

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND POLITICAL INTENTIONALITY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HISPANIC HISTORIOGRAPHY:



From Tarafa's *Las Españas* to Santa Cruz's *La España**

By Eulàlia Miralles

*The achievement of the historian and archivist Francesc Tarafa is essential for an understanding of the relation between historiography and Catalan institutions in the second half of the sixteenth century. This article is devoted to his only printed work which was in Latin, the *De origine*, and to the translation of that text into Castilian Spanish by the cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz's vernacular version manipulates and twists the sense of Tarafa's Latin original and could perhaps be best understood in the general context of a reaction against the *Anales* of Jerónimo Zurita led by Santa Cruz himself.*

1.

The historian and archivist Francesc Tarafa was born around 1495, not far from Barcelona, in Mas Tarafa de Santa Maria de Llerona, in Granollers, and he died at Rome in 1556. Tarafa began his ecclesiastical career as a beneficiary of the parish of Sant Esteve de Granollers, in 1523. A year later, he took holy orders as a priest and in 1526 he obtained a benefice in Barcelona cathedral. From 1532 he appears as the cathedral archivist, although it is possible he acquired the position before then. After 1543 he was a cathedral canon, and in 1544, he became commendatory prior of Santa Maria de Manlleu, an Augustinian monastery near Manresa. Shortly before his death, Tarafa had renounced the Barcelona canonry, probably in favour of his nephew Marc Antoni Tarafa. A year earlier, he had ceased attending sessions of the Barcelona chapter, with which he had a difficult relationship –

* This article forms part of a Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación team project (*La literatura catalana del Renacimiento y el Barroco en el contexto europeo*, FFI2009–09630) and a Generalitat de Catalunya consolidated research team (*Identitats, cultura i pensament polític en el procés de construcció nacional català*, CIRIT, 2009 SGR 808).

the origins of the conflict remain a mystery. In both Barcelona cathedral and in Manlleu he carried out wide-ranging archival reforms, as surviving documents attest. Tarafa died in Rome, a city he had visited several times since the 1540s to attend to chapter business at the Vatican, when he was trying to resolve a dispute with the Barcelona chapter.¹

There was far more to Tarafa than is suggested by the preceding account of a hard-working, restless ecclesiastic who had difficulties with those around him. He was a historian and heraldist whose work is fundamental for our understanding of the relation between Catalan historiography and Catalan political institutions in the second half of the sixteenth century.² He wrote in his mother tongue, Catalan, though he also used Latin, when he considered it appropriate. Despite the fact that most of his work was only in manuscript, it had an extensive circulation. This was not unusual in early modern Catalonia: printers preferred marketable works, and Tarafa's use of Catalan, as well as his preference for specialised topics was bound to limit the diffusion of his writing.

Nonetheless Tarafa is a figure of considerable importance, and manuscript transmission of his works from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries was notably abundant. More than twenty of his works have survived (not counting fragments and independent excerpts): a copy of the Barcelona cathedral canons' book of heraldry (1536), a copy of *Linea regum Hispaniarum* (ca. 1538–1541), five copies of *Historia de vitis pontificum ecclesiae Barcinonensis* (1547), two of the *Dictionarium geographiae universalis Hispaniae* or *De Hispaniae situ, provinciis, populis, urbibus, oppidis, fluminibus, montibus et promontoriis dictionarium* (1552), two more of the *Crònica de la província de Catalunya en la Citerior Espanya* (ca. 1553[a]), along with ten manuscripts of the *Crònica de cavallers catalans* (1527–1556).³ His only work to be published was a more general historiographical study in Latin: *De origine ac rebus gestis regum Hispaniae liber* (1553b), but this suffices to show we are in possession of a considerable corpus by a historian who was read and appreciated in his own country as well as in Europe.

This paper will address certain connections between Tarafa's work and Catalan institutions of the time. A brief overview of his career will be followed by a discussion focussing on his most widely-circulated text, *De*

¹ For a biographical and bibliographical survey of Tarafa see Sanabre 1948; Pladevall 1981, Miralles & Toldrà 1997 and Duran 1998–2008, 2006.

² For the relationship between institutions and historiography in the later sixteenth century, see Viladamor 2007, especially I, 161–171.

³ Descriptions of various manuscripts can be found in Miralles & Toldrà 1997; see also Duran 1998–2008, 2006.

origine, and its translation into Spanish by Alonso de Santa Cruz, in order to highlight the importance of language choice in the construction of identities.

2.

From 1536 Tarafa took charge of writing the daily account books (*Exemplars* or *Exemplaria*) at Barcelona cathedral as well as the cathedral manual of alms (*Speculum Pie Elemosine*). The latter manuscript included a small heraldry of the cathedral canons in 1536. Tarafa's responsibilities thus combined archival endeavours with the interest in heraldry which would manifest themselves in his later works. Tarafa also wrote and dedicated to Bishop Cassador an extensive chronicle of the cathedral, the *Historia de vitis pontificum ecclesiae Barcinonensis*, which was widely disseminated. The *Historia* filled a gap in the historiography of the Barcelona chapter and represented an advance on historiography of the cenacle. This is evident from scrutiny of the book itself, from abundant subsequent citations of it in similar chronicles, and from its use as a documentary source. Tarafa intended the work to be circulated beyond the cathedral, and he worked hard to achieve this, supervising manuscript copies to ensure there were no errors in the text. He was particularly interested in how this work was used, and his dedication to bishop Cassador was inspired by the *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum* of Bartolomeo Sacchi, "il Platina". Evidence of the interest the *Historia* inspired are the two (failed) attempts to publish it: first in 1671, and then in the nineteenth century, by the scholar Josep Tastu. As a general historian, Tarafa also wrote a subsidiary genealogy, the *Linea regum Hispaniarum*, and three works that are essential for understanding the development of sixteenth-century catalan historiography: the *Dictionarium geographiae universalis Hispaniae*, the *De Origine ac rebus gestis regum Hispaniae liber*, and the *Crònica de la província de Catalunya en la Citerior Espanya*.

The *Linea regum Hispaniarum* is an annotated list of the Spanish monarchs from the beginning of time through to Charles V. It cannot have been well known at the time, and interest was confined to small, erudite circles. It probably was written as a study aid to be used by Tarafa for the writing of larger historiographical works such as the Catalan and Latin chronicles and his geographical dictionary. The *Dictionarium* was typical of the humanistic geographical treatises which had already been produced in Catalonia a few years before: for example Jeroni Pau's *De fluminibus et montibus Hispaniarum libellus* (Rome, Eucharius Silver, 1491), which Tarafa knew and valued. His own *De origine* was by a Catalan in Latin with the objective of making the Catalan perspective known beyond national boundaries. Tarafa wrote the history of "the two Spains", the Castilian and the Catalan-

Aragonese crowns, and he published it in Europe. The significance of this will be considered towards the end of this paper. The *Crònica de la província de Catalunya en la Citerior Espanya*, on the other hand was written for a more local readership, for Catalans in Catalan. That work was originally conceived in three parts, although we only have two (from Tubal through to the Roman era) perhaps the third (up to Charles V) was never composed. Tarafa's recognized expertise in heraldry was displayed in another work, *Crònica de cavallers catalans*, which was widely circulated at the time, largely owing to a text (apparently somewhat altered) which was owned by the heraldist Jaume Ramon Vila, one of Tarafa's early seventeenth-century copyists.

As a chronicler of origins, Tarafa followed the successful but largely forged work by Giovanni Nanni, *De primis temporibus et quatuor ac viginti regibus primis Hispaniae et eius antiquitate*, published in the *Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de antiquitatibus loquentium* in 1498 (Rome, Eucharius Silber) and dedicated to Isabella and Ferdinand, the Catholic Monarchs. This narrative of the first twenty-four peninsular monarchs by Nanni, a Dominican also known as Annio da Viterbo (or Annius of Viterbo) was greatly admired from its first appearance by historians throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Florián de Ocampo, in Castile, and Pere Antoni Beuter, in Valencia, both of them chroniclers active in the first half of the sixteenth century, were among those who relied upon Annio's mythological theses. Though Tarafa's sources also included bishop Margarit, Jeroni Pau, and Lucio Marineo Siculo, the reasons why Annio is of particular importance will become clear in what follows.

3.

The circulation of Tarafa's manuscripts in the early modern period was much documented by Maria Toldrà and myself more than ten years ago, although more information about their transmission is now available.⁴ In the sixteenth century, when Tarafa was still alive, there appears to have been efforts, particularly in Barcelona cathedral, to preserve and circulate the canon's works. Tarafa was himself involved, either copying his own works or correcting and supervising others' copies. The cathedral, to the best of our knowledge, possessed texts of all, or nearly all, of his work. It is also likely that his nephew, Marc Antoni Tarafa, participated in this labour of preservation and circulation, and continued these efforts after his uncle's death. Marc Antoni assumed some of the positions left vacant by Francesc (canon of the cathedral, prior in Santa Maria de Manlleu) and several manu-

⁴ See Miralles & Toldrà 1997.

scripts connect the uncle and the nephew. We know for instance that they collaborated in *De origine*, which was edited by Marc Antoni.

At the start of the seventeenth century, Jaume Ramon Vila copied for posterity the *Crònica de cavallers catalans*, the basis of most of the later tradition, and we know of more than one contemporary manuscript containing the dictionary and the catalogue of the cathedral. Tarafa's work thereafter was repeatedly cited, as historians used it, confirmed its utility, and proclaimed its veracity. Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries his work was revived, particularly in Barcelona in the circle around the Dalmaeses family, who possessed all of Tarafa's manuscript works as well as printed copies of *De origine* as published by Schott in his edition of the *Hispania illustrata*. But even in his lifetime, Tarafa had moved in the circles of the Barcelona cathedral; then in scholarly Barcelona circles around Jaume Ramon Vila; and finally among historians, such as the Dalmaeses, who gathered in the *Acadèmia dels Desconfiats*; and he was read throughout the Principality of Catalonia.⁵ In the rest of Europe, he was primarily known up to the eighteenth century through printed copies of *De origine*. It was not until then that Europeans began copying the works which had not been printed.

Why was there so much interest in Tarafa's works? His major historiographical work shows that, in addition to personal and family reasons, there also were institutional factors that propelled distribution of Tarafa's writings in the sixteenth century. In the Principality of Catalonia, there had been no perceptible institutional interest in the proliferation of histories of Catalonia prior to Tarafa's endeavour, which marked a shift in this respect. The author dedicated the *Crònica de Catalunya* to Prince Philip, noting in his dedication: "En mi no glòria de cupiditat sinó voluntat y amor de la pròpia pàtria me ha donat ànimo enpendre treball, essent pregat de les generalitats y staments de dita província" (I have been moved to undertake this labour not out of glorification of greed but rather out of dedication and love for my motherland, called upon by the *generalitats* and estates of that province, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 497, f. 30r). So we can conclude that it was the deputies as the representatives of the three estates (*braços*) in the Generalitat ("les generalitats y staments de dita província") who encouraged him to write the *Crònica*. This may be true although we have no evidence of whether the historian was telling the truth. His words have been interpreted in various ways by modern historians; either as they have been explained here, or as a *captatio*.

⁵ On the 1620s circle, see Simon i Tarrés & Villanueva 1999; on the eighteenth-century Academy and the Dalmaeses family, see Campabadal 2006.

After Tarafa's death in 1564, it was, precisely, the three estates (*braços*) that called upon the *Cortes* to create the post of official chronicler of the Principality and Counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya. This was the last step in a long and fruitless trajectory that began in 1547 when the Kingdom of Aragon nominated its official chronicler. In 1548 the job went to Jerónimo Zurita, and in 1552–1553 the Catalans sent a demand (*capítulo*) to the *Cortes* pointing out the need for a chronicler similar to the one their Aragonese neighbours had. The *capítulo* was never printed and never reached the king. In the aforementioned *capítulo* for the 1552–1553 *Cortes* and in the 1564 provision presented by the three estates (*braços*), the king was asked to create a chronicler's position modelled on the Aragonese post of 1547 and Zurita's nomination the following year. In the 1564 provision, more precise than the *capítulo* of ten years earlier, the representatives asked that the post should go to

una persona experta, sàvia, pròvida en cròniques y històries naturals dels dits Principat y Comptats, la qual tinga particular càrrech de recopilar, ordenar y escriure una crònica en latí y una altra en vulgar català, com a semblant Principat convé, y de totes les coses notables dels dits Principat y Comptats, axí passades com presents, segons deu fer un coronista savi y de experiència. (C-1564: f. XXr–XXv)

(an expert and wise person, knowledgeable (*pròvida*) about the chronicles and geography (*històries naturals*) of the said Principality and Counties, who will devote himself to assemble, order, and write one chronicle in Latin and another in Catalan, as the Principality desires, with all the notable events of the said Principality and Counties in the past and today, as is fitting for a wise and experienced chronicler.)

Tarafa in principle fulfilled all these requirements. He was an expert, wise, and, above all, *pròvid*, in that he had already perceived the need to write the history of the country. He was familiar with the chronicles, and he knew geography, Catalan, and Latin. Nevertheless, he was not whom they had in mind, as he had died a few years earlier in Rome. Whatever the case, the dedication of the *Crònica de Catalunya* along with the unpublished *capítulo* of the *Cortes* of 1552–1553 strengthen the hypothesis that he was the candidate they had in mind then. There are other hints as well. Tarafa wrote the *Crònica de la província de Catalunya* around 1553 at the request of the Generalitat's council and dedicated it to Prince Philip, along with the *De origine* in 1553 and the *Dictionarium* in 1552. It cannot be a coincidence that the three works we can date to the short period of 1552 and 1553, the same period in which the *Cortes* of Monzón were being held and the post of chronicler was being discussed, were the very three works that Tarafa dedi-

cated to Prince Philip (who would have been the one to approve the nomination of the official chronicler, had it taken place). The *Dictionarium, De origine* and the *Crònica de la província de Catalunya* are closely related; they recycle the same materials, are written in a similar style, have similar intentions, and are best understood in the light of each other.

4.

De origine ac rebus gestis regum Hispaniae liber was first published in Antwerp in 1553 in the imprint of Ioannes Steelsius. The work by Tarafa and the Fleming Ioannes Vasaeus, *Rerum Hispaniae memorabilium annales a Ioanne Vasaeo, brugensi, et Francisco Tarapha, barcinonensi...* appeared in Cologne in 1577.⁶ Andreas Schott published Tarafa's work in his *Hispaniae Illustratae*, in Frankfurt in 1603. The abovementioned editions of *De origine* set the stage for the circulation of Tarafa in Europe. In Spain the work was especially known in the translation by the historian and cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz, published in Barcelona by Claudi Bornat in 1562 as *Crònica de España ... traduzida de lengua latina en castellana*. In places, as we will see, that version is barely accurate; it is distorted and manipulated, and, in the eyes of posterity, something of a disappointment.

Santa Cruz was born in Seville in 1505 and died in Madrid in 1567, five years after publishing his translation of Tarafa. He was well regarded at court and among his fellow chroniclers and cartographers. The renowned Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, for example, knew him personally and described him as "persona a la que se da entero crédito, porque es hombre de honra e tal persona como he dicho en otra parte" (a person of great credit, because he is an honest man, as I have said elsewhere).⁷ Santa Cruz wrote historical chronicles of Charles V (in 1550) and of the Catholic Monarchs (in 1551), for whom he worked in various capacities, but they were not published in his lifetime. Nevertheless, he became famous, especially in the Crown of Aragon, for his translation of Francesc Tarafa, published in 1562, and for his fierce criticism of Zurita's *Annales de la Corona de Aragón* in 1563.

The Latin edition of 1553 and the Castilian edition of 1562 naturally merit a comparative examination. The former began with the dedication by Tarafa to Prince Philip ("Serenissimo ac potentissimo hispaniarum Principi Philippo, eius nominis secundo, Franciscus Tarapha, canonicus barcinonen-

⁶ Tarafa and Vasaeus are the only writers after Lucio Marineo Siculo and before Juan de Mariana who published histories of Hispania in Latin. Vasaeus was published first in 1552 in Salamanca, and Tarafa was published a year later in Antwerp. Starting in 1577, with the Cologne edition, the works of both historians began appearing in parallel fashion.

⁷ Quoted by Cuesta 2004, 10.

sis, foelicitatem”, pp. 3–4) followed by some introductory poems (pp. 5–8). The preliminaries in the 1553 edition do not appear in Santa Cruz’s translation, something which should not surprise us, given that translators and publishers/printers frequently modified preliminaries as they saw fit, according to their likes, dislikes, and commercial imperatives. Thus in the Castilian version we find an epistle to María de Mendoza, the countess of Osorno, dated October 1562 (ff. A2v–A4v), another one from the translator to the readers (f. A5r), and three poems praising Santa Cruz’s own efforts (ff. A5v–A6v). In his brief justification to readers, Santa Cruz tells us he translated Tarafa because in Castilian there was no writer who could bring to life the deeds of their ancestors; the *antiguallas* (f. A5r) or the “cosas que se han hecho en España des de que se fundó” (things that have happened in Spain since it was founded, f. A3v) were not included in Santa Cruz’s previous works and therefore he was interested in them. He went on to explain his participation in Tarafa’s work:

Y porque no quedasse tan breve como él [este libro] estava, que parcián cifras, determiné tomar trabajo de mirar todas las historias antiguas y añadir en fin de cada vida de rey lo que pareció más notable. Va señalado con una estrella cruz en la márgen. (f. A5r)

(And so that it would not be so short, appearing almost like code, I decided to take the trouble to look at all the old histories and add to the life of each king what seemed most notable. I have marked them with a star in the margin.)

So in addition to translating, Santa Cruz takes credit for having made additions to Tarafa’s Latin chronicle and also adding tables at the back of the book with lists of the popes through to Pius IV (with the years, months, and days of each one’s pontificate) and the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to the Hapsburg Ferdinand I (also with the reigns of each one). The table of contents and a chart with the pontifical reigns of Paul III, Julius II, Marcello II, and Paul IV are also likely to have been inserted by Santa Cruz.

Furthermore, the printer Claudi Bornat attached to the end of the Barcelona edition a section called “Del origen de los reyes de España y Francia y del numero dellos” (On the origin of the kings of Spain and France and how many there were, pp. 185–191). Bornat relied on Annio through Tarafa/Santa Cruz for the Spaniards, and for the French he turned to Samotes, the legendary first inhabitant of France, about whom he says, “como lo afirma Beroso [...] fue principio de los franceses *después* que su hermano Tubal uvo llevado gente para poblar a España” (as Berosus says [...] he was the prince of the French *after* his brother Tubal took people to populate Spain, p. 187) (my emphasis), thus pointing out that Spain was more ancient than France.

Apart from these differences, easy to spot when one compares the Latin edition of 1553 and the Castilian edition of 1562, there are other more subtle changes which Santa Cruz implemented in order to unload Tarafa of his citations and thus make the work easier to read and less scholarly. There is no obvious specific criterion for these alterations, which were applied to both classical and modern sources (Pomponius Mela, Silius Italicus, Eusebius, Ptolemy, Jeroni Pau, Giovanni Boccaccio, etc.), nor does there seem to be any method (the same author can be eliminated in one passage and not in another). Along the same lines, Santa Cruz mostly eliminates ancient place-names, presumably also to make the text easier to read, with fewer distractions. Thus, “Tuballam & Tubellam in praesentiarum Tafalla ac Tudela dictas” (Tuballa and Tubella, currently known as Tafalla and Tudela, p. 9) became “dos ciudades que hoy llaman Tafalla y Tudela” (two cities today known as Tafalla and Tudela, f. 3r). The phrases referring to Hispalo, “Hic Hispalim civitatem quae nunc Sibila, vulgo Sevilla, dicitur, condidit” (this built the city of Sybilla, today commonly known as Seville, p. 20), in his version reads, “Éste fue el que fundó a Sevilla” (This is the man who founded Seville, f. 11r). Santa Cruz’s eagerness to trim the text also led to errors, such as converting Betulona (Badalona, next to Barcelona) into Barcelona.

These modifications which resulted in the elimination of certain authorities and place-names were largely a result of the readership to which the Castilian version of *De origine* was addressed. The relationship, in the early modern period, between Latin and the vernacular was not merely, in historiography and other genres, one of linguistic preference. As a rule, Latin was used for general works aimed at an erudite readership both within and outside the Iberian Peninsula. By contrast, the vernacular – in the case of Santa Cruz, Castilian – was reserved for a local and perhaps less cultured audience and for works with studied political intentions. That is why Santa Cruz’s version of Tarafa was stripped of many of its citations and etymological disquisitions.

There are additional changes in Santa Cruz’s version. As mentioned above Tarafa wrote the history of “two Spains”, the history of the Crown of Castile and of the Crown of Aragon. He tried to write a balanced account, and his terminology regarding the Catholic Monarchs clearly reflects his ideology and, of course, the territory he represents. Santa Cruz had “difficulties” translating these terms; he systematically equates Castile and Spain, translates “las Españas” as Spain, or ignores the Citerior/Ulterior division that is always present and always important in Tarafa’s works.⁸ He also “de-

⁸ As we have seen, Tarafa called one of his works *Crònica de la província de Catalunya en la Citerior Espanya*. The equation of Hispania Citerior/Ulterior with the Crown of

Catalanizes” Tarafa’s original text: for example, Tarafa’s description of the first city founded by Tubal, Tarragona, disappears, and we read only that Tubal founded cities in Andalusia. Tarafa was quite clear about his preference in attributing the foundation of Tarragona to Tubal, as were most of his Catalan contemporaries, who fought to defend the idea that they were the first dwellers on Spanish soil. In the *Crònica de la província de Catalunya en la Citerior Espanya* he states very clearly: “An volgut los de la Spanya Ulterior aplicar ésser stada la primera població en la província de Bèttica” (those in Ulterior Spain wish to claim that the first town was in the province of Bética [*i.e.* Andalusia], Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 497, f. 35r). Tarafa did not know it, but that was exactly what his translator wished. Santa Cruz disguised the words *gotolans* and *Gotolania*, both of them loaded with symbolism and identity, by systematically translating them as “los pueblos de Cataluña” (the peoples of Catalonia) and “Cataluña” (Catalonia). In so doing, the translator directly eliminated Tarafa’s thesis that the etymological origin of the words lay in the *Goths* and the *Alans* and thus, as in similar examples, obliterated the Catalan neo-Gothic thesis of the historian and bishop of Girona Joan Margarit (ca. 1424–1484), the above-mentioned Jeroni Pau (ca. 1458–1497) and their followers. There are many other examples of Santa Cruz’s “de-Catalanization”: in his version, for example, the King Pere el Cerimoniós (Peter IV of Aragon, 1319–1387) is portrayed as the author of “espantosas crueldades” (frightful acts of cruelty) which the Sevillian recounts in vivid detail though they are absent from *De origine*⁹ while the biographies of some figures are doubled in length (El Cid’s, for example), and biographies of Castilian characters not included at all in Tarafa’s work do appear in the so-called translation.

What were Santa Cruz’s motives for translating Tarafa’s *De origine*? What were his intentions in modifying it? If we can believe the publication data, his edition coincided chronologically with *Los cinco libros primeros de la primera parte de los Anales de la corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, Pedro Bernuz, 1562) by Jerónimo Zurita, who had been appointed official chronicler of the Kingdom of Aragon in 1548. However, the Barcelona edition of *Crònica de España*, with a printed publication date of 1562, could have come out later; the dedication to the countess of Osorno dates from October

Aragon/Castile is not Tarafa’s alone; among his contemporaries it was used by Santa Cruz’s publisher, Bornat, in the prologue to Ausiàs March’s translations in 1560.

⁹ For example: “allende de otras muchas, hazer mención como mató, assoló y destruyó todo el linage de los Laras, y como mató a la reyna doña Leonor de Aragón, su tía, y a la reyna doña Blanca, su muger, y otras personas de gran lustre” (one must mention, among other things, how he killed, wiped out, and destroyed the entire Lara lineage, and how he killed the queen Doña Leonor of Aragon, his aunt, and the queen doña Blanca, his wife, and other noble people), Santa Cruz 1562, f. 151v–152r.

1562, which means that the book could have appeared at the end of the year or in early 1563.¹⁰

It is well known that Zurita's *Anales* set off a debate of praise and criticism, in large part the result of Alonso de Santa Cruz's own opinion criticism of the *Anales*. The Council of Castile asked him to issue a statement (*dictamen*) on the *Anales*, which became famous. Santa Cruz, like the chronicler Lorenzo Padilla, criticized Zurita's Aragonese bias, which allegedly prevented him from offering a balanced account of the history of the two Peninsular kingdoms. As might be expected, Santa Cruz lamented the omission of references to Castile, while in Catalonia, Cristòfor Despuig, Antoni Viladamor, or Pere Gil, complained that Zurita had omitted the feats of the Count-Kings of Barcelona. Nevertheless, Zurita was quickly praised and defended by Ambrosio de Morales, Felipe de Guevara, and Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola.¹¹

The first part of the *Anales* was ready in 1558 and circulated among a learned readership, though it was not printed until later. Santa Cruz's statement was finished in 1563 and must have been written at the same time as the translation of *De origine*, which, as we have seen, was published in late 1562 or early 1563. It seems, therefore, possible that Santa Cruz saw his manipulated and augmented version of *De origine* as a way of countering the influence of Zurita's *Anales* throughout the Peninsula. Perhaps he thought the translation would be a quick, parallel way of transmitting his opinions to a non-specialized audience. The translation was an easier, and probably cheaper, work than Zurita's, more easily digested and aimed at a wider audience. And it was a "new" work, in that it was a recent publication; Marineo's and Ocampo's general chronicles had been published long ago, and they were difficult to find and extremely long.

It is clear that after reading Zurita, Santa Cruz did not have the time to write something similar, but he did have time to translate *De origine* and make it his. He also could hide behind the name of a historian, Tarafa, who, like Zurita (though in different ways) was protected by Philip II and was well-known among his contemporaries. Tarafa was a household name (unlike other contemporary historians of Hispania such as Vasaeus), he had published abroad and in Latin, and, it would appear that in Catalonia at least, he was considered as close to an official chronicler as could be.

One must also consider, in looking at Santa Cruz's decision to translate Tarafa, that Catalan is present in the tales of mythical origins that Zurita

¹⁰ The possibility of a 1563 publication date was raised earlier by Madurell 1973, 71.

¹¹ On the anti-Zurita reaction, especially in the Crown of Aragon, see Santa Cruz 1951: especially I, CXC VII–XXIII; Uztárroz & Dormer 1680, above all 128–138 and 146–152 and Viladamor 2007, I, above all 119–121.

ignored. This may have been what the anonymous friend who dedicated some lines of verse to the translator Santa Cruz had in mind when he wrote: “En poco espacio mucho has collegido / lo que otros de escribir no han acabado / por un estilo breve, y escogido” (In little space you have gathered / what others who write have left unfinished / in a brief, well-chosen style, f. A6r). Perhaps I am reading too much into the text, but it seems possible that Zurita is among these “others”, if we take into account that he, as official chronicler, had been expected to write the history of the Kingdom of Aragon from its origins, which he did not do.

Through Tarafa, who claimed common mythological origins for the entire Peninsula and who began with Annio, Santa Cruz counterpoised the method of Zurita, who omitted the earliest times because he considered them risky subject matter, given the lack of documentary foundation.¹² That is why the section on ancient origins is the part of Tarafa that Santa Cruz changed the least; these were origins shared by all of Hispania, and he did not consider it necessary to add anything. There is, however, one exception to this. One of Tarafa’s shortest biographies of the ancient kings is of Hispano, of whom he said, following the tradition: “ab hoc Hispania prouincia nomen accepit, cum antea Iberia nominabatur” (with him, the province previously known as Iberia acquired the name Hispania, p. 20), adding that his sister or daughter, Iliberia, was the source of the name of the city of Granada. *Crònica de Catalunya* says the same thing about Hispano (adding the polemic regarding Iliberia’s foundation of Cotlliure, which is not in *De origine*). Tarafa makes clear in the *Crònica* why he does not elaborate on this episode: “per ésser fora de la província de Cathelunya” (because it is outside the province of Catalonia, BC, ms. 497, f. 60r).¹³ When Santa Cruz treats Hispano, the king who gave Spain its name (“Deste rey Hispano se llamó España, la qual se llamava antes Iberia” [It is from this king Hispano that Spain, which used to be called Iberia, came to be called Spain, f. 11v]) he found it necessary to lengthen the account by nearly two-thirds and address what he felt that Tarafa, in the Latin and Catalan chronicles, had addressed only superficially.

It is clear, then, what Santa Cruz meant to do and what he did. His translation had an obvious political motivation and an ideological background.

¹² On Zurita’s opinion of origins narratives and of historians who gave them credit, see the prologue to the *Anales* (Zurita 1967–1985, I, 3–4).

¹³ Other historians make the same argument. Shortly afterward, for example, Antoni Viladamor said Hispano “fundà y poblà molts llocs de Andaluzia y de altres parts de Castella, los quals, per no tocar a nostra història [de Catalunya] deix de anomenar” (founded and populated many towns in Andalusia and other parts of Castile, which I will not cite because they do not affect the history of Catalonia, Viladamor 2007, I, 263).

He took a history that was already written and which ennobled the historical origins of the entire Peninsula (it is worth repeating: a history of *both* crowns, the Castilian and the Catalan-Aragonese Spains) and he used it to champion his vision of Spain. As I said earlier, Santa Cruz's translation of Tarafa eliminated all trace of the *gotolans* and of *Gotolania*, it eliminated the division between Citerior and Ulterior, it systematically translated "Spains" with "Spain", etc. Besides, Santa Cruz chose the first historian in the Catalan tradition who wrote a history of the two Spains and who, like Zurita, came from the Crown of Aragon.

5.

Though the theoretical framework may be *Hispania* in general, *De origine* is a work in Latin written by a Catalan whose purpose was to publicize Catalan national identity beyond Catalonia's borders. It is a work which, like the rest of Tarafa's historiographical corpus, appears to respond to Catalan claims illustrated by the *Cortes*'s repeated demand to the king that he establish the post of official chronicler for the Principality and Counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya. With his translation of *De origine*, Santa Cruz manipulated the Catalan point of view and, obviously, the ultimate purpose of the work.

Throughout the sixteenth century, Tarafa continued being read in Latin, even though Santa Cruz's Castilian edition, at least in the peninsula, achieved the translator's manipulative objectives. As poignant evidence, we have the words of an early seventeenth-century Catalan historian, Pere Gil, who read Tarafa in Castilian:

La crònica de España que en llengua castellana ha escrita lo molt reverent e il·lustre senyor Francisco Tarapha, canonge de Barcelona, és tan breu y en ella se fa tan poca menció de cosas de Cathalunya y dels comptes de Barcelona y reys de Aragó que a penes d'ella se pot tràurer concepte ni notícia del que passà en Cathalunya. (Biblioteca Pública Episcopal de Barcelona, ms. 112, f. 53v)

(The chronicle of Spain in the Castilian language that the reverend and illustrious Francisco Tarafa, canon of Barcelona, has written is so brief, and in it there is so little space devoted to the matters of Catalonia and the counts of Barcelona and the kings of Aragon that one can scarcely learn or even form an idea of what happened in Catalonia.)

Bibliography

- C-1564, *Constitucions fetes per la sacra, cathòlica y real magestat don Phelip, rey de Castella y de Aragó y de les dos Sicílies, etc., en la primera Cort de Barcelona celebrada en lo monastir de Sant Francesch dels frares menors de dita ciutat de Barcelona en l'any 1564*, Barcelona.
- Campabadal, Mireia 2006, *La Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona en el segle XVIII. L'interès per la història, la llengua i la literatura catalanes*, Barcelona.
- Cuesta, Mariano 2004, "Alonso de Santa Cruz, cartógrafo y fabricante de instrumentos náuticos de la Casa de Contratación", *Revista Complutense de Historia de America* 30, 7–40.
- Duran, Eulàlia (dir.) et al. 1998–2008, *Repertori de manuscrits catalans (1474–1620)*, 4 vols., Barcelona.
- Duran, Eulàlia (dir.) et al. 2006, *Repertori de manuscrits catalans (1620–1714)*, Barcelona.
- Gil, Pere 1600, *Història moral de Catalunya*, Biblioteca Pública Episcopal de Barcelona, ms. 112.
- Madurell, Josep Maria 1973, *Claudi Bornat*, Barcelona.
- Miralles, Eulàlia & Maria Toldrà 1997, "La transmissió manuscrita de l'obra de Francesc Tarafa: biblioteques de Barcelona", *Anuari de Filologia* XX, C/8, 43–78.
- Pladevall, Antoni 1981, "La canònica de Santa Maria de Manlleu (i IV)", *Manlleu. Festa Major 1981*, 33–34.
- Sanabre, Josep 1948, *El archivo de la catedral de Barcelona*, Barcelona.
- Santa Cruz, Alonso de 1562, *Crónica de España del canónigo Francisco Tarapha ... traduzida de lengua latina en castellana*, Barcelona.
- Santa Cruz, Alonso de 1951, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo, 2 vols., Sevilla.
- Simon i Tarrés, Antoni 1999, *Els orígens ideològics de la revolució catalana de 1640*, Barcelona.
- Simon i Tarrés, Antoni & Jesús Villanueva 1999, "El cercle erudit i històric barcelonès dels anys vint i trenta del Sis-cents i la revolució de 1640", *Revista de Catalunya* 122, 40–53.
- Tarafa, Francesc 1553a, *Chrònica de Cathalunya*, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 497–498.
- Tarafa, Francesc 1553b, *De origine ac rebus gestis regum Hispaniae liber*, Antwerp.
- Uztároz, Andrés de & Diego Dormer 1680, *Progresos de la historia en el Reyno de Aragón y elogios de Gerónimo Zurita, su primer coronista*, Zaragoza.

- Viladamor, Antoni 2007, *Història general de Catalunya*, ed. Eulàlia Miralles, 2 vols., Barcelona.
- Zurita, Jerónimo 1967–1985, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas, 9 vols., Zaragoza.

