgraves in Kirchenpolitischer Sicht.' in RÖMISCHE QUARTALSCHRIFT FÜR CHRISTLICHE ALTERTUMSKUNDE UND KIRCHENGESCHICHTE, 75, 1980, p.146-170.

142: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, p.9: 'Una pars episcoporum dicit, quod Iesus Christus adoptibus est humanitate et nequaquam adoptibus

divinitate. Altera pars dicit: Nisi ex utraque natura unicus est Dei Patris Filius proprius, non adoptibus.'

143: Basiliscus named as ambassador of Alfonso II to Charlemagne at Aachen. s.a. 798 in Royal Frankish Annals. Basiliscus' anti-Adoptionist writing, otherwise unknown, is quoted by Paulus Alvarus, Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, pp.162-186. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Basiliscus', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.757-760.

144: Paulus Alvarus, Ep.I, vol.I, CSM, p.150; Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, p.160; Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, pp.181,182 and 184.

145: Ascaricus named as an Adoptionist along with Elipandus in the letter of Hadrian I (P. Jaffe and W. Wattenbach, REGESTA, no.2479). Ascaricus letter to Tusered, see vol.I, CSM, pp.114-116: 'Nam pene omnes abhinc Asturianis usque in ora, qui in clericatus persistunt officia, uno seu vel quasi ex ore probrosa de illa que cum Xpo dormientium sanctorum surrexere corpora, immo a Xpo vibificatur, nituntur impudenter spargere verba

146: Elipandus, Ep.VII, vol.I, CSM, p.110: 'Ego vero direxi epistolam tuam ad Cordoba fratribus qui de Deo recta sentiunt et mihi multas scripserunt, que in tuo adiutorio debueram dirigere..'

147: See BEATI IN APOCALIPSIN. LIBRI DUODECIM, ed. Henry A. Sanders, ref.no.135 above. For a detailed survey of the illustrated Beatus manuscripts and the evolution of the Spanish tradition of apocalypse imagery, see John Williams, THE ILLUSTRATED BEATUS: A CORPUS OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE, VOL.I (An introduction to the textual and visual tradition of Commentary manuscripts.) and VOLS.II-IV (A catalogue of Commentary manuscripts from the 9th to 13th centuries. On Beatus, his world and the Commentary, see the valuable series of papers in ACTAS DEL SIMPOSIO PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LOS CODICES DEL 'COMMENTARIO AL APOCALIPSIS' DE BEATO DE LIEBANA, 3 VOLS. (Madrid, 1978-1980).

148: On the origins and development of the manuscript tradition for Beatus' Commentaries, see John Williams, CORPUS, vol.I, pp.19-29.

149: On the 6 Ages in Isidore of Seville, CHRONICA, ed. MGH AUCTORES ANTIQUISSIMI, XI, pp.424-481, and 'Chronologia Isidoriana', pp.420-423; Isidore of Seville, ETYMOLOGIARUM, ed. W. M. Lindsey, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), BOOK V, 39, 'De Descriptione Temporum'. On computations of the end of the world, see A. Barbero and M. Vigil, 'Los Computos y su Importancia en la Historiografia' in LA FORMACION DEL FEUDALISMO EN LA PENINSULA IBERICA (Barcelona, 1986), pp.249-258.

150: For the 1st and 2nd editions, see Sanders, BEATI, p.XVI, and for the 3rd edition, pp.XVII-XVIII. (There is no evidence for the Beatus at Silo's court.)

151: For alternative family trees of the Commentary manuscripts proposed by Wilhelm Neuss (1931) and Peter Klein (1976), see J.

Williams, ILLUSTRATED BEATUS, vol.I, pp.22-25.

152: The Commentary is illustrated with 108 canonical images. It is generally assumed that the first Commentary, or one of the early copies, was illustrated and that it was the prototype of all surviving versions. Williams argues convincingly that the model for the illustrations was a copy of Tyconius' 4th-century Commentary on the Apocalypse' from North Africa. For the stylistic model, evolution and influences, see J. Williams, ILLUSTRATED BEATUS, vol.I, pp.31-100.

153: On the lack of information relating to the biography of Beatus, see L. Vázquez de Parga, 'Beato y el Ambiente Cultural de su Epoca' in ACTAS, vol.I, pp.35-45 and recorded discussion with M.C. Díaz y Díaz, p.47.

154: Sanders, BEATI, Prefatio, 1,9, p.2.: 'Haec ergo, sancte pater Etheri, te petente ob aedificantionem studii fratrum tibi dicavi, ut quem consortem perfruor religionis coheredem faciam et mei laboris.'

155: On the authorship, Sanders, BEATI, Introduction, p.XI.

156: In an Index Scriptorum to his edition of the ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, Lofstedt lists over 20 examples of material used from the Commentary on the Apocalypse. In addition to the sources used by the Commentary, the ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM (Lofstedt, pp.180-181) drew on Cassian, Cyprian, Cyrillus, Eucherius, Filastrius, Justus of Urgel, Origen, Quintilian, Sallust, Virgil and Vergil Thapsensis, .

157: ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, I, p.31 and Elipandus, Ep.III, vol.I, CSM, p.81: 'Sed quia audivi, quod praecursos Antichristi in medio nostri apparuit, qui illum iam natum annuntiat..'. Elipandus, Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, p.82: '.. antifrasii Beati nefandi Asturiensis presbiteri, pseudoXpi et pseudopropheta..'. Elipandus, Ep.VII, vol.I, CSM, p.109: '.. pseudopropheta fetidissimo Inbeato..'. Elipandus, Ep.VI, vol.I, CSM, p.96: '.. Beatus, AntiXpi discipulus...pseudoXpus et pseudopropheta..'

158: Elipandus, Ep.IV, vol.I, p.92..

159: See above no.154.

160: Canon 17 of IV Toledo (633 AD) in J. Vives, T. Marin Martínez, G. Martínez Diez CONCILIOS VISIGOTICOS E HISPANO-ROMANOS (Barcelona-Madrid, 1963), p.198.

161: A. Barbero and M. Vigil, 'Los Computos..', pp.250-258; J.Gil, 'Los Terrores del Año 800', ACTAS, pp.217-247. On the 6 Ages in Isidore of Seville's works, see above no.149; for Julian of Toledo, see DE COMPROBATIONE AETATIS SEXTAE, ed. J.N. Hillgarth, CCSL 115 (Turnhout, 1976), LIBER III, x, pp.208-212. On the uncertain time for the end of the world, see Isidore, CHRONICA, p.481 and Julian of Toledo, echoing Isidore, DE COMPROBATIONE, p.211.

162: Psalm 89,4.

163: P. Hunter Blair, 'Number and Time' in THE WORLD OF BEDE (London, 1970), pp. 259-271 and esp. 265-168. See also C.W. Jones, BEDAE OPERA DE TEMPORIBUS (Cambridge, Mass., 1943). On Isidore and Julian, see A. Barbero and M. Vigil, 'La Historiografia..'

164: See CHRONICLE OF 754, (ed. J.E. López Perreira, CRÓNICA MUZARABE DE 754 [Zaragoza, 1980]) p.130: 'Sed ideo a maioribus inter utrasque editiones, que nunc renotari longe sunt, nativitas Salvatoris nostri in VCC anno adnumeratur, ut et plenitudo temporis per generationes et regna deducti plenius demonstraretur, et per perfectum decoritatis plenissimum numerum omnibus recolendus dies ille simul cum perfecta annorum VCC serie apertius etiam parvipendentibus insinuetur'. (See also CHRONICA MUZARABICA in J. Gil, vol.I, CSM, pp.15-55.)

165: For the moving of the date to 900 AD, see J. Gil, 'Textos Olvidados del Codice de Roda' in HABIS, no.2 (1971), p.170ff.

166: Exchange of letters with Tuseredus, see text in Gil, vol.I, CSM, pp.113-124. For Ascaricus' Asturian background and the issue of the Resurrection, see pp.114-116. On Ascaricus and Tuseredus, see Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.54-55.

167: For an extensive survey and full references, see J. Williams, ILLUSTRATED BEATUS, esp 'Ch.II. The Beatus Text.', pp.19-20 and 'Ch.III. The Illustrated Text.', pp.31-102.

168: S. Álvarez Campos, 'Fuentes Literarios de Beato de Liebana' in ACTAS, vol.I, pp.119-162.

169: Sanders, BEATI, Introduction, pp.xix-xx.

170: See above no.129 on Liebanans teaching Toledo and Elipandus, Ep.IV, vol.I, CSM, p.92: '.. onagram Eterium doctorem bustualium..'

171: On the surprising literary resources found by Eulogius in Navarre, causing a revival of Latin poetry in mid 9th-century Cordoba, see R. Collins, 'Poetry in Ninth-Century Spain' in LAW, CULTURE AND REGIONALISM IN EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN (Variorum Press, 1992), pp.181-182

172: See p.158, M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Transmision de los Textos Antiguos en la Peninsula Iberica een los Siglos VII-XI' in LA CULTURA ANTICA NELL'OCCIDENTE LATINO DEL VII AL'XI, Settimane de Studio del Centro Italiano de Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo XXII, 1974. Pub. Spoleto 1975.

173: VIAGE DE AMBROSIO DE MORALES POR ORDEN DEL REY D. PHELIPE II A LOS REYNOS DE LEON, Y GALICIA, Y PRINCIPADO DE ASTURIAS (Madrid, 1765, facsimile edition Oviedo, 1977).

174: J.E. Casariego, 'El Himno Jacobeo Asturiano 'O Dei Verbum'' in HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp.293-299; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los Himnos..' in DE ISIDORO, pp.235-288 and pp.239-242 for the hymn and p.242 for the acrostic message: 'O RAEX REGUM REGEM PIUM

MAURECATUM AEXAUDI CUI PROVE OC TUO AMORE PREVE.'. On the origin of the cult of St. James, see R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.236-238; R.A. Fletcher, 'Ch.III. The Early History of the Cult of St. James', pp.53-77, in CATAPULT; J. van Heerwarden, 'the origins of St. James of Compostela', JOURNAL OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY, 6(1980), pp.1-35; Sánchez-Albornoz, 'En Los Albores Del Culto Jacobeo', ORIGINES, Vol.II, pp.367-396; L.Vázquez de Parga, 'Los Origenes del Culto de Santiago en España' in HISPANIA SACRA 5(1952), pp.1-33.

175: The 'Maur' element in the name has led to the suggestion that he was the son of a Muslim captive. Harold Livermore raised the possibility of a connection with the mysterious MARAGATOS who 'appear to have been a detachment of the Berber Baragwata established in the Bierzo on the road into Galicia': H. Livermore, THE ORIGINS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL (London, 1971).

176: 'Circunstancias En Que Se Compone', pp.247-251 in M.C. Díaz y Díaz, DE ISIDORO.

177: The earliest use of 'rex' rather than 'princeps' in a charter accepted as authentic is in a donation made by Ordoño I in 854 AD, Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, pp.261-262. For a list of charters using 'rex'/'princeps', see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, VOL.I, p.583. On the use of 'Ispania', see the text in M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los Himnos..', pp.240-241:

Lines 24-25, 'Regens Ioannes dextra solus Asia
Eiusque frater potitus Ispania..'

Lines 46-47, 'O vere digne sanctior apostole
Caput refulgens aureum Ispanie.'

Beatus said that St. James preached in Spain, see the Prologue to Book II of the Commentary on the Apocalypse, ed. Sanders, p.131.

178: For arguments in favour of Beatus' authorship, see P.de Urbel, 'Origen de los Himnos Mozarabes' in BULLETIN HISPANIQUE 28(1926), p.125 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, ORIGENES, vol.II, p.393ff. For arguments against, Díaz y Díaz, DE ISIDORO, pp.251-261.

179: See Fletcher ST. JAMES'S CATAPULT, pp.60-65.

180: See J.E. Casariego HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, p.294.

181: R. Collins on Visigothic historiography and comparison with Frankish hagiography, see 'Julian of Toledo and the Education of Kings in Late Seventh-Century Spain', p.3 n.13, in LAW, CULTURE.

182: VITA ILDEPHONSI in J. Gil, vol.1, CSM, pp.60-66 (see Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.72-80); Paulus Alvarus, INDICULUS LUMINOSUS, vol.1, CSM, pp.270-315 and VITA EULOGII, vol.1, CSM, pp.330-343; Eulogius, MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, vol.II, CSM, pp.363-459, DOCUMENTUM MARTYRIALE, vol.II, CSM, pp.459-475 and LIBER APOLOGETICUS MARTYRIALE, vol.II, CSM, pp.475-495.

183: See the general survey in A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.12-13. The VITA S. ATTILANI EPISCOPI ZAMORENSIS is known from a Cistercian lectionary which reproduced a breviary of Zamora cathedral and is printed in H. Flórez, E.S. XIV, pp.395-397. The

laudatio of St. Vintila, an epitaph taken from the saint's tomb in the church of Santa Maria de Pugin, near Orense, is published in H. Florez, E.S. XVII, pp.229-230.

184: Text of VITA SANCTI FROYLANI EPISCOPI LEGIONENSIS IN M. Risco in E.S. XXXIV, pp.422-425. See Barrau-Dihigo, 'La Vita S. Froylani', pp.32-35, in 'Remarques..'; A. Palomeque Torres, EPISCOPOLOGIO DE LOS SEDES DEL REINO DE LEON S.X (Leon, 1966); J.Ma. Canal Sanchez-Pagin, 'San Froilan Obispo de Leon, Ensayo Biografico.' in HISPANIA SACRA, 45(1993), pp.113-135.

185: The testament of San Gennadio is published in E.S.XV, p.141.

186: San Gennadio in M. Gómez-Moreno IGLESIAS MOZARABES: ARTE ESPANOL DE LOS SIGLOS IX A XI (Madrid, 1919) on the churches of San Miguel de Escalada (pp.141-162), San Pedro de Montes (pp.212-218) and Santiago de Penalba (pp.224-238). On San Froilan, see Sanchez-Pagin, 'San Froilan..', pp.122-126.

187: A. de Morales, VIAGE SANTO, for 'Libros Antiguos en Oviedo' and Pravia, pp.109-110. For copies of the acrostics, see Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS for acrostic of Silo, pp.239-240, and the acrostic of Alfonso III, pp.245-246. For manuscript acrostics, see J. Williams, 'The Moralia in Job of 945: Some Iconographic Sources' in ARCHIVO ESPAÑOL DE ARQUEOLOGÍA, 45-47, 1972-1974, pp.223-235. See also M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Circulation des Manuscrits Dans la Peninsule Ibérique du VIII au XI Siècles' in CAHIERS DE CIVILISATION MEDIÉVALE 12(1969), pp.383-386

188: C.M. Vigil, ASTURIAS MONUMENTAL; E. Hübner, INSCRIPTIONES HISPANIAE CHRISTIANAE (Berlin, 1871 and 1900); J. Vives, INSCRIPCIONES CRISTIANAS DE LA ESPAÑA ROMANA Y VISIGODA (Barcelona 2nd edition, 1969).

189: For a general discussion of the annals, see Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.25-31.

CHRONICON LAURBANENSE in PORTUGALIAE MONUMENTA HISTORICA. SCRIPTORES. I,1 (1856), p.20; ANALES CASTELLANOS I in Gil, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.76-77; brief Navarrese annals and obituaries of Pamplonan bishops in J.M. Lacarra, TEXTOS NAVARROS DEL CODICE DE RODA (Zaragoza, 1945), pp.64-66.

For the text and Spanish translation of the fourth group of annals, see A. Huici, LAS CRONICAS LATINAS DE LA RECONQUISTA, 2 Vols. (Valencia, 1913): CHRONICON BURGENSE, pp.1-40; ANNALES COMPLUTENSES, pp.40-51; ANNALES COMPOSTELLANI, pp.58-80; ANALES TOLEDANOS I, pp.339-356; CHRONICON DE CARDENA, pp.373-381.

190: The 14th-century vernacular text, CHRONICON DE CARDENA, reported that, 'Era de DCCCLXXII' (872 AD), there was a massacre of Abbot Stephen and 200 monks of the Monastery of San Pedro de Cardena by the (Muslim) 'Rey Acepha'. The information is doubtful because of its singular chronological, '.. IV feria, in die SS. Justi et Pastoris en el mes de Agosto..', the large number of murdered monks and the confusion over 'Acepha' (which is not a name but a term used to describe a Muslim raid, cf. the Pelagian version of SAMPIRO where the word 'azeyfa' is used and given a gloss '..id est, exercitus'. The term was also misunderstood by

Lucas of Túy, CHRONICON MUNDI, and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, DE REBUS HISPANIE.

191: DE PANPILONA in TEXTOS NAVARRAS, p.65.

192: ANALES CASTELLANOS I in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.77.

193: See no.192.

194: ANALES CASTELLANOS I in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.77; CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.176; SAMPIRO, pp.275-276.

195: E.g. ANALES CASTELLANOS I, p.77: 'In era DCCLXXVII (829 AD) fregerunt Cortobeses (sic, for Cordubenses) Sotoscoba.'

196: On the ANALES PORTUGALENSES VETERES, see P. David, ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES SUR LA GALICE ET LE PORTUGAL (Paris, 1947), pp.256-259 and 261-340.

197: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Una Cronica Asturiana Perdida?' in INVESTIGACIONES, p.124.

198: See David, ÉTUDES, pp.261-268 for the manuscripts and pp.291-312 for the texts.

199: CHRONICON GOTHORUM, text in H. Flórez, E.S. XIV, pp.415-416.

200: CHRONICON LAMECENSE; see David, ETUDES, pp.265-266 and text pp.306-307.

201: See Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Una Cronica Asturiana..', pp.124-126.

202: Idem, p.125 and on the texts in the Chronicon Alcobacense and Chronicon Ex Historiae Compostellanae, p.125 n.63.

203: The CHRONICLE OF 754, p.69, reports that the kingdom of the Goths had flourished for almost 350 years from its foundation in era 400 (362 AD). Roderick is said to have seized the throne in era 749 (711 AD) and to have been killed era 749 (712 AD) at a battle in the 'Transductine Mountains'. See also C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Otra Vez Guadalete y Covadonga' in CUADERNOS DE HISTORIA DE ESPANA, 1-2, 1944 and idem, 'Donde y Cuando Murio Don Rodrigo' in CHE, 3, 1945.

204: There is no general agreement on the events surrounding Roderick's accession and the Muslim invasion. See the valuable recent discussion in Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.23-26.

205: The generally-accepted date of 711 AD for Roderick's defeat was known in the Asturian kingdom, as it was given in the Testament of 812 AD (Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, pp181-141). The 714 AD date is given in the 9th-century Asturian Chronicles. It appears to derive from a desire in the so-called 'Prophetic Chronicle' to create a figure of 170 years for the period of Muslim conquest to the prophesied liberation of Christian Spain in November 884 AD. The date was taken up by other elements in

- the Asturian cycle of historical writing e.g. the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.171 and p.187, the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III in Gil, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, (Roda text), p.122.
- 206: Text in H. Florez, E.S. XIV, pp.415-416.
- 207: For CHRONICON CONIMIBRICENSE II, see E.S. XXIII, p.331. For the CHRONICON CONIMBRICENSE in Florez, E.S. XXIII, pp.329-335. See David, ETUDES, pp.269-279 for the manuscripts and content.
- 208: Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.273-275, on the date of Alfonso II's accession.
- 209: Text in BN Ms. Vitr. 14-5 f.149r in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS.
- 210: Text of the 2 lists in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.172 and general discussion, pp.99-100.
- 211: CODEX AEMILIANENSIS: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia no.39. The list of Asturo-Leonese kings is an addition to the margin of f.252v. CODEX ALBELDENSIS: Library of El Escorial d.I.2, text f.240v.
- 212: CODEX ROTENSIS: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia no.78, f.189v.
- 213: On son-in-law; CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173 and CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (Roda text), p.130.
- 214: Fruela I: ALFONSO III, pp.132-133 (both texts), p.137 (Erudite text), p.138 (Roda text). ALBELDA, p.174.
- 215: Text in HISTORIA SILENSE, ed. J. Pérez de Urbel and A. González Ruiz-Zorrilla (Madrid, 1959). Count Fruela as brother of Alfonso I, SILENSE, p.136, and account of his life with the period of royal association of 12 years, 6 months and 20 days, Silense, pp.141-142. Fruela as son and successor of Alfonso I, p.136 and life in Silense, p.137.
- 216: For Albelda and Ordono I: ALBELBENSIS and AEMILIANENSIS, 'Post filius eius Adefonsus, qui allisit Ebrellos.' and ROTENSIS, 'Ordonius filius r. a.XVII m.III, d.I. Ipse allisit Albailda. For Ibrillos and Alfonso III: ALBELDENSIS and AEMILIANENSIS, 'Deinde filius eius Adefonsus, qui allisit Ebrellos.' and ROTENSIS, 'Adefonsi Ordoni fiius accepit regnum II Idus Februarias era DCCCCLXIIII. R. a.XLIIII m.VIII. Ipse allisit Ebrellos'. All references in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.172.
- 217: Alfonso I's death in ANALES CASTELLANOS I, p.77: 'In era DCCCLXXVIIII obit domnus Adefonsus rex in Obeto VIII Kal. Martias (23 Feb. 841 AD)'. Date of Alfonso I's death in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), p.142-143: 'Era DCCCLXXXI (843 AD) post Adefonsi discessum..'. Obituary in church of San Salvador in Oviedo: 'Die XII Kal. Aprilis. Eo die obiit Adefonsus Rex Castus Era DCCCLXXX (20 March 842 AD)'. Obituary in monastery of San Vicente de Oviedo: 'Obit Alphonsus Rex Castus tertio decimo Kalendas Aprilis. Fit anniversarium.'. Both texts cited by M. Risco in E.S. XXXVIII, p.151.

218: See discussion in Barrau-Dihigo, 'Sur la Chronologie des Rois Asturiens' in 'Recherches..', pp.272-276. See also A.C. Floriano, 'Chronologia y Genealogia de los Reyes de Asturias' in ARCHIVUM (Revista de la Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Oviedo), VII, 1956, pp.251-185.

219: Alfonso III is said to have been consecrated as successor to Ordono I on Whitsunday 26 May 866 AD: CHRONICON LAURBANENSE, p.20, 'Era DCCCCIIII. Obiit Ordonius rex et perhunctus est Adefonsus in regno ipso die sancto pentecostem.', Port. Mon. Hist., p.20. CHRONICON DE CARDENA II, 'Este rey fue unguido en el regno, dia de la Cinquesma, VII kal. Junii.', CRONICAS LATINAS, p.378. This suggests that Alfonso III's consecration took place shortly before the death of his father.

220: E.g. in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, no.126, p.142 a donation to the monastery of San Juan de Coba is dated to 9 August 883 AD in the 18th year of Alfonso's reign, and in no. 178, p.317 a grant to the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian is dated to 3 March 905 AD in the 38th year of Alfonso's reign. For the inscription on the Cross of Victory, presented by Alfonso III to the church of San Salvador, see Vigil, ASTURIAS, vol.I, p.18: 'Et operatum est in castello Gauzon anno regni nostri XLII discurrente era DCCCCXLVI (908 AD)'. The 42nd year of Alfonso's reign corresponds to 908 AD.

21: Out of three era dates in the list, one refers to Pelayo and two are appropriate for Alfonso IV. See ROTENSIS list, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.172: 'Pelagius filius Veremudi nepus Ruderici regis Tutelani accepit regnum era DCCLVI (718 AD) et regnavit XVIII, menses VIIII, dies XVIIII... Et de Pelagio usque in era DCCCCLXVI (928 AD) regnante Adefonso filio Ordonii anni CCXI.' and 'Adefonsus Ordoni filius accepit regnum II Idus Februarias era DCCCCLXIIII. R.a.XLIIII, m.VIIII.'

222: For discussion of evidence that Alfonso III died in 912 AD, see Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.277-281.

223: ANALES CASTELLANOS I, p.77: 'In era DCCCCIIII adeptus est in regnum domnu Adefonsu.' and 'Regnavit Adefonsus rex annos XLI et migravit a seculo in mense Decembr. Et suscepit ipso regno filius eius Garsea.'

224: Text in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.100: 'Positus est in regno domnus Adefonsus filius domni Ordonii II Klds. Maias era DCCCCII et regnavit XLVII ms.VI.'

225: On association with the throne in Visigothic period as an attempt to impose an hereditary monarchy and prevent usurpation, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Succession al Trono en los Reinos de León y Castilla.' in 'ESTUDIOS SOBRE LAS INSTITUCIONES MEDIEVALES ESPANOLAS' (Mexico, 1965), pp.642-643. E.g. association of Egica and Wittiza in CHRONICLE OF 754, p.62: 'Egika in consortio regni Uittizanem filium sibi heredem faciens Gothorum regnum retemtant.'. This association is mentioned in the late 9th-century Asturian chronicles: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.171 and CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both texts), pp.118-119.

In the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176, Alfonso III is said to have been 18 years old at the time of his accession. SAMPIRO, p.275, makes him 14 at the age of accession. It is known that Alfonso was involved in the government of Galicia prior to his father's death, (Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, no.165, p.270, donation to Orense). Alfonso himself associated his sons with the throne. (Donations in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, no.146, 895 AD, p.199; no.189, 907 AD, p.358; no.196, 909 AD, p.377.). For rejection of association in the Asturian kingdom, see Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp328-337. For arguments in favour, see Y. Bonnaz, 'Divers Aspects de la Continuite Wisigothique dans la Monarchie Asturienne' in MELANGES DE LA CASA DE VELAZQUEZ, 12(1976), pp.93-96.

226: NOMINA REGUM CATOLICORUM LEGIONENSIIUM (Rotensis text) in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.172: 'Pelagius... accepit regnum era DCCLVI (718 AD) et regnavit annis XVIII, menses VIII, dies XVIII.'. Both versions of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.130-131, agree that Pelayo reigned for 19 years and died in 737 AD.

227: LATERCULUS LEGIONENSIS in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.100: 'Ordoinus regnavit annos XV ms. III. Quod fiunt (in) sub uno de domno Pelagio usque ad domino Ordonio principe anni CXLVII.'.

228: See above no.226 for Pelayo's reign, with continuation, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.172: 'Et de Pelagio usque in era DCCCCLXVI regnante Adefonso filio Ordonii anni CCXI.'.

229: Texts in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175 and CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both versions), pp.142-143. See also A. Barbero and M. Vigil, 'La Formacion..', pp.319-325; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Iam fatus Rex.', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.29-42.

230: On Alfonso II. see text of CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.138-142.

231: In the archive of Oviedo cathedral is a 12th-century copy of a donation by Bishop Gladila of Braga, dated to 30 October 863 AD, which names Mauregatus' wife Creusa and their son Hermenegild. Text published in S.A. Larragueta, COLLECCION, pp.36-40. Barrau-Dihigo rejected its authenticity, 'Remarques..', p.327.

232: See texts in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174 and CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both versions), pp.138-139.

233: For the period from the death of Fruela I to the accession of Alfonso II (dated here to 791 AD), see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.136-142.

234: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (Roda text), p.136 in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS: 'Qui dum iste regnaret, Adefonsi Froilani, nepus Adefonsi maioris, palatium gubernavit, quia Silo ex coniuge Adosinda filium non genuit.'.

235: For the confusion between Count Fruela (brother of Alfonso I) and Fruela I (son of Alfonso I), see above n.215 and section

on 'NOMINA REGUM CATOLICORUM LEGIONENSIIUM'.

236: None appears as brother of Ordoño III (950-956 AD). There is no reliable evidence for an alleged 'Vermudo' brother of Ordoño I. See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.291-292; A.C. Floriano, 'Cronologia..', p.276.

237: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, says only that Vermudo voluntarily surrendered the throne: 'Postea voluntarie regnum dimisit.'. Both versions of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III refer to Alfonso's diaconate: Rotense text, p.138, '.. regnum dimisit ob causam quod diaconus fuit.'. Erudite text, p. 139, '.. regnum dimisit reminiscens ordinem sibi olim impositum diaconii.'. On conciliar legislation, see canon 17, VI Toledo (638 AD) in J. Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.244-245.

238: Text and critical commentary in J. Pérez de Urbel, SAMPIRO, SU CRÓNICA Y LA MONARQUÍA LEONESA EN EL SIGLO X (Madrid, 1952).

239: On the contents of the Liber Chronicorum, see Fernandez Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.51-54.

240: Text in BN Ms. 1513, f.4r and BN Ms. 1346, f.118v. Prologue printed in M. Risco E.S. XXXVIII, pp.370-371 and Pérez de Urbel, SAMPIRO, pp.479-480.

241: Prologue, op.cit. p.480: 'Et ab Adefonso rege casto usque ad Veremundum regem podagricus Sampirus Astoricensis ecclesiae episcopus, sicut a maioribus et predecessoribus suis inquisivit et audivit, de Gotis regibus prout potuit plenissime scripsit.'.

242: Bequest of Sampiro in favour of the church of Santa Maria in Leon, 11 November 1042 AD, (no. 1351 of the archive of Leon cathedral). It has biographical information on Sampiro and is published in SAMPIRO, pp.476-478. See the discussion in SAMPIRO, pp.89-105 for Sampiro as a bishop.

243: For Sampiro's early career, see SAMPIRO, pp.11-88.

244: Foundation charter of monastery of Carracedo by Vermudo II (982-999 AD), text published in vol. V, f.448 in Antonio de Yepes, CRONICA GENERAL DE LA ORDEN DE SAN BENITO, 7 vols. Valladolid 1609-1621.

245: Text in SAMPIRO, pp.275-344, for both versions of the chronicle.

246: Text and commentary in HISTORIA SILENSE, eds. J. Perez de Urbel and A. Gonzalez Ruiz-Zorrilla, (Madrid, 1959). Biographical detail, see pp.118-119.

247: The identification of 'domus Seminis' and the monastery of Silos is accepted by the editors of the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.80. P. Linehan thought this identification 'wholly implausible' (p.129 n.3, HISTORY AND THE HISTORIANS OF MEDIEVAL SPAIN. It was rejected by Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre el Autor de la Llamada Historia Silense' in INVESTIGACIONES, pp.224-234. Linehan lists the various interpretations, op.cit., p.129 n.3.

248: HISTORIA SILENSE, p.119.

249: Linehan, p.129 HISTORY, saw the HISTORIA SILENSE as being unfinished and unordered 'in the form of unreconciled notices and overlapping drafts.'. See J. Ruiz Asencio, 'La Inclusion del 'Chronicon' de Sampiro en la "Historia Silense"' in ARCHIVOS LEONESES 27(1973) pp.279-286.

250: Text and commentary on the CRONICA NAJERENSE, ed. A.Ubieto Arteta, (Valencia, 1966).

251: Both texts are given in parallel in SAMPIRO. For differences in language and style, see SAMPIRO, pp.202-223.

252: SAMPIRO (Silense text), pp.344-345.

253: SAMPIRO (Pelagian text), pp.343-344.

254: On the death of Alfonso III and accession of Garcia I, see SAMPIRO (both texts), p.309: 'Adefonso defuncto, Garsea filius eius sucessit in regno.'. On the death of Fruela II and accession of Ordono I, see SAMPIRO (both texts), p.320: 'Mortuo Froyla, Adefonsus filius domni Ordonii adeptus est scepra paterna.'.

255: Text in B. Sánchez Alonso, CRONICA DEL OBISPO DON PELAYO (Madrid, 1924). This chronicle was part of the Liber Chronicorum: BN Ms. 1513, ff.64r-69v. and BN Ms. 1346, ff.157-167. On the start of Vermudo II's reign, see SAMPIRO, p.344: 'Mortuo Ramiro, Veremudus Ordonii filius ingressus est Legionem, et accepit regnum pacifice.'. This sentence also introduces the reign of Vermudo I in PELAYO, p.57.

256: On Alfonso V, SAMPIRO, (Silense text), p.346 and PELAYO, p.70.

257: SAMPIRO, pp.207-210.

258: Text in SAMPIRO, pp.275-344. The Pelagian interpolations amount to c. 20 pages, pp.278-279 and pp.284-305.

259: SAMPIRO (Silense text), pp.275-305.

260: For the reign of Alfonso III in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.176-181.

261: Interpolation in SAMPIRO, pp.284-305.

262: See SAMPIRO, p.305, for repopulation: 'era DCCCCXIII' (875 AD) in Pelagian text, 'era DCCCCXXXVII' (899 AD) in Silense text; for defeat: 'era DCCCCXV' (877 AD) in Pelagian text, 'era DCCCCXXXIX' (901 AD) in Silense text.

263: See the assessment of sources in Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Noticias Sobre la Jornada del Foso de Zamora', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.947-951. For the campaign, see E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE DE L'ESPAGNE MUSULMANE, vol.I, pp.269-271.

- 264: For the campaign of 883 AD, see CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.178-181.
- 265: See SAMPIRO, p.277 for Count Eylo (Pelagian text), Count Gilo (Silense text).
- 266: SAMPIRO (both versions), pp.275-283.
- 267: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.177.
- 268: SAMPIRO (both texts), pp.305-308.
- 269: For Muslim sources, esp. Ibn Hayyan, see Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Noticias..', p.949.
- 270: SAMPIRO (both texts), p.306.
- 271: SAMPIRO (both texts), pp.306-308.
- 272: SAMPIRO (both texts), pp.370-374; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Dramatico Final del Reinado', ORÍGENES, vol.III, pp.954-962.
- 273: R. Menéndez de Pidal, RELIQUIAS DE LA POESIA EPICA ESPANOLA (Madrid, 1951), p.xxxff.
- 274: For a discussion of historians' attitudes to Sampiro's account of the deposition, see Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Dramatico Final..', pp.956-957, who is inclined to accept the version in SAMPIRO: '.. e inclino ya, por tanto, a dar credito al relato de Sampiro.', p.955.
- 275: See no.246 and Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.34-45.
- 276: Discussion of sources in HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.19-34.
- 277: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (Roda text), p.124.
- 278: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (Roda text), p.130, and (Erudite text), p.131.
- 279: HISTORIA SILENSE, p.136.
- 280: Leovigild is singled out for his attachment to the Arian heresy. In referring to the Visigothic kings, the author says 'Quorum unus, Leovigildus nomine, pro magnitudine sceleris ad memoriam revocandus est.', HISTORIA SILENSE, p.115.
- 281: Examples are taken from classical models, such as Ovid, Sallust and Virgil, (see HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.54-56.). The HISTORIA SILENSE also drew on Einhard's 'Life of Charlemagne'. See references in the critical apparatus of the HISTORIA SILENSE.
- 282: Moral judgement, e.g. on the Arian king Leovigild (HISTORIA SILENSE, p.115) and on Charlemagne's achievements in Spain (HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.129-130). On spiritual association, e.g.

the groto at Covadonga with the Virgin Mary (HISTORIA SILENSE, p.133). See the commentary, pp.16-19, on the methods of the HISTORIA SILENSE.

283: Fruela I and Basques in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.133-134; Fruela and the Navarrese in the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.137. The HISTORIA SILENSE also turns the Basques into Navarrese when using Frankish sources, as in the account of Roncesvalles, p.130.

284: For Charles and his alleged sons, see the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.147.

285: HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.127-128. For a discussion of the influence of Muslim sources in the HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.26-32.

286: On the chest of relics, see the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.138. The version given by Pelayo in an interpolated version of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III will be considered in the following chapter. On the Cross of the Angels, see the HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.139-140.

287: For the full list of named places in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: Roda text, p.132 and Erudite text, p.133, although the two lists are not identical. See the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.136 for a summary of the conquests.

288: HISTORIA SILENSE, p.142: 'Is ab ipsis puerilibus annis iussione patris literarum studiis traditus, ubi adolevit, potius celeste quam terrenum sibi regnum affectavit.'

289: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.140-141.

290: For the date of the first Viking raid in 844 AD, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Primera Invasión Normanda', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.43-51. See the text in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.142-143 and the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.143.

291: Ordoño's reign in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.144-149 and in the HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.145-149.

292: See HISTORIA SILENSE, p.141: 'Qui profecto Adefonsus castus per LII annos castam, pudicam, sobriam ducens vitam, in bona senectute santissimum Deo reddidit spiritum era DCCCLXXXI.'

293: Fruela as the brother of Alfonso I, '.. fratre (suo) Froilane..', see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both texts), pp.132-133. For Fruela I as Alfonso I's son, 'Froila filius eius successit in regnum.', see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both texts), pp.134-135. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.172, says 'Froila frater eius rg. an. XI'.

294: See the NOMINA REGUM CATOLICORUM LEGIONENSIIUM (Roda list) for Alfonso I and Fruela I: 'Adefonsus gener Pelagii r.a.XVIII, m.I, d.II. Froila frater eius r. a. XII, m.VI, d.XX.'. The Albeldensis and Aemilianensis versions are simpler: 'Deinde Adefonsus gener Pelagi. Post illum frater eius Froila.'

295: On the achievements of Fruela, the brother of Alfonso I, and his association with the throne, see the HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.141-142: 'Igitur Froyla, Petri Cantabrorum patricii, ducis generosa proles, cum germano fratre adefonso catholico atque regni socio arma contra barbaros crebro arripens...' and '... omnes quoque Ysmaelitas gladio extinguens, eorumdem possessiones iuri christianorum mancipavit. Qui duodecimo regni sui anno, mensibus sex, diebus viginti peractis..'

296: For Vermudo's spiritual life and surrender of the crown, see HISTORIA SILENSE, p.142: '... pocius celeste quam terrenum sibi regnum affectavit.' and '... post trium annorum circulum, desiderata voto satisfaciens, deposito diademate, vice sua Adefonsum castum nepotem suum regem constituit.'

297: For the lost source as a 'continuation' of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III or as a separate source, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Anónimo Continuator de Alfonso III.', pp.217-223 in INVESTIGACIONES. He moved from the view, in 1942, that the 'continuation' in the time of Ordoño II was not unlikely ('El Anónimo Continuator..', p.220) to the opinion, in 1945, that the hypothesis was proved (p.1120 n.53 and p.1122 n.59 in 'La Sucesion al Trono en los Reinos de León y Castilla', repr. in VIEJOS Y NUEVOS ESTUDIOS SOBRE LAS INSTITUCIONES MEDIEVALES ESPANOLAS, [Madrid, 1976]). See Linehan, HISTORY, pp.130-131 and notes.

298: Incipit of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (Roda text), p.114: 'Incipit Cronica Uisegetorum a tempore Bambani regis usque nunc in tempore gloriosi Ordoni regis dive memorie Adefonsi regis filio collecta.'

Incipit of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (Erudite text), p.115: 'In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Xpi incipit cronica Uisegetorum a tempore Uambani regis usque nunc in tempore gloriosi Garseani regis dive memorie adefonsi filio collecta.'. The significance of these introductions will be discussed in the following chapter on the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III.

299: See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.44-45.

300: See HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.149-152.

301: 'Continuation' text in the HISTORIA SILENSE: marriage to Ximena, p.151, and on Zamora as place of Alfonso III's death, p.152.

302: Alfonso's age at accession: 13 in 'continuation' in HISTORIA SILENSE, p.148; 14 in the SAMPIRO (both versions), p.275; 18 in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176.

303: Alfonso III as the only son of Ordoño I: 'continuation' in HISTORIA SILENSE, p.148. Alfonso had three brothers: SAMPIRO, p.280, for Fruela, Vermudo and Odoarius. The evidence for the brothers' existence is unreliable: see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Los Hermanos de Alfonso III', ORIGENES, vol.III, who castigates the polar opposites of Barrau-Dihigo's 'hypercriticism' and the gullibility of Pérez de Urbel on the question of Alfonso's brothers, p.661, before sitting firmly on the fence. Floriano,

CRONOLOGIA, pp.274-278 and p.279, firmly rejects their existence.

304: 'Continuation' in the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.151, '..duxit uxorem.. nomine Xemenam.. ex qua sex filios et tres filias genuit.'. SAMPIRO, (Pelagian text), p.277: 'Uxorem.. accipiens nomine Xemenam, ex qua hos quatuor subscriptis filios genuit: Garseanum, Ordonium, Froilanum eciam et Gundisalvum qui archidiaconus ecclesie Ovetensis fuit.'. There is documentary evidence for these four sons, and one other, Ramiro, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II.

305: SAMPIRO, (both texts), p.277: '.. universam Galliam simul cum Pampiloniam, causa cognationis secum adsociat. uxorem ex illorum prosapia generis accipiens nomine Xemenam..'. The Silense version alone continues with the information that she was '.. consubrinam Caroli regis.'. For a discussion of the circumstances of Alfonso III's marriage to Ximena, see J.M Lacarra, 'Los relaciones Entre el Reino de Asturias y el Reino de Pamplona' in ESTUDIOS. For the location of 'Gallia Comata', see Lacarra, op.cit, pp.232-234; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre la Probable Localizacion de la Gallia Comata', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.651-654.

306: See HISTORIA SILENSE, pp 150-151: 'Inde victor (Alfonso III) in Campos Gotorum reversus, duxit ex regali Gotice gentis natione, nomine Xemenam,..'.

307: For the campaigns involving the youthful Alfonso, see HISTORIA SILENSE, p.150.

308: On the conspiracy of Count Fruela of Galicia and two Basque risings, see CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176; SAMPIRO (both texts), pp.226-227 and deposition conspiracy, pp.307-308.

309: For buildings and cross, see HISTORIA SILENSE, p.151-152.

310: The text indicates that this church of San Salvador was at Gauzon, rather than, as Pérez de Urbel (SAMPIRO, pp.356-357) has it, the cathedral-church of San Salvador at Oviedo. The three bishops are known from royal documents from the reign of Alfonso III, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II. These bishops were among the seven known to have consecrated Alfonso III's church of San Salvador in 893 AD. See the dedicatory inscription, Hübner, INSCRIPTIONES, no.262, p.84; Vigil, ASTURIAS, p.596 for text and Spanish translation.

311: For the moral and practical excellence of Alfonso III's youth, see HISTORIA SILENSE, p.149 and p.150. On the education of Fernando I's children, see SAMPIRO, p.184, which follows Einhard's Life of Charlemagne, XIX.

312: Omissions from the 'continuation' are, for example, the conspiracy and Basque risings, see no.308; no date is given except for the death of Alfonso III on 20 December 910 AD; general comments on Alfonso's youth and lack of significant detail on military campaigns; no indication of Alfonso III's success in expanding the kingdom or of his great raid into Lusitania.

313: Charters recording donations by Alfonso III to Sahagún in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, no.174, pp.293-295; no.181, pp.326-333. Sahagún was a leading monastery in the 12th century. For the history of the monastery, see R. de Escalona, HISTORIA DEL REAL MONASTERIO DE SAHAGUN (Madrid, 1782). The destruction of 883 AD is mentioned, without date, in DIPLOMATICA vol.II, no.181, which is dated to November 905 AD: '... baselica quam ab hismaelita hoste dinoscitur fuisse diruta..'. The first of the anonymous chronicles of Sahagun links Alfonso III with its restoration, see J. Puyol ed. pp.111-112, 'Cronicas Anónimas de Sahagun' in BRAH 76(1920). Alfonso III is also associated with the restoration of the monastery, which was carried out by Abbot Alfonso and his entourage from Muslim Spain, see doc. no.54 (donation of Ramiro II to Sahagun) pp.648-649 in J. Rodriguez Fernandez, RAMIRO II DE LEÓN (Madrid, 1972). On the Mozarabic church, see Gómez-Moreno, IGLESIAS, pp.202-206.

314: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.180 and charter of 905 AD, no.313.

315: SAMPIRO, (Pelagian text), pp.278-279.

316: The conclusion of the SAMPIRO (Silense text), pp.345-345, dealing with Vermudo II, gives an extended, if generalised, account of al-Mansur's campaigns.

317: In the HISTORIA SILENSE, p.153, García I (910-914 AD) has barely four lines. The next reign, of Ordoño II (914-924 AD), is dealt with at greater length, pp.153-159.

318: On Ordoño II, see SAMPIRO, pp.310-319. There is a substantial addition to the Pelagian text on Ordoño's building in Leon, pp.311-312. Account of Ordoño II in the HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.153-159.

319: SAMPIRO, p.310 and p.311.

320: Cooperation with Pamplona, SAMPIRO (both texts), pp.312-314 and 317. On Castilian counts, SAMPIRO (both texts), p.316. The Pelagian text adds that Ordoño ordered the counts to be killed.

321: Wives in SAMPIRO (Silense text); Elvira (p.315), Agaruntum (p.315), Sancha (p.317). The Pelagian text has Mummadonna (p.315) in place of Elvira, Aragontum (p.315) and Sancha (p.317). The Pelagian text is in error, see pp.28-33, E. Saez, 'Los Ascendientes de San Rosendo' in HISPANIA XXX (1970), pp.5-136.

322: Defeat, see SAMPIRO, pp.313-314.

323: HISTORIA SILENSE, p.155 for coronation and p.156 for building. On the anointing of Ordoño, see Linehan, HISTORY, pp.130-147. Of the three reports of royal anointing in the first 200 years of Spain's post-Visigothic history, two (Alfonso III and Ordoño II) are in the 'continuation' and the other, on Alfonso II, is in the Roda text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III.

324: See HISTORIA SILENSE, p.137 on Fruela I, on whom it says that '... LIIII millia Amorreorum interfecit..' and p.158 on

Ordoño II's victory at San Esteban de Gormaz '... omnes montes et colles silvas et agros exanimis Amorreorum artus tegebant.. '.

325: The first two expeditions against Muslims undertaken by Ordoño II are not otherwise known in Christian sources but are found in the anonymous CHRONICLE OF ABD AL-RAHMAN III, pp.132-133, in E. Levi-Provencal and E García Gómez, UNA CRÓNICA ANÓNIMA DE ABD AL-RAHMAN III AL-NASIR (Madrid-Granada, 1950). See discussion of Muslim sources in HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.26-32.

326: The other anointed king is Alfonso II in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.138.

327: Linehan, HISTORY, p.131.

328: For the edition and commentary ed. A. Ubieta Arteta CRÓNICA NAJERENSE (Valencia, 1966). See L. Vazquez de Parga, 'Sobre la Cronica Najerense' in HISPANIA, I (1941), pp.108-109. On its date of composition, see D. Lomax, 'La Fecha de la Crónica Najerense' in ANUARIO DE ESTUDIOS MEDIEVALES 9(1974-1979), pp.405-406.

329: Sources, see CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, pp.12-21.

330: For sons of Wittiza and Count Julian, see CRONICA NAJERENSE, pp.42,44,46,49. For sons of Wittiza, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.121-123. For Taric Strabo, see HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.128,132,135. For Count Julian, see HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.127,128,135.

331: Text in CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, pp.53-54. See Alfonso II, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.138-142. For Alfonso II, see CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174.

332: The CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, pp.59-64, first gives the 'continuation' text on Alfonso III to Ordoño II in the HISTORIA SILENSE. It then repeats, pp.64-82, SAMPIRO, using both versions.

333: The death of Fafila and election of Alfonso I in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.130-131: 'era DCCLXXVII' (739 AD). In the CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, the death of Fafila is dated to 'era DCCLXXVII', p.49, but it also places the death of Fafila and the accession of Alfonso I in 744 AD, p.50, 'Quo mortuo (Fafila), era DCCLXXVII.. '.

334: On Visigoths, see p.49, CRONICA NAJERENSE.

335: See chapter 3, section E:ANNALS for different versions of Gothic history.

336: See CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA for Visigothic rulers, the 'ORDO GENTIS GOTORUM', pp.166-171; for Asturian kings, the 'ORDO GOTORUM REGUM', pp.173-181. The 'ORDO GOTORUM OBETENSIIUM REGUM' title is given only in the Codex Albeldensis text, El Escorial ms. d.I.2.

337: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.122-123, 'Hic

requiescit Rudericus ultimus rex Gotorum.' The CRÓNICA NAJERENSE also has this, p.44. The CHRONICON EX HISTORIAE COMPOSTELLANAE CODICE, pp.81-82, '.. Roderico ultimo rege gothorum die V feria, hora VI, era DCCXLVIII interfecto..'

338: Text in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, pp.118-131 and discussion in pp.132-141. There are three versions, the eldest in the archive of Oviedo cathedral is probably a copy from the late 9th or early 10th centuries. Discussion of authenticity in P. Floriano Llorente, 'El Testamento de Alfonso II el Casto. (Estudio Paleografico y Diplomatico.)' in BIDEA no.86 (1975).

339: An alleged donation by Bishop Odoarius to the church of Lugo, dated 5 June 760 AD, says that the Asturian king Alfonso I '.. erat de stirpe Regis Recaredi et Ermegildi.' in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, no.8, pp.62-65. An alleged donation of Alfonso II to the church of Lugo, dated 27 March 832 AD, says that he was '.. Petri ducis filius, quod ex Recaredi regis Gothorum stirpe descendit.' in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, no.40, pp.185-188. The association of Alfonso III and Reccared is also made in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (Erudite text) which may have been used for other details e.g. Santa Cristina as the rebel Mahmud's stronghold.

340: See p.46 CRÓNICA NAJERENSE and no.337 above.

341: See p.49 in CRÓNICA NAJERENSE. Aurelius as brother of Alfonso I's brother, Fruela, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (Erudite text), p.137. The Roda text, p.136, makes him the 'confrater' of Fruela I.

342: Date of death, CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, p.59.

343: 'Die Vi Kalendas Iunias era DCCCCIIII' in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176.

344: Both Diego, who populated Burgos, and Roderick, who populated Amaya, are in the ANALES CASTELLANOS I, pp.77 and ANNALES COMPOSTELLANI in CRONICAS, p.61. Diego in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.178 and 180. See the CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, for Count Roderick's death in 873 AD, p.56, and Count Diego's death at 'Cornuta' in 885 AD, p.67. The CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, repeats the information on the conquests of Diego, p.67, and Roderick p.56, is repeated in its account of Ramiro II (930-950 AD) which it took from SAMPIRO (Pelagian text), p.327. On 'Grannos', see CRÓNICA NAJERENSE, p.67.

345: ANNALES COMPOSTELLANI, s.a. 899 in HUICI, p.60 and CHRONICON DE CARDENA, s.a. 899 AD in CRONICAS, p.373.

346: Lucas of Túy, CHRONICON MUNDI, ed. A Schottus, HISPANIA ILLUSTRATA, IV(FRANKFURT, 1608), pp.1-116. J. Puyol, CRÓNICA DE ESPAÑA. PRIMERA EDICION DEL TEXTO ROMANCEADO CONFORME A UN CODICE DE LA ACADEMIA.' (Madrid, 1926). Background to text, see B. Sanchez Alonso, HISTORIA DE LA HISTORIOGRAFÍA ESPAÑOLA, (Madrid, 1947), pp.129-134

347: Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada of Toledo, HISTORIA DE REBUS

HISPANIE SIVE HISTORICA GOTHICA, ed. J. Fernandez Valverde, CCCM 72 (Turnhout, 1987); HISTORIA ARABUM, ed. J. Lozano Sanchez (Seville, 1974). For a collected edition of his works, OPERA, ed. F. de Lorenzana (Madrid, 1793; repr. Valencia, 1968).

348: See Linehan, HISTORY, 'History and the Historians, I, II, III', pp.312-412.

349: See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.50-54.

350: Al-Razi was a late 8th/early 9th century historian whose work was used by other Muslim historians. The work of 'el Moro Rasis' survived as a Castilian version of a Portuguese translation and is included in the Chronicle of 1344. Text in CRONICA DEL MORO RASIS, ed. D. Catalan and M. Soledad de Andres, Fuentes Cronisticas de la Historia de Espana 3, (Madrid, 1975).

351: Examples of dates and genealogy, Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.53-54.

352: See J. Fernandez Valverde, p. XXXIX, op.cit, no.347.

353: J. Fontaine, 'Mozarabie..' and A.A. El-Hajji, ANDALUSIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE UMMAYAD PERIOD (A.H. 136-366/A.D. 755-976), AN HISTORICAL SURVEY (Beirut, 1970), 'Ch.II: Relations with the Franks.'

354: See R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, 'Wars with the Franks' pp.86-95 and 'The march to the Ebro' pp.168-182; idem, BASQUES, 'Ch.4: Gascony and Pamplona' pp.129-132; R. Wolff, 'L'Aquitaine et ses Marges', pp.269-306, I, PERSONLICHHEIT UND GESCHICHTE (ed. H. Beumann) in W. Braunsfels, ed., KARL DER GROSSE; LEBENSWERK UND NACHLEBEN, 5 vols. (Dusseldorf, 1965-8).

355: Text and commentary in Levison, ENGLAND, pp.314-323.

356: Text and commentary in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, pp.339-345; see also Fletcher, CATAPULT, pp.317-323.

357: Gregory of Tours reports the embassy sent by the Suevic king Chararic (550s AD) to obtain relics. They arrived in Galicia at the same time as another St. Martin, from Pannonia, who became bishop of Braga in 556 AD. See DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI ED., B. Krusch, MGH, SRM, 1,2, I, 11, p.596 and DECEM LIBRI HISTORIARUM ed., B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH, SRM, 1,1, V, 37, p.229. For a study of the cult of St. Martin in Spain and its links with Tours, see C. Garcia Rodriguez, EL CULTO DE LOS SANTOS (Madrid, 1966), discussion, pp.336-339 and references pp.443-444.

358: On the similar number of dedications in the dioceses of Orense and Tuy, see David, ETUDES, p.233.

359: See Gregory of Tours, DECEM LIBRI HISTORIARUM, VIII, 35 and J. Orlandis, 'Comunicaciones and Comercio entre la Espana Visigotica y la Francia Merovingia' in HISPANIA Y ZARAGOZA EN LA ANTIGUEDAD TARDIA (Zaragoza, 1984), pp.171-180.

360: See Barrau-Dihigo 'Recherches..', pp.150-157. Ibn al-Athir,

trans. Fagnan, for the attacks of 792 AD (pp.143-144), 794 AD (p.150), 795 AD (p.151-152); Ibn Idhari, trans. Fagnan, 792 AD (p.101), 795 AD (p.102-104).

361: Lutos defeat, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.138-139; CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174-175.

362: see Barrrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches...', pp.153-157; Ibn al-Athir, pp.151-152; Ibn Idhari, pp.102-104.

363: Text of the Anonymi VITA HLUDOWICI IMPERATORIS in the MGH SS II, pp.607-648 and R. Rau, QUELLEN ZUR KAROLINGISCHEN REICHSGESCHICHTE, I, (Darmstadt, 1974), pp.258-97; English translation, A. Cabaniss, SON OF CHARLEMAGNE (Sracuse, 1965). See F.L. Ganshof, 'L'Historiographie dans la Monarchie Franque sous les Mérovingiens et Carolingiens' in SETTIMANE DI STUDIO, XVII/2, (Spoleto, 1970), pp.631-685. The author, whose true name is unknown, has been called 'the Astronomer', as he was consulted by Louis about the appearance of Halley's comet in March-April 837 AD. See the LIFE OF LOUIS, c.8, MGH SS II, p.611: 'Sequente porro tempore Tholosam venit rex, et conventum generalem ibidem habuit. Adefonso Galleciarum principis missos, quos pro amicitia firmanda miserat cum donis, suscepit et pacifice remisit.'

364: In the LIFE OF LOUIS, after winter, Louis answered his father's summons to an assembly at Friemersheim where a general assembly was held, 799 AD (c.9). In the succeeding summer, Charles proceeded to Rome and received imperial insignia in Rome, Christmas Day, 800 AD, c.10.

365: LIFE OF LOUIS, c.6.

366: LIFE OF LOUIS, c.7.

367: On the ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS and revised form, see R. McKitterick, THE FRANKISH KINGDOMS UNDER THE CAROLINGIANS 751-987 (London, 1983), pp.4-6. Text in MGH SS RERUM GERMANICARUM, VI, ed. F.Kurze, pp.26-141 and Rau, QUELLEN, I, pp.10-155; English translation of ANNALS and revision in B.W. Scholz, CAROLINGIAN CHRONICLES (Ann Arbor, 1970).

368: Western continuation, to 882 AD, in the ANNALS OF ST.-BERTIN, text in F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clemencet (eds.) ANNALES DE SAINT BERTIN (Paris, 1964); English trans. and commentary, J. Nelson, THE ANNALS OF ST.-BERTIN (Manchester, 1991). Eastern continuation, to 887 AD and on to 901 AD, text in F. Kurze (ed.), MGH SS RERUM GERMANICARUM and Rau, QUELLEN, III; English trans. and commentary in T. Reuter, ANNALS OF FULDA (Manchester, 1992).

369: See McKitterick, pp.5-6.

370: See McKitterick, p.5. For the text, see F. Kurze, MGH SS RERUM GERMANICARUM, pp.27-141.

371: REVISED ANNALS, s.a. 797 AD.

372: ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS, Kurze, p.102: 'Venit etiam et legatus

Hadefonsi regis Gallecie et Asturiae nomine Froia papilionem mire pulchritudinis praesentens.'

373: C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'La Alianza con Carlomagno y sus Consecuencias Belicas' in ORIGENES, vol.II, 537-538.

374: See ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS, s.a.810 AD.

375: Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Alianza..', ORÍGENES, p.578.

376: ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS, s.a. 798 AD, Kurze, p.104: Hadefonsus rex Galleciae et Asturiae praedata Olisipona ultima Hispaniae civitate insignia victoriae suae loricas, mulas captivosque mauros domno regi (Caroli) per legatos suos Froiam et basiliscum hiemis tempore misit.'

REVISED ANNALS, s.a. 798 AD, Kurze, p.105: 'Post quorum absolutionum venerunt de Hispania legati hadefonai regis, Basiliscus et Froia, munera deferentes, quae ille de manubiis, quas victor apud Olisiponam civitatem a se expugnatam ceperat, rege (Carolo) mittere curavit. Mauros videlicet septem cum totidem mulis atque loriceis, quae, licet pro dono mitterentur, magis tamen insignis victoriae videbantur. Quos et benigne suscepit et remuneratos honorifice dimisit.'

377: For examples of embassies to and from Charlemagne's court and diplomatic practice, see the ANNALS in both forms.

378: See both forms of the ANNALS s.a.799AD.

379: Text of VITA CAROLI, O. Holder Egger (ed.), MGH SS RERUM GERMANICARUM and Rau, QUELLEN,I; English trans. L. Thorpe, EINHARD AND NOTKER THE STAMMERER, TWO LIVES OF CHARLEMAGNE (Harmondsworth, 1969).

380: ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS s.a. 806 AD; 'In Spain, however, the Navarrese and Pamplonans, who had defected to the Saracens in recent years, were received back into allegiance.'

381: See Collins, 'Rebellion in Pamplona', pp.123-132, in BASQUES.

382: See Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.255-259.

383: ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS, s.a. 823 AD: 'Two brothers, the kings of the Wilzi, named Milegast and Cealadrag, who quarreled with each other over their kingdom, appeared before the emperor at this assembly, among the other embassies of barbarians which had either been ordered to come or had appeared of their own accord.'

384: Jonas of Orleans, DE CULTU IMAGINUM, Migne PL 106, col.308.

385: See C. Sánchez-Albornoz. 'Basiliscus', ORÍGENES, vol.II, pp.757-760.

386: This was suggested in Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.159 and Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Basiliscus', pp.757-758. E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, p.176, suggested that he was

'Velasco the Basque' who was reported by Ibn Hayyan to have ruled Pamplona at the start of the 9th century. This was rejected by Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Basiliscus', p.758.

387: Anti-Adoptionist passage of the otherwise unknown Basiliscus quoted at length in a letter of Paulus Alvarus. Ep.IV, p.181 in vol.I, CSM.

388: Basiliscus was sent as representative to Charlemagne because of his Christological orthodoxy, R. d'Adadal i de Vinyals, BATALLA, pp.170-171.

389: For a short discussion of the complicated manoeuvres, Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, p.210-212.

390: For these events, see both versions of the ANNALS, s.a. 797 AD, Kurze, pp.100-101.

391: See P.Wolff, 'La Liberation de la Vieille Catalogne' in 'L'Aquitaine et ses Marges', pp.278-282. On the capture of Barcelona, see E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.178-185.

392: See Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, p.211; E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, p.179. The account of the mission is in the LIFE OF LOUIS, c.8, p.270 (Rau).

393: Obodrites used on campaign, ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS s.a. 789 AD, given land beyond the Elbe to protect Saxony, RFA s.a. 804 AD, when the Danes invaded the land of the Obodrites, Charles sent a force of Franks and Saxons to oppose them if they tried to attack the Saxon border, RFA 808 AD.

394: On the frontiers (THAGR); the Upper Frontier, including Aragon and Catalonia, centre at Zaragoza; the Middle Frontier, along the borders of Leon and Castile, centre at Medinaceli; the Lower Frontier, bordering Galicia and Portugal, centre at Toledo.

See E. Manzana Moreno, LA FRONTERA DE AL-ANDALUS EN ESPAÑA EN EPOCA DE LOS OMEYAS, Madrid, 1991.

395: LIFE OF LOUIS, c.13, p.274 (Rau): 'Obsessi interea intra urbem, Cordubam miserunt (Barcinonenses) auxiliumque poposcerunt. rex vero Sarracenorum protinus auxiliatum eis exercitum direxit. Venientibus porro his qui missi fuerant Caesaraugustam, latum est eis de exercitu in via sibi obviam constituto. Erat enim ibi Willelmus, primus signifer, Hademarus, et cum eis validum auxilium. Quod illi audientes, in Hasturias sese verterunt, clademque illis improvise importaverunt, sed multo graviorem reportaverunt.'. For Muslim references which present a victory, see Ibn Khaldun and al-Maqqari in Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.160 n.1. There is a geographical imprecision in Muslim sources which use Galicia for the western part of the Asturian kingdom and Alava or castile for the eastern part, e.g. Galicia is used to describe the location of Covadonga, see p. 40, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

396: On Muslim historiography in general, see R. Stephen Humphreys, ISLAMIC HISTORY, revised ed., (London, 1991).

pp.69-136.

397: See Sir H.A. Gibb, 'Islamic Biographical Literature', pp.54-58, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, HISTORIANS OF THE MIDDLE EAST (Oxford, 1962).

398: On the difficulty of handling Muslim historical writing, see Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.1-5. For a highly sceptical assessment of Muslim historical writing up to the 8th century, see M. Cook and P. Crone, HAGARISM; THE MAKING OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD (Cambridge, 1977); P. Crone, SLAVES ON HORSES: THE EVOLUTION OF THE ISLAMIC POLITY (Cambridge, 1980); P. Crone, MECCAN TRADE AND THE RISE OF ISLAM (Princeton, NJ, 1987).

399: On the line of transmission, see Humphreys, ISLAMIC HISTORY, pp.76-91.

400: On hadith, see Humphreys, ISLAMIC HISTORY, pp.21-23.

401: See summary in Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.146-149.

402: See Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Maqqari, HISTORY OF THE MUSLIM SPAIN, trans. P. de Gayangos, 2 vols. (London, 1940).

403: On Muslim historiography, see Ch. Pellat, 'The Origin and Development of Historiography in Muslim Spain' in B. Lewis and P. M.Holt, HISTORIANS, pp.118-125. There is a helpful survey of Muslim historical writing about Spain in Abdulwahid Dhanun Taha, THE MUSLIM CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN (London, 1989).

404: For a vivid, albeit dated, account, see W.H. Prescott, HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC (London, 1838).

405: See the survey of Spanish Muslim geographers and historians in F. Pons Boigues, LOS HISTORIADORES Y GEOGRAPHOS ARABIGO-ESPANOLES 800-1550 AD (Amsterdam, 1972).

406: See ed.and trans. by E. Lafuente y Alcántara, AJBAR MACHMUA; COLECCION DE TRADICIONES (Madrid, 1867).

407: See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.55-58.

408: See S. Goldman, 'Ibn Hayyan and His Place in Spanish-Moslem Historiography' in TRANSACTIONS OF THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY, 1934-1951.

409: For this dynasty of historians, see Ch. Pellat, 'The Origin and Development..', p.119. Ahmad ibn Muhammed al-Razi wrote the first general history of Spain from Roman times to his own day in the first half of the 10th century. A Portuguese translation was made for King Dinis of Portugal (1279-1325 AD). A Castilian version of the Portuguese text was included in the CRONICA DE 1344. See no.350 for the CRONICA DEL MORO RASIS.

410: Ibn al-Athir, KAMIL, trans. E. Fagnan in vol.I, ANNALES DU MAGHREB ET DE L'ESPAGNE, 2 vols. (Algiers, 1901-1904). Ibn Idhari, BAYAN AL-MUGRIB, trans. E. Fagnan in vol.II, ANNALES DU

MAGHREB ET DE L'ESPAGNE. For al-Maqqari, see no. 402.

411: See Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, HISTORIA ARABUM.

412: See CHRONICLE OF 741, vol.I, CSM, pp.7-14; CHRONICLE OF 754, ed. Lopez Perreira. See the assessment of Collins in ARAB CONQUEST, pp.52-65.

413: See biography of Ibn Hazm, pp.130-138 in F. Pons Boigues, HISTORIADORES.

414: See the sources for the reigns of Abd al-Rahman I (756-788 AD, Hisham I (788-796 AD) and al-Hakem (796-822 AD), see the bibliographies in Levi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, ch.II.

415: See J. Vernet, LA CULTURA HISPANO-ARABE EN ORIENTE Y OCCIDENTE (Barcelona, 1978), p.74.

416: See E. Lévi-Provencal and F. García Gomez, 'Textos del 'Muqtabis' de Ibn Hayyan sobre los Origenes del Reino de Pamplona' in AL-ANDALUS 14(1954), pp. 293-315.

417: See Collins, EARLY MODERN SPAIN, p.226.

418: See Barrau-Dihigo, pp.56-57. For Muslim sources on the conquest and the period of the governors, see Levi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, ch.I and ch.II; Dhanun Taha, CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT, pp.1-18. Collins argued strongly that the CHRONICLE OF 754, written by a Christian in al-Andalus, is the closest in time to the events it relates and should be given preference in interpreting events, see 'Problems of Evidence and Interpretation', pp.23-26, in ARAB CONQUEST.

419: On Galicia, see AJBAR MACHMUA, pp.27,30. For other mountainous areas which served as centres of resistance in northern Spain, see Ibn al-Athir, p.45, and Ibn Idhari, p.18, on Toledans who fled to Amaya at the foot of the cantabrian mountains and held out until the arrival of the Muslim general Musa in 714 AD. Other resistance centres in later traditions, esp. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada DE REBUS HISPANIE, IV, ch.1, p.114: 'Sarraceni enim totam hispaniam occupaverunt gentis Gothice fortitudine iam contrita nec alicubi resistente, excepte paucis reliquiis que in montanis Asturiarum, Biscagie, Alave, Guipuscue, Ruchonie et Aragonie remanserunt, quos ideo reservavit ne lucerna sanctorum in Hispaniis coram Domino extingueretur'.

420: On al-Maqqari, use of unnamed historians, HISTORY, vol.II, p.260; on use of Isa ibn Ahmed al-Razi, HISTORY, vol.II, pp.260-261; on the use of Ibn Hayyan, HISTORY, vol.I, p.34.

421: AJBAR MACHMUA, p.38. See C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Data de la Batalla de Covadonga', ORIGENES, vol.II, p.103.

422: See Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Data..', pp. 97-135.

423: See Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, p.82-83; Julia Montenegro and Arcadio del Castillo, 'En Torno a la Conflictiva Fecha de la Batalla de Covadonga' in ANALES DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE ALICANTE

424: Al-Maqqari, vol.II, p.261.

425: See Lévi-Provencal and García Gomez, 'Textos del Muqtabis..', pp.296-297.

426: Text in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both texts), pp.130-133. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Relato de las Campanas de Alfonso I', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.223-239.

427: On famine, civil war and revolt, see Collins, 'Arab versus Berber, Arab versus Arab', pp.96-113, in ARAB CONQUEST.

428: AJBAR MACHMUA, pp.48-49, 66-67.

429: See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', p.77.

430: On Lutos, see CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.174-175; CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both versions), pp.138-139. Of the Muslim sources only Ibn al-Athir, 150, mentions the defeat.

431: Al-Maqqari, vol.II, p.186.

432: See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.152-157 and Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.142-146.

433: On Guadacelete; al-Maqqari, vol.II, p.127; Ibn al-Athir, p.232; Ibn Idhari, vol.II, pp.154-155. See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.171-172 and n.3; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Jornada del Guadacelete', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.195-218.

434: On Morcuera; al-Maqqari, vol.II, p.127; Ibn al-Athir, p.242; Ibn Idhari, vol.II, pp.160-163. See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.181-186; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Campaña de la Morcuera', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.339-362.

435: See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.76-77.

436: For an explanation of the term, see Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.19-23. For a general survey of the Mozarab community and its evolution in Muslim Spain, see M. de Epalza, 'Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority in Islamic Al-Andalus' in THE LEGACY OF MUSLIM SPAIN, ed. S. Khadra Jayyusi, (Leiden, 1992), pp.149-170.

437: See R. Hitchcock, 'El Supuesto Mozarabismo Andaluz', in ACTAS DEL I CONGRESO DE HISTORIA DE ANDALUCIA, 1976, vol.I: ANDALUCIA MEDIEVAL (Cordoba, 1978), pp.149-151 and idem, 'Quienes Fueron los Verdaderos Mozarabes? UNA CONTRIBUCION A LA HISTORIA DEL MOZARABISMO' in NUEVA REVISTA DE FILOLOGIA HISPANICA, 30(1981), pp.575-585.

438: See Collins, p.206, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, for Ibn Haukal, an Arab geographer who visited Spain in 948 AD (Spanish translation of material relating to Spain, M.J. Romani Suayi, IBN HAWKAL: CONFIGURACION DEL MUNDO (Valencia, 1971), p.63. For a different view that the mass of the Hispano-Gothic population had embraced

Islam, J.M. Ruiz Asencio, 'Mozarabes' in DHEE, vol.III, p.1747 and M. de Epalza, MOZARABS, pp.157-160. On conversion, see R. Bulliet, 'CONVERSION TO ISLAM IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD; AN ESSAY IN QUANTITATIVE HISTORY' (Cambridge, Mass, 1979), esp. pp117-122.

439: See Colbert, MARTYRS for Mozarabic literature in general and for a detailed survey of writing on the mid 9th-century Cordoban voluntary martyr movement. This material is conveniently gathered in J.Gil, CORPUS SCRIPTORUM MUZARABICORUM, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1973).

440: See texts in Gil, CSM, vol.I, pp.143-361: Paulus Alvarus; ALBARI OPERA: Epistula, Indiculus Luminosus, Confessio, Vita Eulogii, Carmina; Gil, CSM, vol.II, pp.363-503: Eulogius; EULOGII OPERA: Memoriale Sanctorum, Documentum martyriale, Apolegeticus Martyrum, Epistula.

441: See no.412. For the chronicle as a continuation of the Chronicle of John of Biclaro, with which it has structural similarities and with which it is linked in the manuscript transmission, see Th. Mommsen in MGH AA XI, pp.323-330 and M.C. Diaz y Diaz, 'La Transmission Textual del Biclarense', in DE ISIDORO, pp.130-140. See also C.E. Dubler, 'Sobre la Cronica Arabigo-Byzantine de 741' in AL-ANDALUS 11(1946) pp.298-332.

442: Besides the use of the distinctive Spanish dating system, it also uses the regnal lengths of Visigothic kings, Byzantine emperors and Arab caliphs. It numbers the Byzantine emperors from Phocas (602-610 AD), as 56, to Leo III (717-741 AD), as 67.

443: See pp.13-14, CHRONICLE OF 741.

444: Text in J.E. López Perreira, CRONICA MOZÁRABE DE 754 (Zaragoza, 1980). See idem, ESTUDIO CRÍTICO SOBRE LA CRONICA MOZARABE DE 754 (Zaragoza, 1980) and Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.26-36 and 53-55.

445: CHRONICLE OF 754, pp.112,118.

446: CHRONICLE OF 754, p.103.

447: In the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, the Picos de Europa were perceived as being part of the Pyrenees, as, after Pelayo's victory at Covadonga and the flight of the Muslim governor Munnuza from Gijon, it is said that no Chaldaeans (i.e. Muslims) were left '..intra Pirinei portus..'. (Erudite text, p.131).

448: On Beatus, see above Ch.3, section C.1.

449: Hadrian I's letter to the bishops of Spain in MGH EPISTOLARUM III, EPISTOLAE MEROWINGICI ET KAROLINI AEVI I, ed. W. Gundlach, pp.636-644. Hadrian was concerned at reports that Elipandus and Ascaricus were preaching that Christ was the adoptive Son of God.

450: For the letter, see CSM, vol.I, pp.114-116.

451: Text and brief commentary in J. Vives, INSCRIPCIONES.

no.282, p.87.

452: Elipandus, Ep.III in CSM, vol.I, p.92.

453: Discussion of the embassies to Charlemagne, see Ch.3 Sect.H and nos.385-388.

454: See list of works in n.440. For the Cordoban martyrs, see Colbert, MARTYRS, 'Part II: Cordoba and its Martyrs in the Ninth Century. A Study of the Sources Concerning the Martyrs', esp. chapters VIII-XIV. There are less sympathetic accounts in N. Daniel, THE ARABS AND MEDIEVAL EUROPE (London 2nd ed., 1979), 'Ch.2: The Martyrs of Cordoba' and K.B. Wolf, CHRISTIAN MARTYRS IN MUSLIM SPAIN (Cambridge, 1988). For a helpful list of the martyrs 8925-864 AD, with relevant refs., see I. de las Cagigas, LOS MOZARABES, (Madrid, 1947).

455: For Sancho (d.851 AD), see 'De Sanctio Martyre' in MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, Book II in CSM, vol.II, p.402, and Eulogius Ep.III, CSM, vol.II, pp.502-503. On 'Gallia Comata', see Lacarra, 'Los Relaciones Entre el Reino de Asturias..', pp.233-234 and Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre la Probable Localizacion de la Gallia Comata', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.651-654. For George, born in Bethlehem and a monk in the monastery of St. Sabbas outside Jerusalem, see 'De sanctis Martyribus Aurelio, Felice, Georgio, Sabigothone et Liliaosa' in MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, Book II in CSM, vol.II, pp.416-430. On Serviodeus, a eunuch who had come from 'eastern regions' overseas as a pilgrim, see 'De Rogelio et Serviodeo' in MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, Book II, pp.432-433

456: On Felix, a martyr in 852 AD, see 'Gesta Anastasii, Felicis et Dignae Martyrum' in MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, Book III, p.445: '.. Felix monachus ex oppido Complutensi progenitus, natione Gaetulus et quadam occasione in Asturias devolutus, ubi et fidem catholicam et religionem monasticam didicit, eodem die ac professione decicus affligitur.'

457: The term 'Gaetulus' was used by Isidore of Seville, ETYMOLOGIES, IX, 2, 15. He also makes an intriguing association, IX, 2, 118, of the Gaetuli with Getae, linked with the Goths, who sailed to Libya. From this, he declared a relationship between the Goths and the Moors (Mauri) on North Africa. The term 'Gaetulus' is used only once in 9th-century Asturian sources, in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, '.. Getulorum ostes..'. Term used in both versions of SAMPIRO, p.280.

458: The Codex of Roda is now held in the library of the BRAH, Ms. 78. It was held in the archive of Roda Cathedral, Aragon, at the end of the 17th century. In the 18th century it was in the hands of Don Manuel Abad y Lasierra, Prior of Santa Maria de Meya. In the 19th century it passed into private hands. Its rediscovery was announced in 1928 by Z. Garcia Villada. For discoveru and detailed analysis of the content, see Z. Garcia Villada, 'El Codice de Roda Recuperado' in REVISTA DE FILOLOGIA ESPANOLA, 15(1928), pp.113-130. For texts on Navarre, see J.M. Lacarra, TEXTOS NAVARROS DEL CODICE DE RODA (Zaragoza, 1945)

459: On dating the Codex, see Lacarra, TEXTOS NAVARROS, pp.6-8.

- 460: See Z. Garcia Villada, 'El Codice..', p.115.
- 461: Text in Codex, f.194v.
- 462: Text of DE PANPILONA in f.231r: Garcia Sanchez 'Obiit era millesima VIII, VIII kalendas martias. Obiit Ranimirus nepus eius.'
- 463: Text in Codex f.231v.
- 464: Marginal note to text in Codex f.186v, 'In era Ta XXX Cesaris (992 AD) habet Mahomat quod predicavit anni CCCLXXXII.'
- 465: J. M. Lacarra, 'El Codice es Navarro' in TEXTOS NAVARROS, pp.8-10.
- 466: Text in Codex f.191r-192v.
- 467: DE PAMPILONA, f.231r (Lacarra, TEXTOS NAVARROS, p.65); INITIUM REGNUM PAMPILONEM, f.231r (TEXTOS NAVARROS, pp69-70); Obituary list of Pamplonan bishops, f.231v (TEXTOS NAVARROS, pp.73-74).
- 468: Text of DE LAUDE PAMPILONA EPISTOLA, f.190r. and v (TEXTOS NAVARROS, pp.78-80).
- 469: See Collins, BASQUES, pp.67-69.
- 470: Text in f.232 r. and v. Text and Spanish trans. in Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, 'Canto vascon a una Princesa Asturiana Que Fue a Casar a Pamplona', pp.343-357, and in Lacarra, TEXTOS NAVARROS: VERSI LEODEGUNDIA REGINA, pp.82-85.
- 471: Flutes and lyres: 'Dum lira reclangit tibia resonat Pampilonae civibus melos dantes suabiter recitantes in concentu laudent Leodegundiam.', Lacarra, lines 25-27.
- 472: See H. Angles, LA MUSICA ESPAÑOLA DESDE LA EDAD MEDIA HASTA NUESTROS DIAS (Barcelona, 1941), p.31.
- 473: See A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, p.146. Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, p.343, assumed that the author was a Basque. On Eulogius, see E. Lambert, 'Le Voyage de Saint Euloge Dans les Pyrenees en 848' in ESTUDIOS DEDICADOS A MENENDEZ PIDAL, IV, (Madrid, 1953) pp.557-567.
- 474: On Leodegundia's beauty: 'Ad exillarandam faciem decoram preparentur famuli infundentes poculo ambroseum sucum braci ut letetur affatim.', lines 49-51. On learning: 'Ornata moribus eloquiis claram eruditam litteris sacrisque misteriiis conlaudetur cantus suabi imneferis vocibus.', lines 7-10. On royal ancestry: 'Ex genere claro semine regali talis decet urique nasci proles optima que paternum genus ornat maternumque sublimat.', lines 4-6. On Leodegundia as queen, see title and text: '..regalis poculus preparatur ut regina potum suauem glutiat.', lines 47-48.
- On royalty: 'Obtentur amici ac sodales optimi conuibique regii

resedeant pariter', lines 52-53; 'Regalis dum cibus rite preparatur', line 55; '..deprecatur Dominum pro salute principium..', line 59; '.. placatum possideas regnum tibi traditum..', line 74. (Line references to the edition in TEXTOS NAVARROS.).

475: On food, lines 55-60: 'Regalis dum cibus rite preparatur signo Christi omnia consecrata fercula inquiratur more pio cuncti semper pauperes.

Dum pauper refectus cibus principiantis deprecatur Dominum pro salute principium tunc Redemptor aure pia invocantes adiubat.

476: Prayer for the safety of the kingdom, lines 73-76: 'Feliciter vivas et Christo placeas placatum possideas regnum tibi traditum nullus hostis ac adversus contra te victoriet.'

477: On the identity, see A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.145-146; Lacarra, 'Las Relaciones Entre el Reino de Asturias..', pp.234-235 and idem, TEXTOS NAVARROS, p.81; J. Perez de Urbel, 'Lo Viejo y Lo Nuevo Sobre el Origen del Reino de Pamplona' in AL-ANDALUS, 19(1954), pp.31-32; C. Sánchez-Albornoz took the traditional association as certain in 'Oviedo y Pamplona', ORÍGENES, vol.III, p.626 n.2. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.292 n.3, rejected the identification of Leodegundia as the daughter of Ordonio I but gave no reasons. Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, p.344, rejected the destructive hypercriticism of Barrau-Dihigo. Relying on the arguments of H. Florez, MEMORIAS DE LAS REINAS CATOLICAS DE ESPAÑA, HISTORIA GENEALOGIA DE LA CASA REAL DE CASTILLA Y DE LEON, vol.I, (2 vols. Madrid, 1761. Repr. Madrid, 1951) p.68, Floriano, CRONOLOGIA, p.278, rejected the identification. The acrostic for the wedding hymn reads LEODEGUNDIA PULCRA ORDONII FILIA. She is identified in the 2nd line of the text as 'magnam Leodegundiam Ordonii filiam', and as being 'Ex genere claro semine regali', line 4.

478: Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Oviedo y Pamplona', p.626 n.2.

479: Note to Ms. A. I, 13 of El Escorial, f.186v.: 'O vos omnes qui legeritis hunc codicem mementote clientula et exigua Leodegundie, qui hunc scripsi in monasterio Bobatelle regnante Adefonso principe in era DCCCCL.'. Identification accepted by A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, p.481 and Z. García Villada, 'El Codice Recuperado', p.129. It was rejected by Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.292, n.3; M. Gomez-Moreno, 'Primeras cronicas..', p.596; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Oneco y Leodegundia', ORÍGENES, vol.III, p.679, n.18. Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, p.344, n.8, maintained the possibility of the educated Leodegundia, a childless widow, retiring to a convent where she copied manuscripts. Leodegundia's note is of significance for dating the death of Alfonso III although its date is rejected in favour of the traditional 910 AD by Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.276-281 and by Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Dramatico Final del Reinado', ORÍGENES, vol.III, p.954, although he attributed the 912 AD date to Barrau-Dihigo.

480: See Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, p.346.

481: See Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, p.145: 'Para robustecer

mas esta especie de Santa Liga tenian concertado ambos soberanos otro matrimonio, que se celebrou al mismo tiempo: el de la infanta Leodegundia, hermana del rey de Oviedo, con Sancho Garces, hijo del de Pamplona.'.

482: See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre la Fecha da la Boda de Alfonso III', ORÍGENES, vol.III, pp.658-659 and A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, p.143.

483: Alfonso's age at accession, HISTORIA SILENSE, pp.149,150; Alfonso's age, CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176.

484: Collins, BASQUES, pp.134-145; Lacarra, 'Las Relaciones entre el Reino de Asturias..', pp.235-240; Levi-Provencal and A. Garcia Gallo, 'Textos Ineditos..'; Perez de Urbel, 'Lo Viejo y lo Nuevo..'

485: For Fortun Garces as Leodegundia's husband, see F. Valls y Taberner, 'Discursos Llegits en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras' (Barcelona, 1920), p.16.

486: Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Oviedo y Pamplona', pp.625-630: 'Sabemos en verdad tan poco de esa etapa de la historia Navarra que no sere yo quien se atreva a lanzar sino vacilantes y problematicas conjeturas.'

487: A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, p.145.

488: See Pérez de Urbel, 'Lo Viejo y lo Nuevo..', p.32 and Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Oviedo y Pamplona', pp.628-630.

489: See in general, Lacarra, 'Las Relacione Entre el Reino Asturiano..'

490: Text in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: Roda text, p.134, 'Vascones revelantes superavit huxoremque Muninam nomine exinde adduxit, unde et filiam Adefonsum genuit.'; Erudite text, p.135, 'Munniam quandam adulescentulam ex Vasconum preda sibi servari precipiens postea eam in regali coniugio copulabit, ex qua filium Adefonsum suscepit.'

491: Text in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: Roda text, p.138, 'Quo fugiens Adefonsus Alabam petiit propinquisque matris sue se contulit.'; Alfonso II '... a regno deiectus apud propinquos matris sue in Alabam conmoratus,'.

492: Text in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: Roda text, p.142, 'Eo tempore abs:ens erat a propria sede et in Varduliensem provintiam fuerat advectus ad accipiendam huxorem.'; Erudite text, p.143, '... sed tunc temporis absens erat in Barduliensem provinciam ad accipiendum uxorem..'. Ramiro reigned from 842-850 AD. He was succeeded by his son Ordono I (850-866 AD) who as evidently a man of mature age. It is clear that the bride from Bardulia was not his first wife. The name Paterna is known from the inscription on an altar, dedicated on 23 June 848 AD AD, in the church of Santa Maria de Naranco; see Hubner, INSCRIPTIONES, no.483, p.113, Vigil, ASTURIAS, vol.I, p.219

493: Texts on Ordoño I in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.175-176 and CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both versions), pp.144-149. Text on Alfonso III in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176-178.

494: The marriage was reported in SAMPIRO, (both versions) p.277, and SILENSE, pp.150-151. Ximena appears in many charters, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II., and on the dedications of the crosses of Santiago (874 AD) and Victory (908 AD), see H. Schlunk, 'The Crosses of Oviedo. A Contribution to the History of Jewelry in Northern Spain in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries' in THE ART BULLETIN, no.XXXII(1950), pp.100 and 102. The Inigo and Ximeno families that ruled in Pamplona seem to have belonged to a single dynastic stock. It is difficult to decide to which branch Ximena belonged. A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.143-145, and Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Dona Jimena', ORIGENES, vol.III, p.639, see Ximena as the daughter of García Iñiguez, king of Pamplona (Inigo clan) while Lacarra, 'Las Relaciones Entre el Reino Asturiano..', p.233, saw her as the daughter of Sancho Garcés I (Ximeno clan).

495: H. Flórez, REINAS CATOLICAS, vol.I, p.68.

496: Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.292 n.3; Floriano, CRONOLOGIA, p.278.

CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL WRITING IN THE 9TH-CENTURY ASTURIAN KINGDOM

1: The individual elements of the cycle will be discussed below. For an excellent survey of the material and its historical content, see Juan Ignacio Ruíz de la Peña, 'La Cultura Literaria y la Renacimiento Historiografico' in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.26-42.

2: Alfonso III is described as 'scientia clarus' in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.178. Elsewhere in the chronicle, similar phrases are used for Augustine of Hippo ('.. doctrinae scientia claruit. '), p.163; Fulgentius of Ruspe ('.. doctrina scientia claruit. '), p.164; Martin of Braga ('.. catholicae fidei clarus..'), p.1164. Isidore of Seville in the HISTORIA SUEVORUM, p.302, MGH AA II used similar phrases for Martin of Braga, '.. Martino monasterii episcopo fide et scientia claro.. '.

3: See G. Menéndez Pidal, 'Mozárabes y Asturianos en la Cultura de la Edad Media' in BRAH, 134(1954), p.165. For the list of books which well may have been part of the collection owned by Eulogius of Cordoba, see the INVENTARIUM LIBRORUM in vol.II, CSM, pp.707-708. See the discussion of books in M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Circulation des Manuscrits...', pp.24-227. For books mentioned in Asturian documents from the time of Alfonso III, see Floriano, vol.II, pp.699-703; C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Notas Sobre los Libros leidos en el Reino de Leon hace Mil Anos.' in CUADERNOS DE HISTORIA DE ESPANA, 1/2(1944), pp.222-238.

4: For Díaz y Díaz, the signs were a word square containing the phrase 'Adefonsi principis librum' and the Cross of Oviedo, see 'La Circulation des Manuscrits..', pp.384-387.

5: Morales, VIAGE SANTO, p.93. He declared that there were more 'libros Gothicos' in the cathedral archive of Oviedo than in all the rest of Leon, Galicia and the Asturias.

6: There are 17th and 18th century copies of the Codex Aemilianensis but they offer nothing of value. On the manuscripts and their history, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES (FIN IX SIECLE) (Paris, 1987), pp.XXIX-XXXI; J.Gil, 'La Cronica Albeldense; I. La Transmission Textual', pp.81-88, in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS.

7: EPITOME OVETENSIS A. DCCCLXXXIII, in MGH AA XI, CHRON. MIN. II, pp.370-375.

8: B. Sanchez Alonso, 'La Cronica Albeldense' in HISTORIA DE LA HISTORIOGRAFIA ESPANOLA, (Madrid, 1947), pp.108-110. On providentialism, see Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp.30-32.

9: On content and sources, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES (FIN IX SIECLE), pp.LVII-LIX; J. Gil, 'La Cronica Albeldense; II. Contenido y Fuentes', pp.88-104 in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS; M. Gomez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Cronicas..', pp.568-570.

10: See text of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA in Gil, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS: INCIPIIT ORDO ROMANORUM REGUM, pp.158-166, IDEM ORDO GENTIS GOTORUM, pp.166-171, ITEM ORDO GOTORUM (OBETENSIUM) REGUM, pp.173-181.

11: The section in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA on Alfonso II actually ends with what was the epitaph for Alfonso II. (See Hubner, INSCRIPTIONES, no.480, p.112 and Vigil, ASTURIAS, p.8.) It is preceded by, 'Sicque de regno terrae ad regnum transiit caeli.', p.175, CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA. The eulogy of Alfonso III (p.178, CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA) ends with, '.. ut post longum principalis imperium de regno terre ad regnum transeat celi.Amen.'. The transition from the earthly to the heavenly kingdom reflects the formulation of canon 75 of IV Toledo (633 AD): '.. et post presentis regni gloriam ad aeternum regnum transeat.', Vives, CONCILIOS, p.221. On 'amen', see CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.178. In Gil's edition of the Chronicle, the list of bishops is relocated to p.158.

12: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.100-101. Repetition begins, 'Parboque precedenti tempore sub era DCCCXVI (or DCCCCXV in the Codex Aemilianensis and related texts)', p.177, and looks back to events described on pp.176-177. On continuation, see M.C. Diaz y Diaz, 'La Historiografia Hispana Hasta el Ano 1000' in DE ISIDORO, pp.218-219 and notes.

13: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.180.

14: Idem, p.181.

15: Idem, p.181: 'Supra dictus quoque Ababdella legatos pro pace et gratia regis nostri sepius dirigere non desinit, sed aduc perfectum erit quod Domino placuerit.'.

- 16: Idem, p.173. Analysis of structure in Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.13-181.
- 17: Idem, pp.173-174 for the kings to Alfonso II.
- 18: Idem. pp.174-175 for the reign of Alfonso II.
- 19: Idem, pp.175-176 for Ramiro I and Ordono I.
- 20: Idem, pp.178-181 for continuations.
- 21: Idem, p.178 for Ordono II: '.. rex (Alfonso III) filium suum Ordonium ad creandum dederat..'
- 22: Gomez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Cronicas..', p.570.
- 23: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp,85-87.
- 24: Idem, p.176 on Monte Laturce: '..regemque eius nimium potentissimum nomine Muz in monte Laturzo in insidiis inventum et exercitum illius gladio defectum, ipso Muz iaculo vulneratum ab amico codam e nostro verum cognoscitur fuisse salbatum et in tutiora loca amici equo esse sublatum.'
- 25: The monastery at Monte Laturce, with abbots (Adica and Habibi) whose names have a Mozarabic ring, is known from a document of 950 AD, Yepes, CORONICA, vol.V, p.94. The earliest known documentary reference dates from 924 AD, the foundation charter of the monastery of Albelda (M. Risco, E.S. 33, app.XI, pp.465-468.), some 3/4 of a century after the battle in which Musa was wounded, 859 AD.
- 26: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.75: 'Qui cuncta pace egit in pace quievit. Bissena quibus haec altaria sancta fundataque vigeent, hic tumultus iacet.'. See no.11.
- 27: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.158 for the list of bishops.
- 28: Idem for the use of 'Lamencense' in the list of bishops. Gil changes this to 'Lamecense' but noted the form 'Lamencense' occurred in the codices he used: 'Brandericus quoque locum Lamecense.'. The form 'Lamecense' was used elsewhere in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.177, '.. Lamecensis a Xpianis populantur'.
- 29: A. Blazquez, 'La Cronica de Alfonso III' in LA CIUDAD DE DIOS, 143(1925), PP.96-112 and 'A Proposito de la Crónica de Alfonso III' in LA CIUDAD DE DIOS, 145(1926), pp.362-386.
- 30: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Autor de la Cronica Llamada de Albeldense', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.775-786.
- 31: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173: '.. iste (Pelagius) primum contra eis sumsit revellionem in Asturias, regnante Iuzep in Cordoba..'
- 32: Idem, p.174: 'Super Ismahelitas victorias plures gessit. Getulorumque ostes unam infra Asturias in locum Lutis et aliam in

Gallicie provintiam in locum Anceo prelio superavit.'.

33: Idem, p.174 on Silo (774-783 AD): 'Cun Spaniis ob causam matris pacem habuit.'. This explanation for peace is mysterious. It was probably due more to the internal difficulties of the Ummayyad emirate under Abd al-Rahman I (756-788 AD), see Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.107-117. On Fruela I (757-768 AD), CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174.

34: Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.14-15.

35: On the dates of death:

	CHRON. ALFONSO III (Roda+Erudite)	CHRON. ALBELDA.
AURELIUS:	6 years, died in 7th,(pp.136-7).	7 years.p.174
SILO:	9 years, died in 10th,(pp.136-7).	9 years.p.174
MAUREGATUS:	6 years,(pp.138-139).	5 years.p.174
ALFONSO II:	52 years,(pp.142-141).	51 years.p.174

36: For a full list in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, with a small number of differences between the Chronicle's two principal versions, pp.132-133. For an abbreviated list, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173.

37: For this information in general, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.173—176. The specific dates for the deaths of Ramiro I and Ordoño I are the only two of such precision in the Chronicle up to 866 AD. All kings have their regnal length. Some (Pelayo, Fruela I, Alfonso II) have an era date for the year of their death.

38: Idem, p.173, for the account of Pelayo and Covadonga: '.. et Astorum regnum divina providentia exoritur.'.

39: Idem, p.174, for the building work of Alfonso II. This church is included in the account of the building work in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III (both texts), pp.138-141. The significance of the omission will be considered below in the analysis of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III.

40: On the Basque rising at the start of Ordoño I's reign, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, (both versions), pp.144,147. On the conquests, see idem, pp.148-149. On the capture of Talamanca and the release of its king, see CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175.

41: Idem, p.173, 'Sicque ex tunc reddita est libertas populo Xpiano. Tunc etiam qui remanserunt gladio de ipsa oste sarracenorum in Libana monte ruente iudicio Dei opprimuntur et Astorum regnum divina providentia exoritur.'.

42: Idem, p.174, '.. omnemque Gotorum ordinem, sicuti Toletu fuerat, tam in ecclesia quam Palatio in Ouetao cuncta statuit.'. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Restauración del Orden Gótico en el Palacio y en la Iglesia.', ORÍGENES, vol.II, pp.623-649.

43: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173: 'Iste (Pelagius), ut supra diximus, a Uittizane rege de Toletu expulsus Asturias ingressus.'.

44: Idem, p.171: '... Fafilanem ducem Pelagii patrem, quem Egica rex illuc direxerat, quadam occasione uxoris fuste in capite percussit, une post ad mortem pervenit. Et dum idem Uittaza regnum patris accepit, Pelagius filium Fafilanis, qui postea Sarracenis cum Astures revellavit, ob causam patris quam prediximus, ab hurbe regia expulit.'

45: Text of Codex Aemilianensis and Liber Complutensis in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.166: 'Tunc Sarraceni Spania obtenta regnum Gotorum exterminatur. Finit.'. Marginal note in Codex Albeldensis in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.166: 'Tunc Sarrazeni Spaniam possederunt et regnum Gotorum era DCCLII.'

46: Idem, p.171: '... Sarraceni evocati Spanias occupant regnumque Gotorum capiunt, quem aduc usque ex parte pertinaciter possedunt. Et cum eis Xpiani die noctuque bella iniunt et cotidie confligunt.'

47: Idem, p.171, in the Codex Aemilianensis and Liber Complutensis: '... sed eis (Muslims) ex toto Spaniam auferre non possunt.'

48: Idem, p.171, in the Codex Albeldensis: '... dum predestinatio usque divina dehinc eos expelli crudeliter iubeat.'

49: See texts of Codex Regiovaticanus 667 in Migne PL 83, cols.1115-1118. Codex Coenobii Moissiacensis in Ch. Devic and J. Vaissete in HISTOIRE GENERALE DE LANGUEDOC II, PREUVES (Toulouse, 1879-1892). Discussion in Barbero and Vigil, LA FORMACION DEL FEUDALISMO, pp.240-244. See Georges Martin, 'La Chute du Royaume Visigothique d'Espagne dans l'Historiographie Chrétienne des VIII et IX Siecles: Semiologie Socio-Historique' in CAHIERS DE LINGUISTIQUE HISPANIQUE MEDIEVALE, 9(1984), pp.207-243.

50: Text in LANGUEDOC II PREUVES, col.1118: '... et cum Christianis die noctuque bella ineunt, et quotidie confligunt, dum praedestinatio usque divina dehinc eos expelli crudeltier vibeat. Reges Gothorum defecerunt.'

51: See no.49 and CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.171: 'Reges Gotorum defecerunt. Sunt sub uno anni CCCXIIII. Alarico regnante ab era CCCC I ingressi sunt Goti in Italiam. Post huius annos reges Goti Galliam ingressi sunt. Post septem annos Goti Hispaniam migraverunt. In era DCCLXV (Moiss.)/D.IX.LXV.(Regiovat.) regnavit Carolus Francorum rex et patricius Rome.'. This kind of calculation on the length of the Visigothic kingdom follows Isidore of Seville (HISTORIA GOTHORUM, p.293), 256 years from the accession of Athanaric to the 5th year of Suinthila; the CHRONICLE OF 754, p.69, the Visigothic kingdom existed almost 350 years from its foundation in era 400; CHRONICON COMPLUTENSE (Huici, p.52), the Visigoths entered Spain in era 356 and dominated it for 383 years; CHRONICON COMPOSTELLANUM (Huici,p.52), the Visigoths began to rule in era 400 up to era 747, although this is said to be 352 years and 4 months; CHRONICON CONIMBRICENSE I (E.S. XXIII, p.329), the Visigoths reached Spain in era 366 and ruled Spain for 383 years. Cf. ANNALES PORTUGALENSES VETERES.

52: List of kings in the Codex Rotensis, f.193v, col.b to f.194r, col.a. For other laterculi, see Z. García Villada, 'Notas Sobre la Cronica de Alfonso III' in REVISTA DE FILOGIA, 8(1921), p.265.

53: There are problems with the date. In the Codex Coenobii Moissiacensis, it is given as DCCLXV (727 AD) which would be more appropriate to the time of Charles Martel (d.741 AD). The Codex Regiovaticanus gives a garbled D.IX.LXV, which looks to be a garbled version of the DCCLXV given above.

54: See the ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS s. a. 801: 'Et post laudes ab apostolico more antiquorum principium adoratus est atque ablato patricii nomine imperator et augustus est appellatus.', p.74, Rau.

55: See ANNALES DE ANIANE in Devic and Vaissete in LANGUEDOC II PREUVES, cols.1-12. CHRONICON MOISSIACENSE in MGH SS I, pp.280-313. See A. Barbero and M. Vigil, LA FORMACION, pp.213-216 and 240-244; G. Martin, 'La Chute..', p.212 n.18. For doubts on the significance of the references to Charlemagne, see CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.98-99

56: For the endings of the 'Ordo Romanorum', see n.45 and for the endings of the 'Ordo Gentis Gotorum', see nn.46 and 47.

57: Gomez-Moreno, 'Primeras Cronicas..', pp.575-582.

58: For the 'Prophetic Chronicle' as a separate element from the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, see Bonnaz; CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES: for an analysis of the manuscripts and transmission, see pp.XXXVII-XL, and discussion of the text, see p.XXXVII; for the text, see pp.1-9. (There is a helpful table indicating the various elements associated with the 'Prophetic Chronicle, see p.XXXVII.) For the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA in Bonnaz, see pp.XXIX-XXXI for manuscript tradition, pp.LVII-LIX for discussion of content, pp.10-30 for the text itself. For J.Gil's edition of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, see pp.81-88 for an analysis of manuscripts, their transmission and sources; for the text, see pp.153-188.

59: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.185.

60: Idem, pp.181-182.

61: Text omitted from the edition of Gil. Text in Bonnaz, pp.4-6, 'Prophetic Chronicle'.

62: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.182-183.

63: Idem, p.183 on date of invasion: '.. Sarraceni sunt ingressi anno regni Ruderici III die III Idus Novembris era DCCLII, regnante in Africa Ulith Amir Almauminin filio de Abdelmelic, anno Arabum centesimo.'

64: Idem, p.183: '.. ingressus est primum Abuzubra (in Codex Rotensis; other manuscripts, Abuzuhura) in Spania sub Muzza duce in Africa commanente et Maurorum patrias defecante. Alio anno

ingressus Tarik.'.

65: CHRONICLE OF 754, p.68: 'Nam adgregata copia exercitus adversus Arabas una cum Maurois a Muze missos, id est Taric Abuzara et ceteros..'. For a recent assessment, which relies on the CHRONICLE OF 754, see Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.26-36. The CHRONICLE OF 754 indicates a series of Muslim raids on Spain before Roderick's defeat. See the version of the Muslim invasion in E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.12-24.

66: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.183: 'De rege quoque idem Ruderico nulli causa interitus eius cognita manet usque in presentem diem.'.

67: Idem, p.183: 'Urbs quoque Toletana cunctarumque gentium victrix Ismaeliticis triumphis victa subcumbuit eisque subiecta deseruit.'. This sentiment echoes Isidore of Seville, HISTORIA GOTHORUM, p.273: 'Urbs (Roma) cunctarum gentium victrix Gothicis triumphis victa subcumbuit eisque capta subiugataque servivit.'. It is also repeated in the Roda text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.122: 'Urbs quoque Toletana, cunctarum gentium victrix, Ismaeliticis triumphis victa subcumbuit et eis subiugata deseruit.'.

68: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.183. This text is found only in the Codex Rotensis.

69: This is the suggested amendment of Bonnaz, p.66 n.1.

70: CHRONICLE OF 754, p.20: 'Sicque non solum ulteriorem Spaniam, sed etiam et citeriorem usque ultra Caesaraugustam antiquissimam ac florentissimam civitatem dudum iam iudicio Dei patenter apertam gladio fame et captivitate depopulat.'.

71: Bonnaz, p.66 and pp.139-140, for the conquest and surrender.

72: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.183-185. For a helpful comparative chart, listing variants in the length of office for governors and emirs, see Bonnaz, pp.LXI-LXIII.

73: The LIFE OF MOHAMMED is also known from the writings of Eulogius of Cordoba, LIBER APOLOGETICUS MARTYRUM, CSM, vol.II, pp.483-486, in which he argued that the martyrs of Cordoba in the 9th century were comparable to those of the early Christian Church. He included the LIFE OF MOHAMMED which he had found among the manuscripts of the monastery of Leyre, near Pamplona. See discussion and translation in Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.333-338. See D. Millet Gérard, CHRÉTIENS MOZARABES ET CULTURE ISLAMIQUE DANS L'ESPAGNE DES VIII-IX SIÈCLES (Paris, 1984), pp.126-127 on anti-Muslim polemic. For links with the Eastern Church's anti-Muslim tracts, see M. Th. d'Alverny, 'La Connaissance de l'Islam en Occident.', SETTIMANE DI STUDIO DEL CENTRO ITALIANO DI STUDI SULL'ALTO MEDIOEVO (Spoleto, 1965), vol.II, p.588-589.

74: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.182-183, and on the expulsion of the Muslims, p.188.

75: Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.LXI-LXIII.

76: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.183: '... omnis decor Gotice gentis pabore vel ferro periit. Quia non fuit in illis pro suis delictis digna penitentia, et quid derelinquerunt precepta Domini et sacrorum canonum instituta, dereliquit illos Dominus ne possiderent desiderabilem terram. Et qui semper dextera Domini adiuti hostiles impetus devincebant tellasque bellorum prostrabant, iudicio Dei a paucis superati pene ad nicilum sunt redacti, ex quibus multiucusque dinoscuntur manere humiliati.'

77: Idem, pp.186-187. On the prophecy, see A. Barbero and M. Vigil, LA FORMACION, pp.246-249. The extension of the prophecy by a century in the Codex Albeldensis had the merit of breathing fresh life into an otherwise dead prediction after 884 AD, the date when Muslim rule would be ended. While Beatus anticipated the Last Judgement at the end of the 6th Age of the world in 800 AD, after that date the end of the world was revised upwards to 900 AD, see J.Gil, 'De Fine Mundi', pp.170-173, in 'Textos Olvidados del Codice de Roda.' in HABIS no.2(1971).

78: The term Ismaelites (or Ishamaelites, as the descendants of Ishmael) is used in Asturian sources (the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA and CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III) for Muslims.

79: The 'Cronica Gotorum', in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.186, appears to be the HISTORIA GOTHORUM of Isidore of Seville. A further reference to a 'Cronica Gotorum', in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.187, to the anointing of Wittiza as king is taken from the list of Visigothic kings known as the LATERCULUS REGUM WISIGOTHORUM, MGH LEGES I, ed. Zeumer, p.461. The LIBER GENERATIONUM, named in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.186, is more commonly known as the LIBER GENERATIONIS. It is one element in the CALENDAR OF 354, also known as the CHRONOGRAPHER OF 354, an almanac drawn up from Christian and pagan documents, text in MGH AA IX,1, pp.78-141. See M.R. Salzman, ON ROMAN TIME: THE CODEX-CALENDAR OF 354 (Berkeley, California, 1990). The LIBER GENERATIONIS deals with the origins of the various peoples of the world.

80: The Codex Rotensis text of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.188, ends: 'Et quantum peficit Xpi nominis dignitas, tantum inimicorum tabescit ludibriosa calamitas.' The sentence is repeated in the Roda text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.130. The Aemilianensis and Albeldensis texts omit this, noting: '(annis) de quo in Spaniam ingressi sunt, inimici ad nicilum redigantur et pax Christi Ecclesiae Sanctae reddatur. Quia tempora pro annis ponuntur. Quodprestat omnipotens Deus ut inimicorum crebro deficiente audacia in melius semper concreseat Ecclesiae.' Text in Bonnaz, p.3 and critical notes in the 'Prophetic Chronicle'.

81: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.188.

82: Text in Bonnaz, p.2 and critical notes to the 'Prophetic Chronicle: '.. in era CCXLVIII egressi sunt Goti de regione sua et pevenerunt in Spania per annos XVIII. Era CCXVI ingressi sunt in Spania. Dominaberunt Spania a. CCCLXXXIII. Era DCCLIII expulsi sunt de regno. De Iafet nati sunt Goti et Mauri. De Cam nati sunt Filistim et Nebroth qui prius gigans fuit; post dillubium ipse

edificavit civitatem Babiloniam et ipse exclusit Assur filius Sem de terra Senar. Tunc fugiens Assur edificavit Ninive et Boot civitates. De stirpe Sem natus est Abraham et semen eius.'. The era dates, 249 and 261, for the Visigoths in the above passage are commonly given elsewhere as 349 and 366, e.g. LATERCULUS REGUM OVETENSIUM and ANNALES PORTUGALENSES VETERES (See P. David, ETUDES, pp.290-312 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, INVESTIGACIONES, pp.124-132.). The genealogy is taken from Isidore of Seville, ETYMOLOGIES, IX, 2, 26-27 on the origins of peoples; on the origins of the Goths, see ETYMOLOGIES, XIV, 3,14 and HISTORIA GOTHORUM, p.268.

83: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.187-188.

84: Idem, p.188: 'Quod etiam ipsi Sarazeni quosdam prodigiis signis interitum suum adpropinquare predicunt et Gotorum regnum restaurari per hunc nostrum principem dicunt; etiam et multorum Xpianorum revelationibus atque ostensionibus hic princeps noster gloriosus domnus Adefonsus proximiori tempore in omni Spania predicetur regnaturus. Sicque protegente divina clementia inimicorum terminus quoddidie defecit et ecclesia Domini in maius et melius crescit.'

85: H. Wolfram, 'Biblical and Classical Names for the Goths', pp.28-29, in HISTORY OF THE GOTHS, trans. T.J. Dunlap, revised 2nd edition (Berkeley, 1988).

86: Idem, p.28: Jerome 'probably invented the identification of the Goths as Getae, which made its way via Orosius and many authors of the 5th century to Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville.'

87: Idem, p.28; Augustine of Hippo, CITY OF GOD, Book XX, Ch.12.

88: O.J. Maenchen-Helfen, THE WORLD OF THE HUNS (Berkeley, 1973), pp.2-9.

89: Idem, p.4; Quodvultdeus, LIBER DE PROMISSIONIBUS ET PRAEDICATIONIBUS, Migne, PL 51, col.858.

90: HISTORIA GOTHORUM, pp.268, 293; DEDICATIO HISTORIARUM ISIDORI AD SISENANDUM, p.304; ETYMOLOGIES, IX,2, 27 and 89; XIV,3, 31.

91: Isidore of Seville, HISTORY OF THE GOTHS, p.293: 'Gothi de Magog Iafeth filio orti cum Scythus una probantur origine sati, unde nec longe a vocabulo discrepabant. Demutata enim ac detracta littera Getae quasi Scythae sunt nuncupati.'

92: On the association of the Massagetae and the Getae, see Isidore of Seville, ETYMOLOGIES, IX,2,63, 'Massagetae ex Scytharum origine sunt. Et dicti Massagetae quasi graves, id est fortes Getae'.

93: See Isidore of Seville, ETYMOLOGIES, IX,2,118. Typically, Isidore also provides an alternative line of descent with the Getuli taking their name from Hevila, a great-grandson of Noah, through his son Ham, Etymologies, IX,2,13-17. On the belief that the Goths and the Mauri were related, see Etymologies, IX,2,15

and above n.457.

94: Eulogius, MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, III, in CSM, vol.II, p.445.

95: Musa, leader of the Banu Kasi, was identified as '.. natione Gothus', CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.146-147. In Madrid BN Ms. 9880, 18th c., he is described as ' Gotus alias getulus..'.

96: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.174-175, '.. Getulorumque ostes..'.

97: See SAMPIRO, Silense text, p.280.

98:Mauri, e.g in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176. On Maurus as general term, see , e.g., Einhard, LIFE OF CHARLEMAGNE. Muslim prisoners are called Mauri, e.g. Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, pp.355 and 359.

99: See above n.82.

100: Isidore of Seville, ETYMOLOGIES, IX,2,6-7: 'Ismael filius Abraham a quo Ismaelitae, qui nunc corrupto nomine Saraceni, quasi a Sarra et Agareni ab Agar.'. See the Arab genealogy 'Item Sarracenorum Ita Est', CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.181, 'Sarraceni perberse se putant esse ex Sarra; verius Agareni ab Agar et Smaelite ab Smael filio Abraam et Agar.'.

101: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.186, '.. et filius Libie peries tu et omnis agmina tua in gladio eius.'.

102: Idem, p.186: 'Et quia Gotorum gens ex Magog venit adfirmat Cronica idem Gotorum, quum dicit 'Gotorum antiquissimam esse gentem, quorum origo a Magog filio Iaphet dscendit, unde et nominatur a similitudine ultimo sillave, id est, Gog, et magis, de Ezekielo propheta id colligentes.'.. Cf. ETYMOLOGIES, IX,2,89 and HISTORY OF THE GOTHs, pp.268,293.

103: Text in MGH AA IX,1, pp.78-141.

104: ETYMOLOGIES, IX,2,26-27: 'Filii igitur Iaphet septem nominantur .. Magog, a quo arbitrantur Scythos et Gothos traxisse originem.' and XIV,3,31: 'Scythos sicut et Gothia a Magog filio Iaphet fertur cognominata.'.

105: On the lunar cycle of 19 years and the solar cycle of 28 years, see A. Cordolani, 'Les Textes et Figures du Comput de l'Antiphonaire de Leon', ARCHIVOS LEONESES, 15(1954), p.258ff.

106: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.185. There is a useful comparative table of regnal lengths/periods in office for Muslim emirs and governors in Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.LXI-LXIII.

107: CHRONICLE OF 754, p.130: 'Sed ideo a maioribus inter utrasque editiones, que nunc renotari longe sunt, nativitas Salvatoris nostri in VCC anno adnumeratur, ut et plenitudo temporis per generationes et regna deducti plenius demonstretur, et per perfectum decoritatis plenissimum numerum omnibus

recolendus dies ille simul cum perfecta annorum VCC serie apertius etiam parvipendentibus insinuetur.'.

108: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.183.

109: idem, p.171; CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.122.

110: Muslim sources: Ajbar Machmua, p.21; al-Maqqari, vol.1, p.274, the battle with Roderick lasted from Sunday 19 July to Sunday 26 July; Ibn al-Athir, p.42, for Tariq's landing, 23 April 711 AD.

111: Gold coins were struck by Musa at Toledo (712/713-714 AD, 93,94,95 AH). See M.A. Balaguer Prunes, LAS EMISIONES TRANSICIONALES ARABE-MUSULMANAS DE HISPANIA (Barcelona, 1976). See H. Lavoix, CATALOGUE DES MONNAIES MUSULMANES DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, II, Espagne et Afrique, pp.XIV-XVI.

112: CHRONICLE OF 754, p.68: '.. Rudericus tumultuose regnum ortante senatu invadit. Regnat anno uno.' On the problems of regnal lists, see R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.29-30.

113: The earliest Asturian sources date the fall of the Gothic kingdom to 711 AD, see LATERCULUS REGUM OVETENSIUM in P. David, ÉTUDES, pp.290-312; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Una Cronica Perdida..', ORÍGENES, vol.II, pp.733-735; Testament of 812 AD, Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, p.120.

114: The Codex Albeldensis gives the period before the fulfilment of the prophecy as being 270 years. Text in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.186-187.

115: The other major sources (Codex Aemilianensis and Codex Albeldensis) give a figure of 169 years. Neither matches the actual total of the figures given in the text; the Codex Aemilianensis has 175 years 10 months, the Codex Albeldensis has 168 years 10 months. See the comparative table in Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXI, n.5.

116: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.188: 'Remanent usque ad diem sancti Martini III Idus Novembris m.VII et erant completi anni CLXVIII et incipievit annus centesimus septuagesimus. Que dum Sarraceni conplerint secundum predictum Ezecielis prophete superius adnotatum expectavitur ultio inimicorum advenire et salus Xpianorum adesse.'. According to Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Dulcidio', ORÍGENES, vol.III, p.733 n.18, 11 November was the date Tariq entered Toledo. Sánchez-Albornoz, idem, e.g. p.733, where he repeatedly states the prophecy was written in April 884 AD, a year later than was the case.

117: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.180-181, for 883 AD.

118: See above n.113.

119: There are three forms of the document, two of which are associated with the 12th-century collections of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo; the 12th-century Liber Testamentorum and BN Ms. 1513. The oldest version of the testament is a single document of nine

sides of parchment. This is probably a copy from the 9th century or 10th century, at the latest. Text and discussion in Floriano, *DIPLOMATICA*, vol.I, n.24, pp.119-141; P. Floriano Llorente, 'El Testamento de Alfonso II el casto (Estudios Palaeografico y Diplomatico)', *BIDEA* 86(1975), pp.593-617; F.J. Fernandez Conde, *EL LIBRO*, pp.118-125.

120: Date of 714 AD in *CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA*, p.166 (marginal note in *Codex Albeldensis*), p.171; *CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III*, 'B' text, p.122.

121: For the two versions, see above n.49: *Codex Coenobii Moissiacensis* and the *Codex Regio Vaticanus* 667.

122: Achila II: Known in two armed raids which omit the name of Roderick, Zeumer, *MGH Leges I*, Praef. pp.XXI-XXII and p.461. For coins of Achila II, see G.C. Miles, *THE COINAGE OF THE VISIGOTHS OF SPAIN: LEOVIGILD TO ACHILA II* (New York, 1952), pp.444-461.

123: See *INDICULUS LUMINOSUS*, *CSM*, vol.I, pp.294-295 and commentary in Colbert, *MARTYRS*, pp.286-288. Paulus Alvarus set a prophecy of Daniel to Mohammed, whose followers will rule for a time, times and a time and a half (Dn. 7,25). Alvarus explains that a 'time' for Jews was 70 years. This gives a calculation of $3 \frac{1}{2} \times 70$ years and a total of 245 years for Muslim rule. For Alvarus, the 245 years would end in 870 AD, but he gave no indication how this would happen, although there is no reason to take 625 AD as the start of the Muslim era. (This does not agree with the chronology for Mohammed followed by the *CHRONICLE OF 754* or given by Eologius in his life of the prophet Mohammed given in the *APOLEGETICUS MARTYUM*, *CSM*, vol.II, p.483.) Alvarus sensibly hedged his bets by acknowledging that he knew that little about prophecy. There could be several interpretations of a prophecy with one prophecy referring to several times or several prophecies to one time. He further deflected criticism by declaring that if his view of prophecy were viewed sympathetically it would prove valid and could not be attacked by those hostile to him. See also J. Gil, 'Judios y Cristianos en Hispania (s.VIII y IX)', *HISPANIA SACRA*, 31(1978-9).

124: On the prophecies, see Gil, *idem*, pp.32-50. On Eleazar, *idem*, pp.24-32; Colbert *MARTYRS* pp.24-32. On the correspondence between Paulus Alvarus and Eleazar, see *CSM*, vol.I; four letters from Alvarus (Epp.XIV,XVI,XVIII,XX), three from Eleazar (Epp.XV,XVII,XIX).

125: See J.Gil 'Presagios Apocalipticos Entre los Musulmanes' in 'Judios y Cristianos..'

126: See F.J. Simonet *HISTORIA DE LOS MOZARABES* (Amsterdam, 1967), pp.365,555.

127: See A.A. El-Hajji, *ANDALUSIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE UMMAYAD PERIOD*, pp.110-111 and E. Levi-Provencal, *HISTOIRE*, vol.I, pp.300-306, 368-380 and *idem*, for the biography of Umar ibn Hafsun in the *ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM*, vol.III, pp.1049-1050.

128: For the prophecy in the city of Tahart in modern Algeria, see J. Mansfield Nichols, THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF aL-ANDALUS BY IBN AL-QUTIYA THE CORDOBAN: TRANSLATION AND STUDY. PhD diss. University of North Carolina, 1975, pp.203-205.

129: AJBAR MACHMUA, p.134.

130: See R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, ELS PRIMERS COMTES CATALANS (Barcelona, 1958), Ch. V,VII,X. R. Collins, 'Charles the Bald and Wifred the Hairy' in CHARLES THE BALD: COURT AND KINGDOM, eds. M. Gibson and J. Nelson, 2nd rev. edition (London, 1990). For the period 852-912 AD, see E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, 'Ch.IV. L'Emirat Hispano-Umayyade de 852 a 912.'; J. Gil, 'Al-Andalus en Rebeldia, pp.74-77, in 'Judios y Cristianos..'

131: The failure of the prophecy may have undermined royal prestige and encouraged rebellion: J. Gil, idem, 'Sediciones en Asturias', pp.77-78; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Rebeliones en Galicia', ORÍGENES, vol.III, pp.861-884.

132: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.187.

133: F. Codera, 'La Campana de Gormaz en el Año 364 de la Hegira, BRAH, 14(1889) pp. 223-263; J.F. O'Callaghan, 'A History of Medieval Spain', (Ithaca, 1975), p.126.

134: J.F. O'Callaghan, idem, 'The Dictatorship of Almanzor', pp.126-130. See the biography of al-Mansur by E. Levi-Provencal in the ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM, vol.III, pp.269-272.

135: For links with the writing of Eulogius and Paulus Alvarus, see Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXIII. For the use of prophets by Mozarabic writers, see Eulogius, APOLOGETICUS MARTYRUM, p.484, CSM. vol.II and MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, p.384, vol.II; Paulus Alvarus, INDICULUS LUMINOSUS, pp.293-294, CSM, vol.I.

136: See R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.218-220; J. Fontaine, 'Mozarabie Hispanique et Monde Carolingien' in ANUARIO DE ESTUDIOS MEDIEVALES, 1983, on 3 waves of emigration at the end of the 8th century, in the second half of the 9th century and the start of the 10th century, at the end of the 10th century and the start of the 11th century; F.J. Simonet, HISTORIA DE LOS MOZARABES.

137: See M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas..', p.588.

138: Examples in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, on the lament for the fall of Toledo, p.122, or Roderick's palace in Córdoba, p.120. (The palace of Roderick is mentioned by al-Maqqari, vol.I, pp.208-209.)

CHAPTER 5: THE CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: CONTENT AND FORM

1: Hostility against Wittiza, CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both versions, pp.118-120. On buildings, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, esp.'A' text, p.145.

2: On the sources and style of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, see

Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.LXV-LXXV; J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.76-80; J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK ALFONS'III. UNTERSUCHUNG UND KRITISCHE EDITION DER VIER REDAKTIONEN (Frankfurt, 1980), pp.CXLIII-CLXIII.

3: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.124-128.

4: NOMINA REGUM CATOLICORUM LEGIONENSIIUM, 'B' text, in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.172, has Fruela I as the brother of Alfonso I rather than his son. See Ch.3. Sect.F on Asturian regnal lists.

5: See above Ch.3. Sect.G on the HISTORIA SILENSE and the CHRONICLE OF SAMPIRO.

6: The information on the marriage is given in the account of Pelayo's reign in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.130: 'Filiam pelagii nomen Ermesinda in coniugio accepit.'. This is omitted from the 'A' text. The information is given in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, where Pelayo's daughter is called Bermesinda.

7: Silo (774-783 AD): CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.136: 'Hic post regni annis VIIII propria morte migravit e seculo era DCCCXXI (783 AD)'. The 'A' text has 'A'; 'Reg. an. VIIII et decimo vitam finibit era DCCCXXI.'.

8: See 'B' text only, p.122: Date of Muslim invasion. 'III Idus Novembris era DCCLII'; date of Alfonso's anointing as king, p.138, 'Hunctus est in regno predictus rex magnus Adefonsus XVIII Kalendas Octobris era quo supra (DcccXXVIIII).

9: See above n.7 for the regnal length and end of the reign for Silo. The start of his reign gives the reason for his accession and indicates is legitimacy as king. CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.137: 'post Aurelii finem Silo successit in regnum, eo quod Adosindam Adefonsi principis filiam sortitus esset coniugem.'; the 'B' text, p.136: 'Post cuius obitum (Aurelius), Silo adefonsi nomine Adosindam in coniugio accepit, pro qua re etiam adeptus est regnum.'. Some kings are presented as usurpers; Ervig (680-687 AD), both texts, pp.118-119, Mauregatus (783-788 AD), both texts, pp.138-139.

10: On councils: Wamba, 'B' text only, p.118; Ervig, 'B' text only, p.118; Egica, both texts of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.118-119.

11: Wittiza was criticised in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.118-121.

12: The 'B' text only, p.134, reports the end of the Wittizan abuses.

13: Both versions of the Chronicle sum up Pelayo's success, pp.130-131: 'Tunc populatur patria, restauratur ecclesia et omnes in comune gratias referunt Deo..'

14: Duke Peter of Cantabria, CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-131. the 'A' text associates him with the

Visigothic kings, Leovigild and Reccared. On Counts Scipio and Sonna, see both texts, pp.142-143.

15: A Bishop Oppa is named in the account of Covadonga in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173. The disagreement between the two versions of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III over Oppa's metropolitan see is troubling. The CHRONICLE OF 754, p.70, carries more weight in making Oppa the brother, rather than the son, of Wittiza, although not a cleric: 'Muza .. Toletus .. inrumpendo adiacentes regiones pace fraudifica male diuerberans nonullos seniores nobiles uiros, qui utquaque remanserant, per Oppam filium Egiche regis a Toletis fugam arripientes gladio patibuli iugulat et per eius occasionem cunctos ense detruncat.' (See R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.27-28 n.17, on changes to the text which make Oppa a villain.) No Oppa appears among the bishops of Toledo. There is an Oppa in a list of the bishops of Seville, Ms.d.I.1, f.360v. in CSM, vol.I, pp.XVI n.10-XVII. He is third in line to a Faustinus who is also known from the subscriptions to the acta of XVII Toledo in 693 AD, Vives, CONCILIOS, p.518. This would suggest a date in the first half of the 7th century for Oppa as bishop. In his History, Ibn al-Qutiya, pp. 3-9, identified the three sons of Wittiza (Olmund, Romulus and Ardabast). Olmund is said to have left a daughter, Sara the Goth, from whom Ibn al-Qutiya traced his descent) who had two young sons. One of these, unnamed, is described as 'metropolitan of Seville', while the other, Oppas, is said to have died 'in Galicia.'. The resemblance and difference to the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, are intriguing. Could it be that the author of the 'B' text who appears to have had a Mozarabic background, was reporting an existing tradition? R. Collins takes a rigorously rejectionist approach to the tales of the 'sons of Wittiza', ARAB CONQUEST, pp.33-34.

16: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: 'A' text, p.139; 'Sponte regnum dimisit reminiscens ordinem sibi olim impositum diaconii.'.; 'B' text, p.138, 'Exponte regnum dimisit ob causam quod diaconus fuit.' The information on his rank of deacon is not given in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174. under Visigothic canon law, this would have been an effective legal bar to his accession, as canon 17 of VI Toledo (638 AD) had specifically excluded anyone from the throne who had received the tonsure and the religious habit, see J. Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.244-245. The case of Vermudo I (788-791 AD) is an echo of the curious fate of Wamba who, after recovering from a seemingly terminal illness which had led to the imposition of holy orders, was debarred from resuming the throne. See canon 2, XII Toledo (681 AD) in Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.387-388. See F. X. Murphy, 'Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain.' in SPECULUM, 27(1952), pp.1-27. Cf. the Visigothic king Tulga (639-642 AD) was deposed by Chindasuinth (642-653 AD) and tonsured and relegated to a monastery.

17: J.E. Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp.30-32.

18: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.114-115 for the bee. The bee episode is in Julian of Toledo, HISTORIA WAMBAE, p.220.

19: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-135. The

angelic choir sings an antiphon for the office of Holy Week, 'Ecce quomodo tollitur iustus et nemo percipit corde, a facie iniquitatis sublatus est iustus; erit in pace sepultura eius'. It is inspired by a passage of Isaiah 57,1. For a heavenly choir over the body of Hermenegild, see Gregory the Great, DIALOGUES, XXX, 31. In the DIALOGUES Gregory presented Hermenegild as a Catholic martyr who suffered at the hands of his Arian father, Leovigild. John of Biclaro, a Spanish contemporary in the late 6th century, was simply a rebel against royal authority. See R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.45-49, on Leovigild and Hermenegild. For Spanish attitudes to Hermenegild, see P. Linehan, HISTORY, pp.1-3.

20: On the battle at Covadonga, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.124-131. The battle at Covadonga came to be associated with a miraculous appearance by the Virgin Mary, PRIMERA CRONICA GENERAL DE ESPAÑA, p.568, vol.II, ed. R. Méndez Pidal, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1955). The cult of the Virgin Mary had been important in the Visigothic period and continued to be so under the Asturian kings. e.g. churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Oviedo by Alfonso II, CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.138-139, and at Santa Maria de Naranco by Ramiro I, both texts, pp.144-145). See the list of churches in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, pp.577-578, vol.II, pp.709-710.

21: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.128-129.

22: Idem, both texts, pp.128-129 on the Red Sea miracle: 'B' text, p.128: 'Non istut inannem aut fabulosum putetis, sed recordamini ..'. 'A' text, p.129: 'Non istud miraculum inane aut fabulosum putetis sed recordamini ..'. On Alfonso I and the choir of angels, 'B' text, p.132: 'Nec hoc miraculum silebo quod verius factum esse cognosco.'. This phrase was used, pp.146-147, to introduce the account of Musa of the Banu Kasi. This is the point at which the two versions share a single text. The 'A' text, p.133, has, 'Nec hoc stupendum miraculum pretermittendum est, quod hora discessionis eius certissime actum est.'.

23: The Gil edition of the text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III will be used in this study.

24: Early editions: Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, HISTORIA DE IDACIO .. ISIDORO .. SAMPIRO .. PELAGIO ..' (Pamplona, 1615 and Pamplona, 1634, 2nd ed.). H. Flórez, CHRONICON SEBASTIANI in ESPAÑA SAGRADA, 13 (Madrid, 1756), pp.475-489. Both men used the 'Erudite' or 'A' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III.

25: On editions, L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Chronique d'Alphonse III' (Roda text) in Revue Hispanique, 63(1910), pp.235-264; A. Huici, 'Chronicon Sebastiani' in LAS CRONICAS LATINAS DE LA RECONQUISTA, vol.I, (Valencia, 1911), pp.196-239; M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas de la Reconquista; el Ciclo de Alfonso III', BRAH, 100(1932), pp.609-621; Z. García-Villada, CRÓNICA DE ALFONSO III (Madrid, 1918); A. Ubieto Arteta, CRÓNICA DE ALFONSO III (Valencia, 1961); J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK ALFONS'III. UNTERSUCHUNG UND KRITISCHE EDITION DER VIER REDAKTIONEN. (Frankfurt, 1980), (very useful for the 'C' and 'D' texts.); J.Gil, J.L. Moralejo, J.I. Ruíz de la Peña, CRÓNICAS

ASTURIANAS (Oviedo, 1985); Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES (FIN IXe SIECLES). EDITION CRITIQUE, TRADUCTION ET COMMENTAIRE (Paris, 1987).

26: See R.G. Wright, 'Textos Asturianos de los Siglos IX y X: Latin Barbaro o Romance Escrito?' FUEYES DIXEBRAES DE LLETRES ASTURIANES. BOLETÍN OFICIAL DE L'ACADEMIA DE LA LINGUA ASTURIANA 41(1991), pp.21-34.

27: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Récherches sur l'Histoire Politique du Royaume Asturien (718-910)' in REVUE HISPANIQUE, 52(1921), pp.1-357 and 'Remarques sur la Chronique d'Alphonse III' in REVUE HISPANIQUE 46(1919), pp.364-381; M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas de la Reconquista: el Ciclo de Alfonso III' in BRAH 100(1932) pp.581-594; R. Méndez Pidal, 'La Historiografía Medieval Sobre Alfonso II' in ESTUDIOS SOBRE LA MONARQUÍA ASTURIANA (Oviedo, 1949), pp.3-36; A. Ubieto Arteta, 'La Redacción 'Rotense' de la Crónica de Alfonso III', HISPANIA 22(1962), pp.3-22 and 'La Redacción 'Ovetense' de la Crónica de Alfonso III' in SYMPOSIUM SOBRE CULTURA ASTURIANA DE LA ALTA EDAD MEDIA (Oviedo, 1964-1967), pp.365-369. See introductions to the editions of Bonnaz, Gil and Prelog.

28: Z. García Villada, CRÓNICA DE ALFONSO III (Madrid, 1918).

29: On the principal manuscripts, see J. Gil, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.215-254; J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.XII-XVIII.

30: See J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.54-60; J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.XIX-XXII.

31: J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.XXII-XXV; Z. García Villada, CRONICA, pp.133-137, 'Tercera Redaccion Interpolada.'

32: BN Ms. 1346 has 2 indices. The index on f.115r gives the content of a 'Liber Vetustissimus ovetensis Ecclesiae'. This only corresponds in part to the actual content of Ms. 1346. The index on f.2 of Ms. 1346 gives an accurate summary of its content. It refers to the 'Liber Vetustus Bibliothecae Complutense'. A marginal note by Ambrosio de Morales on f.96 says, 'Esto se traslado del libro antiguo de la libreria de Alcala de Henares y se comprobo muy bien con el original y lo que se traslado son las 16 hojas siguiente.'. The index on f.2 then notes material which is taken 'Ex vetusto Batriensi cui concordat Ovetense vetus.'. This corresponds to material from f.112 onwards, which has the comment that the following texts were taken from a book owned by Garcilaso de la Vega, 'Estas historias de Espana como aqui se siguen continuadas las hice trasladar de un libro que tiene en Batres Garcilaso de la Vega entre los libros de Hernan Perez de Guzman, su abuelo. Es muy antiguo en el pergamino y letra y en todo lo demas.'. The Book of Batres is now BN Ms. 1513. For a full description of BN Ms.1346 and BN Ms.1513, G. Cirot, DE CODICIBUS ALIQUOT AD HISTORIAM HISPANIAE ANTIQUAE PERTINENTIBUS OLIMQUE AB AMBROSIO DE MORALES ADHIBITIS. Bibliothecae Latinae medii Aevii, Fasc.II. (Bordeaux, 1924).

33: See the full description of BN Ms.1358 and BN Ms.2805 in G. Cirot, op.cit., Ch.II.

- 34: See Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.XXV; Z. Garcia Villada, CRONICA, pp.19-20.
- 35: Bishop Pelayo's 'A' text, copied in 'C', reports the burial of seven royal predecessors at Cangas de Onis or Pravia which had served as the kingdom's capital before Oviedo. On the connection between the royal capital and royal burial place in the context of rivalry between Oviedo and Toledo in the 12th century, see Linehan, op.cit, p.97 and esp. pp.98-100.
- 36: For the versions of the Division of Wamba and its place in 12th century, see L. Vázquez de Parga, LA DIVISION DE WAMBA (Madrid, 1943). For the text of the DIVISION in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, see pp.111-115. This information matches the DIVISION OF WAMBA given in the LIBER ITACII which was copied by Morales 'ex vetustissimo Ovetensi' at the start of BN Ms.1346, ff.7-11. Text published in Vázquez de Parga, op.cit, pp.97-103. On the Vandal foundation in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, see Vazquez de Parga, op.cit. p.114. The Liber Chronicorum has an addition to Isidore of Seville's HISTORY OF THE VANDALS, making the association of Guntamund and the foundation of Lucus Asturum. The foundation by Guntamund is also mentioned in the introductory folios to the Liber Testamentorum. See F.J. Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.377-378. In the LIBER ITACII another Vandal king, Gunderic, is said to have been the founder of Lucus Asturum. Neither association is credible. On the Vandal foundation, see Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.103-106. On León and its foundation and independence, see Vázquez de Parga, op.cit. pp.113-114.
- 37: See Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.78-80 and n.299. The account of the translation of relics is in the Liber Testamentorum, f.1-2, under the heading 'Haec scriptura docet qualiter archa cum multorum pignoribus sanctorum Oveto ab Ierusalem sit translata.' Commentary in Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.111-114. The HISTORIA SILENSE, p.138-139, has an alternative explanation for the movement of the relics to Oviedo
- 38: On the transfer of the see, Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.87 n.323.
- 39: On the transfer of Eulalia's relics, text in Prelog, idem, pp.88-89 n.328. On the cult of Eulalia, see C. García Rodríguez, EL CULTO DE LOS SANTOS, pp.284-303.
- 40: Text in Prelog, op.cit. pp.89-90. Only Pelagian writings and the HISTORIA SILENSE place the chapels of the Archangel Michael and St. Leocadia among the buildings of Alfonso II. F.J. Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.114-115, attributes both churches to Alfonso III. For the traditional view, see J.D. Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, p.32. See also the typically iconoclastic article by R. Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties on the Churches of Medieval Spain' in D.W. Lomax and D. Mckenzie, eds., GOD AND MAN IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN (Warminster, 1989), pp.1-18, reprinted in LAW, CULTURE AND REGIONALISM IN EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN (Aldershot, 1992).

41: See J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.89-90. The silver container was donated to the church of San Salvador in Oviedo to mark the opening of the Arca Santa in 1075, text in S.G. Larragueta, COLECCION DE DOCUMENTOS DE LA CATEDRAL DE OVIEDO (Oviedo, 1962), doc. 72 of 13 March 1075, pp.214-219. For the inscription listing the contents of the silver chest donated by Alfonso VI, see Vigil, ASTURIAS MONUMENTAL, pp.14-16.

42: Text in Prelog, op.cit. p.96.

43: Text in Prelog, op.cit. pp.93-95. Another account of the buildings of Alfonso II, associated with Bishop Pelayo, is in the Liber Testamentorum, f.2. Printed text in S.G. Larragueta, op.cit. doc.217, pp.511-515.

44: Text in Prelog, op.cit. p.94 n.341.

45: See Liber Testamentorum, f.2-3, text in J. Prelog, op.cit. pp.94-95.

46: Text in J. Prelog, op.cit. pp.96-98. On the list of relics in the Holy Chest given by the Liber Testamentorum, f.2-3, see discussion by F. J. Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.115-118. There are lists of the relics which are not Pelagian texts: 1, the charter of 1075 marking the opening of the Arca Santa, see n.41; 2, the inscription on the silver chest donated by Alfonso VI; 3, a sort of pilgrim-guide, listing Oviedo's relics, in a late 11th-century Ms. 99 of Valenciennes. See D. de Bruyne, 'Le Plus Ancien Catalogue des Reliques d'Oviedo' in ANALECTA BOLLANDIANA 45(1927) pp.92-96. For another list of the relics, see Ch. Kohler, 'Translation de Reliques de Jerusalem à Oviedo, VII-IX siècles.' in REVUE DE L'ORIENT LATIN, 5(1897) pp.1-21.

47: See R.A. Fletcher, SAINT JAMES'S CATAPULT; THE LIFE AND TIMES OF DIEGO GELMIREZ OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA (Oxford, 1984).

48: See R. Menéndez Pidal, 'La Historiografía medieval..', pp.22-25.

49: See above n.36.

50: See above notes 37, 45, 46.

51: For the foundation and evolutionary use of material in the Corpus Pelagianum, see J. Pérez de Urbel, SAMPIRO: SU CRÓNICA Y LA MONARQUÍA LEONESA EN EL SIGLO X (Madrid, 1952), p.136ff. F.J. Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, p.51 n.66, was not convinced but gave no reason.

52: For example, Pelayo's claims that the see of Leon had been founded by the Alan king Atacis and that Lugo de Llanera (Lucus Asturum) had been founded by the Vandal king Guntamund, were absurdly inaccurate. (Text in the DIVISION OF WAMBA in the 'C' text, see Vázquez de Parga, op.cit. pp.113-114.) the claims are buttressed however by best 12th-century reformist practice of up-to-date clerics in that each place acquired a bishopric through a council, held in the presence of the king, which was sanctioned by papal authority and carried the consent of the

clergy. See F.J. Fernández Conde, LA IGLESIA DE ASTURIAS EN LA ALTA EDAD MEDIA (Oviedo, 1972), p.63 n.15.

53: See R.W. Southern, WESTERN SOCIETY AND THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp.92-93.

54: On the 'D' text, see J. Prelog, op.cit. p.XXX-XXXI; Z. Garcia Villada, 'La Cuarta Redaccion Interpolada', pp.139-149, in LA CRONICA.

55: See L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.47 n.2 and against, G. Cirot, 'La Chronique Leonaise et les Chroniques de Sebastien et de Silos.', p.21, in BULLETIN HISPANIQUE 18(1916), pp.1-25 and Z. García Villada, CRONICA, p.141. The 'D' text names Bertinalda as Alfonso II's wife, p.55, and names Ordono I's wife and their children, J. Prelog, 'D' text pp.124,126.

56: In Gil's edition of the 'A' text in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, this manuscript is identified as O, p.48. See J. Prelog, op.cit. p.XV.

57: In Gil's edition of the 'A' text in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, this manuscript is identified as S, pp.45-47. See J. Prelog, op.cit. p.XIII.

58: In Gil's edition of the 'A' text in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, this manuscript is identified as B, p.52. See J. Prelog op.cit. p.XIV.

59: On the variants of S, see Prelog, op.cit. p.XIII. Gil, op.cit. p.52, follows Cirot and García Villada in seeing them as simple copies of S, although Prelog, op.cit. p.XCVI, is willing to give them greater credit.

60: See Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.47-48; J.Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.XV.

61: See J.Gil, op.cit. p.49, 'Valor de S Frente a FO'.

62: The most curious of the differences is in the way Pelayo's election is introduced. Text in Gil, 'A' text, p.163: 'Sed qui ex semine regio remanserunt, quidam ex illis Franciam petierunt, maximo vero pars in patria Asturiensium intraverunt sibique Pelagium filium quondam Faffilani ducis ex semine regio principem elgerunt.'. Where the S text has 'sibique', relating the election to preceding events, the FO texts have 'tunc' which seems to distance the event. In BN Ms. 1513, f.43v, 'Tunc Pelagium' follows a miniature representing Bishop Sebastian and King Pelayo, suggesting a break in the text. See Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.49.

63: Historians taking the S text to be closer to the original: Z. García Villada (LA CRÓNICA, p.32); G. Cirot ('La Chronique Leonaise et les Petits Annales de Castille', BH 21(1919) p.2), J. Prelog, (DIE CHRONIK, p.XCI). J.Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.49, defended the FO texts as being closer to the original. The S text's improvements can obscure rather than clarity, e.g. King Reccesuinth, who died at the royal villa of Gerticos in 672 AD, is said to have been buried 'in eodem loco' whereas the FO texts

emend his place of interment to a more suitably royal Toledo. For the text, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.115. On royal burial places, see P. Linehan, op.cit. pp.96-97.

64: Incipit to the 'A' text, CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.115: 'In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Xpi oncipit cronica visegotorum a tempore Uuambane regis usque nunc in tempore gloriosi Garseani regis dive memorie Adefonsi filio collecta.'

65: Idem, p.115 for the text of the letter.

66: On the quality of the Latin, see pp.126-129, M. Stero, 'El Latín de la Crónica de Alfonso III', CUADERNOS DE HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA 4; R. Wright, 'Textos Asturianos..', pp.21-23.

67: J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.54-55; J.Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.XIX.

68: J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.56; J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.XXI.

69: J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.56-57; J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.XXI-XXII.

70: J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.58-59; J. Prelog, pp.LXXXIX-XC.

71: Incipit to the 'B' text, CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.114: 'Incipit Cronica Visegotorum a tempore Bambani regis usque nunc in tempore gloriosi Ordoni regis dive memorie Adefonsi regis filio collecta.'. The incipit to the E and N versions of the text name 'Garsiae regis filii Adefonsi', which matches the incipit of the 'A' text.

72: On the barbarism of the style, see M. Stero, op.cit. pp.128-129. see R. Wright's defence of the style as early Romance rather than barbarous Latin, op.cit. pp.23-32.

73: The two texts of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III merge from pp.146-149.

74: R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.227.

75: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques ..', p.360; Z. Garcia Villada, LA CRONICA, p.89ff.

76: M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Cronicas ..', p.583ff; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redaccion original de la Crónica de Alfonso III', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.755-758.

77: Support for their views in P. David, ETUDES, p.317ff; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Historiografía Hispana Hasta el Año 1000', p.228, in DE ISIDORO; R. Menendez Pidal, Introduction, p.VIII, to HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA, vol.VIII (Madrid, 1964).

78: See A. Ubieta Arteta, 'La Redacción 'Rotense' ..', pp.3-22 and 'La Redacción 'Ovetense' ..', pp.365-369. See the discussion in P. Linehan, op.cit. pp.142-143.

- 79: J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.LXXV-LXXXV.
- 80: G. Martin, 'La Chute ..', pp.237-233 and notes.
- 81: Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.XXVIII-XXX. See P. Linehan, op.cit. pp.77-78.
- 82: See CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.114 and critical apparatus. The N and T texts omit 'nunc', possibly because they were later copies using a hybrid text.
- 83: See the discussion of the 'continuation' in the HISTORIA SILENSE in Ch.4 Sect.G,2.
- 84: See J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.75 and suggested correction to the text, p.195.
- 85: For example, the 'B' text reports that after Vermudo I's successor, Alfonso II, lived in peace with him for many years prior to his death, p.138: '.. Adefonsum .. sibi in regnum successorem instituit et cum eo plurimus annis karissime vixit. Morte propria e seculo migravit era DCCCXXVIII.' The 'A' text rearranges this to clarify the sense, p.139: '.. Adefonsum .. sibi in regno successorem fecit in era DCCCXXVIII et cum eo plurimis an. carissime vixit.'. See the discussion in P. Linehan, op.cit. pp.136-137.
- 86: The 'B' text, p.116, says that the rebel Paul and his supporters were blinded. This does not agree with the information given by Julian of Toledo, a contemporary of these events, in the HISTORIA WAMBAE, p.241. Instead of the expected death sentence, Wamba condemned Paul and his allies to 'decalvatio', a form of ritual scalping or shaving of the head: 'Sed nullo mortis super eos inlata sententia, decalvationis tantum, ut praecipitur, sustinere vindictam.'. A law of Chindasuinth (642-653 AD) against usurpers, prescribed the death penalty, (L.V. II, 1,8, ed. Zeumer). Another law of Chindasuinth (L.V. VI, 1,7) allowed the king the exercise of clemency. The punishment of 'decalvatio' is not known from Asturian sources although blinding was inflicted on rebels against the crown: e.g. Nepotian, CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.142-143; Aldroitus, both texts, pp.14-145.
- 87: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.117: 'sed si plenius cognoscere quantas caedes, quantas urbium incensiones, quantas strages, quanta agmina Francorum vel Gallorum Uuambane sint interempta quantasque famosissimas victorias idem exercuerit, que de Pauli tyrannide excidia evenerint, beatum Iulianum metropolitanum legito, qui istoriam huius temporis liquidissime contexit.'.
- 88: G. Martin, 'La Chute..', pp.230-231. J. Montenegro and A.del Castillo, pp.397-420, 'Análisis Crítico Sobre Algunos Aspectos de la Historiografía del Reino de Asturias.' in HISPANIA 87(1994), for the argument that the 'A' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III had Pelayo elected by Visigothic nobles in order to justify the strength of the nobility in the Asturian kingdom at a time

when it was consolidating their economic, social and political powers.

89: See the Testament of 812 in Floriano, *DIPLOMATICA*, vol.I, pp.119-131 and trans. in J. Casariego, *HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS*, pp.314-319.

90: The 'B' text uses the phrase '.. nazione mollitis..', indicating a convert to Islam, to describe the Meridan rebel Mahmud whereas the 'A' text is silent on this point. After the texts converge, both describe Musa as '.. nomine Gotus sed ritum Mamentiano ..', pp.146-147. This expression may have been used for stylistic reasons to avoid repetition, as the word 'mollitem' is used a few lines farther on to describe one of Musa's Muslim prisoners: 'Ex caldeis duos quidem magnos tyrranos, unum genere Alkoresci nomine Iben Hamza, alium mollite (mollitem; 'A' text only) nomine Alporz cum filio suo..'. The phrase, '.. mareque transiecto ..', is used in the common version of the *CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III*, pp.148-149. to describe the Viking raid on North Africa. A similar expression, '.. mareque transiectus..' was used in the 'B' text, p.116, to describe the journey of the exile Ardabast from 'Graecia' to the court of Chindasuinth.

91: See above n.85.

92: Linehan, *op.cit.*, p.78, n.105.

93: For a useful list of differences, see *CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS*, pp.62-63.

94: The two main areas of biblical citation are in the hostile account of Wittiza, *CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III*, both texts, with the 'A' text having Psalms 32,9 and the 'B' text having Mt.24,12, Numbers 8,19,16-46, Exodus, 19-22. At Covadonga, in the conversation between Pelayo and Oppa, Pelayo's language in the 'B' text echoes biblical allusions (cf. Psalms 25, 21-22; 32, 33,20) but only cites Psalms 89, 33-34. Pelayo compares the Christian recovery to the growth of a mustard seed (cf. Mt. 13,31; Mark, 4,31; Luke 12, 28.). The 'A' text also gives the quotation from the psalms and uses the cycle of the moon as its chosen simile for the Christian recovery. This was used by Isidore of Seville, *DE RERUM NATURUM*, XVIII,6 and in Visigothic liturgy, (M. Ferotin, *LE LIBER MOZARABICUS SACRAMENTORUM ET LES EDITIONS MOZARABES* (Paris, 1912), p.942.

On the personal knowledge, see Roderick's palace in the *CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III*, 'B' text, p.120 and the fuller description of Alfonso II's buildings, pp.139,141, and Ramiro I's buildings, p.145, in the 'A' text.

95: Both versions of the *CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III*, pp.118-119, refer to Egica's battles with the Franks. The 'A' text places these in 'Gallias', i.e. Visigothic Septimania, p.119. Both texts, pp.142-143, report the Viking raid on Spain in 844 AD. The 'B' text reports their return home, p.142.

96: In the *CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA*, p.173, and the 'B' text of the *CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III*, 'B' text, p.130, Pelayo is said to have died at Cangas de Onís. This is omitted in the 'A' text. The 'A'

text, p.141, and the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175, identify the stronghold of the rebel Mahmud as the castle of Santa Cristina, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Mahamud', ORÍGENES, vol.II, p.705.

97: See Gil. CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.64-65. In the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.131, Alfonso I is referred to in the following way; 'Adefonsus .. filius Petri ducis, ex seminis Leuigildi et Reccaredi regum progenitus tempore Egicani et Uittizani princeps militie fuit.'. It is clear that Alfonso I (739-757 AD) could not have been a leading military figure in the reigns of Egica (687-702 AD) and Wittiza (702-710 AD). The passage 'tempore..' clearly refers to Duke Peter and seems to be a note incorporated into the text.

98: On the conspiracy against Wamba, which is first known from the late 9th century, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.116-117. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA on the reigns of Wamba and Ervig is terse, p.170. R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.74, regarded the idea of a conspiracy by Julian to induce the appearance of fatal illness as 'unnecessarily macchiavellian.'

99: Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.CXLIII-CXLIV, sees the plot as an anti-Wittizan scheme to present Wittiza (a hate-figure for the Chronicle) as the product of a broken union. On the conspiracy, see R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, see R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.79 and J. F. O'Callaghan, A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL SPAIN (Ithaca, 1975), pp.49-51.

100: On the councils of Wamba and Ervig, see 'B' text, pp.116,118. On the councils of Egica, see both texts, pp.118-119.

101: Only the 'B' text names Cangas de Onís as the place of Pelayo's death. Neither text gives the burial place of Fafila, Alfonso I, Fruela I, Aurelius, Silo, and Mauregatus. They give the burial places of Alfonso II, Ramiro I and Ordono I. The 'C' text identifies the burial places of Asturian kings and their wives from Pelayo onwards.

102: See above n.96.

103: Dedication in Hubner, INSCRIPTIONES, n.315, p.107.

104: See CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-133. On the repopulation of Galicia by Fruela I, see the 'B' text only, p.136. On early repopulation, see C.Sánchez-Albornoz, DESPOBLACION Y REPOBLACION DEL VALLE DEL DUERO (Buenos Aires, 1938), pp.32-43.

105: The dates are given in the 'B' text, 'III Novembris era DCCLII', p.122, and, 'Hunctus est in regno predictus rex magnus Adefonsus XVIII Kalendas Octobris era quo supra (era DCCCXXVIII).', p.138. There is a further date, 'era DCCCXXXVII', which is given in the margin to the Codex Rotensis, p.140, referring to the rebellion of Mahmud. On the anointing of Alfonso II, see Linehan, op.cit, p.97-98 and 128-145.

106: On the account of Wamba in the 'B' text, see p.116, 'Fuit

in regno annis VIII,m.I, et in monasterio vixit annis VII,m.III. Propria morte discessit, era DCCXVIII.' On the account of Vermudo I, p.138. 'Subrinum suum Adefonsum quem Maurecatus cum eo plurimis karissime vixit. Morte propria e seculo migravit era DCCCXXVIII.' See Linehan, op.cit, pp.136-145.

107: P. Linehan, op.cit. p.137.

108: On Wamba in the 'A' text, 'Quumque rex a potione convaluisset et hordinem sibi inpositum cognovisset, monasterium petiit ibique quamdiu vixit in religione permansit. Reg. an. VIII, m.I. et in monasterio xixit an. VII, m.III. Morte propria discessit in pace.' On Vermudo I, p.139, 'Subrinum suum adefonsum, quem Maurecatus a regno expulerat, sibi in regno successorem fecit in era DCCCXXVIII et cum eo plurimis an. carissime vixit. Vitam in pace finibit.'

109: The 'A' text, p.123, has Pelayo elected as 'princeps' by Visigothic refugees of royal stock. There is no indication of any association between the Asturians and Pelayo. The 'B' text, pp.122-124, has the seduction of Pelayo's sister by Munnuza, the governor of Gijón, Pelayo's dramatic escape and election as 'princeps' by an assembly of Asturians. There is no indication of an association between the Asturias and Pelayo, although he is said to have met the Muslims at Covadonga '.. cum sociis suis ..', suggesting a more complex relationship than subjedct/ruler. See J. Montenegro and A. del Castillo, 'Don Pelayo y los Orígenes de la Reconquista: Un Nuevo Punto de Vista', HISPANIA, 180(1992), pp.5-32.

110: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.171, apart from the version in the Codex Albeldensis) Pelayo is presented as a refugee from Wittiza's court.

111: See Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVI; M. Gomez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas..', p.587; R. Ménéndez Pidal, RELIQUIAS DE LA POESÍA ESPANOLA (Madrid, 1951); C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Relato de Alfonso III Sobre Covadonga', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.41-76.

112: See above n.109.

113: See above n.15.

114: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.122-131. CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173.

115: R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.227.

116: Both versions of the Chronicle are hostile to Wittiza and his sons, pp.118-121 and 123-124.

117: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.139: 'Qui in loco qui vocatur Lutos a rege adefonso preoccupati simul cum supra dicto duce (Mokehit) septuaginta fere milia ferro atque interfecti.' The 'B' text, p.138, has: 'Qui in Lutos ab Astores prebenti cum idem duce suo LXX milia sunt interfecti..'. On the battle of Lutos, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.152-153; C.

Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Asturias Resiste', pp.399-418, and idem, 'La Batalla de Lutos', pp.491-509, in ORÍGENES, vol.II.

118: 'A' text, p.123, on Pelayo: .. Pelagium filium quondam Faffilani ducis ex semine regio..'; 'A' text, p.131: '.. Adefonsus .. vir magne virtutis filius Petri ducis, ex semine Leuigildi et Reccaredi regum progenitus..'

119: 'B' text, p.122, on Pelayo: '.. Pelagio .. spatarius Vittizani et Ruderici regum..'

120: The spatarii formed an elite royal guard for Visigothic kings. This corps was of late Roman origin, first known from the time of Theodosius II (408-450 AD). It continued up to the 9th century, cf. Theophanes the Spatarius in the Annales Bertiniani, s.a. 839. The title disappeared after 1075 AD. Under the Visigothic monarchy the royal guard, led by a 'Comes Spatariorum', formed part of the officium palatinum. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, ESTUDIOS VISIGODOS (Rome, 1971). The spatarii are mentioned for the first time among the signatories to the acta of VIII Toledo (653 AD): 'Cumefrendus comes Spatariorum, .. Cuniefredus comes Spatariorum', Vives, CONCILIOS, p.289. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.116 n.4, raised the possibility that the bodyguard might have been raised at the inspiration of Ardabast, a Byzantine exile who was welcomed at the court of Chindasuinth (642-653 AD) with a royal bride whose descendant, Ervig, supplanted Wamba in 680 AD. On Ardabast, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.116-117. A spatarius could be of high rank, e.g. at XIII Toledo, among the subscriptions of '.. viri illustres officii palatini..' there are 3 spatarii with the title of comes and 1 'comes et dux', Vives, CONCILIOS, p.435. The spatarii may have been of royal ancestry.

121: 'B' text, p.130: '.. Adefonsus filius Petri Cantabrorum ducis ex regni prosapiem..'

122: 'A' text, p.131: '.. Adefonsus .. vir magne virtutis filius Petri ducis, ex semine Leuigildi et Reccaredi regum progenitus..'

- 123: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.118, 121: 'Episcopis, presbiteris seu diaconibus huxores abere precepit.'

124: 'B' text, pp.118,119: 'sacerdotes qui accedunt ad Dominum Deum sanctificentur, ne forte derelinquat illos Dominus.' (Exodus 19, 22). 'Quum accedunt ministrare ad altare sanctum, non adducant in se delictum, ne forte moriantur.' (Leviticus 21,33 and Mt.5,23).

125: Asturias: 7 references in 'B' text, 3 references in 'A' text. Galicia: 9 references in 'B' text, 8 referances in 'A' text.

126: Province of Galicia, both texts, pp.134-135; on the peoples of Galicia ('.. Gallecie populos..'), both texts, pp.134-135.

127: 'A' text, p.135: 'Gallecie populos contra se (Fruea I) rebellantes simul cum patria devastavit.'. See P. Linehan,

op.cit. p.77, on a 17th century copy (BN Ms. 9880) which gives an alternative reading, '.. simul cum fratre..'. See Y. Bonnaz, 'La Chronique d'Alphonse III et sa 'Continuatio' dans le Ms. 9880 de la Bibliotheque nationale de Madrid' in MELANGES DE LA CASA DE VELAZQUEZ 13(1977).

128: E.g. both texts, pp.122-123.

129: 'A' text, p.131: '.. in hac regione Asturiensium..', 'B' text, p.122: '.. in hac regione Asturiensium..'.
130: 'A' text, p.123. The S manuscript of the 'A' text and its copies have '.. in patria..'. The reading of the F and O manuscripts is '.. in hanc patriam..', perhaps reflecting the Oviedan patriotism of the 12th century copyist. The 'A' text, p.135 and above n.127, also uses 'patria' to describe Galicia. It also uses 'patria' in a more general sense, e.g. p.135, the devastation in Galicia, '.. simul cum patria.'. Both versions of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.130-131, use 'patria' to describe the achievement of Pelayo, '.. populatur patria, restaurantur ecclesiae..'. The 'A' text uses 'patria' in describing the Muslim invasion whereas the 'B' text uses 'regio', pp.122-123: 'A' text, 'Arabes tamen patria simul cum regno oppresso pluribus annis..', 'B' text, '... Araves tamen regionem simul et regno oppresso...'. The 'A' text, p.147, refers to Ordone I's suppression of a rebellion in the 'patria' of the Basques, '.. adversus Uascones rebellantes exercitum moveret atque illorum patriam suo iuri subiugasset..', whereas the 'B' text, p.144, refers to this rebellion as being in the '.. provincia Uasconie..'.
131: In the ETYMOLOGIES, Isidore defined that a 'patria' was so-called from being common to all those born in it (XIV,6,20); that a 'provincia' was the name given by Romans to distant territories (procul victas) which they had conquered (XIV,6,19); that a 'regio' was a part of a province (XIV,6,21); that a 'territorium' was a part of a region (XIV,6,21).
132: Isidore gave the example of Galicia as a 'provincia', with the Asturias and Cantabria as its 'regiones' (XIV,6,21). In this, he followed Paulus Orosius, HISTORIARUM ADVERSUS PAGANOS LIBRI VII, VI,21,1-3: 'Cantabri et Astures Gallaeciae provinciae portio sunt..'.
133: The 'B' text uses the term 'provincia' for Galicia as well as for '..provincia vero Premoriensem..', p.142, 'Uarduliensem provintiam', p.142, and '..provincia Uasconie..', p.144.
134: For 'regio' and 'patria', see 'B' text, p.142, for the Viking return after the first raid, 'Post anni vero circulum et civitatis Ispalensis inruptionem reversi sunt in propriam regionem.' and 'B' text, p.148, for the Viking return after the second raid, 'Postea grecia advecti post triennium in patriam sunt reversi..'. The 'B' text, p.118, says that Wittiza's father, Egica, ordered him to live '.. in Tudensem civitatem.' The 'A' text, p.119, adds that Wittiza lived '.. in civitatem Tudensem provincia Gallecie..'. Both versions of the text, pp.130-131, report the flight of Munnuza, governor of Gijon, his capture and

execution. The 'A' text, p.131, adds the detail that it was Asturians who carried out this action, leaving no Arabs within the Pyrenean passes: 'Quumque Astores persequentes eum in locum Olaliense repperissent, simul cum exercitu suo cum gladio deleverunt, ita ut ne unus quidem Caldeorum intra Pirinei portus remaneret.'. The 'B' text alone, p.130, has information on the church built by Fafila at Cangas de Onis.

135: The 'A' text, p.135: '... in locum qui vocatur Pontuuio provincia Gallecie..' and the 'B' text, p.134: '.. in locum Pontubio provintia Gallecie..'

136: 'A' text, p.135: 'Uascones rebellantes..', and 'Gallecie populos contra se rebellantes ..'. The 'B' text, p.134: 'Vascones revellantes..' and 'Gallecie populos contra se revelantes..'

137: 'A' text, p.135: 'Denique fratrem suum nomine Vimaranem propriis maibus interfecit. Qui non post multum temporis talionem excipiens a suis interfectis est. Reg. an.XI et mensibus tribus, era DCCCVI.'. 'B' text, p.134: 'Fratrem suum nomine Uimaranem propriis manibus intefecit. Qui non post multo tempore, vicem fraterno ei Dominus reddens a suis interfectus. Regnavit a.XI m. III, era DCCCVI.'. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, says that Fruela killed Vimara '.. ob invidiam regni.. '.

138: See the 'B' text only, p.134: 'Iste scelus, quam de tempore Uitizane sacerdotes huxores habere consueberant, finem imposuit. Etiam multis in scelera pemanentibus flagella inferens monasteriis perligavit. Sicque ex tunc vetitum est sacerdotibus coniugia sortire, unde canonicam obserbantes sententiam magna crevit ecclesiam.'

139: On flogging as a punishment for clergy in Visigothic times, *Leges Visigothorum* IX,1,21 (Zeumer, p.364). On relegation to a monastery as punishment for sexual impropriety, see canon 5, VIII Toledo (653 AD), Vives, *CONCILIOS*, pp.278-279.

140: See the 'B' text only, p.134: 'Istius namque tempore usque flumine Mineo populata est Gallecie.'

141: On the association of kings and clergy, see Gil, *CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS*, pp.70-71; Linehan, *HISTORY*, pp.106-111 on the Asturian church.

142: L.G. de Valdeavellano, *HISTORIA DE ESPANA ANTIGUA Y MEDIEVAL*, vol.2, (Madrid, 1917), pp.9-17.

143: *CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III*, both texts, pp.144-147.

144: Idem, both texts, pp.144 and 147, 'Sed nec illud silevo quod verum factum esse cognosco.'

145: Idem, both texts, pp.144-149.

146: On the convergence of the two versions, see *CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS*, pp.74-75.

147: See Y. Bonnaz, *CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES*, pp.214-215.

148: J.Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.75.

149: On the phrase 'Nec hoc miraculum silebo, quod verius factum esse cognosco', CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-133.

There are similar phrases in the writings of Gregory of Tours, e.g. 'Sed neque hoc sileo', DE VIRTUTIBUS BEATI MARTINI EPISCOPI, II, 10; 'Sed nec hoc silebo', DE VIRTUTIBUS BEATI MARTINI EPISCOPI, I, 19 and II, 27; LIBER IN GLORIA MARTYRUM, 47.

150: See M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Circulation des Manuscrits..', p.386 on books associated with Alfonso III; J.I. Ruíz de la Peña, 'Libros y Librerías en la Corte Ovetense y en los Centros Eclesiásticos de su Entorno' in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.28-31. Ambrosio de Morales reports that he found more ancient books in Oviedo than anywhere else in North-west Spain, VIAGE, pp.96-97.

151: Text and discussion in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, doc.185, pp.339-345. Discussion of the letter in R. Fletcher, Appendix C. Alfonso III's Letter to the Clergy of Tours, pp.316-323, in ST. JAMES'S CATAPULT.

152: In his letter to the clergy of Tours, Alfonso III offered to send a copy of the 7th-century VITAS SANCTORUM PATRUM EMERITENSIVM: 'Nos quoque multorum virorum illustrium vitam et mirabilia utpote Emeretensem evidenter ac sapienter conscriptas habemus, quae ut remoror in archivis vestris non habentur. Quod si vobis utilitas fuerit, dirigere eas procurabimus.', Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, p.341. This appears to be the only reference to the work in any medieval text, see R. Fletcher, op.cit. p.323 and J.N. Garvin, ed. and trans. VITAS SANCTORUM PATRUM EMERITENSIVM (Washington, 1946), p.1. The exile of Bishop of Mazona of Merida by Leovigild is reported in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.169. This may well have been taken from the VITAS.

153: See Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, no.192, pp.362-369 for a charter of Alfonso III to the church of San Salvador. Among the gifts are books, including a 'vita sancti martini', p.367. See also, C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Notas Sobre los Libros Leídos..', especially the valuable list, pp.228-238.

154: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both versions, pp.132-135.

155: 'Ecce quomodo tollitur iustus et nemo considerat, et viri iusti tolluntur et nemo percipit corde; a facie iniquitatis sublatus est iustus erit in pace sepultura eius.'. See L. Brou and J. Vives, ANTIFONARIO VISIGOTICO MOZARABE DE LA CATEDRAL DE LEON (Barcelona, 1959), p.278.

156: Text in Gregory the Great, DIALOGUES, III, 31: 'Nam coepit in nocturno silentio psalmodiae cantus ad corpus eiusdem regis et martyris audiri, atque ideo veraciter regis quia martyria.'.

157: Text in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.134-135: '.. alioquin tacere magis (eligerem: 'A' text only) quam falsa promere maluissem.'. This closely resembles the phrases in Sulpicius Severus' LIFE OF ST. MARTIN: '.. ne quis forte

existimet fabulosum' (24,8) and '... alioquin tacere quam falsa dicere maluissem' (1,9). In the letter to the clergy of Tours, Alfonso II requested a written account of St. Martin's posthumous miracles as he possessed an account of miracles performed by the saint during his lifetime, which seems to be Sulpicius Severus' work.

158: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.133: 'Nec hoc stupendum miraculum pretermittendum est quod hora discessionis eius certissime actum est.; the 'B' text, p.132: 'Nec hoc stupendum silebo quod verius esse cognosco.'

159: The account of Alfonso I in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, does not have the list of his conquests (see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-133) nor references to the building of 'many basilicas' (both texts, pp.132-133).

160: Divine intervention is invoked only at one point for the destruction of a Muslim army after Covadonga, CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173: 'Tunc etiam qui remanserunt gladio de ipsa oste Sarracenorum in Libana monte ruente iudicio Dei opprimuntur et Astorum regnum divina providentia exoritur.'

161: See Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.103. Era dates are given for the death of Pelayo, Fruela I, Ramiro I and Ordoño I.

162: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, and the 'B' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.130, name Pelayo's burial place as Cangas de Onis. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, places the murder of Fruela at Cangas de Onis. Silo is said to have established his capital at Pravia, CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174. Alfonso II fixed his capital at Oviedo, p.174.

163: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175: 'Prius Nepotianum ad pontem Narcie superavit et sic regnum accepit.'. The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.142-143, has more information. It has detail on the relationship of the Asturian kings with their predecessors, unlike the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA.

164: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp. 171, 173, has a different account of Pelayo's rebellion than the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.130-135. There is information in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA which is not found in the more substantial CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.122-149; conspiracy against Alfonso II, p.174, Ramiro I and his actions to enforce justice, p.175, Ordoño I and details on treatment of Muslim rulers of Talamanca, the rescue of Musa by 'a friend', a defeat of Vikings by Count Peter and of a Muslim fleet 'in freto gallicano', p.175-176.

165: On the possibility of a long-lost, see Z. García Villada, CRONICA, pp.43-45 and 'Notas Sobre la Cronica de Alfonso III' in REVISTA DE FILOLOGÍA ESPAÑOLA, 1921, p.259ff; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Una Cronica Perdida de Tiempos de Alfonso II', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.721-756.

166: C. Sánchez-Albornoz became increasingly certain that there was such a chronicle. The original version of his article named in the previous note, which appeared in REVISTA DE FILOLOGÍA

HISPANICA, VII, 2, 1945 and INVESTIGACIONES, 1967, carried a question mark which it had lost by the time it was printed in ORIGENES, vol.II.

167: For a comparison of differences between the two chronicles, see Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.15-18; Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXIX n.1; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre la Autoridad de las Crónicas de Albelda y de Alfonso III, ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.787-802.

168: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'EN TORNO A LOS ORIGENES DEL FEUDALISMO. Vol.II LOS ARABES Y EL REGIMEN PREFEUDAL CAROLINGIO. FUENTES DE LA HISTORIA HISPANO-MUSULMANA DEL SIGLO X (Mendoza, 1942), pp.103-104.

169: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.120-123. CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA (Roda text only), p.183.

170: Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.139-140 n.2.

171: See, for example, the prophecy in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.186-188, on the fall of the Visigothic kingdom and the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both versions, pp.118-121, for the failings of Wittiza and the loss of divine favour.

172: See, for example, the prophecy in the Roda text of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.187. See, for example, the restoration of divine favour under Pelayo in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO, both versions, pp.130-131.

173: See n.96 above. See Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.360-363.

174: On the similarity between the texts of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA and the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III up to Vermudo I, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.344-346 and Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.LXXIX-LXXX and n1.

175: The fall of Toledo, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.122: 'Urbs quoque Toletana, cunctarum gentium victris, Ismaeliticis triumphis victa subcubuit et eis subiugata deseruit.'; in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA (Roda text only), p.183: 'urbs quoque Toletana cunctarumque gentium victrix Ismaeliticis triumphis victa subcumbuit eis subiecta deseruit.'. Isidore of Seville's HISTORY OF THE GOTHS, p.273, has a similar sentence: 'Urbs (Roma) cunctarum gentium victrix Gothicis triumphis victa subcubuit eis que capta subiugataque servivit.'.

176: See the very useful comparative list of phrases from the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III and the 'PROPHETIC CHRONICLE' in Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LV n.4.

177: See L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.342-363.

178: See Z. Garcia Villada, CRONICA, p.44 and 89ff.

179: C. Sánchez-Albornoz took up and developed a suggestion of M. Gomez-Moreno, 'La Redaccion Original..', pp.760-761; M.

Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Crónicas Primeras..', p.583ff.

180: see M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Crónicas Primeras..', pp.587-588.

181: J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.100-101; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original..', pp.319-324.

182: P. David, ÉTUDES, pp.319-324.

183: J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.CCXVIff. Extant versions of the Asturian cycle of historical writing were derived from a now-lost basic chronicle. The 'A' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III was one remove away from the original and the 'B' text was at two removes. See diagram p.CLVI and the list of sources, p.CXCII.

184: J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.102-103.

185: H. Flórez, ESPAÑA SAGRADA 13, p.421, suggested that the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA and the 'A' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III followed a common model now lost.

186: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Una Crónica Asturiana Perdida..', pp.721-756, took up an argument of Z. García Villada, CRÓNICA, pp.43-45. I. Ruíz de la Peña, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.33, found Sánchez-Albornoz's argument to be convincing. Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXXIII; J. Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, p.366; J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.102, were all unconvinced by the argument.

187: J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.XLVI-LXII.

188: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original ..', pp.755-774.

189: On the letter, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.115, and variants in critical apparatus.

190: The endings to these versions of the text are given in the edition of the 'A' text of Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.59, and in the critical edition.

191: The text of the letter is at the head of the 'A' text, p.115.

192: J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.51, comments on the use of 'innotescere'.

193: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.323-328.

194: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', p.325; Z. García Villada, 'Notas Sobre la Crónica..', p.256.

195: See Z. García Villada, 'Notas Sobre la Crónica..', p.255. On the use of the CHRONICLE OF 754 in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, see Z. García Villada, CRÓNICA, pp.40-43.

196: Z. García Villada, 'Notas Sobre la Crónica..', p.256.

197: On the reliability of the letter, see J.Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.50. For J. Casariego, however, the letter is likely to be a later addition that was meant to add verisimilitude.. App. VIII, pp.359-367.

198: See L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.328, 331.

199: C. Cabal, LA DIVINA PEREGRINA (LOS RITMOS DE COVADONGA) (Oviedo, 1948); C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original..', p.757 and p.758 n.17.

200: For the 16th to the early 19th centuries, see A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.584-586. For the later period, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original..', pp.755-760.

201: See A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, p.585 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original..', p.755 n.4.

202: See F. Fita, 'Sebastian, Obispo de Arcavica y de Orense. Su Crónica y la del Rey Alfonso III', BRAH, 41(1902), pp.324-344.

203: Z. García Villada, CRÓNICA, pp.7-12.

204: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.326-327.

205: M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas..', p.584.

206: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original..', pp.760-764.

207: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.123: 'Rudis namque nostris temporibus quum Uiseo civitas et suburbana eius a nobis populata esset..'; 'B' text, p.122: 'Rudis namque nostris temporibus quum civitas Uiseo et suburbis eius iussum nostrum esset populatus..'. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción original..', pp.773-774. On Roderick's tomb at Viseu, see A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.193-197. See SAMPIRO, both versions, p.281, on the repopulation of Viseu in 877-878 AD. Viseu is not included in the list of bishoprics of 881 AD in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.158.

208: For example, in a diploma of 757 AD, two followers of Bishop Odoarius are said to have come to settle in Galicia 'per iussionem Domini Adefonsi principis.', see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, no.6, p.54. For direct royal involvement, using the phrases 'per nostrum iussione' and 'per nostrae praeceptionis iussionem'; for the reign of Ordoño I, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, p.255 (donation of 853 AD to the monastery of Samos); p.270 (donation of 856 AD to the monastery of Samos); p.297 (donation of 860 AD to the Church of Leon): for the reign of Alfonso III, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, p.20 (confirmation in 866 AD of the possessions of the Church of Santiago de Compostella); p.48 (donation of 869 AD to the priest Sisenand); p.88 (donation of 874 AD to the priest Sisenand). In the Anales Castellanos I s.a. era DCCCCXX (882 AD) Count Diego resettled Burgos and ubierna 'pro iussionem domno Adefonso', p.77, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS. Such formulae are not used in the name of the important clerical or lay figures who carry out acts of repopulation.

209: See R. Menéndez Pidal, p.VIII, HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA, vol.VI. ESPAÑA CRISTIANA 711-1038.

210: R. Menéndez Pidal, 'La Historiografía Medieval..', p.5.

211: M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Historiografía ..' in DE ISIDORO, pp.224-228.

212: See above Ch.3, Sect.B on conciliar acts for the life and work of Bishop Pelayo.

213: Prologue: 'Et a Pelagio rege usque ad Adefonsum casti et catholici regis gotorum et audivit, prout potuit plenissime scripsit.' and the note, 'Sebastianus salmanticensis ecclesiae episcopus sic a maioribus et predecessoribus suis inquisivit de gotis regibus et audivit plenissime scripsit.' See A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.584-585.

214: In the letter at the head of the 'A' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, p.115: 'Notum tibi sit de istoria Gotorum, pro qua nobis per Dulcidium presbiterem notuisti..'. The Toledan priest Dulcidius was named at the end of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p. 181, in November 883 AD, as being absent on a diplomatic mission. He returned with the remains of two Mozarabic martyrs, Eulogius of Cordoba and Leocritia, see H. Flórez, ESPAÑA SAGRADA 10, p.456ff. Dulcidius, as Bishop of Salamanca, is among the list of bishops present at the dedication of Alfonso III's new church to St. James in 899 AD, see the Pelagian text of SAMPIRO, p.290 and Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, n.158, pp.460-467. A 'Dulcidius Salmanticense' is named as a dedicatory inscription for the church of San Pedro de Montes in 919 AD, see Hübner, INSCRIPTIONES, p.79, no.245, p. 97 supplement and correction in M. Gómez-Moreno, IGLESIAS MOZARABES, p.215. In both versions of SAMPIRO, pp.313-314, a Dulcidius and an Ermoigius are captured at the Christian defeat of Valdejunquera in 920 AD. Only the Pelagian text identifies Dulcidius as the Bishop of Salamanca. For a discussion of the evidence on Dulcidius, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Dulcidio', ORÍGENES, vol.III, pp.729-740.

215: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.330-331.

216: See the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.158; P. David, 'La Catalogue Episcopale de la Cronique d'Albelda' in ETUDES, pp.125-130.

217: See the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, both versions, '.. ad ripam Turmi ire disposuit, et civitates ibidem populavit. Hee sunt Salamantica sedes antiqua castrorum, Letesma, Ripas...'. A signatory of Alfonso II's Testament of 812 AD is a 'Bishop Kindulfus' in the oldest extant text, becomes altered in the version of the text contained in the version of the text in the Pelagian material of the 13th-century BN Ms. 1513 to 'Quindulfus salamanticensis episcopus'.

218: 'Sebastianus quidem sedis Auriense' in the list of 12 bishops, see above n.216. See Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, pp.678-675, lists the bishops of the Asturian kingdom who are

mentioned in diplomas. On the bishops, see P. David, ETUDES, pp.125-130. See also the dedicatory inscription for Alfonso III's church of San Salvador de Valdedios, with its 7 bishops, text in Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp247-249.

219: See Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, for diplomas with the subscription of Bishop Sebastian: 883 AD, n.127, p.146; 885 AD, n.133, p.159; 889 AD, n.142, p.159. On references to Bishop Sebastian, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, p.673.

220: See F. Fita, 'Sebastian, Obispo de Arcavica..', pp.342-344. Text on the restoration and endowment of the see of Orense in August 900 AD by Alfonso II, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, n.165, pp.269-277, and esp. p.270, 'Adveniente quoque Sebastiano Archabiensis peregrino Episcopo, ex provincie Celtiberie, expulsus a barbaris, mirabiliter hanc sedem illi concessimus, qui primus idem ecclesiam antistes fuit..'. Fita follows H. Flórez (ESPAÑA SAGRADA 17, 2nd ed.(Madrid, 1789), pp.52-54, 235-238) in dating this charter to 886 AD, as does Barrau-Dihigo, 'Études sur les Actes des Rois Asturiens..', pp.144-145.

221: Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, pp.271-272: '.. secundum quod eam empimus de dato supri ni mei Sebastiani Episcopi..'.

222: Discussion of the charter in L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Etudes des Actes..', pp.144-145 and Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, pp.273-277. The charter is probably an interpolated copy of an original.

223: See F. Fita, 'Sebastian, Obispo de Arcavica..', pp.336-344.

224: A. Blazquez, 'Las Redacciones de la Crónica Atribuida a Alfonso III.' in LA CIUDAD DE DIOS, 143(1925), pp.258-271 and A. Blazquez, 'Alfonso III, Autor de la Crónica de Roda? in LA CIUDAD DE DIOS, 145(1926), pp.30-44.

225: On Bishop Dulcidius, see above n.214 and S. Antonio Palomeque Torres, EPISCOPOLOGÍA DE LAS SEDES DEL REINO DE LEÓN (Leon, 1966).

226: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original..', ORÍGENES, vol.III, p.758 n.18.

227: M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas..', p.558.

228: Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.LVI-LVII.

229: M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Circulation des Manuscrits..', p.386.

230: For Alfonso III as '.. scientia clarus..' in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.178. It carries similar phrases in the ORDO ROMANORUM REGUM for Ambrose of Milan, '.. doctrina claruit..', p.163; Augustine of Hippo, '.. doctrine scientia claruit..', p.163; Fulgentius of Ruspe, '.. doctrina scientie claruit..', p.164.

231: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Redacción Original..', p.774.

232: For example, at the end of the passage on the celestial

choir over Alfonso I's corpse, pp.134-135: 'Hoc verum esse (prorsus: 'A' text only) cognoscite et nec fabulosum (dictum: 'A' text only) putetis: 'alioquin tacere magis quam falso promere maluissem' '. This echoes phrases from Sulpicius Severus' Life of Saint Martin, 24.8: '.. ne quis forte existimet fabulosum.' and, 1.9: '.. alioquin tacere quam falsa dicere maluissem.'. For other references, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXV.

233: See text in CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.132 for the opening sentence of the angelic choir episode, 'Nec hoc miraculum silebo, quod verius factum esse cognosco.'. The 'A' text is different, 'Nec hoc stupendum miraculum pretermittendum est, quod hora discessionis eius cetissime actum est.'. Gregory of Tours used similar expressions: 'Sed neque hoc sileo', DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI MARTINI, II,10, p.162; 'Sed nec hoc silebo', DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI MARTINI, II,27, p.169, and LIBER IN GLORIA MARTYRUM BEATORUM, 47, p.71. It may be that Gregory's work on St. Martin may be the written account of his posthumous miracles requested by Alfonso III in his letter to the clergy of Tours: 'Sane optamus vestram benignolentiam, ut quidquid conscriptum habetis de virtutibus quae in Ecclesia vestra post obitum S. Martini gratia et merito ipsius, Deo annuente, factae sunt, nobis dirigere non gravemini, quoniam tamen, nos de mirabilibus eius habemus conscriptum, quae in vita ipsius usque ad mystica peracta sint.', Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, p.341.

234: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp. 128-129: 'Non istut (miraculum: 'A' text only) innanem aut fabulosum putetis.'.

235: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.122-123: 'Rudis namque nostris temporibus quum civitas Uiseo et suburbis (suburbana: 'A' text only) eius.'.

236: The last known reference to him is in a donation made by the priest Beatus, Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, n.142, p.178. The reference to Sebastian in the charter of 900 AD (Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, n.165, p.270-271) makes it clear that, by then, there had been two successors.

237: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.180. The final year is dated, '.. in era DCCCCXXI (883 AD), quod est presenti anno..' and in the same year the Chronicle, p.181, says that Dulcidius had not yet returned from his diplomatic mission in November (883 AD): 'Pro quod etiam et rex noster legatum nomine Dulcidium Toletane urbis presuiterum cum epistolas ad Cordouensem regem direxit Septembrio mense, unde aduc usque non est reversus Novembrio discurrente.'. The 'Prophetic Chronicle', in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.183, established that the Muslim invasion took place on 'Iii Novembris era DCCLII (11 November 714 AD)'. The Roda text of the 'Prohetic Chronicle' says that there were seven months to the feast-day of St. Martin and the completion of the 169th year. The work is dated to April 883 AD. The choice of St. Martin's feast-day is intriguing, given Alfonso III's interest in this saint and his activity.

238: See A. Ubieto Arteta, 'La Redacción 'Rotense'..', pp.3-22.

He argued that the 'A' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III was compiled in the reign of Garcia I (910-914 AD) and the 'B' text in the reign of Ordono I (914-924 AD). The 'B' text was composed in Pamplona for a King Sancho Garces I (905-925 AD). The Chronicle had a triple authorship which was based on the prologue to Bishop Pelayo's LIBER CHRONICORUM: a, Julianus Pomerius (a name which apparently conflates Julianus Pomerius, a figure from the second half of the 5th century AD, and Julian of Toledo (a late 7th-century figure) although both are anachronistic in this context) was the author from Wamba to Pelayo; b, Sebastian of Salamanca was author from Pelayo to Alfonso II; c, an unknown author who completed the Chronicle. (On the confusion of the two Julians, see J. N. Hillgarth, 'El 'Prognosticum Futuri Saeculi' de San Julian de Toledo' in ANALECTA SACRA TARRACONENSIA, xxx(1957), pp.40-43: cf. Alcuin in 8th century, ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, II,8, PL 101, p.266B, 'Juliani quoque Pomerii Prognostica ex sanctorum floribus collecta Patrum consideravimus.' and Tusered rescript, CSM, vol.I, p.123, '.. librum beati Iuliani non Pomerii, sed Toletani qui vocitatur anticimena..').

239: Text in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, both versions, pp.132-133: '.. Alaba namque, Bizcai, Aizone (Alaone: 'A' text only), et Urdunia a suis (incolis: 'A' text) reperitur (reperiuntur: 'A' text), sicut Pampilonia (Panpilona: 'A' text only) Degius est atque Berroza. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.180, reports the sack of Deyo, 'Degium ex parte intravit et depravit ..'. There is no justification for the claim that Deyo had always been governed by its own people. J. Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.80, followed up a suggestion of Barrau-Dihigo that the words 'Degius est' were a marginal note that came to be incorporated into the text.

240: See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'De Nuevo Sobre la Crónica de Alfonso III y Sobre la Llamada Historia Silense' in INVESTIGACIONES, pp.235-264, esp.235-249. Ubieto Arteta had challenged Sánchez-Albornoz' belief that the 'A' text of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III was an improvement of the 'B' text. On Deyo as a marginal gloss, see 239. Neither Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, pp.72, 80, nor P. Linehan, HISTORY, pp.142-143, accept Ubieto Arteta's arguments.

241: See above notes 232-235.

242: See the letter heading the 'A' text, p.115: 'Et quia Gotorum cronica usque ad tempore gloriosi Uuambane regis Ysidorus sedis episcopus plenissime edocuit.'. The continuation to the accession of Wamba may be identified in the second folio of BN Ms. 1346 (Morales compilation) as the 'Supplementum divi Ildefonsi' following the 'Cronica Gothorum historia B. Isidori.'. This part of the index is in the section where two of Morales' sources matched, 'Ex vetusto Batriensi, cui concordat Ovetensis vetus.'. Texts of the index in España Sagrada 38, p.366.

243: On Isidore's works in the Asturian kingdom: Ms. 22 of Leon Cathedral (probably brought from Cordoba after Dulcidius' diplomatic mission) has the 'Laus Spaniae' and extracts from the Etymologies. Isidore's works are found in manuscripts marked with the Cross of Oviedo that has been seen as a kind of

ex-libris of Alfonso III, e.g. El Escorial T-II-26, El Escorial P-I-7 for the Etymologies and El Escorial T-II-25 for the Sentences. See also Isidore's works listed in the Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, p.702 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Notas Sobre los Libros Leídos..', p.231.

244: On Isidoran chronicles, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.LXIX-LXX.

245: See Julian of Toledo, HISTORIA WAMBAE, p.115.

246: On the campaign against Paul, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.116-117.

247: On the choir of angels in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-135. On the angel bodyguard of Wamba, see HISTORY WAMBAE, p.238.

248: 'B' text, p.114: '.. in villam propriam venit, cui nomen erat Gerticos nunc a bulco appellatur Bamba..'

249: HISTORIA WAMBAE, p.241. On the relevant Visigothic laws (L.V. II,1,8 and VI,1,7, ed. Zeumer), see above n.86.

250: Blinding of Nepotian, CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, both texts, pp.142-143; blinding of Aldroitus and execution of Piniolus, both texts, pp.144-145.

251: See L.V. VI,1,7 and above n.86.

252: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both text, pp.114-115: 'Statimque Toletum advectus in ecclesia (metropolis: 'A' text only) sancte Marie est in regno perhunctus.'. HISTORIA WAMBAE, p.220: 'At ubi ventum est, quo sanctae unctionis vexillam susciperet, in praetoriensi ecclesia, sanctorum scilicet Petri et Pauli, regio iam cultu conspicuus ante altare divinum consistens, ex more fidem populis reddidit.' On Julian and the importance of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul, see R. Collins, 'Julian of Toledo and the Education of Kings' in LAW, CULTURE AND REGIONALISM, pp.18-19.

253: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.148-149: 'Hordonus.. morbo podagrico correptus Obeto est defunctus et in basilica sancte Marie cum prioribus regibus est tumultatus.'. See P. Linehan, op.cit. pp.96-97, who suggests that the change of location for Wamba's anointing transferred the lustre of the occasion from the city to its Church.

254: On the church councils, see above n.100. The 'B' text says, 'Hic rex Toletum sinoda sepius agere ordinavit, sicut et in canonica sententia plenissime declaravit.'. This alludes to canons 15 and 16 of XI Toledo (675 AD) in which Wamba ordered that more councils should be held in Toledo, see Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.344-345 and 366-367. Despite this aim, Wamba held only one council up to the close of his reign in 680 AD. In the 'B' text, p.134, Fruela I is said to have punished married clergy by flogging and relegation to monasteries. On flogging for clergy, L.V. IX,1,21 (ed. Zeumer p.363). On monastic confinement,

canon 5 of VIII Toledo (653 AD), Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.278-279. On the councils of Toledo, see G. Martínez Diez, 'Los Concilios de Toledo' in *Anales Toledanos* 3(1971), pp.119-138.

255: For conciliar accounts in the Asturian kingdoms, see Floriano, *DIPLOMATICA*, vol.II, p.367 and M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Circulation des Manuscrits..', p.387.

256: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.116-117: 'Quumque episcopus civitatis seu et obtimates palatii qui regis fideles erant, cui penitus causa potionis latevat..'. On Julian of Toledo's role, see F.X. Murphy, 'Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain.' in *SPECULUM*, 27(1952), pp.1-27.

257: See above n.254.

258: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO II, both texts, pp.118-121.

259: See *CHRONICON MOISSIACENSE*, p.290, 'Iste (Wittiza) deditus in feminis, exemplo suo sacerdotes ac populum luxuriose vivere docuit, irritans furorem Domini..'. The date of this chronicle still raises difficulties. It is probably from the end of the first half of the 9th century, drawing on a now-lost chronicle from the Languedoc region, see Devic and Vaissete, *HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DE LANGUEDOC* (Toulouse, 1875) II Preuves, col.1-3 and G. Martin, 'La Chute..', pp.215-216.

260: On the Quinisext council, see R. Collins, *ARAB CONQUEST*, pp.18-19.

261: For Wittiza in the CHRONICLE OF 754, see pp.63 and 65.

262: See CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.134, for Wittiza's attack on clerical celibacy, 'Iste scelus, quam de tempore Uitizani sacerdotes huxores habere consueberant, finem inposuit. Etiam multis in scelera permanentibus flagella inferens monasteriis perligavit. Sicque ex tunc vetitum est sacerdotibus coniugia sortire, unde canonicam obserbantes sententiam magna iam crevit ecclesiam.'. See above n.254. On VII Toledo (646 AD), Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.278-279

263: 'A' text, 'Iste (Roderick) nempe in peccatis, Uittizani ambulavit et non solum zelo iustitie armatus huic sceleri finem inposuit, sed magis ampliavit.'

264: See J. Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.244-245.

265: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.137-139, 'Mauregatus, .. de serva tamen natus.'

266: 'A' text, p.139: ' Sponte regnum dimisit ob causam quod diaconus fuit.' This differs from the 'B' text, p.138: 'Exponte regnum dimisit ob causam quod diaconus fuit.'. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA is silent on Vermudo being in holy orders.

267: The double campaign against Alava and Castile in 791 AD is reported by Ibn al-Athir, with a defeat for Vermudo I.

Al-Maqqari, vol.II, p.99, and Roderick of Toledo, HISTORIA ARABUM, p.262, only identify the Muslim expedition against Alava, placing it in 792 AD. Ibn Idhari, p.101, identified two expeditions but placed them both in 792 AD. The Annales Compostellani, p. 60, LAS CRÓNICAS LATINAS, on a campaign in Alava in 792 AD. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Derrota del Burbia, ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.468-481, and J. Perez de Urbel, HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA, vol.VI, p.42, put Vermudo's abdication as a consequence of the defeat at the Burbia in 791 AD; cf. the text in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, 'Eo regnante preliis factus est in Burbia sub era --. Postea voluntarie dimisit.'. L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.151 n.2, took into account the differing dates of the campaign and was doubtful about the link between the defeat and Vermudo I's abdication.

268: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174: 'Iste (Alfonso II) regni anno per tirannidem regno expulsis monasterio Abelianie est retrusus.'

269: In the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.116-117, Wamba had been unable to resume the throne after having received holy orders when he seemed at the point of death. Married clerics were relegated to monasteries ('B' text, p.134), as were political offenders such as Nepotian (both texts, pp.142-143). In the 10th century, the Leonese king Alfonso IV (925-930 AD) resigned the throne to his brother Ramiro II (931-950 AD). An attempt by Alfonso IV to reclaim the throne ended with him being blinded by Ramiro, see SAMPIRO, Pelagian text, pp.320-321. On Alfonso II as a monk, see I. Bango Torviso, 'L'Ordo Gotorum et sa Survivance dans l'Espagne du Haut Moyen Age', REVUE DE L'ART, 70(1985), pp.12-15.

270: On the punishment of married priests, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.134: 'Etiam multis in scelera permanentibus flagella inferens monasteriis perligavit.'. See above, notes 254 and 262.

271: See above n.250.

272: See above n.86.

273: For examples, see Y. Bonnaz, CRONIQUE ASTURIENNES, p.LXXI, n.5. Canonical sentences are invoked in charters from Alfonso III's reign: Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, 882 AD, p.139; 900 AD, p.271; 905 AD, p.310.

274: See Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.LXXI-LXXIII.

275: The Asturian chronicles describe Muslims as 'Sarraceni', 'Arabes', 'Ismaelitae' and, much less frequently, 'Mauri' and 'Getuli'. The term 'Chaldaean' is used in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, 15 times and in the 'B' text, 17 times. It is used once in the 'Item Ordo Gotorum (Obetensium) Regum' of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA. The description of the Muslims as 'Chaldaeans' seems to derive from Mozarabic writing of the mid 9th century, cf. Eulogius, APOLOGETICUS MARTYRUM, CSM, vol.II, p.484, for the biblical citation, 'Ecce ego suscitabo super vos Chaldaeos..', (Habakkuk, 1,6.). See the references to Chaldaeans

in CSM, vol.II, p.751.

276: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO II, both texts, pp.148-149.

277: 'B' text, p.122 and the HISTORY OF THE GOTHs, p.273.

278: On the palace, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.120: '... Corduba in civitate palatium est fabricatus, qui nunc a Caldeis 'Uallat Ruderici' est vocitatus.' On movements, see 'B' text, p.142: 'Post anni vero circulum et civitatis Ispalensis inruptionem reversi sunt in propriam regionem.'

279: On the end of the palace passage, 'B' text, p.120, 'Iam nunc revertamur ad ordinem regni.' On the end of the Viking raid, 'B' text, p.142, 'Sed redeamus ad causam.'

280: On the CHRONICLE OF 754: Z. García Villada, CRÓNICA, pp.41-43; L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', p.327 and 'Recherches..', p.9, thought it had been a source. C. Sánchez-Albornoz preferred to see the use of his alleged lost 9th century chronicle, see 'El Relato de Alfonso III sobre Covadonga', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.65-73. Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXII, and Gil, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.70, thought that it had not been used. J. Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, pp.CXLIII-CLVI, did not include the CHRONICLE OF 754 among his sources for the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III.

281: See the CHRONICLE OF 754 on Wittiza, pp.63,65, and on the troubled circumstances of Roderick's accession, p.69: 'Rudericus tumultuose regnum ortante senatu invadit.'

282: On the 'sons of Wittiza' in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.123 and 'B' text, p.120. On Bishop Oppa, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.124-129. On Oppa in the CHRONICLE OF 754, p.71: referring to Musa, it says '... atque Toletu urbem regiam diverberans nonnullos seniores nobiles viros, qui utqumque remanserant, per Oppam filium Egiche regis a Toletu fugam arripientes gladio patibuli iugulat et pe eius occasionem cunctos ense detruncat.' See R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.27-28, criticised an emendation to the text of the CHRONICLE OF 754 that made Oppa a villain in line with later stories. In his edition of the Chronicle, Lopez Perreira, p.71, n.12, acknowledged taking up a proposed reading by R. Dozy in RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE ET LA LITTERATURE DE L'ESPAGNE PENDANT LE MOYEN AGE, vol.I, p.5.

283: On Theodemir, see the CHRONICLE OF 754, pp.112-114. The location of the passage was changed in López Perreira's edition. See, for comparison, the edition of the CHRONICLE OF 754 in CSM, vol.I, pp.16-54.

284: On the treaties, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, '... relicos vero pacis federe blandiundo sivi subiugaverunt.' and both texts, '... non habebitis cum eo pacis federe.'

285: For the manuscript tradition, see E. López Perreira, CRONICA MUZARABE DE 754. EDICION CRITICA., pp.7-10.

286: For examples of biblical references, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXV n.3.

287: On the biblical references, see above n.94.

288: See Genesis 3, 9-10, for a conversation between God and Abraham, and I Samuel 24,1, for the conversation of David and Paul at the cave of En-gedi.

289: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-135.

290: Idem, pp.128-129.

291: See the 'A' text, p.127, for a comparison with the moon and the 'B' text, p.126, for a comparison with a mustard seed. 292: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.122-123, '.. babilonico regi..'.
293: See above n.285.

294: On 'iniquitas', see the 'B' text, p.118, 'Quia habundavit iniquitas, refrigessit karitas.'. On 'nequitia', see the 'B' text, on Roderick, 'Cuius tempore, adhuc in peiori nequitia crevit Spania.'.

295: For the mid 8th century, see Boniface's letter to King Aethelbald of Mercia, Ep.73 in MGH EPISTOLAE SELECTAE, ed. M. Tangl, I (1955) p.151. At the start of the 9th century, see the TESTAMENT OF 812, 'Sed quia te offendit eorum prepotens ianctantia. In era DCCXLVIII simul cum rege Roderico regni amisit gloria.', Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, p.120.

296: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.124-129, on the battle at Covadonga. The 'B' text, p.124, puts the Muslim army at 170,000.

297: On visigothic hagiography, see R. Collins, 'Julian of Toledo and the Education of Kings in Late Seventh-Century Spain', pp.3-4, in LAW, CULTURE AND REGIONALISM IN EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN; 'Hagiografia' in DHEE, pp.1073-1075. On the Passiones, see C. Garcia Rodriguez, EL CULTO DE LOS SANTOS, pp.73-76. See Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, pp.695-696 for a list of 'Passionaries' in the Asturian kingdom.

298; See the critical apparatus to the text in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS although some of the associations call for the eye of faith.

299; E.g. in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, the prisoners from the captured Muslim settlements of Coria and Talamanca were sold as slaves '.. sub corona vendidit', a classical phrase used by Julius Caesar, GALLIC WAR, 3,16,4, 'sub corona emit' and by Orosius, ADVERSUS PAGANOS, 3,12,17; 3,16,2; 4,7,6.

300: For suggested connections with the Carolingian works e.g Einhard's LIFE OF CHARLEMAGNE or the ANNALES BERTINIANI, Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXV.

- 301: See above Ch.3. Sect.F.
- 302: See M. Stero, 'El Latin de la Crónica..', pp.125-135.
- 303: See M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas..', p.587.
- 304: R. Menéndez Pidal, RELIQUIAS DE LA POESÍA ESPAÑOLA (Madrid, 1951), pp.XXX-XXXII.
- 305: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Relato de Alfonso III Sobre Covadonga', p.52ff.
- 306: See Isidore of Seville, 'Praecinere carmina maiorum, quibus auditores provocati ad Gloriam excitentur.' p.421 in P. Pascal, 'The Institutionum Disciplinae of Isidore of Seville', in TRADITIO (1957). See also R. Menéndez Pidal, LAS RELIQUIAS DE LA POESIA ESPAÑOLA (Madrid, 1951), pp.XXX-XXXII.
- 307: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.126: 'Et quum dixi omnes exercitus Gotorum esset congregatus..'
- 308: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Relato de Alfonso III Sobre Covadonga.', p.59-60.
- 309: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.124-127. In the 'A' text, the comparison is with the phases of the moon and in the 'B' text, with the growth of a mustard seed. The 'A' text enhances the theme of the restoration of divine favour to the Christians after their chastisement. It also adds to the hostile portrait of Oppa by describing him as 'nefandus'.
- 310: See al-Maqqari, vol.II, pp.58-61; AJBAR MACHMUA, pp.58-62; Ibn al-Athir, pp.95-101. E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.95-101, took this information to be basically worthy of trust. R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.115-117, displays a robustly sceptical approach to this material.
- 311: M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas..', p.587.
- 312: CHRONICA DE ALBELDA, p.173, '.. Astororum regnum divina providentia exoritur.'
- 313: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.130, for Alfonso I's arrival in the Asturias and his marriage. The 'A' text is silent on Alfonso I's arrival and marriage, although it emphasises his royal Visigothic ancestry. It does not indicate Cangas de Onís as Pelayo's death-place. The era date DCCLXXV (737 AD) is the only concrete information.
- 314: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-135.
- 315: 'B' text, pp.120 and 122.
- 316: 'A' text, pp.139 and 141, for Alfonso II, p.145 for Ramiro I.
- 317: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, on Silo, 'Cum Spania ob causam matris pacem habuit.'. See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.140, for the 50,000 'Saracens' who came to help the

Meridan rebel Mahmud, '.. ex provinciis Spanie.'

318: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.148-149.

319: On the ANNALES BERTINIANI, see the Introduction, pp.1-19, to the edition by J.L. Nelson, and on Prudentius of Troyes, pp.7-9. On the use of common language, see Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXV, e.g. the phrase 'honorifice suscepit', used by Prudentius of Troyes, is used by both versions of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.117, and 'B' text, p.140. Bonnaz, p.LXXV, nn.3-6., lists and discusses other examples. See the ANNALES BERTINIANI s.a. 844 for the Viking raid on Toulouse, Galicia and Seville.

320: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.142-143. A note in the Codex Rotensis text of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.188, says, 'Ingressi sunt Lothomanni in Spania era DCCCLXXXII Kalendas Augustus (1 August, 844 AD). 'Spania' here indicates Muslim Spain. According to Ibn Hayyan, in E. Levi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.219-220, Vikings landed at Lisbon 20 August 844 AD and were driven away from Seville by Muslim troops in November 844 AD. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Invasiones Normandas a la Espana Cristiana Durante el Siglo IX.' in SETTIMANE DI STUDIO DEL CENTRO ITALIANO DI STUDIO SULL'ALTO MEDIOEVO (Spoleto, 1969), pp.344-408 and J. Uria Riu, 'Los Normandos en las Costas de Asturias en el Reino de Ramiro I', BIDEA, 26(1955).

321: ANNALES BERTINIANI, p.7.

322: H. Flórez, ESPAÑA SAGRADA 13, p.421, in the 18th century. In this century, it was taken up by Z. García Villada, CRÓNICA, pp.43ff and 'Notas Sobre la Crónica..', p.258ff.

323: See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, especially in 'Una Crónica Asturiana Perdida..', pp.721-756, and DESPOBLACIÓN, pp.127-137. His article, 'El Relato de las Campanas de Alfonso I.' in INVESTIGACIONES, p.203, carries a sub-heading, 'Nuevas Pruebas de la Existencia de una Incognita Cronica del Siglo VIII.' which disappears from the revised version in ORÍGENES, VOL.II, pp.223-238.

324: On Visigothic phrases, '.. honore comitis sublimatus'. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Relato de Alfonso III Sobre Covadonga', p.66, n.94 and 'El Relato de Alfonso III el Magno Sobre las Campañas de Alfonso I', pp.202-213.

325: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, DESPOBLACIÓN, pp.127-130.

326: Idem, pp.130-131.

327: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Una Crónica Asturiana Perdida ..', pp.734 n.63 and 735, for a compariso of the Laterculus material (CHRONICON ALCOBACENSE and the CHRONICON EX HISTORIAE COMPOSTELLANAE). See Ch.3. Sects.E and F.

328: C. Sánchez-Albornoz emphasised that al-Razi took his information from a Latin source. Where Ibn al-Athir is clearly in error, e.g Vermudo I as a priest rather than a deacon, Alfonso

II was killed by Mauregatus. Sanchez-Albornoz explained this by his distance in time and space from Spain and the events he described, see 'Una Crónica Asturiana Perdida..', pp.731-733.

329: For examples of similarities between the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA and the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', pp.343-346, and in Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXIX n.1.

330: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.114-115, for Wamba's bee and pp.132-135 for Alfonso I and the heavenly choir.

331: See Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXV n.3, for a list of biblically-derived expressions. For the description of Alfonso II, see CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.142: 'Qui prefatus Adefonsus rex per multis spatiis temporum gloriosam, castam, pudicam, sobriam atque immaculatam vitam duxit, atque in senectute bona post LII annis regni sui sanctissimum spiritum permisit ad celum. Et qui in hoc seculo sanctissimam vitam egit. Oveto ipse in tumulo quievit.'. For Ordoneo I, see the 'B' text, p.148: 'Felicia tempora duxit regno, felix extat in celo. Et qui hic nimium dilectus fuit a populis, nunc autem letatur cum sanctis angelis in celestibus regnis.'.

332: For borrowings from Visigothic legal texts, see Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.LXXI n.5.

333: E.g. the list of Alfonso I's conquests has the phrase, '.. a suis reperitur semper esse possessas..', 'B' text, p.132, and '.. a suis incolis reperiuntur semper esse possessæ..', 'A' text, p.133, referring to (for example) Pamplona, did not mean that they had never been ruled by Muslims, as would have been known in the late 9th century, but rather, that they had not been repopulated, an activity which was developing under Alfonso III.

334: See Ch.3. Sects. E and F.

335: For the views on the supposed 'lost chronicle', see above, n.186.

336: See 'The Ordering and Transmission of Social Memory', Ch.2, pp.41-59, in J. Fentress AND C. Wickham, SOCIAL MEMORY (Oxford, 1992).

337: Date of the Muslim invasion in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.127; TESTAMENT OF 812 in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, n.23, pp.118-131; LATERCULUS REGUM OVETENSIIUM in C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Una Crónica Asturiana Perdida ..', pp.733-734 n.63.

338: On Alfonso I's conquests, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-133.

339: M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las Primeras Crónicas..', pp.585-587 and R. Wright, 'Textos Asturianos..', pp.22-23 n.32.

340: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches ..', pp.7-8. There are a few

passages with some detail although these are few enough: Wamba's enforced penitence, Mahmud's rebellion, Nepotian's revolt, Musa and the Banu Qasi.

341: Idem, p.8. No explanation is given as to why Basques rebelled against Fruela I and Ordoño I or why the Galicians rebelled against Fruela I and Silo. No explanation is given as to why Aurelius and Silo lived in peace with the Muslims while their predecessors had fought against them. No explanation is given as to why the slaves ('libertini' in the 'A' text, p.137, and 'servilis' in the 'B' text, p.136) rebelled against Aurelius. The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III carries general statements on which it does not add detail, e.g. Ramiro I is said to have suppressed many uprisings in his kingdom but only two are mentioned, both texts, pp.142-143; Ordoño I is said to have fought many battles against the Muslims and to have captured many settlements but only the campaign against Musa and the capture of Coria and Talamanca are reported, both texts, pp.144-149.

342: On the dates, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.8-9. The 'B' text, p.122, gives dates for the Muslim invasion and, p.138, for the anointing of Alfonso II. Muslim invasions are dated to the third year (i.e. 794 AD) and thirtieth (i.e. 821 AD), both texts, pp.138-141. The second expedition is dated to 816 AD in the Muslim sources, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.162-164. There is no indication as to when Alfonso II's churches were built in Oviedo.

343: Idem p.9, e.g. did the conspiracy of Aldroitus and Piniolus precede the first Viking raid on the Asturian kingdom in 844 AD? Was the undated capture of Coria and Talamanca prior to the Viking raid of 858 AD?

344: Idem pp.11-12.

345: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.122, for Pelayo's sister. There is probably as little substance to this story as to the reports of Roderick's rape of Count Julian's led him to collaborate with Muslim invaders. See Collins, ARAB CONQUESTS, pp.35-36, for an unequivocal rejection of the stories. There is, however, nothing implausible in the 8th century or 9th century of marriage partners being taken from across the ethnic/religious divides, e.g. the CHRONICLE OF 754, pp.76-78, reports that Musa's son, Abd al-Aziz, married Egilona, Roderick's widow, and planned to set himself up as an independent ruler.

346: See L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Remarques..', p7, p.12.

347: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Relato de Alfonso III Sobre Covadonga.', pp.41-47 and 'Sobre la Autoridad de las Crónicas de Albelda y de Alfonso III.', pp.787-802.

348: Against Sánchez-Albornoz's claims, see Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties on the Churches of Early Medieval Spain', pp.3-18. For the customary attribution to Alfonso II, see J.D. Dodds, 'ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, Ch.2: San Julián de los Prados, pp.27-46.

349: See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre la Autoridad..', p.788.

350: J.I. Ruíz de la Peña, CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.41, 'Sin las crónicas redactadas en los años de mayor gloria del tercer Alfonso con el deliberado propósito de relatar, magnificándola y justificándola ideológicamente, la historia del reino, ¿qué sabríamos hoy de esa historia?'

351: See above n.341.

352: On the defeat at the Guadacelete, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.171-172; E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.293-294 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Jornada de Guadacelete.', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.195-218. On the defeat at the Hoz (or Foz: See Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, p.318,n.1) de la Morcuera, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.317-318; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Campana de la Morcuera.', ORIGENES, pp.338-362.

353: On the Testament of 812, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, pp.118-141 and, for a discussion of the three forms, see F. J. Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, pp.118-125.

354: Testament of 812, Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, p.120: 'Sed quia te offendit eorum prepotens iactantia in era DCCXLVIII simul cum rege Roderico regni amisit gloria. Merito etenim Arabicum sustinuit gladium. Ex qua peste, tua dextera Christe famulum tuum eruisti Pelagium. Qui in principis sublimatus potentia, victorialiter dimicans, hoste perculit et Christianorum Asturumque gentem victor sublimando defendit.'

355: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.122.

356: Testament of 812. (See above n.354): 'Ab illo (Fruela) etenim in hoc loco qui nuncupatur Ovetdao fundata nitet ecclesia tuo nomine sacratuoque sacro nomini dedicata. Atsunt et altaria duodecim apostolorum simul et ecclesia Juliani et Basilissae martyrum tuorum.'

357: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.138-141. There is another indication of building activity in Oviedo under Fruela I. A document of 25 November 781 AD indicates the founding of the monastery of San Vicente at Oviedo in 761 AD. For the text, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, doc.11, pp.80-85. For arguments against the document's authenticity, see R. Cavanilles, LA CATEDRAL DE OVIEDO, (Salinas, 1977), pp.19-26. On building activity in Oviedo, see the extensive bibliography given by J.I. Ruíz de la Peña, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.13,n.1.

358: See above n.352.

359: See L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.157-163; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Batalla de Lutos.', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.491-508 and 'La Campaña de Abd al Karim ibn Muguit', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.509-530; J. Uria Riu, 'Las Campañas Enviadas por Hixem Contra Asturias (794-795) y su probable Geografía', pp.502-533, in ESTUDIOS SOBRE LA MONARQUÍA ASTURIANA.

360: After Pelayo's victory at Covadonga, see the CHRONICLE OF

ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.131: ' .. omnes in commune gratias referunt Deo dicentes: 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum, qui confortat in se credentes et ad nihilum deducit improbas gentes.' and 'B' text, p.130: 'Iam denique tunc reddita est pax terris. Et quantum crescebat Xpi nominis dignitas, tantum tabescebat Caldeorum ludibriosa calamitas.'. The last sentence is also used by the Codex Rotensis version of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.188. After Pelayo, the Asturian kings are credited with victories over the Muslims although little detail is given, e.g. on Fruela I, 'Victorias multas fecit (egit: 'A' text), CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.134-135.

361: See the ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS and REVISION s.a. 797 and 798 AD.

362: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.134: 'Iste scelus, quam de tempore Uitizani sacerdotes huxoes habere consueberant, finem inposuit. Etiam multis in sclera permanentibus flagella inferens monasteriis perligavit.'.

363: List of bishops in CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.158.

364: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.134. See above n.134.

365: C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Recherches..', p.174, nn.2 and 3.

366: On the origins of the cult of St. James, see R. Fletcher, ST. JAMES'S CATAPULT, p.60ff and J. Pérez de Urbel, 'Los Origenes del Culto de Santiago en España.', HISPANIA SACRA 5(1952), pp.1-33.

367: On the churches built by Alfonso II and Alfonso III, see R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.237; A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III for Alfonso II's church, pp.87-92 and Alfonso III, pp.391-395. For the act of consecration of Alfonso III's church at Compostela in 899 AD, see the text in C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre el Acta de la Iglesia de Compostela', ORIGENES, p.818, n.5: 'Suplex egregii eximii principis Ordonii proles ego Adefonsus princeps cum praedicto antistite statuimus aedificare domum Domini et restaurare templum ad tumulum sepulchri Apostoli, quod antiquitus construxerat divae memoriae dns. Adefonsus magnus ex petra et luto opere parvo.'. On the early foundation, see J.A. Garcia de Cortazar, SANTIAGO EN LA ALTA EDAD MEDIA (Burgos, 1983), pp.99-277, esp. 99-118.

368: Text in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, no.185, pp.339-342. See also R. Fletcher, 'Alfonso III's letter to the clergy of Tours', p.318, in ST. JAMES'S CATAPULT.

369: Among the booty taken from by Ordone I from the camp of the defeated Musa was military aid and gifts that had been sent by the Carolingian Charles the Bald. Charles, who was emperor from 875 AD, is described here as 'rex Francorum', in what is the only reference to the Carolingians in the Chronicle. The description of Charles as king is accurate for the debated date of Musa's defeat at Albelda in 859 AD, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.150; E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, p.204. It may be that a late 9th-century Asturian royal chronicle chose to play down

Charles's status in the light of Alfonso III's own imperial aspirations in Spain.

370: On Ordoño I's repopulation, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.144: 'Civitates ab antiquitus desertas, id est, Legionem, Astoricam, Tudem et Amagiam Patriciam muris circumdedit, portas in altitudinem posuit populo partim ex suis, partim ex Spania advenientibus.'

371: See E. Colbert, MARTYRS, pp.351-353, on the translation of the relics to Oviedo; F.J. Simonet, HISTORIA DE LOS MOZARABES, p.486. The remains were received at Oviedo on 9 January 884 AD. The date was thereafter celebrated as a feast-day by the Oviedan church, A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.290-293.

372: See M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Circulation..', p.386 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Notas Sobre los Libros Lleidos..', p.231.

373: On the use of history, see J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Franks and the English in the 9th Century: Some Common Historical Interests' in EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY (Oxford, 1975); J. Nelson, ANNALES BERTINIANI, pp.2-5; M. Innes and R. McKitterick, 'The Writing of History' in CAROLINGIAN CULTURE; EMULATION AND INNOVATION, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1994).

CHAPTER 6: THE CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III AND ITS THEMES

1: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174: '.. omnemque Gotorum ordinem sicuti Toleto fuerat, tam in ecclesia quam palatio in Ovetao cuncta statuit.'

2: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.114-115 and 148-149.

3: On the parallels between Asturian and Visigothic offices, see L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.226ff; G. Martínez Diez, 'Las Instituciones del Reino Astur a Través de los Diplomas.' in ANUARIO DE LA HISTORIA DEL DERECHO ESPAÑOL, 35(1965), pp.59-167. C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Restauración del Orden Gótico en el Palacio y en la Iglesia.', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.623-629. On Visigothic government see, J.F. O'Callaghan MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.55-69. In the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, there are '..officiis palatinis..', 'B' text, p.132; '..excubie palatine..', 'A' text, p.133; '..magnati palatii..', 'B' text, p.136; '..omni officio palatino..', 'A' text, p.137; '..comes palatii..', both texts, pp.142-144; '..procer..', 'B' text, p.144. Where a king is said to have been 'elected' to the throne (e.g. Ramiro I '..eligitur, 'B' text, p.142 and '..electus est..', p.143), there is no description of who formed the electing body. The 'A' text, p.143, refers to '..ducibus et comitibus..'. Although counts are known in both versions of the Chronicle and from diplomas, there is no evidence for the office of 'dux' in the Asturian kingdom. See Y. Bonnaz, 'Divers Aspects de la Continuité Wisigothique Dans la Monarchie Asturienne.', pp.88-90.

4: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.127: 'Confidimus enim in Domini misericordia quod ab isto modico monticulo quem conspicias sit Yspanie salus et Gotorum gentis exercitus reparatus..', and

the 'B' text, p.126: 'Spes nostra Xps est quod per istum modicum monticulum quem conspicias sit Spanie salus et Gotorum gentis exercitus reparatus.'

5: Testament of 812. Text in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, p.120: '.. Christianorum Asturumque gentem victor sublimando defendit.'

6: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.144, 146: 'Muzza quidam nomine natione Gothus sed ritu Mamentiano..'

7: Idem, both texts, pp.122-123: 'Hic requiescit Rudericus ultimus rex Gotorum.'

8: The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III castigates Wittiza for his personal immorality, as does the CHRONICLE OF MOISSAC, p.290, 'Iste deditus in feminis.'. On the favourable treatment of Wittiza, see the CHRONICLE OF 754, pp.63 and 65.

9: On Muslim names and titles, see 'Names and Titles, pp.XI-XII, in H. Kennedy, THE PROPHET AND THE AGE OF THE CALIPHATES, (New York, 1986): 'The patronymic (nasab) indicating the the individual's father or extended pedigree. This takes the form ibn -- or bint -- i.e. 'son of --', 'daughter of --'.. The plural from banu, literally 'sons of --' indicates a tribe or clan.'

10: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.121: 'Sed ipsi, qui patrie excidium intulerunt, simul cum gente Sarracenorum gladio perierunt.'

11: For Oppa, see p.71. On Wittiza's sons, Olmundus, Romulus and Ardabastus, see Ibn al-Qutiya, pp.3-13. R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.32-34 and 144-145, rejects the alleged role of Wittiza's sons in the conquest, arguing that Wittiza was probably less than 30 years old at the time of his death and so could not have left sons sufficiently old to play their allotted roles in the Muslim invasion.

12; See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Relato de Alfonso III Sobre Covadonga.', pp.64-65.

13: Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, pp.128.n7, 129. See R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.15-19, who connects the origin of the hostile portrait of Wittiza with the 'Quinisext Council', held at Constantinople in 692 AD, which issued three canons dealing with clerical marriage. Its acceptance of a married clergy was rejected by the papacy. A church council is known to have been held in the reign of Wittiza, probably in 702 AD, (see G. Martínez Diez, LA COLECCIÓN CANONICA HISPANA, vol.I (Madrid, 1966), pp.166-167) although its contents were not preserved. Collins associated the womanising reputation of Wittiza with his acceptance of the 'Quinisext Council' and its ratification by XVIII Toledo. The subsequent collapse of the Visigothic kingdom permitted the offending council and its canons to be dropped from conciliar collections.

14: On continuing immorality, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.121: 'Iste (Roderick) nempe in peccatis Uittizani

ambulavit et non solum zelo iustitie armatus huic sceleri finem inposuit, sed magis ampliavit.' and the 'B' text, p.120: 'Cuius (Roderick) tempore adhuc in peiori nequitia crevit Spania.'. On the end of clerical marriage, see 'B' text: 'Iste scelus, quam de tempore Uitizani sacerdotes huxores habere consueberant, finem inposuit.'.

15: See Beatus of Liébana, ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, p.45: 'Ut puta Vuitaiza rex fuit, sed multi hodie ab ipso nomen sumunt 'Vuitaizanes', etiam pauperes, ut per nomen agnoscat, quod de stirpe regia est, quia ipsut nomen regis est, qui et ipse rex potuerat esse, si nomen fecisset regem.'.

16: On kingship, see R. Collins, 'Julian of Toledo and the Education of Kings in Late Seventh-century.' in LAW, CULTURE AND REGIONALISM, pp.1-27.

17: See canon 17 of VI Toledo, (638 AD), J. Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.344-345.

18: See A. Iglesias Ferreiro, 'Notas en Torno a la Succession en el Reino Visigodo.' in AHDE, 40(1970) pp.653-682. On the links with the Visigothic kingdom, see Y. Bonnaz, 'Continuité Wisigothique..', pp.90-96.

19: See CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.136-139: Mauregatus '.. ex principe Adefonso maiore (filii Adefonsi maioris: 'A' text) de serva tamen natus..'. .

20: J. Viv. es, CONCILIOS, pp.344-345.

21: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.138-139, for Vermudo I as a deacon.

22: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p174.

23: See I.G. Bango Torviso, 'L'Ordo Gotorum..', pp.13-17. In a donation of 922 AD, the Leonese king Ordoño II (914-924 AD), referred to Allfonso's stay in the Galician monastery of Samos: 'Proavus meus iam .. Adefonsus adhuc in pueritia, remoravit ibidem in Sammanos, et in alium locellum quod dicunt Subregum in ripa laure, cum fratres, multo tempore, intempore persecutionis eius.'. See ESPAÑA SAGRADA 14, p.369. The acceptance of holy orders entailed a vow of chastity. A decision was made by aspirants at 18 years of age as to whether to accept a vow of chastity and proceed to a subdiaconate at 21 and a diaconate at 25, see canon 1, II Toledo (527 AD) in Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.42-43.

24: See I.G. Bango Torviso, 'L'Ordo Gotorum..', pp.14-15; J. D. Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, pp.34-36.

25: Alfonso IV surrendered the crown to his brother, Ramiro II (931-950 AD) and retired to a monastery, see SAMPIRO (Pelagian text), p.312. Alfonso IV changed his mind but was blinded by Ramiro, which proved a final disbarment from the throne.

26: See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La 'Ordinatio Principis' en la

Epoca Goda y Post-Visigoda.' in CUADERNOS DE HISTORIA, 25-36(1962), pp.5-36.

27: Y. Bonnaz, 'Divers Aspects de la Continuité..', pp.97-98; G. Martínez Diaz, 'El Rey' in 'las Instituciones..', pp.67-69.

28: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-131.

29: Isidore of Seville, HISTORY OF THE GOTHS, p.292: '.. gloriosissimus Suinthila gratia divina regni suscepit sceptr.'. Expressions involving '..sceptra regni..' and '..suscipere sceptra..' are used in the CHRONICLE OF 754, pp.69,86. On symbols, see F.Mateu y Llopis, 'los Atributos de la Realeza.', ANALES TOLEDANOS 3(1976).

30: On Alfonso II, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.136-137: '.. in solio paterno Adefonsum constituerunt (in regno: 'B' text only). Cf. 'B' text, p.118, on Wittiza's accession, '.. ad regni solium..' and 'A' text, '.. ad solium patris..'. On the restoration of Alfonso III in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA: '.. et in patris solio regnans feliciter conletatur.'. On the use of such phrases, see Y. Bonnaz, 'Divers Aspects de la Continuité..', p.97, n.5. On the use of similar expressions in Asturian charters from the time of Alfonso III, see Floriano, vol.II: charter of 895 AD, doc.146, p.199; charter of 907 AD, doc.189, p.358; charter of 909, doc.196, p.377.

31: See 'El Culto de Nuestra Señora', pp.124-133, in C. García Rodríguez, EL CULTO DE LOS SANTOS.

32: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.123; 'Sed qui ex semine regio remanserunt, quidam ex illis Franciam petierunt, maxima vero pars in patria Asturiensium intraverunt sibique Pelagium filium quondam Faffilani ducis ex semine rregio principem elegerunt.'. The 'B' text, p.122, has: 'Qui per omnes Astores mandatum dirigens, in unum colecti sunt et sibi Pelagium principem elegerunt.'. See Y. Bonnaz, 'Divers Aspects de la Continuité..', pp.81-87; J.Montenegro and A.del Castillo, 'Don Pelayo y los Orígenes de la Reconquista: Un Nuevo Punto de Vista.', HISPANIA, 180(1992), pp.5-32.

33: E.g. Fafila (Pelayo's son): CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, '.. in regno successit.' and 'B' text, p.130, '.. in vicem patris successit.'. On Alfonso I, who reached the throne by marriage to Pelayo's daughter: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.131, '.. successit in regnum..' and 'B' text, p.130, '.. eligitur in regno..'. Both texts agree on 'successit', pp.134-135, for Fruela and, pp.136-137, for Aurelius. On Silo, who reached the throne by marriage to Alfonso I's daughter, 'A' text, p.137, '.. successit in regnum..' and 'B' text, p.136, '.. pro qua re etiam adeptus est regnum.'. On Alfonso II, see the following note. For Vermudo I, both texts have, pp.138-139, '..eligitur in regnum.' For Ramiro I, the 'A' text, p.143, has '.. electus est in regnum..' and the 'B' text, p.142, has '.. eligitur in regnum..'. For Ordoño I, both texts, pp.144-145, have '.. successit in regno..'.
..

34: On Alfonso I, the 'A' text, p.131, has 'Post Fafilani

interitum Adefonsus successit in regnum...'. The 'B' text, p.130, has '.. ab universo populo Adefonsus eligitur in regno..'. On Alfonso II, the 'A' text, p.137, has '.. regina Adosinda cum omni officio palatino Adefonsum filium fratris sui Froilani regis in solio constituerunt paterno.'. The 'B' text, p.136, has '.. omnes magnati palatii cum regina Adosinda in solio paterno Adefonsum constituerunt in regno.'. (The usurpation of Mauregatus prevented Alfonso taking the throne. Both texts later report, pp.138-139, that Alfonso II was named as successor by Vermudo I, '.. sibi in regnum (regno: 'A' text) successorem instituit (fecit: 'A' text)..'.)

35: As a discreet description of difficult or disputed elections, the phrase '.. adeptus in regnum.' is used in the ANALES CASTELLANOS I: 'In era DCCCCIIII adeptus est in regnum domnu Adefonsu.'. It is reminiscent of the phrase '.. positus est.' used in the LATERCULUS REGUM OVETENSIIUM for Alfonso II: 'Tunc positus est in regno domnus Adefonsus XVIII kalendas octobris sub era DCCCXXVIII.'. It is also used by the LATERCULUS LEGIONENSIS, a continuation of the LATERCULUS REGUM OVETENSIIUM, for Alfonso III: 'Positus est in regno domnus Audefonsus filius domni Ordonii II klds Mai era DCCCCII et regnavit annis XLVII ms.VI.'. See above Ch.3. Sect.F. on Asturian regnal lists. P. Linehan, HISTORY, p.134, sees the '..positus est' formula as the solution of a discreet copyist to a delicate issue of succession.

36: On the Leon Antiphonary, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La 'Ordinatio Principis'..', p.8 and nn.20-21, pp.22-23. He also discusses Visigothic king-making rituals, pp.15-17. Following up the words of Julian of Toledo, HISTORIA WAMBAE, p.220, Sánchez-Albornoz argued for anointing together with coronation and enthronement as part of the king-making process. Sisenand (631-636 AD) was the earliest anointed Visigothic king, see P.D. King, LAW AND SOCIETY IN THE VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM (CAMBRIDGE, 1972), p.48,n.5. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La 'Ordinatio Principis'..', pp.19-23, for anointing in the Asturian kingdom. On anointing and inauguration rituals in early medieval Europe, see the collected articles of J. Nelson in POLITICS AND RITUAL IN EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE (London, 1986). P. Linehan, HISTORY, pp.132, 147-150, is sceptical of the value of the Leon Antiphonary and its illustration as a source for royal anointing practice in 10th century Spain.

37: On Wamba, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.114-115. On Roderick, see the 'B' text, p.120.

38: On Alfonso II's anointing, see the 'B' text, p.138.

39: The anointings are reported in the 'continuation' to the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: on the anointing of Alfonso III, see SILENSE, p.149 and on the anointing of Ordonio II, see SILENSE, p.155.

40: See P. Linehan, op.cit. pp.128-141.

41: On genealogies, see D. Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists.', pp.72-104.

- 42: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-131.
- 43: Idem, both texts, pp.130-131: 'Quadam occasionem levitatis ab urso interfectus esse (est: 'A' text) dignoscitur.'
- 44: On the inscription, dated to 27 October 737 AD, see Hubner, INSCRIPTIONES, n.384, p.70 and Vives, INSCRIPCIONES, n.318, p.107.
- 45: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, reports Pelayo's death 'in locum Canicas'. It reports the information on the marriage and campaigning in its section on Alfonso I, pp.173-174.
- 46: The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.131.
- 47: The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, makes Pelayo the son of a Duke of Faffila, '..ex semine regio..', whereas the 'B' text, p.122, makes Pelayo, a 'spatarius' of Wittiza and Roderick.
- 48: Amaya, an important Cantabrian stronghold on the left bank of the upper Pisuerga, was captured by Leovigild: 'Anno VIII Iustini qui est Leovigildi VI annus (574 AD)... His diebus Leovegildus rex Cantabriam ingressus provinciae pervasores interfecit, Amaiam occupat, opes eorum pervadit et provinciam in suam revocat dicionem.', John of Biclaro, CHRONICA, p.213, MGH AA 11, 2 pp.211-220. A. Barbero and M. Vigil 'Cantabros y Vascones Desde Fines del Imperio Romano Hasta la Invasion Musulmana', pp.13-98, in SOBRE LOS ORÍGENES SOCIALES DE LA RECONQUISTA (Barcelona, 1974) argue that Amaya was the centre of a province, made up of the regions of Amaya and Rioja that was organised by Leovigild under a 'dux' who fulfilled an important function in defending a internal frontier against the stubbornly independent Asturians/Cantabrians and Basques. the existence of such an internal limes, going back to Roman times, has been doubted, J. Arce, 'La 'Notitia Dignitatum' et l'Armee Romaine dans le Diocesis Hispaniarum', CHIRON 10(1980), p.593ff. Ibn al-Athir, p.45 and Ibn Idhari, p.18 report the flight of a group of Toledans to Amaya where they set up a centre of resistance until it was subdued by Musa in 714 AD. The AJBAR MACHMUA, p.28, indicates that it was Tariq who captured Amaya in 712 AD. Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.157, n.6, suggests that it was at Amaya that Peter, Dux Cantabrorum, directed the resistance of Visigothic refugees.
- 49: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.137: 'Post Aurelii finem Silo successit in regnum, eo quod Adosindam Adefonsi principis filiam sortitus esset coniungem.' and 'B' text, p.136: 'Post cuius obitum Silo Adefonsi filiam nomine Adosindam in coniungio accepit, pro qua re etiam adeptus est regnum.'
- 50: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, reports the wedding, p.173, 'Et dum Asturias venit, Bermisindam Pelagi filiam Pelagio precipiente accepit.'
- 51: See the Testament of 812, Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I,

pp.120-121, '..cuius (Pelayo) ex filia filius clarior regni apicem Froila extitit decoratus..'. See A. Barbero and M. Vigil, 'Los Restos Matrilineales en la Sucesion al Trono del Reino Astur.', pp.327-353, in LA FORMACIÓN DEL FEUDALISMO EN LA PENINSULA IBÉRICA (Barcelona, 1986).

52: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.133: '.. simul cum fratre suo Froilane multa adversus Sarracenos prelia gessit..' and the 'B' text, p.132: 'Qui cum fratre Froilane sepius exercitu mobens multas civitates bellando cepit.'

53: On the association of Egica and Wittiza, see the 'A' text, p.119, 'Filium suum Uittizanaem in regno sibi socium fecit eumque in civitatem Tudensem provincia Galecie habitare precepit ut pater teneret regnum Gotorum et filius Suevorum.' and the 'B' text, '... filium adulescentem nomine Uitizanam, quem rex in vita sua in regno participem fecit et eum in Tudensem civitatem avitare pecepit, ut pater teneret regnum Gotorum et filius Suevorum.'. On association under the Visigothic monarchy, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Sucesión al Trono en los Reinos de León y Castilla', pp.642-643, in ESTUDIOS SOBRE LAS INSTITUCIONES MEDIEVALES ESPAÑOLAS (Mexico, 1965). L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.328-337, denied the practice of association in the Asturian kingdom. Y. Bonnaz, 'Divers Apects de la Continuité..', pp.90-96, defends the existence of the practice of association.

54: On Fruela as the brother of Alfonso I, see SILENSE, p.141 and the NOMINA REGUM CATOLICORUM LEGIONENSIVM, in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.172. On Fruela as Alfonso I's son, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both versions, pp.134-135, and the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174.

55: See above n.51.

56: see above Ch.3, Sect.F on Asturian regnal lists.

57: See the text in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174. The Rotensis text, after naming the kings from Aurelius to Alfonso, then says, 'Ac post Aurelio domnus Adefonsus maior et castus..'

58: Both versions of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.138-139, place the first Muslim invasion in the third year of Alfonso II's reign.

59: See above n.49.

60: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO, 'B' text only, p.136: 'Qui dum iste regnaret Adefonsus Froilani filius, nepus Adefonsi maioris, palatium guvernavit, quia Silo ex coniuge Adosinda filium non genuit.'

61: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.139, 'a regno deiecto apud propinquos matris sue in Alabam conmoratus est.'. and the 'B' text, p.138, 'Quo fugiens Adefonsus Alabam petiit propinquisque matris sue se contulit.'. For Perez de Urbel, in HISTORIA DE ESPANA, vol.VI, p.39, Mauregatus' mother was a Muslim captive and his name signified this, 'Maurae Captae'. H.

Livermore, ORIGINS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL (London, 1971), p.351, suggested a connection with the Maragatos, a branch of the Berber Baragwata tribe, settled in the Bierzo region.

62: On Adosinda's entry into religious life, see Beatus, ADVERSUS ELIPANDUM, p.1. See above Ch.3, Sect.C on Beatus of Liebana.

63: See J. Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.479-480.

64: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, 'Maurecatus tiranne accepto regno rg.an.V.'

65: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.138-139.

66: Vives, CONCILIOS, pp.42-43. See also the canon 30 of the Council of Elvira (300-306 AD?), CONCILIOS, p.7, which denied promotion to the rank of deacon to adolescents who had fornicated.

67: SILENSE, p.142: 'Is ab ipsis puerilibus annis iussione patris literarum studiis traditis, ubi adolevit, potius celeste quam terrenum sibi regnum affectavit.'

68: On Vermudo I, see A.C. Floriano, 'Cronología y Genealogía..', pp.266-267.

69: SAMPIRO, pp.320-323.

70: Only the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, refers to the battle at Burbia: 'Eo regnante (Vermudo I) preliis factus est in Burbia.'. R. Dozy, RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE ET LA LITTERATURE DE L'ESPAGNE PENDANT LE MOYEN AGE, vol.III, (Amsterdam, 1965, reprint), p.129; J. Pérez de Urbel, HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA, vol.VI, p.42 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz associate Vermudo's defeat with his abdication. In the Muslim sources, al-Maqqari, vol.II, p.99, refers to two expeditions in 791 AD, while Ibn al-Athir, p.143, dates two expeditions to Alava and Galicia in 792 AD. L.Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', p.151 n.2, took up the testimony of Ibn al-Athir and questioned the association of Vermudo's defeat and abdication. Against the 791-792 AD debate, the earliest Asturian king-list, the LATERCULUS REGUM OVETENSIUM, which dates Alfonso's anointing as king to 790 AD.

71: SILENSE, p.142: '.. post trium annorum circulum, desiderata voto satisfaciens, deposito diademata, vice suo Adefonsum castum nepotem suum regem constituit.'. Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.189, n.2, suggested that Vermudo was a transitional king between the usurper Mauregatus and the exiled Alfonso II.

72: See the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174: 'Iste (Alfonso II) XI regni anno per tirannidem regno expulsus monasterio Abelanie est retrusus; inde a quodam Teudane vel aliis fidelibus reductus egnique Overao est culmine restitutus.'. This Teuda may be the same as the Theoda, who was the penultimate signatory of the oldest version of the Testament of 812. The version of the testament in Bishop Pelayo's Liber Chronicorum transforms this to 'Tioda edificator predicte ecclesie Sancti Saluatoris.'. J.D.

Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, p.32 n.36, notes that '... we are left with only documentary testimony of its (the church of San Salvador in Oviedo) twelve altars, and its construction in stone by an architect named Tioda, on whom several precarious theories have been balanced.'. There is no need to accept the reality of 'Tioda the architect' from such a late source, see R. Collins' graceful recantation of his former belief in 'Tioda the architect', 'Doubts and Certainties..', p.14. There is evidence in the Testament of 812 for Alfonso II having been forced from the throne. He compares his misfortunes to those of the Old Testament figure, Jacob, who had known exile: 'Tu fortissime domine qui es deus absconditus invisibilis, deus Srahel salvator, qui iussisti Jacob revertere in terram nativitatis suae altari constructo tibi munera offerre. Et nos pie dignitatus es de multis tribulationibus eruendo in proprio patria domo reducere, sit munus hoc tibi acceptum, sicut accepta habuisti munera praedicti Iacob pueri tui.'. Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, p.127.

See I. Bango Torviso, 'L'Ordo Gotorum..', p.14.

73: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.142-143.

74: Idem, 'B' text, p.142, '... Nepotianus palati comes regnum tirannide est adeptus.'. On Silo, see the 'B' text, p.136, 'Silo.. Adosindam in coniungio accepit, pro qua re etiam adeptus est regnum.'. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175, is typically laconic: 'Prius Nepotianus ad pontem Narcie superavit et sic regnum accepit.'.

75: Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.200, n.18, suggested that Ramiro had an association with Alfonso II which entailed responsibility in Galicia. He pointed out the different dates for the death of Alfonso II which vary between 23 February 841 AD (ANALEs CASTELLANOS I) and 843 AD, CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text, p.142. (The obituaries of the cathedral of Oviedo and the monastery of San Vicente give 24 January 842 AD) To prove the association of Alfonso II and Ramiro I, Bonnaz relied on a charter, dated to 24 January 842 AD, recording a donation to the church of Santa Maria de Barreto in Galicia, 'Regnante dominissimo Ranemiro principe.'. Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, doc.46, p.213, took the charter to be genuine but believed the date to be mistaken. The death of Alfonso II marked the end of the line of Asturian kings descended from Alfonso II. The future lay with descent from Alfonso's brother, Fruela.

76: See ETYMOLOGIES IX, 6, 2.

77: For Silo's charter of 775 AD, see the text in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, doc.9, p.68. See J. Casariego, 'El Interregno del Conde Nepociano.', p.331, in BIDEA, 68(1969), pp.313-339.

78: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.142-143.

79: Idem, 'A' text, p.145: '... nam comes palatii Aldoroitus adversus regem meditans regio precepto excecatus est. Piniolus etiam, qui post eum comes palatii fuit, patula tyrannide adversus regem surrexit.' and 'B' text, p.144: 'Duo magnati unus procer,

alius comes palatii adversus regem in supervia sunt elati. Set rex quum eorum consilia cognovit, uni ex eis cui nomen erat Aldroitus oculos evellere precepit, alium nomine Piniolum cum septem filiis eos gladio interfecit.'.

80: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175: 'Prius Nepotianum ad pontem narcie superavit et sic regnum accepit... Postea idem Nepotiano pariter cum quodam Aldroitto tiranno oculos ab eorum frontibus eiecit, superbumque Piniolum victor interfecit.'.

81: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.145: 'Interim Ranimirus princeps bellis civilibus sepe impulsus est..' and 'B' text, p.144: 'Ranimirus princeps iam sepe nominatus vellis civilibus sepissime est impulsatus.'.

82: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174: 'Fratrem suum nomine Vimaranem ob invidia regni interfecit.'.

83: See N.J. Higham 'Ch.3. Gildas and Jeremiah.' in THE ENGLISH CONQUEST: GILDAS AND BRITAIN IN THE FIFTH CENTURY (Manchester, 1994).

84: See Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, pp.119-120.

85: See Eulogius, MEMORIALE SANCTORUM I, CSM, vol.II, p.392: '.. quod felicissime fidei Xpianae pridem cultu pollebat, venerabilium sacerdotum dignitate florebat et admirabili basilicarum constructione fulgebat..'. On Mozarabic attitudes to Muslims, see D. Millet-Gerard, 'Les Chretiens Observateurs de Leurs Adversaires en Religion.', pp.35-48, in CHRETIENS MOZARABES ET CULTURE.

86: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.126-127.

87: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-131. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, 'Sicque ex tunc reddita est libertas populo Xpiano.'.

88: Leges Visigothorum I,2,6 (Zeumer, p.42)

- 89: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, Roda text only, p.158: '.. hic princeps nostre gloriosus domnus Adefonsus proximiori tempore in omni Spania predicetur regnaturus.'.

90: ORDO GENTIS GOTORUM in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.171: 'Et cum eis Xpiani die noctuque bellis iniunt et cotidie confligunt, (sed eis ex toto Spaniam auferre non possunt. Finit: text in Codex Aemilianensis.)

91: For the brief account of Pelayo's reign after Covadonga, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text: 'Tunc demum fidelium adgregantur agmina, poulatur patria, restaurantur ecclesiae referunt Deo dicentes: 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum, qui confortant in se credentes et ad nihilum deducit improbas gentes.' and the 'B' text, p.130: 'Tunc populatur patria restauratur eclesia et omnes in comune gratias referunt Deo dicentes 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum, qui confortat in se credentes et dextruit inprovas gentes'. .. Et quantum crescevat

Xpi nominis dignitas, tantum tabesceat Caldeorum ludibriosa calamitas.'

92: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.136-137: On Aurelius, 'Cum Arabes (Caldeis: 'B' text) pacem habuit. On Silo, '... cum Ismahelites (Ismaelites: 'B' text) pacem habuit.'. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, adds the intriguing detail on Silo that, 'Cum Spania ob causam matris pacem habuit.'

93: On treaties with the Muslims: '... pacis federa...', 'A' text, p.127; '... pacis federe blandiendo...', 'B' text, p.126. on local treaty arrangements, see R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.39-45.

94: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.140-141.

95: Idem, both texts, pp.146-147: 'Unde ob tante victorie causam tantum in supervia intumuit, ut se a suis tertium regem in Spania appellare precepit.'

96: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.148-149: 'Lupus vero filius de idem Muzza, qui Toletum consul preerat, dum de patre quod superatus erat audivit. Hordonio regi cum omnibus suis se subiecit et, dum vita hac vixit, ei subdita fuit.'

97: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.178: 'Tunc Ababdella, ipse qui Mahomat iben Lup, qui semper noster fuerat amicus sicut et pater eius, ob invidiam de suis tios, cui rex filium suum Ordonium ad creandum dederat, cum Cordouenses pacem fecit fortiamque suorum in hostem eorum misit.'

98: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.127: 'Unde hanc multitudinem paganorum spernimus et minime pertimescimus.' and the 'B' text, p.127: '... qui ab istis paucis potens est liverare nos.' In his edition, Gil follows the Codex Rotensis text although other codices have 'paganis' rather than 'paucis'. The term 'pagan' is used by Asturian documents to describe Muslims but it is not known before the time of Alfonso III e.g Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, doc.184, p.338. Besides specific ethnic names, such as Arabs, Chaldaeans and Ishmaelites, there are more general terms, such as barbarians (Floriano DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, doc.161, p.260) and gentiles (Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, doc.165, p.270). The 'B' text referring to the first Viking raiders in the reign of Ramiro I: '... Nordmannorum gens antea nobis incognita, gens pagana et nimis crudelissima...'. The term pagan 'al-majus' was used by Muslim sources to describe the Vikings, as it had been used earlier to describe Zoroastrians. Both groups were distinct from Christians and Jews who were 'peoples of the Book' (Ahl al-Kitab) who enjoyed a tolerated status in Islam against payment of a tax, the 'dhimmah'. The term 'Majus' was used by Muslim historians to describe Basques, presumably non-Christian, who aided Alfonso II in 795 AD, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Normandos en España durante el Siglo VIII?', pp.304-310, in CHE, 25-26(1957) pp.304-316. On the relations of Vikings and al-Andalus, see Abdurrahman Ali El-Hajji, 'Ch.III. Relations with the Vikings.' in ANDALUSIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

99: On Theodemir, see the CHRONICLE OF 754, pp.113-114, and the discussion in J.E. López Perreira, ESTUDIO CRITICO SOBRE LA

CRÓNICA MOZÁRABE DE 754 (Zaragoza, 1980), pp.40-43. on local treaties, see F.J. Simonet, HISTORIA DE LOS MOZARABES, pp.797-800. On Theodemir, see R. Collins, ARAB CONQUEST, pp.39-41.

100: E. Levi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.309-333.

101: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.122: 'Nec Arabum amicitiiis sociabor nec me eorum imperio subdebor.': the 'B' text, p.127: '.. Araves tamen regionem simul et regno opresso plures gladio interfecerunt relicos vero pacis federe blandiando sivi subiugaverunt.'

102: CHRONICLE OF 754, p.113: '.. Theudimer, qui in Spanie partes non modicas Arabum intulerat neces et, diu exaggeratos, pacem cum eis federat habiendus.'

103: Pelayo, a 'spatharius', gives a lesson in theology to the collaborating Bishop Pelayo before leading his outnumbered forces to victory over his enemies. The CHRONICLE OF 754, p.114, for Theodemir: 'Fuit enim scripturarum amator, eloquentia mirificus, in preliis expeditus, qui et aput Amir Almuminim prudentior inter ceteros inventus hutiliter est honoratus, et pactum, quem dudum ab Abdilaziz acceperat, firmiter ab eo reparatur.'

104: CHRONICLE OF ABELDA, p.158: 'Iam supra fatus Adefonsus vocatus, Regni culmine datus, belli titulo abtus, Clarus in Astures, fortis in Uascones, Ulciscens Arabes et protegens ciues, Cui principi sacra sit victoria data,...'

105: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.140-141.

106: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, twice associates Pelayo with Cangas de Onís. The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B' text only, p.130, associates Pelayo with Cangas de Onís. In the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, Fruela I is said to have been killed at Cangas de Onís. It reports, p.174, that Silo established his capital in pravia. On Cangas de Onís, a few miles to the west of Covadonga, in the valley of the river Sella and protected by mountains, see J.Uría Riu, 'Cuestiones Historicos-Arqueologicas Relativas a la Ciudad de Oviedo de los Siglos VIII a X', p.261, in SYMPOSIUM SOBRE CULTURA ASTURIANA DE LA ALTA EDAD MEDIA (Oviedo, 1964-1967). On Pravia, some 20 miles north-west of Oviedo, a site on the lower river Nalón, see idem, p.281-288. See M.G. Martínez, 'El 'Alfoz' de Pravia, p.141ff, BIDEA 69(1970). The building-work of Fruela I at Oviedo will be considered below in the discussion of the building-work of Asturian kings.

107: Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, p.120, '.. et Christianorum Asturumque gentem victor sublimando defendit..'

108: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173: '.. et Astorum regnum divina providentia exoritur.'

109: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, on Alfonso I, '.. et Xpianorum regnum extendit.' and on Ordone I, p.175, 'iste Xpianorum regnum cum Dei iubamine ampliavit.'

110: Examples of royal ethnic and territorial titles in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: 'Gotorum rex', both texts, pp.114-115; 'rex Spaniensis', 'A' text in the version of ms. G-1 of Segorbe cathedral, BN Ms. 7602 and BN Ms. 9880, p.141; 'rex Cordubensis', 'A' text in BN Ms. 1237 and BN Ms. 1346; 'rex Francorum', both texts, pp.146 and 149.

111: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.133, '.. omnes quoque Arabes occupatores supra dictarum civitatum interficiens Xpianos secum ad patriam duxit.' and the 'B' text, p.132, '.. omnes quoque arabes gladio interficiens, Xpianos autem secum ad patriam duxit.'.

112: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-131, '.. et omnes in commune gratias referunt Deo..' On Ordoño I's repopulation, see the 'B' text, p.144, '.. populo partim ex suis, partim ex Spania advenientibus implevit.'.

113: Rebellions by Basques and Galicians in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: On Wamba, both texts, pp.114-115, 'Astores et Uascones crebro rebellantes..'; Fruela I, both texts, pp.134-135, 'Gallecie populos contra se rebellantes..'; Silo, 'A' text, p.137, 'Populos Gallecie contra se rebellantes..' and the 'B' text, p.136, 'Galleciam sibi revellantem..'; Ordoño I, 'A' text, p.147, 'In exordio regni quum adversus Vascones rebellantes..' and the 'B' text, p.144, 'In exordio regni sui provincia Uasconie ei reuellavit.'.

114: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.114-115.

115: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176, on the rebellion of the Galician count, Fruela: '.. ab apostata Froilane Gallicie comite per tirannidem regno pribatur..' and on Basque rebellions, p.176, 'Uasconum feritatem bis cum exercitu suo contriuit atque humiliavit.' SAMPIRO, pp.275-277, both texts, also reports Fruela's conspiracy and the two Basque risings in Alava, at least one of which was led by a Count Eylo (Pelagian text) or Gilo (Silense text). The alleged 'continuation' of the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III in the SILENSE, pp.149-150, says nothing on the Basque or Galician difficulties, focussing on warfare against the Muslims. This can only reinforce the belief that the 'continuation' is an 11th/12th-century concoction.

116: The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.143: 'Lucensem civitatem Gallecie ingressus est sibi que exercitum totius provincie adgregabit.. Cui Nepotianus occurrit ad pontem flivii Narcie adgregata manu Asturiensium et Uasconum.' The 'B' text, p.142, agrees that Ramiro gathered an army in Galicia but says nothing on Nepotian's supporters.

117: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'B', p.142, '.. Nordmanorum gens antea nobis incognita, gens pagana et nimis crudelissima..'.

118: On expansion in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: Alfonso I, both texts, pp.130-133; Fruela I, 'B' text only, 'Istius namque tempore usque flumine Mineo populata esset Gallecia.; Ordoño I, both texts, pp.148-149.

119: On Alfonso I's conquests in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III: the 'A' text, p.133, '.. omnes quoque Arabes occupatores supra dictarum civitatum interficiens Xpanos secum ad patriam duxit.' and the 'B' text, '.. omnes quoque Arabes gladio interficiens, Xpianos autem secum ad patriam ducens.'.

120: On Ordoño I's conquests, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.148-149: 'Multas et alias civitates iam sepe dictus Hordoius rex preliando cepit, id est, civitatem Cauriensem cum regem suum nomine Zeiti, aliam vero consimilem eius civitatem Talamancam cum rege suo nomine Muzeor cum uxor sua.'. Coria was later attacked and destroyed by Alfonso III around 876 AD, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.177: 'Istius victoria Caurienses, Egitanienis et ceteras Lusitaniae limites gladio et fame consumte usque Emeritam atque freta maris heremavit et destruxit.'. The ANALES CASTELLANOS I (text in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.77) have Talamanca destroyed by Count Roderick in 860 AD. In 878 AD, men from Talamanca are said to have taken part in the battle of Polvoraria against Alfonso III. See the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.177, 'Sed manus idem ostis ex aduerso exercitum sequens, qui erat Toletus, Talamanca, Uatelhaggara uel de alia castra..'

121: On Alfonso I's raid against Lisbon, see the ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS, s.a. 798. On Alfonso III's expedition against Lusitania, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.176-177. See C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'La Expedicion al Monte Oxifer.', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.709-727.

122: Counts play a more active role in the kingdom's life than is indicated in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III. Although not mentioned in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, it is known that counts led armies e.g. Count Peter defeated the Viking raiders in the reign of Ordoño I, CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176. Counts are known to have acted as repopulators. Count Gato, leader of the Asturian and Navarrese/Basque forces sent by Ordoño I to aid the Toledan rebels, was defeated at the Guadacelete in 854 AD, see Ibn Iddhari, pp.154-155 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La Jornada del Guadacelete', esp.pp.206-208. Count Gato, possibly the brother of Ordoño I, was more successful in repopulating Astorga, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, doc.120. dated to 878 AD, pp.127-128 and C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Hermanos de Ordoño I', ORIGENES, vol.III, pp.363-373. Count Roderick repopulated Amaya in 860 AD, ANALES CASTELLANOS I, CRONICAS ASTURIANAS, p.77. Named counts play a much more active role in the final continuations of the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA e.g. Count Diego, son of Roderick, in Castile, p.178, and Count Vigila Jimenez in Alava. On counts in the Asturian kingdom, see G. Martínez Díez, 'Las Instituciones..', pp.71-75; L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.226-228. For a valuable list of counts mentioned in charters, see Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, p.586 and vol.II, p.719.

123: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.177-178: 'Ab hoc principe omnia templo Domini restaurantur et civitas in Ovetas cum regias aulas hedificantur.'.

124: Eulogius, MEMORIALE SANCTORUM I, CSM, vol.II, p.392. The issue of church destruction is mentioned by Eulogius four times in the MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, '.. as often as he complains of

taxation.', J.D. Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, p.64.

125: Eulogius, MEMORIALE SANCTORUM I, CSM, vol.II, p.385. See J.D. Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, p.64, on the destruction of Mozarabic churches.

126: Eulogius, MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, III,3, 'Destructio basilicarum.', CSM, vol.II, p.441, and Eulogius, LIBER APOLOGETICUS MARTYRUM, c.22, CSM, vol.II, pp.488-489.

127: Paulus Alvarus, INDICULUS ALVARUS, 7, CSM, vol.I, p.279.

128: On Christian churches in al-Andalus, see J.D. Dodds, op.cit. 'Bearing Witness', pp.47-70.

129: Eulogius, MEMORIALE SANCTORUM, III,3, 'Destructio basilicarum.', CSM, vol.II, p.441; 'Interea cum saepius contra Dei cateruam saeva principis conspiratio inolosceret affligeretque ubique Xpícolas, et nec sic omnes generali dilapsu, ut fidebat, ad ritum suum proruerent, iubet ecclesias nuper structas diruere et quidquid nouo in antiquis basilicis splendebat fueratque temporibus Arabum rudi formatione adiectum elidere.'.

130: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-131.

131: 'B' text only, p.130: 'Basilicam in honore sancte Crucis miro opere construxit.'.

132: See Hübner, INSCRIPTIONES, n.384, p.70 and Vives, INSCRIPCIONES, n.315, p.107.

133: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, 'Baselicas plures construxit vel instaurabit.' and the 'B' text, 'Baselicas multas fecit.'.

134: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, reports that Silo fixed his capital at Pravia. He is credited with the construction of the nearby church of Santianes de Pravia. A word-square with the acrostic message 'Silo princeps fecit', copied by Morales, CRONICA GENERAL, XIII, CH.XXIV, was destroyed during repairs to the church in the 18th century. On the basis of rediscovered fragments, it was recreated by J. Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp.239-240.

135: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.138-141. The briefer account in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, omits the church of Santullano. Neither chronicle mentions the Camara Santa (chapels of St Michael and St. Leocadia, which are first mentioned in the 12th-century Pelagian works and in the HISTORIA SILENSE.

136: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.144-145. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175, 'In locum Ligno ecclesiam et palatia arte fornicea mire construxit.'.

137: The CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, pp.145-7 and the 'B' text, p.144: '.. muris circumdedit, portas in altitudinem posuit, populo partim ex suis, partim ex spania advenientibus

impleuit.'.

138: There is a translation of the dedication in J.Casariago, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp.247-249. On San Adrian de Tunon, see J. Fontaine, L'ART PREROMAN HISPANIQUE, vol.I (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1973) pp.328-329.

139: Fontaine, op.cit., pp 271-335; H. Schlunk, 'Arte Asturiano' in ARS HISPANIAE, vol.II (Madrid, 1947), pp.330-388.

140: See R. Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties on the Churches of Early medieval Spain', pp.2-5, in D.W. Lomax and D. Mackenzie (eds), GOD AND MAN IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN: ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF J.L.R. HIGHFIELD (Warminster, 1989).

141: Collins, op.cit., pp.12-13 with the hope, p.18, that archaeological excavation might resolve some problems.

142: Collins, op.cit., p.18.

143: Collins, op.cit., p.7.

144: Collins, op.cit., pp5-6.

145: See J.D.Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, p.28 and p.133, n.11; J. Menéndez Pidal, 'La Basilica de Santianes de Pravia (Oviedo)' in ACTAS DEL SIMPOSIO PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LOS CODICES DEL 'COMENTARIO AL APOCALIPSIS' DE BEATO DE LIEBANA, vol.I, (Madrid, 1980), pp.281-297; J.M. González and F. Valles, 'Pravia, Capital del Reino Asturiano' in ASTURIENSIA MEDIEVALIA, 3(1979), pp.87-103.

146: On the agreement, see P. Floriano Llorente, COLECCION DIPLOMATICA DEL MONASTERIO DE SAN VICENTE DE OVIEDO (Oviedo, 1968), doc.1, pp.29-31; H. Rodriguez Balbin, DE UN MONTE DESPOBLADO A UN FUERO REAL; 700-1145. ESTUDIO SOBRE LOS PRIMEROS SIGLOS DEL DESARROLLO URBANO DE OVIEDO (Oviedo, 1977), p.51ff on the origins of Oviedo.

147: On the case against the charter's authenticity, see - R.Cavanillas, LA CATEDRAL DE OVIEDO.(Salinas, 1977), pp.19-26.

148: Testament of 812 in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.I, pp.118-141: 'Ab illo (Fruea) etenim in hoc loco, qui nuncupatur Ovetdao fundata nitet ecclesia tuo nomine sacra tuoque sacra nomini dedicata. Atsunt et altaria duodecim apostolorum simul et ecclesia Iuliani et Basilisse martyrum tuorum.', p.121, and 'Offerimus igitur domine ob gloriam nominis tui sancto altario tuo in prefata ecclesia fundato vel ad reliqua altaria apostolorum sive Iuliani et Basilisse martyrum tuorum quo solus natue locoque renatus extiti...'

149: See above n.148. '.. quo solus natus locoque renatus extiti..'. See J. Casariago, for a translation into Spanish of the Testament in HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, p.316 n.10.

150: The texts of the inscriptions, commemorating the restoration and completion of Fruea I's church of San Salvador, are known

from the Liber Testamentorum, f.1r. For the texts, see Fernández Conde, EL LIBRO, Appendice Documental II, pp.378-379; Spanish translation in Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp.240-243. There is a helpful discussion the inscriptions in Fernández Conde, op.cit., pp.106-109. Fernández Conde, along with Casariego, op.cit., p.241, and J. Uría Riu, 'Cuestiones Historico-Arqueológicas ..', pp.273-276, accepts the authenticity of the inscriptions in terms of content and style.

151: The church of San Salvador was demolished in the 14th century and replaced by the present Gothic cathedral. The church of Santa Maria was demolished in the 18th century although there are important descriptions of it from the 16th century (A. de Morales, VIAGE SANTO) and the 17th century (L.A. de Carvallo, ANTIGUEDADES Y COSAS MEMORABLES DEL PRINCIPADO DE ASTURIAS). The east wall of the church of San Tirso is generally held to be a survival from the church of Alfonso II. Although their existence is described in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III and the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, the Testament of 812 is silent on the churches of San Tirso and Santa Maria.

152: On the buildings, see J.D.Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, pp.27-46.

153: The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174, '.. simulque cum regiis palatiis picturis diuersis decorauit..'

154: See R. Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties..', p.11. For the three-part east end in the church of Santa Maria, Dodds, op.cit., p.32, makes the comment that it was '.. an unusual form for the Iberian peninsula.'. This has been interpreted as an imported Carolingian influence, Dodds, op.cit., pp.34-37, follows H. Schlunk, 'El Arte Asturiano en Torno al 800', p.49, in ACTAS DEL SIMPOSIO PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LOS CÓDICES DEL 'COMMENTARIO AL APOCALIPSIS' DE BEATO DE LIÉBANA, vol.I (Madrid, 1980).

155: On Santullano and its paintings, see J.D. Dodds, op.cit., 'The paintings of San Julián and the Problem of Asturian Aniconism', pp.37-46, and H. Schlunk and M. Berenguer, LA PINTURA MURAL ASTURIANA DE LOS SIGLOS IX Y X (Madrid, 1957). On the Cross of the Angels and the Cross of Victory, see H. Schlunk, 'The Crosses of Oviedo: A Contribution to the History of Jewelry in Northern Spain in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries' in THE ART BULLETIN, 37(1950), pp.91-114. For illustrations of Cross of Victory-type symbols in Santullano, see fig.118 in Fontaine, L'ART PREROMAN HISPANIQUE, vol.I; J.D. Dodds, op.cit., plate 26, using the restoration of Magin Berenguer; J.F. Rollan Ortiz, IGLESIAS DEL ARTE ASTURIANO (Leon, 1983), p.34, reproduces the work of Magin Berenguer. For the illustrations at San Salvador de Valdedios, see Fontaine, op. cit., plate 139; J.D. Dodds, op.cit., plate 34; Rollan Ortiz, op.cit., colour plates on pp.100-102 and reconstruction by Magin Berenguer, p.103. R. Collins points out the similarity between the surviving frescoes of San Salvador de Priesca and San Salvador de Valdedios, both dated to Alfonso III, provide the clearest parallel to those of San Salvador: 'They share a common aniconic style, and the architecture of the time of Alfonso III is the most closely related to the present structure of Santullano.', p.12, nn.61,62.

in 'Doubts and Certainties..'

156: R. Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties..', pp.11-13, 18.

157: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text, p.145: '.. cum pluribus centrīs forniceis sit concamerata, sola calce et lapide constructa..' and the 'B' text, p.144: '.. multa edificia ex murice et marmorice sine lignis opere forniceo in latere montis Naurantii..'. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175: 'In locum Ligno ecclesiam et palatia arte fornicea mire construxit.'

158: On the 'B' text and the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, see above n.157. On the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text: 'Interea supra dictus rex ecclesiam condidit in memoriam sancte Marie in latere montis Naurantii, distantem ab Ouetō duorum milia passuum mire centrīs forniceis sit concamerata, sola calce et lapide constructa; cui si aliquis edificium consimilare voluerit, in Spania non inueniet.'

159: J. Fontaine, L'ART PREROMAN, pp.313-321, on Santa Maria de Naranco and, pp.321-323, on San Miguel de Lillo.

160: For the altar's inscription, see Hubner, INSCRIPTIONES, n.483, p.113 and also in Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties..', p.15.

161: R. Collins, idem, p.17.

162: Idem, p.16 n.83 and p.17.

163: On the Visigothic origins of the church of Santa Cristina de Lena (Asturias); Sus Posibilidades Como Construcción Visigoda.' in BIDEA, 112(1984) pp.733-753.

164: R. Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties..', p.17.

165: Alfonso III emphasised the connection with his namesake predecessor. An inscription, dated to 872 AD, which was moved from its original location to its present site in the wall of the cathedral of San Salvador, to the left of the entrance of the capilla del Rey Casto, refers to the Alfonso (II) who had built the church ('.. templum edificatum est in hunc locum Ovetāo a condam religioso Adefonso..') and associates him with the Alfonso, fourth of his line, who was the son of Ordonio (I), who, with his wife Ximena, built a castle to defend the cathedral treasury ('.. templum aedificatum est in hunc locum Ovetāo a condam religioso Adefonso principe ab eius namque discessu que nunc quartus ex illius prosapie in regno subcedens consimili nomine Adefonsus princeps, dive quidem memoriae Hordoni regis filius, hanc aedificari sancsit munitionem cum coniuge Scemena..'. Text in Vigil, ASTURIAS MONUMENTAL, p.7; Spanish translation in J. Casariego, HISTORIAS ASTURIANAS, pp.243-244. The two crosses donated by Alfonso III to Santiago de Compostela (874 AD) and Oviedo (908 AD) evoked memories of the Cross of the Angels, presented to the church of San Salvador (808 AD). The crosses of Alfonso III repeat part of the inscription of Alfonso II's cross: 'Hoc signo tuetur pius. Hoc signo vincitur inimicus.'

For the inscriptions, see H. Schlunk, 'The Crosses of Oviedo'; Cross of the Angels, p.94; Cross of Santiago, p.100; Cross of Victory, p.102.'

166: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-133. Both versions are equally general on the 'many basilicas' said to have been built by Alfonso I. The CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173, has nothing to say on these basilicas.

167: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, 'A' text only: '.. ecclesiam in honorem sancte marie semper virginis ... etiam in occidentali parte huius venerande domus ædem ad recondenda regum adstruxit corpora..', p.139.

168: A. de Morales, VIAGE SANTO, p.87.

169: Idem. on the small size of the room. On the similarity with the royal pantheon at Pravia, see J.D. Dodds, ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY, p.32 and p.136, n.38.

170: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.177-178: 'Ab hoc principe omnia templa Domini restaurantur et civitas in Ouetao regias aulas hedificantur.'

171: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.122-123.

172: 'B' text, p.124: 'Quo ut rex audiuit, vessanie ira commotus hoste innumerabilem ex omni Spania exire precepit..'

173: On Mahmud, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.140-141. See E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.207-210; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Mahamud', ORIGENES, vol.II, pp.696-711.

174: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.146-147.

175: See above n.174: 'Unde ob tanti victorie causam tantum in superbia intumuit ut se a suis terium regem in Spania appellare precepit.'. The phrase '.. superbia elatus..' is used, by the 'B' text only, p.116, to describe the conspirator Ervig, 'B' text only, p.116; Mauregatus, 'B' text, p.138; Aldroitus and Piniolus, 'B' text only, p.144.

176: On 'Carolus rex Francorum', see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.146 and 149.

177: On the kings of Coria and Talamanca, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.148-149 and the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175.

178: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.146-147: 'Postea in Francos et Gallos arma convertit. Multas ibi strages et predas fecit. Duos vero Francorum magnos duces, unum noine Sanctionem, alium Epulonem per fraude cepit et eos vinctos in carcerem misit.'. On the Banu Kasi, see J. M. Lacarra, HISTORIA POLÍTICA DEL REINO DE NAVARRA, vol.I (Pamplona, 1972). On the claimed descent from a Visigothic Count Cassius, who had converted to Islam, see E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, p.154; F.J. Simonet, HISTORIA DE LOS MOZARABES, pp.505-506. R. Collins

rejects the claimed descent as fanciful, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.180-181.

179: See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El Tercer Rey de España', vol.III, ORÍGENES, pp.281-312.

180: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.178.

181: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175, means Mozeror's wife and adds that they were released at 'Pena Sacra'.

182: ANALES CASTELLANOS I in CRÓNICAS ASTURIANAS, p.77.

183: CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.178.

184: On the early history of the kingdom, see R. Collins, THE BASQUES, esp. 'Ch.5. The Kingdom and the Duchy.'; J.M. Lacarra, HISTORIA POLÍTICA, vol.I; E. Lévi-Provencal, 'Du Nouveau Sur le Royaume de Pampelune au IX Siecle.' in BULLETIN HISPANIQUE, 55(1953), pp.5-20.

185: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-133.

186: A certain Garcia, son-in-law of Musa, was killed in his father-in-law's defeat at Monte Iaturce. Garcia may have had a connection with the leading circles in Pamplona, cf. Ibn Hayyan indicates that, after 842 AD, Musa turned for help to his relative 'Garsiya ibn Wannaqo al-Baskunisi, emir of Pamplona', see the translation into Spanish by E. Garcia Gomez, 'Textos Ineditos del 'Muqtabis' de Ibn Hayyan Sobre los Origenes del Reino de Pamplona, AL-ANDALUS, 19(1954), pp.293-315.

187: See CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.114-115, where Asturians and Basques are described as 'crebro rebellantes'. Both texts agree that Wamba reduced them to submission, with the 'B' text adding '.. plure vices.'

188: On Fruela I, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.134-235.

189: On Ordoño I, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.144-147.

190: On Wamba, see above n.187, '.. et suo imperio subiugavit.'. On Ordoño I, the 'A' text, p.147, has, '.. suo iuri subiugasset..' and the 'B' text, p.144, has, '.. proprio iure recepit.'

191: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.134-135.

192: On Basque repobladores, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, P.212, N.5.

193: On the Franks and Visigoths, see R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.36-40 and 109-114.

194: See the HISTORIA WAMBAE and the accompanying INSULTATIO VILIS STORICI IN TYRRANIDEM GALLIAE.

195: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.118-119.

196: On the Frankish leaders, see above n.178. See the ANNALES BERTINIANI, s.a. 852, p.74 n.6 in the edition of J. Nelson. L.Auzias, L'AQUITAINE CAROLINGIENNE (Toulouse and Paris, 1937), pp.266-267, associates Sancho and Pippin II's rebellion, 848-852 AD, against Charles the Bald. Sancho was captured by Musa and released as a result of pressure from Charles. Back in Gascony in 852 AD, Sancho eventually betrayed Pippin to Charles. Epulo has been identified with Emenon, count of Poitou, and later of Perigord, brother-in-law of Sancho, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.217, n.6.

197: CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.146-147.

198: ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS, s.a.798.

199: Text of letter in MGH EPISTOLARUM V,1, n.12, pp.115-116. Spanish translation in F.J. Simonet, HISTORIA, pp.313-314.

200: R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.258.

201: See A. Sanchez Candeira, EL 'REGNUM-IMPERIUM' LEONES HASTA 1037 (Madrid, 1951), pp.35-37 and pp.63-68, 'Noticias Sobre el Imperio Leones.'

202: Idem, pp.26-27, on the Latin origin of the term 'imperator'.

203: Idem, 'Ch. V. Character del Imperio Leones.', pp.50-60. On Athelstan as 'imperator', see P.H. Sawyer, FROM ROMAN BRITAIN TO NORMAN ENGLAND (London, 1978), pp.125-126, 'Athelstan could proudly claim, in a charter, that he was 'rex Angulsexna and Northhymbra imperator paganorum gubernator Brittanorumque propugnator.' (See n. 392 in P.H. Sawyer, ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS: AN ANNOTATED LIST AND BIBLIOGRAPHY (London, 1968) Athelstan took care to solicit support from the main northern shrines, especially that of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, during his campaign against Scotland in 934 AD. The parallel is suggested with Alfonso III, another imperator of territories with an uncertain political identity, and St. James at Santiago de Compostela in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. For a useful short biography of Athelstan, see R. Fletcher, WHO'S WHO IN ROMAN BRITAIN AND ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND (London, 1989), pp.153-157 and for Alfonso III, J. Rodriguez Muñoz and M. A. González Muñoz, DICCIONARIO DE HISTORIA DE ASTURIAS (Gijon, 1991), pp.26-29.

204: S.A. Sanchez Candeira, op.cit. p.54.

205: E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.315-358.

206: S.A. Sanchez Candeira, op.cit. p.7. He argued that the concept of the imperium of the Asturian kings was probably most influenced by Frankish ideas and the example of the Carolingians.

R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.235-236, acknowledged that

Alfonso had the necessary qualifications for imperium, i.e. rule over different peoples.

207: For Alfonso III as 'magnus imperator', see donation of Ordoño II and his wife Elvira, 9 January 916, Archive of Leon cathedral, doc.905; charter of Ordoño II and Elvira fixing the boundaries of the monastery of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, 27 August 916 AD, Tumbo de Leon, f.468r-469r and BN Ms. 775; donation of Ordoño II and Elvira, 8 January 917, Archive of Leon cathedral doc.890. See A. Sanchez Candeira, op.cit. 'Noticias Sobre el Imperio Leones.', p.63.

208: The Roman 'imperium' carried two meanings; a general sense of power or authority and another, which was more restricted, of military command. From this second meaning was derived 'imperator', an honorific title which was later adopted by Roman emperors. Isidore of Seville, ETYMOLOGIES, IX,3,14, fixes the word 'imperator' in the Roman past and it seems, therefore, to lack a contemporary significance for Visigothic Spain, Sánchez Candeira. The term 'imperium' does not signify 'military rule' in Visigothic conciliar and legal sources. Sánchez Candeira, op.cit. p.26, nn.41-44, recognised three types of use of the term 'imperium': a, For divine command, e.g. Leges Wisigothorum, II,1,2, p.49, and II,1,7, p.52; b, To designate the authority of masters over slaves, with general reference to royal authority, e.g. Leges Wisigothorum, II,1,5, p.48, and V,4,17, p.223; To indicate rule or government, e.g. XII Toledo, Tomus of Ervig, Vives, CONCILIOS, p.382. See the discussion in A. Sanchez Candeira, op.cit. pp.25-27.

209: On the partition of Alfonso III's kingdom, see G. Martin, 'La Chute..', p.228, n.58; J.F. O'Callaghan, MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.102-122. For further references, see R. Menéndez Pidal, EL IMPERIO HISPANICO Y LOS CINCO REINOS (Madrid, 1950), pp.35-40.

210: On Ordoño II's association, see R. Menendez Pidal, idem. pp.37-38. See Y. Bonnaz, 'Divers Aspects..', pp.91-96 on the practice of association with the throne in the Asturian kingdom and contra, L.Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches..', pp.328-337.

211: See A. Sánchez Candeira, op.cit. pp.47-48 and R. Menéndez Pidal, op. cit. p.35ff.

212: On the obscure origins of the kingdom of Pamplona, see R. Collins, THE BASQUES, pp.123-132.

213: On the difficulties of Mohammed I (852-886 AD) and his successor al-Mundhir (886-888 AD), see J.D. Dodds, ARCHITECTURE, pp.83-84 and E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, 'Ch.IV. L'Emirat Hispano-umaiyade de 852 a 912.', pp.279-310.

214: The 'C' text of the Chronicle of Alfonso III reported a raid by Silo on Merida which led to the remains of the martyr Eulalia being taken to Oviedo, text in Prelog, DIE CHRONIK, p.88.

215: See the Codex Rotensis text of the Chronicle of Albelda. p.188: '.. hic princeps (Alfonso III) noster gloriosus domnus Adefonsus proximiori tempore in omni Spania predicetur

regnaturus.'

216: See the text in Floriano, *DIPLOMATICA*, vol.I, no.185, pp.339-342 and the valuable discussion by Fletcher in *ST. JAMES'S CATAPULT*, pp.317-323.

217: On the deposition, see SAMPIRO, pp.307-308. As Collins pointed out in *EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN*, p.239, 'The events preceding the deposition of Alfonso III by his sons in 910 are not clear, and it is possible that Sampiro was as baffled by their chronology as we are.'. On Alfonso III's life, see the extensive account in the aging but valuable work of A. Cotarelo Valledor, *ALFONSO III EL MAGNO: ULTIMO REY DE OVIEDO Y PRIMERO DE GALICIA* (Madrid, 1931; facsimile edition Oviedo, 1991).

218: On the movement of Mozarabs, see J. Fontaine, 'Mozarabie Hispanique..', p.30-31. He distinguished three waves of movement: at the end of the 8th century, in the second half of the 9th century, at the end of the 9th and start of the 10th century. See also M. Gómez-Moreno, *IGLESIAS MOZARABES: ARTE ESPAÑOL DE LOS SIGLOS IX A XI* (Madrid, 1919) on Mozarabic immigrants and their building work in Christian Spain.

219: On Mozarabic influences in the Asturian and Leonese kingdoms, see Dodds, op.cit. 'Ch.III. In the Northern Kingdoms.', pp.71-77 and 'Ch.IV. Testimony Appropriated: The Meaning of Visigothicism for the Northern Kingdoms.'. On church-building, see I. Bango Torviso, 'El Neovisigotismo Artístico de los Siglos IX y X. La Restauración de Ciudades y Templos.' in *REVISTA DE IDEAS ESTÉTICAS*, 148(1979).

220: On the buildings of Alfonso III in Oviedo and outside, see P. García Toraño, *HISTORIA DE EL REINO ASTURIANO*, p.319, pp.415-420.

221: On the crosses presented by Alfonso III, see H. Schlunk, 'The Crosses of Oviedo' in *THE ART BULLETIN*, 32(1950), pp.99-105.

On the reliquary, see P.García Toraño, op.cit. pp.293-295.

222: On the territorial expansion by Alfonso III, see P. García Toraño, op.cit. pp.293-295, 'Repoblaciones en el Valle del Duero.'.

223: For example, the settlements of Zamora, Simancas, Dueñas and Toro.

224: For example, the victories at Polvoraria (878 AD), Valdemora (878 AD), Zamora (901 AD) and the campaign into Lusitania that culminated in the victory at Mount Oxifer (881 AD).

225: See the Chronicle of Albelda, p.181, on the Muslim appeals in 883 AD for a truce that led Alfonso III to send the Toledan priest Dulcidius to Cordoba on a diplomatic mission: 'Ipse vero Abuhalit dum in terminis Legionenses fuit, verba plura pro pace regi nostro direxit. pro quod etiam et rex noster legatum nomine Dulcidium Toletane urbis presuiterum cum epistolas ad Cordouensem

regem direxit Septembrio mense, unde aduc usque non est reuersus
Nobembrio discurrente.'.

226: On Alfonso's dealing with Ibn Marwan al-Djilliqi, see A.A. El-Hajji, ANDALUSIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, pp.106-108 and E. Levi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.295-299. On Alfonso's dealings with the Banu Kasi, see A.A. El-Hajji, idem., pp.102-105 and E. Levi-Provencal, idem., pp.320-328. On Alfonso's dealings with Umar ibn Hafsun, see A.A. El-hajji, idem., pp.110-111 and E. Lévi-Provencal, idem., pp.300-306 and pp.368-380. On these Muslim rebels, see P. García Toraño, op.cit., pp.295-309.

227: The life of Alfonso I takes up 4 1/2 pages in the edition of Gil in CRONICAS ASTURIANAS and the life of Alfonso II takes up 5 pages. This contrasts with the customary entry of a few lines, although after Alfonso II the lives of Ramiro I and Ordono I are more substantial than other 'non-Alfonsos'.

228: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.130-133.

229: See the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.173. On the Tierra de Campos, see A. Boyd, THE COMPANION GUIDE TO MADRID AND CENTRAL SPAIN (London, 1986) 2nd.ed. p.155: 'The whole area between Palencia and Benavente bounded on the east by the river Carrion, on the north by the pilgrim route (to Santiago de Compostela), on the west by the river Cea and on the south by the Duero is known as the Tierra de Campos, whose capital is at Medina de Rioseco.'.

230: On the list of places captured by Alfonso I, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.132-133. The two lists are not identical. The places in common are: Lucum (Lugo), Tudem (Tuy), Portucalem (Oporto), Bracaram metropolitanam (Braga), Viseo (Viseu), Flavias (Chaves), Letesma (Ledesma), Salamantica (Salamanca), Zamora (Zamora), Abela (Avila), Secobia (Segovia), Astorica (Astorga), Legione (León), Saldania (Saldaña), Mabe (Mave), Amaia (Amaya), Septemanca (Simancas), Auca (Oca), Miranda (Miranda), Revendeca (Revenga), Carbonaria (Carbonarica), Abeica (Abeica), Cinisaria (Cenicero), Alesanco (Alesanco), Oxoma (Osma), Clunia (Coruña del Conde), Argantia (Arganza), Septempública (Sepulveda). In the 'A' text only, p.133, there are Agata (Agata), Velegia Alabense (Veleja de Alaba), Brunis (Briones). In the 'B' text only, p.132, there are Anegiam (Anegia), Numantia (Numancia) qui nunc vocitatur Zamora.

231: On the line of settlement, see Y. Bonnaz, CHRONIQUES ASTURIENNES, p.162, n.4; on the resettlement, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, DESPOBLACIÓN Y REPOBLACIÓN DEL VALLE DEL DUERO (Buenos Aires, 1966).

232: The list of Alfonso I's conquests is in n.230 above. Braga, Oca, Porto and Viseu are in the short list of Alfonso III's conquests that is given in the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.176-177: 'Hurbes quoque I Bracarensis, II Portucalensis, III Aucensis, IIII Eminiensis, V Uesensis VI atque Lamecensis a Xpianis populantur.'. There is a similar list of Alfonso III's conquests in SAMPIRO, both texts, p.280: 'Eius quoque tempore ecclesia ampliata est: urbes namque Portugalensis, Bracarensis, Uesensis,

Flauensis, Auccensis a Christianis populantur..'. Tuy, named in the list of Alfonso I's conquests, is also reported in the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.143, 147, to have been captured by Ordono I, although it seems to have been permanently settled by Alfonso III, cf. Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, doc. 127, a donation of 883 AD to the church of Santiago, pp.144-146 and discussion: '.. postea quidem presenti tempore Deo favente, nosque illius gratia in regni culmine consistente, dum per Domini pietatem nostra fuisset ordinatio, ut de Tudense urbe usque Mineo civitatem omnes ipsa extrema a Christi plebe popularetur sicuti Deo iubente completum est.'. The conquest of Simancas and Zamora (both in the list of Alfonso I's alleged conquests) is attributed to Alfonso III in SAMPIRO, both texts, p.305: 'Ac triennio peracto, sub era DCCCCIII (DCCCCXXXVII: Silense version), urbes desertas ab antiquibus (antiquitus: Silense version) populari rex iussit. hec sunt Cemora, Septimancas at Domnas (Donnas: Silense version) vel omnes Campi Gotorum; Taurum namque ad populandum dedit filio suo Garseano.'

233: See the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.177-178 and SAMPIRO, both versions, p.277. On the Valdemora campaign, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Notas al Relato de la Batalla de Polvoraria', ORÍGENES, vol.III, pp.703-707.

234: On the Meridan rebel Mahmud, see E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, pp.208-210. On Ibn al-Djilliqi, see above n.226.

235: On Mahmud's murder of Marwan al-Djilliqi, see E. Lévi-Provencal, HISTOIRE, vol.I, p.208.

236: See the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, pp.177-178.

237: Apart from the Foncalalda covered fountain, none of this building-work has survived although there is epigraphical evidence. There is nothing known definitely on Alfonso III's restoration of churches in Oviedo. On Alfonso III's buildings, see J. Fontaine, L'ART PRÉROMAN HISPANIQUE (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1973), vol.I, pp.326-334 and J. Uria Riu, 'Cuestiones Historico-Arqueologicas..', pp.310-328. On the Foncalada covered fountain, see J. Fontaine, op.cit. pp.327-328. It carries the Cross of Victory, a symbol associated with Alfonso III, and an inscription, 'HOC SIGNO TUETUR PIUS, HOC SIGNO VI(ncitur inimicus). This message, which recalls Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 AD, is also found on the crosses associated with Alfonso II and Alfonso III.

238: On the fortress of Gozon, see SAMPIRO, Pelagian text, p.279: Fecit eciam castella plurima, et ecclesias multas, sicut his subscriptum est: In territorio Legionensi Lunam, Gordonem et Aluam. In Asturiis Tutelam et Gauzonem. On the actual location of Gozon, see A. Cotarelo Valledor, ALFONSO III, pp.300-309 and M.G. Martínez, 'Gauzon, Punto Oscuro de la Geografia e Historia Astures en el Medioevo.' in SYMPOSIUM SOBRE CULTURA ASTURIANA. On Alfonso III's churches (San Adriano de Tunon, San Salvador de Priesca, San Salvador de Valdedios and Santiago de Goviendes), see J. Fontaine, op.cit. pp.326-333.

239: See above n.165 for the inscription from the cathedral of San Salvador. Text in Vigil, *ASTURIAS MONUMENTAL*, pp.7-8. The description of Alfonso III as the fourth in line from Alfonso II is also made in two forged charters of Alfonso III. The donation to the church of Oviedo by Alfonso III in 905 AD was included in Bishop Pelayo's *LIBER TESTAMENTORUM*. See the published text and discussion in Floriano, *DIPLOMATICA*, vol.II, doc.175, pp.296-305 and the discussion in Fernandez Conde, *EL LIBRO*, pp.159-164. This document, found in other collections in the cathedral of San Salvador, served as the basis of another falsified donation to the church in the 14th-century *LIBRO DE LA REGLA COLORADA*. See the text and discussion in Floriano, *DIPLOMATICA*, vol.II, doc.187, 906 AD, pp.350-355.

240: See Floriano, *DIPLOMATICA*, vol.II, for references made by Alfonso III to Alfonso II. In authentic documents, Alfonso II is described as '*.. tius noster.*', doc.93, April 15, 869 AD, p.48; '*.. avus noster..*', doc.123, 880-910 AD, p.134. There are other references in falsified or interpolated documents; '*.. avus meus Adefonsus..*', doc.116, 877 AD, p.120; '*.. proavus noster.. Adefonsus..*', doc.158, 899 AD, p.242; *idem*, doc.159, 899 AD, p.248; '*.. precessoris mei Adephepsi..*', doc.160, 899 AD, pp.255-256. A reference to Alfonso II as '*.. casto Adefonsso..*', doc.187, 906 AD, p.350, reflects 12th-century naming practice rather than actual 9th-century usage.

241: On the church built at Santiago de Compostela by Alfonso II, see J.A. García de Cortazar, *SANTIAGO EN LA ALTA EDAD MEDIA*, pp.138-143 and on archaeological evidence, pp.93-94. On Alfonso III's church at Compostela, see M. Chamoso Llamas, 'Una Obra de Alfonso III el Magno: La Basílica del Apostol Santiago' in *SYMPOSIUM SOBRE CULTURA ASTURIANA*, pp.27-35 and H. Schlunk, *ARS HISPANIAE II*, pp.377-378. The Pelagian version of *SAMPIRO*, p.278, reports the building of Alfonso III's church over that of Alfonso II: '*Tunc Galleciam in Compostella super corpus beati Iacobi apostoli ecclesiam quem construxerat rex domnus Adefonsus magnus ex lapidibus et luto opere parua, rex iste (Alfonso III) precipitavit eam, et ex calce quadratisque lapidibus marmoreiswue columpnis, siue basis construxit eam ualde pulcherrima era DCCCLX.*'.

242: For text of the Act of Consecration and the difficulties of its date, see C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Sobre el Acta de Consagración de la Iglesia de Compostela.', pp. n.5, 818-821: '*Suplex egregii eximii principis Ordonii proles ego Adefonsus princeps cum praedicto antistite statuimus aedificare domum domini et restaurare templum ad tumulum sepulchri Apostoli, quod antiqitus construxerat divae memoriae dns. Adefonsus Magnus ex petra et luto opere paruo.*'.

243: On the crosses donated by Alfonso II and Alfonso III, see above n.165 and H. Schlunk, 'The Crosses of Oviedo.'. On crosses generally in the Asturian kingdom and links with the Visigothic kingdom, see G. Menendez Pidal, 'El Laboro Primitivo de la Reconquista.' in *BRAH*, 136(1955), pp.275-296.

244: On the Cross of the Angels, see Schlunk, *op.cit.* pp.93-99 and illustrations 1-8. On the angel-goldsmiths, see the *HISTORIA*

SILENSE, pp.138-140.

245: On the Cross of Santiago, see H. Schlunk, op.cit. pp.99-101 and illustrations 10-13.

246: On the Cross of Victory, see H. Schlunk, op.cit. pp.101-105 and illustrations 14-17.

247: See R. Collins, 'Doubts and Certainties ..', on the architecture of Santullano, p.11, and on the wall-paintings, p.12.

248: See above n.242 for the Act of Consecration and Alfonso III's intention to restore the work of Alfonso II.

249: On the Cross of Victory-type, see H. Schlunk, 'The Crosses of Oviedo.', illustrations 14-17. On the illustrations of the Santullano cross, see Dodds, op.cit. Plate 26; Fontaine, op.cit. fig.118, pp.338-339; Rollan Ortiz, p.34.

250: On the carved inscriptions in the Museo Arqueologico Provincial in Oviedo, see illustrations in Fontaine, L'ART PRÉROMAN HISPANIQUE, n.133, and J.F. Rollan Ortiz, IGLESIAS, pp.6, 10.

251: See the illustration in Dodds, op. cit. Plate 35 and Rollan Ortiz, op.cit. p.94.

252: Of the three crosses painted on the wall above the main altar, the central and largest is of the Cross of the Angels-type while the smaller, flanking pair are of the Cross of Victory-type. See Dodds, op.cit. Plate 34, Fontaine, op.cit. nn.138,139 and Rollan Ortiz, op.cit. p.102, a colour plate of the main chapel, and p.103, a colour reconstruction by Magin Berenguer.

253: On the deposition of Alfonso II, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.174. On the deposition of Alfonso III, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.176, and SAMPIRO, both versions, pp.275-276.

254: On the prolonged deposition of Alfonso II during the reigns of Mauregatus and Vermudo I, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, pp.136-139.

255: On the list of Alfonso I's conquests, see above n.230. On Alfonso III's conquests, see above n.232.

256: On the defeat of Musa, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.146-149.

257: On Alfonso III's link with the Banu Kasi, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.178: 'Tunc Ababdella, ipse qui Mahomat iben Lup, qui semper noster fuerat amicus sicut et pater eius, ob invidiam de suos tios, cui rex filium suum Ordonium ad creandum dederat..'

258: On Túy, see above n.232.

259: On the capture of Coria and Talamanca, see the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both texts, pp.144-147. On the capture of Talamanca, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.175.

260: On Coria as a conquest of Alfonso III, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.177: 'Istius (Alfonso III) uictoria Cauriensis, Egitanensis, et ceteras Lusitanie limites gladio et fame consume usque Emeritam atque freta maris heremauit et destruxit.'

261: On Alfonso III's victory at Polvoraria, see the CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA, p.177 and SAMPIRO, both versions, pp.282-283.

262: See the CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III, both versions, for the hostile treatment of Wittiza, pp.118-121, and, 'B' text only, for Fruela I. See the list of rebels in Floriano, DIPLOMATICA, vol.II, p.167, n.2.

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APPENDICES

A: VISIGOTHIC AND ASTURIAN KINGS IN THE CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO III

- 1: WAMBA (672-680 AD): Elected on the death of his predecessor, Reccesuinth (649-672 AD).
- 2: ERVIG (680-687 AD): Chosen as king after a poisoning plot caused Wamba's illness and abdication.
- 3: EGICA (687-702 AD): Son-in-law of Wamba, elected as king.
- 4: WITTIZA (698-710 AD): Son of Egica, associated with the throne during his father's life-time.
- 5: RODERICK (710-711 AD): Elected as king in disturbed circumstances.
- 6: PELAYO (718-737 AD): Elected as king in the Asturias.
- 7: FAFILA (737-739 AD): Son of Pelayo, succeeded as king.
- 8: ALFONSO I (739-757 AD): Son-in-law of Pelayo, elected as king.
- 9: FRUELA I (757-768 AD): Son of Alfonso I, succeeded him as king.
- 10: AURELIUS (768-774 AD): Son of Alfonso I's brother, Fruela. Succeeded Fruela I as king.
- 11: SILO (774-783 AD): Son-in-law of Alfonso I, brother-in-law of Fruela I, accepted as king because of his marriage to Adosinda.
- 12: MAUREGATUS (783-788 AD): Illegitimate son of Alfonso I, described as a usurper after taking the throne from Alfonso II.
- 13: VERMUDO I (788-791 AD): Son of Fruela, brother of Aurelius, elected as king. He soon resumed religious life as a deacon and gave up the throne to Alfonso II.
- 14: ALFONSO II (791-842 AD): Son of Fruela I. Accession to the throne was delayed until after Vermudo I's abdication.
- 15: RAMIRO I (842-850 AD): Son of Vermudo I, elected as king.
- 16: ORDOÑO I (842-866 AD): Son of Ramiro I, succeeded as king.
- (17: ALFONSO III (866-910 AD): Son of Ordono I.)

B: KINGS OF PAMPLONA

- 1: ENNECO ARISTA: EARLY 9TH CENTURY-852 AD (?).

- 2: GARCÍA IÑIGUEZ: 850s/860s.
- 3: GARCÍA JIMENEZ: (?)
- 4: FORTUN GARCÉZ: c.882-905 AD.
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- 5: SANCHO GARCÉS I: 905-925 AD.
- 6: GARCÍA SANCHÉS I: 925-971 AD.

C: MUSLIM GOVERNORS OF AL-ANDALUS

- 1: MUSA IBN NUSAYR (711-714 AD).
- 2: ABD AL-AZIZ (714-716 AD).
- 3: AYYUB IBN HABIB AL LAKHMI (716 AD).
- 4: AL-HURR IBN ABD AL-RAHMAN AL-THAQAFI (716-718 AD).
- 5: AS-SAMH IBN MALIK AL-KHAULANI (718-721 AD).
- 6: ABD AL-RAHMAN IBN ABD-ALLAH AL-GHAFIQI (721 AD).
- 7: ANBASAH IBN SAHIM AL-KALBI (721-725 AD).
- 8: UDRAH IBN ABD-ALLAH AL-FIHRI (725-726 AD).
- 9: YAHYA IBN SALAMAH AL-QALBI (727 AD).
- 10: HODJIFAH IBN AL-AHWAN AL-QAYSI (728 AD).
- 11: UTHMAN IBN ABI NASAH AL-KHATHAMI (728 AD).
- 12: AL-HAYTHAM IBN UBAYD AL-KILABI (729-730 AD).
- 13: MUHAMMED IBN ABD-ALLAH AL-ASHJAI (730 AD).
- 14: ABD AL-RAHMAN IBN ABD-ALLAH AL-GHAFEKI (730-732 AD).
- 15: ABD AL-MALIK IBN QATAN AL-FIHRI (732-734 AD).
- 16: UQBAH IBN HAJJAJ (734-740 AD).
- 17: ABD AL-MALIK IBN QATAN (RESTORED 740-741 AD).
- 18: BALJ IBN BASHIR (741-742 AD).
- 19: ABU AL-QATTAR HUSAM IBN DHIRAR AL-KHALBI (743-745 AD).
- 20: THALABAH IBN SALMAH (745-747 AD).
- 21: THALABAH IBN SALAMAH (745-747 AD).
- 22: YUSUF IBN ABD AL-RAHMAN AL-FIHRI (747-756 AD).

D: UMMAYAD EMIRS OF CORDOBA

1: ABD AL-RAHMAN I (756-788 AD).

2: HISHAM I (788-796 AD).

3: AL-HAKEM I (796-822 AD).

4: ABD AL-RAHMAN II (822-852 AD).

5: MOHAMMED I (852-886 AD).

6: AL-MUNDHIR (886-888 AD).

7: ABD-ALLAH (888-912 AD).

Lists based on R. Collins, EARLY MEDIEVAL SPAIN, pp.300-302 and
K.B. Wolf, CONQUERORS AND CHRONICLERS OF MEDIEVAL SPAIN, p.179/81

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