

Catalán, Diego con la colaboración de Enrique Jerez. “*Rodericus*” *romanizado en los reinos de Aragón, Castilla y Navarra*. Fuente Cronísticas de la Historia de España X. Madrid: Fundación Menéndez Pidal, 2005. 806 pp. ISBN: 84-89934-14-2.

Reviewed by Aengus Ward  
University of Birmingham

The reputation of the *Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España* series is such that any new production is eagerly awaited and an automatic addition to the shelves of anyone with a serious interest in the historiography of medieval Iberia. Given the context of the series and the author, it is no surprise that this one does not disappoint. It is an excellent book. As might be inferred from the title, it diverges from most other products of the series in that its focus lies away from the Alfonsine chronicles and their descendants and concentrates exclusively on Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada’s *Historia Gothica*, and specifically on the medieval romance translations of it carried out in the peninsula in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. This is a welcome recognition of the importance of such translations in the history of Iberian historical writing. It should come as no surprise to discover that it emerges (in the main) from the pen of the scholar whose still-quoted article on the subject did so much to put the *Toledano Romanzado* and the *Estoria del fecho delos godos* on the scholarly map (Catalán 1966).

In one sense, the title is itself somewhat misleading, for although the translations of the *Historia Gothica* are central to this monograph, the medieval translations themselves serve as a point of departure for a whole host of related studies on a wide range of philological and historical topics. Examination of the translations is not confined to the content of the texts themselves but rather leads to their use in the broader development of Iberian historiography, principally in the east of the Peninsula. The book therefore has the feel of a collection of studies, with a loose overarching theme.

As might be expected from a master of the art (or perhaps science) the absolute starting point of all the studies contained here is that of “crítica textual”. In other words, first and foremost the focus is textual, and no speculations are made which are not based on a rigorous application of the principles of textual criticism. The result of this approach is a meticulous examination of manuscripts concerned and the relationships between them, by dint of which many previous imperfect studies can be updated and corrected. The emphasis on manuscript text is key, and a healthy reminder to all those involved in medieval studies that manuscript is the basic material of any analysis of medieval text.

*Rodericus romanizado* is divided into twelve major sections of dramatically different length, and two short appendices. The first of these deals not with the translations of the *Historia Gothica* but rather with the textual history of *De Rebus Hispaniae* itself. This short section updates the information given by Fernández Valverde’s edition of DRH and, as a result, is of prime importance for Ximénez de

Rada studies. The meticulous approach to the texts is able to establish that there were two principal redactions of the Latin text, one dating from 1243 and another from 1247. The other major concern of the DRH section is to establish the significance of the lost \*Huerta manuscript, a codex which contained the text of the first redaction annotated in Archbishop Rodrigo's own hand, and which was therefore the authorised (in all senses of the word) version of the text.

The first major section of the monograph deals with the early translation of the *Historia Gothica* known as the *Estoria delos Godos*, contained principally in MSS 302 and Res/278 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Catalán's examination of the text gives rise to a number of conclusions, to wit, the *Estoria* was translated from a manuscript of the first redaction of the *Historia Gothica*; reference to Alfonso X as king of Castile but the absence of reference to the death of Teobaldo I of Navarra means that the translation must have been made after the accession of the former in 1252 but before the death of the latter in 1253; and the presence of interpolations dealing mainly with Aragón and Albarracín implies that the translator was Navarrese and in the service of the lords of Albarracín. As a result of these data Catalán goes on to give a marvellously detailed account of a variety of textual and historical phenomena, concentrating in particular on the events of the first half of the thirteenth century in Aragón and also on the textual history of various accounts of the life (and afterlife) of the Cid. The detail here is superb, and will become obligatory reading for any student of either aspect. However, closer inspection may reveal that the presuppositions made are not necessarily as watertight as the author may wish. For example, it is true that Alfonso is mentioned as king, but the absence of reference to the death of Teobaldo does not necessarily make 1253 the *terminus ad quem*, and the change of tense between source and translation in a number of other references may indicate otherwise (Ward 2006, 9). There are hazards associated with using the last date referred to as a reliable method of dating chronicles, indeed later on the author states of another translation, the *Sumario Analístico*, that "no hubo intención de actualizar", the same could equally apply here. The accumulation of circumstantial evidence is far more likely to lead to reliable dating than is assumption based on absence. On the third point, it is true that there are interpolations to the text of the *Historia Gothica* which deal in the main with Albarracín and Aragón. However, this is to give an unbalanced view of the *Estoria*, since the vast majority of it re-writes the *Historia Gothica* text in a way which might be less susceptible to the interpretation Catalán gives. The *Estoria* is less a translation than a re-writing in a different language, and to focus on the interpolations to the almost total exclusion of the rest of the chronicle is to take an unnecessarily limited view of the whole. Belief in a Navarrese link leads Catalán to suggest that this is responsible for the appearance of direct speech in the mouth of Íñigo Arista. However, the use of direct speech not present in the source is a characteristic of the chronicle as a whole, most notably in sections which have nothing to do with Navarra or Aragón. One such is the lengthy description of the battle crises of Las Navas de Tolosa and the description of a tearful Alfonso VIII, described by Catalán as a cliché piadosa and related to a similar scene in

the *Poema de Fernán González*. Close inspection of this passage in the context of the *Estoria* reveals that is nothing of the sort, as it is one of many occasions in the chronicle on which the role of the upper nobility or clergy is foregrounded in the immediacy of direct speech (Ward 2006, 23-25). Here then are the limits of Catalán's approach as an overview of the contents of the entire chronicle is never taken. As a result some recent work on the subject, principally articles by Fernando Gómez Redondo and Georges Martin, is rather strangely not taken into account. It is plain that there is some connection between the *Estoria* and Albarracín and Toledo, what is not clear is the nature of that link. The recently-appearing manuscript (BNM Res/278) does not in truth help clear this up. It is dealt with by Catalán in isolation in a short section at the end of the book. It is of interest because it supplements the *Estoria* text with a new translation of the *Historia Gothica* in the Visigothic section of the chronicle. Catalán is able to demonstrate that the Res/278 version is posterior to the "original" *Estoria*. He also takes the view that it comes from an Aragonese pen, and indeed there are signs of Aragonese linguistic traits throughout Res/278, particularly in the "new" sections at the beginning. This is held to be further evidence of the Aragonese origins of the *Estoria* itself. There are objections to this view however. First, the MS302 text shows almost no signs of Aragonese linguistic markers, suggesting that it is not, as Catalán suggests "paricalmente desaragoneizada" but rather Castilian in origin. Second, the *Crónica d'Espayña de García de Eugui*, which uses the *Estoria* as a source shows far more signs of Navarro-Aragonese than does Res/278, but even this clearly Navarrese text's Navarrese linguistic features are overwhelmed by the weight of Castilian features (e.g. 16 tokens of feyto against 140 of fecho, 13 of muyto against 421 of mucho etc.). Eugui can be shown to have used a better version of the *Estoria* than that represented by MS302 and one that shares some features of the Res/278 prototype. To propose an Aragonese prototype here would be to provide an unnecessarily complicated explanation for textual relations when the obvious alternative, that of a Castilian origin for the *Estoria*, is more convincing although not, of course, obligatory. However, the studies that Catalán provides are in themselves a more than valuable addition to our knowledge of medieval Iberia in general.

The same could also be said of the next major section, that dealing with the *Crónica de 1305* (also known as the *Crónica de los estados peninsulares*). Although there is no "original" manuscript of the *Crónica*, it is possible in this case for Catalán to establish a positive dating for its redaction. Catalán's study takes the same form as most of the other chapters, there is a detailed examination of sources (the *Estoria delos godos* and the *Historia Gothica* both figure prominently), and a minute examination of the codices involved, all of which leads on to a branching out to the examination of a key date in Iberian history, in this case 1092. While much of the historical detail bears little relation to the translations of the Toledano, it is nonetheless a masterpiece of the meeting of history and philology.

In similar vein, the section dealing with the *Crònica real/Crónica de San Juan de la Peña* covers ground from a variety of disciplines, and demonstrates the importance

of being able to draw on a broad range of information when discussing medieval texts. As in other sections, medieval context of a range of types is dealt with here. If *Rodericus* is above all an example of the science of philology, then this section is its *tour de force*. At the outset the author makes a plea to scholars to move away from nationalisms and concentrate on the only solid evidence available, that provided by the manuscripts. Then he goes on to demonstrate just how this is done. His examination of the manuscripts shows that the key distinction in the versions of the *Crónica* is not the language in which each is compiled, but rather where each version appears in the three stages of redaction of the chronicle. Thus, the first version is shown to be a re-elaboration of the *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium* and the second and third versions are re-writing of this with additional material provided by the *Estoria delos godos*, the *Crónica de 1305* and the *Historia Gothica* directly. The author suggests tentatively that the original version was compiled in Aragonese, but in truth the value of the study lies elsewhere. The detailed argument which it contains is unparalleled in its meticulousness. Even if only tangentially related to the question of translations of the Toledano, this chapter places studies of the *Crónica* in a whole new light.

A minor quibble: it should be mentioned that a major problem to be addressed by scholars presently is that of the proliferation of modern titles for medieval texts, a problem not greatly helped by *Rodericus romanizado*. The uninitiated may struggle to realise that, in the absence of a standard form of reference to medieval Iberian historical texts, different scholars may refer to the same thing with radically different nomenclature.

The centrality of the *Estoria delos godos* in Iberian historiography is again demonstrated in the following section, which deals with the aforementioned *Crónica de Espayña de Garcia de Eugui*. Eugui, as shown in my edition of the text (Ward 1999), employed the *Estoria* as a source for most of the post-Roman sections of his chronicle. The detailed analysis of Eugui is excellent here and corrects a number of omissions and errors in the edition. These principally concern the version of the *Estoria de Espanna* employed for the first part of Eugui's chronicle and also the extent of the use of the *Libro de las Generaciones* as supplementary source, employed on a number of occasions not recognised by the edition. Again, the principal focus of the chapter is not really that of the sections which use the translations of the Toledano. In this case Catalán deals mainly with the origins of the legend of Wamba, the fall of Rodrigo, the letter of the caliph of Baghdad before the battle of the Salado and the alleged blasphemy of Alfonso (already dealt with at some length by both Craddock and Funes). The treatment of the trajectory of these legends is excellent, although the consequence of the methodology is again that no substantial overview of the chronicle as a whole, nor the place of the translation in it, is attempted. This is, of course, not a criticism of the study itself. However, in passing it should be said that the title of the book does not truly reflect either the richness of the material in it, nor its principal direction.

Three comparatively shorter sections follow. The first deals with the version of the *Historia Gothica* used in the *Estoria de Espanna*. The value of textual scholarship is

demonstrated again by the collection of evidence which leads Catalán to suggest that the Alfonsine chronicle employed a copy related to the codex no known as B, and possibly even a copy of the aforementioned \*Huerta manuscript made specifically for Alfonso. The author then goes on to analyse the little studied Catalan language translations of Ximénez de Rada's works. Once more the power of textual criticism as analytical tool is demonstrated in the conclusions reached, principally that the Catalan versions are unrelated and therefore provide a fine example of the different ways in which texts can be re-written in the same language. A further section deals again with the manuscripts of *De Rebus*. Consideration of the updating of the manuscript relationships will be an absolute must for future Ximénez de Rada scholars.

The final major section of "*Rodericus*" *romanzado* (weighing in at a hefty 117 pages) is prompted by the existence of a highly abridged version of the *Historia Gothica*, previously known as the *Versión leonesa*, but better referred to by the title coined here, the *Sumario analístico de la Historia Gothica*. Again, the vast majority of the chapter does not deal with the translation itself (a topic dealt with in my forthcoming edition), but rather with the manuscript in which it appears, MS 10046 of the Biblioteca Nacional. Aided here by Enrique Jerez Cabrero, Catalán provides us with a comprehensive account of the life of this manuscript shown to have been closely associated with both Jofré de Loaysa and Gonzalo Pérez, Archbishop of Toledo. The various stages of composition and manufacture of the codex are outlined in methodical fashion. It may seem curious that the *Sumario* itself rarely rates a mention, but this is because there is little material in it on which to work with the tools of crítica textual.

The remainder of "*Rodericus*" deals in brief with the badly-titled *Versión de 1256* (but is a bad title better than proliferation of them?) and the *Toledano Romanzado*. In both cases, the by now familiar exercise in textual excavation updates our knowledge of the textual relationships involved. Notice is also given of the discovery of a previously unknown translation and other related matters.

Because the studies in this monograph are only loosely connected to each other, most scholars will probably concentrate on individual areas dealt within it. In this regard they will be thankful for the provision of substantial indices including a bibliographical index. These are a model of their kind and make of "*Rodericus*" a valuable reference work in a whole host of ways.

Minor quibbles aside, this substantial monograph provides a host of information and debating points and will serve as a standard reference work for all matters related to Ximénez de Rada and the translations of his works for some time.

## Works Cited

- Catalán, Diego. "El Toledano romanizado y las estorias del fecho delos godos." *Estudios dedicados a James Homer Herriott*. Madison: HSMS, 1966. 9-102.
- Catalán, Diego. *La 'Estoria de España' de Alfonso X: creación y evolución*. Fuentes Cronísticas de la Historia de España, 5. Madrid: Seminario Menéndez Pidal, Fundación Menéndez Pidal & Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1992.
- Craddock, Jerry. "Dynasty in Dispute: Alfonso X el Sabio and the Succession to the Throne of Castile and León in History and Legend." *Viator* 17 (1986): 197-219.
- Funes, Leonardo. "La blasfemia del rey sabio: Itinerario narrativo de una leyenda." *Incipit* 13 (1993): 51-70 y 14 (1994): 69-101.
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando. "La materia épica en la *Estoria delos Godos*." *Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales* 26 (2003): 267-82.
- Georges Martin. "Paraphrase (transcription/traduction; approche lexico-sémantique)." *Histoires de l'Espagne médiévale Historiographie, geste romancero*. Annexes des *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale*, 11. Paris: Séminaire d'Etudes Médiévales Hispaniques de l'Université de Paris-XIII, 1997. 69-105.
- Ward, Aengus. *Crónica d' Espayña de García de Euguí*. Edición y estudio de Aengus Ward. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra. Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1999.
- . *Estoria delos Godos*. Critical edition and introduction by Aengus Ward. Medium Aevum Monographs, New Series XXIV. Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature/Oxbow Books, 2006.
- . *Sumario Analístico de la Historia Gothica*. Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar. London: Queen Mary College, forthcoming.