

FROM HISTORICAL SOURCE TO IDENTITY SYMBOL. JULIÀ RIBERA AND THE EDITION OF THE *LLIBRE DEL REPARTIMENT* OF VALENCIA (1929-1939)

PAU VICIANO
UNIVERSITAT DE VALÈNCIA
SPAIN

Date of receipt: 1st of September, 2020

Date of acceptance: 28th of July, 2021

ABSTRACT

The so-called *Llibre del Repartiment* (*Book of Land Division*), a record of the donations made by James I of Aragon following the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia, was already considered a fundamental historical source by Valencian historians in the 19th century. The edition made of this document by the archivist Pròsper de Bofarull in 1856 allowed its dissemination until the Arabist Julià Ribera, at the beginning of the twentieth century, highlighted its shortcomings and proposed the production of a new edition of a more scientific nature. In order to obtain the support of local institutions and private patronage, Ribera undertook a real campaign to spread the meaning of the *Llibre del Repartiment* throughout Valencian society, beyond the circle of historians and scholars. In this sense, the Arabist had to stimulate regionalist sentiment by emphasizing the symbolic dimension of the document as the founding myth of Christian Valencia. In this way, a process of transformation of the *Llibre del Repartiment* from a historical source to a symbol of identity began, in an unfinished process of mythification that was expanding from the conservative regionalist sphere to the incipient cultural and political Valencianism of the 1930s, until this process was halted by the impact of the Civil War¹.

KEYWORDS

Historical sources, Historiography, Kingdom of Valencia, National identity, Regionalism.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Fontes historicae, Historiographia, Regnum Valentiae, Identitas nationalis, Regionalismus.

The importance of the so-called *Llibre del Repartiment* (*Book of Land Division*) (1235-1252) as a historical source became evident among Valencian scholars following the reception of the edition that Pròsper de Bofarull made of it, in 1856, in the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*.² In fact, it can be said that it was the distinguished archivist who “invented” the *Repartimiento de Valencia*, by publishing the three records of the donations of James I as a unit equivalent to the *Repartiment de Mallorca*.³ It is worth noting, however, that Bofarull did not use the expression *Llibre del Repartiment*, but simply *Repartimiento*, explicitly indicating that the donations were grouped in three different volumes. The fact that the documentation published by Bofarull did not constitute a true *repartiment* (*land division*) was already noticed by Roc Chabàs, the most prominent historian of the new scholarly historiography.⁴ In 1888, in the emblematic journal *El Archivo*, he pointed out that: *El Repartimiento no es tal repartimiento (como lo fué el de Mallorca) sino una serie de notas en borrador para hacer el de Valencia en sus casas y término, y datos sueltos para lo demás del Reino, del cual no aparece se hiciera distribución sistemática*.⁵

Nonetheless, he paradoxically titled his article “El libro del Repartimiento de la ciudad y Reino de Valencia” (“The book of *Repartimiento* of the city and Kingdom of Valencia”). Hence, he coined the concept of “book” when referring to the registers edited by Bofarull. Despite this double inaccuracy —“book” and “Repartimiento”— the truth is that Chabàs and his colleagues —among them the young Arabist Julià Ribera⁶— considered the document an extraordinary historical source and the edition of Bofarull a tool that made it accessible to researchers. In fact, Chabàs’s article completed that publication by compiling toponymic indexes that facilitated access to the enormous mass of information on donations.

1. Used Abbreviations: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó.

2. Bofarull, Pròsper de. *Repartimientos de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia y Cerdeña. Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*. Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1856: XI.

3. ACA. Reial Cancelleria, record 5 (*Donationum regni Valentie, 1237-1252*), record 6 (*Donacionum regni Valentie et Cathalonie, 1235-1250*) and record 7 (*Domibus València, 1239*). On the characteristics and content of the manuscript, Torró, Josep. “Guerra, repartiment i colonització al regne de València (1248-1249)”, Enric Guinot, Josep Torró, eds. *Repartiments medievals a la Corona d’Aragó: (segles XII-XIII)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2007: 201-276, especially 224-237.

4. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu. “Roc Chabàs, medievalista”. *Saitabi*, 46 (1996): 47-66. Furió, Antoni. “Roc Chabàs dins la tradició historiogràfica valenciana”, Ballester Broseta i els erudits del segle XIX. *Actes de les III Jornades Culturals (Algemesí, 18, 19 i 20 de novembre de 1998)*, Vicent J. Escartí, Josep E. Estrela. València, eds. Valencia: Saó, 2001: 73-97.

5. “The *Repartimiento* (land division) is not such a *repartimiento* (as was the one of Mallorca) but rather a series of draft notes to make the one of Valencia in its houses and district, and loose data for the rest of the Kingdom, of which no systematic distribution seems to have been made.” Chabàs, Roc. “El Libro del Repartimiento de la ciudad y reino de Valencia”. *El Archivo*, 3 (1888): 73-98 i 217-225.

6. On Ribera, see Asín, Miguel. “Introducción”, Ribera, Julià. *Disertaciones y opúsculos*. Madrid: 1928. Guastavino, Guillermo. “Prólogo”, Ribera, Julià. *Opúsculos dispersos*. Tetuán: Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Árabe, 1952. Calatayud, Salvador i Fernández, J. M. “Historiografía espanyola a començaments del segle XX: Julià Ribera i Tarragó”. *Quaderns de Sueca*, 9 (1987).



Precisely, during the preparation of the indexes, Chabàs warned and corrected some transcripts and omissions of the Bofarull's edition.⁷ However, he always defended its value and was very discreet with its shortcomings. This was not the attitude of the Arabist Julià Ribera. After the initial enthusiasm for the light that the publication of the *Repartiment* shed on the Islamic past, over the years he expressed criticism of Bofarull's work and the conviction that a new edition with more rigorous criteria needed to be undertaken. In fact, the process of transforming the *Llibre del Repartiment* from a historical source into a Valencian identity symbol owes much to the initiatives of Julià Ribera. Although the Arabist's aim was scholarly, namely, to obtain a scientific edition of the manuscript, he had to stimulate regionalist sentiment in order to obtain funding from local institutions and private patronage. By emphasizing the symbolic dimension of the *Llibre del Repartiment*, beyond the strictly scholarly interest, the investments required for a new edition were justified. Therefore, in the following pages we will deal with the criticisms that Ribera made of Bofarull's work and the almost propagandistic actions he carried out to justify the reissue of the donations of James I. An unfinished process of mythification of the *Llibre del Repartiment* that gradually spread from Renaissance regionalist circles to cultural and political Valencianism, until it was truncated by the impact of the Civil War.⁸

7. Chabàs, Roc. "El Libro del Repartimiento...": 86 i 91. The reception of the Bofarull edition among Valencian scholars of the 19th century, and especially by Chabàs and Ribera, is the subject of another study of ours in progress.

8. The use of the editing and dissemination of medieval texts, literary or documentary, for the construction of national identities has been a common occurrence throughout Europe. On the German national significance of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Geary, Patrick J. *The Myth of Nations: the Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002: 26-29, and Linage Conde, Antonio. "Hacia los dos siglos de los Monumenta Germaniae Histórica". *Signo. Revista de Historia de la Cultura Escrita*, 8 (2001): 9-34. For the French case, on the École National des Chartes, Guyotjeannin, Olivier. "Aperçus sur École des Chartes au XIX^e siècle", *Erudición y discurso histórico: las Instituciones europeas (s. XVIII-XIX)*. Francisco Gimeno Blay, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1993: 285-307, and Moore, Lara Jennifer. *Restoring Order: The Ecole Des Chartes and the Organization of Archives and Libraries in France, 1820-1870*. Duluth: Litwin Books, 2008. Among the literary texts that have been the subject of this use are, for Spanish nationalism, the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Vandebosch, Dagmar. "El Cid desenterrado. Avatares de un mito nacional en el contexto de la Guerra Civil Española (Antonio Machado y Gregorio Marañón)", *Las dos orillas. Actas del XV Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas (Monterrey, México, 2004)*, Beatriz Mariscal, María Teresa Miaja de la Peña, eds. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007: III, 427-442, and, in general, on the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Varela, Javier. *La novela de España. Los intelectuales y el problema espanyol*. Madrid: Taurus, 1999: 229-257. A similar case is of Dante's work on Italian nationalism, as studied by Noakes, Susan J. "Medieval Texts and National Identities: Dante in Red, White, Green: Then Black". *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, 1/40 (2007): 11-24, or the Scandinavian sagas and the Irish chronicles, according to the works included in Evans, Robert J. W; Marchal, Guy P., eds. *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States. History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. On Valencia, Furió, Antoni. "Déu no creà les nacions: a propòsit del cas valencià". *L'Espill*, 30 (2008): 28-36.



1. The instrumental invention of an identity symbol

In 1886, Julià Ribera had already detected transcription errors in the *Repartimiento* of Bofarull, but he would have considered them a minor issue.⁹ Two decades later, in 1908, in a letter to Teodor Llorente he could be sincere. The document was *el monumento de más importancia que nos resta de aquella edad [el tiempo de la conquista]*,¹⁰ but because the paper was of poor quality —*papel moro* (Moorish paper) as he said—, and *los cuadernillos se desvencijaron y fueron encuadernados después de rotos por encuadernador ignorante, están los folios trastocados*.¹¹ The problem was that:

*Bofarull no lo advirtió y además al hacer la edición leyó muy mal los nombres árabes, se dejó muchas cosas en el tintero, se permitió poner rótulos de capítulo donde le dio la gana*¹² and concluded that, *en puridad, hizo una solemne tontería (y que me perdone este desahogo)*.¹³

The *desahogo* (“insolence”), for the time being, remained in the intimacy of personal correspondence. But he already pointed to the need for a new edition. In the same letter he proposed taking advantage of the centenary of James I to do *un trabajo hondo y crítico sobre tanpreciado monumento*.¹⁴ Did he mean a new edition? The idea hovered in the erudite circles of Valencia. In the same year, Josep Martínez Aloy, a prominent historian and conservative politician, had expressed his interest in this endeavour in a letter written to Teodor Llorente, which he sent to Ribera.¹⁵ However, Ribera’s proposal was not exactly to make a new edition of the *Llibre del Repartiment*, but a photographic reproduction of the original, so that at least a copy would be available in Valencia to local scholars. Nevertheless, the commemoration of the seventh centenary of the birth of James I, in 1908, passed without the project being materialized.

Roc Chabàs died four years after the James I commemoration, in 1912, but Julià Ribera did not give up. Certainly, his brilliant academic career of Arabism, from the chair of Saragossa in 1887 to that of Madrid in 1905, at the Central University and

9. For example, he excused certain confusions between the “n” and the “u”, *fáciles de equivocarse en los manuscritos* (“easy to make mistakes in manuscripts”): Julià Ribera. “La Provincia de Denia”. *El Archivo*, 1 (1886): 253.

10. “...the most important monument that remains from that era [the time of the conquest].”

11. “...the quires fell apart and were bound after being broken by an ignorant bookbinder, the pages are disordered”.

12. “Bofarull did not notice it and also when doing the edition he read the Arabic names very badly, he failed to mention many things, he allowed himself to put chapter labels wherever he pleased.”

13. “...in all honesty, he did a solemn foolish thing (and forgive me for this insolence)”.

14. a deep and critical work on such a precious monument. Llorente Falcó, Teodor, ed. *Epistolari Llorente. Volum II. Cartes de llevantins (1901-1911)*. Barcelona: Balmes, 1930: 211 (letter 18 May 1908).

15. Marín, Manuela, Puente, Cristina de la, Rodríguez Mediano, Fernando i Pérez Alcalde, Juan Ignacio. *Los epistolarios de Julián Ribera Tarragó y Miguel Asín Palacios. Introducción, catálogo e índices*. Madrid: CSIC, 2009: 64. On Josep Martínez Aloy, that was mayor of the city of Valencia in 1907, see Viciano, Pau. “La democràcia a l’edat mitjana. Josep Martínez Aloy i la història liberal”, *El regne perdut. Quatre historiadors a la recerca de la identitat valenciana*. Catarroja-Barcelona: Editorial Afers, 2005: 49-80.



the Centro de Estudios Históricos, had distanced he from Valencian history.¹⁶ The scientific prestige and the academic status were earned by studying history of the Muslim Spain and not a mere “regional history”. It would not be until his retirement in 1927, already discharged from the demands of “nacional” academic life, when he would return to the country and resume the initiatives on Valencian history. Two years earlier, on being named honorary director of the Centre de Cultura Valenciana, he had recognised that, when leaving València, he had abandoned his early studies on local and regional Arab history.

In the lecture Ribera read in April 1925, he reviewed his career as an Arabist and, when referring to his past projects on Valencian history that he had not been able to carry out, he highlighted the edition of the *Llibre del Repartiment*. Ribera described it as a document of exceptional importance for Valencian history, *colocado como está en el punto que separa y une dos épocas principales; y nos informa acerca de las dos, cerrando un período y abriendo otro*.¹⁷ In any case, both the manuscript and Bofarull’s edition were in a “deplorable” condition. Indeed, if it is not reissued *tras un examen crítico escrupuloso, para apreciar en su debido valor los datos preciosos que contiene, el utilizarlo, tal como ahora está, es muy expuesto a crasos errores. ¡Qué lástima de documento!*, concluded the Arabist.¹⁸

Undoubtedly disappointed by the previous experience, not having taken advantage of the occasion of the eighth centenary of James I, he would be convinced that he could not find funding from local institutions to publish a simple historical source, however scientifically important it might be, if it only interested the small circle of Valencian scholars and historians. The social value of the edition had to be justified and the most effective way was to turn the document into a historical monument, a symbol of Valencian regional identity. To do this, it was first necessary to draw the attention of the local authorities and the living forces, as well as to disseminate the significance of the donations register through the media, which at the time was mainly the daily press. In this sense, if Bofarull had “invented” the *Repartiment* as a historical document and Chabàs had identified it as a fundamental historical source, Ribera resized it as an identity symbol. The process was instrumental in nature, but instead of putting historical research at the service of the national idea, as it used

16. It is worth mentioning that, being from Madrid, he had not left contact with his native region, and was even in charge of managing his orange properties: *don Julián Ribera Tarragó, arrogante santón polifacético, que lo mismo estudiaba la historia, la cultura y la música de los musulmanes españoles que inventaba nuevos procedimientos de cultivo para sus naranjales valencianos* (“don Julián Ribera Tarragó, arrogant versatile guru, who also studied the history, culture and music of Spanish Muslims who invented new cultivation procedures for their Valencian orange groves”, said a young researcher at the Centro de Estudios Históricos, see Carriazo Rubio, Juan Luis, ed. *Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia. Perfiles de un Centenario (1899-1999)*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2001: 174.

17. “placed as it is at the point that separates and unites two main eras; and informs us about both, closing one period and opening another”.

18. “...after a scrupulous critical examination, in order to appreciate at its due value, the precious data that it contains, the use of it, as it is now, would be highly susceptible to serious errors. What a pity of a document!”: Ribera, Julià. *De historia arábigo-valenciana (Conferencia leída por su autor en el mencionado Centro la tarde del 22 de mayo de 1925)*. Valencia: Centre de Cultura Valenciana, 1925: 13-14.



to happen, the Arabist acted the other way around: he flattered patriotism—in this case of a small country: local and regional—in order to obtain a tool for historical research.

The so-called propagandistic effect of the project was achieved with a public event, a solemn lecture on a respectable cultural platform, with an echo in the bourgeois circles of Valencia, such as *Lo Rat Penat*.¹⁹ The presence of the highest authorities in the midst of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and the wide coverage given by the conservative newspaper *Las Provincias*, ensured the desired impact. Thus, on Saturday, April 27, 1929, in the Hall of Queens of the “Valencianist society”, the Arabist gave a lecture in which he expressed *su deseo de que se reimprimiese el “Libro del Repartimiento”, fundamentado este deseo con argumentos incontrovertibles* that made the public show their assent with *una salva de aplausos nutridísimos, que duró largo rato*,²⁰ according to the detailed chronicle of *Las Provincias*. An audience that brought together the civil, military and academic authorities who supported Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship:

*Ocupó la presidencia el alcalde de la ciudad, señor marqués de Sotelo, quien tenía a sus lados a los señores capitán general interino señor Gil Yuste, presidente de la Diputación provincial don José Carrau, rector de la universidad don Joaquín Ros y representante del gobernador civil señor Fournier.*²¹

The newspaper not only considered that the news deserved to appear in the middle of the front page, but also published in full on the last page, conveniently translated into Spanish, the lecture that Ribera had given in the language of the country.²² Unaccustomed to using Valencian in formal situations, as he himself acknowledged, he apologized to the audience of *amadors de les glòries valencianes* for addressing them in *la lengua valenciana que aprendí desde muchacho* (“the Valencian language that I learned since I was a boy”). Although he had always kept Valencian as his family language, his distance from Valencia had prevented him from achieving a cultured record, and for this reason he warned that:

19. Igual Úbeda, Antoni. *Història de “Lo Rat-Penat” en el LXXX aniversari de la seua fundació i el LXXV dels Jocs Florals*. Valencia, Ajuntament de València, 1959. Roca, Rafael. *Teodor Llorente i la Renaixença valenciana*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2007.

20. “...his wish to have the “Libro del Repartimiento” reprinted, substantiated this wish with incontrovertible arguments”, “that made the public show their assent with a loud round of applause, which lasted for a long time”: “Notabilísima conferencia de don Julián Ribera”, *Las Provincias* (28 April 1929). Unless otherwise indicated, the following quotations from Ribera come from this article.

21. “The mayor of the city, Mr. Marqués de Sotelo, held the presidency, who had at his sides the interim captain general Mr. Gil Yuste, president of the Provincial Council Mr. José Carrau, rector of the University Mr. Joaquín Ros and representative of the civil governor Mr. Fournier”.

22. “El Libro del Repartimiento”, notabilísima conferencia del eminente arabista don Julián Ribera: en “Lo Rat Penat”, *Las Provincias* (28 April 1929). Unless otherwise indicated, the following quotations from Ribera are taken from this article.



*Mi modo de hablar es necesariamente pobre, como el del barrio en que me crié en un pueblo de la Ribera, y mezclado de castellanismos, sin riqueza léxica, sin finura ni elegancia propia de conservaciones literarias o eruditas que se nutren con la lectura de obras clásicas.*²³

This long *captatio benevolentiae* around the language was not by chance but was part of the strategy to strike a sentimental chord with local people, more or less imbued with the *regionalismo sano* or *bien entendido* (“healthy or well understood regionalism”) that tolerated and, in some aspects, even promoted the Dictatorship.²⁴ Julià Ribera confessed that he did not know the specialized terminology in her mother tongue in order to be able to deal with a subject such as the *Llibre del Repartiment*. On the other hand, he also did not believe that it was appropriate to use the *lengua regional* (“regional language”) in the scientific field if only because of the issue of communication. When foreign scholars did not see the need to know Spanish, because *creen poder pasarse sin la ciencia española*,²⁵ he rhetorically asked, *¿Qué nos sucedería si nos empeñáramos en escribir en las respectivas lenguas regionales?*²⁶ However, Ribera could not completely ignore the editions of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans and the scholarly journals linked to the Noucentisme, which made the assertion of a national culture based on the Catalan language compatible with the academic quality capable of winning the recognition of foreign Spanish scholars.²⁷

It is true that in the Valencian Country, at that time, even the authors who were most in favour of dignifying Valencian culture habitually wrote in Spanish. Only the historians closest to the Noucentisme, such as Josep Sanchis Sivera,²⁸ used Catalan when publishing in reviews or publishing houses in Barcelona.²⁹ But beyond the justifying digression of Ribera, the truth is that the Arabist did not intend to make an academic dissertation but an informative lecture, of a rather familiar tone, the most appropriate to address *un asunto regional* that *interesa casi exclusivamente a los*

23. “...the Valencian language that I learned as a boy.” “my way of speaking is necessarily poor, like that of the neighbourhood in which I grew up in a town in the Ribera, and mixed with Castilianisms, without lexical richness, without finesse or elegance typical of literary or scholarly conservations that are nourished by reading classical works”.

24. Cucó, Alfons. *El valencianisme polític, 1874-1939*. 2a ed. Catarroja-Valencia: Editorial Afers, 1999: 174-183.

25. “...they believe they can do without Spanish science”.

26. “What would happen to us if we insisted on writing in the respective regional languages”.

27. Mundó, Anscari M. “Passat, present i futur de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica de l’IEC”. *Serra d’Or*, 450 (1997): 28-35. Balcells, Albert i Pujol, Enric. *Història de l’Institut d’Estudis Catalans. I, 1997-1942*. Barcelona-Catarroja: Institut d’Estudis Catalans-Editorial Afers, 2002.

28. Pujol, Enric. “La historiografia noucentista. Un assaig de definició”. *El Contemporani*, 14 (1998): 36-43. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu. “Notícia Biogràfica”, Sanchis Sivera, Josep. *Estudis d’Història Cultural*. València: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana: 1999. Viciano, Pau. “Erudició i autoctonisme al País Valencià. La història eclesiàstica de Josep Sanchis Sivera (1920-1921)”. *Afers*, 36 (2000): 399-420.

29. Sanchis Sivera, Josep. “Copistes, llibreters i impressors a València. Notes d’arxiu”, *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, IV (1917): 135-140; “Un sermó català de Sant Vicens Ferrer”, *Quaderns d’Estudi. Publicació Trimestral del Consell de Pedagogia de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya*, 15/54 (gener-març 1923): 62-69; *Quaresma de Sant Vicent Ferrer, predicada a València l’any 1413*. Ed. Josep Sanchis Sivera. Barcelona: Institució Patxot, 1927.



valencianos.³⁰ For this reason, for *ser cosa como de familia* (“be like a family matter”) he felt more justified in using a popular linguistic register: *podré yo hablar con toda franqueza y desembarazo, en la forma en que he hablado toda mi vida*.³¹

In order to persuade the audience about the interest of the historical document and the need for a new edition, Ribera delivered a skilful and effective speech. Initially, it was already mentioned —however, without mentioning it— that the *Llibre del Repartiment* was *el documento histórico más valenciano que se conserva en los archivos*.³² A Valencian sentiment —he clarified— that did not refer to the language in which it was written, but to its content. And creating a certain intrigue, he did not reveal it, but invited the public to accompany him in a retrospective vision. The Arabist begins by evoking the image of the city, the moment James I enters, and the defeated Muslims leave it. More than a film scene, where the audience watched from the outside the images described by the speaker, he led the audience in the middle of the scene, almost participating in the events as if he were an eyewitness:

*Estamos en los primeros días del mes de Octubre del año 1238 (...), en medio del campo abierto del cementerio moro de la Boatella (...), sentados sobre la losa sepulcral de un santón moro (...). Mirando al Norte véñse las murallas de la ciudad con un boquete o brecha abierta, llena de escombros, por las máquinas de sitio del Rey don Jaime. Si nos volvemos hacia el Sur distinguimos perfectamente el poblado de Ruzafa.*³³

He then describes the retinue of Christian knights moving forward along the way of Saint Vincent, led by *la arrogante y colosal figura de don Jaime* (“the arrogant and colossal figure of Don Jaime”). From Russafa, other groups of knights, crossbowmen on foot and almogavars arrive, standing on both sides of the road, as if waiting for a procession to pass. *No es procesion* (“It is not procession”), he clarified, but the exodus of defeated Muslims, authorized by the king to take the goods they could carry. Ribera now directs the attention towards the mass that is leaving the city through the Boatella gate: *Temerosos y esquivos se van juntando para formar un ancho cordón de muchedumbre abigarrada: hombres, ancianos, mozos, niños, mujeres, ricos y pobres, arremolinándose y apretándose para pasar por delante del escuadrón del rey*.³⁴

Suddenly, the drama of the situation is accentuated: *En esto a una madre que llevaba en brazos a un niño enfermo, se le suelta un lío y se desparraman por tierra, joyas, alhajas, monedas, etcétera. Embarazada por la carga que lleva encima, no puede recogerlas y se para*

30. “...regional issue that interests almost exclusively Valencians”.

31. “I will be able to speak with all frankness and ease, in the way that I have spoken all my life”.

32. “...the most Valencian historical document that is preserved in the archives”.

33. “We are in the first days of October in the year 1238 (...), in the middle of the open field of the Moorish cemetery of La Boatella (...), sitting on the tombstone of a Moorish saint (...). Looking north, you can see the city walls with a hole or breach opened, full of rubble, by the siege machines of King Don Jaime. If we turn to the south, we can perfectly distinguish the town of Ruzafa.”

34. “Fearful and elusive they gather to form a wide cordon of motley crowd: men, old people, young men, children, women, rich and poor, milling and pressing to pass in front of the king’s squadron.”



llorando en ademán suplicante.³⁵ No one pays any attention to her, except for a Christian Almogavar who comes to pick up the objects, *con intento tal vez de entregárselos* (“with an attempt perhaps to hand them over to her”), the lecturer recklessly ventured. In any case, the improbable gesture of courtesy of the Almogavar makes everything rush.³⁶ His comrades-in-arms believe that the looting has begun and rush to the helpless crowd to plunder the loot. Some even try to capture women and children. The commotion was perceived by the king, who imposed discipline, sending knights with the order to wound and kill, if necessary. Finally, when order is restored, the column of deportees is set in motion again, heard as far as Cullera:

*Así va pasando aquella muchedumbre largo tiempo, hasta que en las postrimerías pasaron más lentamente algunos señores alfaquíes y gente de Iglesia (...) y al fin muchos enfermos o inválidos que iban renqueando como buenamente podían. Hasta que desaparecen de nuestra vista.*³⁷

Such vivid scenes cannot be found in the *Llibre del Repartiment*, which is still a narrow administrative record, although behind the donations lie the dramatic effects of the conquest on Andalusian society. Ribera bases his evocation on the *Crònica* or *Llibre dels Fets* of James I. And yet, developing with his imagination—not exempt of narrative ability—the scarce data provided by the chronicle in a hundred words: the concentration of the crowd between the city and Russafa and the need to restore order by force in the face of attempted looting and the captivating of women and children. Everything else, the descriptions of the defeated crowd, their attitudes and feelings, the scene of the woman with the sick child... everything was a gimmicky contrivance to strike the audience.

Then, turning the page on the Muslim past, Ribera showed the public the first moments of the Christian city, occupied by warriors from various backgrounds. Here the historical information with which the new vision was built did come from the *Llibre del Repartiment*. The settlements in this register, in fact, reported the ethnic or

35. “At this moment a mother who was carrying a sick child in her arms dropped a bundle and jewels, jewelry, coins, etc., were scattered on the ground. She is embarrassed because of the load that she carries on her, she cannot pick them up and stands crying in supplication.”

36. Regarding the mythification of these looting warriors by the Renaixença, Joan Fuster was ironic: *Un es pregunta com era possible que aquells senyors, que es guanyaven confortablement la vida com a advocats o registradors de la propietat, que gaudien de rendes familiars generoses o ocupaven prebendes insignes, metges, botiguers o clergues, sentissin una tan insistent debilitat lírica per uns soldats medievals de notòria mala fama* (“One wonders how it was possible that those gentlemen, who earned their living comfortably as lawyers or registrars of property, who enjoyed generous family incomes or occupied distinguished prebends, doctors, shopkeepers or clerics, felt such an insistent lyrical weakness for medieval soldiers of notorious bad reputation”) and referred to the work of Ferran Soldevila for real information on *el tremp, la pinta i el valor d’aquelles hosts* (“the strength, the look and the value of those hosts”), which he described as *espècie de “Legió” estrangera medieval* (“a kind of medieval foreign ‘Legion’”). Fuster, Joan. “Els perills de l’èpica”, *Examen de consciència*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1968: 156.

37. “This is how that crowd goes on for a long time, until in the aftermath some gentlemen alfaquis and people of the Church passed more slowly (...) and finally many sick or disabled people who were limping as best they could. Until they disappear from our sight.”



geographical origin of the beneficiaries of the donations, especially of houses, and of the neighbourhoods of the city where they were located. The speaker, however, to maintain the intrigue, did not yet mention the record of the donations. Once again, he put the public in the middle of the historical stage, in this case in the tortuous plot of streets of the Andalusian city. *Por aquellas angostas callejuelas (...) nos encontramos con gente señorial, airosa y gallarda, que habla en catalán.* Further in the city, the public came across *gente de traje talar, actitud recelosa y humilde, luengas barbas y nariz aguileña, que chapurrea todos los idiomas: son los judíos.*³⁸

Continuing the walk through all the corners of the city, they found the inhabitants of Teruel, known *por el tonillo de su habla, por su chaparra estatura,* and later, *los bizarros caballeros de Zaragoza.*³⁹ In short, Ribera presented a Valencia divided, half by half, between the Catalans and the Aragonese. But he added that English and Hungarian could also be heard, presenting the appearance of “cosmopolitan city”. Perhaps this cosmopolitanism could give additional interest to the narrative. But it also induced a question of historical depth: *¿Quiénes eran los valencianos, los expulsados o los nuevos pobladores?*⁴⁰

Ribera’s response not only made clear the meaning of Muslim in Valencian history, subsidiary of the general history of “Muslim Spain”,⁴¹ but also suggested how the *Llibre del Repartiment* would fit—without alluding to it yet—into this interpretation. The Arabist began by anticipating the answer: *Los verdaderos valencianos son aquellos que vimos salir llorando cargados con sus enseres.*⁴² He then rejected the misconception of a violent Muslim conquest that would have led to the expulsion of the former Christian Valencians and their replacement by new Arab and Berber settlers. Except for a minority that remained faithful to Christianity—“poor and helpless”—, the majority gradually converted to Islam, so that *la gente que encontró don Jaime en Valencia, al conquistar-la, era descendiente de aquella que siempre había vivido acá.*⁴³

These defeated and expelled people, were *los valencianos más valencianos, si así puede decirse: más que nosotros, que solo hace siete siglos que habitamos aquí.*⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Ribera was aware of the rupture that the James I conquest would entail: *las vicisitudes*

38. “Through those narrow streets (...) we meet stately, graceful, and gallant people, who speak Catalan. Further in the city, the public came across people in a talar suit, a suspicious and humble attitude, long beards. and an aquiline nose, which breaks all languages: they are the Jews.” On the conventional and conservative image of Jews, Rohr, Isabelle. *La derecha española y los judíos, 1898-1945. Antisemitismo y oportunismo.* València: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2010.

39. “...for the tone of his speech, for his short stature”, “the brave knights of Zaragoza”.

40. “Who were the Valencians, the ejected or the new settlers?”

41. Obviously, the concept of “Muslim Valencia” is the regional version of “Muslim Spain”, following the traditional view that “disorientalised” Al-Andalus to highlight Hispanic continuities, a view that has already been challenged by Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus: estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente.* Barcelona: Barral Editores, 1976.

42. “The true Valencians are those who we saw leave crying loaded with their belongings”.

43. “The people that Don Jaime found in Valencia, when he conquered it, were descendants of those who had always lived here.”

44. “...the most Valencian Valencians, if it can be said that way: more than us, who have been living here for only seven centuries.”



*históricas han impuesto un abismo entre ellos y nosotros.*⁴⁵ This abyss was religion —and all that it entailed— so that, despite asserting a continuity of the “race” at least from Roman Valencia to the time of the Christian conquest, he did not consider Muslims to be direct ancestors of the actual Valencians. In this way, on this occasion, he moved away from an autochthonism that wanted to make the Iberian common origin, although Romanized and Islamized, the ethnic basis of the contemporary Valencian people.⁴⁶ “Racial” continuity was interrupted by the conquest and repopulation —that is, colonization— of Catalonia and Aragon. Nevertheless, this did not mean underestimating the history of Muslim Valencia.

On the contrary, and as a good Arabist, he judged that it would be impossible to dispense with the study of the facts of those Valencians we call “Saracens”. Firstly, because it was a civilisation that made brilliant contributions and was developed on the same land. But also because, so to speak, it represented the substratum on which the new Christian society would be built, from the urban space itself, the land, the irrigation canals or many institutions that remained “as in Moorish times”.⁴⁷ There were Arab chronicles and documents about Islamic Valencia and, later, Christian Valencia could be known from records of all kinds, but was there any documentary source that could shed light at the same time to both societies, that of the vanquished and that of the conquerors? *Si quedara un documento* —he wondered— *que enlazara las dos épocas, la de los valencianos musulmanes y la de los valencianos cristianos, ¿no sería ese documento el más valenciano, por los cuatro costados, por abrazar la época anterior y la posterior?*⁴⁸

We can almost imagine that Ribera would pause the speech for a moment before responding like a magician who surprises the audience by suddenly removing the veil to make a marvel appear: *Ese es el Libro del Repartimiento de Valencia*. So far, halfway through the lecture, he had not yet made any allusion to the manuscript. The whole story was intended to draw attention to the importance of Muslim Valencia and to convey the dramatic impact of the conquest. He could now focus on the document that best reflected that story he had revived to the audience.

Nonetheless, the description of the *Llibre del Repartiment* is extraordinarily concise: the document *donde se nombran los propietarios moros anteriores y sus fincas*,

45. “historical vicissitudes have imposed an abyss between them and us”.

46. Perhaps it is worth noting that at that time historical *autochthonism* was not confused with linguistic *secessionism*: the language of the Valencians, with an Iberian substratum, would be an evolution of local Latin but it was still the same that, simultaneously and with the same elements, was had formed north of the Ebro. Rafanell, August. “El mossàrab i la llengua dels valencians”, *Revista de Catalunya*, 79 (1993): 31-54.

47. On the Islamic past in Valencian historiography, Viciano, Pau. “Els musulmans valencians: una presència incòmoda”. *La temptació de la memòria*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1995: 151-183. Barceló, Carme. “El món islàmic valencià en l’obra de Roc Chabàs”. *Saitabi*, 46 (1996): 29-46.

48. “If a document survived —he wondered— that linked the two eras, that of the Muslim Valencians and that of the Christian Valencians, would not that document be the most Valencian, by all means, as it embraces the earlier and later times?”



y los cristianos a quienes éstas se fueron adjudicando.⁴⁹ He added that the manuscript was preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon. And that was all. In fact, nothing more was needed for the purpose of an informative lecture that, above all, sought to interest local dignitaries in securing funding for a new edition of the book. What Ribera had to justify was precisely this, that despite the existence of a previous edition, that of Pròsper Bofarull, better one had to be produced. The Arabist did not avoid to emphasize the antiquity of the first publication —it was 73 years old— and, especially, to highlight its imperfections, always thinking of an audience that may be educated but not well versed in the subject. He obviously acknowledged the usefulness of Bofarull's edition for scholars of Muslim Valencia, including himself. However, the problem arose when, faced with the need to carry out certain verifications, he had to consult the original document for the first time and confront it with the Bofarull edition. *Entonces* —he confessed— *se me cayó el alma a los pies*.⁵⁰

The *Llibre del Repartiment*, in fact, was a modern binding volume in which pieces of many torn quires had been bound. A jumble of quires on paper that was published as it was. Therefore, the first criticism of Bofarull's work was that he had not noticed or corrected the disorder of the records. The second was, of course, more far-reaching: Ribera was not keen on bringing to public light the errors of Bofarull's edition, whom he considered *un señor catalán muy laborioso y docto, buen paleógrafo; pero desconocedor de muchas menudencias de la geografía local de Valencia y su reyno que no estaba bien enterado de cosas árabes, que constituyen casi la mitad del libro*.⁵¹ Thus, it was understandable that he would make "inevitable mistakes". Mistakes that Ribera no longer kept quiet for discretion —as he had done twenty years before in the letter to Llorente— but exhibited in front of the audience, even quoting the specific pages of Bofarull. Donations are forgotten, scratches are understood as deletions and are not transcribed, nor are incomplete ones. Headings are added and, above all, there are errors in Arabic toponymy and anthroponymy. Not attention is paid to descriptive aspects like the indication of special signs- as erasures and crosses -, the different handwritten styles of the writers or the measurements of the quires.⁵²

49. "where the previous Moorish owners and their estates are named, and the Christians to whom they were awarded".

50. "Then —he confessed— my heart sank."

51. "a very industrious and learned Catalan gentleman, a good palaeographer; but unaware of many details of the local geography of Valencia and its Kingdom who was not well aware of Arabic things, which constitute almost half of the book."

52. *Bastará una ligera enumeración: faltan donaciones que se olvidaron al copiar o imprimir (pág. 419); faltan trozos que, por haberlos cruzado con rayas, se creyeron borrados en el original (pág. 566); pasajes que no se leyeron por incompletos y se pueden restaurar (páginas 288 y 290); rótulos que se añadieron y no están en el original (página 473); innumerables defectos en nombres de pueblos, partidas rurales y nombres árabes. Ni siquiera se han suplido con notas los borrones, cruces y otros signos; ni se advierte al lector de las distintas manos de los que lo escribieron, ni los distintos tamaños de los papeles y cuadernos.* ("A slight enumeration will suffice: donations are missing that were forgotten when copying or printing (p. 419); pieces are missing which, due to having crossed them with stripes, were believed to have been erased in the original (p. 566); passages that were not read as they were incomplete and can be restored (pp. 288 and 290); headings that were added but are not in the original (page 473); innumerable mistakes in names of towns, rural areas and Arabic names. The



Ribera's judgement could not be more severe: *Una paupérrima y modestísima edición que no responde a la importancia del manuscrito*.⁵³

The conclusion was already evident to the entire audience: *Hay necesidad de reimprimir ese libro* ("There is a need to reprint that book"). Reprint meant transcribing and editing, but who could take on such an arduous project? It can be said that it is easier said than done. Ribera had a name: that of the deceased Roc Chabás, a rigorous worker and an expert of medieval manuscripts and Valencian geography and, also, *algo enterado de las cosas árabes* ("somewhat aware of the Arab matters"). Nevertheless, he never wanted to accept the Arabist's proposal, due to the magnitude of the project, if Borafull's edition was to be surpassed. Ribera ruled himself out. The fact is that he remarked that he had spent more than forty years away from Valencian history. And it was then, when he re-studied *algún asunto regional* ("some regional subject") that the lack of an improved edition of the *Llibre del Repartiment* became evident again.⁵⁴ The problem was how to publish it.

Ribera is realistic. *El acometer* —he acknowledged— *su estudio, lectura e impresión por un solo individuo me parece casi temerario*.⁵⁵ It would require an exceptional researcher with an eminent knowledge of Latin, Arabic and palaeography, as well as the local geography of Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia. Ribera also did not trust a team of experts from different disciplines because he feared that the work would be extended indefinitely. What the Arabist was confessing was that, despite the shortcomings of the Bofarull edition, there were no conditions for a better one to be made. Hence, what was the purpose of his lecture? What kind of publication did he propose? Simply what could be called a facsimile edition: *una edición fotocópica* ("photocopic edition"), which was technically feasible without requiring prior study.

On the contrary, this edition, by making the document available to any researcher, would allow specialists to work on different aspects of the book. A photographic edition would also have the advantage of reproducing all the signs and corrections of the original, as well as being able to be published on single sheets, so that the order of the quires could be reconstructed. *Realizado esto* —he proposed— *y pasados luego varios años de estudio de las distintas especialidades, es cuando podría acometerse la edición crítica del Repartimiento*.⁵⁶ In short, what he proposed was to facilitate the specialists' work with a facsimile edition, as a preliminary step to being in a position to produce, in an indeterminate future, the proper edition that would surpass that of

erasures, crosses and other signs have not even been supplemented with notes; nor is the reader warned about the different hands of those who wrote it, nor the different sizes of papers and quires.")

53. "A very poor and very modest edition that does not correspond to the importance of the manuscript."

54. Ribera seems to stimulate the zeal of the local notables by playing with the rivalry between Valencia and Barcelona —we say "rivalry" and not "anti-Catalanism", something quite different—, when he remarked that *Pasan los años y los siglos sin que ningún valenciano haya acometido la empresa de publicarlo, ni intente enmendar la edición barcelonesa* ("Years and centuries pass without any Valencian having undertaken the labour of publishing it, or attempting to amend the Barcelona edition").

55. "The undertaking —he acknowledged— its study, reading and printing by a single individual seems almost reckless to me."

56. Having done this —he proposed— and, after several years of study of the different specialties, it is then when the critical edition of the Repartimiento could be undertaken".



Bofarull. The project was, from a scientific point of view, rather modest and without any technical difficulties.⁵⁷ The problem was the financing: *La faena principal es la de aflojar el dinero necesario para ello*.⁵⁸ And to this question the lecturer devoted the final moments of his speech.

Ribera proposed taking advantage of the seventh centenary of the conquest of Valencia, to be celebrated nine years later, in 1938, to promote the publication of the book.⁵⁹ He argued that this celebration should go beyond the more or less folkloric festivities that were repeated every year. The *Llibre del Repartiment* was to become a central element, the “symbol” of historical commemoration: *El documento de que se trata es precisamente el que mejor simboliza el hecho a recordar*.⁶⁰ However, Ribera thought that it was not necessary to wait until 1938 for the book to be published, but, on the other hand, it had to be made available to scholars as soon as possible. In this way, from this source, they could contribute historical works that would not be improvised for that date. Therefore, the convenience of the publication proved that the money had to be found. Ribera had the elegance of not addressing any institution or personality directly. He merely remarked that the book should be of interest to ecclesiastical institutions, the nobility, politicians, scholars of various disciplines, but also the cultured bourgeoisie, perhaps suggesting private patronage:

*¿no habrá entre miles de valencianos ricos y cultos unos cientos, unas docenas, los cuales enterados de que el diploma histórico del valencianismo está hecho un librejito desvinculado, que quieran tenerlo bien reproducido y ordenado en su casa, como emblema o señera del reino?*⁶¹

The Arabist did not stop there. The edition of the book would increase the tourist attraction of the commemoration, assuming that visitors would be pleased to see in libraries not only a copy of the document but also photographic enlargements of the most significant pages of each locality, which evokes the modernity of panels of an exhibition. In fact, Ribera foresaw a real merchandising operation, selling photography postcards that reproduced the pages dedicated to the main Valencian towns. And he went even further, aiming to the idea of historical recreations of episodes of conquest, obviously related to the *Llibre del Repartiment*, in theatres and even cinemas.

57. *Esa edición* —Ribera said— *es cosa bien sencilla. Casi no merece meditarse. No hay dificultad técnica. Basta con encomendar a casa formal y experta la tarea de reproducirlo cuidadosamente* (“That edition is a very simple thing. It is hardly worth thinking about. There is not any technical difficulty. It is enough to entrust a formal and expert house with the task of reproducing it carefully”).

58. “The main task is to loosen the money necessary for it.”

59. In the middle of the Civil War, the commemoration was modest and, obviously, with a progressive and Valencianist interpretation of James I and the foundation of the Kingdom of Valencia. Belenguier, Ernest. *Jaume I a través de la història*. Valencia, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2009: 181-184.

60. “The document in question is precisely the one that best symbolizes the fact to be remembered”.

61. “Will there not be among thousands of rich and educated Valencians a few hundred, a few dozen, who are aware that the historical diploma of Valencianism is made up of a rickety booklet, who want to have it well reproduced and ordered in their home, as an emblem or flag of the kingdom?”



From the dusty stillness of the archive to the cinema screen, in Julià Ribera's lecture the *Llibre del Repartiment* had ceased to be a valuable but simple documentary source, useful only to specialists, to become the main historical symbol of Valencian identity. The names with which he praises the manuscript show this transformation. It is the *documento histórico más valenciano, el quicio sobre el que gira toda nuestra historia*,⁶² that is, both the Muslim and the Christian past, the *ejecutoria de la nobleza de todo el reino* ("the nobility pedigree of the whole kingdom"). It was a true monument in its materiality, a *conjunto de ruinas que por su vejez son venerandas* ("set of ruins that by their age are venerable") that had to be considered the *diploma histórico del valencianismo* ("historical diploma of Valencianism"), with a dimension that made it equivalent to the *emblemata o señera del reino* ("emblem or flag of the kingdom"). It was not necessary to access its informative content, but simply to admire it as a collective symbol. Conscious Valencians—or rather, the cultured bourgeoisie—should be proud to exhibit in their private libraries the reproduction of a book of the thirteenth century, without any aesthetic appeal, written in letters and a language that they did not understand, for the sole reason that it was the image of regional identity.

2. Towards the dissemination of a historical reference

The lecture of Ribera found wide coverage in the pages of *Las Provincias*, which was not surprising in a newspaper closely linked to Lo Rat Penat since the time that Teodor Llorente directed it and made every decision in the "society of lovers of the Valencian glories". An article about the event in the centre of the front page, with a photograph, and the full translation of the lecture on the last page gives an idea of the importance that the old conservative newspaper gave to the event, described as very transcendental lecture. The chronicle made it public that the mayor of Valencia and the president of the *Diputación* welcomed the initiative to publish the *Llibre del Repartiment*, and this was a success for the speaker. Nonetheless, despite the fame of Ribera and the fact that among the audience were the highest civilian and military authorities, the event had little resonance in the rest of the local press. *La Correspondencia de Valencia*, the newspaper that had been the voice of the first Valencianist political party—the Unió Valenciana Regional ("Valencian Regional Union") of the financier Ignasi Vilallonga—did not say anything about it.⁶³

Conversely, it was in *El Pueblo*, spokesman for Blasquist republicanism and a scathing critic of what Lo Rat Penat represented, where the day before, the announcement of the lecture appeared, *acontecimiento de gran resonancia para la*

62. "Most Valencian historical document, the hinge on which all our history revolves".

63. With a Valencianist origin, the newspaper had supported the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Cucó, Alfons. *El valencianisme polític...*: 175-176.



vida històrica de nuestra región.⁶⁴ After praising Julià Ribera as a great sage and even the best Arabist in the world, he presented the *Llibre del Repartiment* as the *base de nuestra historia* (“basis of our history”). For the Blasquists, who twenty years earlier had called James I *rey clerical, supersticioso y sucio*,⁶⁵ the record of donations had also reached an important historical significance, up to the point that Ribera’s lecture was *una satisfacci3n que debe enorgullecernos como valencianos*.⁶⁶ This notice had its origins in a note sent by the cultural society itself, but it is remarkable that it appeared in the pages of a republican medium such as *El Pueblo*. However, the following day there was no news of the event or of the Arabist’s speech.

It had more echo in the sphere of cultural Valencianism. In *Taula de Lletres Valencianes* (“Table of Valencian Letters”), a publication aimed at modernizing the country’s culture and literature, a review of the lecture of Ribera appeared. Published in May 1929, a few weeks after the event, the information given was the same as the newspaper *Las Provincias*. It cannot be ruled out that the columnist, Josep Navarro Cabanes, under the pseudonym El Velluter, would have limited himself to reading the text of the lecture published by the conservative newspaper. He defined the *Llibre del Repartiment*, quoting Ribera, as *la porta que tanca el període hist3ric musulmà i la que obri la hist3ria de la València cristiana. Per aix3 mateix és el document més valencià de tots els documents*⁶⁷. In any case, he made a correct summary of the lecture, distinguishing two parts:

*una en què va evocar d’una manera molt clara, mestrivola i acolorida l’estat de la ciutat valenciana quan fugien d’ella els mahometans enduent-se a l’èxode els béns que podien transportar; una altra en què esposà el seu desig de què ara es tornara a editar el «Llibre del Repartiment» en c3pia fotogràfica que seria utilíssima —és necessària— a tots el que vullguen treballar sòlidament en la hist3ria valenciana d’aquella època i encara d’èpoques posteriors.*⁶⁸

The Valencianist review went even a little further and described the manuscript as a *llibre d’or de la nissaga valenciana* (“golden book of the Valencian lineage”), suggesting its character as *acta de naixement* (“birth certificate”) —as it would be called years later— of the Valencian people. For the Arabist Ribera, the document was both a birth certificate of Christian Valencia and, so to speak, a death certificate of Muslim Valencia. Navarro Cabanes, from a Catholic Valencianism, saw above all the historical roots of Christian Valencia. He also took the opportunity, despite

64. “...event of great resonance for the historical life of our region”.

65. “clerical, superstitious and dirty King”. “La lepra catalanista”. *El Pueblo* (13 June 1907).

66. “a satisfaction that should make us proud as Valencians”. “Lo Rat Penat. Acontecimiento cultural”. *El Pueblo* (13 June 1907).

67. “...the door that closes the Muslim historical period and the one that opens the history of Christian Valencia. That is the reason why it is the most Valencian of all documents.”.

68. “...one in which he evoked in a very clear, masterful and colourful way the state of the Valencian city when the Mohammedans fled from it, taking with them to the exodus the goods they could transport; another in which he expressed his desire for the “Llibre del Repartiment” to be republished in photographic copy, which would be very useful —it is necessary— to all those who want to work solidly in the Valencian history of that time and still of later times”.



editorship, to make some critical considerations of local institutions. He welcomed the offer of the Mayor of Valencia to publish the book, although he added, perhaps with a touch of irony, that *cal esperar que aquesta edició es durà a terme amb la mateixa rapidesa eixemplar que les reformes urbanes*.⁶⁹

He also included Ribera's critique of Bofarull, to whom he attributed the ignorance of Valencian matters, but the columnist retorted: *El cas és que alguns erudits valencians, en lloc d'estudiar les coses valencianes, s'han dedicat a estudiar principalment les coses no valencianes*.⁷⁰ Was he referring to Ribera himself? Perhaps, because he immediately added: *De totes maneres, sembla que Julià Ribera, jubilat de la seua càtedra en la Universitat Central, es dedicarà més assíduament als temes d'història valenciana*.⁷¹ In this sense, he pointed out the idea that the Arabist could be linked to local academic life, not without ironizing on the endogamous attitudes of the faculty.⁷²

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of the Arabist and Lo Rat Penat to spread the book, it does not appear that the *Llibre del Repartiment* became a known symbol of identity towards the end of the Dictatorship. Not even among the cultivated sectors of Valencian sympathies. In fact, in the same *Taula de Lletres Valencianes*, in 1930 Ernest Martínez Ferrando, archivist and man of letters,⁷³ described the interest of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon for Valencian history, without making any mention to the existence of the *Llibre del Repartiment*.⁷⁴ But by this same time, from the so-called official world of culture, continued to work to promote the significance of the manuscript. The old Arabist was in charge of the publishing enterprise, but the initiative for dissemination—and future publication—had passed from Lo Rat Penat to a more erudite institution such as the Centre de Cultura Valenciana.

Although this entity, dependent on the Diputació de València, had been founded in 1915 inspired by the prestigious Institut d'Estudis Catalans, it had not lived up to its initial aspirations. Valuable scholars coexisted with local scholars in an ambivalent trajectory, until in 1927 the canon Josep Sanchis Sivera, a disciple of Roc Chabàs, took over the presidency. Under his inspiration, the dynamism of the Centre was renewed, a periodical was published—*Anales del Centro de Cultura*

69. "it is to be hoped that this edition will be carried out with the same exemplary rapidity as the urban reforms".

70. "The fact is that some Valencian scholars, instead of studying Valencian things, have devoted themselves to studying mainly non-Valencian things".

71. "In any case, it seems that Julià Ribera, retired from his chair at the Central University, will dedicate himself more assiduously to the subjects of Valencian history."

72. *I cal esperar que la Facultat de Filosofia i Lletres de la Universitat de València, que té una quantitat per a extensió universitària, en lloc de repartir-la (un altre repartiment...) entre els professors de casa, l'aprofitarà per a honorar les seues aules amb la presència de Julià Ribera i Tarragó.* ("And it is to be hoped that the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Valencia, which has an amount for university extension, instead of distributing it (another distribution...) among home teachers, will use it to honor their classrooms with the presence of Julià Ribera i Tarragó."). El Velluter [Josep Navarro Cabanes]. "Julià Ribera i el «Llibre del Repartiment»". *Taula de Lletres Valencianes*, 20 (maig 1929): 12. All citations correspond to this single page.

73. About this archivist, historian and writer, Alonso, Vicent. *La trajectòria intel·lectual d'Ernest Martínez Ferrando*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1992: 57-80.

74. E[rnest] M[artínez] F[errando]. "L'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, de Barcelona, II i últim". *Taula de Lletres Valencianes*, 33 (1930): 5-7.



Valenciana (“Annals of the Center of Valencian Culture”) (1928)— and the doors were opened to young historians linked to Catalanist and republican Valencianism, such as Emili Gómez Nadal.⁷⁵ It was in this context that he took on the challenge of publishing the facsimile edition advocated by Julià Ribera. But, at the beginning, a new advertising manoeuvre was put into play: nothing more and nothing less than bringing the original document to Valencia.

It would not have been easy for the *Llibre del Repartiment* to leave the Archive of the Crown of Aragon where it was kept for temporary transfer to Valencia. However, in 1930 there were two coincidences that were well taken advantage of by Sanchis Sivera. The document had already travelled to Seville on the occasion of the Ibero-American Exhibition and the Minister of Public Instruction, who was to authorize the temporary deposit, was the Valencian art historian Elies Tormo. The initiative of the Centro de Cultura Valenciana was supported from *Las Provincias* by its director, Teodor Llorente Falcó, son of the newspaper’s founder, with an article on the manuscript signed under the pseudonym Jordi de Fenollar.

From a conservative regionalist point of view, it was emphasised that the book was the oldest manuscript on paper in Europe and, above all, it contained the origins of Christian Valencia, identified with property and lineages: *en él se halla* —he said— *el fundamento de toda la propiedad valenciana*, as well as *los nombres de las familias genuinamente valencianas*.⁷⁶ But he still went a little further and, resuming the data that his father had exposed more than forty years ago in *Valencia. Sus monumentos y artes* (1887),⁷⁷ saw in *el predominio catalán en la población de Valencia*, together with the language of the court of James I, the determining factor of the *idioma de la Reconquista*.⁷⁸ The author advertised the initiative of the Centro de Cultura Valenciana to get the temporary transfer of the manuscript to Valencia in order to be consulted by scholars and the general public, releasing a claim: at least a few days would be *ya que no se le deja aquí, cosa que sería lo más lógico y más justo*.⁷⁹

Eventually, the arrangements were successful. Sanchis Sivera himself was personally in charge of taking the *Llibre del Repartiment* to Valencia, and delivering it to the University Library, where it remained on display for two months. With

75. Pérez Moragón, Francesc. “Del Centre de Cultura Valenciana a l’Acadèmia”. *L’Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana. Història d’una aberració*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1982. Cortés, Santi. *València sota el règim franquista (1939-1951)*, Valencia-Palma: Institut de Filologia Valenciana-Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 1995: 111-115.

76. “...in it is found —he said— the foundation of all Valencian property, as well as the names of the genuinely Valencian families”.

77. Viciano, Pau. “El somni del patriarca. Teodor Llorente, l’historiador de la Renaixença”. *El regne perdut...: 19-47*.

78. “...the Catalan predominance in the population of Valencia”, “language of Reconquest”.

79. “...since it is not left here, which would be the most logical and fairest thing”. Jordi de Fenollar [Llorente Falcó, Teodor]. “El Libro del Repartimiento de Valencia”. *En defensa de la personalidad valenciana*. Valencia: Impremta Doménech, 1930: II, 13-16. The reproduction of the article was updated with the following note: *Efectivamente, el Centro de Cultura Valenciana pidió al ministro de Instrucción pública, D. Elías Tormo, que dicho libro se trajese a Valencia, accediendo a ello el citado consejero de la Corona* (“Indeed, the Center of Valencian Culture asked the Minister of Public Instruction, D. Elías Tormo, that this book be brought to Valencia, acceding to it the mentioned adviser of the Crown”).



this initiative, the impact that, the previous year, Julià Ribera's lecture on Lo Rat Penat had had was recovered. As at that time, the arrival of the manuscript in Valencia was published by *Las Provincias*, with a front-page story illustrated by a photograph of the reception.⁸⁰ On this occasion, it was an official event involving the highest academic institution, the University of Valencia, which hosted the *Llibre del Repartiment* in its Library. On his behalf, the librarian, Fermín Villarroya, received it, in front of the representatives of the city councils and the provincial councils of Valencia and Castellón.

Even more significant was the presence of the academic world, where there was the rector of the University, José María Zumalacárregui, and a commission of the Centre de Cultura Valenciana, which included Josep Sanchis Sivera, Salvador Carreres, Nicolau Primitiu Gómez Serrano, Manuel González Martí and Teodor Llorente Falcó. "Ibarra y Farraz" officers were added on behalf of the Corps of Archivists, who can be identified with José María Ibarra Folgado and Ferraz Penelas.⁸¹ The role of Sanchis Sivera in the transfer of the book to Valencia was highlighted and he explained its importance, to end by insisting on the idea of a new edition of the manuscript by Julià Ribera. For two reasons: to make it available to scholars and for safety, to avoid that, in the event of an accident, *se pudiera perder tan interesante documento fundamental de la propiedad valenciana*.⁸² After describing the book and indicating that it would be in the University Library exposed to the curiosity of the public for two months, the article ended with the commitment of financial collaboration in the edition by the local authorities represented.

The participation of the institutions in the official event made it possible to highlight their financial support for the future edition, but in reality, their presence was low profile. Neither the mayors nor the presidents of the Provincial Councils attended the event in person, unlike the University and the Centre de Cultura Valenciana, which were represented by their top officials. If the *Llibre del Repartiment* had then been a symbol known to the Valencian population as a whole, it is probable that the political authorities would have wanted to be present at an event that would have reached a wider dimension than the purely academic one. Everything seems to indicate that the identity significance of the manuscript was still limited to scholarly and cultural circles, and perhaps to the most enlightened readers of the city press. At least *Las Provincias* was not the only medium to echo the arrival of the book, but the news appeared both in the republican newspaper *El Pueblo*⁸³ and in

80. *Las Provincias*, 21 November 1930. In the *Almanaque Las Provincias para 1931* again reported on the reception of the book (pp. 68-69) and of the previous efforts taken by the Centre de Cultura Valenciana, through the request to the minister by Manuel González Martí, remembering the lecture of the previous year Julià Ribera's previous article in Lo Rat Penat and the commitment to subsidize the new edition of the local institutions of Valencia and Castellón (pp. 287-288).

81. Ferraz Penelas could be both Fernando and Félix, two brothers dedicated to the world of archives, according to the data of María Teresa Navarro Lluch. *Biografías de archiveros, bibliotecarios y documentalistas valencianos*, Valencia, Universitat Politècnica de València, 2011.

82. "...such an interesting fundamental document of Valencian property could be lost".

83. Needless to say, this was a brief note, which simply stated that: *A la entrega asistieron las autoridades, académicos, buen número de profesores y alumnos de los centros docentes y muchos amantes de las glorias valencianas*



La Correspondencia de Valencia, a former Valencianist organ turned in favour of the Dictatorship. It is worth noting, however, that the latter newspaper devoted a great deal of attention to it, only comparable to the coverage that *Las Provincias* had made the previous year of the Ribera lecture: a three-column article on the front page, accompanied by a photograph of the act.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the chronicle, signed by a man of letters like Francesc Almela i Vives, came out five days after the report of *Las Provincias* and, in fact, was limited to giving the same information about the circumstances of the transfer of the book. Moreover, the article focused on the figure of Julià Ribera, absent from the event that was being reviewed, but a real protagonist due to the purpose of it all: to promote the project of the new edition of the *Llibre del Repartiment*. Almela not only painted a physical portrait of the Arabist —*un hombre alto, fornido, de tez acusada, de barba blanca no muy abusiva*⁸⁵— but also summarized the lecture he gave the previous year in Lo Rat Penat. In fact, half of the article was a gloss on the publication made by *Las Provincias* at the time, which showed the continuity between that act and the temporary assignment of the manuscript. *Una de las cosas que propuso el conferenciante* —Almela recalled— *fue una edición fotocópica del “Llibre del Repartiment” ¿Será la que se lleve a cabo ahora? Porque de editarlo se habla con motivo de su venida a Valencia.*⁸⁶

The news of the arrival of the manuscript did not go unnoticed in the Valencian cultural circle. The review *Acció Valenciana*, organ of Acció Cultural Valenciana, an organization of young university students with a Catalanist orientation,⁸⁷ reported on the initiatives taken by the Centre de Cultura Valenciana to disseminate the meaning of the *Llibre del Repartiment* to society as a whole. In July of 1930 it was announced, albeit briefly, that it was temporarily transferred to Valencia.⁸⁸ A month later, in March 1931, it was revealed that the photo-lithographic edition of the *Llibre del Repartiment*, carried out by the Center de Cultura Valenciana, was beginning to execute. And it was added that the prologue would be done by *nostre compatriota i insigne arabista, Julià Ribera*.⁸⁹ In 1934, another Valencian cultural

(“The act was attended by the authorities, academics, a good number of teachers and students of the educational centres and many lovers of the glories of Valencia”), *El Pueblo*, 21 November 1930.

84. Francesc Almela i Vives. “Un ilustre huésped. El “Llibre del Repartiment”. *La Correspondencia de Valencia*, 26 november 1930.

85. “...a tall, strapping man with a sharp complexion and a not very excessive white beard”.

86. “One of the things the lecturer proposed —Almela recalled— was a photocopied edition of the “Llibre del Repartiment” Will it be held now? Because it is talked about editing on the occasion of its arrival in Valencia.”

87. Vallés, Santi. *Acció Valenciana (1930-1931). La consciència desvetlada*. València: Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, 2008.

88. *A precs del Centre de Cultura Valenciana, el ministre d’Instrucció Pública ha determinat que el Llibre del Repartiment al tornar de Sevilla estiga dos mesos a la nostra Ciutat per a que pugua ésser admirat aquest llibre d’importància fonamental en la nostra Història.* (“At the request of the Valencian Culture Center, the Minister of Public Instruction has determined that the *Llibre del Repartiment* on his return from Seville will be in our city for two months so that this book of fundamental importance in our history can be admired.”) “El Llibre del Repartiment a Valencia”. *Acció Valenciana*, 7 (15 July 1930): 2.

89. “...our compatriot and famous Arabist, Julià Ribera”. “Informació literària”. *Acció Valenciana*, 21 (5 de març de 1931): 4.



review, *La República de les Lletres*, referred again to the edition of the manuscript. On the Arabist's death, a brief obituary note was published in which his task as an *ordenador, estudiant i prologuista del Llibre del Repartiment* was highlighted, implying that the task was finished, although unpublished.⁹⁰ This document, then, was not ignored in the Valencian cultural media, but it cannot be said that it had reached the dimension of a historical symbol with an identity dimension.

In fact, there were sectors of Valencianism, especially republicans, who did not even consider the October 9 as a date for the vindication of the country, but a folkloric or monarchical festival, which despised the Muslim Valencians. Thus, in 1935, Adolf Pizcueta, a prominent representative of republican Valencianism, had to publish an article in the same review emphasizing that the conquest of Valencia should be seen as *la fundació del País Valencià, origen de les llibertats que tots els que s'apellen valencianistes malden per recobrar*.⁹¹ In this sense, he proposed acts worthy for a commemoration of the seventh centenary of the Conquest, which would take place in 1938, among which he mentioned an international congress of the language, the creation of a Valencian library and a museum of ceramics, the restoration of the Puig monastery and even the holding of an economic conference in the Valencian Country. It is necessary to mention that these ideas, which included those that the young Manuel Sanchis Guarner had advanced in *El Camí*, were aimed at creating cultural infrastructures, but it is surprising that no mention was made of the publication of the *Llibre del Repartiment*, contrary to Ribera's 1929 proposal. Even more so when Pizcueta knew the arguments about the significance of the manuscript that the Arabist had set out at that lecture.⁹²

Despite the dissemination efforts made by the most influential historians of Valencia, from Julià Ribera to Josep Sanchis Sivera, and the involvement of cultural institutions such as Lo Rat Penat and the Centre de Cultura Valenciana, and even the advertising made by *Las Provincias*, the *Llibre del Repartiment* did not become a reference point for Valencian identity. It was promoted by a conservative, erudite and associative Valencianism, respectable for the bourgeois media and compatible with civil and political assembly of the Dictatorship. However, due to its historical significance, the manuscript had to be assumed by a Valencianism that, precisely,

90. "...organizer, scholar and prologue writer of the *Llibre del Repartiment*". It was announced that they would later publish a more extensive biography of the Arabist, but the review disappeared in 1936 without this becoming a reality. Instead, the obituary of *La Revista*, signed by Josep Maria López Picó, was reproduced: Julià Ribera i Tarragó. *Un savi. Voldríem la plenitud catalana que permetés simplement aquest elogi definitivament substantivat. I voldríem que el record de la posteritat no desvinculés el respecte a la seva memòria de la realitat de la Catalunya gran* ("A sage. We would like the Catalan fullness that would simply allow this definitively substantiated praise. And we would like the memory of posterity not to detach the respect for his memory from the reality of the great Catalonia"). *La República de les Lletres*, 1 (July-September 1934): 29.

91. "...the foundation of the Valencian Country, the origin of the freedoms that all those who call themselves Valencianists strive to recover". Adolf Pizcueta. "Centenari de la fundació del País Valencià. Commemoració del 9 d'octubre de 1238". *La República de les Lletres*, 6 (October-December 1935): 4-5.

92. In fact, among the papers in his personal archive, he kept a press clipping with the article by *Las Provincias* on the Ribera's lecture of 1929. Biblioteca Valenciana Nicolau Primitiu. Arxiu Adolf Pizcueta i Alfonso, caixa 8, carpeta "Art i Història".



had in the figure of James I a scarcely discussed symbol. But the Conqueror was, above all, the founder of the kingdom and the father of leasehold liberties. The identity importance of the *Llibre del Repartiment* was that it documented the predominantly Catalan origin of the new settlers, that is, of the Valencian people and their language. A conservative man like Teodor Llorente Falcó, following in his father's footsteps, saw in the *Llibre del Repartiment* the documentary evidence of these Catalan roots.

From republican Valencianism, represented by young historians and activists such as Emili Gómez Nadal, the Catalan nature of the Valencian Country was also linked to the colonization of the 13th century, but this general process was not identified with the *Llibre del Repartiment*.⁹³ Even on an occasion as appropriate as the preparations for the seventh centenary of the Conquest, the most conscious Valencians reserved no place for it in the commemoration. A writer and archivist like Jesús Martínez Ferrando, who since 1919 had been assigned to the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, when making his collections known to Valencian readers, did not mention the *Llibre del Repartiment*. Everything indicates, then, that the meaning of the manuscript had not gone beyond the culturalist circle, sensitive to conservative regionalism, which in vain promoted its re-edition. And it was only thanks to the diffusion of the related press that the Valencianist sectors echoed these initiatives.

3. The posthumous edition of Julià Ribera

In 1934 Julià Ribera died in the house of his orchard in the Poble Llarga. Sanchis Sivera died in a clinic in Valencia three years later, in the middle of the Civil War. In July 1936, the republican forces had taken over the Centre de Cultura Valenciana with the appointment of a management commission, until 1937 when it was dissolved and its functions were incorporated into the Institut d'Estudis Valencians ("Institute of Valencian Studies").⁹⁴ Through the Historical-Archaeological Section, this new organism, dependent on the Provincial Council of Valencia and better scientifically oriented than the old Centre de Cultura, could have culminated the edition of the *Llibre del Repartiment*. However, the difficult circumstances of the war made it rather un-operational. There were initiatives focused on the field of archaeology, libraries, and archives, but there is no trace of any work on the manuscript.⁹⁵

93. See the collection of texts by Gómez Nadal, Emili. *Articles (1930-1939). El País Valencià i els altres*. Introducció i estudi d'Aznar, Manuel i Pérez Moragón, Francesc. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim-Instituto Vasco de Evaluación e Investigación Educativa, 1990.

94. Aznar, Manuel i Blasco, Ricard. *La política cultural al País Valencià, 1927-1939*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim-Instituto Vasco de Evaluación e Investigación Educativa, 1985. Cortés, Santi. *València sota el règim franquista (1939-1951)*. Valencia-Palma: Institut de Filologia València-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995: 111-115.

95. No mention of it was made in the published minutes. *Ciència i cultura en la guerra. L'Institut d'Estudis Valencians, 1937-1938*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2014: 99-151.



We know that Ribera came to supervise at least part of the printing of the plates: the posthumous prologue mentioned the examination of *las páginas fotograbadas hecho a medida que se han ido tirando*.⁹⁶ But he did not manage to leave the edition completely finished, ready for printing. His concern, feeling old and in poor health, was to finish the prologue. As he confided to Teodor Llorente Falcó in February 1934, *Casi no puedo trabajar. Me temí no llegar a acabar el prólogo consabido del Repartimiento. Ahora estoy más contento, porque lo estoy terminando*.⁹⁷ Two months later he ceased to exist, but his son found the finished prologue and delivered it to the Centre de Cultura Valenciana. Llorente himself, in July 1934, hoped that before the end of the year the work would be available in bookstores.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the Civil War broke out without the edition being completed.

We do not know if there would still be any materials left for editing at the Arabist's home. This is what was feared from the Francoist side. In September 1937, in the edition of the *ABC* of Seville, the article "Del campo rojo valenciano. La ola de barbarie roja"⁹⁹, signed by a certain Víctor Sánchez, where the destruction of private archives and libraries was denounced as a result of the *innumerable hogares saqueados por las hordas marxistas*.¹⁰⁰ In fact, Víctor Sánchez was a pseudonym of Teodor Llorente Falcó himself, a refugee in Franco's San Sebastián since March 1937, after the murder of his son at the hands of militiamen, a lawyer of the extreme monarchical right. Upon learning from *un refugiado* ("a refugee"), he claimed that Julià Ribera's house had been broken into and mixed up. He presented to the readers the figure of the insignia Arabist, remarking that, retired to his land, *escribió su última obra, un concienzudo estudio sobre el Libro del repartimiento de Valencia, viejo manuscrito del siglo XIII, en el que se consignaba, pudiéramos decir de una manera oficial, el reparto de casas y tierras que hizo el monarca Don Jaime I*.¹⁰¹ Well informed, the columnist emphasized the prominence of Ribera in the edition planned by the Valencian Culture Center, the end of the prologue and even the desire to surpass Bofarull's work. Thus, the work of the edition could have been lost in being his house *bárbaramente saqueada y sus libros y papeles, entre ellos tal vez el estudio sobre El Repartimiento, llevados a una fábrica para convertirlos en pasta*.¹⁰²

96. "...the photorecorded pages made as they have been printed". Ribera, Julià. "Prólogo", *Repartiment de Valencia. Edición fotocópica, con un prólogo de Julián Ribera*. Valencia: Centro de Cultura Valenciana, 1939: XVI.

97. "I can hardly work. I was afraid I would not get to finish the well-known prologue of the *Repartimiento*. Now I am happier because I am finishing it".

98. Llorente Falcó, Teodor. "La última obra del eminente arabista D. Julián Ribera". *ABC*, 20 July 1934.

99. "From the Valencian red field. The wave of red barbarism".

100. "...countless homes ransacked by Marxist hordes".

101. "...he wrote his last work, a conscientious study on the *Libro del repartimiento* of Valencia, an old manuscript from the thirteenth century, in which it was recorded, we could say in an official way, the distribution of houses and lands that the monarch Don Jaime I made."

102. "...barbarously looted and his books and papers, including perhaps the study on *El Repartimiento*, taken to a factory to be turned into pulp". Víctor Sánchez [Teodor Llorente Falcó]. "Del campo rojo valenciano. La ola de barbarie roja". *ABC* (Sevilla), 11 setember de 1937.



With the precautions that must be taken with a piece of propaganda writing like this, it is true that Ribera's family, for its bourgeois background—they were prominent landowners and orange traders—and for its conservative political orientation, was exposed to popular repression. popular, including the murder of one of their nephews.¹⁰³ In any case, the introductory study, that is, the prologue, was no longer in the Arabist's home but, as Llorente Falcó himself had made public at the time, since 1934 it had remained in the hands of the Centre de Cultura Valenciana, and it could be thought that the plates of the photographic reproductions were also there, as it was known later. It is therefore not surprising that in the 1937 article, he raised the doubt about the danger of destruction of the studio when the house of the Arabist was registered. He was probably unaware at the time that the editing work was at an advanced stage and safe.

In September 1939, a few months after the entry of Franco's troops in Valencia, Llorente Falcó, now signing as "J. de Fenollar", reported from *Las Provincias* the imminent publication of the *Llibre del Repartiment*. In fact, the article, in addition to once again justifying the interest of the document, explained the circumstances of the rugged editing process.¹⁰⁴ To the Arab's death was added that:

*sobrevino todo el periodo rojo. Nada se sabía del libro en publicación —he confessed—; pero el señor Carreres, ayudado por el director decano del Centrod de Cultura don José Sanchis Sivera, había impreso y corregido, con anterioridad a dicho periodo, las pruebas, y dispuesto todo para que el libro saliere a la luz.*¹⁰⁵

The article concluded, therefore, with the announcement of the publication: *Hoy podemos dar la noticia satisfactoria de que se ha salvado el mencionado libro, y que, en cuanto se normalice por completo la vida cultural valenciana, podrá quedar ultimado y repartido.*¹⁰⁶

Finally, the book was published under the title *Repartiment de Valencia. Edición fotocópica, con un prólogo de Julián Ribera Tarragó*, dated in Valencia in the *Año de la Victoria* ("Year of the Victory"), that is, in 1939. It appeared under the seal of the Centre de Cultura Valenciana, an institution recently re-established by the new

103. It was Josep Ribera García, a leader of the Derecha Regional Valenciana. Gabarda, Vicent. *La represión en la retaguardia republicana. País Valenciano, 1936-1939*. València: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim-IVEI, 1996.

104. J. de Fenollar [Teodor Llorente Falcó]. "El Libro del Repartimiento". *Las Provincias*, 6 September 1939.

105. "...the entire red period ensued. Nothing was known about the book in publication —he confessed—; but Mr. Carreres, assisted by the dean director of the Culture Center Mr. José Sanchis Sivera, had printed and corrected, prior to said period, the galley proofs, and arranged everything for the book to come to light". He refers to Salvador Carreras Zacarés, secretary of the Centre Valencià de Cultura. A few lines earlier he had stated that *Unos días antes de fallecer el señor Ribera, escribía al secretario del Centro de Cultura don Salvador Carreres la satisfactoria noticia de que el Trabajo estaba hecho. Y a manos del mencionado secretario llegaba a los pocos días* ("A few days before Mr. Ribera died, he wrote to the secretary of the Centro de Cultura, Don Salvador Carreres, the satisfactory news that the work had been done. And at the hands of the aforementioned secretary it arrived a few days").

106. "Today we can give the satisfactory news that the aforementioned book has been saved, and that, as soon as Valencian cultural life is completely normalized, it can be finalized and distributed."



Francoist authorities, with Teodor Llorente Falcó appointed as dean director. From a technical point of view, once the original photographs of the document were obtained, their mechanical reproduction could have been more or less faithful, depending on the procedure chosen. The best was the phototype, which was made using glass clichés, but had the disadvantage of economic cost, higher than other less accurate procedures such as photogravure, in which the photographic image was recorded on a metal plate that served of matrix for printing. As Julià Ribera himself confessed in the prologue:

El propósito inicial fué que se reprodujera el manuscrito por el procedimiento fototípico, hasta los detalles más nimios. Mas las circunstancias no consintieron que así fuere; se ha hecho reproducción más modesta, fotograbada, en la que se pierden pormenores algunas veces esenciales.¹⁰⁷

This fact limited the quality of the reproductions of the photographs in the manuscript, which had been commissioned to a prestigious house in Barcelona such as the Mas Archive. The final result of the facsimile edition —or *fotocópica* (“photocopic”)— did not reach the fidelity to which it was initially aspired, although the photogravures were made in the workshops of Estanislao Vilaseca and the final printing of the book was made in the typographic establishment of the Son of F. Vives Mora, two of the most outstanding companies in the graphic arts of Valencia.¹⁰⁸ The “circumstances” to which Julià Ribera alluded were, without a doubt, economic. Although such effective initiatives as the Lo Rat Penat lecture and the temporary exhibition of the manuscript had secured the grant of local institutions, the publication funding was not secured. The article that Llorente Falcó dedicated to the memory of the Arabist, in July 1934, was very clear when he denounced that all the promised public subsidies had not yet become effective.¹⁰⁹ The editing work, then, was virtually complete, and it all seemed to come down to printing funding.

In fact, this material obstacle hovered in the very prologue that Ribera wrote shortly before his death and that he would not see the light of day until five years later. The Arabist insisted on the same arguments of his 1929 lecture, on the need to reach an audience beyond the circle of scholars in order to achieve a limited but

107. “The initial intention was that the manuscript be reproduced by the phototypic procedure, down to the smallest details. But the circumstances did not allow it to be so; a more modest, photo-recorded reproduction has been made, in which sometimes essential details are lost.” Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XXIV.

108. According to the presentation note of the posthumous edition signed by the Centro de Cultura Valenciana.

109. *...de esperar es que las Corporaciones que no han cumplido aún su compromiso económico, que contrajeron con el Centro de Cultura hagan honor a sus acuerdos y que en el próximo invierno aparezca en los escaparates la mencionada obra.* (“It is to be expected that the Corporations that have not yet fulfilled their economic commitment, that contracted with the Centro de Cultura will honour their agreements and that the aforementioned work will appear in the shop windows next Winter”). Llorente Falcó, Teodor. “La última obra del eminente arabista D. Julián Ribera”. *ABC*, 20 July 1934.



necessary market for the book. The prologue began by justifying the publication of a work that few readers—few buyers— could understand:

*Al abrir este volumen y notar que el contenido lo constituyen únicamente textos manuscritos en latín, que muy pocos son capaces de leer y menos de interpretar, es fácil que el lector algo sorprendido o chasqueado se haga las siguientes preguntas: ¿a qué fin se hacen ediciones de esta clase? ¿Para qué gastar el dinero en publicaciones de esta índole que, por inasequibles para el común lector, son de utilidad muy dudosa?*¹¹⁰

With these rhetorical questions, Ribera sought to justify both the investment of public money in publishing and the interest of the book for private buyers. And he did so, once again, emphasizing its importance both as a historical source and a symbol of Valencian identity. As a historical source, it was the basis for being able to study in a documented way *los dos importantes periodos de la historia de Valencia, el de la civilización musulmana y el de la cristiana, en el punto que uno se cierra y el otro se abre*.¹¹¹ As he had already proclaimed at the 1929 lecture, it was the document more Valencian that is kept in the archives. The main problem, however, was not to claim the *Llibre del Repartiment* as a documentary source, but to justify making a new edition when it was already available, for almost eighty years, the one made by Pròsper Bofarull. In this sense, Ribera had to point out the shortcomings of the edition of the illustrious archivist, as he had been doing in previous years, although now with greater caution than in private correspondence or in organized lectures to mobilize the regional sentiment of the authorities. He even acknowledged that Bofarull edition was excellent as a paleographic transcription, confessing that he had previously attributed to reading errors or typographical errors the inconsistencies of the medieval writers.¹¹²

If the palaeographic transcription was good, what defects did Bofarull's edition have? First, the very conception of the *Llibre del Repartiment*. It should not be a coincidence that Ribera, in this scholarly prologue, never speaks of the *Llibre*, but simply of the *Repartiment*. Indeed, the first criticism of Bofarull is that we have called the *Repartiment* "similar" to that of Mallorca. Ribera was right, as Roc Chabàs had

110. "When opening this volume and noticing that the content consists only of handwritten texts in Latin, which very few are able to read and less to interpret, it is easy for the somewhat surprised or disappointed reader to ask the following questions: For what purpose are editions of this class made? Why spend the money on publications of this nature that, as unaffordable for the common reader, are of very doubtful utility?" Ribera, Julià. "Prólogo...": IX.

111. "...the two important periods in the history of Valencia, that of the Muslim civilization and that of the Christian, at the point where one closes and the other opens".

112. *Durante algún tiempo creí que las diferencias en las transcripciones de nombres se debía a la falta de buena lectura del original o a erratas de imprenta de la edición de Bofarull. Hoy debo rectificar. La edición de Bofarull es excelente, como transcripción paleográfica. Los errores o descuidos hay que adjudicarlos, en la inmensa mayoría de los casos, a los primitivos copistas no avezados a la pronunciación de los moros valencianos* ("For some time I believed that the differences in the transcription of names were due to a poor reading of the original or to misprints in the Bofarull edition. Today I must rectify. The Bofarull edition is excellent as a paleographic transcription. Errors or oversights must be attributed, in the vast majority of cases, to the primitive copyists not used to the pronunciation of the Valencian Moors"). Ribera, Julià. "Prólogo...": XX (nota).



previously considered, when he stated that the three records of the chancellery published by Bofarull as if they were a unitary book did not constitute a true *Repartiment*: *El mismo Sr. Bofarull, expertísimo paleógrafo historiador, que lo publicó, no se dió cuenta enteramente de la naturaleza del documento*.¹¹³ Neither of its fragmentary character, nor of the disorder of the pages caused by a binding of century XIX. In fact, it is an *aglomeración o cúmulo de notas sucintas* (“agglomeration or host of succinct notes”), drafts of donations, often generic—with the sole indication of the extent and type of land—, revocable, which had to be specified in fields with limits accurate by true distributors.¹¹⁴ That said, the shortcomings of Bofarull’s edition were not in the palaeographic transcription, but in the disorder of the records and the difficulty of transferring the graphic complexity of the original—special signs, corrections, cancellations—to a typographic composition.

The archivist of Barcelona had not even indicated the numbered series of folios of the manuscript, so it was difficult to identify the records transcribed with the originals. He even left it without transcribing the scratched settlements, as he consider that these donations were not made effective. As Ribera had warned on previous occasions, despite the defects noted, the conditions were not met for a new typographic edition that clearly surpassed that of the 19th century. This project could not be undertaken by a single researcher, but *varios o muchos bien preparados en cada materia y tener el manuscrito a todo momento a disposición de los mismos para resolver las dudas o comprobar las hipótesis*.¹¹⁵ This was, therefore, the erudite—or scientific—justification for the new facsimile publication: to serve as a basis for a future critical edition of the *Repartiment*, which in the meantime would serve to make up for the shortcomings of Bofarull’s edition.

First of all, given the risk of unbinding the manuscript to rearrange it, a photo edition on loose sheets would make it possible to do so by attending to the typeface and hands of the copyists, special signs, additions or blank spaces. Ribera, however, confessed that his knowledge was not enough: *Para arreglar al presente los trozos revueltos, habrían de examinarse y estudiarse por personas muy peritas*¹¹⁶ and he, an Arabist, acknowledged that he did not have sufficient palaeographic training.¹¹⁷ Secondly, the facsimile reproduction would allow to give account of *rayas, cruces, rúbricas, etc.* (“stripes, crosses, rubrics, etc.”), as well as of *enmiendas, borrones o añadidos* (“amendments, erasures or additions”), recovering the erased establishments, information that had not been gathered in the edition of Bofarull, either because he had not been able to interpret or because of the difficulties of representing it

113. “The same Mr. Bofarull, a very expert palaeographer historian, who published it, did not fully realize the nature of the document.” Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: X-XI.

114. Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XII.

115. “...several or many well prepared in each subject and have the manuscript at their disposal at all times to resolve doubts or check hypotheses”. Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XX.

116. “To fix the scrambled pieces to the present, they would have to be examined and studied by very expert people”.

117. *...no soy perito en paleografía latina, extraña a mis estudios.* (“I am not an expert in Latin palaeography, it is strange to my studies”). Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XV-XVI.



typographically. In this sense, Ribera concluded that *la imprenta es incapaz de suplir la visión directa del manuscrito, en casos frecuentísimos en el Repartimiento*,¹¹⁸ since if these graphic details were to be reflected, *constituiría la edición un verdadero embrollo, que sólo se aclararía examinando el original, o una copia fotográfica*.¹¹⁹

In this way the Arabist extolled the value of his facsimile edition but was implicitly limiting the scope of the future and longed-for critical, typographic edition, by stating that there would always be significant graphic elements that could not be represented in a printed text. In any case, the facsimile still had an added value from the palaeographic point of view, as it constituted the first manifestation of the Latin writing of the new kingdom, of what he calls *escritura regional valenciana* (“Valencian regional writing”).¹²⁰ Thus, the photographic reproductions provided study materials for the experts and, at the same time, it constituted a collection of slides where the students could practice.

Alongside these scholarly considerations, there was still a reason for local prestige. The future edition of the manuscript would place the Valencian Country among the territories that, like Catalonia, Navarre, and Aragon, had joined the initiatives of *todo país civilizado* (“every civilized country”) to publish diplomatic collections to make available to scholars the materials of their archives. *La región valenciana* —he said—, *para sentirse satisfecha de sí misma, no debiera ir a la zaga de otras regiones en esta materia, sobre todo la capital del reino debía sentir más viva la emulación, por el ejemplo que otras poblaciones le han dado*.¹²¹ He alluded to Dénia, where at the end of the 19th century Roc Chabàs had published *El Archivo*, and to Castellón de la Plana, with *el simpático* (“the pleasant”) *Boletín de la Societat Castellonense de Cultura*, two journals that published abundant historical documentation.¹²² In the Valencian capital, which since 1928 had the *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*, little had been done in this regard.

That is why Ribera wanted the city of Valencia, in honour of its capital status, to be at the forefront of publishing sources in the future: *¿Por qué no ha de ser este Repartimiento la cabeza de la futura colección?*¹²³ The reality is that forty years had to pass before the *Llibre del Repartiment* could be transcribed in an edition that definitively

118. “...the printing press is incapable of supplying the direct vision of the manuscript, in very frequent cases in the Repartimiento”.

119. “...the edition would constitute a real muddle, which would only be clarified by examining the original, or a photographic copy”. Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XVIII-XIX.

120. Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XXI.

121. “The Valencian region —he said—, to feel satisfied with itself, should not lag behind other regions in this matter, especially the capital of the kingdom should feel more alive emulation, for the example that other population centres have given it.” Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XXIII.

122. On the review of Dénia, Llobregat, Enric A. “Introducció”. *El Archivo. Revista literaria semanal*, ed. Facsímil. Dénia-Alacant, Ajuntament de Dénia-Instituto de Estudios Juan Gil-Albert, 1985: VII-XXVII. About this publication of Castelló, Viciano, Pau. “Ideologia i producció historiogràfica: els inicis del medievalisme a la Plana (1881-1936)”. *Butlletí del Centre d’Estudis de la Plana*, 10 (1987): 71-82. Falomir, Vicent. *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1992.

123. “Why shouldn’t this *Repartimiento* be the head of the future collection?” Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XXIII.



surpassed that of Bofarull.¹²⁴ For the time being, the facsimile publication was well justified from the point of view of historical research. In this sense, investing public money in the project should not cause any reluctance. Another thing was the expense of private buyers of the book, who could be deceived—disappointed, Ribera had said—to acquire a completely unintelligible work. Here it was necessary to appeal to the symbolic dimension of the *Llibre del Repartiment*.

Julià Ribera, who had begun the prologue by asking this question, ends up addressing it directly to the future buyer of the book: *Tú, lector amable, si eres de la región valenciana, aunque no seas aficionado a investigaciones históricas, no debes arrepentirte sino complacerte, de haber adquirido un ejemplar de esta reproducción fotográfica del Repartimiento*.¹²⁵ Why? It could have been a mere *caprichito erudito* (“scholar whim”) or a *desahogo de bibliófilo* (“bibliophile relief”), but the motivation could go a little further. Having the facsimile in the office, one might open it with curiosity to find the name of one’s village, that of a rural area, one’s surname..., thus arousing a certain fondness for historical studies. Nonetheless, there was still a higher justification for spending money that, on the other hand, was not so much for the pockets of a bourgeois public: the price of a copy would not exceed one bullring entry.¹²⁶ And this is where the identity argument came to the fore. The facsimile of the *Repartiment* was *un monumento enigmático o completamente mudo* (“an enigmatic or completely silent monument”), like the statues in the parks, but it deserved to be acquired and preserved with esteem, *como testimonio o recuerdo perenne de la gesta más grande realizada por nuestros antepasados, en que se fundan las más veneradas tradiciones de la región valenciana*.¹²⁷ Ultimately, then, for the non-specialized cultured

124. These were two editions that appeared almost simultaneously: the *Llibre del repartiment de València*, ed. dir. Antoni Ferrando. València: Vicent Garcia Editores, 1979, and, subsequently, the *Libre del Repartiment del Regne de València*, ed. María Desamparados Cabanes and Ramón Ferrer. Saragossa: Anubar, 1979-1980. The first included facsimile reproduction, transcription, translation into Catalan and indexes, culminating in a way of what seems to be Julià Ribera’s initial project, as stated by Guillermo Guastavino in the prologue to Ribera, Julià. *Opúsculos dispersos*. Tetuán, Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Árabe, 1952: 9, when he reported that *a ese tomo [facsimil], único aparecido hasta ahora, debían seguir dos más: uno con la transcripción paleográfica y otro con índices completos* (“That volume [facsimile], the only one that has appeared so far, had to be followed by two more: one with the paleographic transcription and another with complete indexes”).

125. “You, kind reader, if you are from the Valencian region, even if you are not fond of historical research, you should not regret it but be pleased to have acquired a copy of this photographic reproduction of the *Repartimiento*”.

126. “it may not exceed the value of an afternoon seat in the bullring”. And he also added, probably thinking about the difficulties in obtaining and making effective the subsidy of the public institutions: *Y lo gastado en el total de la edición [quizá] no llegue a lo que se paga por la confección de un castillo de fuegos artificiales, una falla de San José o una carroza de la batalla de las flores, diversiones muy simpáticas, pero efímeras, que momentáneamente se convierten en humo, que el viento disipa o rematan en montones de mustios ramilletes esparcidos por el suelo, que pisan los caballos* (“And what is spent on the total edition [maybe] does not reach what is paid for the making of a fireworks castle, a San Jose *falla* or a flower battle float, very nice but ephemeral fun, which momentarily turn into smoke, which the wind dissipates or ends in piles of musty bouquets scattered on the ground, which horses walk on”). Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XXIV.

127. “...as a testimony or perennial memory of the greatest feat carried out by our ancestors, on which the most revered traditions of the Valencian region are founded.” Ribera, Julià. “Prólogo...”: XXIV.



public, the definitive argument was conservative regionalism or —if you will— liberal conservative: feat, ancestors, revered traditions of the Valencian region. The problem is that such appeals, in 1939, must have seemed too lukewarm at a time of total exaltation of the new regime.

The discourse of conservative regionalism had certainly been able to adapt without problems to the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, as was shown precisely in the initiatives to publish the *Llibre del Repartiment*. And it is no less true that scholars and institutions —from Lo Rat Penat to the Center de Cultura Valenciana— hastened to put Valencian history at the service of the legitimisation of Franco's regime, forcing the interpretation of the regional past to make James I a precedent of the Spanish Empire or Franco himself, the Furs a totalitarian corporate regime or Joan Lluís Vives an anti-communist thinker.¹²⁸ In fact, the Valencian Center of Culture took the initiative to commemorate the seventh centenary of the Conquest in 1939, discrediting the celebration that, in very precarious circumstances, had taken place in 1938 by republican Valencianism.¹²⁹ In this context, the edition of the *Llibre del Repartiment* could have become another piece of this Francoist regionalism. However, the publication of the work went almost unnoticed.

If Teodor Llorente Falcó had announced its imminent appearance from the pages of *Las Provincias* in 1939, it would have been in a sad half-column, in contrast to the deployment of media that the same newspaper dedicated in 1929 to the lecture of the Arabist in Lo Rat Penat: the first and last page. It is surprising that in the volume that included the lectures of the seventh centenary of the Conquest, focused on a James I —so to speak— dressed in Falangist blue, there was none dedicated to the *Llibre del Repartiment*. No mention was even made of the edition of the Centre de Cultura Valenciana in the prologue signed by Llorente Falcó himself, who still did not forget to remember that in 1938 *Valencia se hallaba bajo la dominación del Gobierno marxista*.¹³⁰ Nor did the review *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana* dedicate any article to the edition or the meaning of the *Llibre del Repartiment*, which is limited to giving a very brief account of the edition that this same institution had made.¹³¹

The ability of conservative scholars to manipulate the Valencian glories of “a high sense of Spanishness” was well established. Everything suggests that if the *Repartiment* did not become a usable element of Franco's regionalism, it was because,

128. Cortés, Santi. *València sota el règim franquista...: 77-99*. Ballester, Josep. *Temps de quarantena. Cultura i societat durant la postguerra al País Valencià (1939-1959)*. Edició revisada i ampliada. Valencia, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2006: 43-72. On medievalism during the first Franco regime, Guinot, Enric. “La historiografía medieval valenciana en temps imperials (1939-1957)”. *Saitabi*, 47 (1997): 119-152.

129. Belenguier, Ernest. *Jaume I...: 184-187*.

130. “Valencia was under the domination of the Marxist Government”. Llorente Falcó, Teodor. “Unas líneas de entrada”, Carreres Zacarés, Salvador. *Fiestas celebradas en conmemoración del Séptimo Centenario de la Conquista de Valencia por el Rey Don Jaime I de Aragón*. València: Ajuntament de València, 1941: 9-11.

131. *También hemos de dar cuenta de la publicación del “Llibre del Repartiment de Valencia”, en edició fotocòpica, con prólogo del insigne arabista D. Julián Ribera que no tuvo la alegría de ver publicada esta obra* (“We must also give an account of the publication of the “Llibre del Repartiment de Valencia”, in photocopied edition, with a prologue by the famous Arabist D. Julián Ribera who did not have the joy of seeing this work published”). *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*, segunda época, 1 (1940): 55.



despite the efforts of Ribera and scholarly circles, the document had not yet become an identity symbol with social projection. There was, however, an additional hindrance. Ribera's prologue, which sought to make sense of the facsimile edition of the manuscript, was written in 1934, five years before the book was published. Five crucial years of war and revolution that launched the liberal and Catholic leaders, their social position and even their lives threatened by the excesses of popular repression, in the arms of Franco's totalitarianism. We do not know how Ribera would have rewritten his prologue if he had survived the Civil War. What cannot be doubted is that, when it appeared in 1939, his words must have seemed anachronistic, stuck in a conservative liberalism too flaccid for new fascist or fascist-style discourses.

At a time when, on the slightest pretext, any scholarly paper condemned "Marxist domination", separatism and showered praise on Franco, the only totalitarian make-up the publishers allowed themselves was to date the book in the Año de la Victoria ("Year of Victory"). And the introductory note, where the Center de Cultura Valenciana—probably Teodor Llorente Falcó himself—presented the delay of the publication as a fifth columnist boycott of the *gobierno marxista* ("Marxist government"). The printing, started in 1934, would have culminated in 1936, so that *al sobrevenir el glorioso alzamiento nacional*, it would have been finished, but *se guardaron las galerades y no se quiso ultimar la reproducción durante la dominación roja*,¹³² waiting for the moment of the commemoration of the VII Centenary of the Conquest, already under the Francoist order.¹³³ But even so, the *Repertiment* de Ribera was still a posthumous work, not only because of the previous death of its editor, but also because the intellectual and civic environment in which it had been conceived had largely disappeared.

During the first third of the twentieth century, the *Llibre del Repertiment* had begun to move from a historical source to an identity symbol, at least among the culturalist circles of conservative regionalism and the Valencian minority that was towing it. In this process, which had barely begun, the contribution of the Arabist Julià Ribera was fundamental, as he started the mythic discourse of the document with the intention of obtaining support for its facsimile publication, as a previous step to make in the future the final edition. Although Ribera's motivation was eminently scientific, the justification for the project had to appeal to regional sentiment, so that administrative record began to be seen as an identity reference. Finally, post-war circumstances paralyzed the spread of the document as a collective symbol. But

132. "...when the glorious national uprising occurred", "the galleys were kept and did not want to complete the reproduction during the red domination".

133. Editorial note in Ribera, Julià. *Repertiment de Valencia...*: VII. It is worth mentioning that, in the first moments of the post-war period, declarations of supposed quintacolumnist activities on the part of people and institutions that had remained in the republican territory during the war, and that had not been significant by their adhesion to the military uprising, were frequent.



the seeds were already sown, and, in the future, it would become a significant piece in the discourses on contemporary Valencian identity¹³⁴.

134. Catalanist Valencianism considered the *Llibre del Repartiment* as a demonstration of the Catalan roots of the population and the language of the Valencian Country. Without falling into historicist excesses, in the sixties Joan Fuster, the intellectual of reference of this current, saw in the conquest of James I and the Catalan colonization the *acta de naixement* (“birth certificate”) of the Valencian people, and referred implicitly in the manuscript stating that *La ciutat de València havia tingut una majoria de repobladors del Principat, llavors del “repartiment” de Jaume I, cosa que determinà de seguida la llengua i els ressorts psicològics de la comunitat naixent.* (“The city of Valencia had a majority of settlers from the Principality [Catalonia], since the *repartiment* of James I, which immediately determined the language and psychological springs of the nascent community.” (Fuster, Joan. *Nosaltres, els valencians*, (Second Edition). Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1977: 25 and 32). From another position, in 2008, taking advantage of the 800th anniversary of the birth of James I, the conservative regional government claimed the manuscript as the birth certificate of a kingdom, obviously independent of Catalonia. As had happened eighty years ago, it was the subject of a temporary exhibition in Valencia, and its catalog recalled the contribution of Julià Ribera and the circumstances of the first transfer of the manuscript (*El Llibre del Repartiment: el naixement d’un Regne*. Valencia, Biblioteca Valenciana: 2008).

