

**DIGITALLY EDITING MANUSCRIPT PROSE IN CASTILIAN:  
THE *CRÓNICA PARTICULAR DE SAN FERNANDO* – A CASE STUDY**

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis accompanies the digital edition of the *Crónica particular de San Fernando*, and includes a rationale for and an explanation of many of the implications of the decisions taken in the preparation of this edition. The edition is used as a case study for the digital editing of medieval prose in Castilian at the present time. To this end, there is an in-depth examination of the history, context and current situation of the digital editing of medieval texts, focussing specifically on prose, and in particular prose in Castilian. The text and context of the *Crónica particular de San Fernando* are also studied, to inform the preparation of its digital edition.

My central thesis is that the decisions made when preparing a digital edition should take into account the perceived needs of edition users, including both contemporary users and, as far as is possible, future users. These decisions should be informed by the nature of the text itself, its context, and transmission, as these will affect how and by whom the edition is used. They should also be informed by an understanding of how digital editions differ from their print counterparts, in both preparation and usage.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

Writing this thesis has been the most enjoyable challenge I have ever set myself. There are certain people, without whom, this thesis would never have been completed. Others, without whom, this thesis would never have been started in the first place. To them, I offer my most sincere thanks.

To my supervisor, mentor and friend, Aengus Ward. Thank you for asking me to be part of the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital project, for nurturing my new-found love of digital editing, and for helping me in so many ways as I wrote this thesis. Nobody could ask for a more supportive supervisor.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
CHARTA	Corpus Hispánico y Americano en la Red: Textos Antiguos
<i>CPSF</i>	<i>Crónica particular de San Fernando</i>
<i>DOSL</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language</i>
EDIT	<i>Estoria de Espanna</i> Digital Project, 'Estoria Project'
ESTS	European Society for Textual Scholarship
HTR	Handwritten text recognition
HSMS	Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies
HTML	HyperText Markup Language
<i>IGNTP</i>	<i>International Greek New Testament Project</i>
MOOC	Massive Open Online Course
<i>OFP</i>	<i>Online Froissart Project</i>
<i>PCG</i>	<i>Primera Crónica General</i>
<i>RCCP</i>	<i>Revealing Cooperation and Conflict Project</i>
SECRET	Seminario de Edición y Crítica Textual
SL	Single Language theory
STS	Society for Textual Scholarship
<i>TB</i>	<i>Transcribe Bentham</i>
<i>TC</i>	<i>Textual Communities</i>
TEI	Text Encoding Initiative
URL	Uniform Resource Locator
WYSIWYG	What you see is what you get
XML	Extensible Markup Language
2L	Two language theory

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## POLICIES

Throughout the thesis, toponyms from the *Estoria de Espanna* or the *Crónica particular de San Fernando* within modern-day Spain generally appear with an anglicised spelling.

Anthroponyms of people from Castile-Leon who appear in the *Estoria de Espanna* or the *Crónica particular de San Fernando* appear in their most common form in modern Spanish-language history books, as do Moorish names. Popes, and individuals from other places, such as Portugal, Cataluña and modern-day Germany, are named using their anglicised names.

## THESIS CONTEXTUALISATION

### **The *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project**

This thesis forms part of the outcomes of the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital project (EDIT project, *Estoria* project), otherwise entitled: *An electronic research environment and edition of the Estoria de Espanna of Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon*, led by Dr Aengus Ward of the University of Birmingham.<sup>1</sup> This project was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and ran for four years: from January 2013 to December 2016. The principal aim of the EDIT project was to produce an electronically-collated digital edition of the *Estoria de Espanna* (the *Estoria Digital*), by transcribing and tagging five of the forty known extant witnesses of the text. The eventual aim is to include all extant witnesses in subsequent phases of the project, subject to funding availability. Further objectives of the project included the creation of a vibrant working atmosphere where scholars and members of the public are able to study and engage with the chronicle, to overcome the confines of print editions through the use of electronic collation and to further scholarly knowledge of the place of the *Estoria de Espanna* in the context in which it was written (and rewritten), as well as two doctoral theses, of which this is one; the other was written by Christian Kusi-

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<sup>1</sup> The project page is available here: <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/> [accessed 22/03/2018]; the digital edition of the *Estoria de Espanna* is available at: <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/edition/> [accessed 01/08/2017]; the full citation of the project is: Dr. Aengus Ward, *An electronic research environment and edition of the Estoria de Espanna of Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon*, AH/K000136/1. The project ran from 2013 to 2016, and was funded to the sum of £559,267 by a generous grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The full citation of the digital edition, including transcribers, is: Aengus Ward ed., *Estoria de Espanna Digital* Transcriptions and corrections by Fiona Maguire, Enrique Jerez Cabrero, Ricardo Pichel Gotérrez, Polly Duxfield, Christian Kusi-Obodum, Marine Poirier, Aengus Ward, Bárbara Bordalejo, Nick Leonard, Avellana Ross, Silvia Yusta Fernández, v.1.0 (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2016) <estoria.bham.ac.uk> [accessed 01/08/2017].

Obodum,<sup>2</sup> entitled “Alfonso X and Islam: Narratives of Conflict and Co-Operation in the *Estoria de Espanna*” and examined at the University of Birmingham in 2017.<sup>3</sup>

Working under the leadership of Principal Investigator Aengus Ward (University of Birmingham) were a team of scholars: the project’s research fellows were Bárbara Bordalejo (University of Leuven, senior research fellow), Fiona Maguire (University of Birmingham) and Enrique Jerez Cabrero (University of Birmingham); Ricardo Pichel Gotérrez (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela and Universidad de Alcalá) was a postdoctoral fellow; the project doctoral students were Christian Kusi-Obodum and me, Polly Duxfield; we were joined for shorter periods by doctoral students Marine Poirier (Université de Bretagne Rennes 2), Alicia Montero Málaga (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) and Javier Sebastián Moreno (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) as part of their doctoral studies for their degrees at their home universities, and by undergraduate student Lauren Brinsdon (University of Birmingham); the technical officers (software developers) for the project were Zeth Green (University of Birmingham) and later Catherine Smith (University of Birmingham). We also worked in close collaboration and were advised by several other scholars, including Peter Robinson (University of Saskatchewan), Michael Pidd (University of Sheffield, who worked as Digital Director of the impact section of the EDIT project), and the advisory board: Leonardo Funes (Universidad de Buenos Aires), Francisco Bautista Pérez (Universidad de Salamanca), Geraldine Hazbun (University of Oxford), Juan-Carlos

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<sup>2</sup> Aengus Ward, Christian Kusi-Obodum, and Polly Duxfield, ‘Digital editing and the *Estoria de Espanna*: of XML and Crowdsourcers’ *Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar*, 23/01/2015, (London: Queen Mary University of London, 2015)

<sup>3</sup> Christian Kusi-Obodum, *Alfonso X and Islam: Narratives of Conflict and Co-operation in the Estoria de España*, Unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of Birmingham, 2017)

Conde (University of Oxford), Manuel Hijano (Durham University), Virginie Dumanoir (Université de Bretagne Rennes 2) and Paul Spence (King's College, London). As is always the case in academic projects, countless other scholars provided useful feedback and advice and helpful questions at various networking events during the course of the project.<sup>4</sup>

### **The Digital *Crónica particular de San Fernando***

This thesis accompanies the digital edition of the *Crónica particular de San Fernando*.

The edition is available at: [www.estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf](http://www.estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf)

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<sup>4</sup> The terms 'we', 'us' and 'our' in this section refer to the members of the main *Estoria de Espanna* Digital project team: Aengus Ward, Bárbara Bordalejo, Enrique Jerez, Fiona Maguire, Ricardo Pichel, Zeth Green, Catherine Smith, Christian Kusi-Obodum and Polly Duxfield. More information can be found about team members at The Estoria de Espanna Digital Project, 'EDIT Team members', (n.d.) [http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page\\_id=133](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=133) [accessed 09/07/2017]

## INTRODUCTION

Since the advent of digital technology, textual editing has been changing. When editions are digital rather than solely in print, we can observe a shift in who can access them, how they are accessed, and how they can be used. Because of this, the practice of editing has evolved, and continues to evolve in order to meet the needs and expectations of their new and wider users, whilst simultaneously attempting to continue to fulfil the needs and expectations of their more traditional users. Digital editions are not simply digitised versions of print editions, and the implications of this touch all areas of the production of the edition, from the outset.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore and examine the theory and practice involved in digitally editing manuscript prose in Castilian, examining specifically how we as editors attempt to fulfil the needs of the users of our editions. In order to do this I will digitally edit and analyse the edition of the fourteenth-century *Crónica particular de San Fernando* (CPSF), which, as will be seen below, is a chronicle in its own right, but is often also considered to be a later addition to the *Estoria de Espanna* ('*Estoria*'), first written in the thirteenth century under the close patronage of Alfonso X. Throughout the thesis I will argue that it is the role of a digital editor to attempt to fulfil the requirements of their readers, in terms of who will use the edition, how, and why, and that the editorial decisions they make will affect this, so should be made with their audience borne in mind. I will argue that who uses the edition, how and why, is dependent on both the history of editing and the editorial culture to which the users

belong (which usually coincides with the culture of the text(s) being edited)<sup>1</sup> and the history and context of the text(s) itself. To this end I will present my edition of the *CPSF*, alongside an analysis and discussion of it, to explore some of the issues at play in the practice of editing medieval manuscript prose in Castilian, and how I, as editor, can attempt to cater for my users' needs. To do so, I will first provide a theoretical and practical basis on which to base my edition, initially examining the theory and practice of digital editing in general, then more specifically the digital editing of manuscript prose, then more specifically still, the digital editing of manuscript prose in Castilian. I will then look at the context of the *Estoria de Espanna*, and by extension the *CPSF*, in terms of their historical and linguistic context and significance, and their textual transmission, with a view to the impact that these have on the digital edition of the *CPSF* (meaning both its preparation and potential usage), and the editorial decisions I took when creating the edition.

## **Thesis chapters**

In Chapter One, I will give a theoretical background to digital editing, as a foundation for my edition of the *CPSF*. The chapter will be divided into two sections. Section One will focus on the history and practice of editing: I will initially give an overview of relevant textual scholarship by describing a short and simplified history of editing, starting with conventional print editions, and moving onto digital editions. I will

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<sup>1</sup> By this I mean that editions of Italian texts are most likely to be accessed by Italian scholars and non-experts, who are accustomed to the editorial style most common in Italy; likewise Castilian texts, Castilian scholars and non-experts, and the editorial style most common in Spain, and so on.

examine the nature of textual editing, and show that different schools of print editors and the readers of print editions have come to expect their editions to share certain features within the methodologies of their production, and that this naturally affects the way in which a print edition can be utilised, but also affects the ways in which the end user *expects* to be able to utilise such an edition: different audiences have different requirements and expectations, which both form and are formed by the editors' methodology within different schools of editing. To illustrate this, I will look specifically at Hans Walter Gabler's edition of Joyce's *Ulysses*; for years this was seen as extremely problematic by scholars in the Anglo-American school and remains notorious – one cannot mention the edition without making reference to the debate it caused. As Greetham has explained, and as I will cite below, the debate can be partially put down to a misunderstanding of Gabler's methodology by his detractors, coupled with Gabler's partial failure to marry the methodologies of two schools of editing,<sup>2</sup> showing that the expectations of users of editions within any given school are shaped by the norms and traditions of that school – when an edition does not fit in with these expectations the edition (or the editor) is perceived to be at fault, rather than sparking users to re-evaluate their expectations or to consider other editing methodologies.

Following this, I will analyse the practice of digitally editing texts by looking at what problems can be solved, but also what problems can be brought about, by the creation of electronic editions. I will establish some possibilities for digital editors, and how some of the restrictions placed on print editors for practical purposes are not always

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<sup>2</sup> David Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc, 1994) (original publication 1992) p.354



so much of an issue for electronic editors. As a simple example, a digital editor is able to include many more editorial comments than a print editor can, since a print editor must weigh up the benefits to the user of the editorial comment against the very real possibility that too many comments printed as footnotes or endnotes will make the edition difficult to read, whilst a digital editor can allow users to choose whether or not to display editorial notes by using tools such as mouse-over boxes and hyperlinked supplementary material, therefore placing the decision to access such material in the hands of the user, according to their own specific needs. I will also explore the fact that in reality, such possibilities are not limitless in digital editing, as may have been dreamed by early electronic editors, but are instead bound by pragmatic and necessary considerations such as the constraints of time and funding, showing that whilst print editors can be bound by the practicalities of the page, digital editors are bound by different but just as restrictive practicalities. Here I will also analyse the use of crowdsourcing in the preparation of transcriptions, and will argue that crowdsourcing can be another way in which the potential audience can access and engage with a digital edition, just at an earlier stage in the edition's development.

In section two of this chapter I will focus more on the editing of medieval texts, by first exploring the nature of medieval textuality to examine how this affects the ways in which we edit medieval texts, and then by using the digital edition of the chronicles of Jean Froissart, the *Online Froissart*,<sup>3</sup> as a case study of the digital editing of medieval

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen (eds.) *The Online Froissart*, version 1.5 (Sheffield: HRIOnline, 2013), <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 24/01/2017]

manuscript prose. This chapter will form the foundation on which to build the rest of the thesis, which will focus more specifically on the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *CPSF*, including the contextual backgrounds of these chronicles, to allow me to analyse the digital editing of the *CPSF* as a case study of the digital editing of medieval manuscript prose in Castilian.

The aim of my second chapter is to contextualise the choice of the *Crónica particular de San Fernando* as a case study of the digital editing of a medieval prose text in Castilian. I argue in this thesis that an editor's decisions should be based on a clear understanding of the needs and expectations of her perceived audience. For this, the editor must have a solid understanding of the text being edited, including its textual transmission and significance for scholarship and more widely, for the culture to which it belongs. With this in mind, in Chapter Two I will focus on the *Estoria de Espanna* and its digital edition, since, as I will explain below, the *CPSF* is often thought of as part of the *Estoria de Espanna*. I will aim to show why the *Estoria* and its derivatives, including the *CPSF*, are of sufficient historical, cultural and linguistic significance to warrant a digital edition, and to propose some of the research possibilities such an edition could potentially provide to scholars of the period and of the works. To do this I will situate the *Estoria* within the historical and sociolinguistic contexts in which it was first produced, including within the wider Alfonsine *oeuvre*. I will conclude that the texts of the Alfonsine cultural project, and by extension, also those of the post-Alfonsine<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Leonardo Funes dates the post-Alfonsine period as 1284-1325. 'Historiografía nobiliaria del período post-alfonsí: un fenómeno histórico-literario en discusión' in Leonardo Funes (coord.), *Hispanismos del mundo – diálogos y debates en (y desde) el Sur, Anexo digital, sección I*, (Buenos Aires: Mino y Dávila, 2016) <https://tinyurl.com/y9rwrns5>, [accessed 22/03/2018] 77-86, 86

oeuvre, are of particular historical, cultural and linguistic significance to scholars of several research areas, and that because of the nature of medieval historiography in the way they were written, and often rewritten, according to external contexts, are worthy for the creation of digital editions, using techniques and methodologies made available by modern digital editing.

The conclusions from Chapter Two will lead me into my third chapter, which will be a case study of the *CPSF*. In this chapter I will present several versions of an edition of the *CPSF*, based on some of the editorial theory that appeared in Chapter One, as well as versions of the edition which do not appear there, and with the historical, cultural and linguistic context of the work, rooted in Chapter Two. The presentation and explanation of the different versions of the edition will allow me to analyse their potential usage and usefulness by students, scholars and interested general readers, and will enable me to show the advantages and constraints of both digital and print editions.

## CHAPTER ONE EDITING: AN INTRODUCTION

### 1.0.1 Chapter introduction

In order to provide a foundation on which to place my digital edition of the *CPSF*, this chapter will introduce some of the key considerations when editing texts. I will begin by outlining the main schools of editing starting with the editors Karl Lachmann and Joseph Bédier respectively (and not earlier editors, for reasons which I will explain below). I will then move onto the case of digital editing, and will explore some of the problems of print editions that digital editions can solve, as well as the issues a digital edition can introduce, with which print editions do not have to contend. I will then focus on crowdsourcing as a methodology of generating transcriptions, and will analyse its usage and usefulness for transcription projects and the preparation of digital editions, including for reasons of impact of the edition on its readership. Following this, I will look at editing medieval texts, with paying particular attention to those within a Castilian-language context, to identify key features of these editions, as these will shape the users' expectations of my edition. Finally, I will discuss matters related to editing (and specifically digitally editing) medieval texts, and will use the *Online Froissart*<sup>1</sup> as a case study.

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<sup>1</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen (eds.) *The Online Froissart*, v. 1.5 [accessed 31/05/2017]

### 1.0.2 Definitions of key terms

Throughout this chapter and the rest of the thesis, I will refer to three key terms within textual scholarship: *document*, *text* and *work*. These terms cause more debate than academic naivety may at first lead one to imagine, and there is neither the time nor the space to fully explore the issues raised by their various definitions.<sup>2</sup> These terms are discussed in more depth in section 1.2.5 of this chapter, so here I will be brief. This thesis will follow Bárbara Bordalejo for a definition of *document*: the physical support (manuscript folio, paper, scroll etc.) on which marks have been intentionally inscribed with the aim of communicating – in most cases this means there is writing (handwritten or print) on the document; and also for *text*: the totality of all the meaningful and intentional marks made on the document (i.e. script, punctuation and emendation marks, but not accidental ink splatters, dust or stains) designed to be understood by the reading agent (whether this agent be human – a reader, or machine – a computer), when meaning is extracted from these marks by the reading agent.<sup>3</sup> For *work* I will follow Peter Robinson: ‘the work is the set of texts which is hypothesized as organically related, in terms of the communicative acts which they present’.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> These issues are raised by Peter Shillingsburg in ‘Manuscript, book and text in the twenty-first century’ in *From Gutenberg to Google – Electronic Representations of Literary Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) pp.11- index 24

<sup>3</sup> Bárbara Bordalejo, ‘The Texts We See and the Works We Imagine: The Shift of Focus of Textual Scholarship in the Digital Age’, *Ecdotica*, 10, (2013) 64-76, 65-68

<sup>4</sup> Peter Robinson, ‘The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing’, B. Crostini, G. Iversen and B. M. Jensen, (eds.), *Ars Edendi Lecture Series, vol. IV* (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2016) pp.181-207, p.197

## 1.1 Background to scholarly editing

In 1992, David Greetham, a leading figure in textual scholarship in the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries, and one of the founders of the Society for Textual Scholarship (STS), explained that the history of textual scholarship in the West can be traced back to the Greek early textual critics, who by the end of the sixth century BCE had established a version of the Homeric epics.<sup>5</sup> His *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction* remains one of the key texts of required reading for any student of textual scholarship and fledgling editor, and his clear and concise history devotes some thirty pages to the history of textual scholarship from its classical beginnings to the twentieth century. For these reasons it is not necessary to repeat the information included therein in the present work. Furthermore, beyond giving a contextual grounding to the theory and practice of current textual scholarship, detailing its history prior to the work of Karl Lachmann (1793-1851) is not required to fulfil the objective of the current chapter, so we can start our brief description of the background of modern textual editing there.

### 1.1.1 The Lachmannian approach

The Lachmannian method of textual criticism, or the stemmatic approach, is attributed to the German textual scholar, philologist and classicist Karl Lachmann.<sup>6</sup> As Bordalejo

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<sup>5</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.297

<sup>6</sup> David Parker makes an interesting aside about the biblical nature of the loaded terminology used in the Lachmannian branch of textual criticism, likening it to the language of fall and redemption, in D. C.

points out, he was not the first to use stemmata when editing, but his impact was such that the approach was later known by his name.<sup>7</sup> The Lachmannian method's objective is to recover the lost archetype of the text (but not the original itself, which is generally impossible), by removing 'corruptions' from the original.<sup>8</sup> Where there is authorial material, this would be hierarchised over later material. The matter would be significantly more complicated in instances where there is more than one version of the text, with authorial emendations. In such cases it is likely that the earliest authorial version would be hierarchised, since the Lachmannian method views emendations to be corruptions from this. The method links to the aforementioned concept of work by Bordalejo, following G. Thomas Tanselle, where an authorially-intended text, or as close as possible to this, is privileged above any other versions.<sup>9</sup> Lachmann is often linked to the practice of the creation of the stemma of extant and inferred witnesses, although Greetham points out that Lachmann himself never actually created a stemma (later scholars following his method traditionally have done), but rather Lachmann's contribution to scholarship was the 'theoretical separation of the two stages of approaching the text': (i) *recensio* – the charting of variants (and the separation of these into 'true' readings and 'errors'), and (ii) *emendatio* and *divinatio* – the rectification of errors – with the eventual aim of reconstructing the text's lost archetype,<sup>10</sup> which can sometimes be totally conjectural. This approach traditionally

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Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly: Digital Texts and the New Testament', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 25.4 (2003) 401.

<sup>7</sup> Bárbara Bordalejo, 'The Phylogeny of the Tale-Order in the Canterbury Tales' (PhD thesis, New York University, 2003) p.39-40 <[www.bordalejo.net/NYU/Chapter2.pdf](http://www.bordalejo.net/NYU/Chapter2.pdf)> [accessed 13/01/2016]

<sup>8</sup> Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (new edition) (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1983, 1992) p.15

<sup>9</sup> The reader is respectfully informed that this notion is not the one according to which this edition of the *Crónica Particular de San Fernando* is produced.

<sup>10</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.323

sees any variation between witnesses as evidence of ‘corruption’ from what, according to the method, is considered to be the most authoritative text – that is, the original, and uses common errors to group witnesses into families. David Hult states that Lachmann has become ‘the representative of German idealism in scholarship’ and describes his approach as ‘mechanistic’ and ‘scientifistic’.<sup>11</sup> Tanselle has explained that this approach was an intentional move away from the work of many eighteenth-century textual editors who had edited texts to suit their own personal tastes.<sup>12</sup>

The Lachmannian method, which remains popular in Germany and Italy, traditionally favours an approach where all witnesses can eventually be traced back to a single archetype, and which have a first split from the archetype into two.<sup>13</sup> This means that many Lachmannian stemmata have a two-branch pattern. Textual critic Joseph Bédier (1864-1938) believed this to be fraudulent, as it unfairly promoted those witnesses which derived from one copied exemplar, and failed to deal adequately with multiple witnesses copied from the same exemplar, and those which had been copied from one exemplar whilst the scribe remembered another variant exemplar. Such cases would produce three- and four-branch stemmata but would force followers of the Lachmannian approach to reconsider the surety with which they stated any variants were *errors*, and the nature of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> Bédier, a former follower of the Lachmannian method, split from the approach in what Paolo Trovato has

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<sup>11</sup> David Hult, ‘Reading it Right: The Ideology of Text Editing’ in Marina Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee and Stephen Nichols (eds.) *The New Medievalism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) pp.111-130, p.118

<sup>12</sup> G. Thomas Tanselle, ‘Editing Without a Copy-Text’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 47 (1994) 1-22, 1

<sup>13</sup> Bordalejo, ‘The Phylogeny of the Tale-Order’, pp.43-45

<sup>14</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, pp.323-325



described as a 'schism',<sup>15</sup> and proposed a new approach to textual criticism, becoming what Bordalejo has called 'probably the most famous detractor of the Lachmann method'.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.1.2 The Bédierist approach

Bédier's approach to editing was that the editor should choose the best available witness on the grounds on linguistic, historical, codicological or other evidence,<sup>17</sup> and should emend only where strictly necessary.<sup>18</sup> This approach, which became the most popular approach in France and Spain, has come to be known as best-text editing.<sup>19</sup> The method requires the editor to first establish the relationship between witnesses in order to identify the 'best' text,<sup>20</sup> that is often to say the earliest or the best-preserved manuscript, and then to faithfully follow the readings of that particular witness.<sup>21</sup> Choosing which manuscript is 'best' is highly subjective; <sup>22</sup> Alberto Blecua tells us that in the case of editions of medieval vulgar texts in particular, the choice of

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<sup>15</sup> Paolo Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method. A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text* (Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it, 2014) p.77

<sup>16</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Phylogeny of the Tale-Order', p.43

<sup>17</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.325

<sup>18</sup> Odd Einar Haugen, 'The spirit of Lachmann, the spirit of Bédier: Old Norse textual editing in the electronic age', *Annual meeting of The Viking Society* (London: University College London, 8 November 2002) <<http://www.ub.uib.no/elpub/2003/a/522001/haugen.pdf>> [accessed 25/01/2016] p.9

<sup>19</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Phylogeny of the Tale-Order', pp.44-45

<sup>20</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Phylogeny of the Tale-Order', pp.44-45

<sup>21</sup> David Greetham, 'Textual Scholarship', Joseph Gibaldi (ed.) *Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures*, Second Edition (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1992) pp.103-137, p.106

<sup>22</sup> Odd Einar Haugen, most recently modified by Philipp Roelli, 'Edition, best-manuscript', *Confluence*, last edited 07/11/2015, <https://wiki.hiit.fi/display/stemmatology/Edition%2C+best-manuscript> [accessed 03/10/2017]

a best text 'con frecuencia coincide con el *antiquior*'.<sup>23</sup> Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego explains, however, that an editor cannot simply rely on external characteristics of a manuscript to decide that it is the best, as these could merely be down to the work of expert copyists or a demanding patron,<sup>24</sup> nor should one look solely to the oldest witness, since even this may be several copies away from the original, each with accumulating 'errors', to use his term.<sup>25</sup> Greetham points out a 'perverse logic' underpinning Bédier's approach, since the method requires an editor to first choose the best text, for which they must be able to judge authorial intention, but once the best text is chosen to not emend it any further than is strictly necessary, as the author's intentions are 'otherwise unknowable'.<sup>26</sup>

Aengus Ward has described the approaches to scholarly editing respectively attributed to Lachmann and Bédier as 'extreme poles',<sup>27</sup> and Hult labels them 'symbolic signposts along the path tread by text editors', representing in caricature the difference between German idealism and French materialism,<sup>28</sup> and it is true that all other modern textual editors fall some way between these two positions in the continuum of the methodology of editing. Hult succinctly summarises the respective criticisms of followers of these two editing poles, explaining that followers of Lachmann believe Bédier to be a 'blind advocate for scholarly laziness or uncritical methodology', whilst Bédier's followers see Lachmann's method as being governed by 'a deceptive measure

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<sup>23</sup> Alberto Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual*, (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1983, 2001), p.43

<sup>24</sup> Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego, *Introducción general a la edición del texto literario*, (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2001) p.70

<sup>25</sup> Pérez Priego, p.69

<sup>26</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.325

<sup>27</sup> Aengus Ward, 'Editing the Estoria de Espanna', *Ecdotica*, 11, (2014) 185-204, 191

<sup>28</sup> Hult, p.118

of subjectivity' which sees the author as the 'unabashed hero' and the scribe as the corrupting 'villain'.<sup>29</sup>

### 1.1.3 The Anglo-American school of editing

In 1950, W. W. Greg published his seminal essay *The Rationale of Copy-Text*.<sup>30</sup> Greetham has described this as Greg's 'single most influential contribution to textual scholarship'.<sup>31</sup> The essay discredits Lachmann's approach as, according to Greg, although it was 'the greatest advance ever made in this field', it could 'reduce textual criticism to a code of mechanical rules'.<sup>32</sup> He also argues against best-text editing, describing the theory behind it as a 'fallacy' which is 'now generally rejected', as it does not allow for editorial judgement in deciding between variants from witnesses other than the best text, in context where, following Greg's approach, this may be considered necessary.<sup>33</sup> Greg, an editor of printed editions, and Shakespeare scholar, advocated the choice of a copy-text to be used when editing, and states that this should be the extant text which 'may be supposed to represent most nearly what the author wrote'.<sup>34</sup> In Greg's view, wherever possible this should be the earliest text available, such as the author's manuscript or a first edition, as (again, in his view, and since queried by Pérez

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<sup>29</sup> Hult, p.119

<sup>30</sup> W. W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 3, (1950-1951) pp.19-36

<sup>31</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.333

<sup>32</sup> Greg, 19

<sup>33</sup> Greg, 24

<sup>34</sup> Greg, 21; Greg's experience and field of editing must be borne in mind when analyzing his arguments: there are multiple fundamental differences between Greg's area of expertise and the editing of medieval texts.

Priego)<sup>35</sup> this would be most likely to be the closest to the author's final manuscript.<sup>36</sup> Greg then states that the editor should emend the text chosen to 'alter misleading or eccentric spellings which he is satisfied emanate from the scribe or compositor and not from the author',<sup>37</sup> leading to the creation of the copy-text. In this way, Greg's approach, which has been come to be known as the Anglo-American approach, differs from both that of Lachmann and of Bédier: a Lachmannian approach advocates attempting to reconstruct a lost archetype using as scientific an approach as possible to select historical variants for the reconstructed text, whereas Greg's method, whilst also 'pursuing authorial intention',<sup>38</sup> allows for editorial emendations to be made to the copy-text. A Bédierist approach, contrastingly, discourages any emendation of the chosen witness at all, other than where it is absolutely unavoidable. Key to Greg's treatment of variants is the way in which he divided them into two groups: significant, or 'substantive' variants, which he explains to be those which 'affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression', and 'accidental' variants, by which he means 'spelling, punctuation [and] word-division'. He argues that the distinction is relevant as scribes and copyists are likely to aim to reproduce the author's substantive readings but they may introduce accidental variants if they, for example, modernise spelling to that of their own time.<sup>39</sup> Greg ends his essay with the following phrase: 'My desire is rather to provoke discussion than to lay down the law',<sup>40</sup> showing a degree of scholarly modesty not shared by all textual scholars.

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<sup>35</sup> Pérez Priego, *Introducción general*, p.70

<sup>36</sup> Greg, 29

<sup>37</sup> Greg, 30

<sup>38</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Phylogeny of the Tale-Order', p.46

<sup>39</sup> Greg, 21-22

<sup>40</sup> Greg, 36

Greg's work was built on by Fredson Bowers, 'the most prolific and influential editor of this [meaning the twentieth] century in the English-speaking scholarly world'.<sup>41</sup> Bowers was more hard-lined in his approach than Greg had been: in his 1964 essay *Some Principles for Scholarly Editions by Nineteenth-Century American Authors* he claims that Greg's theory 'rules supreme'.<sup>42</sup> The essay has some strong claims on the methodology of editing: referring to spelling, punctuation, capitalisation, word-division and paragraphing in the case of nineteenth-century American writings, Bowers states 'one may flatly assert that any text that is modernized can never pretend to be scholarly, no matter at what audience it is aimed'.<sup>43</sup> He goes on to dismiss entirely the merits of a Bédierist best-text edition, even attacking the level of scholarliness and work that has gone into such works, stating that 'an argument cannot really exist in favour of a mere reprint [of a single document], *no matter how neatly such a procedure enables an editor to dodge his basic responsibility*'.<sup>44</sup> The fact that at six pages long the essay is on the short side in terms of academic convention, Bowers wastes no time in making his arguments clear: both of the above statements are from the first paragraph and a half. Bowers supports Greg's belief that wherever possible the text chosen to become the copy-text should be the earliest extant witness, stating that the most authoritative version of the text is one dating to within the author's lifetime or to 'within a sufficient time after his death' for corrections to come as directly as possible from the author,<sup>45</sup> and his beliefs about the responsibilities of the editor are

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<sup>41</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing Without a Copy-Text', 11

<sup>42</sup> Fredson Bowers, 'Some Principles for Scholarly Editions by Nineteenth-Century American Authors', *Studies in Bibliography*, 17 (1964) 223-228, 224

<sup>43</sup> Bowers, 223

<sup>44</sup> Bowers, 223, emphasis mine.

<sup>45</sup> Bowers, 23

unambiguous: he states it is the editor's task to use the 'evidence available' to remove variants introduced into the text by printers and copyists, who in doing so have shown disrespect for the text.<sup>46</sup> It is worth highlighting here that Bowers was an editor of, and is basing his arguments on texts from the era of print, not from the pre-print era, which as we will see later in this chapter, have their own specificities with which an editor must contend.

Greetham explains that the copy-text approach based on the work of Greg and Bowers became, for much of the twentieth century, the 'dominant mode of Anglo-American textual scholarship', to the extent that Greg's principals became the 'hegemony' of the field.<sup>47</sup> Richard Bucci has written of a 'long period' during which Anglo-American textual scholars were engaged with the Greg-Bowers school of textual criticism, although that is not to say that it was universally supported, as active resistance to the school is also engagement with it.<sup>48</sup> Bucci goes on to describe Tanselle as the 'most insightful and far-seeing participant of this collective engagement'.<sup>49</sup> This is true to the extent that his name is now often added to that of the approach itself, which many now refer to as the Greg-Bowers-Tanselle approach. Whilst it would be oversimplifying matters to suggest that there was no resistance to this approach within the Anglophone editing community,<sup>50</sup> as Bordalejo notes, 'the influence of Greg, Bowers

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<sup>46</sup> Bowers, 225-226

<sup>47</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, pp.334-335

<sup>48</sup> Richard Bucci, 'Tanselle's "Editing Without a Copy-Text": Genesis, Issues, Prospects', *Studies in Bibliography*, 56 (2003-3004), 1-44, 2

<sup>49</sup> Bucci, 2

<sup>50</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, explicitly mentions two critics of the method: Edmund Wilson and James Thorpe, (pp.334-336) and goes on to describe how Hershel Parker argues that the Greg-Bowers approach is unsatisfactory for many works of American fiction where authorial intention was not fixed, but rather there were 'various levels of intention' (p.344). Peter Shillingsburg explains that Thorpe argues that "works of "literary art" did not "become works" until they were

and Tanselle on Anglo-American editing was so widespread during the twentieth century that other kinds of edition have been somewhat overshadowed'.<sup>51</sup>

Tanselle has defended Bowers' arguments against modernising texts, describing modernising editors as 'condescending and officious', and argues that the practice of modernising (which, he states, is often only carried out partially) can leave the text 'confused and unhistorical'.<sup>52</sup> Referring to modernising editors of historical texts he asks, 'What, in the end, do they accomplish, other than depriving the reader of the experience of reading the original text?'<sup>53</sup> Tanselle does not, however, blindly advocate every aspect of the Greg-Bowers approach. For example, Greetham points out that Tanselle has distanced himself from Greg's distinction between 'substantive' and 'accidental' variants, believing the terms to be misleading.<sup>54</sup> Tanselle's 1994 essay *Editing Without a Copy-Text*<sup>55</sup> was described in 2003 by Bucci as 'one of the most important writings on editing to appear in recent times'.<sup>56</sup> In this essay Tanselle argues that editors should build on Greg's work, which had been extended by Bowers, but for editors to move beyond the restrictions or weaknesses in the approach that had come to light in the half century since the publication of Greg's essay, during which time both

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published" (*From Gutenberg to Google*, p.186), and Paul Eggert explains this more fully by saying that in the view of Thorpe and also of Philip Gaskell, the author is aware of the fact that the production of a literary work is collaborative between the author, copy-editor, type-setter and publishing house, and therefore the copy-text should be an early published form rather than an authorial pre-publication manuscript (*Securing the Past. Conservation in Art, Architecture and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp.172-174)

<sup>51</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Phylogeny of the Tale-Order', p.47

<sup>52</sup> G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Editing of Historical Documents', *Studies in Bibliography*, 31 (1978) 1-56, 49

<sup>53</sup> Tanselle, 'The Editing of Historical Documents', 49

<sup>54</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.335

<sup>55</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text'

<sup>56</sup> Bucci, 2

Bowers and Tanselle had been key figures in the field. He argues that in cases of radiating texts, to use Bowers' term, which Tanselle describes as being 'equidistant from their common ancestor', choosing one of these texts to serve as copy-text is tantamount to 'elevating it undeservedly to unique historical status',<sup>57</sup> and is evidence of the editor being 'tyrannised' by the idea of having a copy-text, referencing Greg's statement that editors should avoid the tyranny of the copy-text.<sup>58</sup> Instead of emending an existing text, Tanselle argues, an editor should build up a text from variants in the witnesses, making the process of editing constructive rather than emendatory.<sup>59</sup> This, he contends, ensures that decisions are made through 'reasoned action' rather than by simply following a rule, and that editing without a copy-text allows for more editorial judgement.<sup>60</sup> At heart a follower of the Greg-Bowers method, Tanselle states that rather than arguing against Greg, he is building on and completing his original theory of editing<sup>61</sup> which advocates greater editorial freedom.<sup>62</sup>

#### 1.1.4 Social textual criticism

In 1980, Jerome McGann published the first of seven volumes of his edition entitled *Byron: The Collected Poetical Works*.<sup>63</sup> In this edition he famously pursued authorial

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<sup>57</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text', 18

<sup>58</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text', 10

<sup>59</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text', 19

<sup>60</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text', 19

<sup>61</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text', 3

<sup>62</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text', 8

<sup>63</sup> Jerome McGann, 'Publications', *Jerome McGann: Vita* (2004)  
<<http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/jjm2f/vita.html>> [accessed 5/2/2016]



intention by following the traditional Anglo-American eclectic method.<sup>64</sup> After the publication of this edition, however, McGann reconsidered his views on how editing should be done.<sup>65</sup> By the launch of his online edition of the *Rossetti Archive* in the year 2000, McGann's style was a rejection of the Anglo-American intentionalist school of editing.<sup>66</sup> In the meantime he had become a leading figure in textual criticism and 'one of the most influential of current American editors',<sup>67</sup> prolifically publishing theoretical material arguing against the traditional copy-text method made famous by Greg, Bowers and Tanselle, and as a result he 'upset the scholarly apple cart' within the field.<sup>68</sup> McGann's editorial principles in his later editions are based on his theory that all public versions of a text have both linguistic (content) and bibliographical (physical) codes. McGann argues that the author gives the text its original linguistic code, and this can be changed by 'other authorities'.<sup>69</sup> The new witnesses that are created when these other authorities make changes to the original text are considered valid versions of the text as they form part of the text's history,<sup>70</sup> and can potentially be of equal textual significance as the author's original version.<sup>71</sup> McGann, whose argument is principally concerned with post-seventeenth-century texts, and therefore for the most part printed texts,<sup>72</sup> asserts that literary texts and their meanings are, by their very nature, 'collaborative events',<sup>73</sup> and that the author possesses sole

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<sup>64</sup> Shillingsburg, p.185

<sup>65</sup> Shillingsburg, p.185

<sup>66</sup> Shillingsburg, p.185

<sup>67</sup> Shillingsburg, p.26

<sup>68</sup> Shillingsburg, p.8

<sup>69</sup> Jerome McGann, 'What is Critical Editing?' *Text*, 5 (1991), 15-29, 21

<sup>70</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.337

<sup>71</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.111

<sup>72</sup> Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983) p.28

<sup>73</sup> McGann, 'What is Critical Editing?' 23

autonomy over his work 'only when it remains an unheard melody',<sup>74</sup> showing that he now rejects the intentionalist view of editing texts. It is this concept of texts being altered and therefore having their meaning changed by authorities other than the author, what McGann calls a 'socialized concept of authorship and textual authority',<sup>75</sup> which gives rise to the name 'social textual criticism',<sup>76</sup> a theory 'most vigorously proposed' by D. F. McKenzie. In a 1985 lecture, McKenzie argued that reading bibliographical signs can have a significant impact on one's understanding of the meaning of a text.<sup>77</sup> McGann has stated that he sees his work 'as a critical pursuit of McKenzie's ideas',<sup>78</sup> although he does not follow McKenzie in the traditional sense, since both were working independently and at the same time. McGann's 1983 book *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* is for the most part an attack on the authorial-final-intentionalist school within textual criticism, and focuses on picking apart the approach taken by Bowers. According to McGann's argument of social textual criticism, traditional copy-text editing, and in particular the approach championed by Bowers, places undue weight on the importance of the author as the sole authority behind the text when choosing a witness to be used as copy-text; McGann contends that authorial intention should be only one criterion amongst others.<sup>79</sup> He argues that literary works have 'a mode of existence which is fundamentally social rather than personal',<sup>80</sup> and that in works since the age of printing, when the author has worked with the editor

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<sup>74</sup> McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983), p.51

<sup>75</sup> McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983) p.8

<sup>76</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.111

<sup>77</sup> D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, Electronic Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=10015014>> [accessed 6/2/2016], pp.18-19

<sup>78</sup> Jerome McGann, 'From Text to Work: Digital Tools and the Emergence of the Social Text', *Variants*, 4 (2005) 225-240, 226

<sup>79</sup> McGann, 'What is Critical Editing?', 24

<sup>80</sup> McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983), p.8

and printer, the first edition published, rather than the author's final prepublication manuscript, is usually the one which he wanted to have presented to the public, whilst the final-authorial-intentionalist approach calls for a rejection of any 'corruptions' made after the final manuscript stage.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, McGann argues that where no authorial text is extant, it is not possible for any one hypothesised text to be 'correct',<sup>82</sup> since all public appearances of the text can potentially have equal significance.<sup>83</sup> 'Meaning', McGann argues, 'is transmitted through bibliographical as well as linguistic codes', so when making an edition, placing undue privilege on the linguistic codes given to a text by its author, rejecting changes made by other authorities, and excluding the impact of a text's bibliographical codes does not allow us to fully appreciate the meaning of the text.<sup>84</sup> Peter Shillingsburg gives a clear example of the effect of bibliographical codes on our understanding of meaning when the linguistic code has not necessarily changed:

If you visit a wealthy friend's home and find on the coffee table a luxuriously printed, gilt-edged, red leather book with silk ribbon place markers and pick it up to read in it the *Communist Manifesto* (I have not made this up) – one can hardly read such a book, in such a place, in the same way that one could have read its first edition hot off the press.<sup>85</sup>

Some elements of this theory can be of particular usefulness for editors of medieval texts, since it reflects the way that texts from this period were often collaborative in nature, and our modern notion of authorship had yet to come into existence. McGann's notion that the witnesses created when changes are made to texts can become valid

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<sup>81</sup> McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983), pp.41-42

<sup>82</sup> McGann, 'What is Critical Editing?', 24

<sup>83</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.111

<sup>84</sup> McGann, 'What is Critical Editing?', 21

<sup>85</sup> Shillingsburg, p.16

versions of that text can be applied to medieval textual studies, since our intention as editors of medieval texts is not always to reconstruct a lost archetype and to rid the text of any 'corruptions' made to it by villainous scribes or ordered by patrons later than the text's original patron. Some editors do still hold this as their yardstick, for instance, as we will see later, the editions produced by SECRTIT (Seminario de Edición y Crítica Textual) are generally Lachmannian in nature, and perhaps the most famous edition of a medieval Iberian prose work, Ramón Menéndez Pidal's *Primera Crónica General* privileges the manuscript he believed to be that of the author.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, some editors of medieval texts edit in a different way: on his digital edition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, Aengus Ward argues that his objective is 'not to fix the *Estoria*, but rather to allow it breathe in its textual diversity'.<sup>87</sup> Here, Ward is recognising that changes were made to the *Estoria* as it was transmitted from witness to witness, and that these changes are equally interesting to scholars since they are part of the text's history, and can shed light on the changing socio-political contexts in which the witnesses were copied, and in doing so is placing himself closer to McGann and McKenzie.

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<sup>86</sup> Mariano de la Campa, 'La *Versión primitiva* de la *Estoria de Espanna* de Alfonso X: Edición crítica' AIH, *Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Madrid, 6-11 July 1998), Vol. 1 (2000) 59-72, 60

<sup>87</sup> The *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project, 'Methodology'

### 1.1.5 Gabler's 'Ulysses'

A description of the background of scholarly editing, even a brief one as this is, would be incomplete without touching on what is probably the most controversial of all editions in living memory: Hans Walter Gabler's 1984 edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, a text which had been 'problematic' since its publication in 1922, given its status as a major twentieth-century novel with an estimated four thousand errors.<sup>88</sup> A former student of Fredson Bowers, by the time of publication of his famous edition of *Ulysses*, Gabler was a professor of English at the University of Munich.<sup>89</sup> His edition was seven years in the making, throughout which time it was widely publicized, and even lauded before its publication.<sup>90</sup> Rather than an edition based on a traditional copy-text method, Gabler used a huge collection of 'worksheets, drafts, typescripts and proofs' in the hope of reconstructing the text, as he believed the author had written it.<sup>91</sup> In doing so, he made some five thousand emendations.<sup>92</sup> Greetham has described his method as an 'attempted marriage of a Continental, non-authorial method and an Anglo-American, author-centred, presentation'.<sup>93</sup> The edition comprised a synoptic edition on the left-hand pages and a general-reader's text on the right.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, pp.127-128

<sup>89</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.128

<sup>90</sup> Charles Rossman, "The Critical Reception of the "Gabler "Ulysses": Or Gabler's "Ulysses" Kidnapped", *Studies in the Novel*, 21.2 (summer 1989) 154-181, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/29532634.pdf>> [accessed 25/01/2016] 154

<sup>91</sup> Rossman, 157

<sup>92</sup> Rossman, 155

<sup>93</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.354

<sup>94</sup> Eggert, p.172-173

At first the critical reception to the edition was overwhelmingly positive, and was coupled with excitement in the mass media, but by 1988 its reception in academic circles had changed drastically.<sup>95</sup> The 'principal antagonist'<sup>96</sup> who led the turning of the tide was then postdoctoral fellow John Kidd, who gave a paper overtly attacking Gabler's edition and methodology to the STS in 1985.<sup>97</sup> Gabler's pre-prepared response to this paper has been described rather unfavourably by Charles Rossman, another of Gabler's critics, who states that Gabler's response was condescending and suggested professional jealousy on Kidd's part.<sup>98</sup> Greetham has explained the contention more neutrally as evidence of Gabler's partial failure to attempt to marry the Continental theory with Anglo-American theory, or as a partial misunderstanding of the methodology by his detractors. This, Greetham goes on to say, had exacerbated other issues in the edition, which Greetham lists as 'its failure to consult originals of primary documents, its ambivalent emendations policy, and the problematic status of some of the readings recorded only in historical collation'.<sup>99</sup> By the 1995 STS plenary to the debate, according to Paul Eggert, Gabler was declared to be the victor by many of those present, although some of the issues raised by his detractors had been proved valid and in need of being fixed.<sup>100</sup> Eggert goes on to poignantly note that 'no scholarly edition is error-free', and that editors who were present at the plenary would be excused for shuddering at 'the prospect of their editions being subjected to the same

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<sup>95</sup> Rossman, 155

<sup>96</sup> Eggert, p.174

<sup>97</sup> Rossman, 155

<sup>98</sup> Rossman, 165

<sup>99</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.354

<sup>100</sup> Eggert, p.176; Eggert points out that he was present at the 1995 STS plenary debate in question.

level of scrutiny that Gabler's had'.<sup>101</sup> Such a feeling is not restricted to just the editors present at the 1995 plenary.

The significance of the Gabler controversy for the present thesis is that it shows that the users of an edition bring with them certain expectations, based on their experience of editions within the editorial school to which they are most accustomed. Where these expectations are not met, the methodology of the edition is perceived to be at fault, rather than prompting readers to reassess their preconceptions. The implication of this for editors is that these preconceptions should be considered when preparing an edition, in order for the edition created to be perceived as useful and therefore used by the intended audience. There is little point in making an edition that nobody will use. This is not to say, however, that an editor is unable to challenge users' editorial preconceptions, but that she should not simply ignore them: in many cases it may be sufficient for the majority of users for the editor to explain the editorial decisions made. As we will see later, although the level of scrutiny applied to Gabler's edition is unusual, scrutiny of this type is easier, and therefore more common, with digital editions, particularly those where digital images of the documents are available to users of the edition.<sup>102</sup>

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The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical foundation on which to base my digital *CPSF*. With this in mind, I will turn now to the shift towards digital editing.

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<sup>101</sup> Eggert, p.176

<sup>102</sup> Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly', p.404

## 1.2 The shift towards electronic editing

### 1.2.1 Early digital editions

With the advent of word-processing technology and the Internet, the natural development within the field of scholarly editing was the production of electronic editions, first distributed through CD-ROMs, and then via the Internet. Bordalejo has listed the first electronic editions as Kevin Kiernan's *Beowulf* (available at the British Library and other selected sites, 1994),<sup>103</sup> Peter Robinson's *The Wife of Bath's Prologue* (CD-ROM, 1996), Ed Folsom and Kenneth Price's *The Whitman Archive* (CD-ROM, 1997), Viscomi, Essick and Eaves' *The Blake Archive* (online, 1997) Murray McGillivray's *Book of the Duchess* (CD-ROM, 2000) and Jerome McGann's *The Rossetti Archive* (online, 2000).<sup>104</sup> Many scholarly editions, including critical editions, now appear in digital formats; as Bordalejo points out in the footnotes of 'The Texts We See', many critical editions do still appear in printed form, although many of these have benefited from digital tools and methods.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Kevin Kiernan, 'Digital Preservation, Restoration and Dissemination of Medieval Manuscripts', *Scholarly Publishing on the Electronic Networks, 1993: Gateways, Gatekeepers and Roles in the Information Omniverse*, (1993), <[http://www.uky.edu/~kiernan/eBeo\\_archives/#A](http://www.uky.edu/~kiernan/eBeo_archives/#A)> [accessed 13/01/2016]

<sup>104</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See', 64-65

<sup>105</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See', 65



### 1.2.2 The rise of Hypertext editions

In 1996, and using his *Rossetti Archive* as one of his examples, Jerome McGann published 'The Rationale of HyperText', an article that Peter Robinson, a textual scholar and leading figure in the area of transcription and collation software, has described as the 'theoretical imprimatur from a leading textual critic' that helped pave the way for the general shift from print to digital editions.<sup>106</sup> In his 'Rationale', a clear reference to Greg's aforementioned 1950 essay 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', McGann writes of how 'computerized' editions using hypertext could help overcome some of what he calls the 'codex-based limits' of print editions.<sup>107</sup> He separates 'computerized' editions without hypertext tools (what we would now be more likely to refer to as 'digitised' editions) which allow the user virtual access to hard copy documents, and the use of 'hypertext' editions (or now 'digital' editions) which, he argues, use hypertext tools to free the user from the limitations of codex-based editions.<sup>108</sup> Years ahead of his time, McGann writes that hypertext editions allow the user to 'navigate through large masses of documents', to 'navigate between versions', to allow for easier comparison of variants than is possible in book-based editions. Through the use of five examples, he gives several benefits of digital editions over print editions such as the potential to include 'a thick network of related critical and contextual information', features such as search functions, the inclusion of audio recordings of musical texts, colour facsimiles and digitised images from the original works, as well as the removal

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<sup>106</sup> Peter Robinson, 'Where We Are With Electronic Scholarly Editions, and Where We Want To Be', *Jahrbuch für Computerphilologie* 5, (2003), 123-143, <<http://computerphilologie.uni-muenchen.de/jg03/robinson.html>> [accessed 08/01/2016]

<sup>107</sup> Jerome McGann, 'The Rationale of HyperText', *Text* Vol. 9, (1996), 11-32, 15

<sup>108</sup> McGann, 'The Rationale of HyperText', 14-15

of the need for users to work with complex and ‘cumbersome’ scholar’s abbreviation codes and allowing the user to view the work in a form that appears closer to the original document, whereas these may have been radically altered in order for them to fit into a codex-based edition. McGann describes the shift from print to digital editions as ‘elementary’ and ‘revolutionary’, stating that it will allow us to ‘store vastly greater quantities of documentary materials, and can be built to organise, access and analyse those materials not only more quickly and easily, but at depths no paper-based edition could hope to achieve’.<sup>109</sup> His essay focuses heavily on the benefits of hypertext editing over printed editions, rather than the problems faced by editors of digital editions, even when these are caused by a hypertext edition’s digital nature, but he does make reference to the fact that such problems do exist; that is, he does not profess that hypertext editions are the cure for all the ills of scholarly editing.

### **1.2.3 Robinson’s 2003 stocktake**

In 2003, when digital editions were still much more experimental than they are today fifteen years down the line, Robinson discussed the formats and information that could be included in digital editions. If McGann’s article ‘The Rationale of HyperText’ is considered one of the founding articles for digital textual scholarship, then Robinson’s ‘Where We Are With Electronic Scholarly Editions, and Where We Want To Be’ can be considered a stocktake some ten years into the process of the general shift from print

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<sup>109</sup> McGann, ‘The Rationale of HyperText’, 28

to digital editions. Some of the questions he asks and issues he raises in this article have fallen naturally by the wayside, such as whether electronic editions should be distributed online or on CD-ROM – nowadays it is unthinkable that a new edition would be presented on CD-ROM: many new computers lack the hardware to even be able to read CD-ROMs – and others act as a mirror in which to reflect on how electronic scholarly editing has progressed since the article’s publication. For example, Robinson states that up to the time of publication no, or almost no electronic edition contained information or methods of presentation that differed significantly from that which would have been possible in printed form. This is probably to be expected, just as early printed books resembled manuscripts. Robinson states, ‘so far, most electronic editions do the same as book editions: they just do more of it, perhaps with marginally more convenience. In essence, their product is not significantly different qualitatively to that of print editions’.<sup>110</sup> This is no longer the case, just as Robinson predicts in his article, when he explains that a much greater level of interactivity on the part of the reader would become the norm for digital editions, allowing the user of the edition to decide which base text the collation would use, if any base text was to be used at all, how the various versions appear in relation to one another and the digital images, whether the text they see appears diplomatically transcribed, whether or not orthography is normalised, and how variants appear in relation to the base text.<sup>111</sup> One example of such a digital edition with some of these features would be Ward’s *Estoria Digital*.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Robinson, ‘Where We Are With Electronic Scholarly Editions’, para. 6

<sup>111</sup> Robinson, ‘Where We Are With Electronic Scholarly Editions’, para. 8

<sup>112</sup> Aengus Ward ed., *Estoria de Espanna Digital* v.1.0 (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2016) <estoria.bham.ac.uk> [accessed 22/03/2018]

In his 2013 article 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions',<sup>113</sup> Robinson called for a theory of digital scholarly editions, distinct from the existing theory behind print scholarly editions. Earlier in the days of digital editing, Robinson argues, scholars did not appear to have realised the need for a theory specific to digital editions, since much of the theory would coincide with that of print editions, and given that many electronic editions came with a description of what electronic editions could do in relation to what print editions could do. He reminds us that 'a description is not a theory',<sup>114</sup> and goes on to explain that what scholars *could* do with digital editions is not the same as what they *should* do – 'our resources are finite', he reminds us, 'and require us to choose where we place our effort'.<sup>115</sup> Robinson's call for a theory of digital editions is based on his belief that digital scholarly editions are so fundamentally different from printed scholarly editions as to require their own theory. In the ways Robinson predicted in 2003, digital editions have moved on from their print counterparts and have now become significantly different from them in ways that digital editions to 2003 had yet to do. In 2016 he argued that such changes *may* show the start of a revolution.<sup>116</sup> Bordalejo, on the other hand, following Tanselle,<sup>117</sup> contends that the implementation of digital tools have *not* changed textual scholarship so radically or at such a fundamental level as to represent a revolution in the field. 'There is no such thing as digital scholarly editing', she states, 'there is only scholarly editing, which can be published in print or digital format, but that remains the same discipline linked to

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<sup>113</sup> Peter Robinson, 'Towards a theory of digital editions', *Variants*, 10 (2013), 105-131, [https://www.academia.edu/3233227/Towards\\_a\\_Theory\\_of\\_Digital\\_Editions](https://www.academia.edu/3233227/Towards_a_Theory_of_Digital_Editions) [accessed 12/12/2018]

<sup>114</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 106

<sup>115</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 106

<sup>116</sup> Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', p.181

<sup>117</sup> G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Foreword', in Burnard, O'Brian, O'Keefe and Unsworth (eds.) *Electronic Textual Editing*, (2006) [http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive\\_new/ETE/Preview/tanselle.xml](http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive_new/ETE/Preview/tanselle.xml) [accessed 21/11/2017]

meticulous historical-critical work carried out by textual scholars or under their direct supervision.<sup>118</sup>

Whilst I agree with Bordalejo that printed editions and digital editions represent two branches of the same tree, I can appreciate Robinson's viewpoint: a hypertext edition with a significant level of user control over the presentation is fundamentally very different from a print edition. I agree with Robinson that a theory for digital scholarly editions would be useful, and that we cannot simply apply the theory of print scholarly editions, since the methodology of creating these two types of editions is very different. Whether or not these differences represent a revolution in the field, however, is a step further. Creating a print edition is like going to a restaurant with a wide-ranging group of friends and ordering a different meal for each person, catering for their individual tastes, just as a print editor can cater for the differing needs of various audiences – for example general readers, students, and experts in the field, all of whom would benefit most from using a different style of edition to one another. Creating a digital edition is like taking this group of friends to a buffet where you as editor have to select a range of dishes for the diners to choose from back at the table. Whilst the methodology of providing everyone with a meal is different, a buffet does not represent a revolution in the field of eating out. For this reason, on this matter I find myself more convinced by Bordalejo, that we are not yet witnesses to a revolution in scholarly editing.

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<sup>118</sup> Bárbara Bordalejo, 'Digital versus Analogue Textual Scholarship or the Revolution is Just in the Title', *Digital Philology* 7.1 (Spring 2018), 52-73, 69

#### 1.2.4 The advantages of digital over print editions

The advantages for users of digital editions over print editions are also given by theologian and textual scholar David Parker in his 2003 article *Through a Screen Darkly: Digital Texts and the New Testament*.<sup>119</sup> In this article, Parker argues that the use of computers to study manuscripts and the creation of digital editions with high quality images of the original documents is changing not only *who* can study manuscripts, but also *how* these manuscripts can be studied. Parker argues that digital editions democratise the study of manuscripts, which enables them to be studied by anyone with access to the Internet, rather than just those with the funding and facilities in place to allow them access to large and expensive research libraries and archives. Whilst this is a romantic notion, and for the most part may prove to come true for some individuals, the fact remains that there are other skills required to study manuscripts, even when they are digitised and freely available online (which, of course, many are not, for instance manuscript(s) E of the *Estoria de Espanna* which acts as the base text for the *Estoria Digital*, and the digital *CPSF*, about which, more will be written later).<sup>120</sup> If non-specialist users of digital editions are to be able to study manuscripts to the extent that we could consider the area to be democratised, they would require a level of skill in palaeography, and at least a basic understanding of medieval historiography. A cynic may also question to what extent it is likely that a lone scholar, particularly a non-specialist, is likely to embark on close manuscript study using digitised manuscripts. Theoretically, this is entirely possible, and perhaps more likely in the

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<sup>119</sup> Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly', 395-411

<sup>120</sup> E<sub>1</sub>: Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial Y-i-2; E<sub>2</sub>: Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial X-i-4.

future, although this remains to be seen in reality. Bordalejo comments pointedly on the matter, reminding us that the digitisation of manuscripts can be a democratising force only 'if we conveniently forget that reliable, low-cost Internet access is a privilege that mostly benefits Anglophone and global north countries'.<sup>121</sup> On the point that the British Library's digitised images of the fourth-century *Codex Sinaiticus* was receiving around 10,000 hits a month, medieval scholar A. S. G. Edwards biting asks whether the British Library's investment in digitisation represents an investment in scholarship or 'in a new branch of the entertainment industry'.<sup>122</sup> It would perhaps be more accurate to say that digitisation can offer a limited level of democratisation, so Parker's above point could be considered valid, when taken with some caveats.

The digitisation of manuscripts and the creation of digital editions, Parker contends, affect *how* the materials are studied, since access to (the images of) primary materials will be easier and more common, meaning the editor's decisions can be much more easily scrutinised by users, and the possibility to include and link to much more information in a digital edition than is possible in a print edition, allowing materials to be analysed in sophisticated ways far more easily than was previously possible.<sup>123</sup> Parker goes on to argue that the status of standard editions will be fundamentally weakened with the increased use of digital editions where primary materials are 'given a higher priority and made available to the user'. This is because, as mentioned above, users of these editions will be more likely to expect to scrutinise decisions made by the

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<sup>121</sup> Bordalejo 'Digital versus Analogue', 54

<sup>122</sup> A. S. G. Edwards, 'Back to the Real?', *Times Literary Supplement* (7<sup>th</sup> June 2013), para. 7, <https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/back-to-the-real/> [accessed 24/10/2017]

<sup>123</sup> Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly', 404-409

editor and examine for themselves the images of the original documents in a way that until the advent of high quality digital imaging and the inclusion of these in electronic editions was far more difficult,<sup>124</sup> unless the user was to make use of expensive facsimile editions. Even the use of facsimile editions, however, does not allow for as much scrutiny as those for which high quality digital images are freely available, since, as pointed out by Andrew Prescott, facsimiles are not always as true to the original document as they may seem, depending on their age, given the amount of re-touching which may have taken place as part of their creation.<sup>125</sup>

### **1.2.5 Document, text and work**

Robinson's theory in the aforementioned article 'Towards a Theory' is based on his understanding of the meanings of three key terms within textual scholarship: *document*, *text* and *work*, which were mentioned very briefly earlier, but their definitions were not critiqued. As seen above, Bordalejo argues that a document is the physical support (manuscript folio, paper, scroll etc.) on which marks have been intentionally inscribed with the aim of communicating – in most cases this means there is writing (handwritten or print) on the document, designed to be read by a reading agent (human or machine).<sup>126</sup> According to her theory, these marks are not part of the document: they are the text. Elena Pierazzo's concept, on the other hand, is different:

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<sup>124</sup> Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly', 404

<sup>125</sup> Andrew Prescott "'Untouched by the Hand": Reconsidering the Edition and Facsimile', *Users of Scholarly Editions: Editorial Anticipations of Reading, Studying and Consulting*, 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the European Society for Textual Scholarship, (De Montfort University, 19-21 November 2015)

<sup>126</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See,' 65-68



she contends that the document includes the intentional marks made upon it, designed to be read.<sup>127</sup> For Pierazzo, the text is the *meaning* ascribed by the reader to these intentional marks.<sup>128</sup> I find the argument of Bordalejo most convincing.

According to his own implied definition, which he does not go as far as to state outright in 'Towards a Theory', Robinson argues that the act of reading comes so naturally that 'we think we are reading a text which is actually present in the book we are reading, independent of our reading of it. But we are not.' Closer to Pierazzo than Bordalejo on this issue, he argues that the text exists only in the mind of the reader, and is formed by everything else we know about the meaningful marks we are reading – our ability to interpret the shapes of the letters and create meaning from them, our understanding of the wider work that the text forms part of, and our own external context and prior experience as readers.<sup>129</sup> It is for this reason, Robinson explains, that we can re-read a book and understand it differently – the book (the document) has not changed; we have changed, and so the meaning we take from the book, the text we believe it communicates, has changed.<sup>130</sup>

Robinson's theory only works if you consider the intentional marks made, designed to be read, to be part of the document, rather than the text. It is in their understandings of this concept that Robinson's definition differs just slightly from that of Bordalejo:

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<sup>127</sup> Elena Pierazzo, *Digital Scholarly Editing: Theories, Models and Methods* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015) pp.49-50 available at <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01182162/document> [accessed 08/11/2017]

<sup>128</sup> Pierazzo, *Digital Scholarly Editing*, 49-50

<sup>129</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 117-118

<sup>130</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 120

for Bordalejo the text is the intentional marks we see in the document (hence the title of her article ‘The Texts We See and the Works We Imagine’) and it is the *meaning* of the text which is created in the mind of the reader,<sup>131</sup> a theory which I personally would agree with; just as the metaphorical falling tree makes a sound whether or not there is anyone there to hear it. Robinson’s tree, on the other hand, has no sound unless there is someone there to hear it: the text itself, he argues, exists only in the mind of the reader, and the meaningful marks on the page become a ‘text’ only when they have meaning ascribed to them by the reader.

Bordalejo goes on to argue that *variant states of the text* (but not the text itself, which is present in the document whether or not a reader is present) are created in the mind of the reader when these intentional meaningful marks are taken from the document and the reader makes decisions about their interpretation. In many cases of editions, the editor takes such decisions on behalf of the reader, and presents his take to the reader. To take Robinson’s examples, a reader (or an editor) may see an emendatory mark such as an underdot, and may decide that the underdotted text is to be disregarded from the final meaning of the text.<sup>132</sup> Therefore two textual variants are created in the mind of the reader (or editor): the original form and the emended form.<sup>133</sup>

Within scholarly editing, the concept of *work*, however, is even more problematic. Bordalejo’s phrasing is: ‘the work is a conception *in the mind of an author* at a particular

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<sup>131</sup> Bordalejo, ‘The Texts We See’, 65-68

<sup>132</sup> Robinson, ‘Towards a Theory of Digital Editions’, 114

<sup>133</sup> Bordalejo, ‘The Texts We See’, 68

point in time that serves as a minimal denominator to identify its remaining physical manifestations'.<sup>134</sup> Bordalejo is following to some extent what she describes as Tanselle's 'classic' notion, that the work exists only as an abstract concept in the mind of the author, and that the texts which exist in documentary form can only serve as partial representations of the work, although she points out she does not follow Tanselle to the extent that she agrees that it is the job of an editor to always recover the original authorially-intended text.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, the very notion of an authorially-intended text is problematic within textual scholarship of medieval texts, and is far from straightforward for the specific case of this thesis, the *CPSF*, considered by many scholars and non-experts alike as part of the *Estoria de Espanna*, but much of which was written some forty years after the death of Alfonso X, the author and patron of the *Estoria* in its first manifestation.<sup>136</sup> Even the concept of an author for a medieval text is problematic; medieval texts did, of course, have an author, but as I will discuss further later, this is not as unequivocal as our modern understanding of the role. I therefore cannot adhere completely to Bordalejo's notion of work for the specific case of this thesis, even though she distances herself from the idea that an editor should always aim to recover the original authorially-intended text: I would argue that her definition is useful for text from the print era, and where there was a specific author, whether or not we can now identify this author. In the case of medieval texts, however, rather than being what the original author, or patron, conceived a given work to be, the concept of what constitutes a given work and what does not is more a group decision, often unconsciously taken, and over many years, centuries even. For the notion of work for

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<sup>134</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See', 71; emphasis mine.

<sup>135</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See', 69

<sup>136</sup> See later for a discussion of Alfonso's role as author of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

texts of the pre-print era, Bordalejo's definition does not serve us completely. Rather, Robinson offers a useful definition: 'the work is the set of texts which is hypothesized as organically related, in terms of the communicative acts which they present'.<sup>137</sup> It is this definition that the present thesis follows, given its focus on pre-print era texts. It is the way in which the decision is taken as to what exactly constitutes a given medieval work and what does not that creates a level of fuzziness or indistinctness surrounding some works, particularly those with many variant witnesses, produced over a long period of time, and gives rise to much academic discussion on the matter in the modern day. One could even go as far as to argue that following Robinson's definition, an edition produced today of a text from the pre-print era would therefore become part of the notional work, part of its textual transmission, just as witnesses of the text, with variants and emendations, are also part of the work. The case with printed material where there is a specific author, according to our modern notion of authorship, however, is different. Here we can see the validity of Bordalejo's notion: I could copy out *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, make emendations according to my own politics and personal wont, as medieval scribes and patrons of later witnesses of earlier manuscripts would do, and republish it, but the resulting text would not be *Harry Potter*. My version would be related to it, but it would not form part of the work as originally conceived by the author, nor would the wider community be likely to consider it to be *Harry Potter*. Put most simply, the difference here is based on the concept of authorship, which, as I will explain below in section 1.3.1, is different for texts from the medieval period to that of more modern texts.

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<sup>137</sup> Peter Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', B. Crostini, G. Iversen and B. M. Jensen, (eds.), *Ars Edendi Lecture Series, vol. IV* (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2016) pp.181-207, p.197

Robinson's understanding of the *document*, *text* and *work* underpins his arguments in 'Towards a Theory' against the digital editing styles of two contemporary established editors, Gabler and Pierazzo. Both of whom, Robinson notes, have shown in their work to hold the view that digital editing should be 'document-centred',<sup>138</sup> and that it is better to edit from a single document.<sup>139</sup> Robinson explains Gabler's theory of editing in the following way:

He distinguishes between what he sees as "endogenous" to the document – essentially, what can be deduced directly from the document itself – and what he sees as "exogenous" to it. For him, everything which cannot be deduced directly from the document, including all knowledge of the author, of the circumstances of the document's creation and transmission, of other versions of the work understood as present in the document, indeed everything normally understood by "work" is "exogenous". Gabler acknowledges that this "exogenous" information is important, but he specifically and categorically excludes it all from the editorial act, as applied to the document.<sup>140</sup>

Robinson also notes that Gabler's advocacy for digital editing from a single document is likely to surprise those who are familiar with his edition *Ulysses*,<sup>141</sup> which, as mentioned above, is based not on a single copy-text, but on a huge collection of 'worksheets, drafts, typescripts, and proofs' in an aim to reconstruct Joyce's as he originally wrote it.<sup>142</sup> Robinson's argument that the meaning of a text is determined by the reader's understanding, or to use Gabler's term, that the text is given meaning only when read through the lens of all of the exogenous information about that text which is available to the reader, shows how Robinson's view of editing is at odds with that of Gabler, which Robinson describes as 'counter-intuitive'.<sup>143</sup> To illustrate his view, he

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<sup>138</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 111

<sup>139</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 112

<sup>140</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 112

<sup>141</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 110

<sup>142</sup> Rossman, 154

<sup>143</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 113

gives the example of Prue Shaw's electronic edition of Dante's *Commedia*. This is an edition of several recensions, where no one recension is more authoritative than another, so it would be inappropriate to create the edition by using just one document. Furthermore, Robinson argues that it would be impossible to adequately transcribe the text of the documents in order to prepare the edition without taking into account the exogenous information available to the transcriber (who to transcribe, must first read the text).<sup>144</sup> The relevance of this to this thesis is that, based on Robinson's theory, and following Shaw's example, both the digital *CPSF*, and the wider *Estoria Digital*, are editions based on several recensions of the same work, where whenever there is no authorial original (such as Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial (henceforth 'Escorial') Y-I-2 (E<sub>1</sub>) and the first 17 folios of Escorial X-i-4 (E<sub>2</sub>), where there is a witness of the text produced in the Alfonsine scriptorium, and during the lifetime of the king)<sup>145</sup> no single manuscript is considered more authoritative than the other manuscripts in each respective case.

### 1.2.6 Extensible Markup Language and the Text Encoding Initiative

In 2009 Kenneth Price, co-director of the aforementioned *Whitman Archive*, wrote:

It is of the utmost importance that electronic scholarly editions adhere to international standards. Projects that are idiosyncratic are almost certain to

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<sup>144</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 113-116

<sup>145</sup> Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, 'El taller historiográfico alfonsí. La *Estoria de España* y la *General Estoria* en el marco de las obras promovidas por Alfonso el Sabio,' Jesús Montoya Martínez and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez (coords.) *El Scriptorium alfonsí: de los Libros de Astrología a las 'Cantigas de Santa María'*, (Madrid: Fundación Universidad Complutense, 1999), pp.105-126, PDF version [https://www.uam.es/personal\\_pdi/filoyletras/ifo/publicaciones/4\\_cl.pdf](https://www.uam.es/personal_pdi/filoyletras/ifo/publicaciones/4_cl.pdf) [accessed 17/05/2016]

remain stand-alone efforts: they have effectively abandoned the possibility of interoperability.<sup>146</sup>

Price references Marilyn Deegan, who describes interoperability, a 'key issue' for electronic editions, as the ability to 'exchange data at some level with other systems'.<sup>147</sup> She defines 'data' by splitting it into two separate but related concepts: data, 'the raw material deriving from the source', and metadata, 'added symbols that describe some features of the data', mentioning specifically Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) textual markup as an example of metadata.<sup>148</sup> The TEI describes itself as a 'consortium which collectively develops and maintains a standard for the representation of texts in digital form'.<sup>149</sup> The TEI uses Extensible Markup Language (XML)<sup>150</sup> to encode metadata about texts by allowing editors (or transcribers) to choose which information is deemed relevant to their project and to tag it (mark it up) using XML.<sup>151</sup> A style sheet can transform the XML into HTML (HyperText Markup Language) for display to users,<sup>152</sup> with a key possible feature of digital editions, such as the *Estoria Digital*, and the digital *CPSF*, being that users can affect how the edition displays by choosing from

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<sup>146</sup> Kenneth Price, 'Electronic Scholarly Editions', in Susan Schreibman and Ray Siemens (ed.), *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009) para.20, <[www.whitmanarchive.org/about/articles/anc.00267.html](http://www.whitmanarchive.org/about/articles/anc.00267.html)> [accessed 2/4/2016]

<sup>147</sup> Marilyn Deegan, 'Collection and Preservation of an Electronic Edition', Lou Burnard, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and John Unsworth (eds.) *Electronic Textual Editing* (New York: Modern Language Association, 2006) para. 10, <[www.tei-c.org/sites/default/About/Archive\\_new?ETE?Preview?mcgovern.xml](http://www.tei-c.org/sites/default/About/Archive_new?ETE?Preview?mcgovern.xml)> [accessed 7/2/2016]

<sup>148</sup> Deegan, para. 18

<sup>149</sup> Text Encoding Initiative, 'TEI: Text Encoding Initiative', (2013) <<http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml>> [accessed 17/02/2016];

Peter Robinson gives an eloquent and personally-written history of text encoding at *The background to the Textual Communities project* (2013) <<http://www.textualcommunities.usask.ca/web/textual-community/wiki/-/wiki/Main/The+background+to+the+Textual+Communities+Project>> last updated 22/11/2013 [accessed 18/2/2016]

<sup>150</sup> The TEI website points out that it uses XML at the moment, but was originally designed to work with XML's predecessor, SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language), and may in the future be reformatted to work in other ways.

Text Encoding Initiative, 'About These Guidelines', (n.d.) <<http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/AB.html>> [accessed 17/02/2016]

<sup>151</sup> Price, para. 21

<sup>152</sup> Price, para. 21

various options within the range of tagged aspects of the text. For example, as I will describe more fully below, the text of the manuscripts in both of these editions have been transcribed and tagged using XML for both abbreviated and expanded versions of some words. Users of these two digital editions will be able to choose whether to view the abbreviated text or the expanded version by selecting the relevant option. This is then converted automatically by the encoding of the digital edition, and the selection is displayed to the user. It is important to recognise that not all that is XML is TEI-compliant, but rather, as Martin Mueller has put it, 'TEI is a dialect of XML'.<sup>153</sup> The TEI offers a standard for the XML encoding of texts;<sup>154</sup> for example, the publishing house of electronic editions of classic Hispanic texts Clásicos Hispánicos adopted TEI-compatible XML as their standard format in February 2016.<sup>155</sup> The use of TEI-compliant XML for digital editing gives the possibility for more projects or systems to be compatible with one another,<sup>156</sup> or to use Deegan's term, to be interoperable.

TEI is not, however, without fault, and scholars such as Hugh Houghton and Peter Robinson have pointed out a weakness of TEI markup. Robinson explains that the communicative act of the text is one hierarchy to be encoded, which can be divided up into books, chapters, stanzas, verses etc., and a second hierarchy to be encoded is the division of the document into writing spaces: pages, quires, codices, columns, margins,

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<sup>153</sup> Martin Mueller, 'About the Future of the TEI', Letter to member of the TEI-C Board and Council, dated 04/08/2011, <<http://ariadne.northwestern.edu/mmueller/teiletter.pdf>> [accessed 17/02/2016] p.3

<sup>154</sup>Text Encoding Initiative, *TEI: Text Encoding Initiative*,

<sup>155</sup> José Calvo Tello, email to Humanidades Digitales Hispánicas Mailing List (9<sup>th</sup> March 2016)

<sup>156</sup>H. A. G. Houghton and C. J. Smith, 'Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament', Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley and David Hamidović (eds.) *The Ancient Worlds in A Digital Culture*. (Digital Biblical Studies 1) (Leiden: Brill, 2016) <[http://pure-oai.bham.ac.uk/ws/files/25092181/2016\\_Houghton\\_and\\_Smith\\_revised.pdf](http://pure-oai.bham.ac.uk/ws/files/25092181/2016_Houghton_and_Smith_revised.pdf)> [accessed 17/02/2016]



lines. When these divisions do not happen to coincide (for example, a paragraph runs from one folio to the next), representing the two hierarchies in one TEI-compliant XML document is not easy, and over the years scholars have had to invent ways to circumnavigate the issue, such as the forced prioritisation of one of the hierarchies over the other.<sup>157</sup> With the same issue in mind, Houghton reminds us that the TEI is primarily concerned with the encoding of texts rather than documents, (it is, after all, the *Text Encoding Initiative*).<sup>158</sup> This is an issue encountered in the preparation of the *Estoria Digital* and the digital *CPSF*, so I will return to this point in Chapter Three.

A further point to be made about TEI XML is that there is often more than one way to encode the same aspect, which as Mueller points out, can be (and is) marketed as an advantage by the TEI itself, and allows for a certain degree of personalisation and gives the flexibility to tag elements not previously encountered.<sup>159</sup> However, Mueller goes on to say that there being more than one way to tag the same material can cause ‘inconsistency and unnecessary complexity’ for users and programmers, which can harm the potential interoperability of texts encoded using TEI XML.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Peter Robinson, ‘Some Principles for the Making of Collaborative Scholarly Editions in Digital Form’ (Draft copy), *Seminar Program: Göttingen Dialog in Digital Humanities 2015*, (Göttingen Centre for Digital Humanities, 26 May 2015)

<[https://www.academia.edu/12297061/Some\\_principles\\_for\\_the\\_making\\_of\\_collaborative\\_scholarly\\_editions\\_in\\_digital\\_form](https://www.academia.edu/12297061/Some_principles_for_the_making_of_collaborative_scholarly_editions_in_digital_form)> [accessed 17/02/2016]

<sup>158</sup> H. A. G. Houghton, ‘The Electronic Scriptorium: Markup for New Testament Manuscripts’, Claire Clivaz, Andrew Gregory and David Hamidović (eds.), *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Jewish and Early Christian Studies* (Scholarly Communication 2), (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 31–60. <[http://pure-oai.bham.ac.uk/ws/files/14577500/2013\\_Houghton\\_DH\\_preprint.pdf](http://pure-oai.bham.ac.uk/ws/files/14577500/2013_Houghton_DH_preprint.pdf)> [accessed 17/02/2016] 43–44.

<sup>159</sup> Paul Spence, ‘Edición académica en la era digital: Modelos, difusión y proceso de investigación’, *Anuario Lope de Vega. Texto, literatura, cultura*, XX (2014), 47–83, 52

<sup>160</sup> Mueller, p.9

Shillingsburg stated in 2006 that ‘despite its shortcomings, TEI-conformant XML is currently the best language and markup for transcriptions and other text materials’,<sup>161</sup> and that ‘the only generally agreed upon industry standard for electronic scholarly editions to date [2006] is the TEI standard markup system’.<sup>162</sup> Over a decade later we find ourselves in the same position, with TEI-compliant XML having become the ‘lingua franca’ for digital scholarly editing.<sup>163</sup> shown by the fact that its most current guidelines, entitled P5, and which were released in 2007,<sup>164</sup> are being or have been used by several current or recent major transcription projects. Examples include Robinson’s *Textual Communities* project for web-based collaborative scholarly editing,<sup>165</sup> (and therefore the *Estoria Digital*, which initially used *Textual Communities* platform for its transcriptions, and by extension the digital *CPSF*, which uses some of the *Estoria Digital* transcriptions), the *International Greek New Testament Project* transcriptions,<sup>166</sup> and the *Online Froissart Project*.<sup>167</sup> Additionally, versions of Bordalejo’s TEI P5-compliant XML encoding system as used in Shaw’s *Commedia project* have been implemented in both the *Canterbury Tales* project and the *Cancioneros* project.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>161</sup>Shillingsburg, p.106

<sup>162</sup> Shillingsburg, p.98

<sup>163</sup> Mueller, p.3

<sup>164</sup>Text Encoding Initiative, *TEI P5 Guidelines* (2015) <<http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/P5/>> [accessed 18/2/2016]

<sup>165</sup>Textual Communities, *Default Transcription Guidelines*, (n.d.) <<http://www.textualcommunities.usask.ca/web/textual-community/wiki/-/wiki/Main/Default+transcription+guidelines>> [accessed 18/02/2016]

<sup>166</sup> H. A. G. Houghton, *IGNTP guidelines for XML transcriptions of New Testament manuscripts*. Version 1.4. Manual. International Greek New Testament Project (2013) (unpublished) <[http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1727/5/IGNTP\\_XML\\_guidelines\\_1-4.pdf](http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1727/5/IGNTP_XML_guidelines_1-4.pdf)> [accessed 18/02/2016]

<sup>167</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen (eds.) ‘Technical Aspects’, *The Online Froissart*, version 1.5 <[http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=technical\\_aspects](http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=technical_aspects)> [accessed 18/02/2016]

<sup>168</sup> Bárbara Bordalejo, *Appendices: C. The Commedia Project Encoding System*, (2010) <<http://sd-editions.com/AnaServer?commedia+6215691+viewarticle.anv+printdoc+1>> [accessed 18/2/2016]

### 1.2.7 Digitally editing manuscript prose

In his aforementioned 2003 article *Through a Screen Darkly*, Parker argues that rather than simply ‘avoiding the traditional drudgery’ associated with textual scholarship, which involved a great deal of painstaking copying out, for example for the creation by hand of collation tables, the use of computers is dramatically and irrevocably changing the nature of textual scholarship itself by altering the relationship of the scholar to the text being studied and the text being created.<sup>169</sup> He asserts that the shift from print towards digital editions is democratising the study of the primary material: ‘it will no longer be available only to people with access to large research libraries containing expensive facsimiles, editions, microform collections and manuscripts, but to anybody with a browser’.<sup>170</sup> This, as concluded above, is true to a degree, and in certain circumstances. Deegan, rejecting the document-based editing style of scholars such as Gabler and Pierazzo, and instead following the respective styles of Robinson and McGann, gives further advantages of digital editions over print editions when she states that electronic editing ‘allows the situation of a work within a nexus of social, contextual, and historical materials, all of which contribute to the totality of its meaning’.<sup>171</sup> Digital editing is not, however, a cure for all ills related to print editions, and as Ward argues, editing and representing a text digitally rather than in a codex-based edition can make the task *more* complex, despite its ‘apparent simplicity’.<sup>172</sup> In

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<sup>169</sup> Parker, ‘Through a Screen Darkly’, 395

<sup>170</sup> Parker, ‘Through a Screen Darkly’, 409

<sup>171</sup> Deegan, para. 2

<sup>172</sup> Ward ‘Editing the *Estoria*’, 194

short, digital editing creates problems as well as solving them.<sup>173</sup> This section will examine some of the advantages and disadvantages related to digitally editing and representing manuscripts, and in particular prose manuscripts, since the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *CPSF* both fall into this category.

### 1.2.7.1 Searchable files

A key feature of texts digitally transcribed and encoded using XML is the creation of a searchable file. This makes it simpler and more straightforward for scholars to research various aspects of the text they are studying than is possible when using purely print editions. As Robinson points out, there are several tools available to users of digital scholarly editions to analyse, compare and visualise texts, some of which were available in manual form in the pre-digital era but which ‘would take far longer for far fewer texts, would be limited by what one could do with pencil and basic maths, and [would] be constrained in its presentation possibilities.’ By contrast, he states, more tools are available to scholars digitally and functions can be carried out with ‘remarkable ease’, such as the comparison of multiple texts, the creation of hypothetical family trees and the hypothesis of textual ancestors.<sup>174</sup> The data created in an electronic edition can be kept for use by other scholars and indeed future scholars, who will analyse it in ways the creators of the data may not have envisaged, or in ways not limited by current software or hardware. However, it is important to

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<sup>173</sup> Robinson, ‘Towards a Theory of Digital Editions’, 106; José Manuel Lucía Megías, ‘Editar en Internet’ *Incipit* 18 (1998), 1-40, 5

<sup>174</sup> Peter Robinson, ‘The Concept of the Work in the Digital Age’, *Ecdotica*, 10 (2013), 13-41, 34

remember that within the confines of current search software, it is sometimes only possible to search using the search tools provided by digital editors, for the aspects of the text that have been tagged. In a talk at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Colloquium of the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital project, Leyre Martín Aizpuru described how her research into medieval punctuation usage in manuscripts has sometimes been hampered by a lack of tagging, since she cannot search electronically transcribed manuscripts for elements of punctuation that have not been tagged.<sup>175</sup> This is not the case if the user can download the XML transcriptions and search using other tools, such as XML editing software, but this is a less common method of searching, and does not make use of any search tools provided by editors. It can be difficult for transcribers and editors of digital projects to foresee which elements other researchers may wish to search their data for, and with the best will in the world, given the constraints of time and money, usually cannot tag everything. This unfortunately can limit the search and study possibilities for other scholars. It remains to be seen whether this issue will be alleviated in the future, as data processing programmes evolve.

#### **1.2.7.2 Electronic collation**

A further benefit to digital editors is the electronic creation of concordances and a critical apparatus and the automatic digital collation of the text using collation software. As early as 1994 Greetham announced that computers can remove much of

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<sup>175</sup> Leyre Martín Aizpuru, 'TEI al servicio de la puntuación manuscrita de la documentación de la cancillería real castellana del siglo XIII. Una propuesta de marcado,' *Second Annual Colloquium of the Estoria de Espanna Digital project* (University of Oxford, Magdalen College, 14-15 November 2014)

the 'drudgery' previously involved in textual scholarship.<sup>176</sup> It is now unlikely that collations, concordances or critical apparatuses would be created by hand in scholarly editing projects; the onomastic index of the *Estoria Digital*, created by Fiona Maguire, for example, was created using digital methods.<sup>177</sup> Wesley Raabe has blogged that those who create such tools by hand so are creating 'monuments to diligence', and that manual methods, having been superseded in accuracy by electronic editions, should now be retired since the technology is available.<sup>178</sup> Nevertheless, Trovato has pointedly stated that the computerised collation of texts can be an extremely slow process because of the time involved in the preparation of the data, giving the example of Shaw's *Commedia* which appears at face value to have taken three years to collate 'a mere seven witnesses',<sup>179</sup> although my personal experience in the *Estoria Digital* has taught me that not all of the time allocated to the preparation of a digital edition is dedicated purely to the mechanics of preparing the collation: the *Estoria* project ran for four years, but this did not mean that creating the collation of the five witnesses took all four years, since the preparation of a digital edition comprises many more tasks, some of which are described in later. Electronic collation has many advantages over manual collation. Robinson has listed three of the major benefits: it is possible to experiment with different levels of regularisation or different master texts when using an electronic collation; electronic collations are likely to be more accurate than manual collations (providing the original transcriptions are accurate, which he reminds us, are

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<sup>176</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.359

<sup>177</sup> At the time of writing, this function has not yet gone live on the *Estoria Digital* page, but is planned for the near future.

<sup>178</sup> Wesley Raabe, 'Collation in Scholarly Editing: An Introduction' (26/7/2008) *Fill His Head First with a Thousand Questions*, <<https://wraabe.wordpress.com/2008/07/26/collation-in-scholarly-editing-an-introduction-draft/>> [accessed 18/2/2016]

<sup>179</sup> Trovato, pp.210-211

easier to check than a manual collation is); and that quite frankly, Trovato's earlier comments notwithstanding, creating a collation electronically is much quicker than the time-consuming and laborious task of creating one manually.<sup>180</sup> It is worth noting that we are also beginning to see the development and use of handwritten text recognition (HTR) software for transcription and tagging of handwritten historical documents, which promises to lessen the load here too. Currently, such technology is cutting-edge, under development,<sup>181</sup> and is only just starting to be used (for example in the digital *Siete Partidas*),<sup>182</sup> but it is very probable that we will see the technique being developed further, refined, and used far more widely in the near future.

In 1994, Greetham stated that at the time computers were most helpful in the early stages and the late stages of the preparation of the edition: the collation and filiation, and then concordance and indexing, whilst the middle stage of the process, the textual criticism and emendation, was still done more manually.<sup>183</sup> The situation almost a quarter-century later is still similar: the transcription process is now fully computerised in many projects, including both the *Estoria Digital* and the digital *CPSF*, as is the creation of concordances in projects which include them. Furthermore, the collation system itself is computerised, as will be described later, although this still requires considerable human input to recognise significant from insignificant differences between witnesses in order to complete the creation of the collation.

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<sup>180</sup> Peter Robinson, 'New Directions in Critical Editing', Kathryn Sutherland (ed), *Electronic Text – Investigations in Method and Theory*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) pp.145-171, pp.154-155

<sup>181</sup> READ, 'About', *Recognition and Enrichment of Archival Documents*, <https://read.transkribus.eu/about/> [accessed 14/11/2017]

<sup>182</sup> José Manuel Fradejas Rueda (@JMFradeRue), Tweet: 'Nada de la codificación #TEI de este fragmento fue introducido por ser humano. Cómo codificar en TEI sin saber TEI #7PartidasDigital', dated 20<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <https://twitter.com/JMFradeRue> [accessed 13/11/2017]

<sup>183</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, pp.357-358

Collation tools and software such as Collate, CollateX and Juxta can collate more manuscripts more easily than would feasibly be possible with manual collation: for example, Collate can compare up to 2000 witnesses,<sup>184</sup> and the tool gives users control of the collation process by allowing them to affect how the collated material is visualised in digital format.<sup>185</sup> Both print and digital editors can use digital tools to electronically create critical apparatuses or stemmata, and can present these in both print and digital editions. However, in the case of works for which there are several extant witnesses to be studied, the most efficient way to visualise this data can be digitally, given the possibility for users to affect the visualisation in ways which are not possible in print. Parker has stated that comparing too many witnesses in a printed edition creates too much ‘noise’ and makes the collation all but unusable, whilst with a digital collation the user can often select which witnesses to compare, reducing noise, and ensuring the collation is both useful and usable.<sup>186</sup> In such cases, on this issue, digital editions have a clear advantage over their print counterparts.

Digital collation tools work by recognising corresponding blocks of text in different witnesses and grouping them together. To do this, the blocks must be labelled correctly in the various witnesses so that the collation tool can identify corresponding blocks.

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<sup>184</sup> Scholarly Digital Editions, *Scholarly Digital Editions: About Us*, (n.d.) <<http://www.sd-editions.com/about/index.html>> [accessed 19/2/2016]

<sup>185</sup> D. C. Parker, ‘Electronic religious texts: the Gospel of John’, Lou Burnard, Katherine O’Brien O’Keefe and John Unsworth (eds.) *Electronic Textual Editing* (New York: Modern Language Association, 2006) <[http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive\\_new/ETE/Preview/parker.xml](http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive_new/ETE/Preview/parker.xml)> [accessed 19/2/2016]

<sup>186</sup> D. C. Parker, “The Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior and the United Bible Societies’ Greek New Testament: A Specialist Critical Edition and a Hand Edition”, *Users of Scholarly Editions: Editorial Anticipations of Reading, Studying and Consulting*, 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the European Society for Textual Scholarship, (De Montfort University, 19-21 November 2015)



Because of this requirement for identification and labelling, it is more straightforward to electronically collate texts in which it is clear exactly what constitutes a block of text, for example verse texts (which can be broken down into stanzas and lines) and Biblical texts (which are made up of verses and chapters). It is harder to label prose texts, as although prose can often be separated into chapters, dividing the text into smaller, manageably-collatable chunks requires an editorial decision to be made as to whether to divide the text into chunks of equal (or almost equal) length which may then unnaturally separate semantic blocks, or whether to divide the text semantically, resulting in blocks of text which can widely differ in length. The latter is the decision taken by the *Estoria Digital*, which has divided the text into divisions which aim to follow the original rubrics of the base text, and then further divided these divisions into anonymous blocks which mirror the semantic blocks, taking into account the linguistic structure of the text.<sup>187</sup> Since, as I will explain below, the transcriptions for two of the five witnesses in my edition were first prepared for the *Estoria Digital*, this is also true for my edition. It would be oversimplifying matters to say that each anonymous block is a sentence, or that a new anonymous block starts where there is a new pilcrow, but, generally, this can be considered true.<sup>188</sup> Clearly, the division of text in this way is highly subjective and in no way an exact science but it is sufficient for the requirements of the electronic collation tool. Since the text of various witnesses can differ, unavoidably it can be the case that whilst the base text is divided into anonymous blocks which follow common sense, in other witnesses, where the

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<sup>187</sup> This was the intention when dividing the text. There are, however, a small number of errors in the division of text, although these do not adversely affect the final collation.

<sup>188</sup> The *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project, *When to edit ab numbers*, (VLE course for volunteer transcribers) (2014) <[https://canvas.bham.ac.uk/courses/15342/pages/when-to-edit-ab-numbers?module\\_item\\_id=363342](https://canvas.bham.ac.uk/courses/15342/pages/when-to-edit-ab-numbers?module_item_id=363342)> [accessed 19/2/2016]

semantics may differ, or where there are lacunae or additions, the divisions may not make such good sense.

### 1.2.7.3 More control for users

Leading on from the point about users of digital editions being able to affect the visualisation of tools for analysis, Shillingsburg argues that electronic editions are now ‘the only practical medium for major projects’ since only they can give ‘users the practical power to select the text or texts most appropriate for their own work and interests’.<sup>189</sup> By this he means that digital editions (rather than just *digitised* editions, an important distinction, worth emphasizing) often allow the user to view more than one version of the edited text in a way that is not usually possible in print editions. There are exceptions, of course, such as Gabler’s *Ulysses*, which juxtaposes a synoptic and a reader’s edition on opposite pages, but in general, print editions have usually had to present just one version of the edition. This single version, Shillingsburg goes on to state, either has to be ‘falsely presented as a universally usable text or honestly presented as just one of several possible texts and inadequate for some critical purposes’.<sup>190</sup> Even when multiple versions have been printed, representing the text edited in different ways, it is more difficult for users to appreciate the editorial decisions that have led to the creation of the different editions when comparing two (or more) codices than it would be for users to do so in a digital format. On the *Estoria*

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<sup>189</sup> Shillingsburg, p.82

<sup>190</sup> Shillingsburg, p.82

*Digital*, Ward has stated the potential for more than one edited version of the text to be presented in parallel in a single electronic edition as one of the reasons why his edition would be digital.<sup>191</sup> However, Bordalejo reminds us that we cannot hope to contain *all* possible levels of representation of the text in the same edition, even with digital editions: the editor still has to make editorial decisions about what is included and what is not,<sup>192</sup> but as digital editors we do have more options for representations of text available to us than our print counterparts do, and our forebears did. Being able to present more than one version of the edited text, as digital editors we are able to give our users more control about how they use the edition than print editors can offer their readers. This is another advantage to digital editions.

#### **1.2.7.4 Including or linking to manuscript images**

Robinson has written of how advances in digital imaging have accelerated the move towards digital scholarly editing as high-quality, full-colour digital images of transcribed documents are no longer prohibitively expensive and can easily be distributed via the Internet,<sup>193</sup> and that these images can be linked to the edition.<sup>194</sup> Because of this, in many cases, users have access to the digital images used to create the edition, which due to high print costs, was seldom the case in the pre-digital era.

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<sup>191</sup> Ward, 'Editing the *Estoria*', 192

<sup>192</sup> Bárbara Bordalejo, "What is meant by 'editing' in the phrase 'social editing'?", *Social, Digital and Scholarly Editing*, (University of Saskatchewan, 12<sup>th</sup> July 2013), <[https://www.academia.edu/4125893/What\\_is\\_Meant\\_by\\_Editing\\_in\\_the\\_Phase\\_Social\\_Editing](https://www.academia.edu/4125893/What_is_Meant_by_Editing_in_the_Phase_Social_Editing)> [accessed 2/3/2016]

<sup>193</sup> Robinson, 'The Concept of the Work in the Digital Age', 24

<sup>194</sup> Robinson 'New Directions', p.150

As Shillingsburg notes, transcribers have to decide which marks they perceive to be meaningful, and therefore included in the transcriptions, and which marks to ignore. The inclusion or omission of certain marks will render the transcriptions, and therefore the edition, useful for certain users and misleading for others. Not all readers will agree on which marks should be included and which omitted.<sup>195</sup> It is because of this, that where their needs require them to do so, and where they are unable to access digital images of the original document, some users may opt to use single-witness (documentary) editions, allowing them to make as many of their own critical decisions as possible, rather than relying on those made by an editor. However, Mary-Jo Kline points out that even the most conservative transcription consciously or unconsciously ‘silently incorporates dozens of editorial judgments and decisions’,<sup>196</sup> meaning that even documentary editions contain many critical editorial decisions, which may or may not be marked.<sup>197</sup> Because of this, even a documentary edition can never hope to represent the original document to fulfill the needs of *all* users of the edition. Wherever possible, it is of great benefit to some users, particularly scholars, that digital editions can include or link to images of the original document much more easily than print editions can. Other users, for example interested non-experts may simply find the edition more interesting or enjoyable when they are able to also see images of the manuscript. These users of the edition are no less important than scholarly users, and where possible, the editor should aim to fulfil the needs of as wide a ranging audience as he can.

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<sup>195</sup> Shillingsburg, p.15

<sup>196</sup> Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p.104

<sup>197</sup> Kline, p.104

As Robinson notes, many early digital editions did not contain the critical editorial decisions scholars had come to expect in print editions, and instead contained everything, restricted only by the editor's imagination and the limits of practical possibility.<sup>198</sup> Bordalejo points out that through including everything, early digital editions were not critical editions but rather 'digital surrogates' of the original documents.<sup>199</sup> Documentary, digital facsimile, and 'digital surrogate' editions such as these which aim to contain as much information as possible, and avoiding all hint of criticism do have their place in scholarship, perhaps only in cases where the images of the original are restricted by their owners, or for manuscripts yet to be digitised (although one wonders whether a digital editor would be likely to make a digital edition of a non-digitised manuscript – it would certainly be much more difficult). That said, critical editions also have their place in scholarship. For some users, for example historical linguists, a critical edition would be of little use; for others, for example historians interested in the content of a manuscript rather than its linguistics, a documentary edition would be of equally little use. This brings us back to the increased user control of digital editions, which can allow users to tailor the presentation of the edition to their own specific needs.

As Parker states, when images of the original documents are accessible, editors' decisions can be much more easily scrutinised in digital editions than in their print counterparts,<sup>200</sup> and more so now than ever before, given that there is an ever-

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<sup>198</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 106

<sup>199</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See', 65

<sup>200</sup> Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly', 404-409

increasing number of manuscripts being digitised and put onto the Internet for open use. Although potentially daunting for an editor, particularly in the wake of the Gabler-Kidd affair, the increased ability of users to scrutinise editorial decisions in this way, and the increased likelihood of it happening is a boon for many edition-users, particularly scholars. This cannot really be a negative for textual scholarship more widely, since it is likely to result in increased transparency and thoughtfulness regarding editorial decisions, and to encourage readers to read critically.<sup>201</sup> However, now that these high-quality digital images of original documents are much more prevalent, one may assume that those whose work requires them to look so closely at these editorial decisions to such an extent would, wherever possible, use images of the original document to make their own transcriptions.

The inclusion of high-quality digital imaging of the document being edited can affect the type of transcription carried out: Robinson has given an in-depth explanation of his and Elizabeth Solopova's use of a 'graphemic' transcription system for the *Canterbury Tales Project*, which included marking certain features of scribal emphasis, the heights of initial capitals and similar aspects – the bibliographical code (to use McGann's term, as Robinson does) – but which stopped short of full palaeographic transcription, based on reflection of what the transcriptions would be used for and by whom.<sup>202</sup> A similar approach has been taken by the *Estoria Digital*, since, with the exception of E<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>2</sub>, the images of the witnesses that have been transcribed are

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<sup>201</sup> Peter Robinson, 'The Canterbury Tales and Other Medieval Texts', Lou Burnard, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and John Unsworth (eds.) *Electronic Textual Editing* (New York: Modern Language Association, 2006) <[http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive\\_new/ETE/Preview/robinson.xml](http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive_new/ETE/Preview/robinson.xml)> [accessed 19/2/2016]

<sup>202</sup> Robinson 'The Canterbury Tales and Other Medieval Texts'

available online. The same is true of the digital *CPSF*. This means that that users who wish to view in-depth palaeographical features of the manuscript will be able to view the manuscript images, either in the edition or hyperlinked to their respective library websites. Meanwhile, those viewing the transcriptions or the edited texts are more likely to be interested in other features of the text, including orthographic and semantic aspects. In short, most users are likely to be either more interested in material aspects (so will view the images) or semantic questions (so will view the transcription or the edition). A digital edition attempts to cater for both.

#### **1.2.7.5 Digital images vs. original manuscripts**

As touched on above, scholars such as Parker,<sup>203</sup> Robinson<sup>204</sup> and McGann<sup>205</sup> have argued that advances in digital imaging and the possibility of using quality images of manuscripts when creating digital editions and including these in the edition itself has been key in the shift from print to digital editions, in democratising the preparation of the edition, as far as this is possible, and in changing how the edition is used. It is often possible to zoom in on many of these images to see the document larger than it is in reality, which can be beneficial when transcribing and editing. Scholars are also able to ‘see’ aspects of the manuscript using digital tools that are not visible without them, for example by changing the contrast of the image to reveal aspects of the text that cannot otherwise be easily seen. Unlike when an edition is made from original

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<sup>203</sup> Parker, ‘Through a Screen Darkly’

<sup>204</sup> Robinson, ‘Where We Are With Electronic Scholarly Editions’

<sup>205</sup> McGann, ‘The Rationale of HyperText’

documents, however, it is not possible to use techniques such as shining ultraviolet light on digitised images to allow scholars to see marks not immediately visible to the naked eye. Not being able to use such techniques means that the marks visible in the digital image are all we are ever going to see when working from that image. Furthermore, not all of the digital images used to create editions are high quality or in colour: currently, some documents are available in digitised form only as images of old microfilms, and only in black and white. Whilst the use of such lower quality images still brings with it many of the other benefits of working using digital images rather than the originals, as described above, it is not possible to accurately transcribe what one cannot see in the image, meaning that it is often necessary to visit the original document, where possible, to resolve some of the transcription queries created when working from these lower quality images.

#### **1.2.7.6 Financial aspects**

Robinson argues that the complexities of the TEI and the technical requirements needed to create a digital edition, in terms of both hardware and software, have made it more difficult to create a digital edition than it was to create a print-based edition in the pre-digital era.<sup>206</sup> What has improved for would-be editors, however, are some of the financial costs involved in creating a digital edition. As Price explains:

Because color images are prohibitively expensive for most book publications, scholars can usually hope to have only a few black and white illustrations in a book. In an electronic edition, however, we can include as many high-resolution

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<sup>206</sup> Robinson, 'Some Principles', p. 15



color images as can be procured, assuming adequate server space for storage and delivery, and assuming sufficient staff to carry out the laborious process of scanning or photographing materials and making them available to users. [...] They [scholars] can include audio and video clips, high-quality color reproductions of art works, and interactive maps.<sup>207</sup>

As explained above, including images of the documents transcribed to create the edition, or other original material, fundamentally changes the relationship between the user and the material being studied, as well as affecting how it can be studied. Kline gives a further example of how digitally representing an edited text can allow editors more freedom by stating that standardising activities for the sake of reducing print costs, such as lowering superscript letters, is not required in electronic editions. She explains that in this way, the transcriptions and diplomatic editions can present some aspects of the handwritten sources in a way that look more similar to how they appear in the document being edited than some print editions are able to.<sup>208</sup> Since digital editions can comprise more than one version of the text, editors are at liberty to provide a more diplomatic edition with, for example, superscript letters appearing as superscripts, and a general-reader's edition with the superscripts lowered and expanded where required, but the fundamental difference here is that such choices would be based on *editorial decisions* rather than as a method of cost reduction.

Robinson gives a stark warning for makers of digital editions when the primary sponsor is a funding agency. There is a risk involved, he argues, when this is the case, as it can skew the motivations behind the edition from attempting to meet the needs of users to satisfying the funder's demands. This can lead to too many (in Robinson's

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<sup>207</sup> Price, para. 4

<sup>208</sup> Kline, p.105

view) document-based editions and of editions for whom the audience is ill-defined, adversely affecting the choices made by the editor and by extension the quality of the edition. Robinson advises that editors should make their editions with their users in mind rather than to satisfy their funders or following their own personal preferences.<sup>209</sup> This is not entirely the same argument as where, in print editions, editorial decisions were swayed by the requirements of the publishing house, for example to reduce costs, since such decisions were made on clear practical foundations: the usefulness of an edition which was prohibitively expensive for most scholars and institutions due to high print costs would have been jeopardised. Robinson's argument, however, is different from this, since, to continue with the same example, it costs the same to display a letter as superscript as it does to display it in the standard positioning, and current technology means it is no more difficult to either transcribe or display letters as superscript, so in this respect the practical issues of print are irrelevant in digital editions; Robinson is arguing that editorial decisions should be based on scholarly motivations, with the requirements of the audience in mind, rather than the personal inclinations of the editor or those of the funding body. This is, of course, an ethical issue, and funding bodies are still a major source of finance for scholarly editing projects. Neither I nor Robinson am arguing for a world where editions are all self-funded, since this would bring with it its own host of issues regarding decisions made to one's own personal wont, or crowd-funded, since editions of less mainstream or widespread fame and popularity may then not be produced. Rather, editors must ensure they can justify their editorial judgements based on solid

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<sup>209</sup> Robinson 'Some Principles', p. 2

scholarly theoretical grounds rather than personal preference, or those of their funder, since the financial limitations of displaying text in print editions is often not an issue digitally.

### **1.2.7.7 Storage issues**

In the afore-cited quotation, Kenneth Price touches on an extremely important issue within digital textual scholarship when he mentions the requirement for adequate server space. Whilst print editions exist as traditional codices which require physical storage space, digital editions exist as data which can be lost if there is not adequate server space allocated for it. As remarked by Trovato, one of the advantages of electronic editions is ‘the low cost of digital data archiving ... compared to the relatively high production and storage costs of the paper books’.<sup>210</sup> However, unlike texts stored in book-form, as Deegan notes, unless electronic data is kept in a future-proof format, there is the strong possibility that the data of electronic editions could become inaccessible as the software that created it and the hardware which can read it become obsolete.<sup>211</sup> One only has to think of the boxes of VHS tapes that fill garages, basements and attics, which in many homes can now not be watched due to the lack of a VHS player, to see this same issue in a domestic context. Deegan gives four options to potentially overcome the sustainability issue, all of which have practical drawbacks and financial implications, and none of which is clearly better than the other three: to

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<sup>210</sup> Trovato, p.181

<sup>211</sup> Deegan, para. 13

reformat the data, which may have to be done many times over the years; to preserve otherwise obsolete software and hardware in order to access the material; to build programmes or devices which can read the material; and for us to preserve the data as best we can, and to leave the issue for future scholars to work out.<sup>212</sup> There is an irony in the idea that in order to access, study and in many cases preserve old texts, we are creating electronic editions, the data behind which, unless we consciously ensure they are not, may be inaccessible in generations to come. Ward has blogged that it is with this issue in mind that we, as ‘custodians’ of such documents, have a duty to future scholars to preserve the documents themselves and not merely electronic versions of the texts contained within them.<sup>213</sup> Some of the *Estoria* manuscripts in the *Estoria Digital* are over seven centuries old; if we do not preserve the original, can we be absolutely sure that scholars in seven hundred years will be able to access our data?<sup>214</sup> No – we cannot. Even with considerable measures taken to ensure sustainability of the data we are producing, we still have to preserve the original documents, and in doing so we are also preserving the priceless human connection between all those who have created, worked on or studied the document during its life.<sup>215</sup> We are, after all, working in digital *humanities*.

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<sup>212</sup> Deegan, para. 13

<sup>213</sup> Aengus Ward, ‘Manuscripts as Artefacts’, (3/11/2015), *The Estoria de Espanna Digital Project blog*, <<http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?p=636>> [accessed 28/2/2016]

<sup>214</sup> Polly Duxfield, ‘Original Manuscripts or Digital Editions? That is the Question.’ (23/10/2015), *The Estoria de Espanna Digital Project blog*, <<http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?p=613>> [accessed 28/2/2016]

<sup>215</sup> Ward, ‘Manuscripts as Artefacts’

### 1.2.7.8 Providing a stable edition

When making a digital edition, what is really being created is data. Since there is no date at which the data has to be ‘completed’ as there is for print publication, in theory the data of an electronic edition could be tweaked indefinitely, even after the edition is launched, to remove transcription errors, typographical errors, tagging inconsistencies and to bring the edition up to date as new research sheds different lights on the text over time. Print editions can also be updated by printing a second or subsequent edition(s), but by their nature, digital editions can be changed much more easily. However, just because they *can* be tweaked indefinitely does not mean to say they *should* be. Editors of digital editions, once launched, have two possible paths to take with their data, and their choice should be make clear to users of the edition: the first is to leave the data as it is, with the edition frozen at the point at which the edition was launched, just as a print publication is frozen on the day it is printed. If the data is made available to future scholars there is always the possibility that at a given point in the future they (or even the same scholars) may revisit the data and make changes, just as editors may re-edit texts which have previously been edited. The second option available to editors is to make changes to the data whenever they deem it necessary and possible, in terms of the technology and expertise available. This ensures that the version of the edition on the website is as up-to-date as possible in a way that frozen editions cannot be.<sup>216</sup> However, Deegan argues that despite the possibility to re-edit or re-touch electronic editions, for the sake of users who ‘may not understand what

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<sup>216</sup> Zeth Green, Conversation with Polly Duxfield, (7/1/2016)

changes have been made', and librarians who need to 'deliver and preserve' the material, digital editors must provide a *stable* text, that is to say one which is 'fixed at some particular point in time in some known state, and then not changed later without those changes being explicitly recorded'.<sup>217</sup> Linked to this issue, she notes, is the requirement for citations to be stable, so that later scholars can follow a reference and reach a stable referent.<sup>218</sup> It is for the reason of stable referents, alongside the likelihood of the Uniform Resource Locators (URLs) being too long for a later scholar to reliably retype and reach the original referent, that the *Online Froissart Project*, about which more will be written later, advises users to make citations according to the following model, where the general bibliographical reference of the particular manuscript is noted, in addition to the URL citation:<sup>219</sup>

'New York, Morgan Library, MS M. 804', ed. Rob Sanderson, in *The Online Froissart*, ed. By Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, version 1.5 (Sheffield: HRIOOnline, 2013), <<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart>> [accessed 30 December 2013], fol. 29r

If editions are tweaked and changes are made, citations will become unstable, as may URLs.

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<sup>217</sup> Deegan, para 9

<sup>218</sup> Deegan, para. 8

<sup>219</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, 'Citing This Resource', *The Online Froissart*, version 1.5 <[http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=citing\\_this\\_resource](http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=citing_this_resource)> [accessed 28/02/2016]

### **1.2.7.9 Preparing an edition over the Internet and the opportunities for collaboration**

Many of the tasks required to prepare a digital edition are now carried out via the Internet. This is convenient for transcribers and editors, who may or may not be the same person, although it is likely that in larger projects they will not be the same person. For example, a team of transcribers, some paid, some volunteers, prepared the transcriptions for the *Estoria Digital*, while the general editor was Aengus Ward. Contrastingly, as a doctoral thesis, and therefore a smaller project, the majority – but not all – of the transcriptions for the digital *CPSF* were produced by me, and I was also the general editor of this edition. Preparing a digital edition via the Internet also increases the accessibility of the task of transcription, removing the requirement for transcriptions to take place at the holding-place of the documents used to create the edition.<sup>220</sup> Since some of the tasks involved can be carried out online, the creation of a digital edition naturally lends itself far more easily to collaboration than print editions are able to do. As Shillingsburg notes, collaboration is often essential in creating a digital edition, since few textual scholars have the computer expertise needed to carry out the functions required to bring an electronic scholarly edition from conceptualisation to fruition.<sup>221</sup> The team of transcribers, editors and technical officers behind the preparation of a digital edition are now able collaborate whilst working in geographically distinct places. When this is the case, however, to ensure consistency, it is necessary that all parties are working towards the same goal, for example, all

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<sup>220</sup> Robinson, 'Where We Are With Electronic Scholarly Editions'

<sup>221</sup> Shillingsburg, p.94

transcribers should be working to the same transcription guidelines, and communication between team-members should take place often so that any queries can be raised and wherever possible, resolved in a timely manner. This appears straightforward, but my personal experience has shown that in reality this can be difficult to achieve in the context of a digital project where to be working on the project requires only an Internet connection, so team-members may be working in geographically distant places from one-another, and where scholars may have 'day jobs' outside the project, such as teaching or other roles.

Digital editing projects sometimes now make use of collaboration via the Internet in the form of crowdsourced transcriptions, where volunteer transcribers carry out some (or all) of the transcriptions required for the edition. In many cases, the use of volunteers can remove a great deal of the laborious drudgery involved in creating the original transcriptions to be used in the preparation of the edition. However, it is important to realise that crowdsourced transcribers are not editors: their task is not to edit, but to transcribe. Of course, the very nature of transcribing requires a certain level of interpretation, which one could argue is a type of editing, but this has always been the case whenever the transcriptions are not carried out by the principal editor of an edition, whether print or electronic. Bordalejo argues that 'in order to edit a text, one has to spend a large proportion of time studying documents, their transmission, their variants, and the way in which they relate to each other'. She argues that this is likely to be done by a single researcher, or a small group of scholars – the editor(s) of the edition. Social tools may allow large groups to share ideas, knowledge and to collaborate with each other for the background of the edition, but not in the actual task



of editing: it is unlikely that the latter will be carried out by crowdsourcers.<sup>222</sup> Furthermore, the expertise of experienced scholars is necessary even in the ‘democratised’ environment of the Internet, where, as Dino Buzzetti and Jerome McGann have stated, ‘tares are rampant among the wheat’:<sup>223</sup> to maintain rigorous academic standards and therefore the integrity and quality of an edition, we require editorial decisions to be taken by highly-trained scholars and not amateurs, however enthusiastic. It is for this reason that for the *Estoria Digital*, all crowdsourced transcriptions were carefully checked by project staff to ensure consistency and quality, and volunteers were asked to work to clear transcription guidelines in order that their original transcriptions are as conservative as possible. I will return to the issue of crowdsourcing in more depth below.

#### **1.2.7.10 Copyright and attribution of work**

Of course, collaboration brings with it issues of copyright and of attribution of work. As Robinson has stated in his frank history of his transcription platform *Textual Communities*, collaboration on digital projects is often between a textual expert and a technical expert, and as such, attribution of work is usually uncomplicated and uncontentious.<sup>224</sup> However, he goes on to describe an example of where intellectual

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<sup>222</sup> Bordalejo, ‘What is meant by ‘editing?’’ p.4

<sup>223</sup> Dino Buzzetti and Jerome McGann, ‘Critical Editing in a Digital Horizon’, Lou Burnard, Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe and John Unsworth (eds.) *Electronic Textual Editing* (New York: Modern Language Association, 2006) <[http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive\\_new/ETE/Preview/mcgann.xml](http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive_new/ETE/Preview/mcgann.xml)> [accessed 2/3/2016]

<sup>224</sup> *Textual Communities* is a collaborative editing environment. Funding for the initiative came from the University of Saskatchewan (2010-2011), the Canada Foundation for Innovation (2010-2014), and the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (2014-still current at time of writing)

property law has caused difficulties for those who have worked for many years transcribing and editing texts: he writes of his own work, alongside the collaboration of others over several years on the *Canterbury Tales* project, which culminated in a dispute over the level of acknowledgement of work of some of the collaborators, resulting in a ban on the publication of any of the materials produced at the university of those on the opposing side to Robinson in the dispute.<sup>225</sup> Of course, collaboration is not purely a question for digital editions, as print editions are often the work of groups of transcribers and editors working together, but the extremely collaborative nature of the preparation of digital editions can make them particularly prone to issues of attribution of work. Digital editors should be aware of this when preparing digital editions, and should take steps to avoid such problems.

#### **1.2.7.11 Making the tools fit the job (and not vice versa)**

There is also the danger when working within the capacity of digital tools (and indeed within the technical capacity of the editor) that one makes the job fit the tools available, rather than using tools that fully suit the editor's requirements,<sup>226</sup> or the requirements to produce an edition that fulfils as many as possible of the needs of the target audiences. Of course, the same could be said of many activities requiring specialist

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(June 2018)). In 'Some Principles', Robinson states that the basic outline for *Textual Communities* was his, with advice from Federico Meschini and Zeth Green. The chief programmer for the project is Xiaohan Zhang. Other members of the team are Erin Szigaly and Troy Griffiths. See Robinson, 'Some Principles', p.1, p.10, and Peter Robinson, 'First Textual Communities Workshop', *Textual Communities*, <http://www.textualcommunities.usask.ca/web/textual-community/blog> [accessed 08/06/2018].

<sup>225</sup> Peter Robinson, *The Background to the Textual Communities Project*

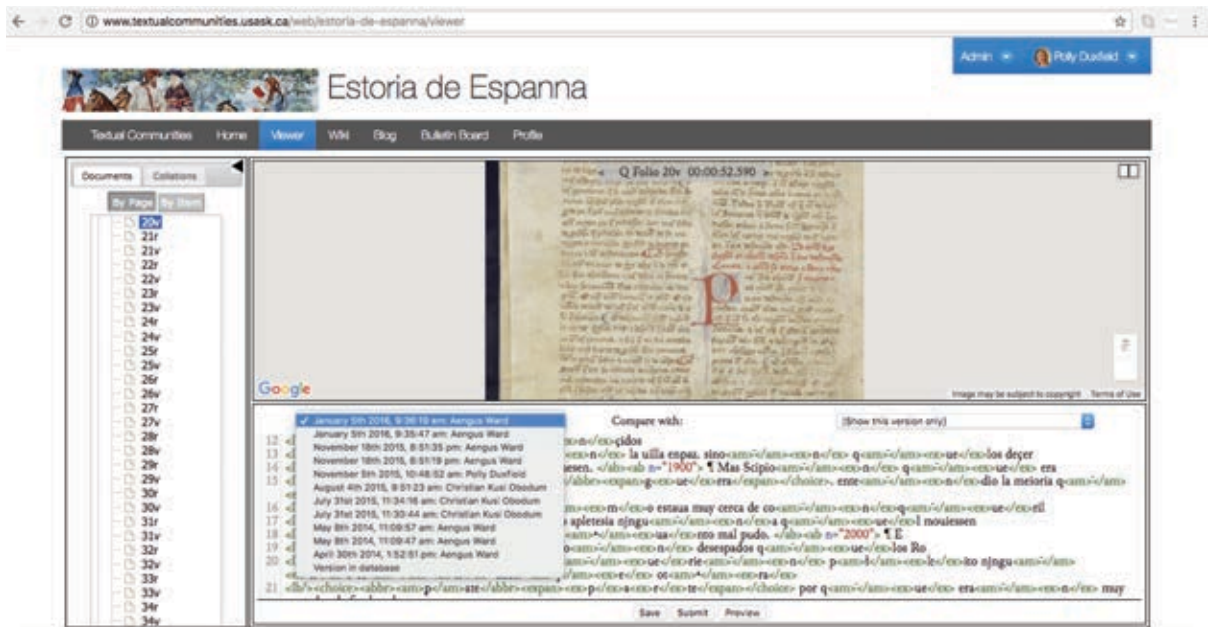
<sup>226</sup> Robinson, 'Some Principles', p.2

tools or techniques, so is not restricted to the case of the digital textual scholarship, but it can be a particular issue for humanities scholars, many of whom traditionally do not naturally tend towards computing expertise. Of course, this may change somewhat, as subsequent generations become textual editors, and we see the first 'digital natives' become general editors of scholarly editions. Robinson argues that the leaders in digital editing have to some extent been specialists in the digital techniques required to bring the edition to technical fruition, rather than experts in the texts themselves.<sup>227</sup> To attempt to close this gap between textual editors who are specialists in the text(s) being edited but may lack technical expertise in computer systems and encoding, and those *au fait* with the technical requirements of an electronic edition but lack specialist knowledge of the text, Robinson and a team, mostly based at the University of Saskatchewan are in the process of developing *Textual Communities*, the aforementioned online transcription system designed to provide textual scholars and editors with the computing support they require to create a digital edition.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Robinson, 'Some Principles', p.2

<sup>228</sup> Robinson, 'Some Principles' p.10



**Figure 1:** Screenshot of f.20v of *Estoria de Espanna* Q (BNE 5795) partway through transcription on *Textual Communities*. Note that the list of transcribers who have worked on this folio is visible in the drop-down box.

The *Estoria Digital* has used *Textual Communities* in some aspects of the preparation of its digital edition, as have I in preparing the digital *CPSF*. *Textual Communities* has its benefits in that it removes some of the technical hurdles that would-be digital editors may find daunting, allows teams of scholars to work together on a manuscript for transcription without duplicating work, and one can easily work out who has collaborated on any given transcription, but it does still require a level of technical expertise to prepare the manuscript images for upload, and the base text, where one is being used. It also does not support features such as global find-and-replace of text that lower-tech textual editing programmes do (such as *TextWrangler*). It may be of interest to the reader to note that, despite three years of experience with *Textual Communities* as part of the *Estoria Digital*, when transcribing the three witnesses of the *CPSF* not included in the *Estoria Digital*, and which are discussed in more depth below,

I did not use *Textual Communities*. This decision was made because of the extra steps involved in uploading the images of the manuscript as separate images for each folio, and the requirement to identify the base text for each folio image prior to transcriptions: I found it far easier to transcribe from the images of the manuscript as one file, straight to *TextWrangler*.

#### **1.2.7.12 Transcribing from images and the lily pad effect**

When digitally editing a text using digitised images of the original document, images of the whole manuscript may appear in one file. In other cases, an image of each page is sometimes stored as a separate file. In documents containing more than one page there could be several, or even many digital images which together make up the original document. For example, this is the case with *Textual Communities*, where only one folio image is shown at a time. Because of this, there is the danger that each transcriber may never conceptualise the document as a whole, since the focus is never on more than one page at a time. Even when following strict and comprehensive transcription guidelines, transcribers have to make decisions about the meanings of the marks they are interpreting when transcribing.<sup>229</sup> Given that the edition is based on the transcriptions, the decisions made when transcribing will affect the edition itself. In collaborative projects, it is usual that the initial transcriptions are checked several times, but the checking itself can be affected by the decisions taken by the initial

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<sup>229</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 114

transcriber.<sup>230</sup> Scholars are divided on whether the focus of a digital edition should be document- or work-based – editors such as Gabler and Pierazzo argue for document-based editions, whereas Robinson and McGann, in whose camp on this issue I would also place myself, argue that the editor must look more widely than just the document, taking into account information which is not present in single documents of the work when any more than one document of the work survives,<sup>231</sup> However, having said that, it is highly unlikely that any scholar would advocate that editions be made without carefully considering all of the extant pages in the document, how they relate to one another, and how our understanding of the meaningful marks in these pages can be affected once we have studied a significant proportion of the document, and not just small sections of it, as if each page were a lily pad, unconnected and unaffected by the other lily pads in the pond. To avoid this, transcribers and editors must make a conscious effort to study more than one page at a time, to be aware that the page images are stored separately, but all form part of the same document, and be prepared to return to transcriptions if required. A similar phenomenon is true of users of digital editions: for users, as well as transcribers, it is more difficult to conceptualise the original document when using a digital edition than a print edition. It is for this reason that Alberto Blecuá argues that editors should still try to see the original witnesses being edited: ‘ciertos detalles de la lectura y, sobre todo, la construcción de los códices y ediciones sólo se pueden apreciar físicamente’.<sup>232</sup> This, however, is not always

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<sup>230</sup> For example, within the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital project our unwritten policy for questionable word-spacing, given the inconsistent nature of medieval word-spacing, is to follow the decision of the initial transcriber, unless the subsequent transcriber is sure without doubt that the initial transcriber has made a mistake. This policy was suggested by Bárbara Bordalejo.

<sup>231</sup> Robinson, ‘Towards a Theory of Digital Editions’

<sup>232</sup> Blecuá, *Manual de crítica textual*, p.37

possible. Robinson points out that within a few months of the day the British Library enabled free public access to the images of the whole of the *Codex Sinaiticus* they were seen by over a million people. In the quarter century prior to this the British Library had allowed only four scholars to see the whole manuscript.<sup>233</sup> Edwards rightly remarks that this is because of the particular importance, age, and fragility of the manuscript, but that there are few manuscripts in quite this ‘justifiably restricted category’.<sup>234</sup>

#### 1.2.7.13 Visualisation of data

McGann argues that digital editions are much better at ‘simulating ... bibliographical and socio-textual phenomena’ than codex-based editions are, as they can present a visualisation of each page that is more similar to that of the original document, and can therefore better simulate the information other than just the words of the text of the original.<sup>235</sup> Similarly, Robinson has outlined some of the possibilities of visualisation in digital editions not available to editors of codex-based editions.<sup>236</sup> It is important to realise, however, that just as the physical organisation of the printed page limits the usage of the print edition, the organisation of the text on a screen affects the usage of the digital edition. In both print and digital editions, the way we usually present text follows the linear pattern of its presentation in the edited documents. This

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<sup>233</sup> Robinson, ‘The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing’, p.182

<sup>234</sup> Edwards, para. 8

<sup>235</sup> Jerome McGann, ‘From Text to Work: Digital Tools and the Emergence of the Social Text’, *Variants*, 4 (2005) 225-240, 239

<sup>236</sup> Robinson, ‘Where We Are With Electronic Scholarly Editions’, para. 10

is, after all, how they were originally designed to be read. However, studying the text in a non-linear way, for example using concordance searches, as we will see in Chapter Two, or by comparing more than one version of corresponding text in different witnesses, can unlock information within the text(s) that is not always noticeable on the surface or when reading texts in a linear fashion. Digital editions lend themselves much more than print editions do to the possibility of non-linear readings, although this is dependent on the tools provided by editors to users of the edition, and the way in which the edited text is both prepared and presented. A fully regularised version cannot be used for an in-depth concordance study of orthographic change, for example.

As digital editors we are not bound to reproduce the *mise-en-page* of the original document, or to simulate the visualisation of a print edition, any further than early printers were bound to simulate the visualisation of previous handwritten manuscripts. There is an overlapping hierarchy within documents, where the physical boundaries of the document are hierarchised over textual boundaries for practical reasons. Print editors are also bound by similar issues. Additionally, a print edition can lend itself naturally to mirroring the way in which the text has been divided in the original document(s) being edited according to these physical markers, rather than textual markers. Digital editors are not limited by such physical boundaries in the way that print editors are, but many editions to date still aim to simulate the codex, just as early printed books first simulated handwritten manuscripts. We do, however, find ourselves faced with issues in the encoding of such overlapping hierarchies; I will return to this point later. If an editor follows McGann and McKenzie and their views of the importance of bibliographical codes to the understanding of a text, it stands to



reason that she may wish to reproduce as many of these as possible in her edition. One should question, however, the extent to which this is necessary, in the case of digital editions where high quality images of the manuscript are freely available for study and scrutiny by users of the edition, particularly since, even with the best of intentions, a digital representation of such codes within an edition could never reproduce these in anywhere near as much detail as a digital image of the original document.

A further aspect of visualisation within digital editions is that of the presentational codes used within the transcriptions and text of the editions themselves. Providing the editorial team has the computer expertise to make it so, the digital editor can present the data in any way he sees fit, and is not restricted by the editorial conventions of any publishing house, as print editors may be. For example, in a digital edition which is expanding abbreviation marks, the expanded letters could follow print convention and be represented in italics, although alternatively they could be represented differently – in a different colour font, underlined, the expansion could appear upon mousing over the abbreviation mark, or it could be shown in many other possible ways. The question is, however, why a digital editor would choose to move away from convention: if the new code would significantly change or improve the outcome and therefore the usability of the edition then the argument to break with convention is strong; if, on the other hand, the editor is breaking with convention purely for the sake of defying convention the argument is weakened. Paul Spence has questioned the extended use of italics for all editorial intervention in digital editions, as is the norm in print editions, when many other codes are available to the digital editor at no increased cost, the meanings of which, unlike italics used for several purposes, can be differentiated by

machines.<sup>237</sup> To take the example of the *Estoria Digital*, which does not rely on the use of italics for all editorial intervention, expanded text in abbreviated words appears in grey (for black ink) and light red (for rubrics), and in cases of scribal emendation the original reading is shown in the edition in teal text, with other readings visible in mouse-over boxes. In print, conventionally both of these aspects would appear in italics, and the onus would be on the reader to discern the editorial intervention that has taken place. Some print editions, however, do use a system of codes to make clear to the reader what editorial intervention has taken place, and some editions can be heavily coded in this way: McGann has stated that to understand the large number of diacritics in Gabler's *Ulysses* used as codes are a 'grammar' which one must learn to 'read'.<sup>238</sup> There is, of course, as always, a line to be trodden by editors, between giving edition users enough information as to ensure an edition not meant as purely a reader's edition is useful for other scholars, and providing them with so much that the edition becomes difficult to read.

### 1.2.8 Crowdsourcing

Touched upon above is the concept that digital editions can be produced collaboratively. Robinson has written of (and questioned) the 'obvious fit between the application of 'social media' technologies to the making of scholarly editions in digital

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<sup>237</sup> Paul Spence, 'Siete retos de edición digital para las fuentes documentales', *Scriptum Digital*, Vol. 3 (2014) 153-181, 156

<sup>238</sup> Jerome McGann, "'Ulysses' as a Postmodern Text: The Gabler Edition', *Criticism* 21:3, (Summer 1985), 283-305, 291

form and the markedly collaborative nature of the typical digital humanities project'.<sup>239</sup> Elsewhere he has argued that the impact on textual scholarship of the collaboration made possible through online digital tools is so significant as to be 'truly revolutionary'.<sup>240</sup> A natural extension to digital editions produced by teams of scholars collaborating, is the application of social media technology, leading to the inclusion of volunteers in helping to produce these editions; that is to say, part of the production takes place by crowdsourcing. To date there has been relatively little in the way research on the impact or usefulness of crowdsourcing for the preparation of digital scholarly editions. The topic is just emerging amongst textual scholars, who are studying it both in theory,<sup>241</sup> and in practice,<sup>242</sup> but publications in this area are still few in number. The *Estoria Digital* is the first to make use of, or study, the application of crowdsourcing techniques for the preparation of a digital scholarly edition of

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<sup>239</sup> Peter Robinson, 'Project-based digital humanities and social, digital, and scholarly editions', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities, Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, Volume 31, Issue 4, (1 December 2016) 875–889, 875, <https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqw020> [accessed 12/04/2018]

<sup>240</sup> Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', p.198

<sup>241</sup> Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing'; Pierazzo, *Digital Scholarly Editing*.

<sup>242</sup> See the several publications by the *Transcribe Bentham* team:

Martin Moyle, Justin Tonra and Valerie Wallace, 'Manuscript Transcription by Crowdsourcing: Transcribe Bentham', *Liber Quarterly* 20 (3/4) (March 2011) 347-356;

Tim Causer, Justin Tonra and Valerie Wallace, 'Transcription maximized; expense minimized? Crowdsourcing and editing *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*

27:2 (March 2012) 119-137;

Causer, Tim, and Melissa Terras, 'Many Hands Make Light Work. Many Hands Together Make Merry Work': *Transcribe Bentham and Crowdsourcing Manuscript Collections*, Ridge, M. (Ed.) *Crowdsourcing our Cultural Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) pp.57-88

Tim Causer, Kris Grint, Anna-Maria Sichani, Melissa Terras, 'Making such bargain': Transcribe Bentham and the quality and cost-effectiveness of crowdsourced transcription', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 2018, Offprint, 1-21;

And my own publications on this topic:

Duxfield, Polly, 'Transcribing the *Estoria de Espanna* using crowdsourcing: strategies and aspirations', *Magnificat Cultura i Literatura Medievals*, 2 (2015) pp.129-148, p.131,

<https://ojs.uv.es/index.php/MCLM/article/view/4977/7071> [accessed 11/11/2017];

Polly Duxfield, 'The Practicalities of Collaboratively Digitally Editing Medieval Prose: The *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project as a Case Study', *Digital Philology* 7.1 (Spring 2018) 74-92

medieval prose in Castilian,<sup>243</sup> and as such, much can be said that has not been said before.

Crowdsourcing as a concept pre-dates the digital age,<sup>244</sup> but its application within textual scholarship using social media style technologies, as Bordalejo notes, is 'exclusive to the digital era'.<sup>245</sup> In contrast to Robinson, and as remarked on above, I followed Bordalejo, and argued that crowdsourcing does *not* represent the start of a revolution in the field of textual editing, since the activity being crowdsourced is almost always *transcription*, rather than *editing*.<sup>246</sup> In discussion with me on this issue, and as I describe in my 'Digital Philology' article, Bordalejo explained that in her view, with which I agree, when a person – staff member, student or volunteer – is merely applying a set of pre-prepared mechanical rules to transmit information from one semiotic system (the manuscript image) to another (the transcription) this is *transcription* rather than *editing*. Only in instances where the person must use editorial judgement such as in cases of scribal emendation, can we consider this task to move beyond transcription to editing, as such a task requires knowledge of the text and hand to make an informed judgement about the text in various stages of its preparation. Extremely few crowdsourced volunteers therefore could be said to *edit*.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> The reader may be interested to read that at the time of writing [June 2018], the *Estoria Digital* project is entering into the next phase, and a proof-of-concept project is just starting, which will see crowdsourcing the *Estoria* transcriptions rolled out on a more significant basis than has previously been the case. The outcomes of the present research into crowdsourcing for digital editing have been, and will continue to be put into practice in this new project. This is an exciting development in the field and will see the *Estoria Digital* continue to be at the forefront of crowdsourced transcriptions of medieval prose.

<sup>244</sup> Pierazzo, *Digital Scholarly Editing*, pp.27-28; Duxfield, 'Transcribing the *Estoria de Espanna* using crowdsourcing: strategies and aspirations', p.131

<sup>245</sup> Bordalejo 'Digital versus Analogue', 62

<sup>246</sup> Bordalejo 'Digital versus Analogue', 62-63

<sup>247</sup> Duxfield, 'The Practicalities', 88

Crowdsourcing offers us a profound and dramatic change in who can work towards preparing a digital edition, at least at the transcription stage, although, as Bordalejo notes, this is always under the direct supervision of a textual editor.<sup>248</sup> It is therefore not a revolution in how or by whom texts are edited. I would argue that crowdsourcing does, however, represent a revolution in *transcription*, if not a more widespread revolution in the field.

#### **1.2.8.1 What is crowdsourcing? What is its purpose for transcription projects?**

The term *crowdsourcing* is generally attributed to Jeff Howe.<sup>249</sup> Howe makes a link between crowdsourced tasks and financial labour-savings, since some of the labour is provided by ‘hobbyists, part-timers and dabblers’, many of whom are amateurs. Their work may not always be free, but can be much cheaper than paying employees as in a traditional business model.

When crowdsourcing is used to transcribe texts within scholarly projects, however, financial savings can be, but are not always the primary motivation for the use of crowdsourcing. Crowdsourcing the transcription stage can also bring time savings, which when time equals money can be extremely beneficial, given that both time and money are always finite within a scholarly project. For example, the crowdsourced transcription project *Transcribe Bentham (TB)* was launched in 2010 as part of the

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<sup>248</sup> Bordalejo ‘Digital versus Analogue’, 69

<sup>249</sup> Jeff Howe, ‘The Rise of Crowdsourcing’, *Wired* issue 14.06 (2006) <http://ow.ly/JFY52> [accessed 26/09/2014]

wider *Bentham Project* at University College London when 40,000 of the 60,000 handwritten folios of the philosopher and jurist Jeremy Bentham to be included in the new edition of the *Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*, had yet to be transcribed.<sup>250</sup> The *Bentham Project* has been running since 1959. By their March 2018 transcription update on the *TB* blog, some seven and a half years into the crowdsourcing project, 19,957 folios had been transcribed by volunteers, of which 95% had been checked by project staff.<sup>251</sup> Bentham staff describe this as a ‘colossal amount’ of work produced by volunteers,<sup>252</sup> and upon studying the cost-effectiveness of crowdsourcing these transcriptions, compared to paying a researcher to transcribe, *TB* have concluded that, even taking into account the significant financial investment required to get crowdsourcing off the ground, and while volunteers reach full proficiency, that in their case at least, financial savings (through time savings) *have* been made.<sup>253</sup> Similarly, the approximately 2,500 people who completed the first MOOC (massive open online course) of the *Revealing Cooperation and Conflict Project (RCCP)*<sup>254</sup> run by Roger Louis Martínez-Dávila of the University of Colorado – Colorado Springs, involving a collaboration of nine institutions worldwide, transcribed more than 300 folios of the nineteenth-century witnesses of the *Capitulary Acts* (dated 1399-1453) of the cathedral of Plasencia in three weeks. Martínez-Dávila states that this would have taken a single scholar six to nine months, representing a major time saving.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Causer, Tonra and Wallace, 119-137; Moyle, Tonra and Wallace, 347-356

<sup>251</sup> Louise Seaward, Transcription Update – 3<sup>rd</sup> February to 2<sup>nd</sup> March [2018], (blog post dated 9<sup>th</sup> March 2018) <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/transcribe-bentham/2018/03/09/transcription-update-3-february-to-2-march-2018/> [accessed 18/03/2018]

<sup>252</sup> Causer, Grint, Sichani, and Terras, 5

<sup>253</sup> Causer, Grint, Sichani, and Terras, 16

<sup>254</sup> Roger Louis Martínez-Dávila, email to me, 16/1/2016

<sup>255</sup> Roger Louis Martínez-Dávila, ‘The Potential of Massive Open Online Courses’, *ASPHS Newsletter*, Vol. 6, Fall 2015, 8-13, 13 [https://asphs.net/images/ASPHS\\_Newsletter\\_vol\\_6\\_2015\\_.pdf](https://asphs.net/images/ASPHS_Newsletter_vol_6_2015_.pdf) [accessed 11/11/2017]

Of course, volunteer transcribers, especially amateurs, are likely to make mistakes, so in *TB* each transcribed folio is checked individually by project staff, not a computer; this is a costly endeavour in terms of both time and money, but considered necessary to ensure the accuracy of transcriptions,<sup>256</sup> and their eventual usefulness for the *Bentham Project*. *TB* project staff, however, recognise the high level of accuracy usually found in transcriptions produced by their regular crowdsourcers: *Bentham* senior research associate Tim Causer has tweeted ‘We find that the work submitted by a typical regular *Transcribe Bentham* volunteer is excellent, with relatively few errors in transcription, and they can be checked quite quickly by Bentham project stuff [*sic*]. In short, the work of volunteers is amazing’.<sup>257</sup> *TB* did consider crowdsourcing the moderation of transcriptions to their most prolific and accuracy volunteers, but on consultation with these volunteers, decided not to take this route.<sup>258</sup> For *RCCP*, the transcriptions generated by the MOOC were produced using a several-times-blind transcription process, with transcribers awarded with an ‘accuracy and reliability’ rating achieved through peer assessment of their transcriptions coupled with palaeography test scores from earlier on in the MOOC, and where the computer algorithm was able to combine and select the most accurate readings from a number of learners to produce the final transcriptions and reassemble the transcribed text.<sup>259</sup> Bordalejo, however, has issued a warning for editors relying on double-blind transcription, which she argues her personal experience has revealed to be flawed as

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<sup>256</sup> Causer and Terras, pp.74-80

<sup>257</sup> Tim Causer (@TimCauser), Tweet: ‘@BabetteSmith I’ll email you a copy! We find that the work submitted by a typical regular *Transcribe Bentham* volunteer is excellent, with relatively few errors in transcription, and they can be checked quite quickly by Bentham project stuff. In short, the work of volunteers is amazing.’ Dated 16<sup>th</sup> January 2018, <https://twitter.com/search?q=transcribe%20bentham&src=typd> [accessed 15/10/2018]

<sup>258</sup> Causer et al., ‘Making such bargain’, 14

<sup>259</sup> Martínez-Dávila, ‘The Potential’, 10

a methodology, in that transcribers often incorrectly interpret unclear readings in the same way, and make the same mistakes.<sup>260</sup> Where time is an issue, and where volume of transcriptions produced is both important for the individual project, and crucially, can be checked for accuracy, either by machines as in the case of the *RCCP*, or by project staff, as in the case of *TB*, crowdsourcing the task of transcription can bring major time savings, which can then translate into financial savings.

The case is slightly different, however, when the transcription task itself is more complicated than in either the *RCCP* or *TB*, and where the infrastructure of the project cannot cope with large numbers of volunteers. It may be tempting to think that the palaeography involved in both of these projects is less complex than that of the *Estoria Digital*, but Bentham's handwriting is notoriously difficult, particularly as he aged, and the medieval script used in the manuscripts in the *Estoria* project is, for the most part, regular and neat, which greatly aids the palaeography, whilst the nineteenth-century script of the *RCCP* witnesses for transcription are less so. The difference in difficulty of the transcription here is not necessarily in deciphering the text, but in tagging it: *RCCP* transcribers work in plain text, and *TB* transcribers have access to a WYSIWYG (what you see is what you get) XML-input tool.<sup>261</sup> *RCCP* crowdsourcers, 75% of whom had little or no knowledge of Spanish,<sup>262</sup> were not required to expand abbreviations. In contrast, *Estoria Digital* full volunteer transcribers, (as opposed to line breakers, whose role was simply to add line break tags) were expected to select, copy and paste

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<sup>260</sup> Bordalejo 'Digital versus Analogue', 59

<sup>261</sup> Martin Moyle, Justin Tonra and Valerie Wallace, 'Manuscript Transcription by Crowdsourcing: Transcribe Bentham', *Liber Quarterly* 20 (3/4) (March 2011) 347-356, 352-353, <https://www.liberquarterly.eu/articles/10.18352/lq.7999/> [accessed 11/11/2017]

<sup>262</sup> Martínez-Dávila, 'The Potential', 10



expansion tags from a non-exhaustive pre-prepared list, and tag their transcriptions using full TEI5-compliant XML. Each folio was then painstakingly checked by *Estoria* staff to ensure accuracy and consistency with the other transcriptions of the project. Although the transcriptions of our most prolific crowdsourcer could be checked in an average of 23 minutes, compared with the average 81 minutes it would take the same member of staff to transcribe, this does not take into account the significant time investment made by project staff to train this volunteer.<sup>263</sup> It would have been less costly in terms of both time and money for project staff to complete all of the transcriptions in-house rather than to develop crowdsourcing. The percentage of time invested in training crowdsourcers compared with savings made when either checking their transcriptions or transcribing ourselves from scratch would have been lessened if the infrastructure of the project could have allowed for larger numbers of volunteers taking part: we had around fifty volunteers signed up, of whom seven were active transcribers.<sup>264</sup> The main aim with crowdsourcing for the *Estoria Digital*, however, was neither financial nor time savings, but rather to help improve our level of academic impact by allowing non-specialists, or members of the public to access and engage with our edition, but at an earlier stage in the edition's development, and also to aid us in fostering the vibrant working atmosphere for both scholars and the non-academic public described above in this thesis.

So far, I have talked of the purpose of crowdsourcing for the transcription projects. I will now move onto talking about the purpose of crowdsourcing for the individual

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<sup>263</sup> Duxfield, 'Transcribing the *Estoria de Espanna* using crowdsourcing', 137

<sup>264</sup> Duxfield, 'Transcribing the *Estoria de Espanna* using crowdsourcing', 135

volunteers.

### 1.2.8.2 The purpose of crowdsourcing for volunteer transcribers

Those who become volunteers for manuscript transcription projects do so for a variety of reasons. Transcription, particularly where it involves inputting XML, and the required palaeography to be able to transcribe, can be a complex and challenging task, even for experienced editors.<sup>265</sup> The reasons why an individual may become a crowdsourcer and provide their labour for free can be explained by two phenomena, both of which must be present, but which can exist to varying degrees for each person. These are a cognitive surplus, and a what's-in-it-for-me factor.

The concept of the cognitive surplus was first described by Clay Shirky, a social media theorist, and refers to those who possess both the tools (cognitive and mechanical) to carry out the task, and the motivation to create and share information.<sup>266</sup> In terms of transcription, this can explain why the initial launch of crowdsourcing for the *Estoria Digital* in April 2014 was unsuccessful. We organised a transcription workshop aimed at established historians, historical linguists and textual editors, who were introduced to *Textual Communities*, and were encouraged to sign up as crowdsourcers (either themselves or their graduate students). Following the workshop, however, virtually no

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<sup>265</sup> Pierazzo, *Digital Scholarly Editing*, p.28

<sup>266</sup> Clay Shirky, 'How cognitive surplus will change the world' *TED talk*, (video file) (June 2010) available at:

[https://www.ted.com/talks/clay\\_shirky\\_how\\_cognitive\\_surplus\\_will\\_change\\_the\\_world/transcript?language=en](https://www.ted.com/talks/clay_shirky_how_cognitive_surplus_will_change_the_world/transcript?language=en) [accessed 27/11/2015]

transcriptions were carried out by volunteers. Reflection on why this was revealed that although we had provided our potential crowdsourcers with the mechanical tools by introducing and signing them all up to *Textual Communities*, we had failed to provide our potential crowdsourcers with the cognitive tools, as our explanations of how to tag had been too complicated for many of the workshop participants, despite their respective experience as historians and linguists. Furthermore, as established academics, they lacked the motivation to work for the project for free, as they did not perceive enough personal gain to be made by becoming volunteers. We were the most successful in terms of recruiting crowdsourcers when we approached participants of the afore-mentioned *RCCP* MOOC, who by taking part in the MOOC had already demonstrated an eagerness to learn transcription skills, had at least a rudimentary background in palaeography, but required training to have the skills to actually transcribe. We bridged this gap by creating an online training course on *Canvas*, the online open-management learning system used by the University of Birmingham.<sup>267</sup>

All volunteer transcribers must have a cognitive surplus, regardless of the project for which they are transcribing, but it is important to appreciate that the cognitive surplus of every transcriber is not the same, and must be closely matched to the project. For many volunteers, the what's-in-it-for-me factor is the fulfilment of this cognitive surplus. Since, as Bob Hillery acerbically notes in response to a blog about *TB*, 'there

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<sup>267</sup> The course is available at: <https://canvas.bham.ac.uk/courses/6673>.

The course was written by me and Christian Kusi-Obodum, and translated into Spanish by Enrique Jerez Cabrero and Alicia Montero Málaga.

I discussed this issue in more detail in Polly Duxfield, 'Editing the *Estoria de Espanna*: practical implications of collaborative editing using crowdsourcing', *Twelfth annual conference of the European Society for Textual Scholarship (ESTS) – Users of Scholarly Editions: Editorial Anticipations of Reading, Studying and Consulting* (De Montfort University, 19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> November 2015)

ain't no such thing as a free lunch':<sup>268</sup> volunteers must feel that there is some level of personal gain from a crowdsourced task if they are to keep taking part. If the volunteer perceives a task as too difficult or too easy their cognitive surplus will not be fulfilled, and the transcriber is likely to lose interest in the project. For example, the task required of volunteers for the *RCCP* transcriptions – to transcribe in plain text, ignoring abbreviation marks – was significantly less scholarly than that required of *Estoria* volunteers who were asked to input XML tagging; this is in no way a criticism of the *RCCP*, nor does it make the *RCCP* any less valuable to academia, but it does have implications for both the target audience of potential transcribers, and of the task they are required to carry out. In other words, the task must be clearly differentiated to suit the cognitive surplus of the targeted volunteers, whilst bearing in mind the requirements and eventual aims of the project. Crowdsourcers perceive the reward of taking part in various projects differently, according to their individual cognitive surplus. For example, learners for the *RCCP* are motivated to take part in the MOOC (and therefore provide their free labour as transcribers) by being told they can become the 'living embodiment of the fictional characters, Dr. Robert Langdon (of the Da Vinci Code) and Dr. Henry Walton "Indiana" Jones!', and that they will be able to 'advance human knowledge of the Middle Ages!'<sup>269</sup> In stark contrast, volunteer transcribers for the *Gospel According to John*, (henceforth '*John*') part of the *International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP)* led by David Parker at the University of Birmingham, are required to have a high level of palaeographical skills in order to be able to transcribe.

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<sup>268</sup> Bob Hillery in Jie Jenny Zou, 'Civil War Project Shows Pros and Cons of Crowdsourcing', *Wired Campus*, [comment on blog dated 14/06/2011, updated 21/06/2011]

<sup>269</sup> 'Deciphering Secrets: Unlocking the manuscripts of medieval Spain' <https://www.coursera.org/course/medievalspain> [accessed 28/11/2015]

For volunteers to be acknowledged by name in the digital edition of *John*, they must transcribe a minimum of two manuscripts – an average of eighty hours’ work.<sup>270</sup> This is an extremely significant time investment when compared with other crowdsourced transcription projects. Volunteers therefore often need more than just a cognitive surplus to be fulfilled; many *John* transcribers, a number of whom are evangelical Christians from the US, perceive the what’s-in-it-for-me factor of taking part in the project to be the higher purpose of working on ancient biblical texts.<sup>271</sup> The motivational titles given to participants of the *RCCP* such as ‘Cathedral Archdeacon-Advanced Paleographer’ would be unlikely to have the same effect on *John* transcribers, and may even deter participation, as they may be considered frivolous. At the same time, it is similarly unlikely that many of the MOOC’s intended participants would be sufficiently motivated to input the minimum eighty hours of transcription required for acknowledgment in the eventual edition of the *John* by simply the potential of having their name published, the cognitive gains they would make, and for many, the perceived devotional value of the task.<sup>272</sup>

There is, of course, a happy medium between these two extremes, again bearing in mind the balance of both the perceived needs of the intended audience and the requirements of the transcription project. Crowdsourcers for *TB* are rewarded with points and the ability to appear on the leader board, the ‘Benthamometer’; the rewards for the *Estoria* are staid, being based more on the cognitive gains available to volunteers, reflecting the more scholarly nature of both the task and the target

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<sup>270</sup> Rachel Kevern, Personal interview with me on 4/11/2014

<sup>271</sup> Kevern, Personal interview on 4/11/2014

<sup>272</sup> Kevern, Personal interview on 4/11/2014

audience. In fact, when the idea of using competition as a motivational tool was raised on the *Estoria* blog it was met with almost indignation by one of our most prolific volunteers in a comment he wrote as a response to the original post.<sup>273</sup>

Linked to this, in order to retain volunteers once recruited and trained, it is necessary to give transcribers the option to carry out tasks that increase in difficulty, to ensure that the transcription task continues to fulfil their cognitive surplus and remains a challenge. As mentioned above, *RCCP* transcribers work in plain text, but learners were asked to self-differentiate, to use a pedagogical term, by selecting which image to transcribe from several, of varying difficulty, allocated to their surname initial. This self-differentiation enables participants to choose the most appropriate level of difficulty for themselves, as individuals – enough to feel challenging, so worth doing, but not so hard as to feel insurmountable. *TB* transcribers have access to a WYSIWYG XML-input tool.<sup>274</sup> Volunteer transcribers for *John*, working within the user-friendly<sup>275</sup> online transcription platform named the *Workspace for Collaborative Editing*, are also able to self-differentiate, and have the option to work in plain text, or to use an editable WYSIWYG system.<sup>276</sup> Hugh Houghton of the *IGNTP* explains that the WYSIWYG tool is beneficial for those unfamiliar with XML encoding, given its ‘verbose

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<sup>273</sup> Nick Leonard in Polly Duxfield, ‘Crowdsourcing update – June 2015’, *The Estoria de Espanna Project Blog* (comment on blog dated 13<sup>th</sup> June 2015) <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?p=598> [accessed 10/12/2015]

<sup>274</sup> Martin Moyle, Justin Tonra and Valerie Wallace, ‘Manuscript Transcription by Crowdsourcing: Transcribe Bentham’, *Liber Quarterly* 20 (3/4) (March 2011) 347-356, 352-353, <https://www.liberquarterly.eu/articles/10.18352/lq.7999/> [accessed 11/11/2017]

<sup>275</sup> H. A. G. Houghton, Martin Sievers, and Catherine Smith, ‘The Workspace for Collaborative Editing’, *Digital Humanities Conference*, (Lausanne, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2014) available at <http://dharchive.org/paper/DH2014/Paper-224.xml> [accessed 13/11/2015]

<sup>276</sup> Houghton, Sievers, and Smith

character', <sup>277</sup> and who may feel daunted at the prospect of encoding their transcriptions. Unlike in *TB* or the transcriptions of the *RCCP* MOOC, where transcriptions are created from scratch, transcribers of *John* adapt a base text from a pre-existing transcription of another witness, altering the transcription where it does not coincide with the text in the manuscript image being transcribed.<sup>278</sup> Again, working from a pre-existing base text transcription removes some of the complexity of the task required in transcribing, but is, of course, only possible when the material, or a similar witness of the material, has previously been transcribed, which is clearly not always the case, so such a strategy is not always an option.

All of the above is purely academic, however, until a project has been able to recruit the right type of volunteers for that project. I will address this issue next.

### **1.2.8.3 Recruitment of volunteer transcribers**

As with the above point regarding the differentiation of transcription for the target audience of potential volunteers, the methods to recruit crowdsourcers for a particular project is closely linked to the target audience. In discussion with me, *IGNTP* research

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<sup>277</sup> Houghton, 'The Electronic Scriptorium', 36

<sup>278</sup> Rachel Kevern, *Transcribing Greek Miniscule Manuscripts: A tutorial created for volunteer transcribers for the International Free New Testament Project* (2010) Unpublished, p.7 Available at: Chapters 1 and 2: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/753/1/Tutorial1%262.pdf> [accessed 31/10/2015] Chapters 3 and 4: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1480/1/TranscribingTutorial3%264.pdf> [accessed 31/10/2015] Chapters 5 and 6: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1481/1/TranscribingTutorial5%266.pdf> [accessed 31/10/2015]

fellow Rachel Kevern explained that the *John* project is well known in the circles of the target audience, and other volunteers come across the project when researching the New Testament online. They therefore do not specifically market the project specifically to recruit volunteers.<sup>279</sup> *TB*, contrastingly, does market specifically for recruitment. An example of their marketing highlights the need for such marketing to be timely, however: over Christmas 2010 a *New York Times* article publicised the project<sup>280</sup> leading to a surge in volunteers signing up; but the delay due to staff annual leave in providing feedback meant that many of these new volunteers lost interest in the project.<sup>281</sup> The wider *Bentham Project* has also been widely publicised within the UK mainstream media more recently, particularly since Bentham's embalmed head has been on display and his DNA tested for the genetic markers of autism.<sup>282</sup> This could have led to an influx of new transcribers, but has not:<sup>283</sup> probably because *TB* was not specifically mentioned in the news articles.

#### 1.2.8.4 Section conclusion

When assessing the extent to which crowdsourcing represents a methodological revolution for digital editing, we must remember Bordalejo's above argument that

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<sup>279</sup> Kevern, Personal interview on 4/11/2014

<sup>280</sup> Patricia Cohen, 'Scholars Recruit Public for Project', *New York Times* (27<sup>th</sup> December 2010), <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/28/books/28transcribe.html> [accessed 13/11/2017]

<sup>281</sup> Causer, Tonra and Wallace, 129-130

<sup>282</sup> Sarah Knapton, 'Severed head of eccentric Jeremy Bentham to go on display as scientists test DNA to see if he was autistic', *The Telegraph* (02 October 2017) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/science/2017/10/02/severed-head-eccentric-jeremy-bentham-go-display-scientists/> [accessed 11/11/2017]

<sup>283</sup> Louise Seaward, Personal communication via Facebook messenger on 14/11/2017



most volunteers *transcribe* rather than *edit*, so it cannot be a revolution in editing. This does, however, bring with it questions of exactly what we understand by *editing*: simplifying the issue almost to the point of caricature, on the one hand we have the most pluralistic approach to the term, which would consider it to cover all tasks to do with the recording or manipulating of the text within the preparation of an edition; on the other hand we have the hard line taken by Bowers and his disciples,<sup>284</sup> for whom editing begins at the collation stage – prior steps are necessary for the collation to be possible, but are not *editing*.<sup>285</sup> Whatever we understand by ‘editing’, though, crowdsourcing can certainly represent a revolution in the way we transcribe texts, how we as scholars engage with the wider public, and how the wider public can engage with the texts we are editing.

Predicting the future of the digital is never straightforward, and although it looks at the moment that projects whose transcriptions are generated through crowdsourcing may increase, we should also consider the advent of automatic HTR technology for historical documents, some of which can also tag transcriptions in TEI. In his aforementioned recent tweet, José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, director of the project creating the digital *Siete Partidas*, posted an image of three folios and their XML tagged transcription, with the text ‘Nada de la codificación #TEI de este fragmento fue introducido por ser humano. Cómo codificar en TEI sin saber TEI #7PartidasDigital’.<sup>286</sup>

Whilst the use of HTR technology is qualitatively different to crowdsourcing, its

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<sup>284</sup> Bowers, 223-224

<sup>285</sup> Duxfield, ‘The Practicalities’, 88

<sup>286</sup> José Manuel Fradejas Rueda (@JMFradeRue), Tweet: ‘Nada de la codificación #TEI de este fragmento fue introducido por ser humano. Cómo codificar en TEI sin saber TEI #7PartidasDigital’, dated 20<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <https://twitter.com/JMFradeRue> [accessed 13/11/2017]

application to the transcription stage may affect the use of crowdsourcing. One could argue that crowdsourcing is not useful for *every* transcription or editing project, since it involves a major time (and therefore financial) investment to recruit and train volunteers, to check their transcriptions for accuracy to ensure their eventual usefulness for the project, and to provide feedback to try to ensure volunteers are retained. Such an investment can only be offset by the time and financial savings in having volunteers transcribe when this is done on a large scale. By extension, as HTR technology becomes more sophisticated and accurate and its use more widespread, the requirement for transcription projects to generate transcriptions through crowdsourcing may diminish, since these could be generated much more quickly and cheaply via a computer. However, the team behind *TB*, who are also working towards incorporating HTR technology into their transcription methodology are not currently expecting that these new tools will end the need for transcriptions to be produced by volunteer humans any time soon, but rather that the technology will boost crowdsourcers' confidence in reading Bentham's 'rather indecipherable handwriting',<sup>287</sup> and will make the task of transcription 'more straightforward'.<sup>288</sup> The more widespread use of HTR technology may therefore enable an evolution in the use of volunteers, rather than its demise.

Crowdsourcing is useful in all editing projects aiming for engagement by more than a select group of academics, as one of a range of impact activities, and this is likely to still

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<sup>287</sup> Louise Seaward and Elaine Charwat, 'If you teach a computer to Read...' December/January 2016/17, *CILIP Update*, [https://read.transkribus.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Update\\_1201\\_pp38-40.pdf](https://read.transkribus.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Update_1201_pp38-40.pdf), 38-40, 39 [accessed 15/03/2018]

<sup>288</sup> Louise Seaward, 'Transcribing with Technology: The Bentham and Recognition and Enrichment of Archival Documents Projects', *RHS Newsletter*, May 2016, 20-23, 20

be true, even when HTR technology is more widely used. However, this usefulness has to be measured against the time and financial investment required to set up the infrastructure required for crowdsourcing, which makes transcription by volunteers prohibitively expensive for smaller projects. The benefits of increased engagement may not always outweigh the costs of developing the crowdsourcing infrastructure, and when time and money are tight, could be considered an unjustifiable luxury.

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The objective of this section was to help contextualise the rest of the thesis, in particular the edition and subsequent analysis of the *CPSF*, through a brief overview of the relevant history of textual editing and then an outline of some of the issues involved in digital textual editing. The above discussion, although far from exhaustive, raises some of the issues involved in digital textual scholarship. This can solve some problems belonging to print editions, further complicate others, and raise new ones, specific to digital and not to print editions. The issues raised here will be relevant in later sections of the thesis as they will affect how I edit the *CPSF*, and how I analyse my own editorial decisions, particularly considering how the decisions I make at the preparation stage of the edition will affect – and are affected by – both how the edition is likely to be used and by whom. I will next look more closely at the digital editing of medieval texts to provide relevant background and context, as these issues too, will affect the choices I make when preparing my edition.

### 1.3 Editing medieval prose

The creation of an edition of medieval handwritten texts differs from the creation of a text or work from the era of print. Extra considerations belonging to the pre-print era require an editor to address issues specific to editions of texts from this period. The issues discussed here are not limited to the ones which appear below, and nor are they discussed exhaustively, and some are not specific to digital editing to the exclusion of print editing. The issues raised here, are however, relevant to the theory of editing, including digital editing, of medieval material, and will affect the way in which I prepare the digital *CPSF*.

#### 1.3.1 Authorship, patronage, and emendation

One issue that the modern editor of medieval texts when editing in both print and digital formats must address is that of authorship: the medieval notion of authorship is different to more modern notions. Alastair Minnis shows us that in the thirteenth-century, more important than the specific individual who actually wrote the text, was the notion of the work's *auctor*, or, in Aristotelian terms, its efficient cause.<sup>289</sup> Elsewhere he states that the medieval period was one which valued 'the universal over the particular and the typical over the individual'.<sup>290</sup> Referring to Minnis' work, Albert Russell Ascoli explains that a medieval 'author', an *auctor*, was not necessarily the

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<sup>289</sup> A. J. Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship*, second edition (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1988), p.5

<sup>290</sup> A. J. Minnis, 'The significance of the medieval theory of authorship', in: Seán Burke (ed.) *Authorship: from Plato to the postmodern – a reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) pp. 23-30, p.24

writer at all, but rather the authority behind the text, rather as God is seen as ‘the ultimate *auctor*’ of the Bible, yet never actually lifted a pen.<sup>291</sup>

As Eggert points out, what we would now consider to be forgery, piracy or plagiarism went on respectably throughout the Middle Ages: artists and craftsmen would imitate one another, and since the modern cultural notion of authorship did not develop in Europe until at least the eighteenth century, written texts would be copied and changed by scribes, readers or the owner of the document.<sup>292</sup> In medieval Europe, texts were seen as ‘composite or collaborative product[s]’,<sup>293</sup> rather than as the intellectual property of the author, as according to our modern notion, where the only authentic emendations to the text could or should be made by the author or with his or her express agreement. In medieval texts, the concept of an ‘author’ is problematic:<sup>294</sup> changes will almost certainly have been made by scribes, whether intentionally or as errors; and sources will most likely be unattributed, to the point of large sections being directly copied and becoming part of another text,. The role of ‘author’ in medieval texts was often closer to what we would now describe as roles such as compiler, editor or patron, or a mixture of the three. For example, the *General Estoria*<sup>295</sup> is attributed to Alfonso X as *auctor*, yet contains the famous statement:

El Rey faze un libº. Nō por q̄l el escriua cō sº manos. Mas por q̄ compone las razones del 7 las emiēda et yegua 7 enderesca 7 muestra la maña de como

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<sup>291</sup> Albert Russell Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp.6-8

<sup>292</sup> Eggert pp.63-65

<sup>293</sup> Eggert, p.65

<sup>294</sup> Aengus Ward, ‘Editar la *Estoria de Espanna*: Retos y problemas de la edición digital’, *Incipit* 37 (2017), 13-43, 20

<sup>295</sup> Alfonso X, *General estoria – Primera parte*, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 816, f.216r Images available at Biblioteca Digital Hispánica (Biblioteca Nacional de España) <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000131513> [accessed 09/07/2017]

se deuen fazer. 7 desi escriue las q̄ el manda. po dezimos por esta razon q̄ el Rey faze el libro.<sup>296</sup>

The king here is playing more of the role of patron and of editor than what we would now consider to be that of author. In the medieval period it was not uncommon for works to be attributed to an ‘author’ in this way, even when the individual concerned might have done nothing but compile writings by others: Stephen Partridge explains that a compiling a text in this way ‘was not an alternative to authorship but an essential aspect of it.’<sup>297</sup>

Furthermore, as we know, and as we will see later in this thesis, there exist many variant witnesses of the Alfonsine texts, it can be seen that even when the *auctor* is a king, others still felt they had the authority to edit and change the text. Medieval texts were not considered ‘finished’ in the way that modern texts are considered completed once they leave the author, editor or publishing house, but rather were seen, if not by the original author himself (following a medieval notion of what this means), who would most likely have considered the text to be finished, but by scribes, readers and later owners of the document, as products which could and would be edited and changed at a later date.

It is for this reason that scholars may choose to study texts which have been rewritten, edited or emended, and may wish to see in an edition the text at various states of its

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<sup>296</sup> Transcription of an excerpt of: Alfonso el Sabio, *General estoria – primera parte*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España MS 816, f.216r

<sup>297</sup> Stephen Partridge, ‘The Makere of this Boke’: Chaucer’s *Retraction* and the Author as Scribe and Compiler’, Stephen Partridge and Eric Kwakkel (Eds.) *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012) pp.106-153, p.133

transmission. In such cases a critical edition, a Lachmannian edition, or a best-text edition, would be inappropriate, as they would remove the layers of detail that some scholars may wish to study. That is not to say that there is no place for such editions within scholarship of historical documents, but rather that wherever possible the user should be offered a range of presentations of the text in a digital edition. Whereas print editors are constrained by the possibilities of the page, and can feasibly present a maximum of two presentations within an edition, digital editors have a greater level of flexibility available to them, and as a result it is often possible that the user has more control over how they view the edition, meaning they can study the texts of the edition in a way that better suits their needs. This is a point to which I will return below.

How modern editors handle the emendation or rewriting of texts when editing medieval material depends on their placement on the spectrum from the Lachmannian to the Bédierist approach,<sup>298</sup> and the needs and expectations of their users, which cyclically both inform and are informed by the editorial approach and culture in question, as seen in the above. Bédierist in his approach, Cesare Segre argued in 1978 that the scribe, or more accurately his linguistic system, was a prism through which the text must pass in order to be copied, and that because of this we cannot forget the role of the scribe in the life of the text: 'il est impossible que le système du copiste ne s'y superpose au moins par quelques aspects [...] faire taire son système est aussi impossible qu'annuler son historicité'.<sup>299</sup> Editors with a more Lachmannian approach,

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<sup>298</sup> It is worth noting that both Karl Lachmann and Joseph Bédier were editors of medieval texts, so both of their approaches were originally designed for the specificities of editing medieval material.

<sup>299</sup> Cesare Segre, 'Les transcriptions en tant que diasystèmes', *Colloques Internationaux du CNRS, No. 579 – La pratique des ordinateurs dans la critique des textes*, Paris, 29-31 March 1978 (Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1979), pp.45-47

however, such as José Manuel Lucía Megías, have used more loaded terms when arguing that whilst the authorial original text can be considered ‘sound’, any later non-authorial emendations are ‘noise’,<sup>300</sup> and that the editorial ideal would be to get as close as possible to the original authorial text.<sup>301</sup> Lucía Megías describes an argument by Mario Martelli, where he says scribal contamination (another loaded term), is more prevalent in vulgar texts, since a scribe copying a text in his native language, as opposed to Latin or Greek, is more likely to understand the text and therefore be tempted to, or may accidentally make substitutions, omissions, insertions and corrections.<sup>302</sup> Emma Dillon argues against the Lachmannian approach of editing: “The edition gives the impression of a mono-authorial enterprise, while the manuscript shows – in the very ink, handwriting, pricking patterns and planning notes – that the authority of the text is itself plural.”<sup>303</sup> As we have seen above, put most crudely, and with the danger of greatly oversimplifying, for Lachmannian editors, scribal emendations are to be removed, leaving a text as close to the authorial original as possible; for Bédierists scribal emendations become part of the text, and removing them strips a layer of history from the text.

Where only one witness is extant it can be expected that an editor will produce a documentary edition based solely on this. Where there is more than one witness

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<sup>300</sup> José Manuel Lucía Megías, ‘Manuales de Crítica Textual: Las líneas maestras de la ecdótica española’, *Revista de poética medieval*, 2, (1998) 115-153, 118, <https://tinyurl.com/y75nm3ah> [accessed 07/09/2017]

<sup>301</sup> Lucía Megías, ‘Manuales’, 126

<sup>302</sup> Mario Martelli, ‘Considerazioni intorno alla contaminazione nella tradizione dei testi volgari’, *La critica del testo: problemi di metodo ed esperienze de lavoro: atti del Convegno di Lecce, 22-26 ottobre 1984* (Rome: Salerno, 1985) pp.127-149, pp.147-148, cited in Lucía Megías, ‘Manuales’, 147, [my translation]

<sup>303</sup> Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p.37



available, the editor will have to consider which style of edition she will produce, along the Lachmann-Bédier continuum. In the case of handwritten medieval texts it can be far from clear where the work of the 'author' stops and the emendations of the copyist(s) and later owners or reader of the document begin. For such texts it is not straightforward to produce a Lachmannian edition which aims to reconstruct a text that is as similar as possible to the lost authorial version. It can be somewhat easier to do this for text from the age of print, and particularly those from after the time our modern notion of intellectual property and copyright began to emerge. A Bédierist, or a copy-text approach will mean that one witness will be favoured over another, and, like all editors, the editor of the medieval text will have to justify her reasons for the choice of witness.

### **1.3.2 Marginalia**

Linked to the notion of authorship and scribal or later emendations to the text, is that of marginalia in medieval manuscripts. Although not always authorial, just as textual emendations, these can be considered in some schools of editing to have become part of the text itself, since they form part of the intentional marks made on the document, designed to be decoded by a reading agent.<sup>304</sup> Marginalia may or may not be relevant to the text, its meaning, and the context of the witness's production: marginalia can explain points in the text, link to relevant sources or related texts, highlight key points

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<sup>304</sup> See Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See', 65-68

or protagonists, or be seemingly irrelevant, for example scribal complaints about the conditions in which he was working (although such comments can reveal the context in which the witness was produced, so one could certainly argue their relevance). Some of the funnier and perhaps most seemingly irrelevant marginalia forms the basis of many Twitter accounts and websites<sup>305</sup> appreciating the likes of sword-fighting snails, trumpet-playing monkeys and images more vulgar than these. Even these can be read as communicating the conditions and contexts in which the document was produced and has been read over the years. McGann and McKenzie's aforementioned respective work on the social nature of texts and as examples of the bibliographical codes of the document<sup>306</sup> tells us that such marginalia could therefore be seen to shape our understanding of the text (and not just the *linguistic* code of the text). Some scholars may argue that even this sort of marginalia should be included in digital editions, although this really is at the extreme end of the argument, and many editors would be more likely to not include notes within the transcription about non-textual marginalia. The implication here is that textual marginalia is seen by editors as more likely to be relevant to the text, which is an issue for debate. An editor must decide whether or not to include marginalia in the edition. To do this, he must weigh up the extent to which the marginalia can aid a reader's understanding of the text, against the extent to which the marginalia can be seen as 'noise', further complicating the text. Such a decision is likely to be based on the type of edition being produced and its intended usage and audience. In many digital editions the user can access images of the manuscript either as part of the edition itself or via a link, so is able to view marginalia for him, if this is

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<sup>305</sup> One example is the Pinterest page 'Weird Medieval Marginalia', <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/414683078164618110/> [accessed 03/05/2017].

<sup>306</sup> See McKenzie, pp.18-19; McGann, 'From Text to Work', 226; Shillingsburg, p.16

his desire. As with other aspects of the text, however, if an item is not tagged a user cannot search for it so easily, and in the hunt for marginalia one would have to resort to flicking through manuscript images, just as one might leaf through a book. There are also, of course, many digital editions where the manuscript images are not viewable by users, so this may affect the editor's decision to perhaps make a note about the existence of such marginalia, where editors including manuscript images in the edition may choose not to.

### **1.3.3 Scribal practice**

The editor of medieval prose must also contend with the fact that handwriting is often more difficult to read than typescript, and the text may be heavily abbreviated.<sup>307</sup> Of course, post-medieval authors have often and do often still choose to handwrite their manuscripts, so this issue is not unique to medieval texts. Indeed, as we saw in the case of *Transcribe Bentham*, in some cases the standardised letter forms of the early medieval set scripts can, with training, be easier to read than more modern handwriting, particularly when more modern authors have rushed or scribbled when editing their own manuscripts. Furthermore, for the experienced palaeographer, once acquainted with the hand and idiosyncrasies of the orthography and abbreviations in

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<sup>307</sup> Dillon, p.33

Dillon makes an interesting aside in a footnote when she mentions the secretive encoding of some eleventh-century court hands, who would abbreviate text so heavily to purposely render it illegible to those not meant to read it. Footnote 16, p.33

use, these are unlikely to cause issues for the much of the text, providing the document has not been too badly damaged. However, even an experienced palaeographer is likely to have queries about certain abbreviations, what exactly constitutes the abbreviation mark, and how to expand the word while respecting the orthography of the witness. This can be a particular issue when rendering handwritten abbreviations into typescript, since currently it is simply not possible to reproduce the palaeographical intricacies of a handwritten manuscript in an electronic transcription.<sup>308</sup> For the digital editor, as always, the fact that images of the manuscript are often available for viewing online by users of the edition can be beneficial, but can also add an extra layer of consideration: whilst there is more scope for scrutiny of editorial decisions, as users may choose to consult the images of the witness, users are not tied to respecting the editor's decisions in their own work, and they can choose to deviate from them, justifying it by explaining their own interpretations based on the images of the documents upon which the edition is based. This issue is discussed more fully in the context of editing the *CPSF* in Chapter Three.

#### **1.3.4 Orthography**

When editing medieval texts, a further issue to be addressed comes into play when the text dates to a period when orthographical norms were not yet fixed. This is, of course, not only an issue in digital editions. Put most simply, in single-witness or best-text style

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<sup>308</sup> Duxfield, 'The Practicalities', 77

editions the editor would be most likely to choose the orthographic forms exactly as they appear in the witness, or they may choose to deviate from the orthography in the witness and justify this decision. In Lachmannian-style editions the editor would often choose the forms from the witness considered closest to the original, and generally regularise to these. However, since orthographic norms were not fixed in the medieval period, and especially in cases where more than one scribe worked on the same document, it can be the case that more than one spelling of the same word appears in the same witness, leading to potential orthographic inconsistencies in the edition. This could affect concordances and search functions, if the search tool does not find approximate string matches, or ‘fuzzy searches’.<sup>309</sup> Other editors may be using more than one witness with differing orthography within witnesses, and between witnesses. In such cases, editors need to consider carefully how to approach this issue, according to the style of edition they want to produce, and the needs and expectations of their intended audience. A further level of consideration is required when the editor is expanding abbreviations in words spelled inconsistently when they appear *in extenso* within a witness, or between witnesses if more than one is being used. In all cases except editions based on just one witness where there are no orthographically-differing forms and no abbreviations, editors have the option to normalise differing spellings or not, and have to justify their choices.<sup>310</sup> The implications of this issue to my digital edition of the *CPSF* will be discussed in Chapter 3.

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<sup>309</sup> That said, it is possible to lemmatise transcriptions, but this requires a great deal of supplementary tagging. It is worth noting here that at the present time, neither the *Estoria Digital* nor the digital edition of the *CPSF* provide a concordance search function, lemmatised or not, as this fell outside the possibilities available due to the ever-present constraints of time and finances.

<sup>310</sup> This issue is discussed in blog posts for the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project: Polly Duxfield, ‘You say ‘nuestro’, I say ‘nostro’. Let’s call the whole thing off.’ Blog post dated March 5<sup>th</sup> 2015, <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?p=542>, [accessed 30/05/2017]; and

### 1.3.5 Fragmentary traditions

A further issue not exclusive to textual material from medieval times, but which, broadly speaking, can tend to affect older material more than the more modern, and requires the editor's consideration, is that of the survival of witnesses. These may be extant as full or partial copies, or simply fragments of any length. The binding of the document may have been changed, with quires or leaves lost or added, or leaves may be used as the binding for later documents.<sup>311</sup> Medieval ink may have become faded or have flaked away, leaving only a shadow marking where it once was.<sup>312</sup> Furthermore, the document(s) may have been damaged by any number of agents over time, such as exposure to water or moisture, light, fire, rodents, mould, poor storage, handling or repairs, or deliberate malignancy.<sup>313</sup> The binding itself may even have had an effect on the legibility of the text: medieval glues can damage parchment.<sup>314</sup>

In the case of document damage, a modern editor has the benefit of many tools that our forebears did not. For example, high quality digital imaging can be zoomed in on damaged sections of the document to read text which may be illegible by the naked eye, even with optimal lighting. Scholars can make use of colour as well as black and white imaging, or can change the contrast of images, which can sometimes render text

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Polly Duxfield, 'Crowdsourcers giving us food for thought', Blog post dated January 26<sup>th</sup> 2015, <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?p=530>, [accessed 30/05/2017].

<sup>311</sup> Dillon, p.34

<sup>312</sup> William Schipper, 'Digitizing (Nearly) Unreadable Fragments of Cyprian's *Epistolary*', Siân Echard and Stephen Partridge (eds.) *The Book Unbound: Editing and Reading Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) pp.159-168, p.161

<sup>313</sup> Schipper, p.158

<sup>314</sup> Schipper, p.161

clearer.<sup>315</sup> Furthermore, digital imaging software can be used to fill in gaps in text, the contents of which can appear invisible to the naked eye.<sup>316</sup> It is important to remember, however, that where possible, an editor may choose to use digital tools alongside, and not totally in place of working with the original document being edited. As well as having a certain romantic charm, consulting the original can allow scholars to fully appreciate each folio as part of a longer text, as working purely from digital images can encourage the folio-by-folio approach described above, through which the editor can lose sight of the relationship between folios and quires. It can also allow the editor to appreciate more fully some of the bibliographic codes of the witness, for example the front cover of a codex, or the use of gold leaf on a folio, the full effects of which can be lost when they are only shown as digital images. Furthermore, some queries can be most easily answered by consulting the original document, particularly when scholars are working from lower quality digital images, facsimiles, or images or photocopies of facsimiles. Ultraviolet light can also enable some damaged text to be read, just as it can sometimes enable scholars to read the original of scribal emendations, although as William Schipper points out, the ultraviolet light itself can damage documents, so should be used sparingly and with care.<sup>317</sup> This, of course, cannot be done to digital images.

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<sup>315</sup> Schipper, p.163

<sup>316</sup> Schipper, p.162

<sup>317</sup> Schipper, p.162

The relevance of this section to the thesis as a whole is to show some of the particular issues facing editors of medieval material, since these can differ greatly to those involved in editing later material or that from the era of print. Not all of the aspects described here have been exclusively relevant to editing medieval material digitally, as some are also faced by print editors, but this does not mitigate the need for editors of medieval material to be aware of them and in many cases to act accordingly. I will now look specifically at the context of editing medieval texts in Castilian.

#### **1.4 Editing medieval texts in Castilian**

It is important to remember that because of the Castilian-language context of the edition to be produced for this thesis, and of the wider *Estoria Digital*, of which this thesis and the associated edition will form a part, much, but not necessarily all, of its readership is likely to be from a Castilian-language background. As discussed above, users bring with them expectations of how an edition will be, shaped by the norms and traditions of their own particular culture of editing. Due to their Castilian-language background, many users of the digital *CPSF* will bring certain expectations, based on other editions of medieval Castilian works.<sup>318</sup> Since, as Greetham has argued in reference to Gabler's *Ulysses*,<sup>319</sup> when user-expectations and the edition are mismatched, the edition and editor are often perceived by the user to be at fault, rather than sparking the user to re-evaluate her preconceptions regarding some of the

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<sup>318</sup> It is worth noting here that I am providing a translation with the aim of meeting the needs of other potential users of the edition. This will be explained in more detail below.

<sup>319</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.354



editorial decisions taken. One of my central lines of argument is that an editor should have the potential user(s) of the edition constantly in mind when preparing an edition, and should, therefore, have an understanding of the general context of editing in the culture of the major part of the potential readership of the edition. This will allow the editor to anticipate some of the expectations that the users are likely to bring to the edition, and to edit the text accordingly (this is not to say, however, that the editor should not challenge the reader in any way, and only edit within the confines of the tradition of editing to date). To this end, this subchapter will provide a brief overview of the theory of textual editing in a Castilian-language context, and will look at some of the key scholars and research institutes in the area, outlining some of their most relevant theoretical publications and lines of argumentation.<sup>320</sup> This will allow me to consider the preconceptions and expectations likely to be held by much of the intended audience for my edition.

#### **1.4.1 Germán Orduna and SECRET**

Described by Alan Deyermond as ‘the most distinguished Argentinian medievalist of his generation’,<sup>321</sup> and ‘a skilled and influential practitioner of the austere but essential disciplines of textual criticism [...] and codicology’<sup>322</sup>, Germán Orduna was a key

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<sup>320</sup> Such a chapter could almost be limitless in length, and many fine scholars in this area will unfortunately, through the necessity for brevity, be missed out. I will concentrate on those who have written manuals for textual editors of medieval Castilian texts or founded research institutes for such editions, and even then, I will only be able to mention a small number of scholars.

<sup>321</sup> Alan Deyermond, ‘Germán Orduna (1926-1999) – A British View’, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 78:2 (2001), 259-261, 259, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/000749000300078967> [accessed 04/09/2017]

<sup>322</sup> Deyermond, 259

scholar in the area of editing medieval texts in Castilian. José Luis Moure writes that his legacy is 'inmenso'.<sup>323</sup> Orduna founded both SECRIT (Seminario de Edición y Crítica Textual) and SECRIT's journal *Incipit*, the articles of which concern editing, codicology and textual criticism of Spanish and Latin American texts, with a 'strong preference for medieval texts'.<sup>324</sup> Both SECRIT and *Incipit* are still running at the time of writing. Presently, SECRIT is led by Leonardo Funes. SECRIT give their aim as 'estudiar los problemas y métodos de edición y crítica del texto de obras en español de la Península y de América desde la Edad Media hasta nuestros días',<sup>325</sup> and the institute has published a series of critical editions.<sup>326</sup>

In his 1991 article *Ecdótica hispánica y el valor estemático de la historia del texto*, Orduna gives a brief history of the application of methods of textual criticism, with a particular focus on medieval and Golden Age texts in Castilian.<sup>327</sup> He explains why a Lachmannian methodology can be attractive to editors, with its mathematical reasoning; he also states that it is not simply the mechanical application of stemmatic rules which produces the edition, but rather the editor, who must look also at the history of the text itself and the careful collation of variants.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> José Luis Moure, 'Germán Orduna, (Una vida dedicada a la crítica textual)', in Leonardo Funes and José Manuel Lucía Megías (editors) *German Orduna – Fundamentos de Crítica Textual* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2005) pp.9-14, p.13

<sup>324</sup> Deyermond, 259

<sup>325</sup> IBICRIT CONICET, *SECRIT IBICRIT*, <http://www.iibicrit-conicet.gov.ar/> [accessed 09/09/2017]

<sup>326</sup> IBICRIT CONICET, *Category Archives: Ediciones críticas*, <http://www.iibicrit-conicet.gov.ar/wordpress/category/ediciones-criticas/> [accessed 09/09/2017]

<sup>327</sup> Orduna, 89-101

<sup>328</sup> Orduna, 99

In a book dedicated to his memory, editors Funes and Lucía Megías have brought together a series of articles and papers delivered by Orduna over the years, to illustrate, as Moure states in his introduction, why Orduna 'es considerado uno de los padres de la crítica textual hispánica'.<sup>329</sup> As the first chapter they reproduce an article taken from the 1990 volume of *Incipit*. In this article can be seen Orduna's reasoning regarding the importance of a stemma as a tool (and not an end in itself) when critically editing texts:

El estema es un mero instrumento de trabajo al que el editor o el lector erudito recurre para ajustar consecuentemente un lugar de variantes o para juzgar el criterio aplicado por el editor.<sup>330</sup>

He describes how the concept of a critical edition as an absolute goal is not always feasible, particularly in cases where a single original cannot realistically be imagined, such as lyric poetry. To illustrate this, he borrows Ramón Menéndez Pidal's oft-cited phrase that the poetry of the romancero 'vive en variantes',<sup>331</sup> which Orduna explains with 'la variante es su vida misma'.<sup>332</sup> According to this line of argument, it follows that where an original text *can* be feasibly conceived, it *is* reasonable to aim to create a critical edition. Orduna's key argument throughout the article is that there is a solid, tried and tested methodology for the creation of critical editions, based on logic and mathematics, and that it is this which has led to the use of computers in textual editing, a newly up-and-coming method at the time of his writing. Like his point that the stemma is only a tool for editing, he argues that so too are computers. He states, 'no es

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<sup>329</sup> Moure in Funes and Lucía Megías, p.13

<sup>330</sup> Germán Orduna, 'La edición crítica', *Incipit X* (1990) 17-43, reproduced in Funes and Lucía Megías, p.19

<sup>331</sup> Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero Hispánico* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1953) p.40

<sup>332</sup> Orduna, 'La edición crítica', in Funes and Lucía Megías, p.26

posible automatizar totalmente la edición crítica de un texto'.<sup>333</sup> Although it is almost thirty years since Orduna wrote those words, and electronic tools for editing have advanced a great deal, this fact remains true today.

Funes and Lucía Megías also present a paper given by Orduna in 1994 on the editing of historical texts in Castilian.<sup>334</sup> For obvious reasons this chapter is most relevant to this thesis. In this paper, Orduna states plainly that 'por la problemática que plantean, los textos históricos constituyen un rubro específico en el campo de la ecdótica'.<sup>335</sup> The author distinguishes between historical documents ('cartas, documentos de cancillería, documentos notariales, censos, informes'), and historical literature ('anales, cronicones, crónicas, historias').<sup>336</sup> He states simply, as if it were fact, that 'La "literatura histórica" de textos en español necesita ediciones críticas'.<sup>337</sup> Only a few hundred words later he states this opinion again: 'reiteramos que los textos históricos en castellano requieren hoy una edición crítica'.<sup>338</sup> This is, however, dependent on the editor's ability to consult as many witnesses of the text as necessary, to create a reliable critical edition – he cannot do this if he does not have the time, the finances or the tools to do so. A critical edition based on incomplete information as could be garnered from looking at only a small proportion of the available witnesses would be unreliable, and as such, should be avoided within textual scholarship. It is for this reason, as we will

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<sup>333</sup> Orduna, 'La edición crítica', in Funes and Lucía Megías, p.38

<sup>334</sup> Germán Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español' (Estado actual del tema, estudios e investigaciones a realizar), *Actas del Congreso de la Lengua Española*, (Álcala de Henares, Instituto Cervantes, 1994), reproduced in Funes and Lucía Megías, pp.149-160

<sup>335</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', p.151

<sup>336</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', p.150

<sup>337</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', p.155

<sup>338</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', p.158

see below, that Aengus Ward has not provided a critical edition of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

As if Orduna's position on the matter could be read as unclear, he also makes the statement that 'una referencia' of historical documents – he does not use the term 'edición' to describe it – at a purely palaeographic level is 'inexcusable'.<sup>339</sup> He points out that there are a host of manuals of how to expand abbreviations that have been created based entirely on official historical documents. Giving an exception to the rule as documents from the Alfonsine *scriptorium*, he calls for a special palaeographical study of these, with transcription norms for use by the community of Alfonsine editors.<sup>340</sup>

I agree with Orduna that a purely palaeographic transcription of documents would have a limited value, above all for those which are digitised and freely available for consultation on the web, as a great deal are, particularly now that digital editors are able to tag transcriptions in a way that allows the user to choose how they visualise the transcription. This is, of course, based on a world of digital editing that was in its infancy when Orduna made the statement in 1994, and he goes on to recognise the value of synoptic editions for some scholars, such as for historical linguists: 'el propósito', he states, 'es desplegar la material lingüística del texto en el proceso de su transmisión. Así considerada, [...] es válida aunque sea incongruente con los métodos y objetivos 'normales' de una edición crítica'.<sup>341</sup> He goes on to say that such an edition

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<sup>339</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', p.150

<sup>340</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', p.151

<sup>341</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', p.154

could also be useful for documents such as the *Fueros*, which are important both for their historical value and for their usefulness to linguistic study.<sup>342</sup> That said, he also states that creating a synoptic edition of a chronicle ‘implica un esfuerzo sobrehumano e imposible económicamente’.<sup>343</sup> Other than in special cases such as the *Fueros*, he argues that a contemporary edition should offer the ‘erudite’ reader ‘un texto legible, precedido de una completa información sobre la historia del texto, sus testimonios, índices, glosarios, notas pertinentes y las variantes útiles’.<sup>344</sup> Part of Orduna’s point is valid, that making a synoptic edition of a chronicle is a significant task, but it is not so difficult as to be impossible, superhuman, or economically unviable, particularly in the age of digital editing, and perhaps even more so in the future, with methods such as crowdsourced transcription or HTR technology. Whilst a print synoptic edition of a chronicle, as of any text, with several, or many witnesses, may be so full of information as to render it very difficult to use, digital tools not developed or not in widespread use during Orduna’s time, can offer a more user-friendly alternative to traditional print synoptic versions that are both usable, and can enable study of the writing and rewriting of historical texts, which cannot be studied from single editions of one manuscript, or of purely critical collated editions.

#### **1.4.2 Alberto Blecuá**

In 1980, Alberto Blecuá published a work which has been described by Orduna as ‘lo

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<sup>342</sup> Orduna, ‘La edición de textos históricos en español’, pp.153-154

<sup>343</sup> Orduna, ‘La edición de textos históricos en español’, p.155

<sup>344</sup> Orduna, ‘La edición de textos históricos en español’, p.155

que será el primer libro dedicado exclusivamente a estudiar los problemas metodológicos que se plantean en el análisis de las variantes de un texto medieval español conservado en más de dos manuscritos';<sup>345</sup> this was his *La transmisión textual de El conde Lucanor*.<sup>346</sup> From this work came his 1983 *Manual de crítica textual*, a key resource for any fledgling editor of texts in Castilian, and described by Lucía Megías as 'una de las herramientas más útiles, una de las fundamentales para todo aquel que se disponga a conocer los rudimentos, la metodología y las fases de la crítica textual'.<sup>347</sup> In this work, as does Orduna, the author argues strongly for editions to be critical. Lloyd Kasten, in his review of Blecua's *Manual*, describes it as 'neo-Lachmannian',<sup>348</sup> and Orduna states that it was this work that 'despertó el interés de los universitarios españoles sobre la metodología neolachmanniana'.<sup>349</sup> For an explanation of this term, we can look to the definition as provided by José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, and also by Odd Einar Haugen and Marina Buzzoni. Fradejas Rueda states that the principal idea behind neolachmannianism is the reconstruction of a text as close as possible to an authorial original.<sup>350</sup> Haugen and Buzzoni explain that this editorial methodology works on the basis of differences between witnesses being 'variants' rather than 'errors', and where 'the critical edition is seen as a scientifically based working

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<sup>345</sup> Germán Orduna, 'Ecdótica hispánica y el valor estemático de la historia del texto', *Romance Philology*, 45:1 (Aug 1 1991), 89-101, 90, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/docview/1296991154?accountid=8630> [accessed 04/09/2017]

<sup>346</sup> Alberto Blecua, *La transmisión textual de El conde Lucanor*, (Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1980)

<sup>347</sup> Lucía Megías, 'Manuales', 120

<sup>348</sup> Lloyd Kasten, 'Review: *Manual de crítica textual* by Alberto Blecua', *Hispania*, no. 68, vol. 2 (May 1985), 298-299, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/342171> [accessed 17/08/2017], 298

<sup>349</sup> Orduna, 'Ecdótica hispánica', 91

<sup>350</sup> José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, *Introducción a la edición de textos medievales castellanos* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1991) p.22

hypothesis, not as an absolute entity'.<sup>351</sup> Blecua himself, however, uses the term 'error', and the loaded language we are accustomed to seeing in Lachmannian editing:

La crítica textual es el arte que tiene como fin presentar un texto depurado en lo posible de todos aquellos elementos extraños al autor. Deberá atender, en primer lugar, a los errores propios de la copia.<sup>352</sup>

Blecua writes in detail of the various types of 'error' that he argues should be removed when creating a critical edition<sup>353</sup> – he concentrates on scribal 'errors', devoting some ten pages to them;<sup>354</sup> in contrast, to non-scribal variants, which he terms 'errores ajenos al copista' and describes as document damage leading to the loss of words, phrases and passages by agents such as damp, fire, censorship, and bookbinding, he gives only around fourteen lines.<sup>355</sup> For Blecua, to borrow Hult's term,<sup>356</sup> the villain of the textual history of a given work is clearly the scribe. He goes on to argue that medieval scribes of texts written in Romance, more so than Latin, were wont to emend the texts they were working on, according to their own linguistic, religious, moral, political or literary ideas: he argues this shows a lack of scruples on the side of the scribe, again showing his ideology that scribes could be textual villains. He argues that this is even more the case for chronicles, the scribes for which 'mantuvieron viva su obra poniéndola al día'.<sup>357</sup> As Kasten points out, Blecua objects to the automatic

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<sup>351</sup> Odd Einar Haugen, most recently modified by Marina Buzzoni, 'Neo-Lachmannian Philology', *Confluence*, last edited 01/11/2015, <https://wiki.hiit.fi/display/stemmatology/Neo-Lachmannian+Philology> [accessed 17/08/2017]

<sup>352</sup> Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual*, p.18

<sup>353</sup> Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual*, pp.17-30

<sup>354</sup> Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual*, pp.20-30

<sup>355</sup> Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual*, p.30

<sup>356</sup> Hult, p.119

<sup>357</sup> Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual*, p.163



mechanical method of dom Henry Quentin,<sup>358</sup> but recognises the need for a stemma when creating a critical edition for the ‘security and confidence that it gives to the editor’.<sup>359</sup> The continued relevance of such findings to the present study is that they inform me on the preconceptions and expectations that much of my intended audience will bring to the digital *CPSF*. This can help to inform me on how to edit it, and what features I may choose to include, taking into account the expectations of its potential users.

### 1.4.3 Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja

Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja has an extensive list of publications of both medieval philology and textual editing of medieval texts in Castilian. Within this list is his 1998 book *Cómo editar los textos medievales*<sup>360</sup> which, like Blecua’s *Manual*, is important for editors of medieval texts in Castilian. In this book he states that ‘por objetivo de la crítica textual entendemos la reconstrucción en cuanto sea posible, del texto original del autor’,<sup>361</sup> arguing that a best-text approach is incompatible with critical editing.<sup>362</sup> He also points out that the latter approach has been used in a great deal of textual editing of medieval Castilian, and justified by the editors with its ‘consabido rótulo del

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<sup>358</sup> For an explanation of Dom Quentin’s method, the reader is directed to: Edward Kennard Rand, ‘Dom Quentin’s *Memoir of the Vulgate*’, *The Harvard Theological Review*, No. 17, Vol. 2 (July 1924) 197-264, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1507899>, [accessed 19/08/2017]

<sup>359</sup> Kasten, p.298

<sup>360</sup> Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *Cómo editar los textos medievales: Criterios para su presentación gráfica* (Madrid: Arco Libros 1998)

<sup>361</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *Cómo editar los textos medievales*, p.57

<sup>362</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *Cómo editar los textos medievales*, p.55

‘respeto’ o ‘fidelidad al manuscrito’.<sup>363</sup> He states, ‘si cuanto más parecida al manuscrito mejor es la edición, la edición preferible sería siempre la paleográfica, o mejor aún, una reproducción gráfica.’<sup>364</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, however, advocates providing a critical edition. Having made clear his arguments for the critical editing of medieval texts, he dedicates some hundred pages, around half the book, to ‘una propuesta concreta de presentación gráfica de textos medievales críticamente editados’.<sup>365</sup> Here he gives, as could be expected, concrete rules for editing, with each rule fully explained and justified, with examples. For the fledgling editor, such a guide is dense – for good and for bad; the reader finds a great depth of justification and reasoning for each proposal, although the level to which this is provided is likely to be off-putting to the uninitiated.

In his 2011 book *La edición de textos españoles medievales y clásicos*, Sánchez-Prieto Borja gives a series of preliminary statements. Of these, the first reads:

La edición crítica, en la que el texto se establece tras el examen de toda la tradición textual, es la que mejor satisface las expectativas del investigador.<sup>366</sup>

The implication here, based on both his words and the placement of the above sentence within the rest of the work, is that for Sánchez-Prieto Borja, a true edition is a critical one. Key to the above phrase is that he advocates that critical editions should take into account *all of the textual tradition*. This brings us back to the *Estoria Digital*, which, as we will see later, is based on five of the forty witnesses of the *Estoria*. There is, therefore, no critical edition provided at this time.

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<sup>363</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *Cómo editar los textos medievales*, pp.54-55

<sup>364</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *Cómo editar los textos medievales*, p.56

<sup>365</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *Cómo editar los textos medievales*, pp.104-198

<sup>366</sup> Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *La edición de textos españoles medievales y clásicos: Criterios de presentación gráfica* (San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2011) p.15

Sánchez-Prieto Borja goes on to state his beliefs that the presentation of the critical edition should facilitate reading, and should bear in mind the proposed reader of the edition, as well as the language and orthography of what he terms the 'lengua de llegada', in his case, and in the case of this thesis, modern Spanish. There then follows a series of instructions for editors of how to present critical editions, such as how to signal the expansion of an abbreviation: for instance, he suggests that digital editions may use angular brackets (< >), but that in the final presentation these should be substituted for italics.<sup>367</sup> As a stark contrast to his 1998 book, this text is written as a series of instructions, which in this later book are not generally explained or justified within the text. That said, two of his points show the common sense and solid theory behind his directions: that editing in this way facilitates the reading of the text, and is favourable when the texts are being dealt with electronically.<sup>368</sup> The second major section of this book is an earlier version of the CHARTA (Corpus Hispánico y Americano en la Red: Textos Antiguos), 'criterios de edición' (2011 in this book, rather than 2013 as published online by CHARTA) which will be dealt with in the section below of this chapter.

#### **1.4.4 CHARTA**

Led by Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, CHARTA is a global project that is creating a corpus

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<sup>367</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *La edición de textos españoles medievales*, p.17

<sup>368</sup> Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *La edición de textos españoles medievales*, p.18

of editions and linguistic analysis of twelfth- to nineteenth-century documents in Spanish.<sup>369</sup> Since there are several teams of scholars working within CHARTA, who are based in places geographically distant from one another, and who work on texts from a wide range of locations and time periods, the CHARTA 'Criterios de edición' are both fundamental and comprehensive.<sup>370</sup> For each document, three versions of the edition are produced and justified in the following way: (i) a facsimile, so that users may verify editorial readings, and carry out diplomatic or palaeographic studies; (ii) a palaeographic transcription; which highlights the graphic system and allows the study of the phonetic evolution of letters; and (iii) a critical presentation to facilitate reading; this third version, they state, is the most adequate from which to study morphology and syntax, and is the style of edition favoured by historians.<sup>371</sup> They explain the reason for their three-pronged approach to editing: 'esta edición multiple se justifica por la imposibilidad de proporcionar con una sola toda la información que el estudioso demanda'.<sup>372</sup> As CHARTA point out, these triple version editions lend themselves most easily to digital editions, although they give one example of an edition in this style in a traditional book form, of which details can be found in their 'Criterios de edición'.<sup>373</sup> It is worth noting here that CHARTA do not hierarchise the versions of the edition, and make clear the different uses of each to fulfil the needs of different potential users, including, and this they put in bold type on their homepage, non-specialists.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> Red CHARTA, *Corpus Hispánico y Americano en la Red: Textos Antiguos*, (2015) <http://www.corpuscharta.es/> [accessed 19/08/2017]

<sup>370</sup> Red CHARTA, *Criterios de CHARTA*, <http://www.corpuscharta.es/> [accessed 19/08/2017]

<sup>371</sup> Red CHARTA, *Criterios de edición de documentos hispánicos (orígenes-siglo XIX) de la red internacional CHARTA* (version dated April 2013) p.6 [my translation]; Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja has published an earlier version of these *Criterios* in his aforementioned 2011 book.

<sup>372</sup> Red CHARTA, *Criterios de edición*, p.6

<sup>373</sup> Red CHARTA, *Criterios de edición*, p.6

<sup>374</sup> Red CHARTA, *Criterios de CHARTA* (within '*leer más*'),

CHARTA scholar Paul Spence has stated that the triple-access presentation of documents as according to the CHARTA guidelines is ‘un paso importante en la dirección del manejo digital al intentar dar a cada caso filológico un proto-marcado específico que pueda ser interpretado por ser humano y máquina a la vez’.<sup>375</sup> However, as briefly noted above, he goes on to criticise the network’s extended use of italics to mark all editorial intervention, arguing that their use dates from the age of print editing, where an editor was bound by the possibilities of print visualisation whilst remaining economically viable; a digital editor is not limited in the same way, so could highlight different editorial interventions using different marks. The result of this would be that these marks could be read by a machine, as unlike a human, computers cannot differentiate between editorial interventions when italics are used for so many different processes.<sup>376</sup> As digital editors of prose works in medieval Castilian, CHARTA’s approach is worth bearing in mind, in order to inform my own practice. It is highly likely that the more scholarly users of my edition will be accustomed to CHARTA editions, and will, therefore, bring with them certain expectations based on these editions. Also highly relevant for this thesis and the digital *CPSF* is Spence’s comments on the use of italics in digital editing. I will return to this point in Chapter Three.

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<sup>375</sup> Spence, ‘Siete retos’, 153-181, 156

<sup>376</sup> Spence, ‘Siete retos’, 156

#### 1.4.5 José Manuel Fradejas Rueda

José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, mentioned above as the project director of the digital *Siete Partidas*, has adapted and updated some parts of his 1991 book *Introducción a la edición de textos medievales castellanos*<sup>377</sup> as a blog entitled *Crítica Textual para Dummies*.<sup>378</sup> The site includes a bibliography for works on the topic of textual criticism with a preference for those related to the Castilian context, but not restricted to these. There is also a short glossary of terms that would be helpful for inexperienced textual editors. The blog posts on the site are written in a clear way, with no prior knowledge assumed, and deal with topics such as an explanation of terms used (for example, ‘olim’), of technical aspects such as foliation, running headers, and descriptions of manuscripts.

The book, like the website, is written in the author’s habitual didactic style, with his stated aim being ‘guiar, llevar de la mano en los primeros pasos, indicando qué se puede hacer y cómo; [...] Lo demás solo se obtendrá con la práctica’.<sup>379</sup> Unlike Orduna, Blecua and Sánchez-Prieto Borja, where there are opposing approaches, Fradejas Rueda does not give a prescriptive opinion of how editors should edit, but rather is descriptive, and simply outlines the main arguments of other scholars. For example, writing on critical editions, Fradejas Rueda begins by stating that a critical edition ‘es aquella que trata de ofrecer el prototipo o arquetipo, el texto ideal, que se supone

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<sup>377</sup> Fradejas Rueda, *Introducción*

<sup>378</sup> José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, *Crítica Textual para Dummies*, last updated 14<sup>th</sup> May 2015, [ecdótica.hypotheses.org](http://ecdótica.hypotheses.org) [accessed 07/09/2017]

<sup>379</sup> Fradejas Rueda, *Introducción*, p.12

original del autor'.<sup>380</sup> He then describes the two main approaches to critical editions, using the terminology of Francisco López Estrada: he explains that 'la edición crítica integral' is one which aims to combine all extant witnesses to create a hypothesis of the archetypal text; 'la edición crítica singular' is the approach favoured by followers of Bédier, and either improves the text of a single extant witness, or chooses one witness and improves this, using information gathered from the other extant witnesses.<sup>381</sup> Where other scholars may then argue for one style of editing and against another, Fradejas Rueda does not do this here: having outlined both approaches to editing he then moves on to presenting the next topic. In other cases, however, and where the approach is more straightforward and accepted by scholars from all schools of editing (or at least the majority), Fradejas Rueda is clearer in giving his opinion. For instance, 'el editor debe ofrecer la lista completa de todos los manuscritos y fragmentos que se conocen. Ha de ordenarlos alfabéticamente según las siglas asignadas'.<sup>382</sup>

The style throughout Fradejas Rueda's book and website is clear and educational, making the material accessible to all interested readers, and in particular inexperienced editors, and for whom both Sánchez-Prieto Borja's 1998 work and Blecuá's 1983 work may feel too daunting at first. It is obvious that Fradejas Rueda's intended audience is the interested but uninitiated, and in particular university students. As María Morrás points out in her review of the book, sometimes, technical

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<sup>380</sup> Fradejas Rueda, *Introducción*, p.47

<sup>381</sup> Fradejas Rueda, *Introducción*, p.47; terminology from Francisco López Estrada, *Introducción a la literatura medieval española*, (Madrid: Gredos, 1979) p.60

<sup>382</sup> Fradejas Rueda, *Introducción* p.69; emphasis mine.

language is explained only in the second or third section of the book, and a glossary of terms would certainly have been useful for the intended audience.<sup>383</sup> This, the author has rectified in his website, which, as mentioned above, includes a glossary. Updating the book as a series of blog posts is an interesting and novel way to reach a new generation of textual editors and students of the subject, as well as other interested readers.

#### 1.4.6 HSMS

The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (HSMS) was founded by John Nitti and Lloyd Kasten at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Their website gives no more specific date for this than ‘in the 1970s’. Since then, the HSMS has ‘become one of the most important publishers of material in Hispanomedievalism’.<sup>384</sup> The HSMS’s main project was the *Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language (DOSL)*. This necessitated the creation of a data bank of machine-readable transcriptions, which would be used to provide lexical items for the *Dictionary*. The first machine-readable transcription they made available was in 1978 on microfiche. This was *The Concordances and Texts of the Royal Scriptorium Manuscripts of Alfonso X*. This, they explain, was the first in the *Texts and Concordances* series, which now contains around 500 texts. In 1997 they began to offer the series on CD-Rom, and 2005 they started work on an online, fully-interactive

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<sup>383</sup> María Morras, ‘Review of José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, *Introducción a la edición crítica de textos medievales castellanos*’, *Romance Philology*, 48.3, (1 Feb 1995) 317-322, 319, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/docview/1296993962?accountid=8630> [accessed 15/09/2017]

<sup>384</sup> HSMS, *HSMS Home*, <http://www.hispanicseminary.org/index-en.htm> [accessed 15/09/2017]



version. The *Prose Works of Alfonso X el Sabio* was made available online in 2011.<sup>385</sup> Since the transcriptions for the *DOSL* were carried out by many scholars, in 1977 the HSMS published their first *Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*.<sup>386</sup> The most recent edition, the fifth edition, is available online on the HSMS website.<sup>387</sup> The nature of the *DOSL* means that the HSMS corpora available online are transcriptions and concordances based on one manuscript for each work. As Orduna points out, the HSMS therefore produce Bédierist editions without stating so.<sup>388</sup>

The HSMS transcription and concordances were used extensively, in particular in the early days of transcription for the *Estoria Digital* for queries, and to study various topics for project blog posts and papers delivered by project team members at conferences. Furthermore, with the knowledge and permission of the team behind the HSMS, their original transcriptions were reworked to provide the base text used in the *Estoria Digital*. As is discussed more fully below, the first step in converting the HSMS transcriptions for use in the preparation of the *Estoria Digital* was to strip out the HSMS tags and leave a bare text, which we checked when ‘transcribing’, which really meant adding in our own XML tagging. As a subset of the *Estoria Digital*, but not bound

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<sup>385</sup> HSMS, *Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts*, <http://www.hispanicseminary.org/textconc-en.htm> [accessed 15/09/2017]

<sup>386</sup> Kenneth Buelow and David Mackenzie, *Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language* (Madison Wisconsin: HSMS, 1977)

<sup>387</sup> Ray Harris-Northall, *Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Revised and expanded)* (Madison Wisconsin: HSMS, 1997) <http://www.hispanicseminary.org/manual/HSMS-manual.pdf> [accessed 15/09/2017]

<sup>388</sup> Germán Orduna, *Ecdótica – Problemática de la edición de textos* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000) p.73

by the editorial decisions taken as part of it, my digital *CPSF* also uses the bare base text prepared from the HSMS transcriptions.

#### 1.4.7 Conclusion

Although this has been only a brief overview of some of the work of key scholars and research institutes involved in the editing of medieval texts in Castilian, and far from exhaustive, it is possible to note that we often see key scholars in the area (Orduna, Blecua, Sánchez-Prieto Borja) giving arguments for the preparation of a critical text aiming to propose a hypothesis for the lost original text, apart from in very specific cases. This reminds us of Lucía Megías' earlier-cited statement that 'no es posible interpretar las obras de nuestro pasado si antes no contamos con un 'texto', si antes no hemos analizado la transmisión de los mismos para saber diferenciar entre el sonido inicial y el 'ruido' que lo ha modificado a través de los siglos'.<sup>389</sup> Ward also notes the prominence of critical editions for texts in Medieval Castilian when he states:

Critical editing of medieval Peninsular texts has a long history ... in more recent years, and exemplified first by the work of Alberto Blecua and extensively by the SECRTIT team in Buenos Aires, a more Lachmannian approach, heavily influenced by Italian textual criticism has come to greater prominence.<sup>390</sup>

It follows that a common expectation for scholarly users of editions medieval Castilian prose is that there will be a critical edition, based on all extant witnesses, particularly

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<sup>389</sup> Lucía Megías, 'Manuales', 118

<sup>390</sup> Aengus Ward, 'The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose – challenges... and more challenges.' *Digital Philology* 7.1 (Spring 2018) 7-34, 8

where chronicles are concerned. This should be borne in mind when considering the editorial decisions to be taken for the preparation of the digital *CPSF*, if my edition is to fulfil its objective of meeting the needs and expectations of many of my potential users.

Ward also notes that to date, the neo-Lachmannian approach we can observe in many of the editions of Peninsular texts produced in Spanish-language contexts has largely been informed by the possibilities and constraints of print culture.<sup>391</sup> This is now changing, as we find new technology being used for and by these digital editions. We can also see in this brief overview of editing and digital editing of medieval texts in a Castilian-language culture, that whilst many scholars still argue for a critical edition, several (Orduna, SECRIT, Sánchez-Prieto Borja, CHARTA) also state their recognition for the value of other types of edition for the purposes of specific users. Since the technology available now enables digital editions to comprise more than one version, as in CHARTA's triple-access presentation, it stands to reason that users of the edition who are accustomed to using CHARTA-produced digital editions will also expect other digital editions to have a similar feature where possible. Again, this should be borne in mind when creating the digital *CPSF*, and will inform the decisions I make.

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<sup>391</sup> Ward, 'The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose', 8

To this point I have explored the issues of editing, then digital editing, editing manuscript prose, and then editing manuscript prose in Castilian, all in order to provide a theoretical foundation on which to base my digital *CPSF*, a medieval chronicle written in vernacular prose. This will form part of the *Estoria Digital*, which is also of a medieval chronicle written in vernacular prose (both are written in Medieval Castilian). My edition will, however, also function separately in its own right, separate from the *Estoria Digital*, and will have points of difference. To conclude the theoretical basis for my edition I will use a case study of a published digital edition of a medieval chronicle in vernacular prose: the *Online Froissart*.

### **1.5 Case Study: The *Online Froissart Project***

The *Online Froissart* is an edition of some of the fourteenth-century *Chroniques* of chronicler and writer Jean Froissart (1337-1405), written in vernacular prose, Middle French.<sup>392</sup> Led by Peter Ainsworth (University of Sheffield) and Godfried Croenen (University of Liverpool), the *Online Froissart Project (OFP)* has been chosen as a case study for this thesis because of the similarities between it, the *Estoria Digital*, and my digital *CPSF*.

Witnesses of the *Estoria de Espanna*, the *CPSF* and the *Chroniques* are extant in several manuscripts comprising various versions of each respectively, and which are based in

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<sup>392</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, 'The Online Froissart'

several libraries worldwide, meaning that prior to the digital editions being discussed in this thesis it has been difficult for scholars to compare versions of the manuscripts. The subject matter of the *Estoria Digital*, the *CPSF*, and the *Chroniques* is not dissimilar since all are chronicles, and hold interest for scholars of history and historiography, language, literature and linguistics, as well as topics such as book production. All three projects have created digital editions with additional online tools, including viewable manuscript transcriptions, viewable (or hyperlinked) high-quality digital images of the manuscripts, search functions, onomastic indices, a collation, and manuscript descriptions. Because of these reasons, the editors of the *Online Froissart* encountered similar issues to those encountered by the *Estoria* team, and by extension by me, when preparing the digital *CPSF*, making the *OFP* a useful case study to examine, to help shape the theoretical basis upon which I have created the digital *CPSF*. However, this is not to say that I have blindly followed any of the editorial decisions or judgments taken in either the *Estoria Digital* or the *OFP*, but rather studying the *OFP*, and being part of the *Estoria* team, has allowed me to see where I could follow their lead, and where I felt I should take different editorial decisions.

The original phase of the *OFP* was funded by the AHRC between 2007 and 2010.<sup>393</sup> Following this primary phase, further transcription work has been completed, some of which is now available online as part of the edition. Some 114 manuscripts of the *Chroniques* have been transcribed; some are complete manuscripts, while others are

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<sup>393</sup> More information about the project than I have been able to reproduce here is available on the homepage of the *Online Froissart Project*: <https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/index.jsp> [accessed 26/06/2017]

incomplete or fragmentary. The *OFP* also contains transcriptions of a fifteenth-century edition of the work.<sup>394</sup>

The transcriptions in the *Online Froissart* are not strictly diplomatic of any original manuscript, they do not give details of abbreviations in any manuscript, and nor do they seek to reproduce the word-spacing of the manuscripts. The editors state in their description of the editorial policy that the aim of the transcriptions is to ‘allow users easy access to the texts of every individual witness that we have been able to transcribe’.<sup>395</sup> They go on to state that one of the major features of the edition’s website is the ability to view simultaneously transcriptions of several witnesses of the same sentence or passage, which allows users to easily compare the witnesses, whilst a critical edition may omit such details. Clear here, is the privileging by the editors of the *Online Froissart*, of the quantity of transcriptions over detail: this decision allowed them to transcribe 114 manuscripts (bearing in mind that some are incomplete or fragmentary), whilst only five have been transcribed for the *Estoria Digital*. This is a very different methodology, and has implications on the usefulness of each respective edition for specific users, and therefore on the audience each edition is likely to draw. As long as the implications of such editorial decisions are taken knowingly by the editor, and the edition created is able to serve most of the needs of most of the intended audience, both methodologies can be considered valid, given that they serve different purposes.

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<sup>394</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, ‘The Online Froissart’

<sup>395</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, ‘Editorial Policy’, <https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/index.jsp> [accessed 21/06/2017]

In their description of their editorial policy, the editors of the *OFFP* state they have introduced a small number of diacritics into the transcriptions, following a ‘light-touch’ approach, solely when the aim of the diacritic is to facilitate reading, and to enable the user to better understand the text, whilst avoiding complicating the transcription.<sup>396</sup> Word-spacing, for reasons of collation, and punctuation and capitalisation, the editors explain, follow modern French usage. Abbreviations are generally expanded, and text is supplied in circumstances of manuscript damage or where there is an ‘obvious mistake’. Such editorial decisions have been taken consciously, for the intended target audience of the edition: historians and literary scholars,<sup>397</sup> and render the edition less useful for palaeographers and historical linguists. It also raises the question of who is qualified to decide what constitutes an ‘obvious mistake’: the editors describe such mistakes as ‘an omitted word or phrase, wrong or badly corrupted name, or incorrect verb form’,<sup>398</sup> and the final edition retains both the original and the editorially supplied correction. Making a judgement that something in a manuscript text is an error, scribal or otherwise – in the editors’ list of examples of types of errors almost all are likely to be scribal – is towards the Lachmannian end of the editorial continuum, where scribal changes are considered corruptions to the original text. However, retaining both the original and supplied correction allows a user to clearly see where a modern emendation has been made, and they can choose to use the original or the emendation. This does, however, create a great deal of work at the tagging stage, which the editors of the *OFFP* have avoided, preferring instead to privilege quantity of transcriptions over

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<sup>396</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, ‘Editorial Policy’

<sup>397</sup> Godfried Croenen and Natasha Romanova, *The Online Froissart Project: Manual for transcription and markup*, Version 1.2 (July 2010) <http://pcwww.liverpool.ac.uk/~gcroenen/Guidelines.pdf> [accessed 26/06/2017] p.6

<sup>398</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, ‘Editorial Policy’

detail, as explained above. It is worth noting that the editorial emendations are based on other, closely related witnesses.<sup>399</sup> Since the whole ethos of the OFP is to bring the *Chroniques* to a wide audience of historians and literary scholars and facilitate their understanding, it can be understood that the decision to judge and correct errors fits this style of edition and the perceived requirements of the intended target audience. A user wishing to access the text without this editorial intervention can consult the images of the original manuscript, many of which are viewable as part of the edition,<sup>400</sup> and can be viewed whilst simultaneously viewing the folio's transcription.<sup>401</sup>

As explained in the transcription guidelines of the *OFP*, the corpus being transcribed is so large that the transcriptions contain minimal palaeographical and orthographic minutiae because of the trade-off between time and effort, and the perceived pay off of such an investment, bearing in mind the target audience of the edition. Those particularly interested in the linguistic features omitted from the transcriptions are directed to view the manuscript images. In this way, the transcriptions of the *OFP* share features with what would usually be expected from a modern critical edition, and reflect Robinson's afore-cited comment, that although in theory a digital edition can include everything, and is limited only by the editor's imagination, in reality 'our resources are finite, and require us to choose where we place our effort'.<sup>402</sup> The objective of a digital edition has to be to serve the perceived needs of the intended

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<sup>399</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, 'Editorial Policy'

<sup>400</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, 'Inventory of Images', [https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=inventory\\_of\\_images](https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=inventory_of_images), [accessed 04/07/2017]

<sup>401</sup> Ainsworth and Croenen, 'Inventory of Images'

<sup>402</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 106



audience, and not simply the desires of the editor, and it is neither practical nor useful to include every editorial possibility in an edition. Deciding what to include and what to omit from a digital edition is at the crux of what digital editing *is*.

The *OFP* contains a significant supplementary material, which explains the edition and gives information to the user of the edition. A wide range of aspects is included, such as technical details of the cameras and lenses used to digitise some of the material in the edition, explanations of the transcription and translation policies, a glossary of Middle French, and essays on Froissart himself, the manuscripts and images, and the context of their production. A key aspect of this supplementary material is that although it is technically detailed and correct, the way it is written is inclusive and clear, so could be used by both expert Froissart scholars and interested amateurs. In this way the target audience of the edition is widened and made more inclusive. By contrast, neither the *Estoria Digital* nor the digital *CPSF* contain such a wide range of supplementary material. This is because of the ever-present trade-off between detail and quantity, within the confines of time and money. As above, providing such a decision has been taken in the knowledge of the implications it will have on the usefulness of the edition and the audience it is likely to draw (and therefore should aim to serve), both approaches are equally valid.

The transcription of the text in the *Online Froissart* is displayed in black or red, mirroring the black or red ink of the manuscript, and there are several hyperlinks in the transcription, shown in blue text. These link to the entries of the edition's onomastic index, giving the user more information about persons, places and events

that appear in the manuscript text. Clicking the hyperlink displays information on the entry as a box that appears upon mousing over. Both of these features also work towards widening the potential audience of the edition, and make the information contained in the edition more accessible to non-experts. Unfortunately, when viewing the transcription alongside the image, there is no explanatory information in the mouse-over box, just a link to the index entry on a separate page of the edition. This means that a user cannot access the information in the index without disturbing their reading of the transcription, somewhat missing the point of hyperlinking in this way. It was this which informed my own decision when preparing the digital *CPSF*, that to avoid disrupting the flow of reading, users should be able to access information which would often have been included in footnotes in print editions without leaving the page displaying the transcription, in the same way that footnotes can be read alongside the main text of a page, whilst endnotes disrupt the flow of reading.

I will return to several of these editorial decisions later in the thesis, in the discussion of my own edition, where I will make clear their influence on the digital *CPSF*, including where their influence has led to a conscious decision to *not* follow various aspects of the *OFP*.

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## 1.6 Chapter conclusion

The aim throughout this chapter has been to study the history, theoretical context and practice of digital editing manuscript prose in Castilian in order to provide a solid basis on which to place the digital *CPSF*. As well as providing a general, theoretical overview, I have shown how users' expectations from an edition are based heavily on the editorial background they are used to, which is itself based on the history of editing in the modern age, and which varies between cultures. This background will inform how the edition is both perceived and therefore if, and to what extent, it is used; because of this, historical and cultural notions of editing should be considered carefully, and catered for, when preparing an edition. I also showed the major differences between digital and print editions, since, given that both time and money are finite, an editor should be aware of these in order to make informed decisions about what to include in her edition, based on the realms of possibility. The editor should always consider that such decisions at the point of preparing the edition will affect, and cyclically, should be affected by, who can and will want to use the edition and how. In short, the audience's needs and expectations should inform the preparation of the edition. An editor is not, however, completely bound by convention and tradition, as this would stifle innovation.

Having made clear the theoretical context of digitally editing medieval prose in Castilian, and how these affect the preparation and use of an edition, I will now look more specifically to the background and context of the text to be edited in the present thesis. This too is key information for editors, since it is the nature of the text itself, its

history and significance that will have the most impact on who wants to use edition and what for – *how* they actually can use the edition is determined by decisions taken as described in Chapter One, so although these two chapters are separate, they really inform one another. Given that editions are (usually) made to be used, and not simply to fulfil the needs of the editor’s ego, the requirements of the user should be paramount when preparing an edition. In order to provide a solid historical and contextual basis for the digital *CPSF*, I will first look more widely to the Alfonsine *oeuvre*, given that, as I will explain below, the *Crónica* is post-Alfonsine, and is therefore best understood when one has grasped the history and context of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* first. It is this topic which will form Chapter Two.

## CHAPTER TWO THE *ESTORIA DE ESPANNA*: TEXT AND CONTEXT

### 2.0.1 Chapter introduction

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the theory and practice of digital editing, and in particular how our choices as digital editors affect and are affected by the potential readership of the edition; in order to achieve this, I will present as a case study my own digital edition of the *Crónica particular de San Fernando*, the analysis of which is the secondary objective of this work. I will create and analyse a digital edition of the *Crónica particular de San Fernando*. In Chapter One I looked at how print and digital editions differ, and how different editorial cultures and traditions affect how users expect or hope to use digital editions. I focussed on medieval prose texts in Castilian, and the digital editing of these. I will now look at a specific work and the extent to which its history, circumstances and textual transmission might affect not only the editorial decisions but also the way the edition will be received by its users.

Whilst editors do not necessarily have to be experts in the text prior to starting an edition, they should remember that some of their users will be, and will want to use the edition they create for close study. Other users will be non-experts, and their expectations and requirements of the edition will differ greatly. If we, as editors, hope to fulfil, as best we can, the requirements of as many of our users as possible, we need to know what it is likely that our users, including experts in the text, will want to find in our edition. An editor must therefore have a solid understanding of the text itself,

the context in which it was produced, and its history, in order to know where to place one's effort within the time and money available, what to include in the edition, and to what level of detail. This chapter aims to do this for my case study, the *CPSF*.

As I will describe more fully in Chapter Three, the *CPSF* is one of the chronicles produced after the death of Alfonso X,<sup>1</sup> during the reign of Fernando IV. Manuel Hijano points out that the *CPSF* appears in E<sub>2</sub> (Escorial, X-i-4), a manuscript which occupies 'un lugar destacado' amongst the witnesses in which we can find the *CPSF*. He explains the importance of this witness by describing it as 'una copia realizada en el entorno regio castellano', and also because of its 'cercanía a la redacción original de la obra en época de Fernando IV'.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, alongside E<sub>1</sub> (Escorial Y-i-2), E<sub>2</sub> was edited to produce the most significant twentieth-century edition of the *Estoria*, Ramón Menéndez Pidal's *Primera Crónica General*.<sup>3</sup> This shows that although it is technically post-Alfonsine, for many scholars and also for the wider public, the *CPSF* has come to be considered Alfonsine in its reception, and for all but specialists in the Alfonsine project and post-Alfonsine works, as part of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

The *CPSF* can best be understood (and therefore edited) when it is read as a post-Alfonsine work but with close links to the *Estoria*: its context is framed in the Alfonsine tradition, and to some extent its narrative is a continuation of the *Estoria*, but it also

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<sup>1</sup> Manuel Hijano Villegas, 'Crónica Particular de San Fernando: *composición y transmisión*', Draft copy (2018), p.3

[https://www.academia.edu/35861669/Cr%C3%B3nica\\_particular\\_de\\_San\\_Fernando\\_draft\\_](https://www.academia.edu/35861669/Cr%C3%B3nica_particular_de_San_Fernando_draft_) [accessed 11/02/2018]

<sup>2</sup> Hijano Villegas, 'Crónica Particular de San Fernando: *composición y transmisión*', p.3

<sup>3</sup> Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, 2 volumes (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1906, 1955, 1977) – this thesis uses the 1955 print.

has certain aspects particular to the specific post-Alfonsine chronicle tradition in which it was first produced. In order to be able to fully appreciate the post-Alfonsine context, it stands to reason that one must first have a clear understanding of the Alfonsine context. With this in mind I will explore the Alfonsine *oeuvre*, its history, context, content, and significance, to provide a background to the digital *CPSF*. I will look first at the historical context of the Alfonsine project, and specifically the *Estoria de Espanna*, including the lineage of Alfonso X, his accession to the throne, his *oeuvre*, and his quest for empire. I will then look at the significance of the Alfonsine project for scholars of history, historiography, and historical sociolinguistics.

## **2.1 Historical Context of the *Estoria de Espanna***

Peter Linehan states that ‘Alfonso’s ideological purpose is never far from the surface’ in the works of his *taller*.<sup>4</sup> Following Linehan, throughout this chapter I will argue that one of the primary motives for the Alfonsine *oeuvre* was propagandistic: the monarch’s extensive politico-cultural production both shaped and was shaped by his reign and the political context within which the works were produced. Alfonso<sup>5</sup> was not the first, nor was he the last to use texts he wrote, or of which he was the patron, in this way: in Chapter Three I will make the point that Luis Fernández Gallardo argues that the same is true of the *CPSF*, where the propagandistic motivation is also clear.<sup>6</sup> Following

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<sup>4</sup> Peter Linehan, *Spain 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008) p.163

<sup>5</sup> Where no regnal number is given ‘Alfonso’ refers to Alfonso X of Castile. Other kings named Alfonso will be identified by including their regnal number.

<sup>6</sup> Luis Fernández Gallardo, ‘La *Crónica particular de San Fernando*: sobre los orígenes de la crónica real castellana, I. Aspectos formales’, *Cahiers d’études hispaniques médiévales*, 32 (2009), 245-265, 259

Charles Fraker's reading of the Alfonsine texts as products of the external context in which they were produced,<sup>7</sup> and alongside Robinson's argument against a purely 'document-centred' approach to editing:<sup>8</sup> that is to say, with the texts as objects separable from the context in which they were produced, I will argue that in order to adequately edit the *Estoria de Espanna*, and by extension the *CPSF*, an editor should have a solid understanding of the context in which they were produced. This includes the political and historical context, as well as, in the Alfonsine case for reasons which will become apparent below, the sociolinguistic context, which of course cannot truly be removed from the wider political and historical context. For this reason, for the time being I will step slightly aside from the topic of digital editing to look at the context of production of the texts of the Alfonsine *oeuvre*. I will first give a brief history of Alfonso's lineage and then his reign, mainly using his intellectual work as a prism through which we can view the king's politics and appreciate the political and historical context in which they were produced. The objective of this chapter is to provide an understanding of the antecedents and context of the *CPSF*, as these exogenous data will inform the preparation and analysis of my digital edition.

### **2.1.1 Lineage of Alfonso X**

Alfonso X of Leon-Castile (r.1252-1284) was born in 1221 in Toledo, the eldest son of Fernando III (later, 'el Santo', and about whom the *CPSF* is written) and Beatriz of

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<sup>7</sup> Charles Fraker. 'Alfonso X, the Empire and the *Primera Crónica General*' in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Vol. 55 (1978) 95-102, 96

<sup>8</sup> Robinson 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 111



Swabia (also known as Elizabeth of Hohenstaufen). The marriage between Alfonso's parents had been carefully orchestrated by his paternal grandmother Berenguela, a politically significant figure in Castile at the time,<sup>9</sup> as a means of cementing the relationship between the three great Christian realms, and therefore the political position of Castile within Europe. Any sons produced through this marriage would have a strong claim to the title of Holy Roman Emperor. As I will show later, the pursuit of this imperial throne was a key part of much of Alfonso's reign, and was pivotal in the politics of the latter part of his reign and in the succession of his son Sancho. Alfonso's mother's paternal grandfather was Frederick I, who had held the roles of Holy Roman Emperor and King of Italy (both 1155-1190), King of Burgundy and King of Germany (both 1152-1190), and her father was Philip of Swabia. Her maternal grandfather was the Byzantine emperor Alexis IV, meaning she was descended 'from the two most prominent Christian dynasties of the East and West'.<sup>10</sup> Alfonso's father Fernando was the son of Alfonso IX of Leon and Berenguela, a daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile and a granddaughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>11</sup> Fernando III had been king of Castile since 1217, and had inherited the throne of Leon upon the death of his father in 1230, thereby uniting the two kingdoms. Fernando III is remembered for his expansionist policies, as is Alfonso VIII,<sup>12</sup> and by the time of the death of Fernando in 1252, Castile was the most powerful kingdom in the Peninsula and one of the most powerful in Christian Europe. Even the Moorish stronghold kingdom of

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<sup>9</sup> Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975) p.337

<sup>10</sup> H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, translated by Odile Cisneros (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010) p.36

<sup>11</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.37

<sup>12</sup> For further information on the Reconquista campaigns, see Julio Valdeón Baroque, *La Reconquista: El concepto de España: unidad y diversidad* (Madrid: Espasa, 2006)

Granada, although still a kingdom in its own right, separate from Castile, was mostly within the power of the king of Castile by 1252, and the King of Granada was a vassal of the King of Castile.<sup>13</sup>

### **2.1.2 Alfonso's accession to the throne and his 'talleres'**

Alfonso acceded to the throne in 1252, becoming Alfonso X. Much of his reign was shaped by his quest for power, which was manifested from the outset: emphasizing his power as monarch, Alfonso's royal intitulation lists his titles as king of Castile, Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Seville, Cordoba, Murcia, Jaen and the Algarve.<sup>14</sup> Alfonso was the patron of a group of scholars, carrying out some of the work himself, to produce 'a body of literature and scholarship unparalleled elsewhere in thirteenth-century Europe'.<sup>15</sup> This is Alfonso's significant politico-cultural *oeuvre* of which the *Estoria de Espanna* forms a part. Francisco Márquez-Villanueva has described the king's cultural project an 'ambitious enterprise', and an 'unqualified success', stating that its impact on the Castilian language was such that it continues to remain evident today.<sup>16</sup> The king's *oeuvre* comprises several thematic areas, including history, law, religious devotion (to the Virgin Mary in the *Cantigas de Santa María*) and science, where 'science' covers some topics which would generally no longer be considered scientific: in addition to

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<sup>13</sup> John Esten Keller, *Alfonso X, El Sabio* (New York: Twayne, 1967) p.22

<sup>14</sup> Joseph O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) p.11

<sup>15</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.131

<sup>16</sup> Francisco Márquez-Villanueva, 'The Alfonsine cultural concept', Francisco Márquez-Villanueva and Carlos Alberto Vega (Eds.) *Alfonso X of Castile the Learned (1221-1284): An International Symposium, Harvard University, 17 November 1984* (Cambridge MA: The Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1990) pp.76-92, p.76

his work on astronomy, including the movements of the planets (in the *Alfonsine Tables*, which were based on translations from texts in Arabic<sup>17</sup> and of which the significance on Western science was such that they remained in use until the sixteenth century),<sup>18</sup> Alfonsine science included astrology, and magic.<sup>19</sup> Marcella de Marco explains this as a cultural overlap between a desire to understand the exact sciences (astronomy, geology) and a fear of negating traditional beliefs (magic, astrology),<sup>20</sup> although Alfonso and his contemporaries may not have drawn such a distinction. As pointed out in Antonio Solalinde's 1915 'seminal article'<sup>21</sup> on the topic of Alfonso's intellectual output, a quote from Alfonso's *General Estoria* reveals the king's view of himself: the chronicle contains a rather lofty analogy of Alfonso's intervention in the work of his *taller* to God's intervention in Moses writing the first books of the Bible,<sup>22</sup> emphasizing the point connoted in his royal intitulation – that Alfonso viewed himself as extremely powerful, and his *oeuvre* was a demonstration of this. Linehan writes of the king's 'intellectual omnivorousness' and his 'insatiable appetite' for learning,<sup>23</sup> and Keller has written that Alfonso was scholarly and academic from a young age.<sup>24</sup> The output of his *taller* revolutionised the body of knowledge available to Christian Europe,

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<sup>17</sup> José Chabás, 'The Diffusion of the Alfonsine Tables: The case of the *Tabulae Resolutae*', *Perspectives on Science* 10:2 (2002), 168-178, 169

<sup>18</sup> Francisco Márquez-Villanueva, 'The Alfonsine cultural concept', p.87

<sup>19</sup> Monserrat Pons Tovar, 'Traducción en la corte de Alfonso X', *AnMal Electrónica* 29 (2010), 241-251, 243

<sup>20</sup> Marcella De Marco, 'Técnicismos y cultismos en el *Lapidario* de Alfonso X el Sabio' *Hesperia* 7: 2004, 37-56, 38

<sup>21</sup> Anthony Cárdenas, *Alfonso's Scriptorium and Chancery: Role of the Prologue in Bonding the Translatio Studii to the Translatio Potestatis* <http://libro.uca.edu/alfonso10/emperor7.htm> [accessed 10/07/2014]

<sup>22</sup> Solalinde quotes from Alfonso X, *General Estoria 1a parte*, Manuscript Biblioteca Nacional 816 f. 215a;

Antonio Solalinde, 'Intervención de Alfonso el Sabio en la redacción de sus obras', in *Revista de Filología Española*, Vol. 2 (1915) 283-288, 285-286

<sup>23</sup> Linehan, p.131

<sup>24</sup> Keller, p.38

and in particular that which was available to readers of Castilian. Alfonso's choice of language for his *oeuvre* is particularly significant, and will be explored more fully in a later part of this chapter.

Solalinde's work shows that the texts of the Alfonsine *taller* were the product of a process of collaboration, in which the monarch played an important and direct part. He explains that, for the most part, the king was involved at the 'genesis' of each work, directing how it should be done, and then again in the correction stage.<sup>25</sup> The actual redaction of the text was done by Alfonso's collaborators, that is, the scholars of his *taller*,<sup>26</sup> but there is strong evidence that Alfonso's role in the process was active. The art historian Ana Domínguez Rodríguez has studied the miniatures of the Alfonsine codices, and has written of how these reveal Alfonso's role in the preparation of the texts and in his perception of his role: Alfonso is usually found dictating to scribes, often with a pointed finger demonstrating his active role and position of authority.<sup>27</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez explains that having an image of the monarch in a codex is not unusual, and implies the codex is being offered by the scribe, translator or author to the sovereign as patron, but it is uncommon for this monarch to be shown actively participating in the creation of the codex in the way that Alfonso is sometimes presented.<sup>28</sup> We can turn our attention here back to the afore-cited quotation from the *General Estoria I*, explaining the king's role in the works of the *taller*. Following this logic, as well as the medieval notion of authorship discussed in Chapter One, I will refer

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<sup>25</sup> Solalinde, 287

<sup>26</sup> Solalinde, 287-288

<sup>27</sup> Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, 'La miniatura del 'scriptorium' alfonsí', *Estudios alfonsíes: Lexicografía, lírica, y política de Alfonso el Sabio* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1985) pp.127-61, pp.144-147

<sup>28</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez, p.144

to the texts produced in the *taller* as Alfonsine, for the most part as if he were the sole author.

Joseph O'Callaghan has argued that one of the reasons behind Alfonso's *taller* was to unify his fragmented kingdom.<sup>29</sup> He goes on to argue that the reasoning behind Alfonso's extensive body of scientific and cultural work was noble, stating:

He set out to organize the entire body of human knowledge and to make it accessible to the widest possible audience. Acknowledging the unity of all knowledge and seeing it as a manifestation of God's presence, he believed that he was rendering homage to God and bringing God and humanity into closer communication.<sup>30</sup>

Linehan, however, argues convincingly that he sees less intellectual altruism in Alfonso's work, reading it as more the manifestation of a continuing quest for power – he calls the king a 'control freak'<sup>31</sup> – a harsh term, but the reasoning behind its usage is justified, particularly in the case of Alfonso's legislative works which, as we will see later, are an example of the king's intention to emphasize and strengthen his political control over the kingdom. It is these legal texts that I will look at first and will examine the political and social context in which they were produced.

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<sup>29</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.11

<sup>30</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.131

<sup>31</sup> Linehan, p.118

### 2.1.3 Alfonsine authority, legislation and the legal texts

In the century prior to Alfonso's accession to the throne, across Europe the concept of royal authority and power within a monarch's own kingdom had been changing.<sup>32</sup> Before the middle of the twelfth century, the power of European monarchs had primarily been limited to that of feudal sovereigns, sustained only through the support of the nobility.<sup>33</sup> Salvador Martínez explains that from the middle of the twelfth century, the monarch became 'a more centralizing and powerful institution' due to the adoption of Roman Law, which removed many of the privileges traditionally enjoyed by the nobility.<sup>34</sup> During the tenth and eleventh centuries, monarchs in Iberia had been seen as a first amongst equals,<sup>35</sup> and were expected to seek counsel and advice from the nobles and the court, according to the constitutional role of the ruler.<sup>36</sup> This changed during the following two centuries, whereby the 'role of the Crown in the administration of justice led to an increase in royal control',<sup>37</sup> meaning that in Castile the monarch was no longer required to consult the nobility or the Church in matters relating to the governance of the realm. As Helen Clagett explains, however, the nobles in thirteenth-century Castile-Leon, were still accustomed to being in a role of privilege and influence, given the subdivision of the Peninsula into several kingdoms and cities, each of which was largely self-governing. The nobility of each region were therefore in

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<sup>32</sup>Chris Wickham, *Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016) pp.141-148

<sup>33</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.295-296

<sup>34</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.295-296; Angus Mackay, *Spain the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977) p.99

<sup>35</sup> José Miguel Carrión Gutiérrez, *Conociendo a Alfonso X el Sabio* (Murcia: Editorial Regional de Murcia, 1997) p.34

<sup>36</sup> Mackay, *Spain the Middle Ages*, p.100

<sup>37</sup> Mackay, *Spain the Middle Ages*, pp.98-99

a position of high authority and power.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, due to the expansionist policies of Alfonso's father Fernando III and great-grandfather Alfonso VIII, the majority of the nobles had been kept occupied, rather than restless, and largely satisfied throughout their respective reigns,<sup>39</sup> given the rewards, meaning land, rights and wealth, that came alongside expansion.<sup>40</sup>

The accession of Alfonso X was to change this, and many of the privileges to which the nobles were accustomed, such as their positions of legal authority, trials by peers, and their long-held customs were endangered by the king's 'new-fangled laws',<sup>41</sup> such changes were 'tout à fait indésirables' for the nobles.<sup>42</sup> As Salvador Martínez explains, 'this must have seemed to the Castilian nobility and the Church hierarchy as an authentic revolution that disrupted the balance these two institutions traditionally maintained with the monarchy'.<sup>43</sup> Alfonso X *did* continue to seek counsel from both the nobility and the Church in the administration of Castile-Leon, including fiscal matters, economic policy, how to finance his quest for empire, the matter of the war with the North African Moors, and the issue of who would succeed him, following the death of his eldest son,<sup>44</sup> although one may wonder if his requests for counsel were genuine or an attempt to manage the nobles' behaviour by paying them lip service.

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<sup>38</sup> Helen L. Clagett, 'Las Siete Partidas' in *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* Vol. 22 No. 4 (October 1965) 341-346, 342

<sup>39</sup> Kenneth Vanderford, *Alfonso el Sabio: Setenario* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1945) p.xiv

<sup>40</sup> Wickham, p.145

<sup>41</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.80

<sup>42</sup> Georges Martin, *Les juges de Castille – Mentalités et discours historique dans l'Espagne médiévale* (Paris: Séminaire d'études médiévales hispaniques, 1992) p.321

<sup>43</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.297

<sup>44</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.297

Alfonso did not, however, involve the nobility in legislative matters: this he reserved solely for himself, as in his view, crucially, as monarch he was the only person qualified to make laws in the kingdom of Castile-Leon.<sup>45</sup> And make laws he did. The *Siete Partidas*, which forms part of the king's politico-cultural *oeuvre*, was the 'most notable [legal] code of that age',<sup>46</sup> and comprised some 2,844 laws. However, it is worth noting that this legal code was not actually promulgated until 1348 by Alfonso's great-grandson Alfonso XI, showing that Alfonso was not entirely successful in his attempt to increase his power through legislative means.<sup>47</sup> In the *Partidas*, Alfonso explains that he had witnessed occasions of a lack of legal justice, the implementation of laws which were 'against God and against justice', and judgements made 'at hazard and according to personal whim'.<sup>48</sup> With the intention of standardising legal practices, and, according to Simon Barton,<sup>49</sup> reinforcing his authority as king over his subjects, in addition to the *Partidas*, Alfonso oversaw the preparation of two lesser legal codes: the *Fuero Real* and the *Espéculo de las leyes*.<sup>50</sup> This meant that many nobles who had previously served as justices were replaced by legists, who 'became increasingly influential in the work of government'.<sup>51</sup> In addition to this, he completed the *Setenario*, which had been started by his father Fernando III,<sup>52</sup> and rather than strictly a legal text, is still an attempt to control the behaviour of others, in that it is a political text that can be considered 'a didactic work of theological and moral counsel intended for the use of

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<sup>45</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.28

<sup>46</sup> Clagett, 341

<sup>47</sup> Clagett, 342

<sup>48</sup> Keller, p.111

<sup>49</sup> Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) p.79

<sup>50</sup> Keller, pp.113-115

<sup>51</sup> Mackay, p.99

<sup>52</sup> Vanderford, p.xvi



[...] members of the royal house'.<sup>53</sup> The relevance of all of this to the overall thesis is to show the planting of the seed of the use of royal texts in an attempt for the king to manage the behaviour of his subjects, particularly the nobility. In Chapter Three I will discuss the pro-monarchic slant and propagandistic objective behind the *CPSF*, which, although not strictly a royal text, was also used to attempt to manage the behaviour of the nobility.<sup>54</sup> The present section also introduces the idea that by the time of the production of the Alfonsine legal texts, the relationship between the monarch and the nobility was vastly different to the previous status quo, as we will continue to see below.

Alfonso's view of royal authority was 'absolutist':<sup>55</sup> he believed that monarchs were the holders of God's place on Earth, and should therefore be honoured.<sup>56</sup> He communicated this through lengthy passages in his law codes,<sup>57</sup> the production and contents of which meant the pace of the evolution of the concept of royal power in Castile-Leon was quickened, and became more visible. In his legal texts, Alfonso reinforces the reduction of the power and authority of the nobility by emphasizing that only kings and emperors could make laws.<sup>58</sup> Keller explains the situation by stating that the king hoped the new law codes 'would be accepted throughout the realm as a kind of legal encyclopedia which judges and lawyers could consult as a guide prepared by noted experts in jurisprudence, including the king himself',<sup>59</sup> and Salvador Martínez

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<sup>53</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.136

<sup>54</sup> Luis Fernández Gallardo, 'La *Crónica particular de San Fernando*: sobre los orígenes de la crónica real castellana, I. Aspectos formales', *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 32 (2009), 245-265, 252

<sup>55</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.297

<sup>56</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.26

<sup>57</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.26

<sup>58</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.28

<sup>59</sup> Keller, p.118

explains that Alfonso hoped that governing all cities with the same laws would allow him to 'achieve uniformity in the administrative policy of all towns'.<sup>60</sup> The view of the nobles, however, was somewhat different, given their vested interests in the established legal practices prior to the introduction of Alfonso's legal codes.<sup>61</sup> The centralization of legal codes and the removal of the nobility's power to legislate was in direct conflict with the previous state of affairs, where the nobles had held a great deal more power in their own regions, and had legislated and judged, often according to their wont and personal financial interests. Barton states that many of them considered these codes 'a fundamental attack on their traditional liberties and their privileged position at the heart of government' and placed Alfonso on a 'collision course' with the nobles.<sup>62</sup> In this way, Alfonso's legislative texts can be viewed as a means of reinforcing and extending the king's power over the kingdom,<sup>63</sup> including into the future, since laws by their nature are designed to maintain control over the future behaviour those who are forced to abide by them. In the same vein, the king's historical texts can be read as a means of emphasizing the power of his past, and in particular his lineage, and therefore his claim to the throne and his aspiration to become Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. As we will see in more detail in Chapter Three, the *CPSF* was also an attempt to emphasize the power of the monarch and to maintain control over the nobility. That is to say that Fernando III is used almost as a metaphor for Fernando IV, during whose reign the *CPSF* is written, or at least completed, in an attempt to manage the rebellious behaviour of the nobles by

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<sup>60</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.301

<sup>61</sup> Keller, p.119

<sup>62</sup> Barton, pp.79-80

<sup>63</sup> Barton, p.79

highlighting the importance of the Molina family during the reigns of both kings,<sup>64</sup> the role of the kings' respective mothers,<sup>65</sup> and the importance of the union of the unification of Castile and Leon (and the belief that it should remain unified).<sup>66</sup>

#### 2.1.4 The historical texts

Alfonso did not only use his legal texts to maintain and emphasize his power: he also attempted to do this through his histories. He commissioned two chronicles: the *General Estoria* and that which is now generally referred to as the *Estoria de Espanna*, written, like all of his prose works, in Castilian. Georges Martin reminds us that Alfonso was not only the patron of these works, but was an active participant in their writing – 'la production historiographique fut directement prise en charge par le roi'.<sup>67</sup> The *Estoria de Espanna* was designed as a general history of Spain, from pre-history, via the Romans, right up to the time of Alfonso's accession to the throne of Castile, and was unfinished by the time of Alfonso's death in 1284, with only provisional texts for the final section.<sup>68</sup> The reign of Fernando III was therefore originally planned to be included fully in the *Estoria*, but this was not achieved during the lifetime of Alfonso X. As Leonardo Funes notes, textual references in the *CPSF* show us that it is post-Alfonsine,<sup>69</sup> although a witness of it appears in E<sub>2</sub>, parts of which *are* Alfonsine. This

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<sup>64</sup> Barton, pp.73-74

<sup>65</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247

<sup>66</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 259

<sup>67</sup> Martin, *Les juges de Castille*, p.602

<sup>68</sup> Manuel Hijano Villegas, 'Monumento inacabado: La *Estoria de España*', *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* 37 (2014), 13-44, 14

<sup>69</sup> Leonardo Funes, *La 'Estoria cabadelante' en la Crónica Particular de San Fernando: Una visión nobiliaria del reinado de Fernando III*, Constance Carta, Sarah Finci and Dora Mancheva (Eds.) *Antes de*

has important implications for an edition of the *CPSF*, which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Planned to be wider in scope than the *Estoria de Espanna*, the *General Estoria*, described by Funes as an ‘una ambiciosa historia universal desde la Creación del mundo hasta la época de Alfonso X’,<sup>70</sup> was also unfinished by Alfonso’s demise: extant manuscripts, which exist in varying degrees of completeness, suggest it was only completed up to the birth of Christ.<sup>71</sup> Building on the work of Inés Fernández-Ordóñez,<sup>72</sup> Mariana Leite has described the relationship between the two chronicles as the *General Estoria* being a ‘spin-off’ of the *Estoria de Espanna*, explaining her choice of term referring to the way that the *General Estoria* used many of the materials of the *Estoria de Espanna*, but with a new perspective: a history of empires rather than history with a local focus.<sup>73</sup> However, unlike most TV spin-offs, Fernández-Ordóñez contends that the two histories were most likely written at the same time. She argues that they were written by two teams of scholars, independent of each other, but with some sharing of source material, and the patron of both projects was, of course, the same.<sup>74</sup>

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agotan la mano y la pluma que su historia – Magis deficit manus et calamus quam eius hystoria, Homenaje a Carlos Alvar, Volumen I: Edad Media (San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2016) pp.643-655, p.651

<sup>70</sup> Leonardo Funes, *El modelo historiográfico alfonsí* (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1997) p.8

<sup>71</sup> O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, pp.139-140

<sup>72</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘El taller historiográfico alfonsí’. pp.105-126

<sup>73</sup> Mariana Leite, ‘Transmitting and translating the history of the world: Alfonso’s *General Estoria* in Portugal’, *The Estoria de Espanna Project Research Seminar*, (University of Birmingham, 14 April 2016)

<sup>74</sup>Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso el Sabio*, (Madrid: Istmo, 1992) p.95

[www.cervantesvirtual.com/downloadPdf/las-estorias-de-alfonso-el-sabio-0/](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/downloadPdf/las-estorias-de-alfonso-el-sabio-0/)  
[accessed 12/06/2018]

Alfonso's historiographical method was to compile his texts using as many sources as possible, and to compile them coherently into one text.<sup>75</sup> The sources used for his histories were many and varied, and included Roman, Gothic and Medieval histories, the Bible, texts in Arabic, and poetry, as well as two major histories written in Latin and commissioned by his recent predecessors as monarch of Castile: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae*, and Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon mundi*.<sup>76</sup> O'Callaghan states that Alfonso used far more sources than had been used in the preparation of any previous history,<sup>77</sup> although we cannot know this for sure.

Several recensions of the *Estoria de Espanna* were prepared, many of which are extant, some of which are Alfonsine – that is, prepared during his reign and by his scriptorium – and others are later. Fernández-Ordóñez lists the following versions of the *Estoria*: the *Versión primitiva* (1270-1274), the *Versión enmendada de después de 1274*, the *Versión crítica* (1282-1284) and the *Versión retóricamente amplificada* (1289, during the reign of Sancho IV).<sup>78</sup> In another work, she describes the versions and manuscripts in detail, and shows that differences between the Alfonsine recensions of the *Estoria* and the treatment of their sources demonstrate that the later versions are not simply witnesses of the older versions. Instead, they are edited in such a way as to reflect the changing politics of Alfonso's reign.<sup>79</sup> For example, a paragraph in the *Versión crítica*

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<sup>75</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.138

<sup>76</sup> Keller, p.158; O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.138

<sup>77</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.138

<sup>78</sup> Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, 'Variación en el modelo alfonsí en el siglo XIII', Casa de Velázquez (ed.) *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XV)*. (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000) p.42

<sup>79</sup> Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual de la *'Estoria de España'* y de las principales *'Crónicas'* de ellas derivadas' in Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (Ed.) *Alfonso X el Sabio y las crónicas de España* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2000) pp.219-264

that is not present in earlier recensions, condemns the rebellion of Sancho against his father,<sup>80</sup> about which I will speak more fully later.

This point is particularly useful to modern editors of the *Estoria*, and in particular digital editors: the latter may use technology to allow them to electronically collate witnesses and allow edition users to more easily compare versions of the text from different manuscripts than would be possible without these digital tools. The increased convenience of such a tool means users would be more likely to do so when such a possibility is more freely available, as it is in a digital format, than they may have done using more traditional methods. It also shows why a purely document-centred approach as advocated (separately) by Pierazzo and Gabler, or a purely Lachmannian approach, would be inappropriate for an edition of the *Estoria*, as differences between the text contained within the witnesses are likely to be of high scholarly interest, and would be lost if the editor rid the edition of non-authorial emendations, or if the external context of production of the work was not taken into consideration when editing. A Bédierist approach would also have to be used with caution for works such as the *Estoria*, which has such complex contexts of production and rewriting, in order not to lose valuable information that is likely to be of great interest to those who use the edition, as could happen if only one witness was used to prepare the edition. This reiterates the importance for an editor to have a solid understanding of the significance of the text being edited for the potential users of the edition, if the edition is to be of as much use as possible.

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<sup>80</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.231

One of the main purposes of the Alfonsine histories was to be didactic, in that they 'provided examples of conduct for humanity to imitate or to avoid',<sup>81</sup> as Fraker argues, the texts must be read as products of the external context in which they were written: that is, the highlighting of references to the Roman emperors, and the focus on Alfonso as a descendent of the imperial lineage can be read as 'at the very least an allusion to the Learned King's imperial aspirations', or even 'as an apology for those aspirations'.<sup>82</sup> Geraldine Hazbun has also written of the clear link between the *Estoria* and the king's imperial aspirations, emphasising key themes in the chronicle as political gains and losses, justice, treason and loyalty.<sup>83</sup> Even a basic understanding of Alfonsine history allows one to see echoes of these themes in the king's reign, and the didacticism of the text is clear. We can return here to Linehan's comment that 'Alfonso's ideological purpose is never far from the surface' in the works of his *taller*; this is certainly true of his histories.<sup>84</sup> Linehan goes on to state that the tone of the *General Estoria* is 'severely and relentlessly didactic' and that the message of the history is directed towards 'high princes' and 'other good men' as should have ears to hear it'.<sup>85</sup> Martin tackles the issue of the language in which the prose works of the Alfonsine oeuvre, which of course includes the histories, were written, stating that 'l'usage d'une langue vernaculaire est bien entendu déterminant. Il est destiné [...] à faciliter la diffusion du message royal auprès des élites peu lettrées'.<sup>86</sup> Sociolinguistic matters, including the choice of

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<sup>81</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.138

<sup>82</sup> Fraker, 96

<sup>83</sup> Geraldine Coates (Hazbun), 'Et si desto menguas': decadencia imperial en la *Estoria de España*', Francisco Bautista (ed.) *El Relato historiográfico: textos y tradiciones en la España Medieval*, Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar 48 (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2006) pp.103-121

<sup>84</sup> Linehan, p.163

<sup>85</sup> Linehan, p.163

<sup>86</sup> Georges Martin, *Histoires de l'Espagne médiévales (Historiographie, geste, romancero)* (Paris: Séminaire d'études médiévales hispaniques de l'université de Paris XIII, 1997) pp.133-134

language for his prose works and the implications this has on intended audience and the propagation of his political message will be treated in more depth later in this chapter, although I will add here that we can take Hazbun's, Linehan's, Martin's and Fernández-Ordóñez's arguments together to see that through the didactic tone and choice of language in his historical texts, Alfonso can be seen to be attempting to disseminate his view on contemporary political events amongst as wide an audience as possible, using his ideology as a lens through which to view history and to reflect on his sources. As Martin points out, this was not a new usage of histories, as history was at the time in question, 'una forma dominante del discurso político'.<sup>87</sup> If the point of histories at the time they were written was for them to be didactic and as commentaries and analysis of behaviour, this highlights why, at least in the case of medieval histories, we cannot understand a history without its context. If we are reading medieval historical texts as a product of their context, we therefore cannot hope to edit a medieval history without taking into account the circumstances in which it was produced and transmitted. This reiterates why Gabler and Pierazzo and their 'document-centred' approach to editing, to use Robinson's term<sup>88</sup> is not the most appropriate for editing Alfonsine prose. Martin's point shows that in the case of medieval histories, much would be lost if their editors shared Gabler and Pierazzo's viewpoint.

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<sup>87</sup> Georges Martin, 'El modelo historiográfico alfonsí y sus antecedentes', Casa de Velázquez (ed.) *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XV)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000) p.32

<sup>88</sup> Robinson 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 111



### 2.1.5 The wider Alfonsine *oeuvre*

Alfonso's politico-cultural *oeuvre* comprised more than just legislative and historical texts, and the works contained within the king's project can give us a wider insight into Alfonsine society and also the circumstances in which the monarch found himself than just the content of the works themselves. Diego Catalán builds on Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal's work,<sup>89</sup> and describes how there were two main periods of production of the Alfonsine *taller*: the first was 1250 to 1260, which primarily involved translating texts from other languages: usually Arabic into Castilian. In the view of G. Menéndez Pidal and later of Catalán, the second main period of production was 1269 to 1284, during which time the translation of secondary sources was surpassed by the 'compilation of original works',<sup>90</sup> and Alfonso worked on more personal texts such as the *Cantigas de Santa María*,<sup>91</sup> redrafted of some of his legal texts,<sup>92</sup> and revised some of his translations from the first period.<sup>93</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, however, argues against the separation of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* into two periods in this way, explaining that the division only holds true if the juridical texts are not taken into account, and that to separate the legal texts from the rest of the output of his *taller* would be inappropriate as they represent a fundamental part of the *oeuvre*. She goes on to state that since the dates previously given to the *Cantigas de Santa María* have been revised since the publication of G. Menéndez Pidal's 'classic' paper, scholars now believe that these may

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<sup>89</sup> Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, 'Cómo trabajaron las escuelas alfonsíes', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 5:4 (1951) 363-380

<sup>90</sup> Diego Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos: Cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1962) p.19 [My translation. Original: 'se compilan obras originales'.]

<sup>91</sup> G. Menéndez Pidal, p.369

<sup>92</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.249-250

<sup>93</sup> Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, p.19

have been compiled during the time between the traditionally-held two main periods of activity of the Alfonsine *taller*.<sup>94</sup>

The methodology of the Alfonsine translations can also give us an insight into wider Alfonsine society. Through the translations we get hints of the possible level of multi-faith coexistence of the time (particularly when these are analysed in the context of the contents of the Alfonsine laws),<sup>95</sup> and we can also look specifically at the sociolinguistic context of Alfonso's reign, including his aspirations for the language of Castile and its significance both within and outside his kingdom. The translations were primarily conducted at the schools of translation at Toledo, where translators would work in pairs on a text: one partner would be an expert in the source language and the other in the target language.<sup>96</sup> G. Menéndez Pidal states that Alfonso's way of working 'no ofreció novedad ninguna' in that he continued, at first, to make use of this technique of paired translation, but the novelty he did offer was not just to have Castilian as an oral stepping stone in the translation process between Arabic and Latin, but for it to be an end in itself: that is to say to translate into Castilian as the finished product, rather than then making the second step of translating this Castilian into Latin.<sup>97</sup> In some instances the Alfonsine school of translation produced texts translated into both Castilian and Latin, but this was not always the case.<sup>98</sup> Later on, Alfonso moved to the technique of

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<sup>94</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'El taller historiográfico alfonsí'.

<sup>95</sup> Christian Kusi-Obodum gives a clear and concise overview of scholarly debate surrounding the issue of *convivencia* from the understanding of the term by Américo Castro in 1948 to scholars of the present day. See Christian Kusi-Obodum, *Alfonso X and Islam: Narratives of Conflict and Co-operation in the Estoria de España*, Unpublished doctoral thesis, (University of Birmingham, 2017) <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/8095/> [accessed 01/07/2018] pp.18-28

<sup>96</sup> Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, 365

<sup>97</sup> G. Menéndez Pidal, pp.365-366

<sup>98</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.141

translators working alone, but he subsequently moved back to paired work.<sup>99</sup> The translators Alfonso employed were primarily learned Jews, many of whom were bilingual in Arabic and Castilian, and had mastered Latin, and some of whom could also read Hebrew and Greek.<sup>100</sup> Whilst Alfonso's method of translation may have offered no novelty, Márquez-Villanueva argues that his concept of knowledge did: for the first time, he states, knowledge was seen as being independent from religion, and the monarch placed Christian and non-Christian thought on an equal footing.<sup>101</sup>

María Rosa Menocal paints a positive image of the level of tolerance present in Medieval Spain – an imprecise term, but sufficient for her book's intended general readership, for whom her aim is to promote a positive view of Medieval Spain and the three faith groups living there together. She states, for example, that 'Muslims, Christians, and Jews did not have separate cultures based on religious differences but rather were part of a broad and expansive culture that had incorporated elements of all their traditions.'<sup>102</sup> She claims that there existed a certain level of rejection of tolerance within each of the three faith communities, such as Jews opposing intermarriage, or Muslims who rejected the tolerance of other more progressive

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<sup>99</sup> G. Menéndez Pidal, p.367

<sup>100</sup> Keller, p.135

<sup>101</sup> Márquez-Villanueva, p.130;

This statement does not, however, take into account the work that by this point, had been being undertaken for some time at the University of Paris, where the work of Aristotle was being re-translated into Latin and studied, having arrived via Baghdad and Cordoba. This Aristotelian thought challenged the Church's official teachings. The papacy reacted by issuing repeated prohibitions against the study and dissemination of works by Aristotle and the 'provocative' readings of Aristotle by Averroes, but these proved ineffective, and by 1230 several prominent figures in Paris were openly teaching these works and challenging what constituted Christian faith and understanding. See María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: how Muslims, Jews and Christians created a culture of tolerance in medieval Spain* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), pp.201-203

<sup>102</sup> Menocal, p.318

Muslims,<sup>103</sup> but says little of the ‘official’ religious intolerance coming from the Alfonsine court, such as from his legal texts, focussing instead on Alfonso’s ‘transformation’ of Castilian from ‘just one of the peninsula’s many competing Romance vernaculars into a legitimate language of authority and history’ through the translations of his *taller*.<sup>104</sup> Contrastingly, Simon Doubleday is rather less positive about the level of religious tolerance in Alfonsine society: he explains that it is important not to assume that since Alfonso deeply respected the knowledge and translation skills of non-Christian scholars, that the three religions lived and worked together in a state of multicultural harmony. He argues that the situation was instead more one of ‘pragmatic coexistence ... within a deeply colonial context’:<sup>105</sup> although we do not yet witness the ‘fanatical intolerance’<sup>106</sup> that saw Jews and Muslims expelled from Spain in 1492, in Alfonsine society, religious minorities were subject to strict rules and conditions. For example, intercultural sexual relations with Christian women were strictly prohibited in order to protect the women’s ‘purity’, the *Cantigas de Santa María* contain anti-Semitic stereotypes,<sup>107</sup> Christians were prohibited from eating, drinking and bathing with Jews,<sup>108</sup> and Jews were legally restricted from occupying positions of authority over Christians<sup>109</sup> (although in practice, several elite Jews did hold such positions in Alfonso’s own court).<sup>110</sup> Dwayne E. Carpenter uses text from the *Siete Partidas* to argue that in the time of Alfonso X, Jewish-Christian relations were

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<sup>103</sup> Menocal, p.319

<sup>104</sup> Menocal, pp.225-226

<sup>105</sup> Simon Doubleday, *The Wise King: A Christian Prince, Muslim Spain and the Birth of the Renaissance* (New York: Basic Books, 2015) p.xxv

<sup>106</sup> Doubleday, p. 64

<sup>107</sup> Doubleday, p.64

<sup>108</sup> Dwayne E. Carpenter, ‘Minorities in Medieval Spain: The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in the *Siete Partidas*’, *Romance Quarterly* 33:3 (1986), 275-287, 282

<sup>109</sup> Carpenter, 279

<sup>110</sup> Carpenter, 280

largely ones of ambivalence, erring on the side of slightly grudging tolerance, which 'were defined and oftentimes determined by historico-theological considerations,' referring to Christian resentment of the Jews' refusal to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, and their role in his death, but whilst also recognising their positive qualities: Alfonso extols Jewish prowess in battle and their 'distinguished ancestry'. Muslim-Christian relations, however, Carpenter goes on to explain, were even cooler: Islam was viewed by Christians with a mixture of 'religious antipathy and political fear',<sup>111</sup> and Christians who converted to Islam were deemed guilty of great treason, with the punishment being loss of all possessions.<sup>112</sup> In contrast to the religious overtones of Jewish-Christian relations, Muslim-Christian relations were viewed much more politically, being 'governed by pragmatic concerns resulting from religio-bellucose confrontations'.<sup>113</sup> After all, this was an era of territorial expansion, and the *Reconquista* campaigns were still ongoing.<sup>114</sup> In his use of texts to disseminate monarchical propaganda, Alfonso X planted a seed that would later bloom in works such as the *CPSF*, as I will show in Chapter 3.

The *Cantigas de Santa María*, briefly mentioned above, are a collection of 420 devotional songs to the Virgin, produced by a collaboration of authors, although Alfonso himself is thought to have personally been active in the preparation of 'a great

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<sup>111</sup> Carpenter, 276

<sup>112</sup> Carpenter, 278

<sup>113</sup> Carpenter, 276

<sup>114</sup> Further information about intercultural relations in medieval Spain can be found in work by Américo Castro – see *La realidad histórica en España*, (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1954); H. Salvador Martínez, *La convivencia en la España del siglo XIII*, (Madrid: Poliferno, 2006); Manuel González Jiménez, 'Alfonso X y las minorías confesionales de mudéjares y judíos', Miguel Rodríguez Llopis (Coord.) *Alfonso X: Aportaciones de un rey castellano a la construcción de Europa* (Murcia: Región de Murcia, Consejería de Cultura y Educación, 1997) pp.71-90

part' of the collection.<sup>115</sup> Doubleday has written that the king's many and significant health problems, about which more is written later, are likely to have 'heightened his devotion to Mary'.<sup>116</sup> Salvador Martínez states that the collection, which had been started in 1257,<sup>117</sup> was completed between 1277 and 1284, during which time Alfonso was suffering from several serious physical ailments, and whilst his son Sancho was carrying out the duties of much of the role of monarch, following his rebellion.<sup>118</sup> It was also during this time that Alfonso completed his book on chess and other games, the *Libro de acedrex, dados e tablas*.<sup>119</sup> Chess, as Doubleday has written, was a prestigious game of mystique that was 'intimately associated with the Islamic world', and of which the military and political connotations would have been hard to miss, particularly within the context and period of its production.<sup>120</sup>

The significance of all of this context-setting for the (digital) editor of works from and closely related to the Alfonsine project is that with a greater understanding of the context during which the works were produced (and bearing in mind that some of the works were edited to suit the changing circumstances of the king, his quest for empire and his relationship to the nobles) an editor is more able to make informed decisions about what to include and what not to include in an edition. This is particularly the case with digital editions over print editions, since in theory the editor could include a great deal more information, more readings, more collated texts, and more tools than

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<sup>115</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.217-228

<sup>116</sup> Doubleday, p.181

<sup>117</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.250

<sup>118</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.518-519

<sup>119</sup> Jens T. Wollesen, 'Sub specie ludi... Text and Images in Alfonso el Sabio's *Libro de Acedrex, Dados e Tablas*', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 53:3 (1990) 277-308, 277

<sup>120</sup> Doubleday, p.12

a print editor could. As I argued in Chapter One, however, and returning to Robinson's phrase, 'our resources are finite, and require us to choose where we place our effort',<sup>121</sup> and since editions are made to be used by readers or users<sup>122</sup>, and not to fulfil an editor's own personal preferences or ego, the perceived needs of the potential users of the edition (and imagined needs of future users, as far as is possible) should be at the forefront of the editor's mind when making editorial decisions. When an editor has a clear understanding of the context of the text being edited, its significance for scholars, and how and why it is studied, she has more of the information needed to make informed decisions about where to place her resources and efforts when preparing the edition.

### **2.1.6 Alfonso and the nobility**

Since we know from afore-cited works by Linehan, Fraker and Hazbun, that much of the Alfonsine *oeuvre*, and specifically the histories, were propagandistic and didactic in nature, and we also know that there are several versions of the *Estoria de Espanna* produced during and just after the reign of Alfonso, some of the content of which was edited to reflect the changing political circumstances of the external context of the text, it is necessary to look here in more detail at the king's evolving relationship with the

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<sup>121</sup> Robinson 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 106

<sup>122</sup> This may appear only a semantic issue, but customarily, those who use printed editions are often referred to as 'readers', whilst those who use digital editions are 'users'. This is significant, as it shows that digital edition users are much more likely to adapt the edition as a tool, and use it differently, according to their own specific needs. This is much easier to do with digital editions than printed editions, for reasons I hope to have made clear in Chapter One. Since this thesis is primarily concerned with digital editions, I will use the term 'users' of edition to refer to those who use/read the edition.

nobility. As above, without a clear understanding of the relationship between the king and the nobles, an editor of the Alfonsine histories (and by extension post-Alfonsine histories) would be in a weaker position when it comes to making editorial judgements about what to include in a digital edition. For example, as I will show in Chapter Three, in the translated section of the *CPSF*, I have taken the decision to provide annotations available on mouse-over, and included in these is a description of the role of as many as possible of the nobles mentioned by name. Having a solid understanding of the changing relationship between the monarch and the nobility in the thirteenth-century, and the use of both the text of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* and the *CPSF* as a means of managing the behaviour of rebellious nobles, led me to the conclusion that users of the edition who are not already *au fait*, may find it useful to know who these nobles are, to help them understand why they appear in the *CPSF*.

We have seen above that the content of the legislative texts within the Alfonsine *oeuvre* was a source of contention for the nobility, at a time when the position and privileges to which they were accustomed were being challenged. A further point of major contention between the king and the nobles was the issue of funding his *taller* and his campaign to become Holy Roman Emperor, particularly in the financial context of the era. Within a year of becoming king, thanks for the most part to the costs of the expensive *Reconquista* campaigns, a financial crisis that had started in the reign of Fernando III came to a head.<sup>123</sup> The kingdom was ‘practically bankrupt’,<sup>124</sup> and in a

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<sup>123</sup> Mackay, p.101

<sup>124</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.113



situation of 'enormous inflation'.<sup>125</sup> To attempt to tackle this, Alfonso instigated strict price regulations: the *cotos*. Alongside this, the king established 'drastic measures' to prohibit ostentation and luxury, to protect natural resources for the benefit of the agricultural sector and to prevent the free movement of goods and merchandise.<sup>126</sup> The regulations, many of which appear in the *Partidas*, removed many of the privileges traditionally enjoyed by the nobility.<sup>127</sup> Scholars are divided as to the extent to which Alfonso was justified in instigating such strict regulations. Keller describes the laws prohibiting ostentation as 'an effort to stifle the envy felt by the poor for the rich' and states Alfonso was 'far too generous and free-handed with the nobility' and altogether 'more lenient' than his father had been,<sup>128</sup> – it is worth noting, however, that the rules against ostentation did not stretch to restricting the behaviour of the king himself, who allowed his eldest son a lavish wedding in 1269, further alienating the nobility.<sup>129</sup> Linehan, in comparison, goes as far as to describe Alfonso's laws as the actions of a 'control freak',<sup>130</sup> and of one 'detached from reality',<sup>131</sup> stating that 'a culture of control pervaded the kingdom'.<sup>132</sup> It is safe to say that the laws were 'strongly resisted by towns and nobles alike'.<sup>133</sup>

A further cause of financial difficulties for the kingdom, and therefore an additional source of tension between the king and the nobility, was a silver shortage. The silver

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<sup>125</sup> Joseph O'Callaghan, *The Cortes of Castile-Leon 1188-1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989) p.21

<sup>126</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.114

<sup>127</sup> Mackay, p, 101

<sup>128</sup> Keller, pp.33-34

<sup>129</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.186

<sup>130</sup> Linehan, p.118

<sup>131</sup> Linehan, p.115

<sup>132</sup> Linehan, p.119

<sup>133</sup> Mackay, p.99

content of coins was too high, so each coin was more valuable as a commodity than its face value. This led to coin-hoarding by the wealthy, many of whom were nobles. The result of this was a scarcity of coins, and therefore price increases, as people could not afford to purchase the goods they required.<sup>134</sup> These increases show that merchants had stopped obeying the *cotos*, and Alfonso was forced to remove them.<sup>135</sup> His reaction in the 1252 *Cortes* of Seville was to implement the *posturas* – currency regulations to control hoarding, prices and exports,<sup>136</sup> using a system of taxation<sup>137</sup> – and slightly longer-term to use a system of quantitative easing, by minting coins with a lower silver content between 1256 and 1263,<sup>138</sup> so reducing the scarcity of coins in the economy and devaluing the currency.<sup>139</sup> Alfonso had therefore taken measures to try to prevent the hoarding of the current coins, and had prevented future hoarding by devaluing the new coins, making them unworthy of the practice. In doing so he had ‘enraged the populace’.<sup>140</sup> His subjects were ‘incensed’ by such measures as the devaluation of coins and the *cotos*, as well as the inflation and scarcity that had provoked Alfonso’s response, and they stopped complying with the new laws.<sup>141</sup> Alfonso’s response to a crisis not started by his doing, but which reached a critical point during his reign, was to produce more legislation: further evidence of how his politico-cultural *oeuvre* was used in his quest to maintain his control within his own kingdom. Later on, he uses a

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<sup>134</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.115

<sup>135</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.115

<sup>136</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.115

<sup>137</sup> Jean Gautier Dalché, ‘La politique monétaire et fiscale d’Alphonse X revisitée par Guillermo Castán Lanaspá’, *Alcanate* (2004-2005) 315-352, 328

<sup>138</sup> José Luis Braña Pastor, and Antonio Roma Valdés, ‘Notas sobre una moneda de Alfonso X de Castilla y de León’, *Gaceta numismática* 142 (2001) (PDF version) 1-5, 1, <http://www.numisane.org/Gaceta/GN142.pdf> [accessed 04/07/2014]

<sup>139</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.186

<sup>140</sup> Keller, p.34

<sup>141</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.113-115

similar tool, but with the *Estoria de Espanna*, which he edits, in response to the behaviour of his son and eventual successor Sancho.<sup>142</sup> The relevance of this for a digital editor is that knowing that edits have been made according to a changing political context would lead some scholars to want to study what has been changed, in order to draw conclusions about the textual transmission of the chronicle. This could not be done using an edition if, for example, such emendations have been removed with the objective of hypothesising an authorial original, or if the text that appears in the digital edition is from only one witness. As such, understanding the historical context of the text is fundamental in informing how the text is edited if the editor hopes to provide an edition which is fit for the purposes of a certain intended audience (in this particular example, scholars of the period).

Despite the financial crisis, however, through extraordinary taxation and forced loans, Alfonso still found the means to finance many of the activities which manifested his quest for increased power outside his own kingdom too, including his imperial aspirations.<sup>143</sup> This distressed the townsmen, and was a further source of growing opposition amongst the nobles.<sup>144</sup> It also shows that Linehan's comment of the king being 'detached from reality,'<sup>145</sup> scathing as it is, may not be wide of the mark. Quoting from the second of the *Siete Partidas*,<sup>146</sup> O'Callaghan explains that the king 'justified his request for special taxes in general by stating [in the *segunda partida*] that "the king

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<sup>142</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.231

<sup>143</sup> Joseph O'Callaghan, 'The Cortes and Royal Taxation During the Reign of Alfonso X of Castile', *Traditio* 27 (1971) 379-398, 380

<sup>144</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* p.372; Coates, p.107

<sup>145</sup> Linehan, p.115

<sup>146</sup> Alfonso X, *Siete Partidas*, Segunda Partida, tit. 1, ley 8, vol. II

can demand and take from the kingdom what other kings who preceded him used to do.”<sup>147</sup> Such a phrase can hardly be seen as an olive branch to the nobles, whose resentment was mounting.

The situation of disharmony between Alfonso and the nobility intensified throughout his reign, manifesting itself in a series of small- and medium-scale rebellions, the large-scale rebellion of the nobles at Lerma in 1272, and in the eventual practical deposition of the king in all but title, led by his son Sancho. The motives for the nobles' rebellion of 1272, as seen above, lie in their hostility towards Alfonso's legislative reforms, his economic and fiscal policies, and the evolving concept of royal authority of the king's position above the nobles, rather than the previous position of first amongst equals.<sup>148</sup> The rebellion against Alfonso was not violent, and was therefore, according to Carrión Gutiérrez, not a formal rupture, but was nevertheless a blow for the king and signalled the end of any collaboration between Alfonso and the nobility.<sup>149</sup> At the assembly in Burgos in September 1272, having gained the support of the Marinid emir, Yusuf, as well as Alfonso's brother Felipe, the rebels confronted Alfonso with their demands for changes to his levying of extraordinary taxes,<sup>150</sup> and the restoration of their privileges and the old legal codes (the *fueros viejos*).<sup>151</sup> The crisis had reached such a stage that at this point, that Alfonso *did* offer the nobles an olive branch, and he agreed to practically all of the rebels' demands,<sup>152</sup> including the restoration of many of the

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<sup>147</sup> O'Callaghan, 'The Cortes and Royal Taxation', 378

<sup>148</sup> Carrión Gutiérrez, p.34

<sup>149</sup> Carrión Gutiérrez, p.33

<sup>150</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, p.373

<sup>151</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.329

<sup>152</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.330

traditional customs of the nobility. As a result, the king's plans to unify the laws of the realm were seriously moderated.<sup>153</sup> The only case on which he was immovable was the issue of financing his mission to be crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire,<sup>154</sup> and in return for his concessions regarding the legal codes, he was granted one annual tax levy until the conclusion of his quest.<sup>155</sup>

Despite having yielded to the nobles on many issues, Alfonso's careful political posturing at the Burgos *cortes* enabled him to avoid a full-scale rebellion, and was therefore considered a success on his part. Custom then allowed the rebels three options: to accept the decisions of their king, to declare war against him, or to go into exile. The rebels, including members of Alfonso's family and some of his close childhood friends, chose the latter option, and made their way towards Granada, destroying towns and lands on their way and causing an enraged Alfonso to react with a military confrontation of the defectors.<sup>156</sup> However, given his need for the support of the nobles should a war break out against the Moors or another Christian kingdom, or in the case of another revolt by the Mudéjars, Alfonso was forced to withdraw his troops once they had stopped the rebels' destruction of the towns and lands. This withdrawal was considered by many at the time as a sign of weakness in the monarch.<sup>157</sup> The king of Granada, Ibn al-Ahmar, welcomed the rebels, many of whom had signed a pact of allegiance to him, but he died soon after they arrived.<sup>158</sup> There the

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<sup>153</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, p.373

<sup>154</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.330

<sup>155</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, p.373

<sup>156</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.333-334

<sup>157</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.334-335

<sup>158</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, p.374

rebels remained, until in 1274, following negotiations with Alfonso X, they returned to Castile-Leon. According to O'Callaghan, it was the reconciliation with the defected nobles and the newly-restored peace with Granada that allowed Alfonso to prepare for his journey to see the Pope in Beaucaire, for what he hoped would be the successful end of the twenty-year quest for empire<sup>159</sup> that had been, without doubt, 'el fenómeno más importante de su política exterior'.<sup>160</sup>

### **2.1.7 Alfonso and the quest for empire**

Alfonso's quest for increased power, and in particular his aspiration of being crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire shaped his politics and his politico-cultural *oeuvre* for almost two decades (1256-1275). During this time, Alfonso spent a great deal of time, energy and money (that his kingdom did not have) striving to convince the papacy of his legitimacy as candidate for the imperial crown; a quest that was eventually shown to be unobtainable. Salvador Martínez explains that Alfonso's claim of candidacy was based on both his genealogical and dynastic background and his ideology of the absolutist nature of kingship.<sup>161</sup> He goes on to argue that Alfonso's ambition to become emperor was based on the personal and political prestige that the role would bring him, as well as economic improvements in Spain and a wider dissemination of his politico-cultural *oeuvre*.<sup>162</sup> However, due to papal hostility

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<sup>159</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, p.374

<sup>160</sup> Carrión Gutiérrez, p.64

<sup>161</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.121

<sup>162</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.124

towards members of the Hohenstaufen family, to which Alfonso was related through the maternal line,<sup>163</sup> four popes (Alexander IV, Urban IV, Clement IV and Gregory X) refused to acknowledge Alfonso's candidacy for the election of emperor by giving it their blessing. Keller explains that Gregory X took a further step by writing to Alfonso instructing him to withdraw his claim, and to the electors instructing them only to vote for a candidate who was one of the German princes.<sup>164</sup> When Alfonso learned that the pope had confirmed the newly elected King of the Romans as Rudolf of Habsburg in 1273, he decided to go to war to settle his imperial claim, but before this could take place he agreed to meet with Gregory X in Beaucaire, France. By this stage the heavy financial burden of the costs of his imperial aspirations, bearing in mind the financial strain the kingdom had already been under, was taking its toll on the nobles, who were by now in 'open opposition' to his quest.<sup>165</sup> Nevertheless, Alfonso made arrangements, leaving his eldest son Fernando de la Cerda in charge of his kingdom, and began his journey to France, spending a month on the way staying with his father-in-law and advisor, the Aragonese king James I.<sup>166</sup> A more experienced politician, and having met with the pope and discussed this matter, James attempted to dissuade Alfonso from attending the meeting, to no avail, and a party of nobles including both kings left for France in January 1275. Alfonso finally arrived in Beaucaire in May of that year.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Doubleday, p.78

<sup>164</sup> Keller, p.34

<sup>165</sup> Keller, p.35

<sup>166</sup> Catalan: Jaume I, el Conqueridor; Castilian: Jaime I, el Conquistador

<sup>167</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.196-205

### 2.1.8 1275: Alfonso's *annus horribilis*

The events of 1275 and their outcomes would lead the year to become Alfonso's *annus horribilis*, and fundamentally changed the politics of the latter part of his reign, and by extension his politico-cultural project. It was during the early summer of this year that Alfonso learnt his claims to become Emperor were ultimately unsuccessful, despite the time, effort and money he had poured into his quest. The king was given a stark ultimatum by Pope Gregory X: if he failed to accept the pope's decision he would be excommunicated – a terrible and humiliating punishment for a pious king – but if he admitted defeat and accepted the pope's decision, Castile would be granted a tenth of Spain's ecclesiastical income, to be used in the wars against the Moors. The devoutly religious king was left with no choice but to concede,<sup>168</sup> and this marked the end of Alfonso's imperial aspirations.<sup>169</sup> Humiliated in defeat, the king began his journey back to Castile in the high summer of 1275.<sup>170</sup>

However, Alfonso's misfortunes of 1275 did not stop at his *contretemps* with the pope:<sup>171</sup> during his journey home he learned of the deaths, amongst others, of his brother don Manuel, his nephew don Alfonso Manuel, his daughter Eleanor, and of the Merinid invasion to southern Spain. Crucially for the issue of his succession, he also learned of the death of his son and heir, Fernando de la Cerda. Additionally, perhaps

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<sup>168</sup> Keller, p.35

<sup>169</sup> Francisco Bautista, *Alfonso X el Sabio: Cronología* <[http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/bib\\_autor/alfonsoelsabio/pcuartonivela972.html?conten=cronologia](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/bib_autor/alfonsoelsabio/pcuartonivela972.html?conten=cronologia)> [accessed 17/06/2014]

<sup>170</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.208

<sup>171</sup> Keller, p35



perpetuated by so much bad news in such a short time, Alfonso was gravely ill. Alfonso was suffering with what may have been an advanced maxillary cancer throughout his difficult journey back from Beaucaire.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, scholars believe that Alfonso may have had depression, perhaps caused or exacerbated by his great physical pain.<sup>173</sup> Doubleday warns that 'retrospective diagnoses are dangerous', and it is, of course, impossible to say with certainty exactly what ailments the king was suffering from some eight centuries later, but we do know that Alfonso was 'desperately ill': he was bedbound for long periods – sometimes months on end – and we can read in the lyrics of the *Cantigas*, several of which were written by Alfonso himself, of the author's dreams for the end to pain and suffering.<sup>174</sup> By Christmas the king had arrived in Burgos, depressed by his failure and personal loss, and weak through illness.<sup>175</sup>

### **2.1.9 Events following 1275: the issue of succession and Alfonso's time in Seville**

Such an undignified failure on the part of Alfonso X only served to increase the nobles' hostility towards him, given his lavish spending on his cultural projects and his unsuccessful quest for the imperial title.<sup>176</sup> In their view, Alfonso was squandering money that the realm did not have, bankrupting his kingdom.<sup>177</sup> Upon learning of his brother's death, Alfonso's second son Sancho declared himself heir apparent of his

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<sup>172</sup> Richard Kinkade, 'Alfonso X, *Cantiga* 235, and the Events of 1269-1275', *Speculum* 67:2 (1992) 284-323, 285

<sup>173</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.284-289

<sup>174</sup> Doubleday, pp.176-179

<sup>175</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.208-212

<sup>176</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.186

<sup>177</sup> Keller, p.35

father's kingdom, rather than his nephew, Alfonso de la Cerda, the son of Fernando.<sup>178</sup> The matter of succession was complicated by the fact the laws of succession were evolving during Alfonso's reign: the Castilian tradition was that the king would be succeeded by his eldest son, and in the event of the first son predeceasing the king, the second son, and so on.<sup>179</sup> However, as O'Callaghan explains, the *Espéculo* (c.1260) stated that the successor to the throne would be the king's eldest son, or daughter if there were no sons, but did not consider the possibility of the successor predeceasing the king, and the *Partidas* (c.1265) stated that if the eldest son predeceased the king then the king's grandson would succeed him.<sup>180</sup> Robert MacDonald discusses a rewritten version of the text, dated to after 1276, and influenced by the issue of who should succeed Alfonso X, which states that the king's second son would succeed him, rather than the son of his first born son.<sup>181</sup> MacDonald explains Alfonso's dilemma: either he could follow his own legal codes and recognise his grandson Alfonso de la Cerda as heir, thereby risking yet another rebellion by the nobles, or could designate Sancho as his successor, thereby damaging the prestige of his own legal code by his not having followed it, as well as his pride for having yielded to the nobles. Having done so on previous occasions, Alfonso was eager not to do this again.<sup>182</sup> Again, we return to the implication for digital editors: without a solid understanding of the fact that texts of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* were edited in the light of a changing political context, and of why this might be, as we see here the *Partidas* being changed after 1276, an editor may

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<sup>178</sup> Keller, p.36

<sup>179</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.370

<sup>180</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.237

<sup>181</sup> Robert MacDonald, 'Alfonso the Learned and Succession: A Father's Dilemma', *Speculum* 40:4 (1965) 647-653, 651

<sup>182</sup> MacDonald, p.652

not appreciate the importance for scholars of retaining variants where these emendations have taken place, and may remove them. In doing so, he may render the edition far less useful for certain users, and as such, this should be avoided wherever possible by ensuring he has a clear grounding and solid understanding of the historical context and significance of the text.

Keller succinctly describes the main points of what happened next: Alfonso summoned a meeting of the nobles and asked for their consideration of Sancho as heir. Meanwhile, Alfonso's wife Violante and Fernando's wife Blanche had fled to Aragon with Fernando's two sons, the *infantes de la Cerda*, where Violante's father had been succeeded by her brother Pedro. Under Sancho's persuasion, Pedro imprisoned the young princes lest they be taken back to Castile by one of Alfonso's supporters. Alfonso, aware that Sancho had arranged the imprisonment of the legal heir of Castile, pleaded the boys' case with Sancho, who refused to release the children. Sancho was joined by two of his brothers, Pedro and Juan, the king of Portugal, a large group of noblemen and many of the Castilian people. Even Violante joined her son's side. Meanwhile, Alfonso fled to Seville, the only city that had not abandoned him, where he remained until his death.<sup>183</sup> There, effectively deposed by his son in all but title, the king continued work on his *oeuvre*, and despite his significant health issues and the worries of his abandonment by most of his family, the nobility and much of his kingdom, without compromising on quality, the prolificacy of his work increased.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Ángeles Masia de Ros, 'Las pretensiones de los Infantes de la Cerda a la corona de Castilla en tiempos de Sancho IV y Fernando IV. El apoyo aragonés', *Medievalia* 10 (1992) 255-279, 257

<sup>184</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.518

### 2.1.10 The succession of Sancho IV

Upon learning of Sancho's behaviour towards his father, Pope Martin V excommunicated the prince, and issued a call to arms against him by the French and the English. The king's sons Pedro and Juan returned to Alfonso's side, and he was also joined by his eldest daughter Berenguela. Scholars are divided as to whether Alfonso forgave his son before his death: a letter from Alfonso to the pope in early March 1284 suggests that he had, although it is possible that this may have been a forgery,<sup>185</sup> and perhaps the work of a well-meaning scribe. Upon his death on 4 April 1284, Alfonso was succeeded by his second son, who became King Sancho IV.<sup>186</sup>

Within five years of his father's death, the new king took it upon himself to return to the *Estoria de Espanna* with a view to completing it and making some readjustments according to his own politics. Sancho did not complete the *Estoria*, however, and rather than reaching the reign of his father, as had been Alfonso's original goal, the text finishes at the year 1243. The Sanchine version is known as the *Versión amplificada* and has been dated to 1289.<sup>187</sup> Francisco Bautista's 2006 study presents the most significant changes to the text that can be attributed to the Sanchine version. He also provides a useful stemma to show the relationships between the royal versions of the *Estoria de Espanna*:<sup>188</sup>

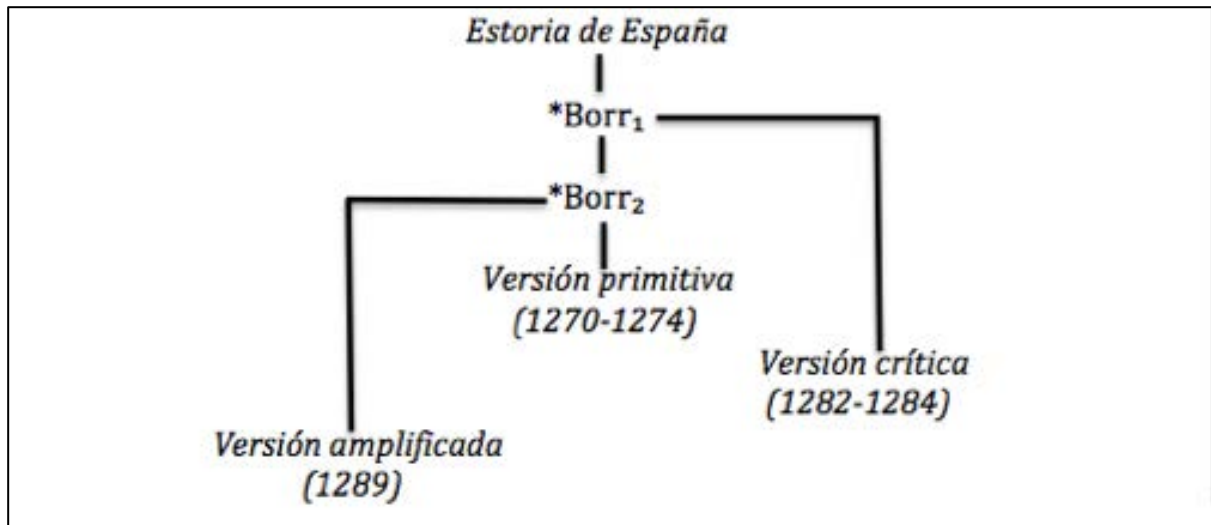
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<sup>185</sup> Doubleday, pp.223-224

<sup>186</sup> Keller, pp.36-37

<sup>187</sup> Francisco Bautista, *La Estoria de España en época de Sancho IV: Sobre los reyes de Asturias*, Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar 50 (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2006) pp.7-12

<sup>188</sup> Bautista, *La Estoria de España en época de Sancho IV*, p.10



**Figure 2:** Stemma showing the relationship between the royal versions of the *Estoria de España*, reproduced from Bautista (2006)

In a recent conference presentation, Hijano argued that the lacunae in the 1289 text are not because (following Catalán) the source text was missing sections, but rather that these sections were very sensitive for Sancho IV.<sup>189</sup> The implication of this for the digital editor is a strengthening of the argument for digital editions to provide users with a range of versions of the *CPSF*, where transcriptions of witnesses can be accessed. It also shows us why scholars may choose not to use single-witness, Lachmannian, or best-text editions, as information such as this would be lost if one could not compare one witness with another.

<sup>189</sup> Manuel Hijano Villegas, *Procedimientos para la construcción del pasado en la 'crónicas generales'*, Coloquio Internacional "Hispano-medievalismo y Crítica Textual: 40 años del SECRET (1978-2018) Buenos Aires, 9-11 May 2018

### 2.1.11 Section conclusion

In this chapter so far I have situated the *Estoria de Espanna* within the rest of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* of socio-political intellectual works, and shown how the *oeuvre* itself relates to the wider politics during the reign of Alfonso X. I have argued that the content of his *taller* was both a cause and an effect of the wider political context, and that rather than being a pastime for the king, was a key component of his politics, much of which revolved around his quest for increased power, and which both affected and was affected by the events taking place in and around Castile during his reign. I have also shown that with his historical texts, which Alfonso used as a political tool to legitimate, reinforce, and extend his power into the past, the king was prone to revisit his text and edit it in the light of the changing political context. This is particularly the case with the *Estoria de Espanna*, which we know existed in three versions during his reign: the *Versión primitiva* (1270-1274), the *Versión enmendada de después de 1274*, and the *Versión crítica* (1282-1284),<sup>190</sup> making Alfonso the original editor of the text.

Contextual information is crucial for textual scholars and editors dealing with Alfonso's historical works. We can return here to Linehan, who tells us that the relevance of his socio-cultural project was wider than it might initially appear at face value, and was both a manifestation of his power within his own kingdom, and an attempt to strengthen his quest for power outside his kingdom, through his imperial aspirations, meaning his legitimacy as an imperial candidate, and the position of Castile

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<sup>190</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'Variación en el modelo alfonsí en el siglo XIII', p.42

within the rest of Iberia, and within Christendom.<sup>191</sup> The events leading up to 1275 and those that took place that year fundamentally changed Alfonso as a monarch, a father and, of relevance for us, as patron or author of his many works. The Alfonsine works after 1275 were different from those before: not only were they more prolific than before his *annus horribilis*, several of his works were rewritten or emended following this period. Between 1277 and 1283 the king completed the *Cantigas de Santa María*, the first four parts of the *General Estoria*, a newly-edited redaction of his work the *Estoria de Espanna* (the *Versión crítica*), two books on chess and other games, and possibly a book on horses, and aided in the translation of a book on animals that hunt.<sup>192</sup> Salvador Martínez points out that Alfonso gives us a reason for the increase in the work on his *oeuvre* in the prologue to his *Libros de axedrez, dados e tablas*, where he states that having pastimes such as music and board games were invented by God as solace for worrisome times,<sup>193</sup> but also argues that Alfonso's efforts in the cultural sphere, particularly after his defeat in Beaucaire, may be able to be attributed to compensation on the part of the king for his political weakness.<sup>194</sup> After 1275 the monarch suddenly found himself humiliated in defeat, not to mention with significantly more time on his hands for activities such as working on his cultural project. Continuing to work on his *oeuvre* would have been for Alfonso a way not only of busying himself at what must have been a personally harrowing time, taking into account his 'insatiable appetite' for all things intellectual,<sup>195</sup> but also a way to continue to promote the language and culture of Castile when he could no longer promote his

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<sup>191</sup> Linehan, p.118

<sup>192</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, pp.518-519

<sup>193</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.519

<sup>194</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.216

<sup>195</sup> Linehan, p.131

own power, since his son had all but deposed him, removing almost all of his power as monarch and carrying out much of the activity involved in ruling the kingdom himself.

Domínguez Rodríguez makes an interesting point in her interpretation of the presentation of Alfonso in his portraits in various codices of his *oeuvre*: in the *Cantigas de Santa María* ( Escorial T. I. 1. (T) and Escorial b. I. 2 (E)), the *General Estoria* (part IV) (Vatican Urb. lat. 539)<sup>196</sup> and the *Estoria de Espanna* (E<sub>1</sub>) (Escorial Y. I. 2) we see Alfonso dressed in luxurious clothes adorned with gold, which would suggest his imperial quest was still ongoing; in the three examples of portraits of the king in the *Libro de los Juegos* (Escorial, T. I. 6) we find Alfonso's cloak adorned not with gold but with castles and lions, the emblems of his kingdoms. This, Domínguez Rodríguez argues, suggests that the latter was written after 1275 when Alfonso no longer held allusions to become emperor, and as a result was more interested in highlighting his role as monarch of Castile-Leon.<sup>197</sup> This also has implications for editors, who, wherever possible, should take into account features such as this and consider them part of the text, as intentional and meaningful marks designed to be read, referring back to Bordalejo's definition above,<sup>198</sup> even though we, as readers of these marks, are interpreting *images*, and not *writing*, It also reminds us of Shillingsburg's comment, cited above, that scholars working on an edition may not all agree on which marks are meaningful and which are not.<sup>199</sup> Without a clear understanding of the significance of such a difference in the presentation of the monarch, or at least, without having carried

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<sup>196</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez gives the MS number as 593, but from looking at the Vatican library website, I believe this is a typographical error.

<sup>197</sup> Domínguez Rodríguez, p.148

<sup>198</sup> Bordalejo, 'The Texts We See', 65-68

<sup>199</sup> Shillingsburg, p.15



out wide research before embarking on an edition, an editor would be unlikely to grasp the potential relevance to users of the edition of such a difference, and how this may affect the way in which the text is edited. For instance, he may choose not to include notes on illustrations within the manuscript, if digital images of the manuscript are not available for consultation by users of the edition (as they are not, for example, for E<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>2</sub> of the *Estoria de Espanna*). The importance for an editor to have a solid understanding of a text and its context in order to provide as many users as possible with an edition that best meets their needs cannot be overstated.

If, as editors, we are aware that texts from after 1275 are different from those before, we can make informed decisions about what to include in our editions, taking into account the very real possibility that scholars and non-specialists are likely to be interested in the differences between redactions prior to 1275 and those afterwards, and the implications this has on choosing an editorial style – particularly why a purely document-centred, a Lachmannian, or a best-text edition where ‘best’ means ‘oldest’ approach to editing may edit out, or not take into account, many of the emendations between witnesses which make the Alfonsine works so interesting and important particularly for scholars, but also for non-specialists. This reinforces my argument that editors should take into account the requirements and expectations of their potential users when making an edition. This is of even more importance for digital editors, who, as shown in Chapter One, are not bound by the same practical issues as print editors, and can choose to include more versions of the edition, with hypertextual features with the objective of best meeting the needs of their audience(s). Any editor of the *Estoria de Espanna* must be aware that his readers will expect to find variants of both the pre-

and post-1275 versions of the work. Without a solid understanding of the historical context of the work and its significance, an editor would be unable to do so, and as a result his edition would be of much less use for his potential audience, and of much less relevance to scholarship.

By extension, as the digital editor of the *CPSF*, a solid understanding of the Alfonsine *oeuvre*, its context and significance to scholars, will inform the editorial decisions I make when preparing the edition of this post-Alfonsine work. I would argue that one cannot fully understand post-Alfonsine material without first understanding Alfonsine material. The editorial decisions I made will be discussed more fully below, but I will give an example here to illustrate my point. It is the knowledge of the way that emendations were made to later witness of texts originally written in the Alfonsine *taller*, according to the changing political climate, that informed my decision to edit the *CPSF* in such a way that will allow users to read the text as it appears in the witnesses I have transcribed, and to present these alongside a collated and a critical edition of the text, with the expectation that such a feature may be considered beneficial to some users.

Prior to the 2016 *Estoria Digital*, of which the wider project includes the present thesis, there was no comprehensive electronic edition of the *Estoria*, meaning it was difficult for scholars to study in depth the differences between the recensions in order to draw conclusions about why such changes might have been made in the changing context in which they were prepared and designed to be read: fulfilling this need was one of the

principal aims of the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital project.<sup>200</sup> Alongside the digital collation, the digitised manuscript images and the search facilities in Ward's edition are designed to allow scholars to study such issues much more easily. In reference to the impact that the changing political context of the time had on the Alfonsine *oeuvre*, particularly the *Estoria de Espanna*, meaning how it was rewritten and emended to suit the changing context of the time, Aengus Ward argues that the aim of his edition was 'not to fix the *Estoria*, but rather to allow it breathe in its textual diversity'.<sup>201</sup> I will return to this citation below.

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Crucially important to the understanding of Alfonso's cultural works as part of his interior and exterior politics, is the fact that Alfonso deliberately and explicitly translated into and wrote directly in Castilian, rather than Latin, for all of his prose works – his lyric poetry, the *Cantigas de Santa María*, was written in Galician (or 'Galician-Portuguese'). The decision to write his prose in Castilian rather than Latin is both linguistically complicated, and socio-politico-linguistically charged. It is this socio-political charge behind the decision to write in Castilian, alongside the historical-linguistic significance of it being some of the earliest Castilian prose, and certainly the largest and earliest *oeuvre* in Castilian, that makes Alfonsine prose worthy of study in the twenty-first century by historical linguists and sociolinguists.

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<sup>200</sup> More detailed information about the project can be found in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

<sup>201</sup> The *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project, *Methodology*, [http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page\\_id=923](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=923) [accessed 20/03/2018]

## 2.2 The interest of the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *CPSF* to scholars of historical linguistics and sociolinguistics

Alfonso's choice to write his prose texts, including the *Estoria*, in Castilian, and to translate into Castilian not as a stepping-stone between the original (often Arabic) and the target language (Latin), but as the finished product,<sup>202</sup> displays a conscious and politically-motivated decision on the part of the king. As Márquez-Villanueva has stated, the use of Castilian in his *oeuvre* is indeed a choice on the part of the king, and not a purely practical decision to ensure the comprehension of his intended readership,<sup>203</sup> although, he states, it is likely that by the time of writing, the use of Castilian would have made comprehension easier.<sup>204</sup> The effect of the language within the Alfonsine *oeuvre* on the prestige, use, orthography and lexis of Castilian was so significant that, in the words of Steven Hartman, Alfonso 'rightly holds a major place in the history of the Castilian language.'<sup>205</sup> Through the scribes and translators of his scriptorium, upon whom the king kept a close eye, Alfonso was a prolific writer and editor of prose in Castilian. Alfonsine prose is not the earliest example of medieval Castilian prose that is extant and available for study by scholars: for example, Roger Wright has studied the 1206 *El Tratado de Cabrerros*, which exists in two versions – Castilian and Leonese,<sup>206</sup> but the Alfonsine prose texts form the largest body of thirteenth-century prose texts in Castilian, and for this reason they are of great interest

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<sup>202</sup> G. Menéndez Pidal, pp.365-366

<sup>203</sup> Márquez-Villanueva, 'The Alfonsine Cultural Concept', p.77

<sup>204</sup> Márquez-Villanueva, 'The Alfonsine Cultural Concept', p.79

<sup>205</sup> Steven Hartman, 'Alfonso el Sabio and the Varieties of Verb Grammar', *Hispania* 57:1, (March 1974) 48-55, 48

<sup>206</sup> Roger Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros (1206): Estudio sociofilológico de una reforma ortográfica* (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2000)

to historical linguists and sociolinguists. For reasons that I will explain below, it is possible to use the Alfonsine texts to show the evolution of orthography in Castilian in some of the earliest surviving texts to be written in the language, which is why scholars of this topic may make use of a the *Estoria Digital* to study the phenomenon – providing, of course, that the changing orthography has not been regularised by the editor, removing the usefulness of the edition for these scholars. This reiterates why it is so important for editors to have a clear understanding of the context and significance of the text(s) or work(s) being edited, if the potential usage of the digital edition created is to be maximised.

Scholars studying the language of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* could very feasibly choose to compare this with material from the post-Alfonsine period, to view changes not only in orthography, but in syntax, lexical choice, and other linguistic and sociolinguistic features, providing the editor has prepared the edition in such a way as to retain as many as possible of these features. As I have stated above, it is impossible for editors to envisage all of the potential uses for their edition, and it is likely that scholars may use my edition of the *CPSF* in ways that I would never have thought of. The benefits that digital editions bring here, above print editions, is the advantage of hypertext tools, including search functions and concordances where available, the option in many cases to display or link to images of the manuscript, and the ability of digital editions to provide more than one version of the edition, to suit the differing needs of groups of users. The likelihood that scholars of historical linguistics would use an edition does have implications for the way in which abbreviated words are expanded

and tagged, an issue to which I will return in Chapter Three, and this should be considered when preparing the edition.

Much has been written about medieval Castilian prose from a historical linguistics point of view by scholars such as Jozsef Herman,<sup>207</sup> Paul Lloyd,<sup>208</sup> Ralph Penny,<sup>209</sup> Rafael Lapesa,<sup>210</sup> and Roger Wright.<sup>211</sup> Because of this wealth of information about the linguistics of the period, it is the *sociolinguistic* context of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* that will be explored more fully in the following section of this chapter. In order to recognise the effects of Alfonso's use of language in his cultural project, it is first necessary to give a brief, simplified description of the sociolinguistic context of non-Catalan Iberia in the late Middle Ages, so this is where we will start. Understanding the sociolinguistic context of the Alfonsine period, including the centuries leading up to it, which have a direct relevance to Alfonso's promotion of Castilian in the works of his *taller*, is crucial to understanding why Alfonsine, and by extension, post-Alfonsine material, is of interest to scholars of historical sociolinguistics. The implications this has on the way in which the texts are edited digitally will be explored below.

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<sup>207</sup> Jozsef Herman, *Le latin vulgaire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967)

<sup>208</sup> Paul Lloyd, *From Latin to Spanish. Vol. 1. Historical phonology and morphology of the Spanish language* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1987)

<sup>209</sup> Ralph Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Penny's extensive list of publications on this topic can be viewed at <http://ilas.sllf.qmul.ac.uk/people/ralph-penny> [accessed 17/5/2016]

<sup>210</sup> Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1981)

<sup>211</sup> Roger Wright has an extensive list of publications in this area, which can be viewed at <https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/modern-languages-and-cultures/staff/roger-wright/publications/> [accessed 17/05/2016]

## 2.2.1 The sociolinguistic context of late Medieval Iberia

### 2.2.1.1 The sociolinguistic context prior to the reign of Alfonso X

In the twelfth and thirteenth century, prior to Alfonso's accession to the throne, the sociolinguistic situation in medieval Iberia,<sup>212</sup> had already started to change. Scholars such as Penny<sup>213</sup> and Wright<sup>214</sup> have long been in agreement that a shift from Latin to the regionally-named, mutually-comprehensible Romance varieties (such as Castilian, Galician-Portuguese, Aragonese, Navarrese and Leonese) took place over the course of the Middle Ages, and scholars such as Herman<sup>215</sup> and Lloyd<sup>216</sup> have examined the specific phonetic and morphological changes which took place as part of this process.

Wright has argued extensively that rather than a shift from one variety (Latin) to another (the Romance varieties), the shift that took place over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was more subtle.<sup>217</sup> This is the Single Language (SL) theory,<sup>218</sup> as opposed to the view that Latin and the Romance varieties were separate languages

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<sup>212</sup> The work of Roger Wright shows us that when analysing the language of medieval Iberia it is customary not to include Cataluña, since this area was considered part of the French rather than the Iberian cultural sphere from the eighth century and throughout the Middle Ages. In this thesis, therefore, references to language in Iberia will mean non-Catalan Iberia.

Roger Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance: Twenty-one studies on language and the texts from the Iberian Peninsula between the Roman Empire and the Thirteenth Century* (Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1994) p.163

<sup>213</sup> Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*

<sup>214</sup> Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance*

<sup>215</sup> Herman, *Le latin vulgaire*

<sup>216</sup> Lloyd, *From Latin to Spanish*.

<sup>217</sup> Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance*, p.1

<sup>218</sup> Carmen Pensado, 'How was Leonese Vulgar Latin read?', Roger Wright, (Ed.) *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (Paperback edition) (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996) pp.190-204, p.190

is the Two Language (2L) theory.<sup>219</sup> Wright argues that late medieval Iberia is an example of 'complex monolingualism' where the various Latinate varieties in spoken use at the time were all part of a single, highly complex language.<sup>220</sup> He explains that in his view, the language spoken in medieval Iberia was a group of fragmented varieties that had evolved naturally from Classical Latin: linguistic variation was no longer 'held in check by the norm,' but rather was 'constrained only by the practicalities of communication', and that these spoken varieties all existed within one monolingual continuum.<sup>221</sup> The written form of the language, however, did not reflect the sound of the spoken form; rather, the orthography used in medieval Iberia was 'semi-phonetic' and archaic, where, as argued by Wright, scribes learnt traditional spellings for each word in its entirety, without making the direct phoneme-grapheme links we see in use in modern Castilian.<sup>222</sup> Lloyd explains the same point succinctly, by stating that 'people spoke in one way and wrote in another way, one that looked more archaic, but as far as they were concerned it was all one language'.<sup>223</sup>

Wright argues that there was a conceptual realignment from the idea that spoken language and written language were registers of the same linguistic variety (Latin),<sup>224</sup> to the notion that Latin and the spoken Iberian varieties were separate languages in their own right. He contends that this shift was started by the standardisation of Latin pronunciation of the Carolingian Reform, providing a pan-European standard Latin

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<sup>219</sup> Pensado, p.190

<sup>220</sup> Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance*, p.1

<sup>221</sup> Alberto Varvaro, 'Latin and Romance: Fragmentation of Restructuring?', in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, p.49

<sup>222</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabreros*, pp.10-11

<sup>223</sup> Lloyd, p.174

<sup>224</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabreros*, pp.10-11



pronunciation, based on Classical Latin and with a direct phoneme-grapheme correspondence<sup>225</sup> that had long since fallen away in the Romance varieties.<sup>226</sup> This sparked the notion that the Romance varieties spoken by the late Middle Ages were by this stage no longer simply registers of Latin but were distinct varieties, separate from Latin, since they were pronounced so differently from the reformed pronunciation of Latin.<sup>227</sup> He goes on to argue that this conceptual realignment later led to a Romance orthographic reform to provide a spelling system which better represented the variety used in the various regions of non-Catalan Iberia, and ensured that written language, when read aloud, was comprehensible to the masses in that region, given that the pronunciation reform had made Latin read aloud no longer comprehensible to untrained speakers.<sup>228</sup> As Wright points out, it is important to remember that the conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance which led to the orthographic reform was neither inevitable nor evolutionary, but rather was 'the result of an innovation made on purpose in a particular historical context.'<sup>229</sup> I will return to this point later, with specific reference to Alfonso.

The 2L theory favoured by Thomas Walsh<sup>230</sup> and Martin Harris<sup>231</sup> – which has a rather unsatisfactory and oversimplified name, grouping together in one camp the several varieties of Iberian Romance as if they were one homogenous language, separating

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<sup>225</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros*, p.11

<sup>226</sup> António Emiliano, 'Latin or Romance? Graphemic Variation and Scripto-Linguistic Change in Medieval Spain' in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, p.235

<sup>227</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros*, p.11

<sup>228</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros*, p.11

<sup>229</sup> Wright, R. *Early Ibero-Romance*, p.22

<sup>230</sup> Thomas Walsh, 'Spelling Lapses in Early Medieval Latin Documents and the Reconstruction of Primitive Romance Phonology', in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, pp.205-218

<sup>231</sup> Martin Harris, 'The Romance Languages', Martin Harris and Nigel Vincent, (eds.) *The Romance Languages* (London: Croom Helm, 1988) pp.1-25

them from Latin in the other camp, raises questions of when, within a dialectal continuum, one mutually-intelligible variety becomes another. The answer to this is usually more politically- than linguistically-based. 2L is based on the more traditional notion of Latin and the Romance varieties being separate languages, rather than registers of the same language. Harris refers to the spoken language of non-Catalan Christian Iberia as early as the ninth century as ‘a range of Hispano-Romance dialects’ (and not varieties of Latin).<sup>232</sup> 2L is based on the supposition that speakers in the mid to late medieval Iberia made a conscious conceptual distinction between Latin and the Romance varieties *prior* to the Carolingian Reform, following natural linguistic evolution from Classical Latin to the continuum of Romance varieties, of which we see evidence by the mid-medieval period. Wright argues that such conceptual distinction without the external intervention of the Carolingian Reform, is unlikely<sup>233</sup> and Marcel Danesi writes that ‘there exists no documentary evidence to suggest that anyone writing in the Late Middle Ages [...] was aware of the conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance’.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, Herman contends that as early as the fifth century, speakers, particularly educated speakers, would have been aware of the existence of prestige varieties of their language, primarily tied to written forms, and popular spoken varieties, and the ‘ever deepening gap’ between the two.<sup>235</sup> This seems a natural assumption, and can be viewed today in situations such as the play of children who are able to recognise and caricature the speech of prestige registers, yet the

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<sup>232</sup> Harris, p.6

<sup>233</sup> Roger Wright, ‘The Conceptual Difference Between Latin and Romance: Invention or Evolution?’ in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, p.104

<sup>234</sup> Marcel Danesi, ‘Latin vs. Romance in the Middle Ages: Dante’s *De vulgari eloquentia* revisited’ in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, p.249

<sup>235</sup> József Herman, ‘Spoken and Written Latin in the Last Centuries of the Roman Empire. A Contribution to the Linguistic History of the Western Provinces’, in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, p.41

children do not perceive the two registers (prestige and non-prestige) as being two separate languages, as would be the case following the 2L theory. This, and Wright's convincing arguments for SL, lead me to believe that the foundation upon which 2L is based – the existence, prior to the Carolingian reform, of individuals or centres of culture that were so metalinguistically aware they were able to distinguish between written Latin and the spoken Romance varieties – does not hold water in the sociolinguistic context of pre-Carolingian Iberia. The implication of this is therefore that following the SL theory, prior to the Carolingian reform it is unlikely that speakers in Iberia would have considered their language to be conceptually distinct from Latin, but would instead be aware of prestige (chiefly written) and everyday registers.

Despite the difference between what we consider to be Latin, and the vernacular varieties spoken in late medieval Iberia, the majority of speakers of the time of Alfonso's accession to the throne, centuries after the Carolingian reform, still called their language, or varieties, 'lingua latina'.<sup>236</sup> Not having widely implemented any changes in language names means that speakers of the time must have had no requirement to make conceptual distinctions between the varieties spoken throughout non-Catalan Iberia by this point in time, nor between the spoken varieties and the written variety, which as explained above, was closer to earlier forms of Latin.<sup>237</sup> Furthermore, as Lloyd has pointed out,<sup>238</sup> despite some early experimentation such as the *Tratado de Cabrerros*,<sup>239</sup> by the mid-thirteenth century, for the most part,

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<sup>236</sup> Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance*, p.1

<sup>237</sup> Lloyd, p.171

<sup>238</sup> Lloyd, p.171

<sup>239</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros*

orthographic norms in place in medieval Iberia had not yet been adjusted to reflect the conceptual separation from Latin or the pronunciation of the vernacular tongues. That is to say that instead of making a conceptual distinction between two languages: Latin (written) and their particular variety of Romance (spoken), it is more likely that speakers still made a distinction between spoken and written language and considered them as registers of the same language, which they called '*lingua latina*'.<sup>240</sup>

António Emiliano has shown that a gradual process of 'delatinization' took place in non-Catalan Iberia during the thirteenth century,<sup>241</sup> but the path towards Romanization of orthography was not smooth. In *El Tratado de Cabreros*, Wright describes how we see various experiments of Romance, or reformed orthography, in the first decades of the thirteenth century, such as the 1206 treaty itself, which as we saw earlier, exists in two witnesses: one in Leonese and one in Castilian. However, having experimented with the use of Castilian, or reformed orthography, in the early years of the thirteenth century, there is a drastic decline in its usage until at least the 1240s. Wright explains that for a spelling reform to have any real long-term success it must be considered official, and for that, be accepted by the king and chancellery.<sup>242</sup> Throughout much of the first half of the thirteenth century, the chancellery did not make official use of the reformed orthography, nor do we see much evidence of official experimentations with this developing spelling system. One important figure of the

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<sup>240</sup> Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance*, p.1

<sup>241</sup> Emiliano, p.235

<sup>242</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabreros*, p.113

time was Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada,<sup>243</sup> who became Archbishop of Toledo in 1209. He was a 'leading ecclesiastical figure in Spain (and abroad)', a chief organizer of the military efforts, a 'prolific author'<sup>244</sup> and 'one of the most significant figures of his day'.<sup>245</sup> His election as archbishop took place around the time of an international pro-traditionalist movement and when writing his most notable work, *De rebus Hispaniae*, completed in the early 1240s, Rodrigo wrote in Latin, or at least using an unreformed orthographic system. It is also noteworthy here that in the *Estoria*, references to information taken from *De rebus* as a source frequently appear alongside the phrase 'en su/so latin'. As Wright points out, el Toledano was opposed to the orthographic reforms he had seen being experimented, and felt they were unnecessary. Wright goes on to list potential conscious or unconscious reasons for this opposition, including the key point that Latin (or a more traditional orthography) was comprehensible across Europe, therefore widening his potential readership.<sup>246</sup> It is also worth bearing in mind that Jiménez de Rada, a high-ranking member of the clergy, was writing his history at the behest of Fernando III as an ideology to unite the eight kingdoms now in his power through inheritance and reconquest of al-Andalus.<sup>247</sup> As Latin was the language of the Church, el Toledano's opposition to orthographic reform would most

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<sup>243</sup> Matthias Maser, 'Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History', David Thomas, (Ed.) *Brill Online Reference 2013*. [http://brillonline.nl/entries/Christian-muslim-relations/Rodrigo-jimenez-de-rada-COM\\_24223](http://brillonline.nl/entries/Christian-muslim-relations/Rodrigo-jimenez-de-rada-COM_24223), [accessed 20/12/2013]

<sup>244</sup> Alex Novikoff, 'From Dialogue to Disputation in the age of Archbishop Jiménez de Rada', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 4:1 (2012) 95-100, <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/doi/full/10.1080/17546559.2012.677194#tabModule>, [accessed 20/12/2013]

<sup>245</sup> Aengus Ward, 'Sumario analítico de la Historia Gothica: Edition and Study', *Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar 57* (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, University of London, 2007) p.1

<sup>246</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros*, pp.107-108

<sup>247</sup> Derek Lomax, 'Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada como historiador', *AIH Actas V. (1974)*, [http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/aih/pdf/05/aih\\_05\\_2\\_017.pdf](http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/aih/pdf/05/aih_05_2_017.pdf) [accessed 20/12/2013]

likely have been linked to his religious and ideological beliefs, and a wish to promote Christian culture through the continued use of unreformed orthography. Martin contends that in addition to uniting the newly-expanded territory, Jiménez de Rada was also writing to reinforce royal authority.<sup>248</sup> Presumably, in addition to his ideological beliefs, he chose to write his history in traditional orthography for practical reasons, in order to make the work pan-Iberian and therefore the unifying force Fernando wanted it to be, yet we know from works published by sociolinguists such as Wright that by the 1240s it was necessary for texts such as the *Fueros* to be written in reformed orthography in order that they could be understood by a new generation of speakers, as the Carolingian phonetic pronunciation of Latin orthography had by this point taken hold in non-Catalan Iberia.<sup>249</sup> Although most people of the time were illiterate, followers of the SL theory believe they would have understood 'Latin' written texts when read aloud.<sup>250</sup> However, if they could no longer understand these texts when read out with the new pronunciation, one may wonder then, who is the intended audience of such a history in Latin, or at least in a traditional orthographic system.

#### **2.2.1.2 The Alfonsine *taller*, Alfonsine sociolinguistics, and the digital editor**

By the end of the thirteenth century, the majority of non-ecclesiastical Iberian texts were written in the reformed orthographical systems relating to the regionally-named

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<sup>248</sup> Martin, *Les juges de Castille*, p.251

<sup>249</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabreros*, p.116

<sup>250</sup> Robert Blake, 'Syntactic aspects of Latinized texts of the Early Middle Ages', in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, pp.219-228

varieties.<sup>251</sup> Alfonso was a key promoter of Castilian as a prestige variety, worthy of texts produced within his own *taller* for almost all genres (Alfonso wrote the *Cantigas* in the more literary Galician), and conceptually distinct from Latin and from the other Romance tongues. It was the promotion of a prestige variety of Castilian that was as important to Alfonso as what Martin terms the 'redistribution' of knowledge through his *oeuvre*,<sup>252</sup> and the monarch's promotion of the language increased throughout the course of his reign as his imperial aspirations grew. Being a monarch of a kingdom with its own prestigious linguistic variety, distinct from those in the neighbouring kingdoms and from Latin, was an important part of Alfonso's project to become Holy Roman Emperor,<sup>253</sup> as can be seen in the short concordance study below.

As Wright argues, the conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance and the orthographic reform was 'the result of an innovation made on purpose in a particular historical context.'<sup>254</sup> Alfonso was not the first to use this reformed orthography, but he was a vigorous supporter of it, and increasingly so throughout his reign, as I will show later in this chapter. The production by Alfonso and his *taller* of a large body of prose in Castilian, a conscious promotion of the reformed Castilian orthography and therefore the concept that Castilian was distinct from other varieties and from Latin, was a key factor in the shift in the sociolinguistic context of late thirteenth-century Castile.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance*, p.41

<sup>252</sup> Martin, *Les juges de Castille*, p.326

<sup>253</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.140

<sup>254</sup> Wright, R. *Early Ibero-Romance*, p.22

<sup>255</sup> Roger Wright, 'The pre-history of written Spanish and the thirteenth-century nationalist zeitgeist', in José del Valle (ed.), *A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) pp.31-43, p.43

The Alfonsine texts, and in particular the *Estoria de Espanna*, because of the number of extant manuscripts, and the way it was rewritten according to the changing political context, hold a great deal of information about the evolution of the orthographic reform, and scholars are able to learn a great deal about the nature and evolution of the reform from its early experimentation by analysing the spellings in the manuscripts. To take a simple example, scholars may choose to study the spelling of ‘mugier’/’muger’ to learn at which stage spellings were changing. One of the easiest ways to do this would be to use concordances of transcribed manuscripts. Concordances are not, of course, exclusive to the digital age, but are more readily available with digital editions, thanks to computerised methods of their production. To date it is not yet possible to study orthographic change of the Alfonsine text using concordances, since by their nature, editors of print editions have to either normalise spelling to some extent to ensure the edition is usable and lists of spelling variants do not become noise, or they have to provide documentary editions of just one manuscript, Lachmannian editions which privilege older spellings, Bédierist, or best-text editions of a very small number of manuscripts (or even just one manuscript), or reader’s editions of regularised spellings. A synoptic edition could, in theory, show the text at various stages of development, but the usefulness of a print synoptic edition for scholars of orthographic reform is capped by the necessity to avoid too much textual noise in the form of variant spellings and excessive editorial codes. Furthermore, the current available electronic concordances of the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (HSMS)<sup>256</sup> are unable to show spelling variation in progress since they are

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<sup>256</sup> Francisco Gago Jover (ed.). “Lapidario”, “Estoria de España I”, “Estoria de España II” and “General estoria I”, *Prose Works of Alfonso X el Sabio. Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts*. Hispanic Seminary of



comprised of expanded forms. To use the same example, this means it is not possible to use the HSMS concordances to study the shift from ‘mugier’ to ‘muger’, since they have expanded all abbreviated forms to ‘mugier’, even when on the same folio the word appears unabbreviated as ‘muger’. This makes concordance searches of words which may be abbreviated unreliable when they are being used to study spelling change.<sup>257</sup> Similarly, the *Estoria Digital* does not contain a concordance search tool at the present time. It would be entirely possible for a digital editor to create a concordance from unabbreviated forms of spellings only, and to not count expanded abbreviations, if the editor considered that the effort required to make such a tool was warranted by the fact that the outcome would be of sufficient academic interest to scholars who may wish to study spelling change in this way – but only if he was aware of the potential use of his edition by scholars to do so. This would only come from an in-depth understanding of the texts being edited, and their significance to scholarship of more specialities than just that of the editor himself.

The *muger/mugier* point also highlights why, as editors, we must be aware of how we expand abbreviated forms, and what the implications of doing so can mean for the usefulness of our edition by future scholars: regularisation can provide consistency and reduce noise for the general user, but can also remove some of the usefulness of the edition for scholars of orthography. This is one of the ways in which digital editions can be particularly useful, where printed editions cannot: a digital editor could choose

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Medieval Studies, 2011, <http://www.hispanicseminary.org/t&c/ac/index-en.htm> [accessed 26/02/2014]

<sup>257</sup> Polly Duxfield, Christian Kusi-Obodum, Marine Poirer, ‘Variabilidad lingüística y cuestiones de etiquetación XML en la edición digital de la *Estoria de Espanna*’, *1<sup>st</sup> Annual Colloquium of the Estoria de Espanna Digital Project* (University of Birmingham, 10-11 April 2014).

*not* to regularise across a whole edition made from manuscripts which contain variant spellings, but when transcribing could regularise to each individual manuscript, deciding on an expanded form according to the usage in each particular manuscript. She could also present a regularised general-reader's edition where spelling is regularised throughout. The audiences of these two variations of the edition would be different, and a digital editor is able to cater for the needs of both of these audiences within one edition, thanks to digital tools, without compromising the other. This is the route that was taken in the *Estoria Digital*, and the model that I have followed in preparing the digital *CPSF*. There is also the option to provide an even greater level of tagged detail than either of these two projects have done, if the editor perceived the increased time invested to do so would bring with it sufficient benefits for the users of the edition. I will return to this point in Chapter Three.

### **2.2.1.3 Alfonso's promotion of Castilian: a concordance study of selected texts in his *oeuvre***

To illustrate the sociolinguistic context of works of the Alfonsine project, Alfonso's promotion of Castilian, and as an example of the sorts of things scholars may look for in digital editions of medieval prose in Castilian, I have carried out a simple concordance study.<sup>258</sup> This study uses the online concordances of the HSMS,<sup>259</sup> and can also be taken as an example of one of the many ways in which scholars can use

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<sup>258</sup> I presented a previous and longer version of this sociolinguistic study: Polly Duxfield, "Alfonso, the *Estoria de Espanna* and the language of empire", *1st Annual Colloquium of the Estoria de Espanna Digital Project* (University of Birmingham, 10-11 April 2014).

<sup>259</sup> Gago Jover

modern tools (in this case, electronic concordances) to study texts to reveal the sociolinguistic politics contained within them, that may not be obviously evident when simply reading the texts. I will analyse data from four key search terms: *latin*, *castellano*, *espannol* and *romanz*,<sup>260</sup> and will look at data from the text of three texts from the Alfonsine *taller*, written during his lifetime: the *Lapidario* (Escorial h.I.5) an Alfonsine book on magic and medicine, which was translated from Arabic between 1243 and 1250,<sup>261</sup> the *General Estoria I* (Nacional MSS/816, dated by the HSMS 1272-1275), and the text of the *Versión primitiva*, of the *Estoria de Espanna*. This is dated by Fernández-Ordóñez to 1270-74, and comprises the codex E<sub>1</sub> (Escorial manuscript Y-I-2) and the first seventeen folios of E<sub>2</sub> (Escorial X-i-4).<sup>262</sup>

In the *Lapidario*, the first book of the Alfonsine *taller*,<sup>263</sup> the term *castellano* appears only three times, all on folio 1v. Two of the occurrences are almost identical (one is part of a rubric and another is the same text as in the rubric, but as part of the main text). One of the occurrences states that the translation into Castilian has taken place ‘por que los omnes lo entendiessen mejor’.<sup>264</sup> The term *espannol* does not appear in this manuscript. *Latin* occurs in the *Lapidario* 44 times, 28 of which refer to translations from Arabic, not into Castilian but into Latin. Given that Alfonso has explicitly stated that he is translating the source texts of the *Lapidario* into Castilian in

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<sup>260</sup> A search such as this is possible with these concordances, since these search terms are not usually abbreviated, and spelling variation is not being studied here.

<sup>261</sup> José Chabás and Bernard R. Goldstein, *The Alfonsine Tables of Toledo*, (Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003) p.95

<sup>262</sup> Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘El taller historiográfico alfonsí’

<sup>263</sup> Edilán, *Lapidario de Alfonso X el Sabio* <http://www.edilan.es/hojas/0004.htm> [accessed 08/06/2016]

<sup>264</sup> Quotation taken from the HSMS transcription of the *Lapidario* folio 1v (abbreviations expanded as italics) as the transcribed text appears on <http://www.hispanicseminary.org/t&c/ac/index-en.htm> [accessed 24/02/2014]

order that his readers should understand it better, it jars somewhat that he should choose to translate so many terms into Latin rather than Castilian. Marcella de Marco explains that Alfonso was translating into Castilian at a time when it had no existing technical terms for the concepts contained in the source texts, so Alfonso translated such terms into Latin, a more established language. The king then either coined a Castilianised form of the Latin for each term, or gave the term only in Latin, and described the concept, enabling the reader to form a new term in their own mind.<sup>265</sup> In terms of language promotion and linguistic identity, this can be seen as a failure to fully promote the use of Castilian in a way that would not have happened at the time of writing the histories. Translating into Latin, rather than coining new terms for every concept lacking a Castilian form exposes a lack of importance placed on his readers being able to use only Castilian to discuss scientific topics, without relying on Latin to provide some of the necessary terminology. In the early 1250s then, the king's objective of translating into Castilian 'so that men could better understand' was achieved through his choice to use Castilian as the main language of the text, which would have allowed for comprehension by speakers of that variety, and also showed a strong conceptual separation between Castilian and Latin. However, readers of the *Lapidario* are still reliant on Latin to gain a full understanding of all parts of the text, which suggests that at this early stage in his cultural project, Alfonso's use of language is for more practical purposes, that is to say as a means of ensuring comprehension, than for a promotion of Castilian cultural power, as we see in the historical texts from later in his reign.

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<sup>265</sup> De Marco, 38-39

In contrast to the data from the *Lapidario*, in the *Versión primitiva* of the *Estoria*, *latin* appears 47 times in a text that is significantly longer than the *Lapidario*: the latter sees 44 occurrences in around 5,600 words, whilst extrapolating from an average wordcount per folio, the *Versión primitiva* has some 290,000 words and just 47 occurrences of the term. Of these 47 occurrences, 21 times the term is part of a phrase using a third person plural verb such as ‘dizen en latin’, showing promotion by the king of a cultural separation between the language of the author and those who spoke Latin. Analysis of these terms in the *General Estoria I* gives similar results: *castellano* appears 14 times in the *General Estoria I*, and in each of those occurrences refers to language. In seven of the fourteen occurrences, *castellano* appears either as part of a phrase describing it as ‘nuestro language’, or using a first person plural verb such as ‘dezimos’. This reinforces the earlier conclusion that by the 1270s, Alfonso’s court was in the habit of referring to the language they spoke as *castellano*, and of making a linguistic separation between ‘we’ the speakers of Castilian, and ‘they’ the speakers of Latin, showing the concept of the Castilian-speaking speech community being separate from the Latin-speaking speech community. On a further three occasions, when neither a possessive adjective nor a first person plural verb is accompanying the term, *castellano* appears within a phrase translating a word into Castilian from other languages, usually Latin or Greek. On only one occasion does *castellano* appear with a third person plural form of the verb (‘dizen’), linking Castilian to ‘they’ rather than ‘we’. The term *romanz* appears five times in the *General Estoria I*, in which twice the terms ‘de Castiella’ or ‘castellano’ are added as identifiers. *Espannol* appears four times in the Alfonsine folios of the *Estoria de Espanna*, and of these, it only refers to language once, and with a third person plural verb (therefore meaning ‘their’ language, not ‘ours’) – the rest of the time

it describes people as *espannol*. *Espannol* appears only once in the *General Estoria I*, and refers to a person, rather than to language. It can be seen then, that in the vast majority of occurrences in the Alfonsine history texts from the 1270s, Castilian is viewed as the language of the author, not 'español', and that a conceptual separation is made between their Castilian and others' Latin

Also relevant to the hypothesis of Castilian being more assertively promoted in the later texts is the topic of language names used in the texts studied. Tore Janson explains the implications of language name-changing by stating that language naming, including name-changing, is more conceptual than a reflection of technical language usage and linguistic change. He goes on to state that, prior to the existence of a 'clear notional distinction' between the Romance varieties in medieval Iberia and Latin, speakers had no reason to change the name of their language as it evolved naturally from Classical Latin.<sup>266</sup> Following his line of argument, it can be seen that despite the considerable change in spoken language from Classical Latin to the varieties in use in the mid to late Middle Ages, since no change in language name had been widely put into place, speakers must not have felt the requirement to differentiate their variety from that of Latin: that is to say that they still clearly considered their language to be Latin, supporting Wright's SL theory.

The SL theory extends to enable analysis in these three texts of the terms *romanz* and *castellano*: The orthographic system Alfonso X uses in the *Lapidario* is referred to as

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<sup>266</sup> Tore Janson, 'Language Change and Metalinguistic Change: Latin to Romance and Other Cases', Roger Wright, (Ed.) *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (Paperback edition) (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996) pp.19-28

'romanz' and 'castellano' on different occasions within the text. The two terms appear to be used interchangeably, and 'romanz' appears more often than 'castellano' does (seven times, compared to three). However, by the historical texts of the 1270s 'romanz' is more seldom used to refer to the variety, and Alfonso favours the term 'castellano'. This is significant as it shows a conceptual shift in the name of the variety being used: from 'romanz', which separates the variety from Latin, but not from other varieties that are descendants of Latin (such as Aragonese, Navarrese, Galician etc.), and therefore refers more to the idea of a reformed orthography than a cultural notion of the language being distinct from other vernacular tongues, to 'castellano', a name specifically linked to Alfonso's kingdom of Castile, comprising Castile, Leon and Galicia, separating it from the varieties spoken in the other Iberian kingdoms. Following Janson's theory, this shift in language-name from 'romanz' to 'castellano' is significant not of a *linguistic change* but of a *conceptual change*, and therefore the promotion of a Castilian culture through the promotion of a Castilian language. The implication this has for the digital editor is that linguists and sociolinguists are likely to want to use editions of Alfonsine and post-Alfonsine material to study this type of phenomenon. This means that the editor should be mindful that he is editing in such a way, and presenting the edition(s) of the texts in order that other scholars are able to study what they wish to – that is to say that he has not removed the usefulness of his edition by, for example, regularising spelling.

Furthermore, it is significant that although Alfonso was writing the *Estoria de Espanna*, as a historical text of all those who identified themselves as forming part of 'Spain' and

as having a 'Spanish' lineage,<sup>267</sup> the language he should choose to do this in would be referred to as 'castellano' and not 'español'. This shows that the linguistic variety he used to write his texts was significantly different, if only conceptually so, from the other Iberian varieties as to warrant a separate name. However, the conscious decision to write this pan-peninsular history in Castilian rather than a pan-peninsular linguistic variety, such as Latin, is evidence of an assertive promotion of Castilian over other varieties and in particular over Latin, and reinforces Carlos de Ayala Martínez's view that Alfonso's aim, at least between 1257 and 1275 (the major period of his aspirations of becoming recognised as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire), was not to unify the Iberian Peninsula, but rather that Castile should have recognition as a pre-eminent status amongst the Iberian kingdoms.<sup>268</sup> Dennis Ager argues that along with religion, language can be a symbol of nationalism, and explains how the notion of a shared history, even if this is a myth, can be a 'fundamental component of national sentiment and fellow-feeling'.<sup>269</sup> It follows, then, that Alfonso's increasing the prestige of Castilian through its use in his *taller* would have had further knock-on effects, with the Castilian language being a symbol for the newly recognisably culturally distinct Castilian speech community, and as a means of promoting Castilian culture through his histories. Written at a time when Alfonso's constant preoccupation since 1257 of the quest to become emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was still continuing,<sup>270</sup> before his

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<sup>267</sup> Diego Catalán, *La Estoria de España de Alfonso X: Creación y evolución* (Madrid: Seminario Menéndez Pidal and Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1990) p.30

<sup>268</sup> Carlos de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la política peninsular de Alfonso X: Relaciones castellano-aragonesas 1252-1263* (Madrid: Antiqua et Medievalia, 1986) pp.154-155

<sup>269</sup> Dennis Ager, *Motivation in Language Planning and Policy* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001) p.14

<sup>270</sup> Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1963)



humiliation of 1275,<sup>271</sup> one of Alfonso's strategies in this quest was to promote Castile and the prestige of its culture. This shows that his choice to use Castilian was not purely motivated by promotion of culture, but rather by politics, and in particular his imperial aspirations.

This concordance study is very short and by no means exhaustive, and if time and space allowed there would be scope for much more in-depth searching, analysis and comparisons. Such a study would almost certainly shed far more light on the topic than has been possible in such a few short searches as these. It would also be interesting and informative to carry out a full analysis of language use according to the subject matter of the texts being studied. However, short as these analyses have been, it can be seen that Castilian was more assertively promoted in the historical texts from the 1270s and onwards than in the translations from earlier in his reign. A reason for this is likely to be that being dated to the 1240s and the early 1250s, the translation of the *Lapidario* predates the main period of Alfonso's imperial aspirations which began in 1257, and therefore predates Alfonso's major push of the promotion of Castilian language, and by extension its culture, above all other varieties. Rather, the *Lapidario* was translated at a time when Alfonso's main aim for his intellectual enterprise was, in O'Callaghan's words, 'rendering homage to God and bringing God and humanity into closer communication' by making as much of human knowledge as possible accessible to as many people as possible.<sup>272</sup> This aim necessitated the need for his readership to understand what they read, but did not extend to a full politically-motivated

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<sup>271</sup> Aengus Ward, *History and Chronicles in Late Medieval Iberia: Representations of Wamba in Late Medieval Narrative Histories* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011) p.37

<sup>272</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.131

promotion of Castilian. In contrast, the level of status planning that can be seen in the first recensions of his historical texts, where comprehension of the text does not rely on Latin, and where translation into Castilian was the end result rather than a stepping stone between the source language and Latin, would have involved a certain level of corpus planning through the coining of new Castilian terms. By the 1270s Alfonso was doing this in order to help to raise the status and prestige of Castilian by ensuring his readers could discuss the concepts in the *Lapidario* without relying on Latin, thereby allowing him to consciously raise the profile of Castilian amongst other Iberian varieties and also Latin, and as a result his own imperial claims. Again, this reinforces the view of de Ayala Martínez, that Alfonso's primary aim during this later period was, rather than to unify the peninsula, for Castile to be eminent within Iberia – and as the ruler of Castile, Alfonso would be an even more credible candidate for emperor.<sup>273</sup>

It is noteworthy that we do not see evidence of this type of language-promotion in the *CPSF*: by searching the XML file of my critical edition, it is evident that 'castellano' appears four times – three as an epithet for the nobleman Alvar Pérez de Castro el Castellano, and once to describe Fernando III as Castilian. 'Latin', 'romanz' and 'español' (and orthographic variants thereof) do not appear in the *CPSF*. This further supports the hypothesis that their usage in the later texts of his *oeuvre* demonstrates Alfonsine language-promotion. Whilst, due to the constraints of time and finances, I do not provide electronic concordances, I have uploaded my XML transcriptions, which users could download and use to carry out electronic searches to study such

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<sup>273</sup> Carlos de Ayala Martínez, pp.154-155

phenomena. Because I had access to the transcriptions, as will users of my edition, I was able to search for terms no less easily than I could using the HSMS concordances. As has been seen above, concordances can limit search possibilities in cases where they are based on expansions. This is not the case when searching in the transcription, as users can search for whatever they choose, using the search facility on XML editing programmes such as *TextWrangler*. The case for providing concordances in digital editions when one provides transcriptions for user-download, is therefore more questionable.

#### **2.2.1.4 Alfonso and sociolinguistics: linguistic conceptual separation, orthographic reform, language-naming and language promotion**

As shown by Wright's SL theory as outlined above, the fact that Alfonso writes that he is using 'Castilian' does not necessarily mean he is using a variety that is different, when spoken, to that used by speakers who would have described themselves as Latin speakers, but rather that he is using the Castilianised orthography, and overtly asserting a cultural separation from speakers of other varieties, as a means of language promotion of Castilian. It is the active choice to use the reformed Castilian spelling system, and the use of the term 'Castilian' to describe the variety he is using, *not* the linguistic differences between Latin and Castilian, which are significant. His choice of language demonstrates that the conceptual separation between Latin and Castilian as two distinct varieties has taken place by the time Alfonso is writing the first recensions of his historical texts.

Furthermore, through his usage of the medieval Castilian spelling system and the name 'Castilian', Alfonso is consciously demonstrating his view that Castilian is a variety in its own right, and is giving Castilian prestige as a language of higher learning, in a field that would previously have been reserved for unreformed orthography, and therefore 'Latin'.<sup>274</sup> In this way, Alfonso's use of medieval Castilian in his *oeuvre* can be seen as an example of language status planning, which 'modifies the status, and hence the prestige, of language or languages varieties within society'.<sup>275</sup> His linguistic choices promote Castilian as a language of learning, and therefore strengthen the prestige attached to the emerging Castilian speech community who have available to them literature and academic writing from a royal household in their own variety. In doing so, Alfonso is challenging the diglossic state which could have emerged from the conceptual separation between Latin and Castilian, where Latin and its unreformed orthography could have been the language of higher prestige. Promoting Castilian in this way was a means of giving Castilian a level of prestige to rival that of Latin, in non-ecclesiastical circumstances.

In the *Estoria de Espanna*, Valdeón points out that Alfonso's use of *España* in this work was significant, and referred to all of the former territory of the Visigoths, not just his own kingdom;<sup>276</sup> he used 'españoles' to refer to those from Aragon, Portugal, Galicia, Asturias as well as Castile-Leon.<sup>277</sup> Alfonso was not the only Iberian monarch of the

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<sup>274</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, p.140

<sup>275</sup> Ager, p.6

<sup>276</sup> Valdeón Baruque, p.135

<sup>277</sup> Valdeón Baruque, p.137

time to use the term in his chronicles, however, as we see it used also in the chronicle attributed to James I of Aragon, again referring to all of the kingdoms within the peninsula.<sup>278</sup> Nevertheless, Alfonso consciously chose to write in Castilian orthography, thus promoting the culture and language of his own territory whilst writing about a wider geographical region than that within the boundaries of his own kingdom.

As well as the ideological statement made by Alfonso's increasingly assertive promotion of Castilian to the expense of Latin, and of Castilian being culturally separate from other Romance varieties, it is possible to state more objectively that Alfonso's use of language is likely to have been greatly influenced by his intended readership. Key to understanding the relationship between Alfonso's language-usage and his desired readership is the language used in his legal codes. I wrote above how, as a self-styled 'absolutist'<sup>279</sup> monarch, Alfonso reformed much of the legal system within his kingdom and was a prolific creator of laws. Although some of these legal codes were not actually promulgated until after Alfonso's death, at the time of writing the codes would have been designed to be implemented, and therefore had to be understood by the majority of the population. As Wright explains, laws which cannot easily be understood by the public cannot easily be adhered to, so linguists are able to analyse the linguistic systems in which they are written to gain insight into the linguistic context in which they were produced.<sup>280</sup> Alfonso's legal codes are written in Castilian, not Latin, or in other terms, in reformed rather than unreformed

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<sup>278</sup> Valdeón Baroque, pp.137-139

<sup>279</sup> Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, p.297

<sup>280</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros*, p.116

orthography, which shows that by the time of his reign such orthography was necessary for them to be understood by the wider public. Alfonso was not the first to produce legal texts in Castilian, or reformed orthography: Wright states that from around the 1240s the *Fueros* are translated into Castilian in order to cater for the comprehension needs of the wider public.<sup>281</sup> Following this reasoning, we can infer that Alfonso's intended audience was Castilian-speaking, and a wider audience within Castile than just those who had been trained to understand the unreformed orthography, or the pan-European style of Latin. Alfonso's prose texts were designed to be read widely within Castile, or failing this, read aloud to the illiterate, and crucially, understood.

This contrasts with the fact that, like the *Fueros*, *De rebus Hispaniae* was written in the 1240s. *De rebus*, however, was in Latin: Rodrigo's intended audience was different from that of the *Fueros*, and of the Alfonsine texts. Latin may have been a more obvious choice for Alfonso's histories if his intention was to gain as wide an audience as possible not just within Castile, since educated readers in Castile would have understood both Castilian and Latin, and Latin readers outside of Castile would also have been able to understand the text. Therefore, through analysis of his language choice, it can be seen that Alfonso's intention in his historical texts was not simply to promote Castilian history and culture, but to promote its language, to raise the profile and prestige of the variety, and by extension of his kingdom and his own status as monarch of that prestigious kingdom, and all of this *within his own kingdom*.

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<sup>281</sup> Wright, *El Tratado de Cabrerros*, p.116

### 2.2.2 Section conclusion

As a large body of work, the texts of the Alfonsine *taller*, therefore, are important for the study of the sociolinguistic context of thirteenth-century Castile and the development of Castilian orthography. They are also historically and culturally significant, as they allow scholars an insight into the politics of the era, particularly the Alfonsine quest for power within Christendom and of his promotion of the importance of Castilian language and culture within Iberia. We can also use the texts to study the ethnic make-up of the intellectual class of the time by studying the translations, and can gather information on the perceived importance Alfonso placed upon various topics by analysing what he chose to have translated from Arabic. The legal texts can allow scholars to study people's behaviour of the period, and the values of the ruling class, and in particular of the king, regarding this behaviour, since although several of the Alfonsine law codes were not promulgated until after his death, it is not usually deemed necessary to legislate against behaviours which are not being carried out. By extension, the post-Alfonsine texts have an appeal for scholars towards many of these same goals, if only to provide a point of contrast, which can shed even more light on the cultural, political, linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomena within an Alfonsine context.

Many of these areas have been, and can continue to be, researched using the extant manuscripts of the Alfonsine oeuvre, and some can be researched using the print editions of the texts which already exist. However, the most appropriate way to continue studying the texts of the Alfonsine *taller* is now to make use of digital editions.

Like their print counterparts, these are far from free of editorial judgment – transcribers and editors constantly make decisions: what to transcribe, what to ignore, what abbreviation mark represents what expansion, what they perceive to be the original and modified reading in the case of emendations, whether a variant is significant or not, and so on. Digital editions, however, are able to contain far more information about these editorial decisions than print editions are, without such information becoming noise and making the edition less usable. Furthermore, it is often possible for the user of the digital edition to be more in control of the presentational aspects of the edition, and therefore to some extent the editorial decisions on display, than a user of a print edition, who is bound by the decisions of the editor.<sup>282</sup> The user of a digital edition can often click data presentation choices which allow her to view, and sometimes compare, some or all of the following potential options, according to her needs: a diplomatic transcription, an edited transcription, a palaeographic transcription, a version where orthographic abbreviations are expanded, a regularised version, a collated version, and even high quality digitised images of the manuscript(s), to give just the examples included in the digital *CPSF*. The ability to access such options frees the user from some of the constraints of print editions, and allows the user to study areas which have previously been difficult or almost impossible to study using print editions alone, or manuscripts which may exist in repositories in locations that are many miles apart. The Alfonsine texts are no exception, and with the above ‘muger’/’mugier’ example, it will be far easier to study aspects such as orthographic change in abbreviated word forms using an electronic

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<sup>282</sup> Ward, ‘Editing the *Estoria de Espanna*’, 193



edition with presentational options than has hitherto been possible with just print editions or electronic transcriptions of one manuscript.

Of particular significance to scholars within the Alfonsine *oeuvre* is the *Estoria de Espanna*, given its specific textual history, as I have discussed above. It is this history which gives the *Estoria* its particular interest to scholars of history, medieval textuality and linguistics, as well as to textual editors, as one could argue that as well as an author and patron of many works, Alfonso was also the original editor of the work. We saw in section 2.1.4, the original version of the text is the '*Versión primitiva*' (1270-1274). This text was edited some time after 1274, and is known as the '*Versión enmendada de después de 1274*', and finally, whilst living in Seville towards the end of his days, the king edited the text again, to create the '*Versión crítica*' (1282-1284).<sup>283</sup> Ward has written that the differences between the two main versions of the text dating to Alfonso's lifetime, that is, the *Versión primitiva* and the *Versión crítica*, can be explained by the historical and political context in which each respective version was produced: the earlier was written from the perspective of a monarch 'at the peak of his powers and ambitions', whilst the later version was that of 'an ill and defeated king, effectively de-throned by his son Sancho and abandoned by the majority of his people',<sup>284</sup> illustrating Fraker's point that the Alfonsine historical texts are, as are all historical texts, a product of the external context in which they were written.<sup>285</sup> We will return to Fraker's point below, when our attention moves to the *CPSF*.

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<sup>283</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'Variación en el modelo alfonsí en el siglo XIII', p.42

<sup>284</sup> Ward, 'Editing the *Estoria de Espanna*', 188

<sup>285</sup> Fraker, 96

The relevance of this section for the digital editor of a post-Alfonsine text, of the sociolinguistics of Alfonsine society and the politics behind his language promotion is that it shows the significance of the Alfonsine works for scholars from a range of backgrounds: history, linguistics, sociolinguistics, textual scholarship to name a few. By extension, the same scholars may choose to study these phenomena in post-Alfonsine texts, to explore if and how such phenomena continued or changed in the years following Alfonso's reign.

If an editor is aware of the richness of texts for a range of scholars, and what some of the needs of these diverse audiences may be, if his time and money allow him to do so, it stands to reason that he should ensure his edition is useful for these audiences too. To take the example of scholars of historical sociolinguistics, the editor should take care when making editorial decisions about any regularisation of orthography, of the expansion of abbreviations – expansions have their uses for other audiences, but can limit the usefulness of a transcription for scholars of (socio-)linguistics, so modern-day editorial intervention with expansions should be made clear, and scholars should be able to access the edition in an unexpanded form as well – and in how concordances should be prepared, in order not to limit the usefulness of his edition for a specific audience of scholars. That said, practicality places a limit on the extent to which an editor may choose to retain orthographic variants in a collated or critical edition, given that, as always, he is walking a tightrope between providing users with as much detail as possible for various potential audiences, and in limiting the detail he gives in order not to provide excessive textual noise. However, it is unlikely that a scholar of sociolinguistics interested in orthographic change would use a collated or critical

edition to view such phenomenon. In contrast, they would be much more likely to wish to view or use digital tools with the transcriptions used to create such editions. It is with this in mind that an editor might choose to make these transcriptions available to users of the edition for download as XML files, and to allow users to view the edition as an abbreviated transcription, rather than purely providing a collated and/or critical edition. Limits of space on the printed page and the cost of printing such transcriptions as well as the edition(s) may prevent a print editor from doing so, but these particular limitations are not placed on digital editors, allowing them to cater for the needs of a wider audience within one edition, which may contain several versions of the text, presented differently for different users.

Having looked closely at the significance of the Alfonsine *oeuvre*, its relevance for scholars, and the implications this has on how one may edit it digitally, it is specifically to the *CPSF* and its digital edition that I will now turn.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**CASE STUDY – A DIGITAL EDITION OF THE**  
***CRÓNICA PARTICULAR DE SAN FERNANDO***

**3.0.1 Chapter introduction**

In Chapter One I established the benefits and constraints of digital and printed editions respectively, as well as describing the approaches of various schools of editing. I outlined my argument for an editor to have a clear understanding of the needs of her audience of users of the edition, and the ways in which they are likely to access and use the edition, bearing in mind the expectations they will bring to the edition, given the editorial culture to which they are accustomed. In Chapter Two I used the particular historical, cultural and linguistic significance of the *Estoria de Espanna* to explain why this text is so rich and so useful to scholars from many different backgrounds – of course, non-expert readers may also have more than a passing interest in these works and their editions<sup>1</sup> – and how this should affect an editor’s decisions when preparing its digital edition. Whilst doing this I considered how the needs of the edition’s audience is affected by the nature of the text being edited, included its history, context and textual transmission, all of which itself affects who is likely to use the edition, for what and how.

I will now move onto my case study, looking at the practice of digitally editing medieval Castilian prose. This will be a digital edition of a self-contained chronicle, that is now often considered to be part of the *Estoria de Espanna*, but which was written later than

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<sup>1</sup> The issue of the range of users of a digital edition is an important one, but space constraints here do not permit a full discussion.

the earliest witnesses of the *Estoria* – the *Crónica particular de San Fernando*. Based on the reasoning presented above, in order to inform my own editorial decisions when preparing this edition, it is necessary to have a clear overview of this work, the context of its production, its transmission, and the documents in which it is extant in the present day. Before describing the methodology of creating the edition, I will first look at the text, context and history of the *Crónica* itself.

### **3.1 The *Estoria de Espanna* and the *Crónica particular de San Fernando***

It is well-established, thanks largely to the work of Catalán and Fernández-Ordóñez, that the *Estoria* existed in two major versions during the reign of Alfonso X: the '*Versión primitiva*' (1270-1274), and the '*Versión crítica*' (1282-1284).<sup>2</sup> We also know that a further version of the *Estoria* was produced in the time of Sancho IV, the '*Versión amplificada*' (1289). As Fernández-Ordóñez explains, the *Estoria* has a textual transmission that is 'una de las más complejas e intrincadas de la historia de nuestra literatura medieval'.<sup>3</sup> As stated above, the most significant print edition of the *Estoria* of modern times is Ramón Menéndez Pidal's *Primera Crónica General (PCG)*.<sup>4</sup> Catalán tells us, 'el joven Menéndez Pidal [era] bien instruido en los métodos de la crítica textual de tradición *lachmaniana*',<sup>5</sup> and this edition uses primarily the codices E<sub>1</sub> and

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<sup>2</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'Variación en el modelo alfonsí en el siglo XIII', p.42

<sup>3</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.219

<sup>4</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*. The full title is *Primera Crónica General (Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289)*. This was published in 1906, 1955 and 1977. This thesis uses the 1955 edition.

<sup>5</sup> Diego Catalán, *De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí – Códices, crónicas, versiones y cuadernos de trabajo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1997) p.14. My italics.

E<sub>2</sub>, as he considered these manuscripts to be Alfonsine.<sup>6</sup> However, in 1962 Catalán showed that although E<sub>1</sub> is Alfonsine, E<sub>2</sub> is in fact a composite manuscript dating to the time of Alfonso XI.<sup>7</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez states that the compositor is likely to have been Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid,<sup>8</sup> a chancellor during the reign of Alfonso XI and the author of the *Crónica de Alfonso XI* and *Crónica de tres reyes*,<sup>9</sup> who used material from various points in time to create the codex. The first seventeen folios of E<sub>2</sub> are Alfonsine, and were taken from E<sub>1</sub> to start E<sub>2</sub>, and there are also folios from the 1289 version of the *Estoria*, as well as folios added in the fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup> The *PCG* is therefore an edition of the two E codices, rather than the Alfonsine version of the work, but largely, for all those except scholars of the Alfonsine *oeuvre*, and in particular the *Estoria de Espanna*, the *Estoria* and the *PCG* are synonymous.

Although Alfonso X was the original author or patron of the *Estoria*, the very nature of medieval textuality means that after his death the work took on somewhat of a life of its own. The sections emended or added later have become to be regarded as part of the *Estoria*, which scholars consider to be part of the Alfonsine *taller*, even though parts of what now constitutes the *Estoria* have only formed part of the work since after Alfonso's death. A general reader of the *Estoria* both nowadays and in the years following the death of Alfonso would be unlikely to know or care if the material within the manuscript was written by the work's original author. We saw above how in the

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<sup>6</sup> De la Campa, 'La Versión primitiva', 60

<sup>7</sup> Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, pp.73-75

<sup>8</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243

<sup>9</sup> Fernando Gómez Redondo, 'Crónica de Alfonso XI', in Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías (eds.), *Diccionario Filológico de Literatura Medieval Española. Textos y transmisión*. (Madrid: Castalia, 2002) pp.278-284, p.278

<sup>10</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243

late medieval period there did not exist the modern notion of authorship where the work 'belongs' to its author: contemporary readers would emend the text, scribes would make changes to the content or orthography, whole sections could be added or removed without warning, in a way that would not be possible in the modern day. It is only modern scholars of the *Estoria* who would be likely to give much more than a passing interest to the fact that not all of what is contained in the *PCG* was composed in Alfonso's *taller*. One section of the *PCG* that did not appear in the Alfonsine version(s) of the *Estoria* is the *CPSF*. It is this section that I will use as a case study to examine the practice of digitally editing medieval prose in Castilian. This section has been chosen as it is of sufficient length to provide material for analysis, and exists in two of the manuscripts being transcribed as part of the *Estoria Digital*, of which this thesis forms a part. Furthermore, to my knowledge, the *CPSF* is yet to be digitally edited, so as well as serving me as a case study of an example of digitally editing medieval prose, the edition created will hopefully be of use to later scholars.

## **3.2 The *Crónica particular de San Fernando*: Text and context**

### **3.2.1 Witnesses and editions**

The *CPSF* can be found in folios 316r to 359v of E<sub>2</sub>, at the end of the codex. Within E<sub>2</sub>, much of the *CPSF* exists in a section remarkable because of a change in hand from the thirteenth-century one of folios 257r to 320v to the mid-fourteenth-century hand seen in folio 321 onwards. This is also believed to be the hand of a number of folios inserted

into E<sub>2</sub> (folios 18-22, 80-81, 200-256).<sup>11</sup> The work of Catalán allows us to date the text of the *CPSF* following the hand change in E<sub>2</sub> to the early fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup> A textual reference to Fernando IV (1295-1312) as the ruling king in manuscripts D (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 10273), S (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 9233) and Ss (Caja de Ahorros de Salamanca, 40) has enabled scholars to date this text more precisely to the last years of his reign.<sup>13</sup> The text of E<sub>2</sub> is reproduced in Menéndez Pidal's *Primera Crónica General*.

The *CPSF* can also be found in the fifteenth-century codex Ss between folios 279v and 325r.<sup>14</sup> Further witnesses of the *CPSF* can be found in manuscript F of the *Estoria* (Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca 2628) (up to the conquest of Cordoba<sup>15</sup>), in the *Crónica del santo rey don Fernando*, known to scholars of the *CPSF* as manuscript D, and the *Crónica de tres reyes*, known as manuscript S.<sup>16</sup> Hijano states that the latter two manuscripts, D and S, are two of the three best known witnesses of the *CPSF*, out of around thirty manuscripts and more than twenty printed editions. It is one of the latter which Hijano tells us is the third of the three best known witnesses.<sup>17</sup> It is these five

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<sup>11</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243

<sup>12</sup> Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, p.81 n. 11

<sup>13</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247. Manuel Hijano pointed out in the examination of this thesis that the ruling king noted in F is Sancho IV, and in E<sub>2</sub> the corresponding passage is illegible.

<sup>14</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.249

<sup>15</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.229

<sup>16</sup> Mariano de la Campa, 'Crónica Particular de San Fernando', Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías (eds.), *Diccionario Filológico de Literatura Medieval Española. Textos y transmisión*. (Madrid: Castalia, 2002) pp.358-363, p.360

*Crónica del santo rey don Fernando*: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 10273; Images available at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000042651&page=1> (checked 29/08/2017)

*Crónica de tres reyes*: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 9233; Images available at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000096079&page=1> (checked 29/08/2017)

<sup>17</sup> Hijano Villegas, 'Crónica Particular de San Fernando: composición y transmisión', pp.1-2



manuscripts (E<sub>2</sub>, Ss, S, D and F) which are being used to prepare the digital edition of the *CPSF*.

The *CPSF* also appears as the final part of several witnesses of the *Crónica de veinte reyes*. A list of these witnesses, as provided by Mariano de la Campa is as follows:<sup>18</sup>

**B** Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo (Santander): 549 (olim. R-jj-11-8) (16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**C** Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid: 1.507 (olim. F-124 (16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**F** Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid): 1.501 (olim. F-132 y F-113) (16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**G** Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid): 18.416 (olim. 1.079) (16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**J** Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial: X-I-6 (olim. I-N.7 y I.D. 11) (15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**K** Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca: 2.211 (olim. 2-M-l Real Biblioteca) (16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**L** Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial (Madrid): X-TI-24 (olim. V. S.14yY.B.16) (16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**N** Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial (Madrid); Y-I-12 {olim. II.N.7 and I.D.II} (15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**N'** Real Biblioteca (Madrid): 11-2347 (olim. 2-K-8) (16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)

**Ñ** Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo (Santander): 159 (15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript)<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> De la Campa, 'Crónica Particular de San Fernando', pp.360-362. De la Campa's view that all of these witnesses are derived from the first printed edition (Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, 1516, held at the Hispanic Society of America, New York) is not uncontested. Elsewhere he states that this printed edition is based on the version of the chronicle found in *Estoria* manuscript Ss. Mariano de la Campa, 'Crónica de veinte reyes', *Revista de literatura medieval* 15:1, (2003) 141-156, 144-147, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=973303>, [accessed 29/08/2017]

<sup>19</sup> De la Campa, 'Crónica de veinte reyes', 144-147.

The *CPSF* appears in translation in the fourteenth-century codex of the *Estoria* in Galician-Portuguese known as manuscript A (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 8817, in folios 230r-265r which are later than the rest of the manuscript).<sup>20</sup> The *CPSF* enjoyed considerable success in the centuries that followed: it was printed in no fewer than fifteen editions between 1516 and 1616.<sup>21</sup> Funes explains that the *CPSF* was ‘incorporated as the final part in the manuscript tradition of the alphonsine [sic] *Estoria de España* and its derivatives’.<sup>22</sup> The text is present in the *PCG* in chapters 1029 to 1135, which are equivalent to the *Estoria Digital*’s textual divisions 1040 to 1146.<sup>23</sup> Although the *CPSF* dates to a time after the death of Alfonso X, its inclusion in the *PCG* and later works on the *Estoria*, for example that of Inés Fernández-Ordóñez,<sup>24</sup> shows that, as Funes explains above, it is now considered by scholars and more general readers alike to be part of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

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<sup>20</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p.239

<sup>21</sup> De la Campa, ‘Crónica Particular de San Fernando’, pp.360-361

<sup>22</sup> Leonardo Funes, ‘Crónica particular de San Fernando’ in Graeme Dunphy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Vol. I. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010) pp.386-387

<sup>23</sup> The difference in chapter numbering between the *Estoria Digital* and the *PCG* is owing to the fact that the *Estoria Digital* numbers every chapter consecutively – there are some chapters numbered in the *Estoria Digital* which are not numbered in the *PCG* (for example, the prologue, or due to errors in numbering in the *PCG*). In this way the *Estoria Digital* numbering system enables equivalence across all witnesses, and allows for electronic collation, See *Estoria de Espanna Digital*, ‘Methodology’, [http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page\\_id=923#preparation-of-the-data](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=923#preparation-of-the-data) [accessed 12/06/2018]; and Ward, ‘The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: Collating medieval prose’, 16.

<sup>24</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, pp.229, 236, 237, 238, 239, 243, 249, 254.

### 3.2.2 Historical context

As Fraker reminds us, historical texts are a product of the external context in which they were written.<sup>25</sup> The historical context of a text is therefore of great significance to its editor, and can reveal clues of how to edit, such as what to include, what to emend and what to regularise, based on who is likely to want to use the edition and how. Funes places the *CPSF* within its historical context: alongside ‘todas las prevenciones que se requieren al datar un texto por referencias internas’, he uses textual evidence within the *CPSF* to date the part of the chronicle equivalent to that after the hand change in E<sub>2</sub> to the reign of Fernando IV of Castile and Leon (r. 1295-1312). Funes points out that the text references the difficulties of defending Martos from a Moorish attack, and that by the time the *CPSF* was completed the town was at that time stronger than it had been, prior to the attack. This strength, Funes states, did not arrive until the early fourteenth century, which allows us to date the chronicle even more precisely.<sup>26</sup> The *CPSF* dates to a period during which royal authority was repeatedly questioned: following the death of Alfonso X, Sancho became king. This was unsuccessfully disputed by the latter’s nephew Alfonso de la Cerda, eldest son of Alfonso’s late eldest son, whose claim to the throne was supported by France and Aragon. The papacy refused to recognise Sancho’s marriage to his second cousin María de Molina as legitimate until their son Fernando was six years old. Fernando became king at the age of nine upon the death of his father in 1295, and due to his minority, his mother assumed the regency until the king’s coming of age. At the same time, the Reconquest

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<sup>25</sup> Fraker, 96

<sup>26</sup> Funes, *La ‘Estoria cabadelante’*, p.651

campaign continued with the capturing of Gibraltar by Castile and the besiege of Algeciras, although unrest amongst the Castilian nobles forced Fernando IV to lift the siege in 1310, before it had achieved its aim.<sup>27</sup> It is against this politically turbulent background that the *CPSF* was completed, and placed as the conclusion to the unfinished *Estoria*. It was not until 1325, more than a decade at least after the *CPSF* was completed, that the political situation was calmed: Fernando IV's son Alfonso XI became a monarch in infancy, upon his father's death in 1312. This too led to a regency: this one with a long and drawn-out struggle amongst factions of the family.<sup>28</sup> Around the time of his coming of age in 1325, the rebellious nobles were subdued through a series of executions and the imposition of exiles, and the authority of the monarchy was finally restored.<sup>29</sup>

### 3.2.3 Significance of the chronicle

Unlike the earliest recensions of the *Estoria*, the *CPSF* was not produced within the royal court. Funes argues for a subgroup of chronicles, to which the *CPSF* would belong: 'aquella producida por un cronista ligado a la corte pero que trabajo independientemente del patrocinio regio'.<sup>30</sup> He states that 'la producción cronística vernácula de estos siglos [XIII, XIV] estaría invariablemente ligada al poder regio'.<sup>31</sup> Luis Fernández Gallardo has described that one of its functions was a pro-monarchic

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<sup>27</sup> Barton, pp.73-74

<sup>28</sup> Barton, p.74

<sup>29</sup> Barton, pp.73-74

<sup>30</sup> Funes, 'Historiografía nobiliaria', 78

<sup>31</sup> Funes, 'Historiografía nobiliaria', 79

propagandising one, aiming to 'conseguir la adhesión de la nobleza a la causa monárquica', which he describes as a trait of post-Alfonsine historiography.<sup>32</sup> The ideology, he points out, favours María de Molina, shown within the text by both the prominence of Fernando III's mother Berenguela, who as seen above, was a political *tour de force* during her son's reign, as a 'tácita vindicación de la actuación de María de Molina', and also by the glorification of the Molina line,<sup>33</sup> whose military troop, the *cabalgada de Jerez*, is seen as key to the Andalusian conquests of Fernando III.<sup>34</sup> Fernando Gómez Redondo states that the chronicle 'constituye una pieza singular del entramado cortesano con que el 'molinismo' pretende afirmarse a la muerte de Sancho IV, en ese período de difícil minoridad'.<sup>35</sup>

The *CPSF* is significant both in terms of content and historiography. Funes has described the chronicle as 'la pieza historiográfica más significativa del período post-alfonsí'.<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere he has explained that it is only the rapid political changes at the end of the thirteenth century that could explain the ideological difference in the historiographical culture between the Alfonsine chronicles and that of the *CPSF*.<sup>37</sup> He explains that whilst the Alfonsine method was to relate history from a monarchic point of view, and as such the history is told as a series of unequivocal facts or 'unidades

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<sup>32</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 249

<sup>33</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247

<sup>34</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247 n. 8

<sup>35</sup> Fernando Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana, Vol. II. El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso*. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), p.1238

<sup>36</sup> Leonardo Funes, 'Dos versiones antagónicas de la historia y de la ley: una visión de la historiografía castellana de Alfonso X al Canciller Ayala', Aengus Ward (ed.) *Teoría y práctica de la historiografía hispánica medieval* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2000), pp.8-31, p.16

<sup>37</sup> Leonardo Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando* en el sistema de las formas cronísticas castellanas de principios del siglo XIV', AIH, *Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Birmingham, 21-26 August 1995), Vol. 1 (1998) 176-182, 178 <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=1355830>, [accessed 15/09/2016]

discretas del *continuum* de la experiencia humana', the viewpoint in the *CPSF* is aristocratic, rather than stemming from the central royal power.<sup>38</sup> The result of this changed point of view is that the narrative voice, which frequently interrupts the flow of the text,<sup>39</sup> adds a commentary to orientate the reader through the use of reasoning.<sup>40</sup> As Funes reminds us, this should be understood in the historical context of the politically turbulent period of the *CPSF*'s production, during which the regency situation meant that the role of the aristocracy in Castile was even more significant than usual.<sup>41</sup> It also suggests, he argues elsewhere, that the *CPSF* was not written in the royal court,<sup>42</sup> as the Alfonsine texts had been.

Fernández Gallardo gives us more information about the content of the *CPSF* and its significance. To some extent, the plan for the *CPSF* was to fill in a gap that had been left by Alfonso's unfinished *Estoria*, which had not achieved its aim of fully recounting the reign of Alfonso's father Fernando III. The *Estoria* ends, whether on purpose or because this was all that those working in the *taller* had managed to write, at Fernando's 1236 conquest of Cordoba,<sup>43</sup> whilst his reign continued until his death in 1252. The *CPSF* deals with the reign of Fernando III,<sup>44</sup> and the chronicle ends with the entombment of the king.

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<sup>38</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 180-181

<sup>39</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 254

<sup>40</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 259

<sup>41</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 182

<sup>42</sup> Funes, *La 'Estoria cabadelante'*, p.651

<sup>43</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.229; note that the section relating to the conquest of Cordoba does not appear in all witnesses of the *Estoria*: it appears that this section may have been (or was planned to be) in a quire of what is now E<sub>2</sub> but was lost (or never completed) – other witnesses, such as F, do include the Cordoba section.

<sup>44</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 248-249

### 3.2.4 The presentation of Fernando III

Fernando III is described by Angus MacKay as a king of 'firmness of purpose' and of 'practical achievements', who 'always set himself specific objectives and concentrated on achieving them'.<sup>45</sup> Through Fernando, Fernández Gallardo explains, Castile achieved a historical peak only rivalled by that of the Catholic Kings. He gives two reasons for this: firstly, through Fernando the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were united definitively, and secondly, Fernando was an extremely successful warrior, and during his reign, extraordinary advances were made in the reconquest of Andalusia. The culmination of Fernando's efforts was the conquest of Seville in 1248.<sup>46</sup> The *CPSF* remarks on the speed of the conquest, giving two causes: Fernando's skilled warriorship, and the support of God.<sup>47</sup> Fernando is presented in the *CPSF* as a king who achieved a divine goal, and as a result of his success won God's favour.<sup>48</sup> Fernández Gallardo goes on to give examples of the pro-monarchic propaganda in the *CPSF*, in the context of the early fourteenth century. In both 1296 and 1303 there had been unsuccessful attempts to divide the kingdom and once again separate Castile from Leon. Throughout the *CPSF* Fernando is seen as the king who united the two kingdoms, and his legitimacy to both thrones, and therefore that of his descendants, is stressed. Fernando is shown as the hero of the chronicle, and is referred to as 'noble' and 'bien aventurado'. The use in the later chapters of the *CPSF* of 'santo' to describe Fernando raises his status even further, from a great warrior and noble king to the upper

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<sup>45</sup> Mackay, p.58

<sup>46</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 245

<sup>47</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 260

<sup>48</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 259

echelons of religious importance.<sup>49</sup> Fernando was canonized for his achievements on the battlefield, but this was not until the seventeenth century, so the use in the *CPSF* of 'santo' is stylistic and honorific. Furthermore, the chronicle comes not long after that of another European monarch of the crusades, Louis IX of France, who was also later canonized, and whose chronicle *La Vie de saint Louis* was completed in 1309. Fernández Gallardo explains that whilst the *CPSF* does not take the *Vie de saint Louis* as a model as such, the creation of Louis' chronicle gave the idea that a breakaway text focussing on just one monarch was possible, and that histories did not necessarily simply have to follow the general model they had to date.<sup>50</sup>

### 3.2.5 Structure, key features and sources

The text of the *CPSF* is the earliest full recounting of the Reconquest campaigns leading up to the conquest of Seville.<sup>51</sup> As Fernández Gallardo points out, although we call the text a 'chronicle', the text refers to itself as an 'estoria', meaning both 'historia' and 'cuento'.<sup>52</sup> This second meaning is echoed in the verbs used to describe the narrative voice: both 'decir' and 'contar' are used.<sup>53</sup> The audience is said to 'oír', suggesting that this text was written to be read aloud,<sup>54</sup> as was often the case in the medieval context.<sup>55</sup> The narrative voice uses the first person plural form, following monarchic convention

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<sup>49</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 252

<sup>50</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 248

<sup>51</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 254

<sup>52</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 249-251

<sup>53</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 249, 254

<sup>54</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 254

<sup>55</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 177



and echoing that used by Alfonso X in the *Estoria*.<sup>56</sup> The structure of the chronicle is simple, with just two parts: part one is a translation of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae*, the history of Spain to the year 1243 which was commissioned by Fernando III, with some extra material added as explanation or commentary by the figure whom Funes labels the 'arreglador' of the text; and part two, called by the chronicler the 'estoria cabadelante',<sup>57</sup> is the remainder of Fernando's reign, from the second time he went to Cordoba, to his death,<sup>58</sup> with a focus on the conquest of Seville.<sup>59</sup>

Fernández-Ordóñez explains that the source for part one of the *CPSF* came primarily from the 1289 *Versión amplificada* of the *Estoria de Espanna*.<sup>60</sup> In *E*<sub>2</sub>, the first part of the text referring to Fernando III appears as part of this Sanchine text, rather than after the hand change, which, according to Fernández-Ordóñez, is generally recognised as where the *CPSF* starts in this manuscript.<sup>61</sup> Following her argument, one could say that these Sanchine folios are therefore a source for the *CPSF*. As we will see below, the text referring to Fernando III that appears in the 1289 folios of *E*<sub>2</sub> also appears in the other witnesses that have been used to make this edition, although the *CPSF* itself is usually considered a fourteenth-century work.<sup>62</sup> This raises an important question as to what exactly constitutes the *CPSF*, and whether the Sanchine folios are a *source* for the *CPSF*, or whether they *are* the *CPSF*. I will return to this below.

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<sup>56</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 254

<sup>57</sup> Funes, *La 'Estoria cabadelante'*, p.650

<sup>58</sup> Funes, *La 'Estoria cabadelante'*, p.651

<sup>59</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 177-179

<sup>60</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', pp.236-237

<sup>61</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243.

<sup>62</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247

The main source for the *Estoria* had been *De rebus Hispaniae*, so this became, in turn, a major source for the section of the *CPSF* to 1243, the latter being the 'inexcusable punto de partida de cualquier historia del reinado de Fernando III'.<sup>63</sup> The reign of Fernando past 1236 is not recounted in the *Estoria*. We have seen that the plan for the *CPSF* differed so much from that of the *Estoria*, that the *CPSF* can be considered to be part of a different genre from that of the Alfonsine histories – that is, the royal chronicle focussing on just one monarch as opposed to a panoramic history. Because of this, apart from the translation within the *Estoria* of *De rebus*, the rest of the *Estoria* was not useful as a source for the *CPSF*.<sup>64</sup> As described by Funes, in part one of the *CPSF* the chronicler faithfully reproduces the translation of *De rebus*, hardly retouching or emending it at all. Instead he merely adds supplementary material such as explanations that he must have deemed necessary for clear comprehension by the audience.<sup>65</sup> In doing so he is making a clear distinction between the historiography of the *CPSF* and that of the Alfonsine period, since he is suggesting the existence of gaps in the information of el Toledano's text. Up to this point the latter had been considered one of the main historiographical authorities and was a primary source for the most important historical works of the period. Jiménez de Rada was a figure of significant political importance during the first half of the thirteenth century not only in Iberia, but in the whole of Western Europe, and his chronicle was considered the best and most important of all the Latin chronicles of the Peninsula.<sup>66</sup> In faithfully translating

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<sup>63</sup>Fernández Gallardo, 261

<sup>64</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 249

<sup>65</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 177-178; Funes *La 'Estoria cabadelante'*, p.652

<sup>66</sup> Aengus Ward, 'La *Estoria de los Godos*: ¿La primera crónica castellana?', *Revista de poética medieval*, 8 (2002), 181-198, 182; A list of the sources of *De rebus Hispaniae* are presented by Georges Martin in *Les juges de Castille*, pp.258-259

*De rebus*, but also adding supplementary explanatory material, the compiler of the *CPSF* is simultaneously recognising the historical tradition of which both *De rebus* and the *CPSF* form part, and distancing the chronicle from,<sup>67</sup> and devaluing el Toledano's text. This was a significant move away from the Alfonsine historiographical style to the post-Alfonsine method.<sup>68</sup> It is noteworthy also, that much of the text that is added to the translation of *De rebus* relates to the *Cabalgada de Jerez*,<sup>69</sup> an expedition by the military troop which accompanied Fernando III in his Reconquest campaigns, and which, as seen above, is presented in the *CPSF* as key to the monarch's success.<sup>70</sup> The *Cabalgada* was led by *Infante Alfonso*, the father of María de Molina and brother of Fernando III,<sup>71</sup> which is an example of the afore-mentioned glorification within the *CPSF* of the Molina line, and of the propagandizing function of the chronicle.<sup>72</sup>

The second part of the *CPSF*, is referred to by scholars as the 'seguimiento',<sup>73</sup> or as the 'estoria cabadelante',<sup>74</sup> as it is called by the chronicler himself. Both terms make reference to the content being a continuation from the point where Jiménez de Rada left off.<sup>75</sup> This section deals with the final years of the reign of Fernando which do not appear in *De rebus*, and events after the death of el Toledano,<sup>76</sup> so clearly his work

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<sup>67</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 263

<sup>68</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 177-178

<sup>69</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 178

<sup>70</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247

<sup>71</sup> Manuel Hijano Villegas, 'Fuentes romances de las crónicas generales: El testimonio de la Historia menos atajante', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 12:2 (2011) 118-134, 128

<sup>72</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247, 249

<sup>73</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 253; Manuel Hijano gives the title 'Seguimiento del Toledano', in 'Continuaciones del Toledano: el caso de la *Historia hasta 1288 dialogada*', in Francisco Bautista (ed.), *El Relato historiográfico: Textos y tradiciones en la España medieval*, (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2006), pp.123-148, p.126

<sup>74</sup> Funes, 'El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*', 179; Funes, *La 'Estoria cabadelante'*, p.650

<sup>75</sup> Funes, *La 'Estoria cabadelante'*, p.647, p.650

<sup>76</sup> Funes, *La 'Estoria cabadelante'*, p.644

could not be the source for the section. Instead, according to Fernández Gallardo, the sources were the documents from the royal chancellery and the memories of the Andalusian campaigns that had survived the half century between the events and the creation of the *CPSF* through oral transmission, including, as could be expected, the ‘inevitable deformación’ of the facts characteristic of tales which are told in this way.<sup>77</sup> Funes explains that this second section can be divided into three parts: (i) material about the *Cabalgada de Jerez*; (ii) an alternative account of the conquest of Cordoba; and (iii) the deeds of Fernando III from his second arrival in Cordoba until his death.<sup>78</sup> The same characters appear in all three sections of the *seguimiento*, Funes points out, and the third section contains various references to the facts narrated in the two earlier sections.<sup>79</sup> A prominent characteristic of the *seguimiento*, as noted by Fernández Gallardo, is the repeated use of animated dialogues, which he argues adds ‘variedad y viveza’ to the text.<sup>80</sup> These dialogues, he explains, see Fernando’s role reduced to the background, whilst the interlocutors, two notable aristocrats Lorenzo

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<sup>77</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 264-265

<sup>78</sup> Funes, *La ‘Estoria cabadelante’*, p.651

<sup>79</sup> Funes, *La ‘Estoria cabadelante’*, p.651

<sup>80</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 256

Suárez and Garçi Pérez de Vargas,<sup>81</sup> are foregrounded, showing the aristocratic viewpoint and bias of the text.<sup>82</sup>

### 3.2.6 What constitutes the *CPSF*?

There is general scholarly agreement that the *CPSF* is fourteenth-century, dating to the last years of the reign of Fernando IV,<sup>83</sup> and that part of the 1289 section of the *Estoria* was a source for the *CPSF*.<sup>84</sup> The situation is more complicated, however, given that in  $E_2$  elements of the text of the *CPSF* was in existence during the reign of Sancho IV.<sup>85</sup> In other witnesses, this section of text is considered to be part of the work of the *CPSF*. Within  $E_2$ , the *CPSF* has been noted by Fernández-Ordóñez to start at the hand change (*Estoria Digital* div 1046).<sup>86</sup> Prior to this, the material is considered to be part of the 1289 *Versión amplificada*. Other manuscripts place the start of the *CPSF* earlier. The text of divs 1040-1045, so prior to the hand change in  $E_2$ , is noticeably similar in all five

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<sup>81</sup> Lorenzo Suárez was a Galician nobleman who Fernando III had sent into exile for misconduct during the reign of Alfonso IX. Suárez had joined the military entourage of the Muslim leader Ibn Hud. He later repented and in order to gain the pardon of Fernando III, during the campaign to regain Cordoba gave details to the king of Ibn Hud's plans and doubts in attacking the king's battle camp and gave advice on how to dissuade Ibn Hud from doing so. The king pardoned Suárez and took his advice. As a result of the actions the monarch took based on Suárez's suggestions, Ibn Hūd retreated and soon afterwards was killed, leaving Cordoba with their Emir. Fernando was then able to take Cordoba. See Francisco Ansón, *Fernando III: Rey de Castilla y León* (Madrid: Palabra, 1998) pp.149-151;

Garçi Pérez de Vargas was a prominent and distinguished member of the *cabalgada de Jerez*. His brother Diego Pérez de Vargas was also an eminent figure in the *cabalgada* and was awarded the epithet 'Machuca' to be used by him and his descendants as a surname because of his actions in the battle of Jerez. See Fernández Gallardo, 247 n.8 and Mariano Gil de Balenchana, 'Apuntes nobiliarios – Los Vargas', *Nueva Academia Heráldica* (1913), p.11 and onwards, quoted at [http://www.losvargas.org/historia/1913\\_apuntes\\_nobiliarios.html](http://www.losvargas.org/historia/1913_apuntes_nobiliarios.html), [accessed 21/09/2016]

<sup>82</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 258

<sup>83</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247

<sup>84</sup> Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana*, p.1240; Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', pp.236-237

<sup>85</sup> Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana*, p.1239

<sup>86</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243.

The terms 'div' and 'ab' are discussed more fully in this chapter. Briefly, 'div' is short for textual 'division' (= chapter), and 'ab' stands for 'anonymous block' (≈ sentence).

witnesses.<sup>87</sup> the source for this section in E<sub>2</sub> was *De rebus Hispaniae*,<sup>88</sup> which thanks to work by Fernandez Gallardo and Funes, we know to have hardly been emended at all, although some supplementary or explanatory material was added.<sup>89</sup>

Immediately prior to div 1040 in E<sub>2</sub> is a section about Enrique I, and the chronicle states that it will tell of the burial of the young king. Following this is a whole folio left blank, but ruled. Then we see the rubric for div 1040 – this rubric is about the start of the reign of Fernando III. We find a seventeen-line gap, left presumably for a miniature of Fernando, and then another rubric, about how Fernando came to power in Castile. From this point on we do not find any gaps. The only exception is the missing miniature, although this is not surprising, as there are no miniatures in this codex, despite various gaps being left for this purpose. The text about Fernando continues until the end of folio 320v. The text of this folio ends mid-sentence, and we find the catchword ‘santa’, showing that this was the end of a quire. The subsequent quire(s) from 1289 however, are lost, and deterioration to the folios around div 1045 suggests that this loss took place early in the life of this manuscript, before the fourteenth-century section was added by the compiler of E<sub>2</sub>, which Fernández-Ordóñez tells us was probably some time between 1321 and 1344.<sup>90</sup> It is clear from the textual evidence, given the gaps prior to the section about Fernando, but lack of gaps from Fernando onwards, that by no later than 1289 a section of the *Estoria* relating

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<sup>87</sup> A full stemmatological study would be required to ascertain beyond the point of reasonable doubt the relationship between the five manuscripts. This is not the aim of this thesis, but it would certainly be an interesting path for future study.

<sup>88</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 263

<sup>89</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 263; Funes, ‘El lugar de la *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*’, 177-178

<sup>90</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘La transmisión textual’, p.243

specifically to Fernando III had already been conceived, but at the time it was certainly a section about Fernando *within* the rest of the *Estoria*, and not a chronicle only about him, which we have seen is considered characteristic of post-Alfonsine historiography.<sup>91</sup> The section added to E<sub>2</sub>, from where the hand changes to a fourteenth-century one, starts with 'santa', the catchword prior to the missing quire, adding evidence to the suggestion that this quire was lost early, or perhaps even that, although it was planned, to the extent of there being a catchword for it to begin with, it was never actually realised. The structure of the *CPSF* being as it is, it is not unreasonable to assume, as Catalán does, that the text of this quire may have been that which is now up to div 1060, where the section of the *CPSF* translated from *De rebus* ends.<sup>92</sup> A quire in E<sub>2</sub> is around 1500 lines of XML. There are around 1500 lines between where the hand changes, and where *De rebus* ends. This leads me to believe that there is one 1289 quire missing at the end of E<sub>2</sub>.<sup>93</sup>

E<sub>2</sub> aside, the other three manuscripts of the digital *CPSF* with both the Sanchine text (divs 1040-1045)<sup>94</sup> and the fourteenth-century text of the *CPSF* (1046 onwards) – that is, Ss, D and S – present this as one work. By the time these three witnesses were copied into the form in which they are extant today, the *CPSF* existed as a conceptual entity, a work, which could be separated from the *Estoria*, and which covered the period from the coming to power of Fernando III to his death. F also considers the *CPSF* not to

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<sup>91</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 249

<sup>92</sup> De la Campa in Alvar and Lucía Megías, p.359; Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, 32-87

<sup>93</sup> Further evidence towards this point is that manuscript F ends mid-sentence in div 1058, and as in E<sub>2</sub>, there is a catchword for a quire that is not extant.

<sup>94</sup> By 'Sanchine' here, I mean included in E<sub>2</sub> during the reign of Sancho IV. To the best of my knowledge, it is unclear whether or not this material was copied from drafts which existed prior to the death of Alfonso X.

simply be the concluding section of the *Estoria*, as shown in the chapter numbering seen in both manuscripts F and S.<sup>95</sup> Evidence of these manuscripts considering the *CPSF* to be one text from chapter 1040 onwards can be seen in the chapter numbering in the rubrics of two of these manuscripts. Both of these manuscripts label div 1040 as chapter 1. F gives two chapter numbers for each chapter from 1040 onwards. The rubric of 1040 in F starts as follows:

Capitulo clxxx deste libro 7  
Capitulo primero del Regnado  
del terçero Rey don ferrnando q̄<sup>96</sup>

When scholars talk of the *CPSF* as a fourteenth-century work, one could argue that it would be more accurate to think of this as being the time when the *CPSF* was *completed* by adding the fourteenth-century *seguimiento* onto the 1289 folios of the *Estoria*, and the point from which the *Crónica* was considered to be a work in its own right and not just the last section of the *Estoria*. In terms of editing, this poses an issue in that we need to decide whether or not the Sanchine material in E<sub>2</sub> forms part of the *CPSF* or not – it is the text of the *CPSF*, but is it part of the work? Other witnesses *do* count this as part of the *CPSF*; Fernández-Ordóñez states that in this manuscript the *CPSF* starts at the hand change in div 1046,<sup>97</sup> and therefore not at the start of the text about Fernando, at div 1040. Since there does appear to be a change in the text of E<sub>2</sub> at div

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<sup>95</sup> E2 and D do not contain chapter numbers within their rubrics, and there are no rubrics in this section of Ss.

<sup>96</sup> Transcription of part of the rubric of Div 1040, F f.200v (image 429 of digitised manuscript) (Biblioteca universitaria de Salamanca, 2628, images: <<https://gredos.usal.es/jspui/handle/10366/131927>> [accessed 11/02/2018]). It is not possible to include an image of the manuscript here as the Creative Commons licence according to which the manuscript images are provided by the Biblioteca universitaria de Salamanca state that no derivatives are permitted.

<sup>97</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243



1040, however, given that the gaps we see in the section about Enrique are not present in the material about Fernando, we can assume that the concept of a section specifically about Fernando existed in 1289, although this was not quite the concept of the *CPSF* that we see by the time of the other witnesses. Because of this, as well as for practical reasons, given that E<sub>2</sub> is the base text of this edition, I have included in the edition all of the material from div 1040 onwards in all five witnesses. This issue goes to the very heart of our understanding of what constitutes a work within medieval textuality: whether a work is self-defining, or if the way in which it is changed over time affects what we as modern readers consider to be included in a given work or not. As is often the case with editing, the editor's task here is to balance theoretical implications with practicalities, all within the ever-present confines of time and money.

### **3.3 Edition(s) and discussion**

I will now present and discuss the versions of the digital *CPSF*. This is available for consultation by the reader online,<sup>98</sup> and was compiled by Catherine Smith from the data I produced.

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<sup>98</sup> Polly Duxfield, (ed.) *A digital edition of the Crónica Particular de San Fernando*, (Birmingham, University of Birmingham, 2018) <estoria.bham.ac.uk/CPSF> [accessed 23/06/2018]

### 3.3.0.1 Manuscripts used to create the edition

I will first outline the notes I made when transcribing (or proofing the transcriptions of) the manuscripts used to create the digital *CPSF*. These are not intended to be a replacement for full studies of the manuscripts, codicological, palaeographical or otherwise, but merely as an initial description of the five manuscripts for the purposes of using them to make a digital edition.

#### **E<sub>2</sub>: *Estoria de Espanna* (Escorial X-i-4)**

Catalán has shown that E<sub>2</sub> is a composite manuscript compiled between 1321 and 1344,<sup>99</sup> and Fernández-Ordóñez has shown that this was probably carried out by Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, using material from various points in time, including both Alfonsine and post-Alfonsine material.<sup>100</sup> E<sub>2</sub> comprises 359 folios on parchment.<sup>101</sup> The images for this manuscript are clear and high quality, and show that the manuscript has been well preserved. However, they are not freely available for use by the public, nor can they be reproduced or linked to by digital editions at this time, demonstrating how not all digital editions can include, or even link to, the images of some manuscripts. Accurate transcriptions are of even more importance in these cases, as users are unable to check the manuscript for themselves. The text of the document appears in black ink, with rubrics in red, and initial capitals illuminated alternately in red and blue. The text which corresponds to the *CPSF* in F, Ss, S and D

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<sup>99</sup> Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, pp.73-75

<sup>100</sup>Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243

<sup>101</sup> Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, 'Estoria de España', in Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías (eds.), *Diccionario Filológico de Literatura Medieval Española. Textos y transmisión*. (Madrid: Castalia, 2002), pp.54-80, p.62

starts in E<sub>2</sub> on folio 316v, in a thirteenth-century hand. Folios 316v to 320v are part of the *Versión amplificada*, meaning that the first five folios of what we now consider to be the *Crónica* are late thirteenth-century. The *CPSF* appears at the end of this codex, ending, as the manuscript does, on folio 359v. The hand of the *CPSF* after folio 320v dates to the mid-fourteenth-century, and is likely to be the same as the hand that inserted various folios into the rest of the codex (inserted folios are 18-22, 80-81, 200-256).<sup>102</sup> The second volume of the *PCG* is based on this codex, and it the text of this manuscript which is taken as the base text for the digital *CPSF*. One aspect of note is a mistake in E<sub>2</sub>, where in div 1045, ab 39, the scribe writes of Fernando's wife Beatriz, but on this particular occasion, calls her Katalina – it is not possible to tell from just this information if this is a purely scribal error, or an error in the exemplar from which he is copying, but this ab appears in three other manuscripts within this edition: Ss and S both have the name Beatriz (or Beatris) here, D mentions only the king and not the queen here, and this ab does not appear in F.

**Ss: *Estoria de Espanna* (Caja de Ahorros de Salamanca, 40)**

This is a fifteenth-century codex on paper of the *Estoria*.<sup>103</sup> The *CPSF* appears on folios 279v to 325r inclusive, which is where the codex ends. From Catalán's work, we know that Ss is a witness from the *Versión crítica* of the *Estoria* (1282-1284),<sup>104</sup> but clearly the section relating to the *CPSF* must have come from a later witness, as we know the *CPSF* contains some material which is no older than the early fourteenth century.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243

<sup>103</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez in Alvar and Lucía Megías p.68

<sup>104</sup> Catalán *De la silva textual*, p.180-181

<sup>105</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 247

The images for this manuscript are available within the present digital edition, and are both clear and in colour. The main text appears in black ink, and there are no rubrics within this section of Ss, although space has been left for them. Fernández-Ordóñez notes in Alvar and Lucía's *Diccionario* that throughout Ss, a second hand sporadically fills in rubrics in red, although many of these are missing, as are the initial capitals.<sup>106</sup> Small capitals to the left-hand side of the spaces left for the large initials show the letter to be inserted.

**F: *Estoria de Espanna*, cuarta parte (Biblioteca universitaria de Salamanca, 2628) (olim II-429 Biblioteca de Palacio Real de Madrid)**

The *CPSF* appears at the end of the codex, in folios 200v to 212v inclusive, and can be seen in high quality, colour digital images.<sup>107</sup> These have not been included in my edition, as according to the licence under which they are presented by the Biblioteca universitaria de Salamanca, no derivatives may be distributed, and I believe this edition would be considered a derivative.<sup>108</sup> The text of the *CPSF* in this manuscript is much shorter than that of the other witnesses, and is only present up to div 1058. The text also ends abruptly, mid-sentence. As mentioned above, this is likely to have been the end of what is now div 1060.

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<sup>106</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez in Alvar and Lucía Megías p.68

<sup>107</sup> Images are available at: <https://gredos.usal.es/jspui/handle/10366/131927> [accessed 11/02/2018]. The relevant images are numbers 429 to 447.

<sup>108</sup> Creative Commons licence available at <https://gredos.usal.es/jspui/handle/10366/131927> and checked on 24/06/2018.

In parts, this manuscript also differs significantly from the base text. Summarising Catalán's conclusions,<sup>109</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez states that this is because F was copied from a more concise version of the *Estoria* than this section of E<sub>2</sub> was,<sup>110</sup> and de la Campa explains that of the five manuscripts used in this edition (which coincide with the five he describes in Alvar and Lucía's *Diccionario*), F provides us with the text that is closest to *De rebus*.<sup>111</sup> For this reason, what is there in F is often very similar to what appears in E<sub>2</sub>, but there are sections of text that appear in the other four witnesses used for this edition which do not appear in F. It is important to recognise that these sections are not missing from F – they were later additions to chronicle, which accounts for their inclusion in the other witnesses. They do not appear in F, not because material is suppressed or due to the presence of lacunae, but because this represents an earlier stage of the transmission of this text.

Differences from E<sub>2</sub> are particularly noticeable in div 1057, which is the longest chapter of the chronicle, and the one that I have translated as an exemplar. For this reason, on a practical level, it was difficult to give some sections of F collatable div and ab numbers, meaning some sections of F are not collatable with the base text and the witnesses which are closer to the base text than this one is. This manuscript has undergone damage, including rips and water damage, and the outer edges of many of the pages are damaged. There is also a section where three folios have been lost, evidenced by the folio numbering jumping from 204v to 208r. The text that remains, however, is clear, with the main sections in black ink and the rubrics in red. The rubrics

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<sup>109</sup> Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, pp.73-75

<sup>110</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.229

<sup>111</sup> De la Campa in Alvar and Lucía Megías, p.359

appear to be in the same hand as that of the main text.<sup>112</sup> The rubrics in this section of F contain two sets of numbering: the second of which relate solely to the *CPSF*, starting at div 1040. Of note is that the only break in consecutive numbering from 1 (div 1040) to 6 (div 1045) is that div 1042 is labelled chapter 4, when according to the other chapters it should be chapter 3. This is an error, although from this evidence only we cannot conclude whether this is scribal or is an error in the exemplar. Rubrics for chapters 7 to 9 inclusive are missing, coinciding with a set of lost folios, noticeable also in a gap in the folio numbering.

#### **D: *Crónica de Santo Rey don Fernando* (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 10273)**

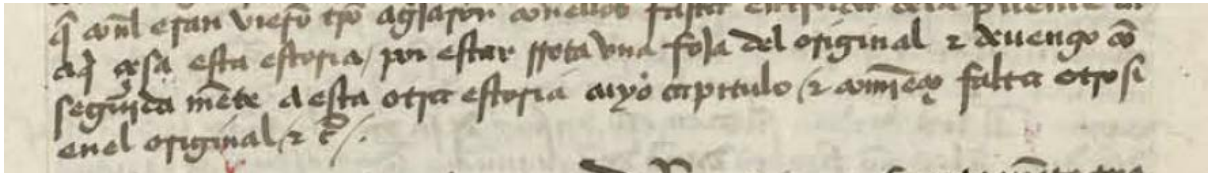
This is a fifteenth-century codex on paper. The *CPSF* appears in folios 1r to 45r inclusive, which is the end of the manuscript. There is one column of text per page, and the images are high quality, in colour, and are available to the public.<sup>113</sup> The text is in black, with pilcrows and rubrics in red, which appear to be in the same hand. The scribe has faintly marked where the pilcrows should be, although not all have been filled in, and there are also gaps for unexecuted initial capitals. The text of D is highly abbreviated, and is very similar in content to that of E<sub>2</sub>. There are a couple of noteworthy points: the rubric of div 1110 is missing, and instead contains the rubric of div 1113. The rubric for 1113 also appears at the top of div 1113, meaning the same rubric appears twice, once erroneously. Also, in folio 36r where there is text missing

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<sup>112</sup> A detailed comparison between E<sub>2</sub> and F can be found in Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, and a summary can be found in De la Campa in Alvar and Lucía Megías, pp.359-360. Briefly, these include errors on the part of the author of the *Crónica*, for example in confusing two Alfonsos –the brother of Fernando III, and the son of Fernando III; errors on the part of the scribe in miscopying rubrics; and notes about exactly what content is included in F, compared with E<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>113</sup> Images are available at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000042651&page=1> (checked 29/08/2017)

in the exemplar from which the scribe is copying, and he makes a specific reference to this:



**Figure 3:** Excerpt from D, Biblioteca Nacional 10273, f. 36r<sup>114</sup>

Aq<sup>i</sup> çesa esta estoria por estar rrota vna foja del original 7 deuengo cõ seguida mēte a esta otra estoria cuyo capitulo 7 comjêço falta otrosi enel original 7 tº

Gómez Redondo points out that this shows us both that there was an ‘original’ version of the *CPSF*, and that D therefore cannot be this original.<sup>115</sup>

### **S: *Crónica de tres reyes* (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 9233)**

This is a fifteenth-century codex on paper of 126 folios, comprising two works: the *CPSF* (ff. 1r-37v) and the *Crónicas de Alfonso X y Sancho IV* (ff. 38r-126r).<sup>116</sup> High-quality, colour images of the manuscript are available for to the public on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>117</sup> The text appears in black in two columns. Rubrics are in red, in a different hand to that of the main text. Spaces have been left for initials of various sizes, although these are unexecuted. The manuscript has undergone some damage – some pages are cut, some have a hairline fold running through them,

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<sup>114</sup> This image is reproduced according to the details of the Creative Commons licence under which the manuscript is presented to the public. The licence is available at: <http://www.bne.es/en/Servicios/ReproduccionDocumentos/Usoreproducciones/>, and was checked on 09/07/2018.

<sup>115</sup> Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana*, p.1243

<sup>116</sup> De la Campa in Alvar and Lucía, p.361

<sup>117</sup> Images are available at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000096079&page=1> [accessed 11/02/2018]. They are subject to the same Creative Commons licence as D (above) and for this reason images of both D and S can be included in my edition, as the edition will clearly cite the BNE, and the images are not being used for commercial gain.

distorting the flow of the text, and there are holes in some of the pages. There are various folios left blank within the text of the *CPSF* – since the scribe has left space for text which has not been copied, we can assume that this is because he was copying from an exemplar with lacunae, but where he was aware of the existence of the lacunae: folios 35r to 36v inclusive are blank, and the text jumps from div 1139 ab 100, leaving a word partially completed, to div 1143 ab 1400. When transcribing, I noted that text itself does not contain a large number of differences from the base text ( $E_2$ ), although the rubrics are significantly different from those of  $E_2$ . Aspects worthy of minor note are that in *S*, the rubric of chapter 12 appears in red, as do all of the other rubrics, but this text does not correspond to  $E_2$ , where the corresponding section is within the main text of div 1050, ab 1000. Also, there are two errors in the numbering: the chapter that should be chapter 50 (div 1088) is labelled as 60 (div 1087 is 49, div 1089 is 51, and div 1098 is 60), and two chapters are labelled 85 (divs 1123 and 1124) although there is no break or disruption in the numbering from chapter 73 (div 1111) to chapter 100 (div 1139) to suggest that a chapter has been misnumbered.

### **3.3.1 Version 1: Transcriptions – preparation and presentation**

The transcription stage of preparing a digital edition is the longest and most labour-intensive. The decisions taken at the transcription stage as to what to tag and what not to tag can either enable or limit the work of scholars who choose to use the data created at the transcription stage. For these reasons, the importance of transcription when preparing a digital edition cannot be overstated. The transcriptions are presented in



the digital edition in three ways: i) raw transcriptions (not strictly a presentation, but a version of the transcriptions, available for download through a Creative Commons agreement); ii) a diplomatic transcription; iii) an expanded transcription. These are described below.

### 3.3.1.1 Transcribers and witnesses

The transcriptions of two of the witnesses used to create this digital edition (E<sub>2</sub> and Ss) were originally prepared as part of the *Estoria Digital*.<sup>118</sup> The transcriptions of the *CPSF* (henceforth meaning div 1040 onwards) in E<sub>2</sub> were prepared between March and December 2015.<sup>119</sup> The transcriptions of the corresponding section of Ss were prepared during March 2016.<sup>120</sup> The other three witnesses for the digital *CPSF*, manuscript F of the *Estoria*, and manuscripts D and S, do not form part of the *Estoria Digital*, and were therefore transcribed solely for this edition, between October 2017 and March 2018.<sup>121</sup> The witness in manuscript A of the *Estoria* was not used for this edition, since it is in Galician-Portuguese, nor were the witnesses of the *Crónica de veinte reyes*. Because of a Creative Commons licence, the transcriptions for the *CPSF*

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<sup>118</sup> Ward, *Estoria de Espanna Digital* v.1.0; As can be expected, since this section of my thesis is to a large extent reliant on the accuracy of these transcriptions, I have, of course, checked the transcriptions myself before using them as a basis for the other versions of this digital edition of the *CPSF*.

<sup>119</sup> The transcribers for this section of E<sub>2</sub> were Fiona Maguire (main transcriber for this section) and Christian Kusi-Obodum (moderator of this section). As general editor, Aengus Ward made various corrections to the moderated transcriptions.

<sup>120</sup> The main transcriber for this section was Fiona Maguire. The transcriptions for this section of Ss were later checked by Enrique Jerez and minor changes were made.

<sup>121</sup> I was the only transcriber of these three manuscripts. Aengus Ward kindly provided a second set of eyes for transcription queries.

are available to users of the digital edition for study or inspection, or even for download should users choose to make use of this data for studies not possible within the current digital edition, providing users clearly cite the digital *CPSF* and do not use this data for commercial purposes. Where available, this is a benefit to users of digital editions that is not open to users of print editions, but as I have mentioned previously, scholars such as Parker have remarked that this does add pressure to the role of digital editor, since users can much more easily scrutinise editorial decisions.<sup>122</sup>

### **3.3.1.2 Crowdsourcing**

In section 1.2.8.4 I concluded that crowdsourcing could be beneficial to all digital editing projects in terms of increased user-engagement with the text, and in allowing a wider audience to access the text, just at an earlier stage of the development of the edition than that which is published. That said, the editor must weigh up the benefits of this with the time and financial costs involved in developing the infrastructure required for crowdsourcing. Given that this is a small project in terms of the length of transcriptions and of the *CPSF* itself, and that two of the five witnesses had already been transcribed for the *Estoria Digital*, I did not use crowdsourcing for this project, since this was likely to have taken longer than simply transcribing the witnesses myself, and since public engagement was not a primary aim of this edition.

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<sup>122</sup> Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly', 395-411

### 3.3.1.3 Base text

The raw transcriptions for the *Estoria Digital*, and by extension the digital *CPSF*, were prepared by editing a base text. This was created using the existing transcriptions of E<sub>2</sub> by the HSMS,<sup>123</sup> whose tags were removed to give a bare text. It is not the primary purpose of this thesis to argue the validity or not of using a base text for the *Estoria Digital*, since this thesis is based on the digital *CPSF* and not the *Estoria Digital*, but given that my edition is linked closely to the latter, and as I have above remarked on Tanselle's comments regarding the use of base texts and copy texts, it is worth briefly discussing the use of a base text for this case study.

The *Estoria Digital* uses a base text for practical and theoretical reasons.<sup>124</sup> Emending a base text rather than transcribing from scratch can greatly reduce the time taken to transcribe a witness, which is obviously beneficial when time and resources are finite (as they always are, when preparing a digital edition).<sup>125</sup> With regard to scholars who argue that a base text can unfairly hierarchise one witness above others, the *Estoria* is not an example of radiating texts: a significant section of E<sub>1</sub> is Alfonsine, which no other witnesses of the *Estoria* are, and therefore has the 'unique historical status' that, in examples of radiating texts, Tanselle warns editors to beware of creating.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, between them, E<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>2</sub> provide the fullest possible base text of the

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<sup>123</sup> Francisco Gago Jover (ed.), 'Estoria de Espanna II', *Prose Works of Alfonso X el Sabio, Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts*, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, <http://www.hispanicseminary.org/t&c/ac/index-en.htm>, [accessed 11/01/2017]

<sup>124</sup> More can be read about the use of a base text for the EDIT project here: *Methodology – Base text, numbering system and textual division*, [http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page\\_id=923#Transcriptions](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=923#Transcriptions), [accessed 10/10/2017]

<sup>125</sup> Robinson, 'Towards a Theory of Digital Editions', 106

<sup>126</sup> Tanselle, 'Editing Without a Copy-Text', 18

*Estoria*. Although the digital *CPSF* does not blindly follow every single part of the *Estoria Digital*, I have continued to use E<sub>2</sub> as a base text. Using a base text does hierarchise one witness over the others – this is an inescapable truth within digital editing, and the argument of the unique historical status as an Alfonsine witness cannot apply to the *CPSF*, which, as we have seen, is later. Added to this is the complication that the section between divs 1040 and 1045 in E<sub>2</sub> is Sanchine, and the rest is fourteenth-century. However, the inclusion of divs 1040 onwards in the composite codex of E<sub>2</sub>, as well as, by natural extension, in the *PCG*, means that this witness has already been hierarchised in history by reception. I did not feel that changing such a fundamental part of the transcription process would be sufficiently beneficial to my edition as to warrant doing so, nor that using E<sub>2</sub> as a base text was negative to the integrity or usability of the edition.

### **3.3.1.4 Transcription Guidelines**

Having been stripped of HSMS tags, the base text was then prepared for later collation using a series of TEI5-compliant XML textual division tags: the text is divided into divisions ('divs') which, in general, follow the separation of the text into chapters in the manuscripts of E; each div was then divided further into anonymous blocks (or 'abs') which generally follow semantic divisions. Generally, it can be said that one ab is a sentence, although this does not reflect the complexity of some of the division of the

text.<sup>127</sup> During transcription, our own TEI5-compliant XML,<sup>128</sup> was inserted into the base text, according to the norms of our Transcription Guidelines. These guidelines were originally prepared by Bárbara Bordalejo and were edited as appropriate during the course of the transcription stage of the project, about which more can be read later.<sup>129</sup> The transcriptions for the *Estoria Digital* (so for the purposes of the digital *CPSF*, E<sub>2</sub> and Ss) were initially carried out using the online transcription platform *Textual Communities*, developed by Peter Robinson.<sup>130</sup> Within the edition of the *Estoria* these transcriptions will soon be available for download. Similarly, within the digital *CPSF*, users can download the raw transcriptions, according to the Creative Commons licence under which they are presented.<sup>131</sup> The other three witnesses for the *CPSF* were not prepared using *Textual Communities*, but were transcribed using the same transcription norms as the *Estoria* transcriptions, using the same base text. The transcriptions have a high level of tagging, with a significant level of detail included:<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ward, 'The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose', 16 provides much more detail about the allocation of div and ab numbers to the base text, paying particularly regard to how these relate to the chapters and sentences of the Alfonsine text. He gives more detail than is required for the present thesis, so I will not reproduce his work here, but readers wishing for more detail can find it there.

<sup>128</sup> Here, 'our' refers to the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project team.

<sup>129</sup> The final norms can be viewed at: 'Transcription Guidelines', <http://www.textualcommunities.usask.ca/web/estoria-de-espanna/wiki/-/wiki/Main/Transcription+Guidelines> [accessed 11/01/2017];

More information about how the Guidelines were prepared and then edited during the transcription stage of the project can be found in Duxfield, 'The Practicalities'.

<sup>130</sup> 'Textual Communities', <http://www.textualcommunities.usask.ca/web/textual-community/home>, [accessed 11/01/2017]

<sup>131</sup> This is a Creative Commons 4.0 Attribution Non-commercial Share-Alike licence. The ability for other users to access this data for their own use through a Creative Commons Share-Alike Attribution licence is a stipulation for all those who make use of *Textual Communities*. See Robinson, 'Some Principles' p. 15.

<sup>132</sup> Ward, 'The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose', 10  
Some projects which edit medieval prose do not provide such a level of detail. The *Online Froissart*, for example, focused on transcribing more manuscripts but in less detail: 'The transcriptions do not establish a perfect version of the text, nor do they go into the minute details of individual witness characteristics such as abbreviations or word separation.' See 'Editorial Project', *Online Froissart*, [https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=editorial\\_policy](https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=editorial_policy)

writing on the *Estoria* project, editor Ward states that ‘the detailed transcriptions ... contain as accurate a representation of original orthography and textual structure as were deemed possible’.<sup>133</sup> This contrasts with the much less detailed *OFP* transcriptions, privileging instead the quantity of manuscripts transcribed. For the purpose of the *OFP*, to bring Froissart’s *Chroniques* to as wide an audience as possible, this privileging is perfectly valid. It would not, however, fulfil the objective of the *Estoria Digital*, of which one of the aims is to further scholarly knowledge of the place of the *Estoria*, particularly when the scholars most likely to access this edition would expect a more style of detailed transcription. This brings us back to my central argument that an editor should take into account the requirements and expectations of his intended audience, and should use this to inform his editorial decisions.

One major benefit of using *Textual Communities* for the transcriptions of E<sub>2</sub> and S<sub>s</sub>, is that *Textual Communities* helps alleviate the XML-wide issue of overlapping hierarchies, mentioned above. Robinson explains this as ‘the problem of encoding texts which have both a document hierarchy (pages, columns, lines) and what we call an entity hierarchy (book, chapter, verse).’<sup>134</sup> *Textual Communities* can cope with overlapping hierarchies, thanks to a tagging system which recognises that fragments of text can be linked over documentary boundaries, such as if one rubric is split over a folio break.<sup>135</sup>

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[accessed 01/03/2018] As always, we return to Robinson’s reminder that as editors our resources are finite and we must choose where we place our focus.

<sup>133</sup> Ward, ‘The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose’, 21

<sup>134</sup> Peter Robinson, ‘How TC Works: Textual Communities and Overlapping Hierarchies’, *Textual Communities*, (n.d.) <http://www.textualcommunities.usask.ca/web/textual-community/wiki/-/wiki/Main/How+TC+Works> [accessed 20/03/2018]

<sup>135</sup> This tagging system is attributed to Xiaohan Zhang.

As above, regarding the use of a base text and following the editorial decisions of the *Estoria* project, for the *CPSF* I have also followed the *Estoria* project, in using their transcription norms. This is because the digital *CPSF* will form a part of the wider *Estoria Digital*, so I did not want there to be inconsistencies in the transcriptions between the two projects. Speaking as both the editor of the *Estoria Digital* and the supervisor of the present thesis, Aengus Ward made it clear that there could be differences in the transcription norms between the two projects and that I was not bound to stick with the editorial decisions of the *Estoria Digital*. However, practically, given that two of the five manuscripts of the digital *CPSF* form a part of the *Estoria Digital*, to change the transcription norms for the *CPSF* would have caused a significant amount of work in re-transcribing or editing the transcriptions of E<sub>2</sub> and Ss. If this is taking place as a conscious editorial decision, such a time investment could be fully justified, but where changes would be made purely for the sake of creating difference between two partially-related projects, I felt the benefit would be negligible. Furthermore, I felt there was an advantage to consistency with the extended *Estoria Digital* for the user of the edition. I therefore made the conscious decision to use the *Estoria* norms when transcribing.

I have spoken in more depth about the *Estoria Digital*, and by extension the digital *CPSF*, guidelines in an article, *The Practicalities of Collaboratively Digitally Editing Medieval Prose*.<sup>136</sup> As touched on above, and as I discuss in this article, Bárbara

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<sup>136</sup> Polly Duxfield, 'The Practicalities of Collaboratively Digitally Editing Medieval Prose: The *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project as a Case Study', *Digital Philology* 7.1 (Spring 2018), 74-92. This paper was first presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Colloquium of the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project (University of Birmingham, UK, 13-15<sup>th</sup> December 2016). The rest of this subsection is largely a reworking of this article.

Bordalejo, as senior *Estoria* research fellow, was the original author of the guidelines. These are TEI5-compliant XML tags for several aspects of the text, including identifying blocks of text for electronic collation, aspects of *mise-en-page*, and abbreviations and expansions. They were produced in the knowledge that the transcriptions would be ‘a resource in themselves but also that they would be the raw material for collation,’<sup>137</sup> and this was taken into consideration when they were created and later revised. Whilst transcribing the *Estoria*, issues and queries arose naturally, were discussed amongst the team, and some of the transcription norms evolved and were emended in the guidelines. It is simply not practical to expect that all transcription eventualities can be foreseen and catered for within the guidelines before transcription takes place. Editing the guidelines was possible because they had been produced as a wiki, as it was always expected that the guidelines would be updated and emended during the transcription process. Whilst crowdsourcers could have edited the wiki, in practice only members of the main transcription team did so, and only when a consensus had been reached within a team discussion. Following such talks, to avoid confusion and inconsistencies, any changes were communicated amongst team members. That said, we avoided making too many amendments to the guidelines, since this necessitated editing already-completed transcriptions, duplicating work, so we only changed the guidelines when strictly necessary. That is, when coming across a query for the first time: anything not covered in the original guidelines was raised in team meetings, and the guidelines were amended, where appropriate.

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<sup>137</sup> Ward, ‘The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose’, 9



For example, in the first instance there was nothing in the guidelines about expansions when the unabbreviated spelling had been subject to orthographic change. To illustrate, we can return to *muger/mugier*, which, as touched on above, sometimes appeared within the manuscript as *muḡ*. It was not immediately clear from the guidelines how this word should be expanded within the abbreviation tag, but following discussion during a project meeting we decided to follow the *usus scribendi* of the manuscript, and the guidelines were edited to reflect this. Our reasoning here was that within any given manuscript the word would appear as either *muger* and *muger*, or *mugier* and *mugier*, unless there is inconsistency in the manuscript about the unabbreviated form of the word.<sup>138</sup> In such cases we made an individual decision for each query, by counting which was the more common unabbreviated form, and expanding to that. I will return to this point below.

The *Estoria*, and therefore the *CPSF*, transcriptions are not full palaeographic transcriptions – they do not aim to replicate the palaeography within the manuscript images. No electronic transcription could ever hope to fully represent the palaeography within a manuscript image in all its intricacy, and to do so would be in vain, given that (with the exception of E<sub>2</sub>), users can access the manuscript images, so it is unlikely that a user who is highly interested in the peculiarities of a manuscript and the palaeography contained within it would choose to consult a transcription to do this when high-quality colour digital images are available. The transcriptions are semi-diplomatic, respecting the word-spacing and punctuation of the text in the

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<sup>138</sup> I use italics here to highlight the expanded letters, which differs from the technique used in both the *Estoria Digital* and the digital *CPSF*, which use a font colour to show the expansion.

manuscript image, and reproducing abbreviation marks as closely as possible to how they appear in the image.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, the transcriptions do not correct or emend the text where there are apparent ‘errors’ or supply missing text other than when there is absolutely no doubt about what the missing text would have been (in practice this is hardly ever, and in fact no missing text is supplied in the five transcriptions of the digital *CPSF*). Abbreviations are encoded so that a user can toggle between viewing the text with abbreviation marks, without expansions, and viewing the text with expansions marked in grey (for black ink in the manuscript image) or in light red (for red ink). In print editions, and in earlier electronic editions, editors would represent expansions using italics. Print editors have little in the way of possibilities of representing editorial intervention, other than italics, bold and underline, without introducing codes which are both highly complex and difficult to read;<sup>140</sup> we can remember here McGann’s criticism of Gabler for his complicated code in his edition of *Ulysses*.<sup>141</sup> The convention amongst print editors is to use italics. As discussed above, Spence has queried the reason why digital editors have, to date, felt compelled to stick with the convention of highlighting editorial intervention using italics – has it simply not occurred to them to break from this convention? Spence argues that digital editors have a much wider toolbox available to them for such circumstances, and if an editor uses techniques other than italics for everything, and particularly different highlighting techniques for different purposes, this can be differentiated both by

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<sup>139</sup> Ward, ‘The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose’, 12

<sup>140</sup> It is technically possible that a print editor could use colour ink, although this would be prohibitively expensive, or other techniques such as font changes, superscript, subscript, footnoting, although this would make the edition extremely difficult to read, so is avoided. The tendency is for the convention of using italics.

<sup>141</sup> McGann, “‘Ulysses’ as a Postmodern Text”, 291

humans and machines.<sup>142</sup> Following such reasoning, when editing the *Estoria*, Ward has broken from the italics-for-everything convention, and as my edition will later be linked with his, since his argument for doing so is convincing, and to ensure consistency for the user, I have followed suit.

The text has been divided into divs and abs, or (loosely,) chapters and sentences, which can be used for navigation around the edition, to find corresponding sections between witnesses, and for electronic collation. Following the *Estoria Digital*, the visualisation of the numbering in the digital *CPSF* has been done in such a way as to minimise any ‘noise’ to the reader. That is, the ab numbers are seen in faded grey, in order that they should not disrupt the flow of reading. This reflects the general presentation of all of the versions within this edition, where the guiding principle was to display the text in the most reader-friendly way possible, whilst maintaining the integrity of the text. To this end, the main text is provided in black and rubrics are in red.

Abbreviations are expanded in both the *Estoria Digital* and the digital *CPSF* according to the *usus scribendi* of the particular manuscript. This decision enables the transcriptions to be used to observe orthographic change, taking into account the external (socio-)linguistic context during which the chronicles were written, and in particular the significance of the Alfonsine *oeuvre* in this regard. If we had regularised across all of the manuscripts, such aspects would have been lost, rendering the transcriptions less useful to scholars and less interesting for both general and

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<sup>142</sup> Spence, ‘Siete retos’, 156

specialist readers. Orthographic change could still be researched using the raw transcriptions, and it is unlikely that when studying orthographic change a linguist would use expanded transcriptions, but others may also be interested to view linguistic changes such as this whilst using the expanded transcriptions without entering into such detailed study.<sup>143</sup> The implication of this for the *Estoria Digital* was that expansion tags had to be editable, so we could not use a WYSIWYG system of inputting XML tags into transcriptions using shortcut buttons, as other transcription projects do, such as *Transcribe Bentham*. Their shortcut toolbar helps minimise tagging errors and widens the appeal of the project to volunteers who may find full XML tagging daunting.<sup>144</sup> For us, however, a WYSIWYG system was impractical, given that transcribers, both volunteer and in-house, had to edit abbreviation-expansion tags to represent the *usus scribendi* of that particular manuscript, including both the specific placement of the abbreviation mark, which was not fixed in these manuscripts, and in the expansion, which also differed. This had affected both our recruitment and retention of crowdsourcers and the training we had to provide them with, as the task of transcription was more complicated than it would have been if we were regularising. We felt this was a necessary step, however, taking into account the context and significance of the texts, and the perceived eventual usage of the edition.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Members of the EDIT team have discussed this issue previously: Ward, 'Editing the "*Estoria de Espanna*"', 199; Aengus Ward, 'Muger/Mugier?' *Estoria de Espanna Digital Project blog*, blog dated 17/01/2014, <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?p=201> [accessed 16/10/2016]; Polly Duxfield, Christian Kusi-Obodum and Marine Poirier, 'Cuestiones de etiquetación' (1<sup>st</sup> Annual EDIT Colloquium) (University of Birmingham, 10-11 April 2014)

<sup>144</sup> Moyle, Tonra and Wallace, 352-353

<sup>145</sup> The reader may be interested to note that the new phase of the *Estoria Digital*, based more heavily on crowdsourced transcriptions than phase one, and currently in development, will make use of a WYSIWYG tagging system for volunteers. This will have implications on the methodology, in that only one manuscript will be crowdsourced at a time, but should widen the appeal of volunteering, with effects on the recruitment, training and retention of crowdsourcing for the project, since the complexity of the task will be greatly reduced.

This is one area where I could potentially have moved away from the editorial decisions of the *Estoria Digital* in my own edition, but again for consistency between the two projects, I did not feel inclined to do so. Also, since I was the only transcriber of the additional manuscripts, I was not affected by the implications of the extra complication of the task or of recruitment, retention and training of other transcribers. Furthermore, I did not want such linguistic information to be lost to many users in my edition, so I took the decision to follow the *Estoria Digital* here once more.

There are two main types of tags used in the transcriptions for both the *Estoria Digital* and the digital *CPSF*. These are those pertaining to the content of the text, that is primarily expansions of abbreviations, which appear in opening and closing pairs, and those of the *mise-en-page* of the document. The latter often tend to be empty elements, such as column breaks – `<cb n="a"/>` – and line breaks. There are three line break tags:

`<lb/>` for lines which end at the end of a word, with a new word on the line below;

`<lb break="no"/>` for lines where a word which starts on one line and finishes on the one below, with no hyphen; and

`<lb break="no" rend="hyphen"/>` where a word starts on one line, ends on the one below, and where there is a hyphen.

The majority of the tags within the transcriptions are ‘am/ex’ abbreviation expansion tags. These are formed in the following way, with two opening and closing pairs:

`<am>ABBREVIATION MARK</am><ex>EXPANSION</ex>`

The transcriber is able to edit the tag to show as closely as possible the position of the abbreviation mark, and also the expanded version of the word, according to the guidelines, which, as described above, follow the *usus scribendi* of the word *in extenso* wherever possible. For example, ‘fazer’, abbreviated to ‘faż’ would be tagged as: faz<am><sup>2</sup></am><ex>er</ex>. The word in the diplomatic transcription within the edition would display as ‘faż’ and in the expanded transcription as ‘fazer’.<sup>146</sup>

Another common tag is the ‘choice’ tag, which is used when the abbreviation mark does not directly precede the suppressed letters, so where am/ex would be inappropriate. This is a series of nesting tags which open and close in turn. An example of this tag in use would be ‘s̄ca’ for ‘sancta’:

```
<choice><abbr>sc<am>5</am>a</abbr><expan>s<ex>an</ex>c<ex>t</ex>a</expan>n</choice>
```

This displays in the diplomatic transcription as ‘s̄ca’ and in the expanded transcription as ‘sancta’.

Some tags are significantly more complex, and for this reason were only very seldom used by crowdsourcers for the *Estoria Digital*. An example of this within both the *Estoria Digital* and the digital *CPSF* is the ‘apparatus’ or ‘app’ tag. This is a complex tag

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<sup>146</sup> Again, the italics here are replaced with a different font colour in the digital editions – an option less-readily available to me here in the context of a printed thesis.

where transcribers can note more than one version of the text as it appears in the manuscript image, for examples of emendations. The app tag was first developed by Bárbara Bordalejo for the *Divine Comedy*.<sup>147</sup> An example of its usage in the transcription of E<sub>2</sub> is for the word which appears as ‘açacabado’:

```
<app>
<rdg type="lit">a<seg rend="ud"><seg type="1"></seg>ca<seg
type="2"></seg></seg>cabado</rdg>
<rdg type="orig">acacabado</rdg>
<rdg type="mod">acabado</rdg>
</app>
```

The literal reading (rdg type="lit") is how the text looks in the manuscript image: açacabado (the first ‘ca’ are underdotted).

The original reading (rdg type="orig") is how the text looked originally, before any emendation: açacabado.

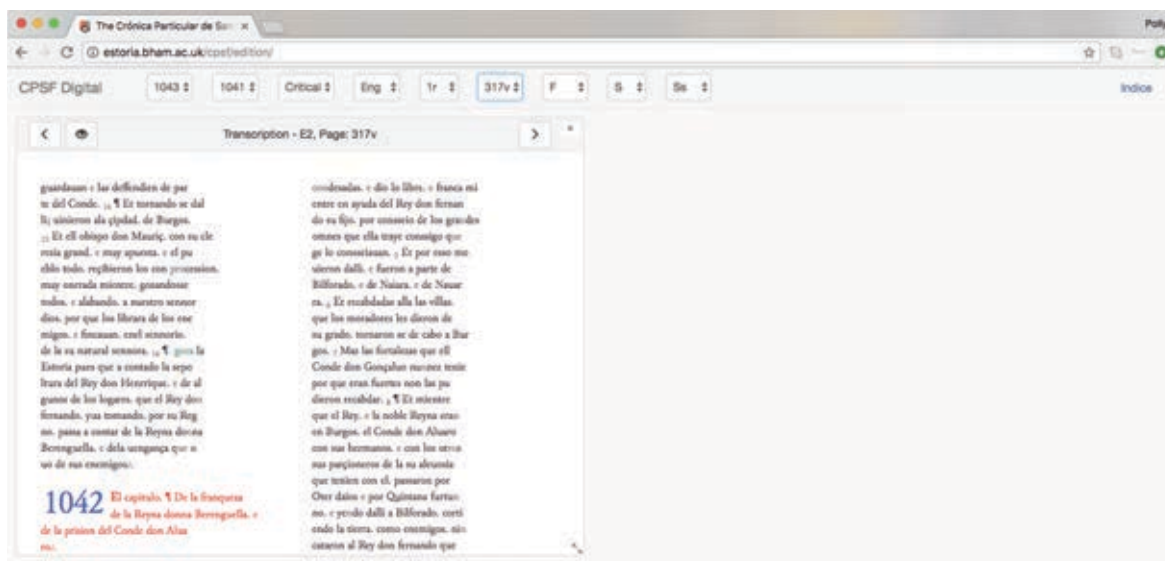
The modified reading (rdg type="mod") is how we as transcribers (and in this particular case, editors, a point which I will address below) believe the emendator, whether this was the scribe or a later hand, wanted the text to be read: acabado. The diplomatic transcription will display the literal reading, and the expanded transcription will display the modified reading, highlighted in teal to show an

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<sup>147</sup> Bárbara Bordalejo, *The Commedia Project Encoding System*, (2013) [https://www.academia.edu/4131782/The\\_Commedia\\_Project\\_Encoding\\_System](https://www.academia.edu/4131782/The_Commedia_Project_Encoding_System) (accessed 04/06/2018)

emendation has taken place. It is worth noting here that the collation is based on the modified readings of any app tags within the base text.

The figure below shows the presentation of the transcriptions within the edition; some of the featured described above are visible.



**Figure 4** Presentation of the transcription (expanded option) of E2 f. 317v. Notice the layout of text into two columns, the chapter number in blue, the rubric in red, the ab numbers are just visible in faded grey, and a scribal emendation is highlighted in teal (column A, line 11).

### 3.3.2 Editions

#### Version 2a: Collated edition

The *CPSF* collation and the critical edition, were completed between March and June 2018.<sup>148</sup> I was the sole collator, although at first the task was carried out with

<sup>148</sup> The tasks of the collation and the critical edition were carried out by me, with queries answered by Aengus Ward. I have written elsewhere about the benefits but also the drawbacks of there being one sole collator when creating a digital edition. This project would be a further example of this. See Duxfield, 'The Practicalities', 80-81.



significant support given by Aengus Ward, and throughout with technical support from Peter Robinson. The raw XML files were converted for digital collation using *Textual Communities*, which contains a version of *CollateX*, as written by Ronald Dekker at the Huygens Institut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, and then developed for use in the *Estoria Digital* by Catherine Smith at the Institute of Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing at the University of Birmingham, with the support of Robinson. *Textual Communities* was updated and refined during the period between the transcription stage of the *Estoria*, and the collation of the *CPSF*. This edition was one of the first to use *Textual Communities 2* at the collation stage, which had both advantages and disadvantages.<sup>149</sup> Robinson has described my collation as ‘the first serious use’ of the second iteration of *Textual Communities*.<sup>150</sup> At the time I was collating, *Textual Communities 2* was available only as a sandbox version, and as such, was still under development. This meant there were various teething difficulties, for example compatibility issues with my hardware, where I was unable to access some features due to the advanced age of my hardware, and problems with certain tags in the collation version, in particular the app tag within the base text, which required removal before the text was collatable by the system. However, whilst collating I was able to contact Robinson directly as the developer, which is unusual when using software. This proved to be mutually beneficial, as it both enabled me to overcome some of the idiosyncrasies of the software whilst still undergoing development, and highlighted some issues within the software which needed to be rectified for the benefit of other, later users. This is, of course, the developer’s objective for a sandbox version.

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<sup>149</sup> Special thanks to both Cat Smith and Peter Robinson for their technical support here.

<sup>150</sup> Peter Robinson, email to Polly Duxfield, Aengus Ward and Catherine Smith, 02/06/2018.

The collation was possible because of the identification markers of the text to sentence level into divs and abs, as described above. As in the transcription, these numbers are visible to the user for the purposes of navigation around the text. The presentation does not mimic the layout of any one manuscript, and appears as one block of text rather than columns. Much of this is similar to the methodology of the collated edition of the *Estoria Digital*, reflecting the fact that eventually the two projects will be merged, and the *CPSF* will form a part of the wider *Estoria Digital*.<sup>151</sup>

When preparing a collation, following transcription, the next task for an editor is to choose which variants are to be retained and which are to be regularised out. In the present version of the edition I have not substituted variants from witnesses other than the base text, and have presented them purely as a collated text. This step, however, still requires the editor to carry out a degree of regularisation of variants, as not all variants make it as far as appearing in the collated text, and some are lost at the regularisation stage. Bordalejo states clearly that ‘the importance of deciding which kinds of variant are considered significant and which are discarded as relatively unimportant or even meaningless cannot be stressed enough.’<sup>152</sup> Arguing this point, she refers to George Kane’s 1988 edition of the ‘B’ version of *Piers Plowman*. Kane’s approach is such that he does not always choose variants according to the stemma of the texts, and as a result his choices are based solely on editorial judgement and are

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<sup>151</sup> The *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project, ‘Methodology’, Aengus Ward (ed.) *The Estoria de Espanna Digital Project*, [http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page\\_id=923#Critical-text](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=923#Critical-text) [accessed 22/02/2018]

<sup>152</sup> Bárbara Bordalejo, ‘Chapter IV – Theoretical Aspects of Textual Variation’, *The Manuscript Source of Caxton’s Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales and Its Place in the Textual Tradition of the Tales*, PhD Thesis, De Montfort University, 2002, pp.87-116, p.87

therefore arbitrary and, according to Bordalejo, ‘not a very useful principle when one is attempting to establish what a variant is’.<sup>153</sup> This is the case when one is attempting to provide a version of the text according to Lachmannian principles, hypothesising an archetype, when one is aiming to establish the relationship between texts. This is not my aim with the digital *CPSF*. Rather, it is to present a version of the text that takes into account the diversity of the witnesses of the text, and allows readers to access these with as little textual noise as possible. This approach has been informed by McGann’s reasoning where it can be applied to a medieval context, and specifically his ‘socialized concept of authorship and textual authority’.<sup>154</sup> As mentioned above, Lucía Megías differentiates between authorial ‘sound’ and emendatory ‘noise’, advocating the reduction of noise, to allow the real sound of the text to be heard.<sup>155</sup> Parker, however, uses the term differently: a collation can be noisy, he argues, when it contains too many variants from too many manuscripts.<sup>156</sup> Since the objective of this edition is not to purify the text of emendations to reveal a text as close to the archetype as possible, but rather to provide a single user-friendly version of the text, with variants, I will position myself closer to Parker than to Lucía Megías here. In the absence of an authorial original text, on a practical level this means that as a general rule I have usually selected variants from E<sub>2</sub>, the base text, since, as discussed above, this version is hierarchised by its reception and its inclusion in the *PCG*. Ss contains no rubrics, so is incomplete in this way; F is a witness of a more concise original than E<sub>2</sub> is, and several folios have been lost; and D and S are complete in that they end with the death of Fernando and

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<sup>153</sup> Bordalejo, *The Manuscript Source of Caxton’s Second Edition*, p.91

<sup>154</sup> McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 8

<sup>155</sup> Lucía Megías, ‘Manuales’, 118

<sup>156</sup> Parker, “The Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior”

not before, but contain variants not seen in E<sub>2</sub>. For example, the rubric of div 1048 (*PCG* 1037) appears as follows:

MS	Text
E2	¶ capitulo dela p <sup>i</sup> sion de capiella 7 del fundamiēto dela yg <sup>h</sup> ia de toledo 7 de co <sup>m</sup> o se leuanto abenhuc
D	¶ Cap <sup>o</sup> delos fejos del rrey don ferrnādo 7 dela rreyna doña beatriz 7 dela p <sup>u</sup> meras caualgadas deste rrey don ferrnādo contra moros 7 delas buenas andanças q̄ fizo con ellos en combatimjentos
S	C <sup>o</sup> ix co <sup>m</sup> o el Rey don ferrado çerco el castillo de capilla 7 lo conbatio muchos dias 7 lo priso 7 se vjno pa toledo E en co <sup>m</sup> desq̄ estouo en toledo acordo de Renovar la ig <sup>h</sup> lesia de s <sup>a</sup> maria de toledo E pusola p <sup>i</sup> mera piedra en st <sup>a</sup> m <sup>a</sup> de toledo 7 la m <sup>a</sup> do [gap 5 characters] 7 de ot <sup>o</sup> s cosas q̄la estoria cuenta
Ss	Rubrics are missing from this manuscript for the <i>CPSF</i> .
F	Missing folio

**Figure 5** Table comparing div 1048 rubric as it appears (or fails to appear) in all five witnesses

That said, examples such as the one above are reasonably few and far between, and when collating it quickly became clear that for the most part there are relatively few variants between the witnesses which were not primarily orthographic, or related to word-spacing. The content of the witnesses is often largely similar, and whilst it is not the aim of this thesis to suggest a stemma for these witnesses – this would require an in-depth study outside of the scope of this particular work – it can be said at this stage that these witnesses are closely related.

When preparing the collation, my intention was to retain only significant variants, rather than purely orthographic variants. I hesitate to call these ‘stemmatically

significant variants’, to use Bordalejo’s term,<sup>157</sup> since this implies my objective is to hierarchise according to a stemma, which it is not, but I recognise that other scholars may choose to use my data for this purpose in the future. This is a major benefit of digital editions over printed editions, and worth emphasizing – that the data produced to make an edition can be used again, and differently at a later date. In deciding which variants to retain, I have borrowed from Bordalejo, and have kept ‘additions, deletion and substitutions, all the changes in word-order, [and] all substantive variants’.<sup>158</sup> Here Bordalejo is referring to Greg’s notion of substantive variants, which, as we saw earlier, he uses to mean ‘those that affect the author’s meaning or the essence of his expression.’<sup>159</sup> Whilst many orthographic variants can be considered ‘accidentals’, to use Greg’s term, and are not retained, like Bordalejo, I also recognise the need to take care with these, since, as she explains, ‘the difference in their spelling [can be] such that they become substantive variants’.<sup>160</sup> In practice much of the time this means that variants are regularised to the base text. These variants are displayed below:<sup>161</sup>

i/j/y as vowels	contractions such as <i>de alli, dalli</i>
u/v/b as consonants	punctuation
o/u mid-word	capitalisation
s/z/ç	word-spacing/division
ss/s/ç	m/n before bilabial consonants
pa/para	e/et
word initial h (heredero, eredero)	<i>culto</i> consonant clusters such as f/ph, <i>sancto/santo</i>
intervocalic double consonants (‘rr’ is taken on a case by case basis)	c/ç/z
s/sc/sç mid-word	no/non

<sup>157</sup> Bordalejo, *The Manuscript Source of Caxton’s Second Edition*, p.96

<sup>158</sup> Bordalejo, *The Manuscript Source of Caxton’s Second Edition*, p.104

<sup>159</sup> Greg, 21-22

<sup>160</sup> Bordalejo, *The Manuscript Source of Caxton’s Second Edition*, p.104

<sup>161</sup> The collation norms here are heavily influenced by those used by Aengus Ward to create the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* edition, which are discussed in Ward, ‘The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose’, 22-27

In other cases, I have carried out simple regularisations:

word initial rr/ff (tagged as glyphs)	Regularise to R/F
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Proper nouns are not regularised in the collation, as orthographic changes here can help scholars to ascertain a stemma, particularly if the variants have been introduced due to these words being unfamiliar to the scribe. The only caveat here being that, as Ward has done in the *Estoria Digital*, I have regularised out i/j variants in proper nouns where the only difference is the length of the descender,<sup>162</sup> since it is quite feasible that these differences may have arisen at transcription level: what one transcriber may mark as a j, that is, an i with a long descender, another may mark as an i. Other features are also not regularised, again for the reason of the possibility that they may be stemmatically or contextually significant:

word initial h/f	o/do
word initial h/a such as ha/a	reys/reyes
ome/omne	so/su/suyo, morio/murio, logar/lugar
grand(e), gran, grant + plurals	Metathesis such as peligro/periglo, ferosa/freosa
g/gi/j with consonantic value - muger/mugier	regno/reyno
tonic preterites	gente/yente
imperfects ending in -ia/-ie	lo/la/le, los/las/les (pronouns)

Ward argues against retaining all punctuation variants, not because such variants are trivial, but because punctuation really needs to be studied at manuscript level, and not using collated editions.<sup>163</sup> His reasoning here is convincing, so I have adopted it for the *CPSF*. As is often the case with digital editions, I expect users to engage with, scrutinise

<sup>162</sup> Ward, 'The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose', 22

<sup>163</sup> Ward, 'The *Estoria de Espanna Digital*: collating medieval prose', 23

(and in some cases disagree with) my editorial decisions, and to refer to the images of the manuscripts to do this. Although this could be daunting for an editor, the opportunity for users to do this is another advantage of a digital edition.

As I described in *Digital Philology*,<sup>164</sup> being the sole collator of the text was beneficial for streamlining the task and not having to liaise with others over regularisation decisions, which can make the activity slower, but this also had drawbacks. Despite the removal of much of the ‘drudgery’ involved with hand collation, as described by both Parker and Greetham respectively,<sup>165</sup> there is still a degree of drudgery to be endured when collating electronically. When there is only one collator, this drudgery falls solely onto the shoulders of one person. The *Textual Communities* collation tool is quick and easy to use, and at points the collator might be working at a rate of one collation decision per second. The benefit of this to the collator at the time of collation is clear, although it must be remembered that the eventual user of the edition will be able to scrutinise at leisure decisions made quickly during collation. Whilst I aimed to abide closely with my stated collation norms, as given above, during the collation some queries arose necessitating the creation of further norms. In practice, where there is nobody moderating the collation decisions taken, it can be easy for a sole collator to introduce inconsistencies, despite their best efforts not to do so.

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<sup>164</sup> Duxfield, ‘The Practicalities of Collaboratively Digitally Editing Manuscript Prose’, 80-81

<sup>165</sup> Parker, ‘Through a Screen Darkly’, 395; Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.359

Below are two screenshots of the collation within the digital edition.

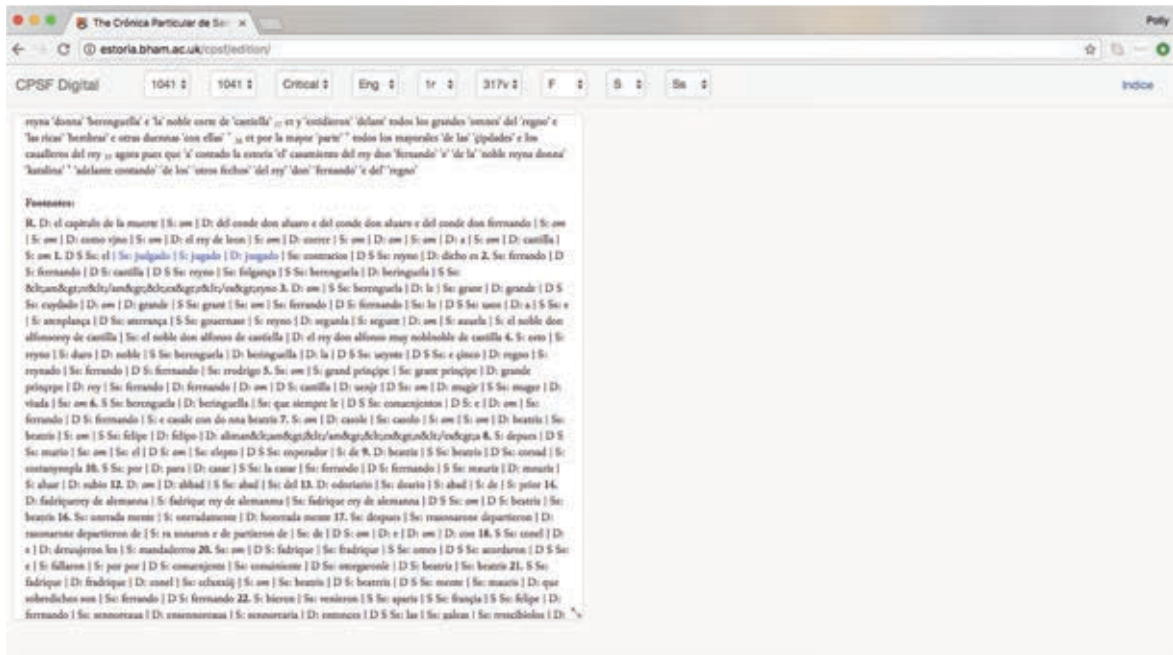
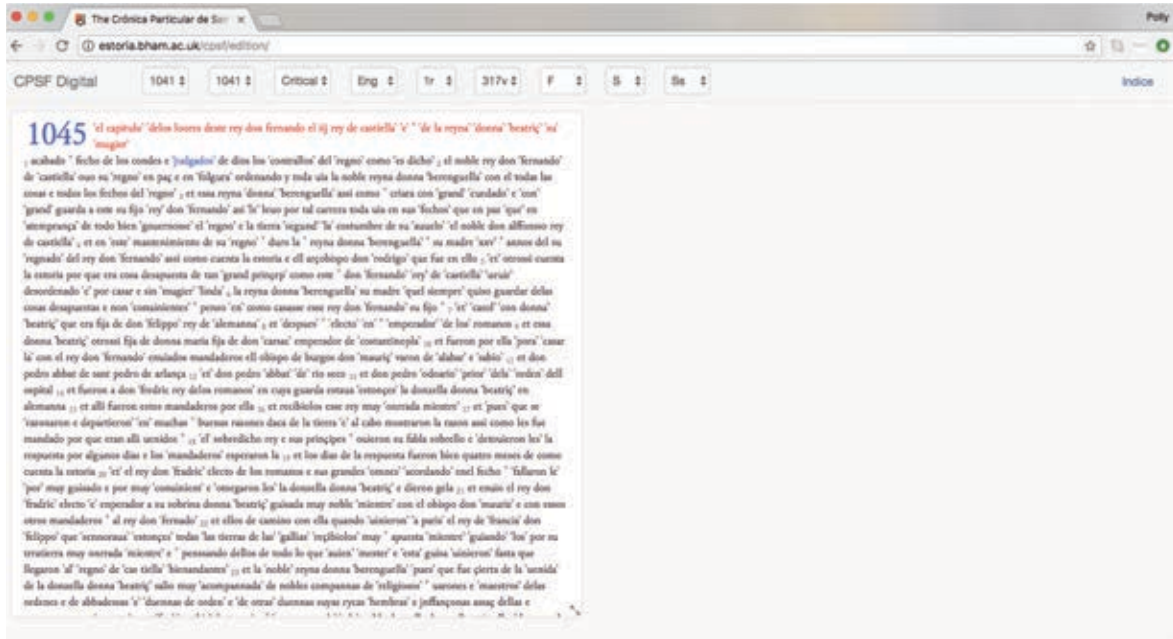


Figure 6 Screenshot of the collation within the digital CPSF.

In the screenshots above, it can be seen that, as described, the collation appears in one column, with the div and ab numbers presented as in the transcriptions, and the rubric in red. Items with variants are highlighted in the collation with inverted commas. This



makes the text rather 'noisy', and is disruptive to the flow of reading. These commas could be removed, but then the only way to know that an item has a variant would be to hover over every word, which is equally as unsatisfactory. Another option would be to introduce another font colour, but I felt there were already several font colours in use across the edition, and also the *Estoria Digital* uses these inverted commas, so I felt it would be beneficial to the user to maintain a level of consistency. When the user hovers over an item with variants it turns blue, as does the variant in the footnotes below. In longer chapters, as this one is, the collation and the footnotes cannot be seen without scrolling down. This too, is less than satisfactory, but is the best we have at the current time, within the confines of time and finances. In the future I would like to explore other options for the presentation of the collation, such as the variants appearing in mouse-over boxes, or visible in such a way that the user can view both the collation and footnotes at the same time, perhaps in adjacent columns, and that both columns scroll simultaneously.

### **Version 2b: Reader's text**

The digital *CPSF* also contains a reader's text.<sup>166</sup> This is a version with some regularisation of orthography, punctuation and capitalisation, the norms for which are based on those for the regularised reader's edition of the *Estoria*, by Aengus Ward,

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<sup>166</sup> Ricardo Pichel kindly proof-read this version of the text and provided useful suggestions for its improvement. This was a significant undertaking, for which I offer him my most sincere thanks.

Enrique Jerez and Ricardo Pichel,<sup>167</sup> but with some minor moderation.<sup>168</sup> It is worth revisiting here Tanselle and Bowers' respective comments on the validity of modernised editions; both have spoken unequivocally on the matter. Tanselle described modernising editions as 'confused and unhistorical' and of their editors as 'condescending and officious';<sup>169</sup> and Bowers' afore-cited comment is no less pointed: 'one may flatly assert that any text that is modernized can never pretend to be scholarly, no matter at what audience it is aimed'.<sup>170</sup> Both Tanselle and Bowers, however, are editors of texts later than the *CPSF*, and of printed texts rather than medieval texts, which, as detailed above, bring their own peculiarities and issues, including, for example, a requirement for users of non-regularised editions to understand medieval syntax and spelling, without the help of modernised punctuation and capitalisation. Furthermore, like the reader's edition of the *Estoria*, the reader's *CPSF* has been regularised, and not fully modernised, that is, it retains the syntax and lexis of the base text, but some of the orthography and punctuation has been edited. This is not to 'depriv[e] the reader of the experience of reading the original text,'<sup>171</sup> as Tanselle scathingly suggests of modernising editors, but to make it more accessible to non-experts, who may even choose to use the reader's version as stepping stone to the more scholarly versions of the edition. As Tanselle states, regularising as I have done does create an unhistorical text. My aim, however, is not to be historical, but rather to

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<sup>167</sup> The Estoria de Espanna Digital Project, *Estoria de Espanna Digital v.1.0, Criteria for the reader's text*, [http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page\\_id=933](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/blog/?page_id=933) [accessed 10/10/2017]

<sup>168</sup> See [estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf/methodology.html](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf/methodology.html) [accessed 23/06/2018]

<sup>169</sup> Tanselle, 'The Editing of Historical Documents', 49

<sup>170</sup> Bowers, 223

<sup>171</sup> Tanselle, 'The Editing of Historical Documents', 49

enable the text to be read, understood, and enjoyed by those unaccustomed to reading medieval Castilian.

Spence reminds us of the enormous number of Internet users: citing a 2013 figure of 2.7 million<sup>172</sup> – at the time of writing (June 2018), this figure is estimated to be closer to 3.9 million, and rising.<sup>173</sup> This, he states, has implications for the digital editor of medieval texts, since the potential audience of a digital edition is infinitely greater than that of a printed edition.<sup>174</sup> Although it is most probable that only a tiny percentage of the Internet's total users will access a digital edition, it is far more likely that non-specialists will come across such a resource than may be likely to use a printed edition. Many of these non-specialists will be unaccustomed to reading medieval Castilian, for example amateur historians, interested members of the public, or history students, and may find an unregularised edition off-putting at best, and at worst completely inaccessible. Other users may be more interested in *what* is written in the *CPSF* than exactly *how* it is written. On the other hand, Pierazzo argues the opposite: 'Because of their free availability on the Web, their editors [the editors of digital editions] seem to think that they should also appeal to a much larger audience, an assumption which is not necessarily true.'<sup>175</sup> We find ourselves faced with a fundamental question: who is a digital edition for? In the case of medieval Castilian, where the unaccustomed may find it extremely difficult to read an unmodified version of the text, but a few minor

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<sup>172</sup> Spence, 'Siete retos', 167, quoting from <http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-Statistics/Documents/facts/ICTFactsFigures2013-s.pdf>. (no access date given)

<sup>173</sup> International Telecommunication Union (ITU), World Bank, and United Nations Population Division, *Internet users in the world*, <http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/> [accessed 17/06/2018]

<sup>174</sup> Spence, 'Siete retos', 167

<sup>175</sup> Pierazzo, *Digital Scholarly Editing*, p.15

<sup>175</sup> Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', p.181

changes to orthography and punctuation can greatly alleviate this, if a digital edition has the possibility to provide users with a regularised version as one within a range of options for viewing and studying the edited text, not providing a regularised version is tantamount to intentionally excluding non-specialists and non-academics, and a continuation of the privileged and separatist ivory tower of academic research. Providing doing so does not compromise the integrity of the research itself, it is our duty to avoid such separatism, as editors are academics working *within* wider society, *for* wider society, and in many cases funded by public subvention (as this thesis is, for example). Robinson provides us with a poignant statement for making our digital editions accessible to various readerships:

We all know the topos that we are standing on the shoulders of the scholars who have preceded us. The digital age offers a variant on this. As well as stand on the shoulders of others, we should help others to stand on our shoulders.<sup>176</sup>

Since providing a regularised version of the *CPSF* does not detract from the more scholarly versions included in the digital edition, and allows a much wider audience access to the edition, I can find no strong argument to not provide one.

Given that this thesis forms part of the wider *Estoria* Digital, there is a level of similarity between the fundamental principles of regularisation in this version, as there is for the reader's edition of the *Estoria*.<sup>177</sup> As mentioned above, the reader's edition of the *CPSF* largely follows the *Estoria* regularisation norms as decided for the by Ward, Pichel and Jerez.<sup>178</sup> These norms are conservative in terms of the level of orthographic changes

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<sup>176</sup> Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', p.201

<sup>177</sup> This can be viewed at: Ward, *Estoria de Espanna Digital*, v.1.0, <http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/edition/> [accessed 10/10/2017]

<sup>178</sup> The *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project, *Criteria for the reader's text*

made by the editor, and the use of apostrophes for omitted letters, and they make as few changes as possible to facilitate reading, whilst maintaining the feel and style of the text as it appears in E<sub>2</sub>. Only where it was deemed necessary to fulfil the primary aim of this version – to facilitate reading by non-specialists – have I made orthographic or other changes. For example, where a word is omitted from E<sub>2</sub> but is included in another manuscript or the *PCG*, and its omission in the reader's edition would make the phrase difficult to understand, I have included the word in the reader's edition. Similarly, where an abbreviation mark has been omitted in the manuscript, so the word has not been expanded in the edited version, if the omitted letters make the word more difficult to understand, I have replaced them. Two examples are *tirra*, meaning *tierra*, and *qbrantar*, meaning *quebrantar*. The regularisation criteria for the *Estoria Digital* state that proper nouns should appear in the reader's edition just as they do in the transcription, with the sole addition of capital letters according to modern usage. Here I have moved slightly away from the *Estoria* norms: I took the view that if I am regularising, for example, *u* and *v*, according to their consonantal or vocalic value in the rest of the text, I should also regularise them in names: *aluar* in the transcribed text would therefore become *Alvar*. Again, the reasoning behind this editorial choice is the aim to facilitate reading by a non-specialist, whilst maintaining the integrity of the text. Furthermore, in the manuscript some names appear with more than one spelling. I regularised these with the intention of making the version as easily legible as possible for non-specialist readers. Throughout the regularisation process, there is a tightrope to be walked between maintaining the medieval feel to the text in terms of orthography, punctuation and syntax, that is to say in not modernising the text too far from the original, and in enabling interested but non-specialist readers to access the

text without the comprehension barriers created through their being uninitiated with the details of Medieval Castilian.

The reader's version is based on the text of *E*<sub>2</sub>, but drawing also on the *PCG* to fill in text in the main body which is unclear in the manuscript images of *E*<sub>2</sub>, and for which transcriptions could not be made by members of the *Estoria* team when working directly from *E*<sub>2</sub> (rather than using the digital images). Missing rubrics in *E*<sub>2</sub> have been filled in with the rubric as it appears in *D*, as whilst collating it could be seen that the rubrics in *D* are very were similar to those of *E*<sub>2</sub>. Where the *PCG* and the *Estoria Digital* transcriptions both have text for the main body, but this text differs, I have used the transcribed text from the *Estoria Digital* transcriptions, and not the *PCG*. The punctuation in the reader's version is primarily based on the punctuation used in the *PCG*, as is the use of capital letters, and word-spacing and division, but with minor changes, such as removing some commas, and swapping some semi-colons for full stops or commas, where I considered these to be more appropriate.<sup>179</sup>

Where any lacunae or illegible text in *E*<sub>2</sub> has been filled in from the *PCG* or *D*, or where missing expansions due to missing abbreviation marks in the manuscript have been supplied, or where there are clear scribal spelling errors in *E*<sub>2</sub> such as *curepo* for *cuervo* that have been corrected, this has been done as silent editorial emendations, and not highlighted in the reader's version. One could argue that doing so removes information in which some users may be interested, but as Kline points out, even the most

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<sup>179</sup> On this matter I took advice from Ricardo Pichel.

conservative editions incorporate any number of silent emendations.<sup>180</sup> Furthermore, I took the view that those who are likely to be interested in this level of detail of the contents of a given manuscript can either the manuscript images or transcriptions using the edition, and those using a reader's version to access the text are unlikely to require such detail. Highlighting in a reader's version to such a level of detail would create extra textual noise that users of the edition would have to contend with, and again, with the users of this particular version in mind, this was deemed inappropriate for this audience. A regularised version of the text is by its nature unhistorical. It has a place as one of a range of presentations of a text in a digital edition, and it has a valid usage, as it can open up the content of the text to readers, and the edition to users, who may otherwise find reading it too cumbersome. Its usage for close study is, however, to be avoided, as is stated in the user guide.<sup>181</sup>

As an example of what digital editors of medieval prose texts might choose to include in an edition, I have included an audio file of one div of the reader's edition being read aloud.<sup>182</sup> This idea came from Heather Bamford and Emily Francomano, when discussing their digital edition of the *Libro de Buen Amor*, at the 2016 conference marking the launch of the *Estoria Digital*.<sup>183</sup> The div chosen as the exemplar is 1057, which was chosen because it is this chapter which has been translated, giving users the widest possible variety of presentations and tools of this particular section of the *CPSF*.

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<sup>180</sup> Kline, p.104

<sup>181</sup> See [estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf/methodology.html](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf/methodology.html) [accessed 23/06/2018].

<sup>182</sup> The reader is Ricardo Pichel, who kindly donated his time for this task. The user can access this audio file by selecting chapter 1057 in the reader's version, and clicking on the 'play' symbol triangle at the top of the text box containing the chapter.

<sup>183</sup> Heather Bamford and Emily Francomano, *The Digital Libro Project: Perspectives on Digital Manuscript Culture*, 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Colloquium of the *Estoria de Espanna* Digital Project (University of Birmingham, UK, 13-15<sup>th</sup> December 2016)

The version of the text read aloud is the reader's version, and not one of the more scholarly versions of the text. This is because, whilst not wholly unscholarly, this feature is a novelty. It does work towards the reader's version objective of making the text more accessible for non-experts, so the most likely audience to appreciate this would be those who would also be likely to use the reader's edition. Some scholars may feel a feature such as this is superficial, and therefore inappropriate for a scholarly edition. To this elitist view I would argue that having such a feature to appeal to some less specialist users of the edition does not detract from the more specialist versions of the edition, or make these scholarly versions any less scholarly. Unlike in a print edition where the editor would be unable to cater for the needs of such differing audiences, a digital editor can often provide different versions of the edition, and users can access that which is most appropriate to their needs. Again, we return to the question of if time and money allow us to enable non-specialists to access the materials we as scholars produce, can we really justify their deliberate exclusion by purposely locking our work in the metaphorical ivory tower?

### **Version 2c: Digital critical edition**

Referring to those working to create resources in the humanities in general, and also specifically within digital humanities, Spence remarks pointedly that 'rara vez se plantea en esta comunidad académica aprender más sobre el público real de nuestro trabajo'. He argues that to create resources that better serve the needs of our audiences, digital editors must look for more information about their audiences and



they ways in which they will, or would like to use the resources we create.<sup>184</sup> Whilst I have not formally carried out a study to ascertain the needs of my audience, I have spent the past five years whilst working for the *Estoria* project making a conscious effort to be aware of the needs of our audience, as far as they make these clear through Facebook posts, replies and engagement with our blog posts, via online forums and at conferences. It is also possible to see from the *Estoria Digital* Facebook page that the majority of the audience is Spanish-speaking, closely followed by Anglophones: data analysed by Facebook, based on that provided by users who 'like' us shows that the majority of our likers are Spanish-speakers.<sup>185</sup> Of the 698 likers, 48% are from Spanish-speaking countries,<sup>186</sup> and 25% from English-speaking countries.<sup>187</sup> Although not all of these likers will access our edition, and there will be some users of the edition who do not like us on Facebook, these figures give a general idea of the demographics of our audience. Similar data regarding the demographics of those who access the *Estoria Digital* homepage is collated by Google: 30.5% of users (360 individuals) are from Spain, and 29.3% (345) are in the UK. This data is probably skewed slightly due to the fact that the majority of the team still working on the edition are based in Birmingham and Sheffield.<sup>188</sup> The demographics of the audience of the edition of the

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<sup>184</sup> Spence, 'Siete retos', 168-169

<sup>185</sup> The data in this section was pulled from the statistics page of the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project Facebook page on 20<sup>th</sup> February 2018 and was accurate at the time of writing; Language stated as 'Spanish' – 169 profiles, 'Spanish (Spain)' – 149, 'English (US)' – 148, 'English (UK)' – 74. The data from one profile whose language is given as 'English (pirate)' has been discounted. NB. Users can have more than one language listed on their profile.

<sup>186</sup> Spain – 229, Mexico – 47, Argentina – 42, Colombia – 8, Chile – 4, Venezuela – 2, Paraguay – 2, Peru – 2, Puerto Rico – 2.

<sup>187</sup> UK – 86, USA – 82, Australia – 2, Ireland – 2.

<sup>188</sup> This data refers to users who have accessed the edition homepage – data for the edition itself is unfortunately not available. Data cited here refers to the period 04/07/2017-13/06/2018. Google Analytics – Audience overview – *Estoria de Espanna* Edition, <http://bit.ly/2ycpjtc> [accessed 13/08/2018]

*CPSF* is likely to be not wildly dissimilar in make up to that of the *Estoria*, and where there are differences, due to the more specialised nature of the *CPSF* in comparison to the wide appeal and fame of the *Estoria de Espanna*, this is likely to be even more heavily-weighted towards Hispanophone cultures.

With the demographics of our audience in mind, we can return to Greetham's comment that when the expectations of users and the edition itself are misaligned, the edition and editor are often perceived by the user to be incomplete or incorrect.<sup>189</sup> The largely Spanish-language context of the majority of users of the edition will bring expectations with them. What these expectations are was seen in Section 1.4 of this thesis: following a brief overview of the work of some key scholars and research institutes who deal with the editing of medieval prose in Castilian, I concluded that within a Hispanophone context, a critical edition would be expected as standard by many users, apart from in very specific cases.<sup>190</sup> According to Orduna,<sup>191</sup> *SECRIIT*,<sup>192</sup> and *CHARTA*,<sup>193</sup> any critical edition could be complementary to other versions of the edition to fulfil the needs of other users. The *Estoria Digital* does not provide a critical edition because it falls into one of these cases, given that there are around forty extant manuscripts, but at the moment only five manuscripts make up the edition, so any critical edition provided would be based on incomplete information. The digital *CPSF*, however, is based on the five main witnesses of the work in Castilian, as outlined by de la Campa – E<sub>2</sub>, Ss, D, S

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<sup>189</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship – An Introduction*, p.354

<sup>190</sup> Orduna, 'La edición crítica', in Funes and Lucía Megías, p.19; Lucía Megías, 'Manuales', 115-153; Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *La edición de textos españoles medievales y clásicos*, p.15; Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual*, p.163

<sup>191</sup> Orduna, 'La edición de textos históricos en español', in Funes and Lucía Megías, pp.153-154

<sup>192</sup> IBIICRIT CONICET, *SECRIIT IBIICRIT*,

<sup>193</sup> Red *CHARTA*, *Criterios de edición de documentos hispánicos (orígenes-siglo XIX) de la red internacional CHARTA* (version dated April 2013) within 'leer más'.

and F.<sup>194</sup> It is not only in the Hispanophone world that critical editions are considered central to a digital edition, where possible: for example, Robinson lauds many of the features included in Shaw's edition of Dante's *Commedia*, but of her failure to include a digital edition he is scathing:

Yet, there is one thing missing from Shaw's edition. She does not provide her own edited text. This absence strikes me as the single most remarkable element of the edition. It shifts the focus away from the editor, as maker of a text, to the documents themselves and what we might learn from them. The centre of the edition is not the product: the edited text, with all else seen as ancillary, preparatory, and explanatory. The centre of the edition is process: the search for understanding of all these documents and how they relate to each other.<sup>195</sup>

With all of the above in mind, I have provided a critical edition of the text.

When defending his decision not to include a full critical edition in the *Estoria Digital*, but rather a version which does not hierarchise any one manuscript (apart from the folios known to be Alfonsine), Ward, as cited above, argues that his objective is 'not to fix the Estoria, but rather to allow it breathe in its textual diversity'.<sup>196</sup> This is also my objective in the *CPSF*. I have a further objective too: to fulfil the expectations of the intended audience, by providing a critical edition. This is not intended to hypothesise an archetype, a lost original version of the *Crónica*, but instead to provide users with one version of the text, with variants noted.

It is in this way that the critical edition of the *CPSF* differs from the *Estoria Digital* and from the collated version of this edition: I have gone one step further than collation,

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<sup>194</sup> De la Campa in Alvar and Lucía Megías, p.360

<sup>195</sup> Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', p.196

<sup>196</sup> The *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project, 'Methodology'

that is, where appropriate, base text readings are replaced by readings from other manuscripts where these are judged to be better. The remaining variants are relegated to appearing in mouse-over boxes, in place of footnotes as in a printed edition, or a digital edition adhering more closely to print norms. Mouse-over boxes were chosen over footnotes, with the aim of making the edition more reader-friendly, avoiding disrupting the flow of reading where possible.<sup>197</sup> When studying the *Online Froissart* I found it disruptive to the flow of text that supplementary material, such as that included in my mouse-over boxes, could not be accessed whilst reading the edition, and instead a hyperlink to a separate page was provided. I took the conscious decision to avoid doing this when creating my own edition.

The criteria for what constitutes a 'better' reading in this edition is not as clear as would be the case in a pure Lachmannian approach, where the variant closest to that hypothesised to be authorial would be given in place of other variants. The approach taken in this edition is closer to that of a best-text approach. By this I mean that  $E_2$  is considered for practical reasons to be the best text, but where required, variants are taken from witnesses not privileged solely because of their proximity to our hypothesis of authorial intention.  $E_2$  is taken as the base text not because it is considered to be the oldest version, or that with fewest emendations from the source. Instead,  $E_2$  is considered the 'best' version of the text in terms of the practicalities of creating the edition, and has been hierarchised through reception, as it appears within the *PCG*. Following this best-text approach, I have emended 'only where strictly necessary',<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> The reader may like to notice the contrast with the collation, as described above. Because of the system used to create the collation, I was not able to affect its presentation.

<sup>198</sup> Haugen, 'The spirit of Lachmann, the spirit of Bédier', p.9

that is to say, where there are gaps in the text of E<sub>2</sub>, or where E<sub>2</sub> has a grammatical issue, for example if there are errors such as a lack of agreement between the definite article and noun, or a missing abbreviation mark in the manuscript image meaning there is a missing expansion in the transcription.<sup>199</sup> Here I have taken each example on an individual basis, and have substituted text from other witnesses using the criteria below:

1. Main body variants hierarchise S, and then Ss, since F has various lacunae, and we know the original had undergone the loss of a section by the time it was copied for D.
2. Rubric variants hierarchise D where possible, since Ss has no rubrics, various rubrics are missing in F, and the rubricator's hand in S is extremely difficult to read in parts. Where D cannot be used for some reason, I look first to F (to div 1058), and then to S for rubric variants.

In this respect this edition is likely to receive criticism from those favouring a strict Lachmannian approach, but, as I argue above, the objective of this exercise is not to provide a hypothesis for an original text, but rather to present the text in a user-friendly manner with variants.

In terms of methodology, these variants were placed into the reader's version of the edition, and the orthographic and punctuational regularisation that took place to create that version has been retained, and extended, where appropriate to these

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<sup>199</sup> Instances of this were rare, and of the ones that there are, many were spotted by Ricardo Pichel when proofreading the critical edition.

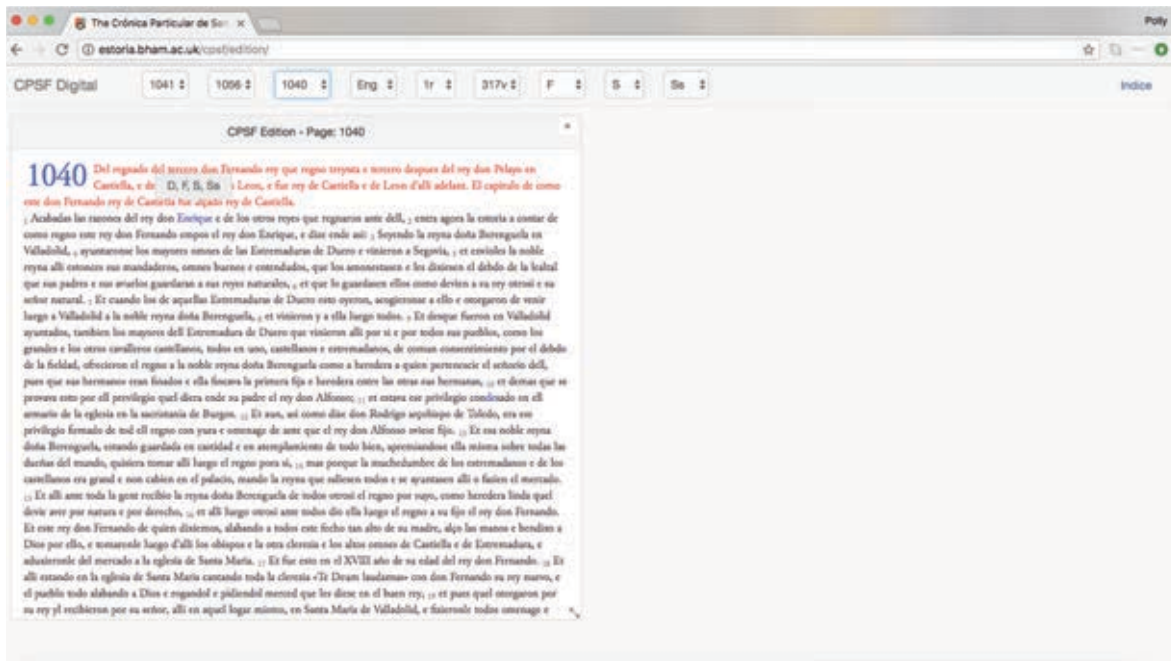
variants. The reason for this is that, like the reader's version, a critical edition is also unhistorical by nature. Retaining the orthography, word-spacing or capitalisation of the source witness would give inconsistencies between the text of E<sub>2</sub> and any variants being introduced into the text, and may also tempt some readers of the edition to use it for close study, in place of the transcriptions or the manuscripts themselves. This is to be avoided, and users should be aware of the significant health warning that comes with its use for anything other than as a text, with variants, presented in as user-friendly a way as possible, just as they should with all critical editions.<sup>200</sup> As for the reader's version, the user's attention is brought to this in the methodology page of the edition. It is for the same reasoning that the critical text, like the reader's version, is not presented in such a way that mimics manuscript *mise-en-page*. Both editors and users of the edition are reminded that any digital critical edition is to be considered a 'working hypothesis'<sup>201</sup> rather than the 'authoritative final statement'<sup>202</sup> it once may have been. Unlike in the reader's version, however, where substitutions are made from other witnesses or from the *PCG* without marking this in the text, substituted variants are noted here using font colour (blue, to differentiate the text from the main body of E<sub>2</sub> and the rubrics in red). All substituted variants appear in blue, regardless of the source witness, as I felt that having a colour for each witness would be confusing for readers and would provide textual noise, but information about where the variant came from can be found in mouse-over boxes. This can be seen in the figure below.

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<sup>200</sup> Aengus Ward, 'Past, present and future in the Latin and Romance historiography of the medieval Christian kingdoms of Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, Vol. 1 Issue 2 (2009), 147-162, 151

<sup>201</sup> José Manuel Lucía Megías, 'La crítica textual ante el siglo XXI: la primacía del texto,' in Lillian von der Walde Moheno (ed.), 'Propuestas teórico-metodológicas para el estudio de la literatura hispánica medieval', *Medievalia* 27 (2003) special issue, 417-92

<sup>202</sup> Patrick Sahle, 'What is a Scholarly Digital Edition?' Matthew James Driscoll and Elena Pierazzo (Eds.) *Digital Scholarly Editing – Theories and Practice*, (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2016) e-book <http://dx.doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0095> [accessed 21/02/2018] pp.19-39, p.29



**Figure 7** Presentation of the critical edition. This example is div 1040. A variant is highlighted in blue, and the mouse-over box for this variant is visible in this image, showing the manuscripts in which the variant appears.

Whilst it is not my objective here to study the edition in order to ascertain a stemma, but rather to present the text as a resource for other scholars and non-experts alike, it is possible at this stage to make some preliminary remarks about the witnesses from carrying out the collation. The first of these is that the rubrics of E<sub>2</sub> and D are often extremely similar, suggesting that they were either copied from the same or close exemplars. Those of S differ from those of E<sub>2</sub> and D, and on many occasions contain material not found in E<sub>2</sub> or D. In the main body, variants from other manuscripts have been substituted into the text of E<sub>2</sub> where there are lacunae, following the criteria as stated above. On the majority of occasions where there are gaps in the transcription of E<sub>2</sub> to be substituted with text from other manuscripts, the variants substituted coincide in four manuscripts (D, F, S, Ss) to where the text of F finishes, or in three manuscripts (D, S, Ss) after this point. Examples where there are significant differences between

these manuscripts are few and far between, and the witnesses are generally very close. One example where they differ appears in div 1049 ab 400: where D and S have 'setenta e dos', Ss has 'veynte e dos', and the text of E<sub>2</sub> is unclear. Given the proximity of the witnesses in the majority of the other variants, I would suggest that this is probably a scribal error.

The majority of the gaps in the transcription of E<sub>2</sub>, that is to say where the text of the manuscript images was illegible, and this illegible text could not be deciphered by members of the *Estoria* team who examined E<sub>2</sub> in person,<sup>203</sup> were the result of damage to the manuscript, obscuring the text. There are four sides in particular with the most damage, leading to pockets of variants substituted from other manuscripts: 321r, 328v, 329r and 336v. From the manuscript image it appears that this may be water damage. The first folio with more damage than the others that form the *CPSF* is 321r. This is the start of quire 43 within the codex of E<sub>2</sub>, and where the fourteenth-century hand takes over and completes the *CPSF*. The next folio with more damage than most other folios is at the end of quire 43, and 329r, which is also damaged, is the first folio of quire 44, and 336v is the final folio in this quire. This would suggest that these folios were damaged before the quires were attached together into one codex.

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<sup>203</sup> Enrique Jerez, Ricardo Pichel and Aengus Ward examined the manuscript in person in December 2015 and March 2016 and checked any transcription queries. Ricardo Pichel was the scholar who examined the folios relating to the *CPSF* within E<sub>2</sub>.



### 3.3.3 Version 3: Modern English translation with annotations<sup>204</sup>

As an example of what an editor of an electronic edition may choose to include in his or her edition, I have included a translation of a short section of the *CPSF*. As an exemplar, just one chapter of the text has been translated, but an editor may choose to translate more or even all of a text, according to the perceived needs of her target audience.<sup>205</sup> The target audience I have translated for is an undergraduate student studying topics such as medieval Spanish historiography or history, or more specifically Alfonso X, the texts from or derived from the Alfonsine *taller*, the *Estoria*, or San Fernando. Many of my choices when translating reflect this target audience, as I will show later in this chapter. I have tailored this translation for the needs I perceive an undergraduate student within Hispanic Studies may be likely to have, although the translation could also feasibly be used by other interested readers who may or may not be studying, and may simply be interested in the *Estoria* or the *CPSF* or related topics.

The translated chapter is number 1057. As a single chapter, this example is long, and appears in E<sub>2</sub> over almost three full folios. This was one of the reasons why I felt this would be a good choice to translate, as it would give me sufficient material on which to comment for the purposes of this thesis examining the practice of electronic editing,

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<sup>204</sup> A print version of the translated excerpt of the *CPSF*, without the glossary annotations, and with a short discussion based on Chapter Three of this thesis, has recently been accepted for publication in *Xanthos*, vol. I, a new journal for postgraduate students of language and literature, based at the University of Exeter: Polly Duxfield, *The Crónica particular de San Fernando: Chapter of the siege and the conquest of Córdoba* – a translation and discussion, *Xanthos* vol. I (forthcoming).

<sup>205</sup> I produced the translation, but with significant support from Aengus Ward. I would also like to sincerely thank Enrique Jerez and Christian Kusi-Obodum for their help and suggestions when I was in the process of translating the text into Modern English. Any errors that remain are, of course, my own.

whilst still being one self-contained block within the narrative of the chronicle and feasibly useful for more than just this thesis. The content of the chapter tells the story of the siege and conquest of Cordoba, detailing the role of the banished nobleman Lorenzo Suárez and how he acted as a double agent to help Fernando conquer the city, and as a result was pardoned by the king for his previous behaviour. I felt that the content of the chapter was interesting enough to conceivably be included in an undergraduate module such as the one I envisaged when translating, particularly since the conquest of Cordoba, the old capital of al-Andalus, was one of the most significant events in the Fernando's Reconquest campaign.<sup>206</sup> Furthermore, the foregrounding of a nobleman in the chapter made the section representative of much of the rest of the *CPSF*, according to Fernández Gallardo's aforementioned description of the style of the chronicle where the nobility are seen to play a key role for propagandistic purposes within the context in which the *CPSF* was first written,<sup>207</sup> which again made the chapter selection appropriate for the target audience when studying the *CPSF*, the history of Castile-Leon, the Reconquest or the historiography of the period.

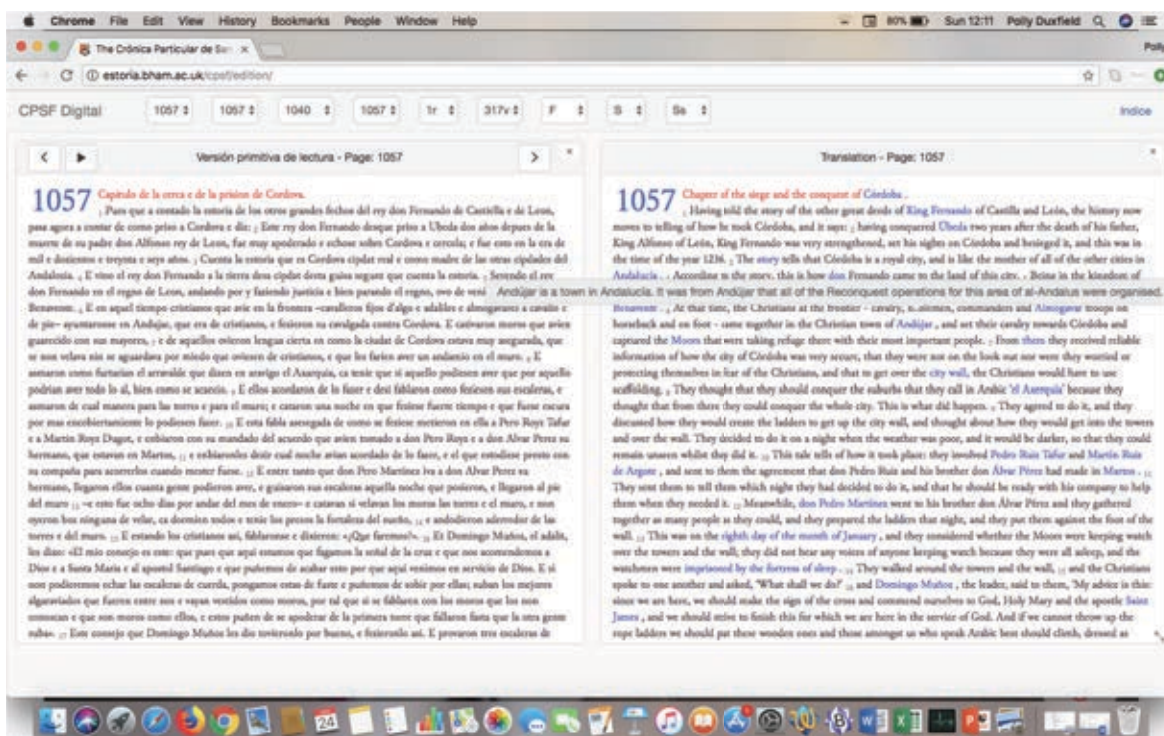
The translation is based primarily on the text of E<sub>2</sub>. Only in cases where E<sub>2</sub> is illegible have I included text from Ss or the *PCG*. As in the reader's version, I took the decision not to draw attention in the translated text to sections which were not directly from E<sub>2</sub>, as I considered that this may be more information than members of my intended target audience would require. The translation is therefore a composite of several manuscripts, with E<sub>2</sub> as the base text. As above, not stating in the translation where

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<sup>206</sup> Manuel González Jiménez, *Fernando III el Santo: El rey que marcó el destino de España*, (Seville: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2006), p.157

<sup>207</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 258

text has come from manuscripts other than E<sub>2</sub> could be considered by some as removing information that some scholars would prefer to have when using an edition, but I would argue that the level of scholar who is using a translation into modern English in place of the other versions included in the edition, would be unlikely to require this level of detailed information about the provenance of particular phrases in the text. In the students' introduction to the translation I have made reference to the fact this translation comes from several manuscripts, but I have chosen not to go into great detail or specifics on this as I considered that doing so would overcomplicate the matter for this particular intended audience. Any student or other user of the translation who was so inclined would be able to access the other variations of the electronic edition of this chapter, and could find this information there. In a print edition an editor may choose to use a system such as footnoting to make clear where translated text does not come from the base text, but I would argue that this is not necessary in an electronic edition, since on the same website will be available several versions of the edition. These versions can even be compared on screen in a way that would not easily be possible when comparing several different printed editions.



**Figure 8** Screenshot showing how the translation can be read in parallel with other versions of the edition – this example is the reader’s version. In the translation, items with glossary explanations are highlighted in blue, and the glossary entry is available as a mouse-over box. The grey box shown here is the glossary entry for ‘Andújar’.

In their printed translation of the *Libre dels Fets*, Damian J. Smith and Helena Buffery have also translated primarily from one transcription of one manuscript, but have referred to other manuscripts for variants and to modern editions of the chronicle, with the aim of achieving the maximum possible cohesion and intelligibility for their translation.<sup>208</sup> They do not state in the text exactly which text comes from which manuscript; they give their intended audience as historians,<sup>209</sup> and their translation is printed, so it would be difficult for readers to check for themselves which text is from

<sup>208</sup> Helena Buffery, ‘Notes on the Translation’, Damian J. Smith and Helena Buffery (translators), *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon – A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Libre dels Fets* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), pp.11-14, p.12

<sup>209</sup> Buffery, p.12

which source. This supports my decision to provide a composite translation without marking where the text comes from a different manuscript.

I have translated into modern English rather than attempting to translate into an older form of English, including using modern English syntax. This is because a user of a modernised translation such as this is most likely using it because they find the text of the witness, of the transcription or even of the regularised collated edition inaccessible. For some users this may be because they are not Spanish-speakers, but for the specific target audience of my translation, undergraduate students within Hispanic Studies, this may be because the medieval Castilian is inaccessible to them before they feel they fully understand the meaning of the text. Reading the text in translation may well ensure that the meaning is clear in the student's mind, so they are then able to access the medieval Castilian more easily. Although translating into an older form of English may have a level of romanticism, and may retain the historical feel of reading a medieval manuscript, it would also introduce further issues in understanding, so the translation would fall short of its aim to act as a stepping-stone for students to access the Spanish-language versions of the edition where possible. There is also the fact that this chronicle was not written in English at the time, nor to my knowledge was it translated into English in the medieval period. If one were to translate into an older form of English then it would follow that this would be a form reminiscent of the fourteenth century, since the base text of this translation dates to this period. Fourteenth-century English has many more differences to modern English than fourteenth-century Castilian does to modern Castilian, and translating into this style of English would still be just as artificial as translating into modern English, with

the added difficulty that I as the translator am not a native or even a skilled speaker of fourteenth-century English, and nor are the readers of my intended audience. There seems to be no strong argument to translate this chapter into any older form of English, other than one based on romantic reasoning, which would be impractical for the intended audience and intentions of this translation. I have however, attempted to maintain an allusion to the medieval style of the original text, rather than transposing all of the text into a purely Modern English style. This is similar to the way that Buffery states they have aimed to ‘remain true to the flavour of the king’s narrative’ in their translation of the *Llibre dels Feyts*.<sup>210</sup> Discussing her English translation of sections of Froissart’s *Chroniques*, Keira Borrill addresses this point eloquently:

There has been a persistent tension between the requirement to create a new, up-to-date translation whilst retaining Froissart’s characteristic register, but without slipping into an archaic form of speech or, even worse, a mock-medieval sociolect. [...] The key objective for this translator was to create prose that would be readily comprehensible to the readership envisaged, without either dumbing down or indulging in archaic lexis or syntax.<sup>211</sup>

Throughout my own translation, I have used Borrill’s approach as a model.

Following similar reasoning, I have introduced modern English capitalisation and punctuation, since a modern reader would expect to see these in a text in modern English. Including features such as this also helps readers to understand the text and makes it clear, for example, which words are proper nouns, and who is saying what in occasions where there is dialogue.

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<sup>210</sup> Buffery, p.13

<sup>211</sup> Keira Borrill, ‘Translation Policy’, Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen (eds.), *The Online Froissart*, version 1.5 (Sheffield: HRIOnline, 2013), [https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=translation\\_policy](https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=context&context=translation_policy) [accessed 07/11/2017]

One aspect of translating medieval texts into Modern English that is always more difficult than one may at first imagine is that of naming policy. Borrill describes creating a naming policy for her translation as a ‘thorny issue’: opting for English versions was for her unviable, since not all names could be Anglicised, and she has instead aimed to use the source language where possible.<sup>212</sup> In practice this means that we can see examples such as ‘Flanders’, ‘Ghent’ and ‘Scotland’ appearing exactly as written here, whilst we read of a person named ‘Tête-Noire’ (rather than Black-Head), Froissart’s first name is written as ‘Sir Jehan’, but there is a group whose name is translated in the text, and appears as the ‘White Hoods’.<sup>213</sup> Her translations are searchable for anthroponyms and toponyms,<sup>214</sup> so each item is consistent with itself each time it appears, but there is inconsistency in the language used for proper nouns as a group. This is not a criticism, but a reflection on the way that naming policy is certainly not straightforward when translating from medieval vernacular to Modern English. With Borrill’s choices (and the effects of these) in mind, for anthroponyms I have usually regularised to the versions of the names used by Manuel González Jiménez in his book *Fernando III el Santo*,<sup>215</sup> since within the manuscript there are orthographic variations even amongst the name of the same person. For example, in the manuscript we find the first name of Lorenzo Suárez appearing as ‘llorenço’ (ab 4200), ‘llorêço’ (ab 4800), ‘llorençio’ (ab 5600), and ‘llorenco’ (ab 6900). The

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<sup>212</sup> Borrill, para. 6

<sup>213</sup> Borrill, (translator). All examples here are taken from her translation of Book II, translated from Besançon BM, ms. 865

<sup>214</sup> Borrill, para. 6

<sup>215</sup> González Jiménez, *Fernando III el Santo*, pp.152-159

regularised versions of the names used by González Jiménez are widely accepted, so wherever possible I have followed his choices in the rationale that doing so should make it easier for users of the edition if they choose to look up chronicle characters for further information, bearing in mind that my intended audience is students. One exception is the spelling of Ibn Hūd: González Jiménez is inconsistent, using both Abén Hud and Ibn Hud. For consistency I have used Ibn Hūd, as this is far more common online, and I would expect the intended audience of this translation to search online for aspects of the text that they need more information about. Furthermore, O'Callaghan, for example, uses the spelling Ibn Hūd.<sup>216</sup> I took the decision to regularise toponyms to their modern Spanish equivalent, but I have not used the English versions of place names. This differs from the approach taken by Smith and Buffery, who have used English versions of proper nouns, in the case of both kings and toponyms, wherever possible, and where there are no English versions they have used Modern Catalan versions.<sup>217</sup> I made this decision with my intended audience clearly in mind, as I considered that the type of student who would be using this translation would be most likely to be a student of Hispanic Studies or of Iberian history or historiography, even if this is as part of a course on medieval history and not within a Modern Languages context, and in the majority of cases would be likely to be familiar with Spanish-style place names. In the case of 'el Axerquía', like in the other cases of toponyms, I have used the modern Spanish spelling rather than that included in the manuscript, but since this place is specific to Cordoba, and understanding where and

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<sup>216</sup> Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) p.170

<sup>217</sup> Buffery, pp.12-13



what it *is* is key to understanding the Christians' strategy to conquer Cordoba, I have also explained its significance in a mouse-over explanatory note.

Using a system of mouse-over boxes, I have provided annotations that should function to make the content of the text more accessible to my target audience, explaining or contextualising various points in the text. This is the sort of information that would traditionally have been included as footnotes or endnotes in students' print editions. Mouse-over notes have an advantage over printed endnotes as the user does not have to turn a page to access the notes, which can disrupt the flow of reading, and over printed footnotes as the length of footnotes is restricted by the space available on the page, without the editor introducing textual noise which can also disrupt the flow of reading. Including the notes as mouse-overs means that users can choose to access the notes or not, as they could choose to read printed notes or not, and in pedagogic terms are able to self-differentiate by deciding whether or not they need to read the supplementary material about each specific point. Items that have a mouse-over note include toponyms and anthroponyms that ideally a student would understand in order to effectively and fully comprehend the text. Additionally, specifically chosen items which may require contextualisation to ensure a student's understanding have also been included, such as explaining the term 'Moor', and the significance of the city walls in the plan to conquer Cordoba.

I had considered linking some of the mouse-overs to Wikipedia articles related to the contents of the notes, and I appreciate that many users of the translation may be likely to click straight onto Wikipedia to research such items anyway, however, I eventually decided against linking directly to the articles as part of the mouse-over bubbles. This

is not because of academic snobbery: a 2005 study by the scientific journal *Nature* revealed a similar level of accuracy on Wikipedia to Encyclopaedia Britannica (an outcome that Britannica has disputed, as could be expected),<sup>218</sup> and other later studies have found similar results,<sup>219</sup> but Wikipedia is, of course, a wiki, and can therefore be changed and updated by anyone, leaving it open to ‘malice or ignorance’.<sup>220</sup> Whilst I recognise the usefulness of Wikipedia as a starting point to researching any topic, particularly for undergraduate students such as those for whom this translation is based, I believe that linking directly to it in a scholarly edition may suggest an underserved endorsement of material which could be edited at any stage, including once the digital edition of the *CPSF* is live.

In the translation I have retained the identification numbering for each textual block within the chapter in order that the user could easily compare the translation with the corresponding text in the tagged transcriptions or in the regularised collated edition. Whilst this could have had syntactic implications in English, since modern English and medieval Castilian syntax are clearly different from one another, in this case study it has not been so different as to adversely affect the syntax of the translation, whilst retaining the numbering of the syntactic blocks.

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<sup>218</sup>Jim Giles, ‘Internet encyclopaedias go head to head’, *Nature*, 15/12/2005, last updated 28/03/2006 <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v438/n7070/full/438900a.html?foxtrotcallback=true> [accessed 10/10/2017]

<sup>219</sup> Natalie Wolchova, ‘How Accurate is Wikipedia?’ *LiveScience*, 24/01/2011, <https://www.livescience.com/32950-how-accurate-is-wikipedia.html> [accessed 10/10/2017]

<sup>220</sup> Bill Thompson, ‘What is it with Wikipedia?’ *BBC News*, 16/12/2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/technology/4534712.stm> [accessed 10/10/2017]

In the students' introduction to the translation I have suggested that students may choose not to quote directly from the translation, but rather they could use the translation to ensure they understand the text and then use the identification numbers to find the corresponding section in the transcription or the regularised collated edition and quote from there.<sup>221</sup> Clearly it would be up to individual students whether to follow this advice, but the suggestion has been made to encourage students to use more than just this translated and modernised edition, and to consider it a stepping-stone to access the versions of the edition that are closer to the original text. In printed editions it would be more difficult for students to use a modernised translation for meaning but quote from a more traditional edition, other than in parallel text editions. One disadvantage of a parallel text in a print edition is that because of its nature, the text appears twice. This makes the printed edition twice as long and therefore more expensive for publishers to produce. An electronic edition does not suffer from this, since at the point of use the edition is no larger, and the possibility to view multiple versions of the edition on screen mean that the user is able to use the text as a parallel text if they should choose to do so. It is also possible for the user to decide which version(s) of the edition to compare, such as the modernised translation with the expanded transcription, the diplomatic transcription or the manuscript image, whilst in a print the user can only access the version(s) the editor has chosen to include in the edition. A user could, of course, compare more than one printed edition, or a printed parallel text with a second print edition, but in practical terms this would be more difficult than it is to simply choose more than one visualisation on the same screen.

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<sup>221</sup> See <[estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf/about.html](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/cpsf/about.html)> [accessed 23/06/2018]

### 3.3.4 Manuscript images

On including images of the manuscripts within a digital edition, Patrick Sahle is clear:

While printed editions, due to economic restrictions, usually come without facsimiles as a visual counterpart to the typographic text, digital editions usually start with visual representations, are indeed expected to provide this evidence, and where they do not, they need to justify the absence of this feature.<sup>222</sup>

He later states, 'the present day user tends to expect the visual evidence as a matter of course and might be vexed by its absence'.<sup>223</sup> On this point I am in complete agreement with Sahle. The opportunity to provide, or at least link to digital images of the manuscript is one of the key differences between print and digital editions, and are so often included nowadays that rather than their presence being seen as a bonus, their absence would be more remarkable and annoying for users. I have included manuscript images of manuscripts D, S, and Ss, which I used when preparing the various versions of the digital *CPSF*, as this is permitted by the Creative Commons licences under which the images are provided for public usage by their respective libraries. I have not been able to include images of F, as it is provided under a 'no derivatives' Creative Commons licence. I can, however, provide a hyperlink to the images of F. Unfortunately, the images of E<sub>2</sub> are not currently within the public domain, so I can neither include these within the digital edition, nor can I provide users with a link to the images on an external site.

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<sup>222</sup> Sahle in Driscoll and Pierazzo, p.27

<sup>223</sup> Sahle in Driscoll and Pierazzo, p.29

Ideally, a digital edition would always include manuscript images of any transcribed text for several reasons. With the best will in the world, no transcription, even one with as much palaeographic detail as possible at this time within the confines of technological possibilities, could ever recreate the intricate detail of the palaeography within a manuscript.<sup>224</sup> A scholar using a digital edition to research may choose to consult the manuscript images for clarification of queries such as the extent to which an editor has exercised her right to editorial judgement but where the scholar-user may not be in complete accord with these decisions. A palaeographical researcher may desire to see the images to appreciate the intricacies of the hand, and a (socio-)historical-linguist may wish to examine in close detail for himself the abbreviations and expansions included in the original, rather than relying on the transcriptions created by the editor and transcribers involved in preparing the edition. For users of the edition, the most straightforward way to be able to consult manuscript images would be to directly include them within the digital edition itself. Editors are, of course, required to obtain permission to use the digital images of manuscripts within their editions, which is not always granted. The need to obtain permission to use images is not a new requirement, nor it is limited to purely digital works, as editors and authors of printed works have long been bound by the legal necessity to be granted the appropriate permission to use images belonging to another within their works. However, at the current time, high quality images are far more common than they have ever been before, and given that an editor of a digital edition is not restricted by space in the same way that an editor of a printed edition is, a digital editor is far more likely

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<sup>224</sup> Duxfield, 'The Practicalities', 77; We must also remember that, for reasons described in Chapter One, wherever possible, the editor should consult the original manuscript rather than relying solely on manuscript images, even when these are of extremely high quality.

to wish to include manuscript images, or at least links to the location of the manuscript images on another website, within his or her digital edition. When permission to include images in digital editions cannot be obtained, the next best thing should be to link to an external site where a user can find the images transcribed. This is, however, likely to disappoint users, and can limit the extent to which, and ways in which the edition can be used. As mentioned above, Parker describes how including digital images of the manuscript within digital editions means that any editorial decisions can now be scrutinised in great detail by the users, and far more easily than was possible prior to the advent of high quality imaging software, sufficient bandwidth to include such images in digital editions for use by scholars at their own leisure, and before this within printed editions. Prior to this, Parker explains, the ability to scrutinise decisions at this level was restricted to those with the means to view the manuscript itself, a privilege afforded to very few.<sup>225</sup> Users are, however, becoming increasingly accustomed to being able to access manuscript images when using a digital edition, so what was previously a privilege for the few, is becoming an expectation of the many. When manuscript images are unavailable to the public, as is the case with E<sub>2</sub>, an editor should have a strong justification for including transcriptions of such texts in their digital edition, since it is highly likely that a user will want to scrutinise editorial decisions by consulting the manuscript images, and will be disappointed upon finding they are unable to do so. The justification for still including transcriptions of E<sub>2</sub> in the digital edition of the *CPSF* is that E<sub>2</sub> forms part of the *PCG*, which has become largely synonymous with the *Estoria de Espanna* itself, particularly amongst the wider public.

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<sup>225</sup> Parker, 'Through a Screen Darkly', 409

Furthermore, E<sub>2</sub> forms the base text of this edition, on which all other transcriptions are based, so to not include it would have necessitated a radical change in the methodology of creating this edition.

### **3.3.5 Opportunities for further study**

#### **3.3.5.1 Other features**

Having explained the features included in the digital edition of the *CPSF*, I would like to turn now to features that I have not been able to include at the present time. I would like to think that if time and money allow, I or another scholar may be able to include some or all of them in the future.

The first of these features is a concordance. As shown in Chapter 2, concordances can allow scholars to search for words that appear in the text, and in many cases to view their collocation. This is another tool in the scholar's toolbox, and can shed light on research questions by allowing the study of language use. A concordance can also be used as a search function, another tool that I would have liked to add to my edition, but which has not been possible at the present time. As shown in Chapter Two, the lack of a concordance did not mean that I was unable to search for terms within the text of the *CPSF*, since, just as the edition users will be, I was able to use the XML transcriptions to search, using XML editing software. This method also mean I was not restricted by the issue of expanded abbreviations, as I would be when using the existing HSMS concordance. Some scholars would appreciate this, and even if a concordance was

provided, they may choose to search in this way. Others, on the other hand, may consider the task of downloading the transcriptions and using specific software to be daunting, so those less accustomed to working directly with data in XML may prefer to use a concordance. I would also have liked to have been able to link my edition to the onomastic index of the *Estoria de Espanna* being prepared by Fiona Maguire for the *Estoria Digital*, but again this has been impossible within the ever-present constraints of finances and time.

Whilst my edition will be frozen as a digitally published version for the time being, perhaps forever, as a digital edition there is no reason why such features could not be added to supplement the current edition in the future. Similarly, there is the possibility that I or other scholars could use the data from the present edition to add other features, make amendments or to work in ways not yet envisaged. This is one of the benefits of digital editions. Such benefits bring with them their own set of hurdles, and one could potentially work indefinitely on an edition such as this, adding features and making changes ad infinitum, but, as always, with practicalities in mind, an editor must stop somewhere, and must weigh up the perceived benefit of additional features and changes against the investments required to make them happen. As ever, such decisions must be made with the requirements of users at the forefront of the editor's mind. As mentioned above, users are able to download the XML transcriptions used to prepare this edition for their own use, providing this is non-commercial, and that it cites my edition appropriately, according to the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-commercial-Share-Alike 4.0 licence.



### 3.3.5.2 Print edition

In the future I would like to use the present edition as a basis to prepare a print edition of the *CPSF*, although this could not be done without significant loss of functionality of many of the features within the digital edition, and significant changes to the presentation of the text. For example, a print edition could not feasibly contain all of the versions of the edition contained in the digital edition, but rather would most likely be comprised only of the critical edition. Variants which appear in the digital edition as mouse-over boxes would appear in print using the more traditional footnote, as is customary. Similarly, aspects of the presentation which are shown using font colour, such as expansions, textual emendations and variants, would be unlikely to appear in colour, given the fact that this would have significant cost implications. Rather, they would most likely appear in italics, following convention, and reminding us of Spence's arguments above about the usage of italics within editions, and the requirement for the user to decipher what the italics connote in any given usage. It would be prohibitively expensive to include manuscript images in a printed edition to the point that they would be useful to users for the scrutiny of any editorial decisions, as they can be used in digital editions (where manuscript images can be provided either within the edition or via hyperlink), so this would also be lost in a print edition. Indeed, it is for these reasons that I chose to edit the *CPSF* electronically, and *not* create a print edition instead of a digital edition.

Having prepared a digital edition of the *CPSF*, and argued throughout the thesis of the benefits of digital editions over print editions, I acknowledge that many users may still choose to use printed editions. As I hope to have shown in this thesis, printed editions are different to digital editions in their very nature, and as such, creating a printed edition from a digital edition is not as simple as just clicking print. Since I have also argued that an edition should fulfil the expectations and requirements of its users, I recognise that as some users would prefer a printed edition, a natural extension to the current project would be to provide a printed edition of the *CPSF*.

## CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis I stated my primary aim was ‘to explore and examine the theory and practice involved in digitally editing manuscript prose in Castilian’. In order to do this, I produced a case study: a digital edition of the *Crónica particular de San Fernando*. The conclusions to be drawn from the present study fall into several overlapping categories.

### **Digital editions for users from the digital age**

In this thesis I hope to have shown that preparing an edition of a medieval text that is digital rather than solely in print offers the digital editor many opportunities not available to their print counterparts. This is only likely to become more true as digital tools continue to be developed and refined. With this in mind however, as Ward points out, we should remember that a digital edition is not a ‘panacea’ for all of the ills of the print edition:<sup>1</sup> they have their own set of complications, some of which are not faced by print editors. Furthermore, as Robinson reminds us, as digital editors ‘our resources are finite, and require us to choose where we place our effort’.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the thesis I have explored the benefits that digital editions can have over print editions, as well as their drawbacks. Robinson argues that the tools a digital

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<sup>1</sup> Ward, ‘Editing the *Estoria de Espanna*’, 194

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, ‘Towards a Theory of Digital Editions’, 106

edition can include, which print editions cannot, may signify the start of a revolution in textual scholarship.<sup>3</sup> I do not agree, but rather I follow Bordalejo, and her argument that they do *not* represent a revolution.<sup>4</sup> The fact remains, however, that the opportunities of hypertext tools for the users of digital editions are evidence of, if not a revolution, then at least a significant development over print editions in terms of who can use editions, what for, and how.

As mentioned above, those who use print editions tend to be referred to as *readers*; for digital editions they are *users*. This is more than just semantics: readers are passive – an edition is presented to them, and they read it. Users, on the other hand, are more active in the process: they access the edition as a tool, and adapt it for their own needs. The rise of digital editions has made these users into more active consumers of an edition, and has therefore changed users' expectations. It is not enough now to present a *digitised* edition – for all intents and purposes a print edition, but on a screen. Contemporary users expect hypertext tools. They expect to be able to manipulate the edition to meet their needs as far as possible – they expect the increased level of user-control that digital editions can offer. We saw above with Gabler's *Ulysses*, that where user expectations are not met by an edition, it is the edition that is perceived to be at fault. As digital editors aiming to create editions that will be used, we should aim to meet our users' expectations and requirements whenever we can.

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<sup>3</sup> Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', p.181

<sup>4</sup> Bordalejo 'Digital versus Analogue', 52-73

In practice, this has affected the way in which I have edited the *CPSF*: the user can select which version of the edition she accesses, and even within this she can sometimes decide on other options, according to her needs – for example, to use the diplomatic or the expanded transcription, to read glossary annotations or not, and to hear the reader’s version read aloud or not. To decide what to include in an edition, an editor requires a clear understanding of our users’ needs and expectations, taking into account the context, textual transmission and significance of the material. This is exogenous, or extra-textual information.

### **The edited text and exogenous information: to include or not to include?**

The central argument running through this thesis is that the driving motivation behind all editorial decisions when preparing a digital edition of a medieval text should always be the perceived needs of both contemporary users and as far as is feasible, future users of the edition. To enable such decisions to be made, the editor must have a solid understanding of the circumstances of production of the original material, its textual transmission over time, and the other editions, if any, of the text being edited. This ensures as far as possible that the editor can create an edition that will fulfil the needs of those wishing to use the edition: what users want in an edition depends on the nature of the text to be edited, and its significance. I have argued that without editing in the light of this exogenous information, we risk failing to fulfil our users’ needs and expectations through omission, and creating an edition that will not be used to its full potential. This has informed my editorial practice in that it has enabled me to decide

how to present the edited text within the edition, and therefore how to edit it. Studying the content, context and transmission of the *CPSF*, as well as its parent chronicle, the *Estoria de Espanna*, allowed me to see that a single-witness edition, or an editing style which discounts extra-textual information, would have been inappropriate for the digital *CPSF*, and would have limited the potential use of the edition for users, for whom much of the information they would hope to seek in an edition would be missing.

### **Digital editions and increased user scrutiny**

Alongside the extra user-control that digital editions bring, users expect to be able to scrutinise editorial decisions more easily – particularly when editors have included manuscript images, which is becoming a further expectation of digital edition users. This increased opportunity for and likelihood of user-scrutiny could be daunting for editors, but can really only be a benefit for textual scholarship in general, since it encourages even deeper thought about the choices editors make and the implications this has on both the eventual edition and its potential usage. The way in which this has manifested itself in the digital *CPSF* is that, as is customary, I have been clear and open with the norms to which I have edited for the various purposes, but also by providing (or linking to) the raw materials where possible, I show that I expect and accept that some users will wish to consult these to scrutinise my editorial decisions.

## **Who are digital editions for?**

As Spence points out, a 'scholar' using a digital edition might be a philologist, a linguist, a historian, or from another background. All of these users have overlapping, yet differing needs from an edition.<sup>5</sup> Of course, not all of the users of a digital edition are scholars, and these non-expert users have their own requirements and expectations. Yet, if the edition has been prepared carefully, taking into account the significance of the text being edited, and therefore the reasons why it might be studied, and if the edition is prepared in such a way that the data created could later be used in ways not included in the original edition, there is no reason why a digital edition could not fulfil the requirements of all of these users, or give rise to uses not yet anticipated.<sup>6</sup> Since, as described above, several versions of the edition can be included within one digital edition, which is far less possible in print, the potential audience for a digital edition is far wider than for a print edition. Furthermore, the Internet allows many more people to access a digital edition than could access a print edition, and with more users comes a wider range of user-requirements. This brings with it questions of who a digital edition is for.

If the data for the edition is created in such a way that allows itself to be manipulated at a later stage in the edition's development, that is, if as editors we aim in the transcription stage not to limit the eventual usage of this data, whilst balancing this with the ever-present confines of time and money, then some relatively minor editorial

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<sup>5</sup> Spence, 'Siete retos', 156

<sup>6</sup> Spence, 'Siete retos', 156

tasks (compared with the significant undertaking of transcription and collation) can enable us to present several versions of the edition within the same digital edition. As such, we can aim to meet the expectations and requirements of as much as possible of this wider potential audience. This, of course, is gleaned through an in-depth understanding of both the textual and extra-textual information related to the material being edited.

In practice this might mean that, as I have done, we provide more scholarly versions of the edition, such as the collation and the critical edition, alongside less scholarly versions, such as a reader's text, accompanying audio files, and a translation with glossary. Since the less scholarly, more widely-accessible versions of the edition do not detract from those more scholarly, or make them any less scholarly, where time and money allow, it would be difficult to argue against their inclusion in a digital edition without bordering on intellectual elitism. Throughout this thesis I have argued that since we *can* include several versions in the edition, and given that the manuscripts on which we are basing our editions are part of our shared cultural heritage, digital editions can be for everyone who wishes to use them, in a way that is just not possible with print editions, given the limitations of space on the printed page, and of the money that it would cost to produce much larger print editions containing several versions of the edition.



## **The production of data and its use by other scholars**

A further benefit of editing digitally is that the data produced by an editor can have a usage wider than that of the original project. Digital editions can therefore work towards building an even higher level of collaboration within academia. The raw transcriptions for the digital *CPSF* are available for download, according to the Creative Commons licence under which they were produced. This means that scholars can work with the data in ways not catered for within my edition, such as search tools, and for purposes that neither I (nor perhaps even they) have yet envisaged. An edition not prepared digitally, or which uses digital methods but is presented only in print, would not be able to share data in this way. Scholars could, of course, contact me and request my data, but this is less likely to happen than if the data is readily available online, without this further step.

Furthermore, having produced the collation using the second iteration of *Textual Communities* during its sandbox stage, my data was able to help Peter Robinson and his team identify aspects of the software which required tweaking, in order for *Textual Communities* to be fully functioning for the preparation of digital editions by other, later scholars. The situation was, of course, symbiotic, as I have discussed above.

## **The methodology of producing digital editions**

In Chapter One I discussed and analysed the use of crowdsourced transcription for digital editions. I concluded that crowdsourcing offers us a revolution in who can produce transcriptions, with the support of experienced editors, and can be an extremely valuable way for non-experts to engage with the text, just at a different stage in its preparation to accessing the edition once launched. By analysing crowdsourcing in four projects: the *Estoria Digital*, *Transcribe Bentham*, *RCCP* and the *IGNTP*, I concluded that for crowdsourcing to be successful, several factors must be taken into account, and that volunteers should be recruited, trained, praised and rewarded appropriately. Such factors include the nature of the text(s) being edited, the purpose of the edition (and therefore the level of tagging required in transcriptions), and the background of the volunteers – which is, of course, cyclically informed by the nature of the text and the purpose of the edition.

That said, I also concluded that whilst potentially beneficial for *all* transcription projects in terms of increased impact of the project on the general public outside of academia, this benefit must be weighed up against the costs involved in the infrastructure required for crowdsourcing to take place, as well as for the recruitment, training and retention of volunteers. With this in mind, I did not crowdsource the transcriptions for the digital *CPSF*, since the costs involved would not be offset by the benefits to the project or on the eventual outcome of the edition.

## Digital editions and future-proofing

The above point that the data and editions we produce today may also be used by people in the future also reminds us of the need for digital editions to include some level of future-proofing, as far as we can, with our current tools, and within the limits of time and money. It is clear from the rapid rate of progress that we have seen in the digital world even since the start of this century that this trend will continue, and the data produced today will need to be accessible in the future, most probably using different tools. Here again, we can look to Spence, who offers questions which have yet to be answered: ‘¿quién paga los servidores?; ¿quién financia el mantenimiento del contenido y la funcionalidad de un recurso digital, y para cuánto tiempo?; ¿cuáles son los modelos de sostenibilidad que lo sustentan?’<sup>7</sup> Practically, for the individual editor, this may mean simply storing the data using the best tools we have available to us today, and trusting future generations to use their increased technical knowledge to not allow our work to fall into oblivion. Of course, this does assume that future generations will consider our work to be of value, and worth keeping. This is, perhaps, a matter for another day.

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<sup>7</sup> Spence, ‘Siete retos’, 164

## **The *CPSF***

The digital *CPSF* was prepared as a case study for the present thesis. That is not to say, however, that its usefulness should end here. Rather, it is hoped that the edition will be of use to other scholars to study the *CPSF*, as well as for non-experts to access, enjoy, and learn from it. With this in mind I have aimed to edit the chronicle in such a way that it can be used by a wide range of users: more scholarly versions of the edition, such as the collation and critical edition, are presented alongside a regularised version and an annotated translation. These various versions have different intended audiences, and will be used for different purposes. Neither, however, detracts from the others, but rather they co-exist. This is a benefit of digital over print editions, where it is less likely that such differing presentations would be found in the same edition.

The digital *CPSF* was created not to enable me to study the *CPSF* and draw conclusions for the present thesis that allow us further insights into the chronicle, but rather as a practical application of the theory of digital editing. Creating the edition has necessitated my looking into the content of the chronicle, its context, significance and textual transmission, in order to understand who might want to use the edition, why, and how, so that I can aim to meet their needs. Doing so has enabled me to draw a conclusion about what exactly constitutes the *CPSF*, and how this relates to the notion of *work*, as described above in this thesis. I will come to this point presently. The purpose of my thesis has not been to produce a study of the *CPSF*, but rather to provide a tool to allow other scholars to do so. Furthermore, I have used the digital *CPSF* to enable me to put into practice the theory of digital editing from Chapter One, in the

light of the exogenous information about the chronicle in Chapter Two and the first sections of Chapter Three.

The digital *CPSF* will allow scholars to study the work in ways that hitherto have been much more difficult. For example, scholars wishing to study the differences between witnesses stored in different cities could use the digital *CPSF* collation. With this tool they could study what text is present in some witnesses, but missing from others, if there are patterns that can be seen in this regard, and if so, what conclusions can be drawn. Whilst it is beyond the scope of the present thesis to go as far as to draw these conclusions, in order that other scholars can use the digital *CPSF* to study aspects such as this, it has been necessary to edit the text in such a way as to facilitate such potential research. It is with this in mind that a collation was prepared for the digital *CPSF*.

### **The digital *CPSF* and editorial cultural mores**

Throughout this thesis I have argued that, when preparing a digital edition, the editor should consider the requirements and expectations of the perceived audience of the edition in terms of the editorial culture(s) to which both the majority of the users themselves and the text being edited belong. This is because the editorial mores within a culture provide a received standard against which all other editions are measured. That is not to say that all editions within a given culture are entirely restricted by its editorial norms and expectations, but that when an edition places itself too far from these expectations it may be perceived less favourably by its audience. Whilst the

objective of an edition is not to win popularity contests, neither is it to simply fulfil the needs of the editor's ego: editions which are poorly perceived by their audience may not be used as much as they otherwise might be, and there is little point in making an edition that will not be used. With this in mind, the collation is presented alongside the critical edition of the *CPSF*, created in order to fulfil the expectations and requirements of an audience accustomed to editions of medieval Castilian prose. As I concluded in Section 1.4, these users would expect to find a critical edition wherever it is possible for the editor to provide one, in cases where he has been able to consult a sufficient number and range of witnesses. To meet the needs of the wider potential audience that an edition presented on the Internet is likely to have, in this case a more general, interested non-expert, I have produced a regularised version of the text, as well as a translation of an excerpt into English.

### **The *CPSF* and the notion of *work***

The *CPSF* also enables us to apply Robinson's notion of *work*, as described in Chapter One. His definition is: 'the work is the set of texts which is hypothesized as organically related, in terms of the communicative acts which they present'.<sup>8</sup>

As we have seen, chapters 1040 to 1045 of the *CPSF* in four witnesses (D, F, S, Ss), are copied by the same hand as the rest of the chronicle (remembering that F is truncated).

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<sup>8</sup> Peter Robinson, 'The Digital Revolution in Scholarly Editing', B. Crostini, G. Iversen and B. M. Jensen, (eds.), *Ars Edendi Lecture Series, vol. IV* (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2016) pp.181-207, p.197

However, the change of hand at 1046 in E<sub>2</sub>, suggests that the section from 1040 to 1045 in this witness is not the *CPSF*, but rather the *Estoria de Espanna*.<sup>9</sup> As has been seen above, there is a strong argument to believe that the text up to chapter 1060 was in existence before 1289, and that it was the text contained in the original final quire of E<sub>2</sub>, which is now missing. We can conclude, therefore, that the section of the *Estoria* dealing with Fernando III in chapters 1040-1060 was in existence around 1289.<sup>10</sup> It is unlikely that this text was conceived as a chronicle dedicated exclusively to one monarch, since this is a feature of historiography from after 1289. Instead it is more likely that the narrative dealing with Fernando III was conceived as the final section of the *Estoria*.<sup>11</sup>

How this links to Robinson's notion of work, is that towards the end of the reign of Fernando IV, someone, probably Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid,<sup>12</sup> places the section of the *Estoria* relating to Fernando III, with what now forms part two of the *CPSF* – the *seguimiento*, or the *estoria cabadelante*, onto the folios of E<sub>2</sub> where the final quire had been lost, and extending the section about Fernando III to the end of the *seguimiento*. In manuscripts D, S and Ss these two parts are perceived as the same work – or to use Robinson's terms – as expressions of the same communicative act. The *CPSF* is a work, according to this understanding of the term, but until part two is added, part one is not considered to be separate from the *Estoria de Espanna*.

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<sup>9</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243

<sup>10</sup> Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*, 32-87

<sup>11</sup> Fernández Gallardo, 248

<sup>12</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', p.243

The relevance of this for the digital editor is that it makes us question where to start editing. In the *CPSF* the question of where to stop is more straightforward, since the work ends at the entombment of Fernando III; the case of editing the *Estoria de Espanna*, for example, is more difficult – should an editor stop at chapter 1040? 1045? The end of the base text codex, perhaps? Can the same text be part of two works? It also begs the question of whether we can accurately describe the *CPSF* as fourteenth-century, if the first twenty chapters were in existence by 1289. Fernández-Ordóñez has stated that the *Estoria* chapters about Fernando III are a source for the *CPSF*,<sup>13</sup> although if they appear in other witnesses as part of the *CPSF*, and are recognised in these other witnesses as part of the *CPSF*, are they a source for the *CPSF*, or are they part of the *CPSF*? In this thesis I have argued that they are both the *CPSF* and the *Estoria* – the two chronicles overlap – and that chapters 1040 to 1060 have, through reception, become to be perceived as part of both chronicles, that is, both works. With regard to whether the *CPSF* can accurately be described as fourteenth-century, I would argue that since the concept of a chronicle only about Fernando III, a work in its own right, is unlikely to have come about until part two of the *CPSF* was added to what we now consider to be part one, and as we believe this step took place in the fourteenth century, that the *CPSF* can be considered fourteenth-century, even though it contains some thirteenth-century material.

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<sup>13</sup> Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La transmisión textual', pp.236-237



All of these arguments have informed the editorial decisions I took when creating the digital *Crónica particular de San Fernando*, and the rationale behind as many of the decisions as possible have been explained above. The digital *CPSF* has been created as a case study for this thesis, although I have aimed to create it in such a way that it might, in future, have a wider usefulness than simply to provide fodder for analysis here.

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