

GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ, Enric (1999): *Els fundadors del regne de València. Repoblament, antroponímia, i llengua en la València medieval*. 2 vols. Biblioteca d'Estudis i Investigacions, 39, 40. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1251 p.

This boxed edition, handsomely produced in the best tradition of Editorial 3 i 4, continues such notable contributions to medieval Valencian historiography by Enric Guinot as his *Cartes de poblament medievals valencianes* (1991) and the interpretive *Els límits del regne: El procés de formació territorial del país valencià medieval (1238-1500)* (1995). Both in conception and execution *Fundadors* is an important book, indeed a landmark in Valencian historiography and onomastics. At first sight it intimidates as a maze of surnames and toponyms, until its two complementary purposes become clear: as a vast database and as a text. The text in turn has two functions. First, it systematically clears away competing views of medieval Valencian language origins; and then it establishes a methodology or theoretical frame of reference by which to interpret the anthroponymic database.

The book's focus is sharp: the geographical origins (immediate or remote) and concomitantly the presumed linguistic-cultural stock for each of the individual Christian settlers of the conquered Valencian regions during the progressive waves of immigration from 1238 to 1425. Lists of these "Founders" are scoured from many new archival as well as published sources, a comprehensive effort unlike previously ill-fated attempts from such limited and ambiguous fonts as the *Repartiment*. The author aims to establish patterns of surnames in the Crown of Aragon regions, whether Catalan or Aragonese or other in their several variants, and consequently to plot the percentage of each such language group in each town or zone of medieval Christian Valencia. This language topic and its implications has been contentious and even today has a potential for explosive political polemic.

In structure, volume one has 261 pages of text, balanced by 270 pages of alphabetically listed surnames, indexed by their Valencian locales. Thus "Abat" appears in thirteen Valencian places, dated from 1248 to 1421. Included here is a valuable eleven-page graph of language proportions in each zone. In volume two, some seven hundred pages of the same surnames are arranged geographically in 123 lists, either by extra-Valencian origins (roughly a hundred pages) but mostly by Valencian places. Thus "Abat" is found under Alcira there.

The textual portion of the first volume begins with an overview of the language of medieval Valencia's settlers, an inquiry long muddled by the supposition of a surviving Mozarabic population, of Romance-bilingual Muslims, of a large Occitan immigration, and the arguments by "Aragonese particularism", further complicated by a Francoist overlay of "Eternal Spain" that marginalizes and submerges a Levante. Valencian post-conquest identity is commonly understood today as "a dualism in the origins of the settlers" the author complains, a bipolar oscillation, with Catalans prevailing on an urban coastal strip and feudal Aragonese largely confined in inland and northern rural areas, each of the two marked by its separate language-culture. In order to resolve the real historical dispositions of each settler group, not excluding such minorities as Castilianate Navarrese, and taking into account the impact of colonialized Muslims, the author marshalls some 40,000 names of settlers, together with an examination or reconstitution of the linguistic map of the homelands. This can show "the human origin" of each group by objective quantification. The results totally reverse the received view of the origins and identity of the medieval Valencian community.

The seven chapters constituting the textual half of volume one are divided in length from 11 to 27 pages each, but with the crucial chapters five and six longer than all the rest together. Chapter one takes up the ancient claim that posits a pre-conquest population of Romance or bilingually Romance Muslims in Valencia. The evidence for such an Ur-Valencian is today easily refuted, while standard documentation reveals crusaders who needed translators, missionaries who needed Arabic to attempt conversions, and in general a mutual incomprehension between Muslims and Christians here. The author plots the displacements of the post-conquest Muslims from the unconditional surrenders at Burriana and Valencia city, followed by a second wave of immigration in 1247-1249 which left the Muslims outside the strategic towns and richest irrigated areas. Three further shifts

promoted these trends: the Mudejar war ending in 1258, the Murcian war of 1264-1266, and the general revolt of 1276. Using King Jaume's famous plea for 100,000 settlers, the author concludes that the early demographic shift involved so many local Muslims. Thus though Muslims were not a minority or unimportant here, the Christian settlers were soon in solid control of the kingdom, their numbers not randomly dispersed but strategically and coherently planned. Assimilation of Muslims to the dominant colonial population would produce some assimilation to Romance language by the fifteenth century; but even as late as 1573 a third of Valencian Muslims clung to their native Arabic. This continuing arabophone presence, with minimal *convivencia* to affect the settlers' Catalan, points toward the author's later position, based on anthroponymic data, that medieval Valencia was indeed bilingual but only as by Arabic versus Catalan.

Chapter two engages a less respectable claim to linguistic continuity: that pre-conquest Islamic Valencia had always incorporated a population of surviving Christians, speaking an original and uncorrupted Catalan, as Mozarabs. The search for this "language without documents" in Valencia has appealed to toponyms, pre-crusade royal grants, St. Pedro Pasqual's hagiography (so thoroughly challenged by Jaume Riera i Sans), and the trial transcript over crusader control of the Valencian church. Since no Mozarabic community was on hand to welcome King Jaume's crusaders, where had they gone? Mikel de Epalza's sensible solution posits a non-episcopal congeries of Christians at the Muslim conquest, becoming by that circumstance treated for tax purposes as Muslims and thus morphing from imperfectly Christianized rural areas into simply passive Muslims. The author takes up the supporting arguments for the Mozarabic phantasm, including Leopoldo Penyarroya's 1993 philological and historical books, the *kharja* Romance phrases in Arabic poetry (ably addressed by Federico Corriente), the 1980 book and 1994 article by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, anthroponyms encountered elsewhere, and the "church and place" of Sant Vicent.

In the third and shortest chapter, the author again turns to two popular "myths" that he considers so ludicrous that "they can only be explained by ideological frameworks" of ill will or else by gross and culpable ignorance. The first myth is that dualism seen above, of medieval Valencian Catalans in coastal zones and of Aragonese inland. The second myth is misuse and misconception of the *Repartiment*, a jumble of books with diverse origins, circumstances, and chronology, with an apparent society of equal Christian smallholders, and a Christian population like "islands in a Muslim sea". The author's later lists are designed to correct such "myths".

If chapter four set the methodological foundations, the very long chapters five and six now apply them to the Valencian settlers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to establish the relative proportions of Catalan and Aragonese names as well as of other language groups such as Occitans, Castilians, and Navarrese. In sequence the author discusses as exemplars over time Castelló de la Plana and Alpont (in effect Catalan versus Aragonese-Castilian). Here the rich detail resists brief summation, as percentages are carefully assigned to each time and place. A general conclusion for example could assign Catalan origins to 75 % of the surviving Castelló medieval surnames, against some 12 % Aragonese, with some ambiguous names. Now the author marches systematically through some fifteen towns of Valencia, assembling every surname attached to each and refining his application of the models: Morella, Sant Mateu, La Plana de Castelló, Borriana, Onda, El Camp de Morvedre, Valencia city with north and south huertas, Puçol, Meliana, Montcada, Torrent with Picanya, Quart de Poblet, Russafa, Alcira (La Ribera), and Sueca.

The chapter constituting the second half of the application to Valencia covers as exemplars Gandia, Dénia (Marina Alta), Marina Baixa (Calp, Guadalest, Altea etc.), Xàtiva and the Vall d'Albaida, Castelló de la Ribera, Ontinyent, Alcoi and the Comtat frontier, Cocentaina, and the Alacant/Oriola-Murcia region including Elx, and finally the "Aragonese fringe" or eventually Castilian speaking comarcs of Alt Palància, Alt Millars, and Els Serrans, with special attention to Sogorb, Xèrica, Xulilla, and Villar del Arzobispo. In each place the surviving but plentiful names are examined for percentages of linguistic character, including where applicable eastern and western Catalan. The main discourse of the book is delineated in these exemplars and by their lists.

A concluding chapter seven recapitulates the main themes as they affect the origins and languages of the medieval settlers. The book studies not just elites but many thousands of ordinary people. The author concludes that no Valencian place is linguistically only Catalan or only Aragonese as in the “myths” of dual settlement and “frontier” between two Romance languages. The map of legal *Furs* and *Fueros* does not mean that their juridical subjects were homogenous. “The great majority” of Valencian places settled from Aragon and Catalunya, directly or indirectly, show proportions of at least two-thirds Catalan; the minorities occasionally from Occitania, Castile-speakers, or Navarre are always merely marginal. The mixed populations often show Catalan majorities of 50 to 85 % as against an Aragonese 10 to 35 %. Such majorities must logically have dictated the dominating language in those places, though chronology and other circumstances must be considered. The end of the thirteenth century brought a stronger immigration, resulting in more absolute numbers of Catalans (70 to 90 %) against Aragonese. Catalan settlers reflect nearly all Catalan regions but in variable proportions. Catalan became “the language of power,” as for example among the patriciate of the otherwise mixed city of Valencia or in general in otherwise mixed places throughout the kingdom.

The majority of Catalan settlers represented western Catalan, the author posits, while Valencia city itself favored the eastern version. Complications in reckoning can arise when certain homeland zones could be considered either Catalan or else Aragonese according to circumstance, or where a division in language was by progressive zones and languages in contact, or when we encounter an ambiguous understanding of “Aragonese” and the places where it prevailed. The first generation of Valencian settlers in a given town could mix Catalan, Pyrenean Aragonese, Teruel/Zaragoza Aragonese, Occitan, and so on. As a consequence, in thirteenth-century Valencia “there was no linguistic frontier in the traditional or current sense.” If one talks of medieval Valencian duality, it can only mean Muslim versus Christian and Catalan versus Arabic, with an “interior linguistic frontier complex and mobile”.

At this point the nearly thousand pages of lists and basic data begin. A fascinating table of settler origins now plots twenty regions of Christian populated Valencia, giving the percentage of each language-group there, under three progressive dates from 1240 to 1425 (indicating the evolving roles of each language over time). A useful “general index” of 255 dense pages takes up the remainder of volume one, giving all surnames (with variants), according to the place in Valencia where encountered and by date.

Volume two offers alphabetical lists of surnames and pre-names by origin in such places as Daroca, Jaca, Montpellier, and Vic. Its nearly 700 pages transcribes 123 lists of inhabitants, all but nine coming from specific Valencian places at the times indicated (early settlers, second wave, later population). Thus document 56 first gives an alphabetical list of over a hundred Murviedro settlers found in the royal archives and *Repartment* between 1244 and 1246, along with their provenance in the homelands, followed by an even longer archival list of over four hundred Murviedro taxpayers from 1421. Each of these “documents” is valuable in its own right. Cumulatively, and with the many cautions by the author, they powerfully persuade to the validity of this magisterial project. Despite the limitations of surviving records and anthroponymic method, we do seem to have here the map of medieval Valencia’s population and language, as “scientifically” as an historian may hope for, until the new mysteries of DNA analysis in genetic archeology are deciphered to trace the movements of human populations.

I am reluctant to find fault with this remarkable book. A number of times, however, the author seems aggressive in characterizing a previous position as “a myth” and implies that its source must be ideological bias or incompetence. The more usual descriptives, such as “paradigm” in the academic world, would be more neutral. From anecdotal impressions or because historiographic modelling has not yet been thoroughly resolved, especially in a matter merely lending background to a given issue, historians inherit plausible assemblages of data, subject therefore to progressive revisions, perspectives, and amendments. The very word paradigm in this sense of dynamic provi-

sional model was borrowed by historians from the analogous process in the physical sciences and it avoids giving offense. In the author's wide-ranging secondary background, in any case, a "myth" or two of his own may lurk? For example the conviction that pre-conquest Islam in Valencia was simply "destroyed as a society," so that no continuity can be discerned, after the conquest, may rest on a modern European understanding of Islam as a society that leaves no room for the various hybrid societies that remained truly Islamic in the elements essential to a Muslim. In any case, the long debate in past decades over discontinuity versus continuity may not be the perspective appropriate to resolving the human situation in Valencia. I have argued for a third way, of continuities as paradoxically discontinuities (*Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis* [Cambridge: Cambridge U., 1984], subchapters on "The 'Continuist' Paranoia", 17-24). I still suspect also that the pace and impact of King Jaume's expulsions of Muslims may have been exaggerated, not least by the king himself for propagandistic reasons. If so, an historian might still argue for a Muslim threat of some magnitude in those decades of rebellions, and even see the settlers then as islands of Christians among a Muslim sea. But these reservations are personal and have no effect on the author's main theses.

Though the Jewish population of medieval Valencia is not relevant to the author's tight focus, one might hope that his future anthroponymic work can encompass this considerable presence and its many names. Perhaps some passing notice also could have been taken of Pierre Guichard's thesis of ubiquitous Berbers in Valencia (a thesis toward which I am personally unsympathetic)? And some attention could be given to Valencia's Muslim slaves, a population only obliquely documented but who could have influenced Romance language development from within their Christian domestic milieus? A final suggestion attaches to the current linguistic tensions in Valencia. The author's findings may seem to exalt the Catalan contribution in those "founding" years, and rightly so; but they also indicate more widely spread and influential presence by the Aragonese/Castilian population, more pervasive than previous paradigms have allowed. The descendants of those medieval *fundadors* therefore may look with equal pride on their respectively substantive roles.

Professor Guinot's book is magisterial in its coverage, bold and striking in its novel methodology, intimidating in its massive database, and in its essentials altogether persuasive. It marks a turning point in the historiography of medieval Valencia.

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