

A list of the Hispanic Ecclesiastical provinces and their suffragan sees according to Escorial MS Ar. 1623, with a *Nomina sedium episcopalium* in appendix (Simonet's Catalogue revisited)

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ENG Abstract. This article¹ undertakes a critical examination of the three documents employed by Simonet in his treatment of the ecclesiastical divisions of Hispania and their respective suffragan sees—namely, an *excerptum* from the *Codex miscellaneus ovetensis*, an extract from the so-called ‘Mozarabic Codex’ of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*, and a further text drawn from *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* (The Holy Canon). The objective is to assess the accuracy of Simonet’s readings and, through a systematic comparison with the relevant sources, to re-establish—inasmuch as is feasible—certain interpretations which, in our view, are erroneous.

Keywords: Simonet, Hispania, al-Andalus, Ecclesiastical provinces, suffragan sees.

ES Una lista de las provincias eclesiásticas hispánicas y de sus sedes sufragáneas según el MS Ar. 1623 (El Escorial), con una *Nomina sedium episcopalium* en apéndice (revisión del Catálogo de Simonet)

Resumen. En el presente artículo analizamos los tres 3 documentos utilizados por Simonet sobre las divisiones eclesiásticas hispanas y sus sedes sufragáneas (un *excerptum* del *Codex miscellaneus ovetensis*, un extracto del ‘Códice mozárabe’ de las *Etimologías* de Isidoro de Sevilla y otro procedente de *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* o ‘Canon Sagrado’) con el objeto de comprobar sus lecturas y mediante una labor de cotejo con las fuentes poder restablecer, hasta donde nos sea posible, determinadas interpretaciones en nuestra opinión erróneas.

Palabras clave: Simonet, Hispania, al-Andalus, Provincias eclesiásticas, sedes sufragáneas.

Summary: Introduction. Simonet’s Appendix on Ecclesiastical Divisions. Conclusions. Bibliography.

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Introduction

In his *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Simonet included a series of seventeen appendices, among which one, number V, is dedicated to the Spanish ecclesiastical divisions and their suffragan sees.² The appendix is composed of three documents: an *excerptum* from the *Codex miscellaneus ovetensis*, an extract taken from the ‘Mozarabic Codex’ on parchment of the *Etymologies* by Isidore of Seville, and a third from *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* or the *Holy Canon*.

These three documents are relevant for understanding Visigothic ecclesiastical geography, given that the catalogues known as *Nomina sedium episcopalium*, together with the council acts, are the records containing the subscriptions of the bishops present, as well as those of the vicars who represented bishops absent from those councils. With these sources, therefore, it is possible to re-establish —albeit with a certain margin of inaccuracy— the division of the dioceses of the Hispanic Church in the second half of the seventh century,³ taking into account certain readjustments

¹ This article has been done within the framework of the project “Christian Society under Muslim Rule: Canon Collections from Muslim Spain,” funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation between 2019 and 2024.

² Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*. Deducida de las mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores cristianos y árabes (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de la Viuda e Hijos de M. Tello, 1897-1903), pp. 808-812.

³ On this issue, see Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, “Fuentes para el estudio de las divisiones eclesiásticas visigodas”, *Boletín de la Universidad*

carried out in the course of the unification of the peninsular monarchy. Thus, according to these documents, although this division already existed in the sixth century, in the second half of the seventh century the Spanish ecclesiastical division was arranged into six provinces: Cartaginensis, Tarraconensis, Bætica, Lusitania, Galaica, and Narbonense.

Within each of these six provinces, there was a variable number of dioceses amounting, more or less, to around eighty, given that some names prove difficult to locate—partly because, once these dioceses disappeared, they no longer appeared in subsequent documents.⁴ The dioceses, as part of a complete territorial structure,⁵ were the central organ of ecclesiastical organisation in the Visigothic period, and their bishops constituted the authority in each.⁶ All the churches of a diocese, both urban and rural, fell under the bishop's authority,⁷ who would naturally assert his power in his respective diocesan jurisdictions in the first pacts sealed with the Muslim conquerors, a power perhaps rooted in the ecclesiastical interference in the juridical-political sphere of the Visigothic era.⁸ Only monasteries and their "proprietary churches" lay outside the bishop's authority, leading to the consequent conflicts that might ensue.⁹

Regarding the question of the ecclesiastical division of Hispania and its suffragan sees, specifically those within the Andalusi political-administrative jurisdiction,¹⁰ a series of interesting considerations have arisen. It is believed that with the arrival of Islam on the Peninsula and the establishment of a new political reality, there was a shift in the Christian demography of al-Andalus, and with it, the ecclesiastical geography, leading ultimately to the partial disappearance of Christianity from al-Andalus.¹¹ An essential factor in this process —alongside others— was, according to Mikel de Epalza, the lack of bishops and their political influence, which over time would have resulted in the disappearance of Christians from al-Andalus.¹²

Now, without delving fully into this matter, as it does not form the main focus of this study, it must be noted that this supposed lack of bishops is merely conjectural, at least for certain periods. In this regard, Epalza observed —referring to the Council of Córdoba in 852, prompted by the crisis of voluntary martyrdoms— that "few holders of sees are mentioned."¹³ And indeed, this can also be inferred from the subscriptions recorded in a council convened thirteen years earlier, in 839, in order to suppress a heresy led by a certain Cuniericus, which was practised in a cave near the town of Cabra (*Egabrum*) in the diocese of Córdoba. The text of that council records the presence of three metropolitan bishops: Vistremirus (Toledo), Iohannes (Seville), and Ariulfus (Mérida), as well as five bishops from their corresponding suffragan sees: Quiricus (Guadix), Leobesindus (Écija), Recafredus (Córdoba, Cabra), Amalsuindus (Málaga), and Nefridius (Elvira). All the subscriptions were corroborated by the presbyter Flavius.¹⁴

This small number of bishops might support Epalza's hypothesis, yet we know from other texts that in the year 862 there were bishops in suffragan sees of Toledo and Bætica whose signatures do not appear in the earlier council: for instance, in Almería, Baeza, Baza, Elche, and Sidonia,¹⁵ to which we may add others from the mid-ninth century that Epalza himself noted.¹⁶ The same metropolitan (*mu/aṭrān*, pl. *maṭārīna*)¹⁷ of Toledo would retain his see there until the eleventh century.¹⁸ The silence of Andalusi historians, as Mu'nis remarked, reinforces the notion that the

de Santiago de Compostela II (1930): 29-83 (repr. in his *Investigaciones y documentos sobre las instituciones hispanas* [Santiago, 1970], pp. 66-107). See also C. Sánchez-Albornoz, "Sobre las *Nominae Sedium Episcopalia visigoda*", in *Investigaciones y documentos*, 108-113, and Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, "Geografía eclesiástica de España", in *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, edited by Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Martín Martínez and José Vives Gatell, 5 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972), II, 983-1015.

⁴ Cf. *Suplemento al Diccionario de Teología del Abate Bergier*. Castilian version under the direction of Antolín Monescillo (Madrid: José Lorente editor, 1857), 465-467; Josefina Mateu Ibars and M^a Dolores Mateu Ibars, *Colectánea paleográfica de la Corona de Aragón: siglos IX-XVIII* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1991), 26-35. Cf. the catalogues gathered by Fr. Enrique Flórez, *Theatro geographico-histórico de la Iglesia de España. Origen, divisiones y límites de todas sus provincias. Tomo IV* (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1756), 253-270.

⁵ Céline Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique* (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2003), 61-72.

⁶ Cf. Pablo Poveda Arias, "La diócesis episcopal en la Hispania visigoda: concepción, construcción y disputas por su territorio", *Hispania Sacra* LXXI, n.143 (2019): 9-24.

⁷ C. Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, 113-122, 191-203.

⁸ Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas. Los omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), 53.

⁹ Cf. Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, "Monjes y monasterios en al-Andalus: entre la disidencia, la colaboración y la herejía", in *El monacato cristiano en la España musulmana*, coord. José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ramón Teja (Aguilar de Campoo [Palencia]: Fundación Santa María la Real del Patrimonio Histórico, 2023), 73-97.

¹⁰ Cf. Francisco Salvador Ventura, "El centro de Andalucía entre los siglos V y VII: de las ciudades herederas de Roma a las sedes episcopales visigodas", *Habis* 43 (2012): 245-247.

¹¹ About this issue, see Alejandro García Sanjuán, "El fin de las comunidades cristianas de al-Andalus (siglos XI-XIII): factores de una evolución", in *XI Congreso de Estudios Medievales. Cristianos y musulmanes en la península ibérica: la guerra, la frontera y la convivencia* (León, 23-26 octubre 2007) (Ávila: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 2009), 259-287 (repr. in his *Coexistencia y conflictos. Minorías religiosas en la península ibérica durante la Edad Media* [Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2015], 193-232).

¹² Mikel de Epalza, "Falta de obispos y conversión al Islam de los cristianos de al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara* XV/2 (1994): 385-400. See also Antonio Linaje Conde, "La geografía eclesiástica y la frontera", in *III Estudios de frontera. Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera. En memoria de Don Juan Mata Carriazo y Arroquia* (Alcalá la Real, 18-20 noviembre 1999) (Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2000), 413-426.

¹³ Mikel de Epalza, "Falta de obispos", 391.

¹⁴ Juan Gil, *Scriptores mvzarabici saeculi VIII-XI*, edición y estudio, 2 vols. (Turhout: Brepols, 2020), I, 374-375, lines 201-219. Cf. Roger Wright, "La representación de las vocales en las Actas del Concilio de Córdoba de 839. Una investigación sociofilológica", in *Latin vulgaire-latin tardif VII. Actes du VII Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif* (Sevilla, 2-6 septembre, 2003), coord. Carmen Arias Abellán (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2006), 565-572.

¹⁵ Cf. *Samsonis Apologeticvm* II § 8, lines. 244-273, in J. Gil, *Scriptores mvzarabici*, II, pp. 990-991, cf. 922.

¹⁶ Mikel de Epalza, "Falta de obispos", 392.

¹⁷ This Arabic word is a loanword from Syriac *mīṭrān*, cf. Georg Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (Leuven: Imprimerie orientale L. Durbecq, 1954), 106.

¹⁸ Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *España musulmana hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba (711-1031 de J. C.)*. Tomo IV de la *Historia de España* dirigida por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Translation and introduction by Emilio García Gómez (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1957), 48.

Arabs adopted the existing peninsular administrative division, which, in the case of al-Andalus, remained stable until the mid-eleventh century.¹⁹ Thus, although by the mid-twelfth century the Christian communities deported to North Africa were still led by their bishops, with whom they returned to the conquered Toledo,²⁰ we may suppose that the first third of the twelfth century, with the expulsion of the Mozarabs to North Africa,²¹ marked the demographic turning point for Christians in al-Andalus and with it the gradual disappearance of the Andalusí archiepiscopal structure —although some vestige of it may have persisted.²²

There is no doubt that the scarcity of existing documentation is the greatest obstacle we must face in resolving this and other issues related to the Andalusí Christian communities. For this reason, given how truly meagre the corpus of texts at our disposal is, we consider it necessary to revisit these documents in order to glean information that may yield new interpretations.

Simonet's Appendix on Ecclesiastical Divisions

We have previously noted that the first of the three documents included by Simonet in Appendix No. V of his *Historia de los mozárabes* is an *excerptum* from the *Codex miscellaneus ovetensis*, preserved in the Royal Library of El Escorial (shelfmark R.II.18).²³ It provides the “names of the cities of Hispania with episcopal sees” (*nomina ciuitatum Ispanie sedes episcopaliū*),²⁴ which, as Simonet himself explains, he reproduced from the edition by Fernández Guerra, who introduces the names of these cities in the following manner:

«The eighth and ninth divisions of Spain, carried out by the Arab governors ‘Uqba (739–741) and Yūsuf al-Fihri (747–756), may be consulted in D. José Antonio Conde, I, 375; and I surmise that the leaf of the Ovetense codex held in the Escorial, dated 780 and, to my knowledge, hitherto unpublished, constitutes a Latin extract from them.»²⁵

On that same leaf, at the end of the *nomina*, Fernández Guerra provides the date of the document, corresponding to 16 August in the year 779 CE, i.e. at a time when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I was already serving as emir.

Next, Simonet reproduces a second extract, as mentioned, taken from the ‘Mozarabic Codex’ on parchment of the *Etymologies* by Saint Isidore of Seville, dated to between the 8th and 9th centuries and preserved in the ‘Biblioteca Nacional de España’, then known as the ‘Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid’.²⁶ Simonet notes that the document “was in Toledo Cathedral (drawer 15, no. 8) and is now in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid” (Vitr. 14-3).²⁷ The text, which appears on folio 163^v of the codex, reads as follows:²⁸

كراسى الاندلس²⁹ استه اتركونه فرطاجنه . بيطفه . لشدانته جالبقيته . طنجه	مطرائيه مارده
مطرائيه اشبيلية لها من الكراسى italica; asidona; elepla malaca; eliberri; astigi cordoba; egabro; tucci	pacce; elisipona; ossonoba egaiaunia; conibria; beseo lameco; calabria; salamantica. abela; elbora; caurio.
مطرائيه طليطله	مطرائيه تركونه

¹⁹ Hussain Monés, “La división político-administrativa de la España musulmana”, *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* V/1-2 (1957): 81.

²⁰ F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 759-761.

²¹ Cf. Delfina Serrano Ruano, “Dos fetuas sobre la expulsión de los mozárabes al Magreb en 1126”, *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 2 (1991): 163-182; D. Serrano, “El recurso a las autoridades musulmanas por parte de los ‘dimmies’ en el occidente islámico: de nuevo sobre la deportación de los cristianos tributarios al Magreb en 1126 d. C. (fetua de Ibn Ward), in *Culturas de al-Andalus*, ed. Fátima Roldán Castro (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2015), 175-194.

²² Pedro Pablo Herrera Roldán, “La Iglesia andaluza bajo el Islam: entre la intransigencia y la integración”, *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia Andaluza* 3 (2010): 58. Cf. the data on Christian communities discussed by Cyrille Aillet, *Les mozárabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule ibérique (IX^e-XII^e siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010), 45-93.

²³ On this codex, see Carlos Benjamín Pereira Mira, “Éxodo librario en la biblioteca capitular de Oviedo: el *Codex miscellaneus ovetensis* (manuscrito escurialense R.II.18)”, *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder* 1 (2006): 263-278, contents of the codex in 276-277.

²⁴ F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 808, cf. 123.

²⁵ «La octava y novena división de España, hechas por los gobernadores árabes Ókba (739-741) y Júzuf Al-Fihri (747-756), pueden verse en D. José Antonio Conde, I, 375; y me figuro que es extracto latino e ellas la hoja del código ovetense que existe en el Escorial, escrita en el año 780, y nunca publicada, que yo sepa hasta ahora», in Aureliano Fernández Guerra, *Antigüedades del Cerro de los Santos en término de Montealegre* (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1875), 113-179 and 9-110 (with 20 plates at the end) respectively, here 157.

²⁶ F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 808-809.

²⁷ F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 720. Cf. Ramón González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo (1086-1300)*, «Monumenta Ecclesiae Toletanae Historica. Series V: Studia, I» (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1997), 128.

²⁸ Reading mistakes made by Simonet are corrected using the symbol †. We also provide diacritics to the consonants that do not have them (with the exception of *tā’ marbūṭah* and final *yā’*), and the transcription of the Latin words are given according to the readings of the codex.

²⁹ About the name al-Andalus, its relationship with Hispania/Spaña/İşbāniyā and the etymological proposals, see María Jesús Viguera Molins, “Al-Andalus y Reconquista: dos conceptos en la historia. Acotaciones arabistas”, in M.ª J. Viguera Molins, *Tiempos y lugares de al-Andalus en textos árabes* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2024), 17-32.

barcinona. egara. gerunda
enpurias. ausona. urgello:
ilerda. Dertosa. Cesaraugusta:
Osca. Pampilona. Auca
Calahurra Tirassona —

مطرانیه بر افره

Dumio. Portucale. Tude. Auriense.
Locu. Britonia. Asturica. Iria.

oreto. beatia. mentesa
acci. basti urci.
setabis. ilici. ualentia.
ualeria. segobrica. segobia
arcauica. compluto. segontia
oxuma; palentia:

مطرانیه نربونه

Beterris. Magalona. Nemauso
Luteba. Carcasona. elena

But the most important of the three is, without a doubt, the third text Simonet cites: one from *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*,³⁰ that is, 'the Holy Canon' or a canonical compilation in ten books derived from the *Hispana*,³¹ which includes a list "of the ancient provinces of Spain, both civil and ecclesiastical."³² Specifically, it refers to the list featured in the first book (fols. 4r–4v), appearing after the index, which is now quite damaged and therefore difficult to read.³³

The information it contains is certainly interesting, primarily for two reasons: on the one hand, because it allows us to identify the episcopal or metropolitan sees in their Arabic form; and on the other, because it is a copy dating to the mid-eleventh century, very likely made from a mid-tenth-century text,³⁴ which shows intriguing variants compared to the Visigothic catalogues. Both are significant, yet the second could have important socio-historical implications if the list in question corresponded to the actual state of ecclesiastical division in the eleventh century. As we shall see, however, that is not the case, since the Arabic text is the translation of an earlier Latin original, which naturally reflects the situation of that earlier time, not that of the eleventh century. Nonetheless, as mentioned, it does incorporate some later see, thus revealing the author's desire to adapt the catalogue to some extent to subsequent periods.

As is well known, the Andalusí political-administrative division derives from the Visigothic ecclesiastical division, whose territorial organisation is based on the Roman political-administration. Arabic sources attribute the division of al-Andalus into six metropolitan provinces, with their corresponding suffragan dioceses, to Emperor Constantine.³⁵ Among all the references, alongside the *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār* by al-Ḥimyarī (15th century),³⁶ the work of al-Bakrī (11th century)³⁷ stands out; if used with due caution, it is of immense interest for understanding, to some extent, the state and development of the Hispanic suffragan sees.

Regrettably, the codex is in very poor condition in those initial pages, and to the physical deterioration of the parchment must be added the fading of the inks, which makes reading it particularly difficult. This is evident both in its lacunose state and in the hypothetical reading Simonet gives of the list in question, which in turn includes one or two misreadings of the Arabic text.

³⁰ F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 809-811. Cf. F.J. Simonet, "Estudios históricos y filológicos sobre la literatura arábigo-mozárabe", *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* (segunda época) I (1873): 306-307.

³¹ Gregorio de Andrés, "Un valioso códice árabe de concilios españoles recuperado para El Escorial", *La Ciudad de Dios* CLXXIX:4 (1966): 681-695. See also J. P. Monferrer-Sala, *Los cánones árabes de la iglesia andalusí. Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas X. Ms. árabe 1623 de la Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid: Sínderesis, 2020), 27-49.

³² F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 728.

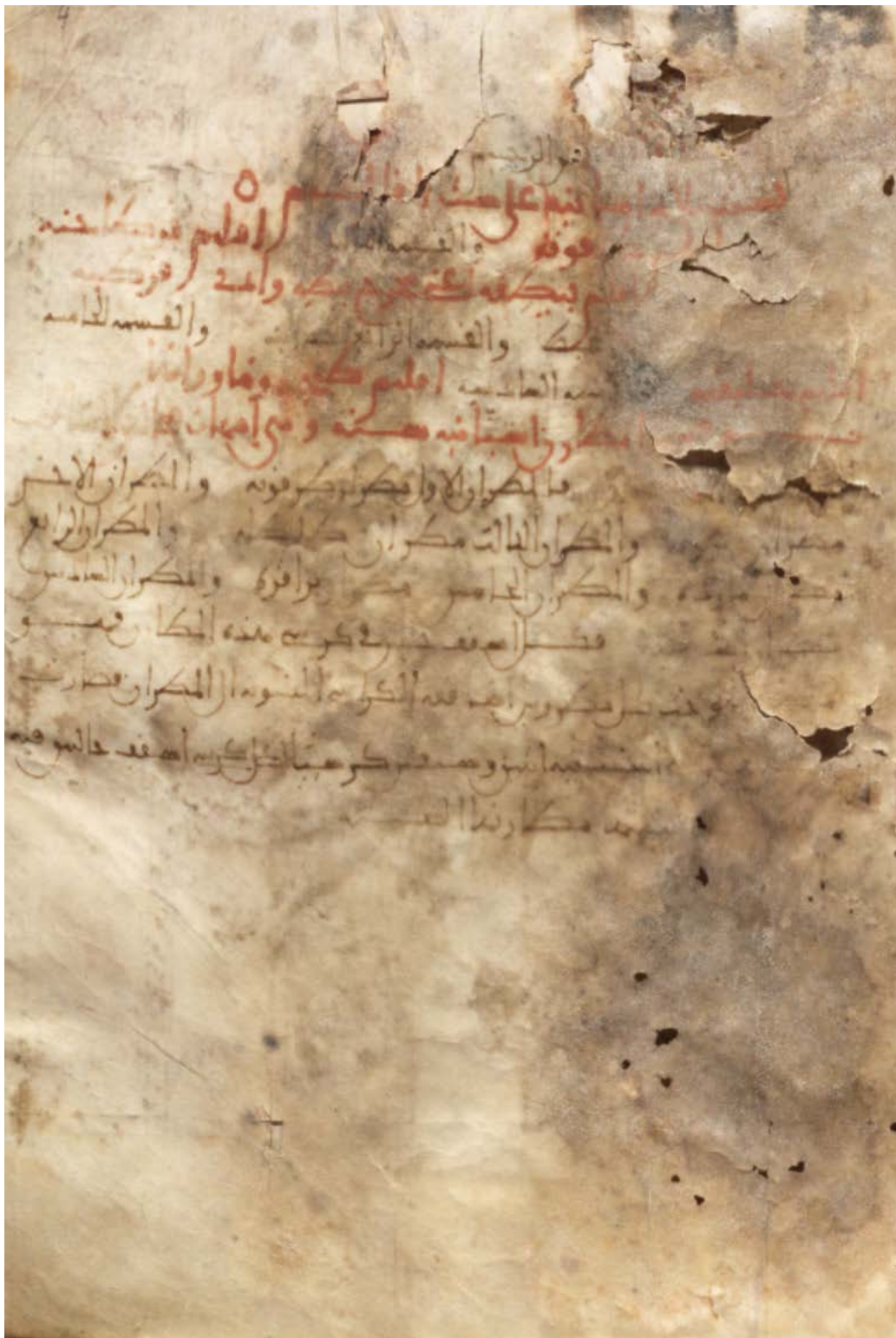
³³ Cf. Francisco Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundición de Manuel Tello, 1889), 243 (MS DXCIII).

³⁴ Cf. J.P. Monferrer-Sala, "Algo más sobre la nota de posesión de la versión árabe de la *Colección canónica* y la datación del códice 1623 de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial", *Isidorianum* 33/2 (2024): 273-287.

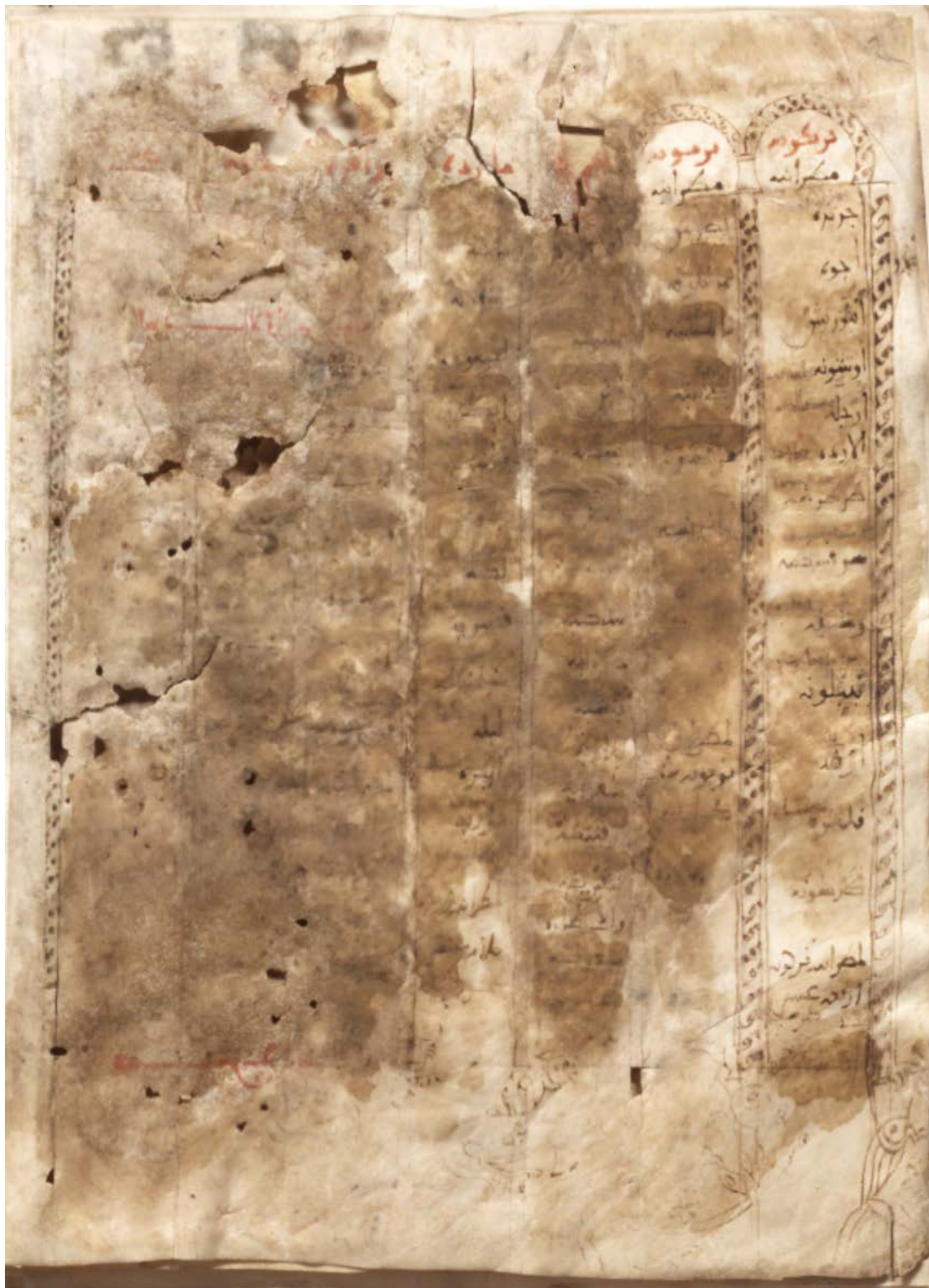
³⁵ About the Pseudoconstantinian division, see Fernando González Muñoz, "Sobre la división de Constantino", in *Actas II congreso hispánico de latín medieval* (León, 11-14 de noviembre de 1997). 2 vols. (León: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 1988), II, 537-550; F. González Muñoz, *La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana* (ms. Paris BN 6113). Critical Edition, translation and study (A Coruña: Editorial Toxosoutos, 2000), 49-64, 138-141 § VIII; cf. Joaquín Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986), 210-211; Hussain Monés, "La división político-administrativa", 90-135.

³⁶ E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age d'après le Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār fi Ḥabar al-Aḫṭār d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938), 245-249.

³⁷ Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. Ġamāl Ṭalaba, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1424 H/2022 EC), II, 378-382; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Geografía de España* (*Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*). Introduction, translation, notes and indices by Eliseo Vidal Beltrán (Zaragoza: Anubar Ediciones, 1982), 15-18; H. Monés, "La división político-administrativa", 90-92; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial*, 212-223.

MS Ar. 1623 (*olim* MS BN 4879), fol. 4r

Real Biblioteca de El Escorial (© Patrimonio Nacional)



MS Ar. 1623 (olim MS BN 4879), fol. 4r

Real Biblioteca de El Escorial (© Patrimonio Nacional)

Nevertheless, the gaps in the list provided by Simonet can be cautiously restored, at least in part, by consulting the *nomina sedium episcopaliū* found in Book VII (fols. 319v–320r), where the names of the bishops, along with their corresponding suffragan sees, can be read. This is apparent in the edition of the list included in the appendix at the end of this work, for cross-referencing and use by interested historians.³⁸ It is indeed odd that Simonet, who held the codex in his hands, did not notice the information contained in the seventh book. Perhaps he confined himself to

³⁸ Note that the codex is currently under edition by the present writer along with other colleagues.

examining only the pages of immediate relevance to him —owing to the information taken from Casiri— and thus overlooked the text we now bring to light.

In view of the reading errors and omissions present in Simonet's edition, we deem it worthwhile to provide a new edition of the text, along with its revised translation, correcting, as in the previous text, the misreadings and restoring the lacunae with what we believe to be the correct readings. Likewise, in cases where the consonantal ductus lacks diacritical marks, we have supplied them in the transcription of the term in question.

Once the faulty readings have been corrected and others restored, the text of Book I (fols. 4^r–4^v) appears as follows:

{xxx} corrected reading
[xxx] restituted word(s)

Text	Lines
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	1
قسمة بلاد إشبانيا على إسن إقاليم ○	2
قسمه اول اقليم طرفونه والقسمة الثانية اقليم إفرطاجنه	3
والقسمة الثالثة اقليم بيطفه اعنى مخرج إبطه وادى فرطبه	4
[حتى البحر] المحيط إوالقسمة الرابعه لجدانيه إوالقسمة الخامسة	5
اقليم جليفيه إوالقسمة السادسة اقليم طنجه وما وراها	6
اسما مطران إشبانيا سته وهى امهات مجالس الاسافه	7
إالمطران الاول مطران طرفونه والمطران الاخر	8
مطران نربونه والمطران الثالث مطران طلبطله والمطران الرابع	9
مطران مارده والمطران الخامس مطران برافره والمطران السادس	10
مطران اشبيليه إكل اسفج جلس فى كرسى هذه المطران إهوه	11
إالمطروبل وتحت كل إمطروبل اسافيه الكراسى المنسوبه الى المطران إصاره	12
عده كراسى إشبانيه اثنى وسبعين كرسيا لكل كرسى اسفج جالس فيه	13
إومنها مطرانها الستة	14

تركونه	نربونه	طلبطله	مارده	برافره	اشبيليه	طنجه
مطرانيه	مطرانيه	مطرانيه	مطرانيه	مطرانيه	مطرانيه	مطرانيه
جرنده	إبطارش	اورته	باجه	دوميه	ابطالفه	
اجره 39	ماقلونه	إبباطفه	الشبونه	برتقاله	[شدونه]	
انبوريش	نامشه	منتيشه	اخشونه	طوده	[لبله]	
اوشنه	إوطانيه 40	اش	ايطانيه	[اوريه]	[ملكه]	
أرجله	فرقشونه	بسطة	فلنبريه	لوكه	[البيره]	
الأرده		إارش	بشوه	برطانيه	استجه	
طرطوشه	تالونصه ؟	إفرطاجنه	لمكه	اشترفه	فرطبه	
سرفسطه	طلوشه	شاطبه	فلبيريه	إيريه	فبره	
وشفه	البينه	دانبه	شلمنطفه	بوتيفه	[تش]	
بنبلونه	[ترفونه]	بلنسيه	إبله 41			
أوقه قلهره طرشونه	المطران نربونه كراسى	بلاربه شغوبيه ارفيكه	البيره فوربه إبطلوس	لمطرانيه برافره تسع كرسى	لمطرانيه اشبيليه تسع كرسى	
		إسفيريه				
لمطرانيه تركونه اربع عشر كرسى		وادى إالحجاره شغونسه اكشومه	لمطرانيه مارده ثلاثه عشر كرسى			
		بلانسيه				
		لمطرانيه طلبطله [ثمانيه] عشر كرسى				

39 Ms. اجره

40 For لطاييه

41 For ابله

Translation:

Lines	Text
1	In the name of God, the Merciful, Compassionate.
2	Division of the land of Hispania into six provinces. ⁴²
3	The first division: the province of Tarragona. The second division: the province of Cartagena.
4	The third division: the province of Bætica, that is, from the source of the Betis, the river of Córdoba, ⁴³
5	[to] the Atlantic Ocean. The fourth: Lusitania. ⁴⁴ The fifth division:
6	the province of Gallaecia. The sixth division: the province of Tangier and all that lies beyond it. ⁴⁵
7	The names of the metropolises ⁴⁶ of Hispania are six in number; these are the mother sees of the bishops. ⁴⁷
8	The first metropolitan is the metropolitan of Tarragona. The other metropolitan
9	is the metropolitan of Narbonne. The third metropolitan is the metropolitan of Toledo. The fourth metropolitan
10	is the metropolitan of Mérida. The fifth metropolitan is the metropolitan of Braga. And the sixth metropolitan
11	is the metropolitan of Seville. Each bishop occupies a see ⁴⁸ in one of these metropolises, which itself constitutes
12	the metropolitan. ⁴⁹ And under each metropolitan are the bishops of the sees belonging to that metropolis.
13	The number of sees in Hispania is seventy-two, and in each see there is a bishop.
14	Their six metropolises are:

Tangier metropolis	Seville metropolis	Braga metropolis	Mérida metropolis	Toledo metropolis	Narbone metropolis	Tarragona metropolis
	Itálica	Dumio	Beja	Oreto	Beterras	Gerona
	Sidonia	Portugal	Lisboa	Baeza	Magalona	Egara
	Niebla	Tui	Ossonoba	Mentesa	Nemauso	Ampurias
	Málaga	Auria	Idaña	Acci	Luteba	Ausona

⁴² On *iqḷīm* (pl. *aqālīm*), see André Miquel “Iḳlīm”, EI², III, 1076-1078.

⁴³ For the formula Betis River as the River of Cordoba, cf. *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, 128-129 § V.

⁴⁴ About the Lusitania, cf. M.^a J. Viguera Molins, “La Lusitania en fuentes textuales árabes”, in M.^a J. Viguera Molins, *Tiempos y lugares de al-Andalus*, 425-442.

⁴⁵ *Ultra*, i.e. *Hispania Transfretana*. About the Tingitana diocese, cf. J. Vallvé, *La división territorial*, 222; J. Vallvé, *Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España. Toponimia y onomástica*. Discurso leído en el acto de su recepción pública por el Excmo. Sr. D. Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo y contestación por el Excmo. Sr. D. Emilio García Gómez (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1989), 98. See the monograph by Noé Villaverde Vega, *Tingitana en la Antigüedad tardía (siglos III-VII)* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2001).

⁴⁶ As can be deduced from several samples, the plural *maṭārīn(ah)* is also used with the meaning of “metropolis, archbishoprics”, cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis*, 106-107; Federico Corriente, Christophe Pereira and Ángeles Vicente, *Dictionnaire du faiscéau dialectal árabe andalou. Perspectives phraséologiques et étymologiques* (Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 1208. About the metropolitan order, see Sabine Panzram, “La formación del orden metropolitano en la Península Ibérica (siglos IV a VI)”, *Pyrenae* 49/1 (2018): 125-154.

⁴⁷ Syntagm *maḡlis al-usuf* is found in Abū Ḡa‘far al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīḥ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, revised by E. Prym (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1893), I/IX, 2881; cf. *maḡlis al-kahna* in Buṭrus Ḍū, *Ta’rīḥ al-mawārīna al-dīnī wa-l-siyāsī wa-l-ḥaḍārah: al-kanā‘is al-mārūniyyah al-qadīma fī Sūriyā min Mār Mārūn ilā al-qarn al-sābi‘*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār li-l-Naṣr, 1972-1988), I, 67.

⁴⁸ Arabic *kursī* is a loanword from Syriac *kūrsyā* with the meaning of “throne, seat”, cf. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*. Collegerunt S. M. Quatremere, G. H. Bernstein et al., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879-83), 1836.

⁴⁹ Term *miṭrūbul* (which the editor believes to be an error instead of *maṭrān*) is used by Ibn al-Qūṭīyya when referring to one of the two young sons of Sarah the Goth as the metropolitan of Seville (*al-maṭrūbul bi-l-Īṣbīliya*), cf. Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *Ta’rīḥ iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos, with the collaboration of Eduardo Saavedra and Francisco Codera (Madrid: Imprenta de Ribadeneyra, 1868), 4 and n. 2. The term was correctly replaced by Ribera when he identified it in his reedition and translation of the text., cf. *Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobés*. Seguida de fragmentos históricos de Abencotaiba, etc. Translation by Julián Ribera (Madrid: Tipografía de la “Revista de Archivos”, 1926), 3, n. 1. Al-Abyārī, who based his edition on the Gayangos’ edition, reads *al-maṭrān* without even referring to reading *miṭrūbul*: Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *Ta’rīḥ iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo – Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī – Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1410 H/1989 EC, 2nd ed.), 31. Note the explanation by M.^a J. Viguera Molins, “Lectura de Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (“el descendiente de la Goda”) sobre la conquista de al-Andalus”, in M.^a J. Viguera Molins, *Tiempos y lugares de al-Andalus*, 92 and n. 57. This term is documented elsewhere in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*, specifically in the text of the Third Council of Toledo, the year 589 (cf. *El Concilio III de Toledo, base de la nacionalidad y civilización española*. Edición polígota peninsular en latín, vascuence, árabe, castellano, catalán, gallego y portugués, precedida de un prólogo por D. Francisco Javier Simonet y de un estudio histórico por el P. Juan Antonio Zugasti S.J. [Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1891], 116), although it also documents a form closer to its Latin original: *miṭrūbulī*, cf. J.P. Monferrer-Sala, “Notes on the Lexicón of the Tenth Book of *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* (Mid-Eleventh-Century CE)”, in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam: An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and its Transcultural Contexts*, ed. by Matthias Maser, Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, Geoffrey K. Martin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2024), 183. It is a loan from Latin *mētrōpŏlita* or *mētrōpŏlitānus* (< Gr. μετροπολίτης > Syr. *miṭrūpūlītā*, R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, 2087), cf. F. J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*. Precedido de un estudio sobre el dialecto hispano-mozárabe. 2 vols. (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1888), 361-362; Charlton T. Lewis y Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*. Founded on the translation of Freund’s Latin-German Lexicon, ed. by E.A. Andrews. Revised, enlarged and in great part rewritten (New York – Oxford: Harper and Brothers Publishers – Clarendon Press, 1891), 1141; G. Graf, *Verzeichnis*, 107.

	Elvira	Lugo	Coimbra	Baza	Carcasona	Urgel
	Écija	Britonia	Viseo	Urci	¿Tolosa?	Lérida
	Córdoba	Astorga	Lamego	Cartagena	Tolosa	Tortosa
	Cabra	Iria	Caliabria	Játiva	Elena	Zaragoza
	Martos	Mintonia	Salamanca	Denia	Tarragona	Huesca
	To the metro [polis of Seville nine sees]	To the metropolis of Braga nine sees	Ávila Elbora Coria Badajoz	Valencia Valeria Segovia Ercávica Segóbriga Guadalajara Sigüenza Osma Palencia	To the metropolis of Narbonne nine sees	Pamplona Oca Calahorra Tarazona
			To the metropolis of Mérida thirteen sees	To the metropolis of Toledo [eighteen] sees		To the metropolis of Tarragona fourteen sees

As we can see, the total number of sees for the Tarraconensis and Narbonensis metropolises does not match unless the metropolitan see is included. Furthermore, regarding the nominal forms of the toponyms, it is worth noting that some of them are transcribed in two different ways, depending on whether they appear in the list of Book I or that of Book VII. This reveals the disparate criteria employed by copyists when transcribing, among other nominal forms, place names. A comparison of the two lists yields the following seven cases:

Book I	Book VII
تركونه	طرفونه
مافلونه	مغلونه
اورته	اورط
ارش	جيان
برتقال	برطفال
لوکه	لکه
فليريه	فليريه

It is important to note that the list of metropolises with their suffragan dioceses contained in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* (Book I, fols. 4^r–4^v) belongs to the Oreto family of texts established by Vázquez de Parga.⁵⁰ Within that family, the list presented here exhibits the closest relationship with the one found in the *Codex miscellaneus ovetensis* (Escorial MS R-II-18), a codex likely preserved in a Córdoba monastery as a scholarly work, possibly owned by Eulogius of Córdoba,⁵¹ dating from between the seventh and ninth centuries. However, we know nothing of the date of the catalogue itself, whose *terminus ante quem* is, at any rate, the ninth century. The list provided by this *Codex Escorialensis* is of great importance, not only for confirming the readings of *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* but also for allowing us to venture which names might lie behind those that cannot be accurately discerned, given the lamentable condition of that folio of the codex. In some cases, we shall include another list as well, due to its similarities with the catalogue of *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*.

Let us now examine the sees one by one, beginning with the Tarraconensis.

<i>Escorialensis</i>	<i>Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas</i>	<i>Toletanus</i>
Barcinona	—	Barcinona
Egare	جرنده	Egara
Gerunda	اجره	Gerunda
Empurias	انبوريش	Empuriae
Ausona	اوشنه	Ausona
Urgello	أرجله	Lerita
Ilerda	الآرده	Ictosa
Dertosa	طرطوشه	Tortosa

⁵⁰ Luis Vázquez de Parga, *La división de Wamba. Contribución al estudio de la historia y geografía eclesiásticas de la Edad Media española* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943), 23.

⁵¹ Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Isidoro al siglo XI. Ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular* (Barcelona: El Albir, 1976), 170.

Cesarugusta	سرقسطه	Cesaraugusta
Osca	وشفه	Osca
Pampilona	بنبلونه	Pampilona
Auca	أوقه	Calaforra
Calacurre	قلهره	Tyrasona
Tirasona	طرسونه	Auca
Alisana	—	—
Amaia	—	—
Segia	—	—

The most striking feature presented by the two lists is the absence in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* of four sees (Barcinona, Alisana, Amaia, and Segia), as well as the reordering of Egare–Gerunda, a pattern also found in the *Chronicon Albeldensis*.⁵² The remainder is identical. However, there are also notable points of convergence between *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* and the *Toletanus*, apart from the omission of Barcinona, the interchange of Egara–Gerunda and Lerita–Ictosa (in contrast to the reading Urgel–Lérica given by the *Escorialensis* and *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*).

In the case of the *Chronicon Albeldensis*, the sequence is Urigello–Ylerda–Hictoria (Urgel–Lérica–Hictoria), although *Hictoria* appears in the margin of manuscript ‘E’ (late tenth century).⁵³ These differences could simply arise from the fact that the list in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* is earlier than that recorded in the *Escorialensis* and more closely related to the *Toletanus*. Yet another problem arises here, for we do not know the precise date of the *Ovetensis* catalogue, since, as stated, the codex brings together various materials ranging from the late seventh to the late ninth century.

As regards the *Narbonensis*, we have the following:

<i>Escorialensis</i>	<i>Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas</i>
Beterres	بطرش
Magalona	مافلونه
Neumaso	نامشه
Carcassona	الوطانیه
Luteba	فرفشونه
—	تالونصة؟
—	طلوشه
Elena	الینه
—	ترفونه

The *Escorialensis* offers the catalogue of sees closest to that of *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*, with two exceptions: one, of lesser importance, being the reordering of Carcassona–Luteba,⁵⁴ and the other, more significant, the omission of Tolosa, a name that does, however, appear in the other catalogues of sees presented by González Muñoz in his careful edition and excellent study of the *Crónica pseudo-isidoriana*.⁵⁵ It seems that the catalogue of *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* duplicates the reading of this toponym: in one instance —whose ink is entirely faded and appears to represent the original reading— it is written correctly as Ṭulūṣa; in another —which may have been added later to fill a gap in the list and thereby restore a term whose ink had faded— the reading Tālūnṣa is given, which might need to be emended to Tālūṣa or, preferably, Tulūṣa. All of this, however, remains a hypothesis in the absence of complete certainty regarding the reading.

Among the readings Simonet was unable to identify, we believe we can discern Taraqūna last of all, i.e. Tarragona, which is documented in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*,⁵⁶ possibly included to indicate that this see belonged to the *Narbonensis* after its disintegration in the eighth century. Should our hypothesis be confirmed, this addition shows that the catalogue of *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* is based on a list of metropolitan provinces and their suffragan sees from the seventh century, but with additions through which its author aimed to update the catalogue to later periods. Perhaps this addition, like that of Badajoz, should be ascribed to the master-scribe Vicentius and his team. Indeed, the fact that Tarragona was added as a suffragan see of the *Narbonensis* in this mid-eleventh-century copy is justified

⁵² Cf. *Chronicon Albeldensis* § III, in *Crónicas asturianas: Crónica de Alfonso III (Rotense y «A Sebastián»)*, *Crónica Albeldense (y «Profética»)*, introduction and critical edition by Juan Gil Fernández, translation and notes by José L. Moralejo, preliminary study Juan I. Ruiz de la Peña (Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo, 1985), 154.

⁵³ Cf. *Chronicon Albeldensis* § III, in *Crónicas asturianas*, ed. J. Gil Fernández, 154, cf. 225, n. 23.

⁵⁴ e.g., *Chronicon albeldensis* § III, in *Crónicas asturianas*, ed. J. Gil Fernández, 154.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, 56.

⁵⁶ *Crónica del Moro Rasis*. Versión del *Ajbār mulūk al-Andalus* de Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī, 889-955; romanizada para el rey don Dionís de Portugal hacia 1300 por Mahomad, alarife, y Gil Pérez, clérigo de don Perianes Porçel, ed. Diego Catalán and M^a Soledad de Andrés (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), 199.

by the reality that the restoration of the metropolis of Tarragona had not yet taken place, an event that occurred at the end of the eleventh century.⁵⁷

With regard to the Toletana, the comparison yields the following results:

<i>Escorialensis</i>	<i>Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas</i>
Oreto	اورته
Biatia	إبياطفه
Mentesa	منتیشه
Acci	إش
Basti	بسطه
—	إارش
Begastra	
Illici	إفرطاجنه
Setabi	شاطيه
Danio	دانیه
Valentia	بلنسیه
Valeria	بالریه
Segobia	شغوبیه
Segobriga	ار فیکه
Arcabica	إسفیریغه
Compluto	الحجاره وادی
Segontia	شغونسه
Oxuma	اکشومه
Palentia	بلانسیه

As we can see, the correspondence is practically complete, except for the triplet Begastra – Illici – Ilici in the *Escorialensis* as opposed to Urš – Qartāğanna in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*. Now, the sees of Begastra, Illici, and Ilici all correspond to Qartāğanna,⁵⁸ which in our view represents a toponymic update in the list; furthermore, in the case of Bigastrum, it arose from the absorption of that locality once it had disappeared.⁵⁹ It should also be noted that Urš, ancient Urci, is absent in the *Escorialensis* even though it appears in the *Chronicon albeldensis*, the *Crónica pseudo-isidoriana*, and the *Toletanus* (Urgi).⁶⁰

Regarding the catalogue of suffragan dioceses belonging to the metropolis of Mérida, we find another exclusive reference to a suffragan see, Badajoz (Baṭalyaws):

<i>Escorialensis</i>	<i>Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas</i>
Pace	پاجه
Olisipona	الشیونه
Ossonoba	اخشونیه
Egitania	ایطانیه
Conimbria	فلنبریه
Beseo	بشوه
Lameco	لمکه
Caliabria	فلیرییه
Salmantica	شلمنطفه
Abela	إبله

⁵⁷ André Bonnery, "Les transformations de la cathédrale de Narbonne au IX^e siècle", *Annales du Midi* 102, n° 192 (1990): 636. Cf. E. Flórez, *España Sagrada. Tomo XXV. Contiene las memorias antiguas Eclesiásticas de la Santa Iglesia de Tarragona* (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1770), 106-115.

⁵⁸ Roque Chabás, "Estudios geográficos alicantinos", *El Archivo IV* (1890): 105. Cf. Emilio Molina López, *La Cora de Tudmīr según al-'Uḍrī (s. XI). Aportaciones al estudio geográfico-descriptivo del SE. Peninsular*, «Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, Islamica Occidentalia, 3» (Granada: Publicaciones del Seminario de Historia del Islam, 1972), 20, 51, 54-55, 65; *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán y M^a S. de Andrés, 200.

⁵⁹ E. Flórez, *España Sagrada, Theatro geographico-histórico de la Iglesia de España. Origen, divisiones y límites de todas sus provincias. Tomo VII* (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1751), 130-131. Cf. E. Molina López, *La Cora de Tudmīr según al-'Uḍrī (s. XI)*, 73, n. 102.

⁶⁰ *Chronicon albeldensis* § III, in *Crónicas asturianas*, ed. J. Gil Fernández, 154; *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana* § VIII, in *La crónica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, ed. F. González Muñoz, 138, cf. 54.

Ebbora	البره
Caurio	فوربه
—	ابطليوس

The importance of this reference is indeed relevant, since the see of Badajoz was newly created at the end of the ninth century,⁶¹ a fact that provides a *terminus post quem* for dating the catalogue text included in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*. In this regard, it must be noted that al-Bakrī (eleventh century) does not mention the diocesan see of Badajoz,⁶² as his source, the *Aḥbār mulūk al-Andalus* by the Cordobese Aḥmad al-Rāzī (tenth century), presumably did not feature it.⁶³ The city of Badajoz was founded in the year 261 AH (= 16 October 874 / 5 October 875 CE),⁶⁴ and it became a new diocese in 868, following the gradual abandonment of the churches of Mérida as a result of the conflict between the Umayyad authorities and the *muladī* rebel Ibn Marwān al-Ġillīqī.

As for the ecclesiastical province of Braga, there is a complete correspondence in the number of sees between the two catalogues, with the following equivalences:

<i>Escorialensis</i>	<i>Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas</i>
Dumio	دوميه
Portucale	برتقاله
Tude	طوده
Auriense	[اوريه]
Lucu	لوكه
Brittania	برطانيه
Asturica	اشترفه
Iria	[ايرييه]
Beteka	بوتيفه

In the catalogues of the suffragan sees of the metropolitan see of Hispalis that appear in the two lists —although, as we shall see, they coincide in the number of dioceses— they nonetheless present the drawback of difficult-to-read toponyms, which we restore as follows:

<i>Escorialensis</i>	<i>Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas</i>
Italica	ايطالفه
Asidona	[شدون]ـه
Elepla	[ليله]
Malaca	[ملكه]
Iliberri	[البيره]
Astigi	استجه
Cordoba	فرطبه
Egabro	فبره
Tucci	[نش]

Simonet's proposed reading is incorrect. He begins by overlooking the mention of the metropolitan see at the head of the list, then enumerates four sees in the following order: Écija, Córdoba, Cabra, and Itálica. Admittedly, the column corresponding to the province of Hispalis is particularly difficult to read. Thus, the reading we propose is hypothetical and necessarily provisional. As noted, the number of sees, based on stichometric evidence, is the same in both catalogues: nine sees in each. If we look at the space before the see of Astigi (present-day Écija), we can identify five gaps, implying that four additional names must be inserted to reach nine. Of those four names, three are clearly legible: Istiḡa (< Istiḡḡa), Qurṭuba, and Qabra. The fourth reading, however, is more challenging: Simonet reads Īṭāliqa, whereas I believe, following the *Escorialensis* and the *Chronicon Albeldensis*, that it should be Tuš.⁶⁵

⁶¹ F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 123.

⁶² Cf. Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, II, 380-81.

⁶³ Cf. *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán and M^a S. de Andrés, 200.

⁶⁴ Fernando Valdés Fernández, "Ciudadela y fortificación urbana: el caso de Badajoz", in *Castrum 3: guerre, fortification et habitat dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge*. Colloque organisé par la Casa de Velázquez et l'École Française de Rome, Madrid 24-27 novembre 1985, ed. André Bazzana (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988), 143-152.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana* § VIII, in *La crónica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, ed. F. González Muñoz, 140, cf. 54; *Chronicon albeldensis* § III, in *Crónicas asturianas*, ed. J. Gil Fernández, 154.

Conversely, I read *Ītālīqā* in the first line, *Labla* in the third, and *Mālaqa* in the fourth. In the second line, owing to a tear in the parchment, I can only discern the final unpointed *tā' marbūṭah* in what we believe is likely the reading [Ṣādūn]a.

A final element must also be taken into account: the seventh column, corresponding to the Tingitana metropolis (Ṭanjah), which Simonet curiously omits from both his edition and his translation. Once again, *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* aligns with the *Escorialensis*, the *Crónica pseudo-isidoriana*, the *Primera Crónica General*, and the *Toletanus*, all of which—with minor variations—preserve the name of the Tingitana diocese (Tingi, Tingitana, Taniar, Tussa).⁶⁶ However, in these latter texts it is listed as a suffragan see of the metropolitan see of Hispalis. In contrast, the *Chronicon Albeldensis* records it as *sexta prouintia est ultra mare Tingitania*,⁶⁷ just as in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*, where Ṭanja appears in its own column with the heading of a metropolitan see (*maṭrāniyya*). The fact that the column corresponding to the Tingitana metropolis is left blank reflects that this province lacked any episcopal sees.⁶⁸

Conclusions

The catalogue of the six Spanish metropolises⁶⁹ with their respective suffragan sees, recorded in *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* (Book I, fols. 4r–4v), includes the metropolitan framework with its Spanish suffragan dioceses of the seventh century,⁷⁰ as evidenced by the inclusion of the Caliabria sees in the Lusitanian metropolis and those of Bigastrum and Baeza in the Toledan one⁷¹—together with other details of a nominal nature, such as the evolution of the term *prouincia*,⁷² albeit adapted to the period in which the book was composed—yet it also incorporates certain additional sees dating from the ninth century.

A copy of the work, carried out in the Taifa of Toledo in the mid-eleventh century (1087 HE = 1049 CE), suggests the existence of an original at least a century older. We believe this assumption is corroborated by the versified note of ownership by Bishop ‘Abd al-Mālik found at the end of Book VII, fol. 333r, which enables us to date the translation to the mid-tenth century. It was in this century, or even better in the preceding one, that the Latin culture of the Mozarabs of al-Andalus underwent a significant linguistic shift, leading its intellectuals to employ the Arabic language as a crucial tool for preserving and transmitting their Latin literary heritage.

A clear indication of this is that, in the latter half of the tenth century, Rabīʿ b. Zayd —Bishop Recemundus—composed the famous *Calendar of Córdoba* not in Latin but in Arabic. Yet such translation endeavours, which undoubtedly extended even to the works of Isidore of Seville,⁷³ had already achieved important milestones in the previous century: for instance, the Arabic translation of the *Book of Psalms* by Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī of Córdoba.⁷⁴ Consequently, the translation into Arabic of the Latin original of the *Collectio Conciliorum* texts took place at a time when Mozarabic literature, both in the form of original works and translations, was in the process of systematising its output.

Thus, if our considerations are correct, alongside what we have stated elsewhere regarding the mention of Bishop ‘Abd al-Mālik in the first hemistich of the four verses comprising the note at the end of Book VII, fol. 333r,⁷⁵ we can assert that the Arabic version known as *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* must have been translated in the mid-tenth century.⁷⁶

The matter of the catalogue detailing the metropolitan divisions and their six suffragan sees, included in the Arabic version of MS Ar. 1623 of the Royal Library of El Escorial, is a separate issue, for all indications suggest that either the translator or possibly the master copyist Vicente and his team adapted it from a catalogue which, while very similar to the list contained in the *Escorialensis*, nevertheless does not entirely coincide with any of the known lists. Moreover, as we have mentioned above, the disparity in certain suffragan sees would appear to stem from the catalogue of *al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas* having included some more recent sees—such as Badajoz and possibly Tarragona—with the aim of updating the roster of suffragan sees.

Appendix: Edition of the Hispanic ecclesiastical divisions and bishops' subscriptions of suffragan sees (*al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*, book 7th, fols. 319v–320r):

⁶⁶ Cf. *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana* § VIII, in *La crónica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, ed. F. González Muñoz, 140, cf. 54.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Chronicon albeldensis* § III, in *Crónicas asturianas*, ed. J. Gil Fernández, 154.

⁶⁸ Enrique Gonzalbes, “El culto indígena a los reyes en Mauritania tingitana. Surgimiento y pervivencia”, in *Paganismo y cristianismo en el occidente del Imperio Romano* (Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Oviedo, 1983), 161.

⁶⁹ Cf. Isidoro, Etym. XIV,4,29, in San Isidoro de Sevilla, *Etimologías*. Bilingual edition. Latin text, Spanish version and notes by José Oroz Reta y Manuel A. Marcos Casquero. General introduction by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz. 2 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982–83), 186–187.

⁷⁰ Cf. Roderici Ximeni de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia gothica*, edition and study Juan Fernández Valverde, «Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis, LXXII» (Tutout: Brepols, 1987), 104–106 (III,21).

⁷¹ Cf. Luis A. García Moreno, *Historia de España visigoda* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989), 264–265.

⁷² C. Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, 70–72.

⁷³ M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *De Isidoro al siglo XI*, 174.

⁷⁴ Cf. J.P. Monferrer-Sala, “*Diachronica mvzarabica*. Propuesta para una nueva periodización de la producción textual en árabe de los mozárabes”, in *Los mozárabes: pasado, presente y futuro de las comunidades cristianas bajo dominio islámico*, ed. Jesús García Díaz and Gloria Serrano (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2023), 149–160.

⁷⁵ Cf. J. P. Monferrer-Sala, “Algo más sobre la nota de posesión”, 273–287.

⁷⁶ Cf. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, “La literatura cristiano-árabe de la España Medieval y el significado de la transmisión textual en árabe de la *Collectio Conciliorum*”, in *Concilio III de Toledo. XIV Centenario, 589–1989* (Toledo: Arzobispado de Toledo, 1991), 706.

With this study almost complete, we have learned of the volume edited by M. Maser et al., which includes, among other contributions, an article by J. Lorenzo containing a “palaeographic edition” of book 7th, fols. 319v–320r.⁷⁷ Our initial thought was to remove our edition, believing it unnecessary after our colleague’s article was published. However, after comparing the two editions and seeing that we do not agree on several readings, we decided to retain ours in this appendix so that interested readers may examine both and choose the one they consider correct.



MS Ar. 1623 (olim MS BN 4879), fol. 319^v

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⁷⁷ Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, “When God Does Not Rule the City of God: Bishops and Episcopal Sees in al-Andalus (711-1147 CE)”, in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam*, 331-332.

MS Ar. 1623 (*olim* MS BN 4879), fol. 320^r

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Edition:

(in the margin) مطارنه الاندلس ست
 انا يشيد اسف مطران اشيليه امضيت هذه الحكومة
 انا اشكوة اسف مطران نربونه كتبت ورصيت
 انا اصطون اسف مطران ماردة حضرت وحكمت
 انا يليان اسف برافره كتبت ورصيت
 انا يشته اسف مطران طليطلة حضرت وكتبت
 انا اوخش اسف مطران طرفونه كتبت بيدى راضيا
 هذه جميع مطارنه الاندلس الستة
 انا برطور اسف لمكة كتبت lamicensis
 انا منتش اسف كرسى ايطانيه كتبت egitanensis

أنا كنكرديش اسفب اشترفه كتبت asturicensis
 أنا ايانوش اسفب أغاروه كتبت agarensis
 أنا طور يوش اسفب عبلة كتبت abelensis
 أنا اصطون اسفب أوشونه كتبت ausunensis
 أنا فوطلش اسفب الانه كتبت elenensis
 أنا كننسيوش اسفب بلنسيه كتبت aplentina de sancti antoninus
 أنا بيطلين اسفب بعشطرية كتبت ugastensis
 أنا بتيقوس اسفب فوريه كتبت caunensis
 أنا اوسايوش اسفب بشطه كتبت bastitane
 أنا يوانش اسفب لبلة كتبت eleplensis
 أنا مرجالوش اسفب جيان كتبت urcitane
 أنا يوانش اسفب طوطوشه كتبت dertosane
 أنا لوديراط اسفب فرطيه كتبت cordovens
 أنا يرمان اسفب دومييه كتبت dumiensis
 أنا نونيط اسفب جرنده كتبت gerundensis
 أنا كلرنش اسفب أش كتبت accitane
 أنا ششلد اسفب انبوريش كتبت anpostanus
 أنا ايلاريوس اسفب وادي الحجاره كتبت conplutensis
 أنا غينيوش اسفب فلهره كتبت cala gurrítane
 أنا نصر يروه اسفب فلبريه كتبت calabriensis
 أنا رناروش اسفب نامشه كتبت nemausensis
 أنا رنار يوش اسفب أرجه كتبت orcellentane
 أنا فلورنتين اسفب شاطيه كتبت situbitan
 أنا اينسيوس اسفب استجه كتبت astigitane
 أنا انثييل اسفب برطفال كتبت portucalensis
 أنا ايريق اسفب الشبونه كتبت olisiponensis
 أنا اطار يوش اسفب البيرة كتبت eliberitan
 أنا شيايلوه اسفب اوريط كتبت oretarius
 أنا فركنوش اسفب لارده كتبت ilderdensis
 أنا انشطاشيوش اسفب طوده كتبت tudensis
 أنا مشطاج اسفب بلنسيه تدمير كتبت ualentina
 أنا شذله اسفب وشفه كتبت oscensis
 أنا انطونيوش اسفب شعيرفه كتبت sagubriensis
 أنا انشريق اسفب شعوبيه كتبت sagubiensis
 أنا سربنتين اسفب الج تدمير كتبت ilicitanus
 أنا ابرجوش اسفب ايطالفه كتبت italicensis
 أنا مطوبش اسفب برطانيه كتبت brittaniensis
 أنا مذار يوش اسفب باجه كتبت pacensis
 أنا البيديوش اسفب طرشونه كتبت tyrassone
 أنا بشفونيوش اسفب لكه كتبت lucensis
 أنا بروليون اسفب سرفسطه كتبت cesaragu*tanus
 أنا فطروش اسفب بطارش كتبت beterrens
 أنا الاشكلوش اسفب شغنته كتبت saguntiensis
 أنا شيسنكلوش اسفب البيرة كتبت olborens
 أنا لعيشوش اسفب بشوه كتبت uesecisis
 أنا دوطاط اسفب فيره كتبت segubrens
 أنا اكله اسفب شلمنطفه كتبت salamanticensis
 أنا اوشايوش اسفب بلاريه كتبت ualeriens
 أنا ايله اسفب اخسومييه كتبت ox*mentis
 أنا يعقوب اسفب منتيشه كتبت mentesane
 أنا جنطور الفس خليفه كتبت توش اسفب توش كتبت tucitani
 أنا رناسموش الفس خليفه ارملد اسفب فلبريه كتبت conimbriensis
 أنا بمانيوش اسفب اشيدونه كتبت asidonensis
 أنا انطوليوش اسفب لطانيه كتبت lutuensi
 أنا برشيارنيوش اسفب فشطلونه كتبت castelonensis
 أنا يوانش الفس وخليفه شباريوش اسفب برجلونه كتبت barcinonensis
 أنا مركش الفس وخليفه داود اسفب اوريه كتبت auriensis
 أنا اصطون ارجديافن ينانشيش اسفب معلونه كتبت magalonensis
 أنا دمنال ارج ديافن سلام اسفب فرقشونه كتبت carca*sonensis
 ○ دماريش [ر] ارجديافن خليفه فرتاري اسفب اركيفه arcauiensis

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