

Copyright
by
María Rebeca Castellanos
2009

**The Dissertation Committee for María Rebeca Castellanos Certifies that this is the
approved version of the following dissertation:**

The Foundational Rape Tale in Medieval Iberia

Committee:

Michael Harney, Supervisor

Matthew Bailey, Co-Supervisor

Madeline Sutherland-Meier

James Nicolopoulos

Jennifer Ebbele

The Foundational Rape Tale in Medieval Iberia

by

María Rebeca Castellanos, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

December, 2009

Dedication

Para Médar

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was finished with the help of several people. Professor Professor Matthew Bailey introduced me to Latin and guided me patiently and generously through my graduate studies. Professor Michael Harney generously took me under his wing, and challenged me to polish my work. Professor Nicolopulos, who introduced me to the chronicles. Professor Jennifer Ebbeler, whose careful reading improved my manuscript. Professor Sutherland-Meier, whose door was always open and graciously accepted to be in my committee. Special thanks to Professor Leslie Jarmon, whose course on academic writing taught me and many others how to plan, write and finish a dissertation. My dear friends Filadelfo Martínez, Francisco (Paco) Plata, Alanna Breen, Scott Spinks, Danny Méndez, Adalberto Yáñez and Kim Díaz, who trusted I would finish my dissertation. I give special thanks to Luis Marcelino Gómez (el Muso) who tirelessly repeated “nena, tú puedes”. To my father, José Tiberio Castellanos, and to my mother, Ari Castellanos, and to my sister, Ana Rocío Castellanos, who knew I would be a “doctora” some day. Finally, to my husband, Médar Serrata, who has walked this path with me, sharing the discoveries and the happiness of doing what we love. Thank you for everything.

The Foundational Rape Tale in Medieval Iberia

Publication No. _____

María Rebeca Castellanos, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

Supervisor: Michael Harney and Matthew Bailey

The present study examines the rape episodes in Muslim and Christian historiography of the Iberian Peninsula between 9th and 13th century. These episodes possess a structure which the author defines as “rape tale.” The rape tale has a stock cast of characters—a rapist ruler, the female rape victim, and her avenging guardian, and a predictable ending: the ruler will be deposed. In the works studied in this dissertation, every version of the rape tales is part of a discourse that legitimates an occupation, an invasion, a conquest. The stable structure of the rape tale may reveal its mythic origins. It is possible that before these stories were put into writing, they were elaborated orally. The importance of these allegorical tales requires the necessity of memorization by means of oral repetition, which is possible only through a paring down of details in order to obtain a clear pattern. The images, the actions, must be formulaic in order to be

recovered effectively. Characters—no matter their historicity—are simplified into types. Hence in all myths, heroes are brave and strong; princesses in distress are beautiful; tyrannical rulers, lustful. The myth studied here appears in chronicles and national/ethnic histories written by a community that saw itself as the winning character in a story of conquest—or Reconquest. It is a myth that features not one but two rape tales: the rape of Oliba (also known as Cava), daughter of Count Julian, which brought about the Moorish invasion of Spain, and the rape of Luzencia, which signaled a Christian rebirth with Pelayo's rebellion.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
The Rape tale in Foundational Narratives	1
A brief history of Rape and Marriage	2
Rape and representation.....	8
The rape tale as myth.....	12
The structure of the foundational rape tale	16
Dramatis personae in the rape tale	21
Concluding remarks.	24
Chapter 2: Rape, Conquest and the Re-Conquest of Spain	26
Oliba in Muslim Historiography: Rape and the Conquest of Spain	37
The Anonymous <i>Ajbar Machmua</i> (also known as <i>Anónimo de París</i>).....	40
Ibn-al-Kutiya's History of the Conquest of Spain	43
Oliba and her cousin Luzencia: the Reconquest of Spain.....	45
Reconquest as crusade	47
The <i>translatio imperii</i>	49
Narratives of Conquest	52
Crónica de Alfonso III	53
Crónica Najerense	57
Oliba.....	60
Luzencia	61
<i>Translatio imperii</i>	63
Lucas de Tuy's <i>Chronicon Mundi</i>	63
The author and his work	65
The rape tale in the <i>Chronicon Mundi</i>	66
Who sinned the most, the king or his priests?	67
Count Julian	69
Pelayo.....	71

Lucas' nostalgic <i>translatio imperii</i>	72
Concluding remarks	75
Chapter 3: Rape and the re-creation of A Visigothic past.....	76
Isidore's histories	80
Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, Bishop and magnate	89
a departure from Isidorian tradition	90
From The Sack of Rome to the Rape of Oliba	94
Ximénez de Rada and the rape tale	97
Dramatis Personae.....	98
The king's transgression: rape.....	101
The rape of Luzencia or the case for a <i>Christian translatio</i>	106
Dramatis personae.....	107
The Rape function.....	108
<i>Translatio imperii</i>	108
Chapter 4: Alfonso X and rape tale	112
The king as historian	116
The <i>Estoria</i>	117
The Visigoths in the <i>Estoria</i>	119
Rape of Count Julian's daughter	122
Rodrigo, king or tyrant?.....	124
Lord and vassal	129
The Rape of Luzencia.....	131
Alcalde Munnuza as the tyrannical ruler.....	132
Rape tale, or the botched marriage of Luzencia	133
Pelayo's rebellion.....	136
<i>Translatio imperii</i>	137

Final Remarks	141
Notes.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
APPENDIX A: <i>History of the Conquest of Spain</i> , by Ibn Abd-al-Hakam (Egypt, 9 th century) (Oldest extant version of Oliba's rape).....	150
APPENDIX B: <i>Ajbar Machmuâ</i> (anonymous, 11 th century)	155
B. 1. Rape of Julian's Daughter	155
B. 2. Pelayo	155
APPENDIX C: Ibn Al-Kotiya	157
Rape of Julian's Daughter.....	157
APPENDIX D: <i>Crónica de Alfonso III</i> (876-877)	158
Pelayo's sister unacceptable union.....	158
APPENDIX E: <i>Crónica Najerense</i> (Nájera, between 1152 and 1233)	159
E. 1. Witiza's sins	159
E. 2. Presentation of Rodrigo.....	159
E. 3. Rape of Oliba	160
E. 4 Pelayo and his sister.....	160
APPENDIX F: Chronicon Mundi, book III	162
F. 1.A. Portrait of Witiza, the fornicator.....	162
F.1.B. Witiza gouges eyes of Rodrigo's father, tries to do the same to Pelayo	163
F.1.C. Witiza's bad actions	163
F. 2. Rodrigo becomes king, banishes sons of Witiza, rapes daughter of Julian	164
F. 3. Rape of Luzencia.....	164
APPENDIX G: <i>Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica</i> , by Roderici Ximenii de Rada	166
G. 1. Characterization of Bishop Oppas	166
G. 2. Rodrigo's rebellion	166
G. 3. Characterization of King Rodrigo	166
G. 4. Legend of the locked palace	167

G. 5. Rape of Oliba.....	167
G. 6. Lament for the fall of Spain, followed with a praise.....	168
G. 7. Why the Goths were destructed	170
G. 8. The rape of Luzencia	171
APPENDIX H: <i>Estoria de Espanna</i> , by king Alfonso X The Wise	173
H.1 . The prologue to the Estoria: on the reasons to write a history.....	173
H. 2. Presentation of Count Julian and his daughter	174
H. 3. Legend of the Palace with Many Locks	174
H. 4. Rape of Count Julian's daughter.	175
H. 5. Rape of Luzencia	176
Bibliography.....	177
Vita.....	184

Chapter 1: Introduction

THE RAPE TALE IN FOUNDATIONAL NARRATIVES

When one reads Medieval historiographic texts—whether written in Latin, Arabic or Romance—it appears that both the Moorish invasion and the Christian Reconquest of Spain are linked to a rape episode. In the first case, the rape of Count Julian’s daughter, known as “Cava”; in the second, the rape of Pelayo’s sister, “Luzencia.” The first rape marks the end of Visigothic rule in Spain and the rise of Muslim power. The second announces the end of Muslim rule and the beginning of the Christian Reconquest. Similar tales may be found in the Homeric epics, the Bible, and Roman poetry and historiography. In fact, rape appears to be the most frequent cause of rebellions, invasions, and dethronements in the ancient world. It is a “creative” act, signaling the destruction of the old and the creation of the new.

In the Torah, the rape of Dinah, daughter of the patriarch Jacob, unleashes the massacre of the entire Canaanite city of Shechem. The rape of Tamar, daughter of King David and sister of her rapist, begins the decline of David’s rule. In Livy’s *Ab urbe condita*, rape episodes are also linked to major political developments. The rape of Lucretia marks the fall of the monarchy and the birth of the republic. Later, when Rome launched the invasion of the British Isles, rape figured in the chronicles of the now expanding Empire. The Roman historian Tacitus tells in his *Annals* that the rapes of two young princesses, daughters of the native Queen Boadicea, caused the colonial subjects to ultimately revolt and massacre the entire population of the city of London. In all these cases, the fate of a given community seems to hang on the integrity of a woman’s body. A transgression committed in private turns into a tribal, national or imperial affair.

Rape episodes often figure in narratives relating matters of border crisis, ethnic cleansing, or unlawful occupation. In most of these narratives, there are descriptions of the enslavement and torture of entire populations which might have sufficed to legitimize the subsequent coup, rebellion, or revolution. And yet, the rape tale appears to be the ultimate crime that triggers a change in the structure of power. As soon as this change takes place, the female character disappears from the story, which suggests that neither Homer nor Livy, nor the scribes at the service of King Alfonso X, intended to denounce the ill-treatment of women when they put these episodes in writing.

My concern in this study is with the role of rape episodes in texts fashioned as national or imperial narratives. I focus on medieval Iberian texts that recount the Muslim invasion and the Christian Reconquest as the result of two rapes. I will argue that these rape episodes articulate a clear image of the “other” against which the community that produces the text defines itself. But before proceeding any further, we need to clarify what is understood as “rape” in this study. I will take as my point of departure the legal framework in which notions of rape are inscribed from Antiquity to the European Middle Ages. As we will see, these notions are inextricably linked to laws regulating marriage.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF RAPE AND MARRIAGE

In his book *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, James Brundage points out that the need to control sexual practices stems from the fact that they impact social institutions, affecting property interests, family structure, and notions about morality (1). The proper marriage arrangement could potentially increase a family’s wealth, while the seduction or rape of an advantageously betrothed daughter might bring great losses. Hence Athenian law treated rape and seduction as serious offenses—though it judged seduction a worse crime, “because the law presumed that rape was an act of

unpremeditated impulse and also because the seducer not only ravished the body of his victims but also turned her feelings and loyalty toward himself and away from her husband, father, or guardian” (14). In either case, the male guardian was seen as the affected party.¹

The Romans considered marriage an institution concerned with “property, politics and power” (22). The Latin word *raptus* encompassed both abduction of the victim and sexual assault, what we today call rape (48). It thus appears that violence is what makes *raptus* a crime.² However, according to Brundage’s presentation, what was at stake was not the physical damage suffered by the woman, but her removal from the home and the potential marriage which might ensue. Brundage observes that some cases of *raptus* actually involved what today we would consider elopement—the girl willingly running away with a lover disapproved by her father. Still, if the girl’s father, guardian or owner pressed charges, such cases were treated as *raptus*, and the offender could face criminal penalties (48). At issue was not the consent of the girl, but that of her male guardian. As in the case of Athenian law, Romans considered the father, guardian or owner of the victim the offended party, and emphasized the loss sustained by the household (48).

Under Constantine (272 AD – 337 AD) law defined *raptus* “as a public offense rather than as a private wrong” (Brundage 107). In most instances, the victim was also punished along with the offender, and again what seemed to concern the law was an illicit marriage rather than any damage the *rapta* might have suffered. If the case was deemed a seduction, both were burned. If it was ruled that the woman had been sexually assaulted,

¹ It is not clear from Brundage’s comments whether Greek law differentiated between sexual violence and abduction (removal from parent’s house).

² Prior to Constantine the abduction of women for the purpose of sexual intercourse or marriage “if not accompanied by violence, was regarded as a private injury which entitled the father or husband to bring action” (Blume 9.13n). It was when violence was involved that the act became an offense against the law.

the victim's life was spared, but she was punished anyway, under the assumption that she should have been able to resist the attack. In addition, the law prohibited the victim to marry her attacker even if the family agreed to it. From Brundage's description, *raptus* seems to concern still abduction and marriage, rather than rape.

Under Justinian (527 AD – 565 AD), law prescribed the death penalty for the *raptor*, as well as his accomplices, regardless of the state or class of the victim (119).³ While the main concern was abduction, as it could lead to marriage, this is the first code where *raptus* is also defined as sexual assault, a punishable crime when the victim was a maiden, a widow or a nun (Saunders 34). If the woman was of a lower class, the life of the offender might be spared, but all his properties were transferred to her family. This applied even if he was the victim's fiancé. Following Constantine, *raptus* was ruled an impediment for marriage, even if the family of the victim agreed to it, so that no one could presume to marry a woman by means of force. They must marry according to law and tradition, by obtaining first the consent of her parents (120). The woman's consent did not change the penalty: "And they shall all pay this penalty whether such crime was perpetrated with or against the will of the virgins or other women" ("Justinian Code" 9.13.1.3a). This is a more severe punishment than that prescribed by the *Lex Julia*, where in cases of elopement the ravisher lost half his fortune, if he was rich, or received a flogging, if he was poor. The aim of this law was to prevent marriage without the consent of the father (Blume note 9.13). Again, the woman's choice was irrelevant. Consent was a parental privilege, not a daughter's.

³Similarly, in ancient Jewish law rape of a married woman or betrothed virgin could carry capital punishment (56). Seduction of an unmarried woman could be resolved with marriage with the consent of the father. In either case, the father received compensation.

While a few Germanic codes considered abduction or elopement among several legitimate forms of marriage, these were not encouraged (Brundage 129).⁴ The Visigothic code represents a departure from all the previous in differentiating between abduction for the purpose of marriage and rape, for which the law prescribed the death penalty (133).

By the beginning of 12th century, ecclesiastical law increasingly identified *raptus* with sexual violation. With Ivo of Chartres (1091-1116), in a case of abduction, sexual violence was always assumed, unless the offender provided proof to the contrary (Brundage 209). The penalties included excommunication, *infamia* (loss of prestige and status), and inability to marry the victim—although on this latter point there was debate. A new element enters the equation here: whether the woman consented or not could determine the severity of the punishment. Brundage does not say if this identification of *raptus* with sexual violation occurs in civil law.

Gratian, widely considered the father of canon law, composed his *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, better known as *Decretum*, between 1130 and 1140. In this massive project of systematization of canon law, *raptus* could be one of two crimes: a sexual assault (an act of force against a woman), or an abduction (an act of force against her family) (Brundage 249). Gratian was not against marriage, if the woman and her family agreed to it. He was not in favor of the death penalty for rapists, except in the case of the sexual violation of nuns, favoring instead excommunication as the punishment for the crime (250).

The early interpreters of Gratian restricted *raptus* to sexual assault (Brundage 311). Subsequent interpreters, all the way to Pope Innocent III, recommended the lifting of the marriage impediment. This effectively took away the requirement of parental consent (396-398). The crime was proven by the victim's loud efforts to resist the

⁴ Gibert considers the opposite, interpreting the same Burgundian passage. There is no marriage without consent of the father.

attacker and protest audibly, since “silence signified consent” (396). Later, 13th century canonists would sustain that if the victim was married or betrothed to the rapist, the sexual violence should not be punished as a crime (470).

In the Iberian Peninsula, diverse civil codes of law, along with canon law, at times coexisted in the same time and place (Gibert 746). Regardless of the fact that canon law gave the woman the right to consent in marriage, civil codes show that the traditions of parental control over the marriage choice persisted. The canonists had ruled that *raptus* was not an impediment to marriage. However, while most Iberian codes of law prior to the 13th century offer the classic way to solve the problem (placing the girl in the middle of the two families, and allowing her to decide,) if the woman chose to marry her raptor, she consequently lost her inheritance (Gibert 740-46). The *Fuero Real* goes one step further in its disregard for canon law: marriage without consent from the parents is banned. The man who attempted it must pay a fine and worse, become an enemy of the family—which means he could be killed if found (“Fuero Real” 3.14). Likewise, in the *Siete Partidas*, secret marriages, without witnesses and without previous consultation of the parents, are forbidden (Siete Partidas 4.3, 1). This means that even though mere consent of both groom and bride made a marriage possible, by forcing the prospective couple to promptly and openly announce their intention to marry, the law gave the parents the opportunity to oppose the union. Furthermore, a father, a brother or a husband could kill the man that is caught in a sex act with their daughter, sister or wife, if he caught her in the act, without legal consequences (7.7,3). Since marriage should be public, as the *Partidas* banned secret marriages, it had to be assumed that the unidentified man in question could not be the husband.

In the *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* sexual assault where the malefactor escapes after committing the act—as he is not seeking marriage—involving women of any status,

single or married, is punished by death (Fuero viejo 2.3). In the *Partidas*, the forcing of virgins, nuns or widows, is a grave crime, and those who commit it are persecuted for the grief and dishonor they bring not only on the victim, but also on her relatives (7.20,1). The victim, her relatives, or any of the inhabitants of the place can accuse the evildoer. The penalty is death (7.20,3).

In the Spanish codes, the ambiguities of the *raptus* (abduction or sexual violence) disappear. The law codes, from the Roman to Canon law seem to understand *raptus* (abduction with or without forcible rape) as an act of aggression against the legitimate protector of the woman's body, often when the possibility of marriage is at stake. There are countless pages of law on the topic of what unions can be called marriage, and which ones cannot. On the other hand, sexual assault seems to refer to random violence, and so it is punished much as any other case of *fuera* (force, violence). It is in these laws of *fuera* that one finds the voice of women, for it is the victim herself who must denounce the crime. By contrast, in the laws describing situations where marriage might be at stake, it is the parents who speak—canon law notwithstanding. After the 12th century, cases denounced as *raptus* may involve a disagreement between a daughter who wanted to choose her own husband and parents who would not relent. From the point of view of the woman, the *Siete Partidas* allows her to speak and denounce in matters concerning rape (violence), but continues to place control on the right to choose a husband.⁵ The *Partidas*, *Fuero Viejo* and *Fuero Real* define *fuera* as an act of physical and sexual violence, and therefore, a crime that must be punished.

⁵ In the rape tale, the issue of consent is problematic. The notion of consent assumes that men propose and women accept or reject; in other words, that women are passive and men active. However, this is exactly the way roles are defined in the texts I analyze. Men move the action by attacking and by writing, while women remain objects of violence, silent or silenced. The Bible story of Dinah, whom we never hear speak, illustrates this point. All we know is that her brothers decided it was an act of rape, likely because the groom was a “foreigner,” an unacceptable Other (Zlotnick 48).

RAPE AND REPRESENTATION

Rape is about power, power of a man over a woman—or of men over women, expressed by means of violence with the intention of dominating and degrading the (female) subject. Such was the conclusion of Susan Brownmiller's *Against our will*, and although this idea permeates her entire book, at least in one section of Chapter 6 (187-96) she suggests that the unconscious goal of the rapist is not dominance of the female victim but of another man, whom he sees as a competitor (190).⁶ From this, one may infer that rape is about the struggle for power among men—a conclusion supported by the previous exploration on the legal definitions of rape. Extrapolating Brownmiller's insight to the realm of epic narrative, I will argue that the representation of rape codifies the struggle between two political entities, classes, or nations.⁷

In Classical and Medieval texts, rapes are mostly perpetrated against a woman. Depending on the identity of the rapist and the victim, some of these rapes are depicted as crimes while others are represented in seemingly positive terms. Representations of rapes perpetrated by gods (such as Jupiter or Mars) that result in the birth of a hero appear to be

⁶ Cahill challenges this emphasis on power, because it eliminates the sexual aspect of the crime, as well as similar positions that in seeking to bring sex into the question, take a radical turn by defining all sexual relations between a man and a woman as rape. She finds both positions flawed and limited, since the first eliminates the sexed body, and the other virtually condemns it to a subaltern position, leaving room neither for subjectivity nor for resistance.

⁷ I understand that I am taking Brownmiller's remarks out of the context of the women's movement in which they were produced, to bring them to the realm of textual representation, though I am not alone here. In doing this, I may run the risk pointed out by Patricia K. Joplin, when she warns that this type of reading celebrates the foundational moment while eliding the violence that comes with it (Joplin "Voice" 37). It is not my intention to participate in such act of erasure. Quite the contrary, while my aim is to uncover the political anxieties masked behind a tale of "uncontrolled desire," I want to do it by returning to the moment of original violence. This violence is perpetrated against a woman—metaphor or not, the disturbing trope should not be left alone as "symbol." My approach to rape does not focus on gender hierarchy, though I am well aware that the mere existence of this type of representation is indicative that women were (or are) at a disadvantage in relation to men in the society that produced the text.

positive, as are rapes perpetrated by heroic warriors such as Achilles⁸ or king Fernando (of *Mocedades de Rodrigo*).⁹ When Livy narrates the mass rape of the Sabines, carefully orchestrated by Romulus, he treats it as a good deed, one that ends with the “happy” formation of the first Roman families (Arieti 219). The fate of the victims appears justified in the texts. Yet the suffering of the father of Chryseis, the expressed intention to cause pain to the Count of Savoy, and the fury of the Sabine men infuse these heroic rapes with a certain ambiguity, since they do not allow the listener (or reader) to forget that she is witnessing a sexual assault. The ambiguity of the representation of these rapes stems from the double perspective of the perpetrators and their victims.

But as I have suggested before, not all foundational rapes are depicted as legitimate, though somewhat regrettable, violence.¹⁰ Other rapes are clearly represented as illegitimate acts. While the legitimate rapes are perpetrated by the beloved founders on the bodies of the subjected Other, the illegitimate rapes are usually perpetrated against founding mothers (such as Lucretia and Dinah) by rulers soon to be deposed. This is the type of rape that appears frequently in Classical and Medieval literature and

⁸ The hero receives the fair Briseus as booty in the Trojan War, while Agamemnon receives Chryseis. When Chryses comes to beg for the return of his daughter, the words of Agamemnon leave no doubt as to the girls' fate: "Old man," said he, "let me not find you tarrying about our ships, nor yet coming hereafter. Your sceptre of the god and your wreath shall profit you nothing. I will not free her. She shall grow old in my house at Argos far from her own home, busying herself with her loom and visiting my couch; so go, and do not provoke me or it shall be the worse for you." (Book I)

⁹ The king receives the beautiful daughter of the defeated Count of Savoy from the hands of his warrior Rodrigo:

971 Essas horas dixo Rodrigo: “Señor, fazedlo privado,
 enbarraganad a Francia, si a Dios ayades pagado.
 Suya será la dessionra, irlos hemos denostando (...)”

Rodrigo does not mince words upon delivery of the captive: “Sir, do it right away [privado], turn France into your concubine, with God’s favor. It will be to dishonor to them...” (*Mocedades de Rodrigo* 144)

¹⁰ There seems to be a persistent presence of rape episodes in so-called foundational narratives. When I say “foundational rape” I am referring to narratives in which rape marks a watershed in an imperial or national narrative/project. These rapes constitute “foundational moments” in the history of a people (Zlotnick).

historiography, and it is the focus of my study. In these tales, rape is a contract violated, a pact broken, a border crossed, a city invaded. It is the opposite of marriage—which Levi-Strauss describes as an exchange between male parties:

The total relationship of exchange which constitutes marriage is not established between a man and a woman, where each owes and receives something, but between two groups of men, and the woman figures only as one of the objects in the exchange, not as one of the partners between whom the exchange takes place (Elementary Structures 115).

Marriage implies a reciprocity between two male parties, in which women play a passive role. If, as Levi-Strauss says, women are but mere signs for the communication between men (Elementary Structures 495-96), used like words to convey a message of kinship, then rather than representing “a crisis in language” (Joplin “Voice” 42), rape conveys a message of a different sort: a declaration of war. To take possession of a woman who has not been given, or refuse to give in turn after one has been received would have disastrous consequences. Thus, marriage works as the signature on a peace offering, as a sacrifice given in order to avert danger (Joplin “Voice” 44). The proper exchange can hold violence in check, whereas the rape of the maiden unleashes it (Joplin “Voice” 43). This resembles ancient scapegoat patterns, whereby a threatening situation is successfully averted by means of a sacrifice. Many myths reflect this pattern.

Sacrificial rites are practiced in times of threat and anxiety—such as drought, famine, impending war—where the community offers a beautiful animal or a virgin to the god or daemon causing the disease (or to the enemy at the gates) as appeasement. Both Ancient Greeks and Hebrews practiced scapegoat rituals, which also work as a cleansing process, in which the sacrificial victim takes away with it the evil (Burkert 67-68). These practices leave their imprint in literature, most famously in the wooden horse, a gift to the Trojans, but also an offering to the goddess Athena. The Trojans accept the gift and

unwittingly carry inside the destruction of the city. There are many tales that have the imprint of the scapegoat ritual, where a beautiful virgin appears in place on an animal. Her rape will be the catalyst that brings reversal for the enemy. This substitution changes the dynamic of the tale and fear is substituted for sexual rivalry (Burkert 75).

To illustrate this point, Burkert presents an ancient text relating the famous battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C, in which Epaminondas of Thebes annihilated the Spartans. According to the story, prior to the battle, two Boetian maidens were abducted and raped by the Laecedemonians, and the girls killed themselves out of shame. Their blood demanded revenge. Filled with wrath, the Thebans come out in force to avenge their compatriots (74). Burkert describes the pattern of this very effective and popular tale type: “a tyrant takes or accepts a woman to satisfy his lechery; and out of this, with a sudden reversal, comes death” (75). As examples of this tale type, Burkert mentions the rape of Lucretia, a Roman foundational myth, and of the story of Judith in the Bible. Both these stories are effective because they give a face to the enemy, an ugly, lecherous face. This personification rouses feelings of ‘masculine pride’¹¹. In any case, the enemy becomes personified in the rapist, a ‘greedy oppressor’ that must be overthrown (75). Once the battle is begun, the girl is forgotten. Like a scapegoat, she embodies the violence she was meant to avert, and so she cannot return.¹² In the narratives that include the rape tale, once it has occurred, the girl disappears from the text.

¹¹ Burkert, like Levi-Strauss, understands History as a struggle for power between groups of males.

¹² Burkert mentions one glaring exception to this rule; the case of Helen. Like the Trojan horse, she brings destruction to the Trojans, but yet she is allowed to return with her husband (74). I can think of another exception: the story of Judith and Holofernes in the Bible. Judith returns, and is honored for the rest of her life. However, it must be noticed that she does not re-marry (she had been a widow), and lives forever in her own land, not in the city.

THE RAPE TALE AS MYTH

In this study, I am interested in a few particular rape tales which have become myths. Myths, first of all, are tales, but a particular type of tale. They are different from other tales whose main purpose is to produce enjoyment, entertainment. The reproduction of myths has other purposes, since they convey “something important, serious and even sacred.” (Burkert 3-4). In myth, its meaning makes it coherent and viable (14).

Myths are traditional tales appropriated for some particular use. This means that myth is “a tale applied”¹³ (Burkert 23). Burkert defines myth as “a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance,” such as the origins of institutions, or the rise to power of a certain family, clan, and city. It can be used to deal with present problems of war or hunger. It can also be used as propaganda (22-23).

The myth as tale goes through a series of transformations until it ‘crystallizes’, reaching its definitive form (Burkert 18). Nevertheless, like any other type of tale, myth is subject to the effects of transmission which, over time, produce subsequent crystallizations. As new reference comes in, and becomes part of it, the tale crystallizes again (26-27). The main characteristics of this process are contrast and symmetry (Burkert 18-19). As Walter Ong points out in reference to oral societies, this symmetry is a mnemonic device that makes it easier to remember the story because it has a clear, balanced pattern (Ong 34)¹⁴. Hence, the hero must be brave and strong, princesses in

¹³ In contrast to fable, which is created for its application; myth is a traditional tale applied to a particular use.

¹⁴ Menéndez Pidal asserts that the rape of Cava has its origins in popular epic, hence an oral tradition. The XIII century texts that later reproduced it belong to a society that, though literate, still bore the imprint of orality. Ong comments on how oral techniques influence the thinking process of societies that “still carried an overwhelmingly massive oral residue” (32), and affirms that Western societies retained massive oral residue until Romanticism (41).

distress beautiful—and the tyrannical ruler lustful and ultimately cowardly. The images, the actions, must be formulaic in order to be recovered effectively.

Myths are repeated because they bear on the present lives of the society which reproduces them (Ong 46). These tales recount the origins of a city or the deeds of a famous hero (Eliade 34-48)¹⁵. They are stories that not only keep the memory of the past, but also help to understand the present and foretell the future (Levi-Strauss "Study of Myth" 209).¹⁶ Myths—both in oral and literate societies—are the kind of knowledge that is urgent to reproduce and preserve.¹⁷

Many written and oral Western histories contain strikingly similar instances of foundational rape. Not only these, but other tales are often similar between Greek and Roman, diverse Christian and equally diverse Muslim peoples. This may point to a reservoir of a “primordial image” received at birth along with other genetic information as part of a collective unconscious (Jung The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious 5)¹⁸. As Burkert points out, this question of psychic origins is difficult to investigate, and

¹⁵ All actions performed by archaic man follow a celestial archetype, not only common acts such as eating, hunting, copulating, but also the construction of temples, the foundation of cities, or the conquering (or re-conquering) of lands (Eliade 9-10).

¹⁶ Levi-Strauss gives as an example a politician (and his constituents) who looks at the French Revolution as a “sequence belonging to the past—as to the historian—and a timeless pattern which can be detected in the contemporary French social structure and which provides a clue for its interpretation, a lead from which to infer future developments” (Levi-Strauss "Study of Myth" 209)

¹⁷ In his essay *Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* Jung's examples come mostly not from scripts of patients' visions, but from texts (curiously, by Medieval authors). I call attention to Jung's use of 'text' (literacy), to study a subconscious phenomena that can only be proven by examining what might have started as an oral expression and then was further processed into a variety of media...All Iberian texts studied discussed in this study are a reflection of **an ontology** that is impregnated by both reading and oral traditions.

¹⁸ This is of limited usage for my study, as they only exist in the unconscious. According to Jung, we are only aware of archetypes (primordial images dating to the origins of man) if they make contact with the conscious, which processes and assimilates the terrifying experience by giving it a particular form: myths, fairytales, esoteric teaching—a process of “conscious elaboration” (Jung 5). So religious beliefs, so often similar between diverse peoples—as one would believe upon reading Eliade's comparison of religions—

therefore it may be more fruitful to look at transmission. Furthermore, the similarities may be explained simply by the commonalities of human experience—the search for food, the fear of thunder or death—but also by the phenomena of migrations that happened centuries ago, as can be ascertained by archeological evidence, that left their imprint on culture (1-11). Similarly, Propp argues that the striking similarity of structure among what he terms ‘fairy tales’ of diverse peoples cannot be explained by psychological explanations, for if man is only capable of reproducing one pattern, there is no accounting for the existing myriad other structures. The explanation of the patterns produced by everyday life events does not satisfy him either since fairy tales have little to do with everyday life. However, “certain transitional stages from the pattern of daily living do exist,” and this pattern is reflected in the tale. (These patterns appear to be past stages in the development of man). Religion influences life and quite possibly influences the tale. A religion and a lifestyle disappear, and its content transforms in tale. The tales contain substrates of religious practices, which according to Propp, only the work of a historian could ascertain. Dundes suggests that the structure of the folktale may be acquired perhaps as soon as one hears the first tale, and that the answer to the question may be connected to the acquisition of language, where an investigation could be fruitful (Dundes xv). In any case, ancient religious beliefs and practices, added to cultural

could be explained as having a common source in primordial images. Jung expands on myths, defined as “psychic phenomena that reveal the nature of the soul” (The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious 6). Forms are “historical categories” (32-33), which he believes go back to the primordial images, images and motif from the beginnings of humanity. If it is through these categories that we assign meaning, or think we do, as if meaning is generated by historical categories, then we have inherited an entire set of meanings. He goes farther to say that “There is not a single important idea or view that does not possess historical antecedents. Ultimately, they are founded on primordial archetypal forms whose concreteness dates from a time when consciousness did not *think*, but only *perceived*” (33). Ultimately, I noticed that in his essay “Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious” Jung’s examples come mostly not from scripts of patients’ visions, but from texts (curiously, by Medieval authors). I call attention to Jung’s use of texts to study subconscious phenomena that can only be proven by examining what might have started as an oral expression and then was further processed into a variety of media.

crossings, may explain the similarities, although the possibility of polygenesis cannot be discounted (Propp 106-7).

The tales of Oliba and Luzencia show a surprising similarity to other rape tales, such as that of Lucretia. Once again, this may point to a common origin, which Propp identifies as myth. Propp's study of the morphology of the fairy tale will be useful as a model to look at the rape tale. He notices that the many tales share the same composition (the sum of predicates.) While the themes (understood by Propp as the subjects and objects in the tale) may change, the composition may be the same among diverse tales (113). If only one element change, the tale will be called a variant and not a new tale. In case of the rape tale, there are hardly any variations. Both the theme and the composition are shared. The sequence of events in the tale creates this meaning (15). Lucretia was raped and then Tarquin was deposed, and not the other way around. This sequence is what gives meaning to the event. Rape myths establish a link between sexual desire and political turmoil, between moral probity and power, explaining how old ruling systems fall and new righteous ones rise. The narrative logic of these stories demonstrates that lack of control on the part of the leaders brings ruin to all. Empires fall because of moral degradation (Joplin "Ritual Work" 117-18). In this sense, the foundational rape tale works as a political exemplum, teaching through negative models of behavior how *imperium* is lost and transferred. So the rape tale is defined not only by its particular structure and meaning, but by its function—and here we return to myth. The rape tale is a foundational myth.

Rape myths may appear in the context of a narrative of conquest, serving to define the relationship between rulers and subjects. The woman in the tale is a sign transferred from one man to another. This places her in a liminal position. She is in the middle of two competing male entities and her hymen, as Joplin suggests, functions as a

boundary ("Ritual Work" 54). The hymen in the text stands for the *limen*, the wall that surrounds the city (55). Its violation amounts to trespassing. In narratives of conquest, women are seized and occupied as a prelude to the subjugation of territories. In other foundational narratives where the struggle takes place between two parties inside the same group, the illegal crossing of the hymen constitutes a trespassing of political boundaries that precedes a re-structuring of power relations.

Rape myths conceal the issue of political struggle with a representation of a war of values (Joplin "Voice" 45). For this is the purpose of rape myths: to explain and justify original violence as the result of a confrontation between virtue and debauchery.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FOUNDATIONAL RAPE TALE

Propp's approach to the analysis of the fairy tale is syntagmatic, focusing on the formal organization and in the linear sequence of events (Dundes xi). This sequence affects meaning, which implies that the reproduction of its structure carries with it the reproduction of its content. Thus, the meaning of a certain tale remains attached to the form, regardless of variations, in however many crystallizations. The study of structure, therefore, must be the first step to the analysis of the rape tale. For Propp, who dedicated his *Morphology of the Folktale* to the study of structure, this is not an end, but a beginning, as is the case with the present study. I am well aware that Propp developed his method with a particular type of tale in mind—the fairy tale. However, I will demonstrate that his tools could be productively applied to the analysis of other types of tales. In the case of the rape tale, this entails incorporating or adapting certain elements of Propp's methodology while discarding others. For example, I find Propp's definition of tales in terms of "functions" particularly useful. As Propp explains, functions remain constant through diverse versions of the same tale, regardless of the characters that perform them

(21). Based on this principle, it is possible to read the rapes of Lucretia, Philomela, Oliba and Luzencia as versions of the same tale. In all these cases, the rape of a woman in the absence of her guardian is a constant, but the victim may be a queen, her maiden sister, a countess, etc. Those details will change according to the culture that produces (or reproduces) the story. Thus, while the analysis of a tale (the rape tale in this case) must proceed in Propp's manner with a description of its structure separated from its cultural context, I believe the analysis of a particular version must be done against its cultural and historical background.¹⁹

Propp identifies thirty-one functions in the fairy tale. What I call the foundational rape tale (or, to simplify, just the rape tale) does not have so many. It is rather like a myth, simple and schematic. In defining the structure of the rape tale I will adopt a number of Propp's functions. These are 1. Absentation; 2. Interdiction; 3. Violation; 4. Villainy; 5. Mediation; 6. Spatial Transference; 7. Struggle; 8. Punishment.²⁰ In my model, I substitute Villainy for Rape and condense the functions of Interdiction and Violation under the single label of Improper Gaze. Unlike in Propp's tales, this function takes place prior to Absentation. I also add a new function after Punishment: *Change of Power Structure*. Thus, all together the functions of the rape tale are: 1. Improper Gaze; 2. Absentation; 3. Rape; 4. Mediation; 5. Spatial Transference; 6. Struggle; 7. Punishment; and 8. Change.

As in the case of Propp's tales, the rape tale begins with an Initial Situation that sets the stage for the tale. In the Initial Situation "the hero is introduced ... the members of the household are enumerated" (Propp 25). The Initial Situation of the rape tale

¹⁹ This is particularly true when the tale is a myth, since an exploration of its historical dimension is the only way to ascertain the use to which it is put (Burkert 22-23).

²⁰ In Propp's original model, these functions correspond to numbers I, VIII, IX, XV, XVI and XXX, respectively.

includes the introduction of the girl and of her male guardian (husband, father or brother).²¹ The characters are described as members of the same household (Lucretia, Philomela, Oliba) or linked by service or political allegiances (Pelayo). The class and/or ethnicity of all three parties (the rapist, the raped woman and the relatives) are also defined. After the initial situation, the story develops according to the following series of functions.

Function 1: Improper gaze. A male character (soon to be the rapist) looks at the female character, appraising her beauty. This covetous gaze is improper because the woman is characterized as off limits. Either she is another man's wife (Lucretia), his wife's sister (Philomela), a guest in his house (Oliba), or of a different ethnic or religious background (Dinah, Luzencia). The mere appearance of the Improper Gaze implies an interdiction whose violation brings disastrous consequences.

Function 2: Absentation. In Propp's model, one of the members of the family departs for reasons of work, war, trade or business (25). We observe a similar pattern in the rape tale, where the male protector of the woman absents himself from home: Lucretia's husband returns to the camp; Oliba's father is sent on a trip; and so is Luzencia's brother. Philomela's tale is slightly different, since she is the one who has been taken to a foreign land, but the fact remains that, as in all other cases, she is separated from her source of protection before her rape takes place.²²

²¹ Lucretia's tale: The husband and the son of the king are presented as friends/companions (of the same class: nobles). The wife is desirable (perfectly chaste). Oliba's tale: The daughter is presented as forming part of the household of the king, and described as beautiful. The father is introduced and defined in terms of class (noble like the king). Luzencia's tale: The prefect is introduced. The brother and sister are introduced and defined in terms of class and ethnicity as different from the prefect.

²² In some longer, there is another tale prior to Rape that reproduces the same structure of the rape tale—except that the functions of Interdiction and Violation are explicit. In Alfonso X's version of Oliba's rape, for example, the interdiction appears in the form of the advisors asking the soon to be rapist king to follow custom and add a new lock to the Palace of Many Locks. The violation of the custom occurs when the king breaks into the palace—which serves to anticipate the ultimate transgression, rape.

Function 3: Rape. This corresponds to Propp's eighth function, "Villainy," where "The villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family" (36). For Propp, Villainy is the most important function because it moves the story forward. It most often consists of stealing, taking away, kidnapping, or forced marriage (30). In the tales under consideration in my study the most important of functions is Rape, either attempted or accomplished. It may include removal from the guardian's house (abduction), as in the cases of Philomela and Luzencia, or an assault in the house of the victim, as in Lucretia's case. It may be narrated as a wanton act of sexual violence or for the failed purpose of acquiring a wife. In the case of Oliba, as well as in that of Tamar, the rape is perpetrated inside the victim's house, which happens to be also the house of the rapist.

Function 4: Mediation. "Misfortune is made known" (Propp 39). Lucretia sends for her husband and informs him of Tarquin's actions. Count Julian finds out about his daughter's disgrace—from a ring sent out by Oliba or seen by chance, or in another manner. This disclosure will determine from here on who is the "seeker" or hero of the story, for "the route followed by the story and on which the action is developed is actually the route followed by the seeker" (Propp 39). At this point, the victim will disappear from the tale—such is the case with Oliba, Luzencia and Lucretia—and the plot will follow the hero—who is usually the male guardian: Oliba's father (Count Julian) or Luzencia's brother (Pelayo). Sometimes, this function is delegated to a third party as in the case of Brutus, who takes the role of the hero and speaks for both the father and husband of Lucretia. In Philomela's case, the action of the story follows the victim after she lets her sister know about the crime by way of a tapestry. Thus Philomela is both, victim and hero—what Propp calls a "victimized hero" (36-37).

Function 5: Spatial transference. The avenging hero is transferred from one space to another. This function may not appear in all the cases of the rape tale. It does appear in

Oliba and Luzencia's tales—the transference of Julian to Africa, that of Pelayo to Asturias. In Philomela's tale, it may be argued that she is transferred from her jail to her sister's house; in Lucretia's, Brutus is transferred from the siege of another city to Rome.

Function 6: Struggle. This function occurs in two variants:

Function 6a: Rebellion. In this variant, the hero declares a rebellion against the ruler. His actions appear justified by the ruler's tyrannical behavior, expressed by way of the rape episode. Therefore, the hero of these stories speaks on behalf of his community. Thus, right after the rape of Lucretia, Brutus declares the end of "tyranny" in Rome. Likewise, after rejecting the forced marriage of his sister Pelayo starts the Christians' rebellion against the Moors.

Function 6b: Revenge. While Brutus and Pelayo launch an open rebellion involving popular support, Count Julian and the duo Philomela/Procne plot in silence. Brutus and Pelayo fight for a change in the structure of power. Julian and Philomela/Procne seek personal revenge—the community does not participate, and does not identify with them. In these cases, the change in the structure of power is a disastrous consequence of their actions.

Function 7: Punishment. I notice that this function could also develop in two different manners, as logical outgrowths of the two variants in function 6.

Function 7a: In the first one, only the villain is punished or is killed in battle. This is illustrated by Lucretia's tale, where Tarquin is killed and his father deposed. Brutus becomes the first senator of the republic. Luzencia's tale provides another example: Munnuza is killed along with Alchama (the Governor), and Pelayo becomes the first king of Asturias.

Function 7b: Both the villain and the avenging hero are punished. In Oliba's tale, Rodrigo, last king of the Visigoths, is killed in battle—or simply vanishes forever—but

the avenging Don Julian also dies or is killed. Likewise, in Philomela's tale, King Tereus suffers a horrendous punishment and dies, but the avengers are punished as well by being turned into birds. Furthermore, like in Rodrigo's case, Tereus will also be the last of his lineage.

Function 8: Change in Power Structure. This last function marks the end of the old system and the beginning of the new. This is true in all cases, although we can observe differences in emphasis. In Lucretia's tale, for example, we witness the death of Monarchy and the birth of the Republic. In Luzencia's tale, however, the Muslim rule does not end at once, although it is represented as suffering a powerful blow that gives rise to the Christian kingdom of Asturias. In the case of Oliba and Philomela, the emphasis is rather on the end of a corrupt monarchy and not on the birth of a better lineage or system. These two tales stress the abject, while the former two quickly turn the page over to new beginnings under the leadership of a warrior hero. In this sense, the Oliba/Philomela variant of the rape tale could be seen as set in tragic mode, while the Lucretia/Luzencia variant is set in the celebratory mode of epic.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE IN THE RAPE TALE

The cast of characters comprises three: the rapist ruler, the guardian and the female rape victim. In this section, I will draw mostly from Lucretia's rape tale to define each of the characters.

1. The rapist. The villain in the rape tale is a ruler, eventually revealed as illegitimate, a usurper of the throne. It may be hinted that he is of foreign stock, like Tarquin, or have come to power with the support of foreigners, which makes him a usurper, as he seized power unlawfully. In Lucretia's tale, the king treats his own subjects as a foreigner invader would: like "vanquished people" (Livy I.59). The ruler and his

family are seen as traitors, having betrayed the trust of the people. They are characterized as dissolute and irresponsible (Livy II.3). The same can be said of Oliba's tale. The ruler in the rape tale cannot control his sexual desire: Tarquin's son, Rodrigo, Munnuza, Tereus. A paradigmatic act of villainy (rape) gives the final touch to his characterization. Tarquinius rapes Lucretia, king Rodrigo rapes Oliba. Such rulers are liable to be dethroned or killed, or both. Sexual misbehavior characterizes rulers that are destined to fall. In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (c. 392-96 A.D.), for example, an emperor who the author considers as a good ruler is portrayed as embodying the moral code of the senatorial class. A bad emperor, on the contrary lowers himself "to the basest level of Roman morals," committing "crimes such as incest, pedophilia, rape, associations with actors, prostitutes and pimps, and engaging in unacceptable male-male relations" (Fowler). Immoral behavior in the private space is linked to weakness in the political arena, and therefore to defeat. In Alfonso's *Estoria de Espanna*, lust works as the *leitmotif* in the last episodes of the soon to be conquered Visigoths of Spain (Benito-Vessels 53). King Witiza, a bad administrator and the most active fornicator of these kings ends up as expected: deposed.

Lust is associated with bad government, as illustrated by the case of Verginia, as narrated by Livy (Arieti 214). The convoluted plan of the corrupt Decemvir Appius Claudius, who twisted Roman laws in order to get legal custody of the young virgin, exposes the degeneration of the ruling system. Subsequently, the decemvirate comes to an end and the Roman Republic is restored. The rapist must be deposed and killed. In the case of Lucretia, this role is divided between two characters: Sextus the rapist, son of Tarquin, who dies like a tyrant (or traitor), and Tarquin the tyrant, his father, who is forever banished.

2. The raped woman. The victim is a woman of high standing. She may be married like Lucretia or a maiden, like Luzencia. This woman, among all the others in her community, is marked as *rapable*. In representation, the higher the status of a woman, the more *rapable* she becomes—wives, daughters and sisters of noblemen, princesses, and finally the Queen herself. The *rapable* in the text is a woman marked by her exceptional beauty and by her unassailable chastity.²³ The value of her chastity—which symbolizes all that is at stake for the family, tribe, community or state—derives from the victim’s position in the social hierarchy as defined in the tale. She must be inaccessible but for the proper marriage arrangement or to her husband. In the case of Lucretia, Livy tells us that she is the purest of all the noble Roman women. In the case of Oliba, she is the daughter of the most important noble in the king’s court. This untouchable position underlines the gravity of the crime.

3. The guardian. This is usually the victim’s husband, brother, or father. As I have already pointed out, however, there could be some variations, such as Lucretia’s tale. Although both Lucretia’s husband and father are present, it is Brutus who takes on the leadership and announces the rebellion. The guardian is a man of high standing, and has a relationship of friendship or service with the rapist. This relationship makes the crime more heinous for the male relative, since he judges the act of violence as an attack directed against him by someone whom he considered a friend or an ally.

The rapist, the raped woman and the guardian are bound by a narrative in which they are types with assigned meanings. I argue that this narrative is always about a change in the structure of power. In 1975, when Susan Brownmiller declared that rape was always about power, she was referring to the power of “*all men over all women*”

²³ I have seen only one rape myth where the victim is male. It is the Theban foundational myth of King Laius, who married Jocasta and fathered Edipus. This story, which ended up badly, started with Laius raping the boy Chrysippus, son of king Pelops.

(15, emphasis in the original). Rape, Brownmiller states, is “the vehicle of his [man’s] victorious conquest over her [woman’s] being, the ultimate test of his superior strength, the triumph of his manhood” (14-15). In Medieval and Classical narratives, the rape tale is also about power—not of men over women, but of conquerors over conquered. It is an allegory in which the powerful, the conquerors, are represented as rapist males, while the conquered are depicted as raped females.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

There are many tales similar to the ones I have discussed in this chapter. All of them share “the fundamental feature of the story, that of a tyrant unexpectedly endangered or overthrown because of a sexual transgression—his own, or that of a close relative” (Donaldson 7). In these foundational tales, rape has been “codified” as political, a family affair turned into an affair of State, an act that cannot be separated from a defining moment in the life of a community. It is the underlying assumption in this study that in the texts I put under consideration, rape does not constitute an end in itself but a means to deliver a political message. Women show up in these texts only to symbolize. After accomplishing their symbolic role, the victims commit suicide or simply vanish without leaving a trace, as their naked, desecrated bodies are removed from the story. There is no more use for them. Their polluted condition, as Lucretia expresses in her famous speech, prevents them from rejoining the community, for they might become “a bad example” for others. They have become “an object of concealment” (Zlotnick 48).

As I have observed throughout this chapter, the foundational rape tale has a structure and a cast of characters that can be easily recognized: a tyrannical ruler rapes a prohibited woman, which causes her offended guardian to call for a change of ruler. The stable structure of the rape tale may reveal its mythic origins. It is possible that before

these stories were put into writing, they were elaborated orally. The importance of these allegorical tales requires the necessity of memorization by means of oral repetition, which is possible only through a paring down of details in order to obtain a clear pattern. The images, the actions, must be formulaic in order to be recovered effectively. Characters—no matter their historicity—are simplified into types. Hence in all myths, heroes are brave and strong; princesses in distress are beautiful; tyrannical rulers, lustful. The myth I am concerned with in my dissertation appears in chronicles and national/ethnic histories written between the X and the XIII centuries by a community that saw itself as the winning character in a story of conquest—or Reconquest.²⁴ It is a myth that features not one but two rape tales: the rape of Cava (or Oliba) —which brought about the Moorish invasion of Spain; and the rape of Luzencia, which signaled a Christian rebirth with Pelayo's rebellion. The remaining chapter of my dissertation will focus on Iberian texts that present these rape tales. Chapter 2 starts with a presentation on the possible origins of the two rape tales, followed with the analysis of two Muslim and three Christian versions. Chapter 3 focuses on Ximénez de Rada's version, taking into account the pertinent political struggles between the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. In Chapter 4, I will analyze King Alfonso X's version of the two rapes and argue that his claims to leadership of the Spains are at work in the reconfiguration of the legend.

²⁴ All the texts (or authors) in this study were composed in the royal scriptorium or elsewhere in the center of power—for example, the *Chronicum Mundi* of Bishop Lucas de Tuy, a close adviser to Queen Berenguela.

Chapter 2: Rape, Conquest and the Re-Conquest of Spain

At the end of Book I of *Ab urbe condita*, Livy narrates the end of monarchy in Rome and the beginning of the Republic, brought about by the rape of Lucretia. Sextus, son of king Tarquin, conceived the desire to rape Lucretia, considered the chastest of wives among all the noble women and thus inaccessible. Sextus went to visit her on a night when he knew her husband, Collatinus, was absent. He was offered dinner and a room to spend the night. After the household was quiet, Sextus snuck into Lucretia's room, armed with a sword, and raped her. In the morning, she sent for her husband and father, related the crime, and asked them not to let it go unpunished. She then drove a knife through her breast. Immediately Brutus, one of Collatinus' companions, removed it and, upon its bleeding blade, swore that he would "pursue Lucius Tarquin Superbus, his evil wife and his children, with any violent means, and will never suffer any of them or any other be king in Rome again" (Livy 190). Subsequently Tarquin, the last king of Rome, is deposed. The Republic is born. This sequence of events, in which one act is followed by another, creates a logic in which Lucretia's rape is inextricably tied to the birth of the Republic. A private incident effects a radical change in the political structure. The episode of Lucretia's rape has the characteristics of the foundational rape tale, with its eight functions and three main characters. In this type of tale, the private drama of a family becomes a tribal, national or imperial affair.²⁵

Rape episodes are placed right before a dramatic political change in the history of a people. In the case of the *Estoria de Espanna*, the rape of Cava precipitates the end of

²⁵ The Old Testament stories of the rape of Dinah and the execution/rape of Cozbi, for example—recall family incidents that had repercussions for the entire people of Israel. The episode of the rape of Dinah is as critical as the rape of the Sabines "for the foundation of the Roman state, and of Lucretia for the demise of the Roman monarchy and the rise of the Republic" (Zlotnick 26).

Gothic rule. Soon after, the abduction of Pelagio's sister marks the beginning of the Christian Reconquest of Spain. The first two books of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* also illustrate this pattern (Joplin "Ritual Work" 53): the rape of Lucretia appears right before the overthrow of the monarchy and the founding of the Republic. Similarly, the attempted rape of Verginia marks "the establishment of the Twelve Tables of Roman Law and the overthrow of the corrupt Decemvirs in 450" (Joplin "Ritual Work" 52).

Stephanie Jed and Melissa Matthes have pointed out the apparent pattern of rape and liberation in Livy's Lucretia episode.²⁶ Jed sees the rape of Lucretia as a literary *topos* inscribed in narratives of political change. In Livy's codification of the rape of Lucretia, rape leads to political change illustrated by the rape of Lucretia, a founding myth of violence and freedom. There are other rape episodes in *Ab urbe condita* that follow what Jed identifies as a narrative sequence of rape followed by liberation—as if rape were a necessary prelude to liberation (Jed 11). Matthes identifies the rape of Lucretia as a repetition of that first the rape tale of the vestal Rhea Silvia. The consequence of the latter was the founding of Rome; the former brought forth a second founding, the Republic. In this and other repetitions, a methodological as well as theoretical pattern emerges from Livy's writing (Matthes 23).

The narrative of sexual violence seems to be constitutive not merely of the founding process, but of the republic itself (Matthes 25). At the very beginning there was rape. Rhea Silvia, once she has accomplished her role of birthing the founding father

²⁶ In her book, *Chaste Thinking: the rape of Lucretia and the birth of Humanism*, Jed focuses on a particular representation of the rape of Lucretia legend, this time in the form of a rhetorical exercise performed by a fifteenth-century Florentine humanist, arguing that the philological procedures performed in the text reflect a particular kind of thinking, "chaste thinking," that would become integral to Humanist thought. In *The Rape of Lucretia and the Founding of Republics: Readings in Livy, Machiavelli, and Rousseau*, Melissa Matthes, in turn, studies the rape of Lucretia in association with republican views in the Renaissance and later in the Enlightenment.

(fruit of her rape by the God Mars), disappears. Livy does not tell us what happened to her after accomplishing her narrative task. But as Matthes points out, considering that unchaste vestals were buried alive, literally and figuratively, it can be said that the city is founded over Rhea Silvia's body (26). Likewise, it is over the body of Lucretia that the Roman republic is founded.

Lucretia's story—as well as that of Rhea Silvia—reads as the tale of an enmity between two clans. Women are in the middle, bearing the brunt of revenge aimed at her husband or her father. However, the revenge seems to involve men that are not relatives of the victim. Case in point: Brutus, leader of the coup against Tarquin, is neither the father nor the husband of Lucretia (26). If this were not a foundational rape tale, the men of the family would have been expected to simply engage the enemy family in the body of their daughters: a payment in kind. Yet, what we get is a revolution. Matthes sharply notices that prior to the rebellion episode, Livy tells us how the Tarquins had massacred the entire family of Brutus, who had survived by feigning idiocy. He did not pay them back by murdering (or trying at least) a few Tarquins because this is not a personal matter: the avenging of Lucretia does not involve the execution of her rapist, but the founding of the Republic (27). An individual act is linked to the turmoil of the state: the rape of a woman becomes the history of the state (Joshel 113). Once this parallelism is established, an examination of the Lucretia version of the rape tale reveals the theme of the story to be (political) tyranny imposed on Rome by the Tarquins, represented by the sexual tyranny imposed on Lucretia, through a series of correspondences in which the private space mirrors the public (Joshel 122; Donaldson 9).

The narrative creates an analogy between the body of Lucretia and the body of the city-state. In an episode that precedes the rape, Livy recounts how Sextus brought the city of Gabii into the hands of Tarquin by means of fraud. He infiltrated the city like another

Sinon, pretending to be a friend. It will be the same with Lucretia: Sextus will take her like he took Gabii, under the cover of friendship. The people of Gabii opened their doors and took him into their highest confidence. Sextus proceeds to destroy the unity of the people, through false accusations pitting the leaders against each other [criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos intermit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti (Livy 54)]. He becomes as powerful in Gabii as his father in Rome: “tanta caritate esse ut non pater Tarquin potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset” (Livy 186-87). Tarquin senior and Tarquin junior, Rome and Gabii: the son’s actions parallel the father’s.

This parallelism, patent in Livy, was not lost to Ovid, who in his *Fasti* boldly makes clear Livy’s suggested analogy between the city of Gabii and Lucretia. Thinking about the difficulties and risks involved in raping Lucretia, Sextus reminds himself that “It was by daring that we also captured Gabii” [Cepimus audendo Gabios quoque] (verse 783). The story of Gabii’s fall is meant to show the *modus operandi* of the Tarquins (Bowen 18). Ovid describes the city as “moenia nuda suis,” “naked” without her protective walls (verses 705-710), like Lucretia the night of her rape. Rome also is like a woman, defenseless, raped by the tyrant who has abused the confidence of its people and treats them “like vanquished people” (Livy I.59). The feminized body of the people is raped.

Livy reveals the connection between the private rape of Lucretia and the public rape of Rome in the first words of Brutus:

By this blood, most chaste until a prince wronged it, I swear, and I take you, gods, to witness, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus and his wicked wife and all his children, with sword, with fire, aye with whatsoever violence I may; and that I will suffer neither them nor any other to be king of Rome. (Livy 205)

“Per hunc” inquit “castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro, vosque, di, testes facio me L. Tarquinius Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum

stirpe ferro igni quacumque dehinc vi possim exsecuturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum” (Livy 59).

Brutus begins swearing by Lucretia’s blood and ends talking about Rome. Later, at the market place, something similar occurs: after Brutus tells of Lucretia’s rape, the people begin to bring up their own grievances. Thus the rape is but a sample of the many injustices perpetrated by the king/tyrant. Through Brutus’ words, Lucretia’s rape has been reconfigured to signify Rome under tyranny²⁷. Lucretia’s rape serves to rally the (male) citizens to overthrow the tyrannical king. The secret crime committed in a private sphere, Lucretia’s bedroom, shifts to the public space, Rome’s Forum: the personal vengeance transforms into public action, an affair of state (Joshel 122).

The rape tale of Lucretia (and of Rhea Sylvia, the Sabines, Verginia) plays an important role in the narration of the mythical origins of Rome. Similarly, rape episodes play a key symbolic role in medieval Iberian chronicles that recount both the Muslim Conquest and the Christian Reconquest of Spain. Both *Ajbar Machmua* and *Tariqh iftitah al-andalus*, two Muslim chronicles that give accounts of the Moorish Conquest of 711, tell the legend of the rape of Count Julian’s daughter by the last king of the Christians, Roderick. In the first Christian chronicle of the Reconquest, the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, the legend of the rape of Pelayo’s sister by the Moorish governor, Munnuza, figures as the proximate cause of Pelayo’s revolt and the beginning of the Christian Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula.

The rape of Count Julian’s daughter (known as “Cava”) has been studied as “Rodrigo’s theme” or “Rodrigo’s legend” by Manuel Milá y Fontanals in *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana* (1896), Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo in his *Orígenes de la*

²⁷ Among several meanings, Jung interprets the image of the female body in dreams as representing a city (Jung *Symbols of transformation* 206-09)

novela (1905) and Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his *El rey Rodrigo en la literatura* (1925).²⁸ All three look at the legend focusing on Rodrigo, the fallen king. None discuss the victim. Milá classified the Rodrigo material as a heroic theme, along with Fernán González and El Cid (Milá y Fontanals 111). For his part, Menéndez Pelayo briefly mentions the story of Rodrigo as a legend, the most interesting aspect of which was the legend of the locked castle (Menéndez Pelayo CCCLIII). Menéndez Pidal, in the volume he dedicates to King Rodrigo, recreates the historical context that may have produced the legend. What he calls Rodrigo's theme is a mixture of poetic and historical material, the result of a campaign to discredit the last King of the Visigoths that was mounted by the descendents of the previous Visigoth king, Witiza, whose throne Rodrigo had taken (Menéndez Pidal *El rey Rodrigo en la literatura* 15). Menéndez Pidal, well-known for his passionate belief in a lost vernacular poetic tradition, considered the legend of Rodrigo, last of the Visigoths, to be the vestige a lost heroic poetry tradition, the vestige of an autochthonous epic poem.²⁹ This would assume an oral origin, of course. And I agree, insofar as the Spanish legend of the rape of Count Julian's daughter has the simple structure of a folktale we have seen a thousand times, as discussed in the previous chapter. Now, whether the tale's origins are linked to Visigothic epic poetry, or to an Arabic or later Mozarabic tradition, would be difficult if not impossible to ascertain. Rather than on the origins, I would like to focus to the meaning and function of this particular rape tale in the medieval literary works that feature it.

²⁸ Menéndez Pidal compares the three manuscripts: Manuscript ECTL: 'aca', BU: 'a Caba', O: omits (Alfonso X *Primera crónica* 307). Therefore, the name of 'Cava' may have originated in a bad transcription. I have not seen it in any of the extant Latin texts that reproduce the legend prior to 13th-Century.

²⁹ After an exploration of the origins, Menéndez Pidal goes on to catalogue the many European poems, plays, and even operas inspired by this legend throughout the centuries. Continuing where Menéndez Pidal left off, Elizabeth Drayson's *The King and The Whore: Roderick and La Cava* (2007) surveys the appearances of the legend from 1950 up to the 21st-Century.

Before advancing any further, I would like to take a moment to address the title of the legend. Since Menéndez Pidal (as well as Milá and Menéndez Pelayo) was most interested in the fallen, tragic male hero (an interpretation that is more applicable to 16th century recasting of the myth), he classified the legend as “Rodrigo, Last of Visigoths.”³⁰

By naming the legend after the King, we tacitly exclude the female victim of the story. Drayson proposes to solve this problem by re-labeling the legend as “The King and the Whore”—a dubious title for Count Julian’s daughter who, in the legend as it appears in Medieval texts, is certainly less a seductress than a victim. Furthermore, she perpetually surfaces in these works without a name—except for one case I will soon discuss—while the males characters, rapist and the relative do have names: Rodrigo, Julian. Even the invading general and his ruler also are named: Muza and Tarik. This is unusual if we take into account that while characters in folktales do not usually have proper names—they are referred to as the ‘maid’, the ‘prince’—characters in myths usually do: Adam, Eve, Oedipus, Jocasta (23-26). The name of the raped victim appears in only one work prior to the 13th century: the little known *Chronica Pseudo Isidoriana*, dated 11th-Century, where she is referred to as “Olibam” (“Seudo Isidoriana” 50)—aptly in the Latin accusative case. I find this Germanic name more plausible for the daughter of a Visigothic warrior than later names such as “Florinda.”³¹ Oliba is close to “Olava”, which is the name of the victim in an Old Norse text translated into Latin: “uxorem habuit nomine Olavam pulcritudine,” and which according to Krappe could be linked through Germanic epic tradition, to the Iberian legend of Rodrigo (Krappe 11).³² In order

³⁰ As well as Deyermond in his 1985 article “Death and Rebirth of Visigothic Spain in the *Estoria De España*.” *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* IX.3 (1985): 345-67.

³¹ 16th century versions of the legend give a name to Count Julian’s daughter (“Florinda”), one of several changes in the tale which signal a new crystallization of the myth.

³² The victim in this case is a wife, instead of a maiden daughter.

to remember that while this is ultimately a tale about power, the story of a woman's rape, I will provide the victim with this name, re-labeling the tale as "The Rape of Oliba."

As for the origins of the legend, it has been considered as a Christian Mozarabic legend bearing Gothic ancestry (Menéndez Pidal El rey Rodrigo en la literatura 235). While not denying the possible existence of a previous oral transmission, I consider the legend to be of Arabic origin on the basis of the following genealogy of extant texts, which I drew mostly from Milá (111-17). *Crónica Mozárabe of 754* (also known as *Isidoro Pacense*), is not in this list, because even though it narrates a Gothic history to 711, it does not include the rape of Oliba. I have made a few additions as indicated:

Legend of sexual misconduct	(popular, oral)
<i>Abdelakem:</i>	871-874 AD (Milá gives 870-871)
<i>Ajbar Machmua:</i>	11 th century
<i>Ebn Al-Kotiya</i> (also known as <i>Abenalcoitia</i>):	middle of 10th century
<i>Crónica Pseudosidoriana</i> (not included by Milá): <u>El rey Rodrigo en la literatura</u> 24)	circa 11 th century (Menéndez Pidal)
<i>Historia Silense:</i>	after 12 th century
<i>Crónica Najerense:</i>	between 1152-1233 (not

mentioned by Milá)

<i>Poema de Fernán González:</i>	after 1236
<i>Chronicon Mundi:</i>	13 th century
<i>Historia de Rebus Hispanie:</i>	13 th century
<i>Estoria de Espanna:</i>	13 th century
Pedro Pascual:	14 th century
Moro Razis:	14 th century (Gayangos 12)
<i>Crónica de don Pedro:</i>	late 14 th century

Menéndez Pidal continues this chronology to the 20th century, while Drayson takes it to the 21st Century. For my part, I will focus mainly on works of the 13th Century, occasionally going back to previous centuries, in order to analyze the particular treatment of the tale and how each reflects the interests of certain groups.

In contrast to the rape of Oliba, the rape of Pelayo's sister has received much less critical attention. Perhaps Milá and Menéndez Pelayo simply did not see it as a source of epic material; or perhaps this is because Menéndez Pidal identifies the episodes concerning Pelayo as factual—as opposed to what he calls “poetic.” However, Menéndez

Pidal saw a sort of complementarity, a poetic symmetry of two moments, Fall and Resurrection, represented by the characters of Rodrigo and Pelayo. He notes that the “legend of Rodrigo” relates the destruction of Spain, and that later, “cristianos del norte” would rewrite a story in which both “pérdida y la restauración” complete each other both historically and poetically (15)—although who these Christians were, or whether the battle of Covadonga (the “rebirth” moment) really took place, is a matter of heated controversy. But as Menéndez Pidal says, it was only natural that in the “poetic” imagination the “themes of Rodrigo and Pelayo” would be united (15). Again, he does not mention the raped victim in the second theme, although once again, it is over the body of a wrongly desired woman that the foundational moment takes place: the attempted rape, or (“unauthorized”) wedding, of Pelagio’s sister, launches the Reconquest. Following a thread similar to Menéndez Pidal’s, Alan Deyermond, in his study of the insertion of Rodrigo’s theme in the *Estoria de Espanna* of Alfonso X, perceives a relationship between the characters of Pelayo and Rodrigo. This link gives rise to a structure that recreates the biblically sanctioned pattern of death and resurrection (Deyermond 40). According to both critics, the rapes unleash the pattern of loss and restoration, or death and resurrection (Christian salvation), that serves to stamp the narration of these foundational moments (which are also, for the losing side, moments of demise); in other words, we see here the motifs in which I argue the rape tale abounds. The rape of Pelayo’s sister, like that of Count Julian’s daughter, follows the structure of the foundational rape tale.

In searching for the name for this second victim, I found in Menéndez Pidal’s edition of what he edited as *Primera Crónica General de España*, a footnote indicating that in manuscript T of Alfonso X’s *Estoria de Espanna*, the sister of Pelayo appears as Luzencia (Alfonso X Primera crónica 319). I will adopt this name and, henceforward,

will refer to the second legend as the “Rape of Luzencia.” As I noted previously, the Rape of Luzencia falls squarely into the rape tale category, since it presents the usual cast of three characters (Munnuzza as the rapist ruler; Luzencia as the victim; Pelayo, her father, as the offended male) out of whose relations flow the typical narrative sequence.

The origins of Luzencia’s rape tale can be traced to the 9th century, where it appears in the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, although, as in the case of Oliba, I do not exclude the possibility of an oral tradition parallel or previous to the manuscript testimonies. If it were proven that this is indeed the first version (it is the oldest), it would make sense to conceive the lost legend as Mozarabic.³³ I propose the following genealogy for the legend of Luzencia:

(Legend of sexual misconduct popular, oral)	
<i>Crónica de Alfonso III :</i>	9 th Century
<i>Crónica Najerense :</i>	12 th Century
<i>Pseudolsidoriana:</i> Pidal <u>El rey Rodrigo en la literatura</u> 16, 1)	12 th Century (Menéndez
<i>Chronicon Mundi :</i>	13 th Century

³³ I am following Bonnaz, who sees the the *Crónica* as the product of a Mozarabic author (Chroniques Asturiennes LXIII).

<i>Historia de Rebus Hispanie:</i>	13 th Century
<i>Estoria de Espanna:</i>	13 th Century

The list of works featuring the rape of Luzencia may continue for centuries, but I will restrict my analysis to works not later than the 13th Century.³⁴ I see these incidents of the rape tale in Iberian texts as key element in national/imperial discourses in Spain. Having introduced, at this point, the rape legends and the critical consensus about its origins, the remainder of the chapter will be as follows: Section I is a brief survey of the rape legend of Oliba in Muslim Iberian historiography; Section II examines the first Christian Iberian testimonies of the rape legend and its variations; Section III focuses on Lucas de Tuy's versions of the rapes of Oliba and Luzencia; and in Section IV, I present a brief recapitulation followed by my conclusions.

OLIBA IN MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY: RAPE AND THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN

The circumstances that led to the Muslim invasion of the Peninsula are involved in such an extraordinary confusion that in the accounts of the conquest "it is not always possible to separate truth from legend" (O'Callaghan 51); but then again, in Medieval historiographic practice it was not unusual to mix legendary or fantastic phenomena with plausible events (Ainsworth 389). One such legend relates that upon the death of King Witiza, succession to the throne by his young son Agila (or Akhila) was opposed by a faction in Toledo that sponsored Roderick as successor. Witiza's family then sent envoys

³⁴ Notice the absence in this list of *Historia Silense* and *Poema de Fernán González*: Pelayo appears in these texts, but without his sister.

to Africa for help. Here, an important character appears, the “mysterious personage known as Count Julian”, who appears in all the Arab chronicles (O’Callaghan 52).³⁵ Significantly, however, he does not receive mention in the Christian *Crónica Mozárabe*, the oldest Iberian testimony (Muslim and Christian included) of the invasion, thought to be written not long after the invasion.³⁶ Variouslly identified as a Byzantine exarch who ruled Ceuta on the North African Coast, as a Christian Berber who defended Tangier against the Muslims, or as Gothic noble who was lord of Algeciras and Cádiz on the Spanish side of the Strait of Gibraltar, the Arabic chroniclers emphasize that he opposed Rodrigo’s accession to power and collaborated in his downfall.³⁷ His hostility to the king was born out of a desire for vengeance, since Rodrigo had raped his daughter. For this reason, Count Julian facilitated the Muslim entry into the Peninsula (O’Callaghan 52). Consequently, the Visigoth kingdom came to an end, and the empire of Islam established itself in Europe.

The Islamic Empire rose and expanded quickly between the 600 and 700’s, from the Arabian peninsula to the conquest of the north of Africa, overthrowing the presence there of both the Visigoths and the Byzantines. Once these nations had been defeated in Africa, it was only a matter of time before the Islamic armies crossed the straight soon to be named “Gibraltar”—after Tariq, the commander of the Moors. Therefore, the causes

³⁵ The character appears, in the work of Ibn Abd al-Hakam, (born in Egypt and died in the same city in the year A.D. 870-871). See appendix. (Al-Hakam 19).

³⁶ The *Crónica Mozárabe*, written in Latin, is preserved in three manuscripts: A (dated 9th-Century), M (13th-Century), and P (14th-Century). If the text is indeed 9th century, this would make it the oldest Christian historical account of the Arab invasion. Lopez Pereira considers it to be even older: 754 (8th-century): (*Mozárabe* 68-69). See appendix.

³⁷ Menéndez Pidal makes much of this title that appears only, as far as I know, in a translation, as this constitutes an ethnic marker, making the traitor “Olián,” as he prefers to call him, a Byzantine, and therefore, not a Goth.

of the invasion, long discussed by Spanish historians, might simply be the result of civil war and geography—the proximity of the Peninsula to the newly conquered African territories: a mere 12 kilometers.

The following Muslim historians recount the conquest of Spain (Lafuente Alcántara 220-23):

Abd-El-Haquem (Abdelakem) (Jones 3-5)	Died circa 870-871 AD
Ibn Al-Khoutiya:	Died HG 376 (877 AD)
Ibn Adzari:	(middle of 400 HG)
The anonymous author(s) of <i>Ajbar Machmua</i> :	1000's
Ibn Khaldoun: 1332)	(born HG 732) (A.D.
An-Now airi :	1300's
Al-Makkari ³⁸	1500's

³⁸ Though *Al-Makkari's Conquista de España por los árabes* is a later text, it is used to authorize previous ones no longer extant. The interesting thing for me is the sequence of events, which is the same that Ximenez de Rada and Alfonso X reproduce: first, the breaking in of the “casa cerrada con muchos cerrojos”, and second, the rape of the daughter of his Count Julian. Some interesting details: this girl, as were other daughters and sons of Visigoth magnates, were brought to the king's palace in Toledo so that he



Of these historians, I would like to focus on the two of Iberian origin: the anonymous author of *Ajbar Machmua* (1000s), and Ebn Al-Kotiya, “hijo de la goda,” author of a *History of the Conquest of Spain* (877 AD). Both recount the legend of the Rape of Oliba.

THE ANONYMOUS *AJBAR MACHMUA* (ALSO KNOWN AS *ANÓNIMO DE PARÍS*)

There seems to be no agreement as to the date of composition of the *Ajbar Machmua*. Lafuente dates the text to the 11th Century (*Ajbar Machmuâ* VI), while Ribera dates it as 10th century, which makes the author contemporaneous with Ibn Al-Kotiya or Kutiya (also spelled “Abenalcotiya” in Spanish texts). Both Ribera and Sánchez Albornoz, writing years apart, agree that the work reflects the hand of two or more authors (Ribera XV-XVII; Sánchez Albornoz 30). They hypothesize a first author, who was an Andalusian *faquí*, a noble writing at end of 10th century, while the second author was a military noble of Cordoba, writing in the first third of 11th century (Sánchez Albornoz 169).

What was the author’s relationship to the Caliph? Since this text relates the affairs of the Caliphate, it is important to try to ascertain what position the author (or authors) was taking, since it may help to shed light on the deployment of the rape tale. If the text is from the 11th century, the anonymous author is writing after the demise of the caliphate, but if the text is 10th century, the author was a member of the Arab aristocracy

would arrange marriages among them and so create alliances. (*Ajbar Machmuâ* apéndice, 173). Rodrigo habría “hecho morir” a Witiza (178).

(Sánchez Albornoz 21). These nobles had lost privileges under Abderraman III and therefore were very critical of his policies (Ribera XV).

The *Ajbar Machmua* is an Iberian collection of traditions containing the oldest Iberian version of the rape of Oliba's legend, which I am quoting here from Lafuente's translation to Spanish:

Murió en esto el rey de España, Gaitixa, dejando algunos hijos, entre ellos Obba y Sisberto, que el pueblo no quiso aceptar; y alterado el país, tuvieron a bien elegir y confiar el mando a un infiel, llamado Rodrigo, hombre resuelto y animoso, que no era de estirpe real, sino caudillo y caballero. Acostumbraban los grandes señores de España a mandar sus hijos, varones y hembras, al palacio real de Toledo, á la sazón fortaleza principal de España y capital del reino, a fin de que estuviesen a las órdenes del Monarca, a quien sólo ellos servían. Allí se educaban hasta que, llegados a la edad núbil, el Rey los casaba, proveyéndoles para ello de todo lo necesario. Cuando Rodrigo fue declarado rey, prendóse de la hija de Julián y la forzó (Ajbar Machmuâ 18-19).

By raping Julian's daughter, King Rodrigo subverts the pact by which Julian has been providing protection to Visigoth Spain. In a previous fragment not quoted here, Julian, a powerful warrior, had been portrayed as the one obstacle to Muça's efforts to conquer the cities of the Western coast of Africa. The hymen of Oliba, therefore, is like a boundary (Joplin "Ritual Work" 55) that Roderick should not have crossed: when the King trespasses the body of his victim, entering her prohibited body, it is he, and not Julian, who opens the doors to Spain. An older Muslim chronicle, by Al-Hakam (also spelled "Abdelakem") explicates the parallel between the desecration of sacred spaces and the trespassing of borders by way of the legend of the house or palace of many locks, also known as "la casa encantada de Toledo," the enchanted house of Toledo (Menéndez Pelayo CCCLII). Perhaps not coincidentally, Al-Hakam is also the first known source, Muslim or Christian, of the rape of Oliba (Milá 10).

In Al-Hakam's *History of the Conquest of Spain*, the breaking of the sacred door follows the episode of Oliba's rape:

As Abd-Errahman has related to us on the authority of his father Abd-Allah Ibn Abd-El-Hakem, and of Hisham Ibn Ishaak: There was a house in Andalus, the door of which was secured with padlocks, and on which every new king of the country placed a padlock of his own, until the accession to power of the king against whom the Moslems marched. They therefore begged him to place a padlock on it, as the kings before him were wont to do. But he refused saying, I will place nothing on it, until I shall have known what is inside; he then ordered it to be opened; but behold inside were portraits of the Arabs, and a letter in which it was written: "When this door shall be opened, these people will invade this country." (Al-Hakam 19-20)

Notice that the king, in contrast with his predecessors, refused to follow both custom and will of his people. Instead of securing the door, he breaks it open. This second legend intensifies the parallels between the hymen, the door that encloses a secret abode, and the walls or borders protecting the kingdom. Therefore, it is the tyrannical ruler or rapist who facilitates the invasion.

To summarize *Ajbar Machmua*'s version of Oliba's rape: Julian is the general who prevents Musa from conquering North Western Africa; in spite of this, King Rodrigo rapes Julian's daughter (Function 3), causing Julian, in revenge, to make a pact with the Muslim commander Musa (Function 5), allowing him to launch the invasion of the Visigoth Iberian kingdom (Function 6), which overthrowing the king (Function 7), replacing Visigothic power in al-Andalus with that of the Muslim House of Umayyad (Function 8). Both the cast of characters as well as this sequence of functions follows the structure of the rape tale, as I have defined it. I will now proceed to examine each of these elements, starting with the *dramatis personae*—Rapist, Raped and Relative—finishing with a comment on the narrative sequence.

King Rodrigo plays the role of the Rapist in this account. In the classical tradition, as illustrated by Livy's characterization of King Tarquin and his family, lust is not a mere character flaw, but a sign of bad government. Bad government is understood as tyranny.

Once this fact is established in the text by means of the Rape function, inevitably the tyrant will rightly fall to a new and pious ruler.

Oliba is the Raped victim. She is the daughter of the warrior Julian, an important ally of King Roderick, and she is also a special guest in the king's household. As a virgin and as his ward, the king owes double protection to her. He is in charge of guarding the integrity of her body.

The Relative is Julian, father of Oliba. By damaging Oliba, the king has hurt the honor of the father, who avenges himself after being treated as an enemy—following the pattern indicated by Livy: the tyrant treats his own as “vanquished people” (Livy 1.59) . Once the ruler shows himself to be tyrant, this paves the way to what is now seen as a legitimate change in the power structure: the corrupt Christian ruler falls, defeated by the upcoming pious ruler.

IBN-AL-KUTIYA'S HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN

The second Muslim Iberian text that represents the rape of Oliba is *Tariqh iftitah al-andalus* (History of the Conquest of Spain) by Ibn Al-Kutiya. Julián Ribera has identified the author as a famous grammarian, poet and “faquí” (expert in law), to whom many books are attributed, a native of Córdoba (Ribera IX-XII). In his *History*, the grammarian claims to be a descendant of Visigoth king Witiza, hence the nickname “Hijo de la goda,” son of the Goth woman. Al-Kutiya was an Umayyad client (Ribera XII) writing his history at the time of the powerful Abderraman III, who had proclaimed himself caliph with the inauguration of the Caliphate of Cordoba.

The text contains a series of historical sketches, as if the text were originally notes for a book, or rather the summary taken down by a pupil. (Ribera XX). The rape legend goes as follows:

La entrada de Táric a España tuvo lugar en el mes de Ramadán del año 92, y la causa (u ocasión) del suceso fué que un comerciante cristiano llamado Yulián, que solía ir y venir de España a los países berberiscos... y solía llevar a Rodrigo buenos caballos y halcones de éste país. A este comerciante se le murió su mujer, dejándole una hermosa hija. Rodrigo (por aquel entonces) le encargó que pasase a Africa; pero él se excusó con la muerte de su señora y no tener a quien encomendar su hija. Rodrigo dispuso que la introdujera en palacio; fijóse en ella, parecióle hermosa y la violó. Al volver su padre, ella se lo dió a entender; y éste dijo a Rodrigo: “(Ahora) sí que he dejado yo unos caballos y unos halcones que no se han visto semejantes!” Autorizóle Rodrigo para volver por ellos; Yulián llevó consigo su dinero y fuese en busca de Táric, hijo de Ziad, a quien llamó la atención sobre España, encareciendo la excelencia (de la tierra) y la debilidad de su pueblo y diciéndole que era gente cobarde. Táric, hijo de Ziad, escribió a Muza, hijo de Nosair, participándosele; y éste ordenó que entrase en la Península(Abenalcotía 5-6).³⁹

There are significant differences with *Ajbar Machmua*: for instance, Julian is not a noble warrior, but a merchant who deals in horses and falcons from Africa. Thus, there is no mention of the Visigoth custom wherefore daughters and sons of nobles lived in the king’s palace in Toledo (19). Consequently, in Al-Kutiya’s version it is by chance that the daughter of Julian ends up under care of the king.

Another difference from the *Ajbar Machmua* version is that the victim takes the initiative to tell her father. This is an interesting detail because it is absent from all the other versions of the legend. As for the king, he is depicted crowning himself (5), which clearly makes him a usurper. Furthermore, the rape passage is preceded by the legend of the house with many locks. These three details add emphasis to the tyrannical behavior of the king.

To summarize, these two Muslim authors present Rodrigo as a tyrant. In both, the king of the Visigoths is an usurper without royal blood: *Ajbar Machmua* says Rodrigo “no era de estirpe real” (*Ajbar Machmuâ* 19), while Abenalcotiya says Rodrigo was “un general nombrado por el rey difunto” (Abenalcotía 9). In both, he rapes, the typical

³⁹ Ribera’s Spanish translation.

behavior of a tyrant. His subjects as well are portrayed as welcoming Rodrigo's enemies: Julian, for example—though he has the excuse of avenging himself for Rodrigo's tyrannical actions—and the sons of King Witiza, princes of royal blood moved to action against the perceived usurper. Naturally, the faithful Muslims should rule over the degenerate Christians. In consequence, the rape of Julian's daughter serves to legitimate the transference of power from Christian Visigoths, to Muslims.

OLIBA AND HER COUSIN LUZENCIA: THE RECONQUEST OF SPAIN

Legend has it that the Reconquest was initiated as an act of revenge for the rape of Luzencia. The Reconquest was a holy war urged by the Pope against the Muslim kingdoms of Spain. The term "Reconquest" posits a previous Christian presence in the territories in question. However, the very origins of the Christians of the North, the Astures, remain in the shadows. From what is known, it seems that they were not related to the Visigoths. Strictly, then, the term is inaccurate, and perhaps a better designation would be "southward movement of colonization," since it was not a "re-establishment" of any previous *imperium* (Linehan History 13-14). The Reconquest dates back to two or three years after the Muslim invasion, with the legendary Battle of Covadonga in 8th century, and ends with the fall of Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in Iberia, in 1492. Contemporary studies of this seemingly religious seven hundred-year struggle have revealed a more complicated picture than that presented by traditional Christian historians, in which Christianity turns out not to be in the foreground.

Lucy Pick attributes the birth of the Reconquest myth to Ximénez de Rada's transformation of raids and wars of expansion into "acts of faith" in his *Historia* (Pick

23) ⁴⁰. By the middle of the 13th century, all remaining Muslim kingdoms were clients of Castile. What does this tributary relationship mean? It seems that they remained Muslims, while paying tribute, which legally signified a cooperative relationship. The Pope may have had a problem with this ecumenical and profitable relationship, but not the kings. Proof of this is provided by Alfonso's *Siete Partidas*: the Castilian king, who had inherited many states (including Muslim Seville), addresses all three peoples (Christian, Muslim, Jew) in his law code.

Ximénez de Rada transforms these fortuitous changes in the political map of Castile and Leon, as well as the Muslim debilitation—fortuitous as well—into a planned crusade. So, if Lucy Pick is right, the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, composed by a great-grandson of Pelayo, is not talking about Reconquest. Menéndez Pidal, among others, reads the Pelayo episode as the moment where the Reconquest or “restoration” begins, forgetting that the chronicler is using it to legitimize the rule of the kings of Asturias/León, by uniting their lineage to the *ordo gothorum*. Lucas, who makes a case for Leon, as I argued in my previous chapter, clearly presents Pelayo as a Goth, and confirms the blood ties between him and the Leonese kings. Pick (like Linehan) does not discuss the episode of Pelayo and his sister—nor Oliba's rape—because it is legendary material, not bona fide “historical,” but makes clear that the Reconquest as a historically convenient fiction is a creation of Ximénez de Rada.

⁴⁰ Pick, as well as Gifford Davis, disagrees with Fletcher, who traces Reconquest notions to an 1150 treaty between Castile and Aragon. Pick interprets the treaty in question as a check against Christian competitors Navarra and Leon. (36)

RECONQUEST AS CRUSADE

The crusaders were fighting to “recover” the Holy Land. Similarly, Ximénez de Rada presents the military successes of Fernando III as fulfillment of an “ancient drive for reconquest, to repossess land lost in 711” (Pick 57). However, this crusading spirit is absent from the work of contemporaries Lucas and Osma. Pick does not find any reference to recovering land in the contemporaneous *Cronica Latina* nor in the *Chronicon Mundi*. Pick observes that Ximénez de Rada describes the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa as a veritable crusading success for the Christian front. Pick compares the bishop’s version with that of his contemporary, Chancellor Osma, who in his *Cronica Latina* mentions an important participant, Al-Baygasi, Muslim ruler of Baeza, who helps Fernando III win Salvatierra (60-61).⁴¹ Al-Baygasi does not appear in Ximénez’ *Historia*.

The Islamic Empire began fragmenting shortly after the invasion of Spain. The Umayyad dynasty was overthrown, its members massacred in 750, and a new dynasty, the Abbasids, took its place. However, shortly after, a survivor of the massacre, made his way to Spain and, under the name of Abd-ar-Rahman I, revolted against the Abbasids claiming that he was the rightful heir of the Umayyad. This in itself did not officially bring about a schism in the state, as Abderramán I (as he is known in Spanish) contented himself with the title of “Emir,” refusing to assume that of “Caliph” (the highest religious authority). The Emirate, which later became a Caliphate with Cordoba as its center, controlled much of the Iberian Peninsula and the North of Africa until 1031, when it fragmented in what were known as independent “taifa” kingdoms.

⁴¹ Lomax considers this alliance as the determinant factor in the Fernando’s success against the Almohads—though once again, it was a fortuitous result of the problems Al-Baygasi had. (The Reconquest of Spain 137-38)

The Christians of the north of the Peninsula, in the mean time, began to expand, forming kingdoms, and fighting each other for supremacy, employing all means necessary, including allying themselves with Muslim kings, in order to defeat hostile Christian powers. Meanwhile, the Pope reiterated his call upon the Christian Iberian kings to declare a crusade against the Muslim regime in al-Andalus, which was ignored for centuries in favor of jockeying for power and selling protection. In 1209, the Pope upped the ante by sending his first (unsuccessful) bull calling Spanish kings to fight against the Muslims. Yet Alfonso VIII of Castile, for one, had signed a ten-year truce with the Muslims so he was not inclined to declare a holy war against his associates. He also had signed another truce with his cousin, the king of Leon (Fernández Valverde "Introducción 1989" 19-20)—proof that Alfonso dealt with Muslim or Christian rulers alike. However, it was this Castilian king who in 1211, heeded the Pope, while the kings of Leon and Portugal remained on the sidelines (Reilly 135) .

By the end of 13th century, the strong kingdom of Leon became subsumed into Castile under Fernando III, who also conquered Seville and Jaen, Muslim cities of the south, creating the strongest kingdom of the Peninsula. His son, Alfonso X, made several efforts to become King-Emperor of Spain as well as Holy Roman Emperor, based on his mother's kinship with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (O'Callaghan 336). Finally, in 1492 the Reconquest officially concluded, leaving two kingdoms in control of the Iberian Peninsula: Portugal and Castile. The latter would rule the peninsula under the name of Spain with Castile as its center, and with the conquest of the New World, became a worldwide empire.

THE *TRANSLATIO IMPERII*

As previously seen, more than a desire to preserve and promote the Christian faith, what prompted the reshuffling of thrones was a desire for local power and world rule, inspired by the medieval concept of history termed *Translatio Imperii*. The *translatio* entails two main ideas: 1. *Imperium* (power) is transferred from one people to another and 2. The transference of *Imperium* is from East to West. Sexual transgression plays an important role in this transfer as it marks those soon to be displaced as sinners.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in the 4th-century, the Church, the remaining vestige of a unified Christian empire, became an important ally for any ruler that presumed to remain in power. For example, King Reccared of the Visigoths, had witnessed the wars his father Leovigild waged against the weaker but still competing Suevi, who had converted to Catholicism, and also against the Byzantine forces (also Catholic) in Africa. Leovigild, an Arian, after overcoming his enemies, invited them to convert to his faith. The invitation was declined (Reilly 40). His son Reccared, in his turn, converted himself, as well as his entire kingdom, including all the Arian bishops, to the Catholic faith (Linehan History 6). Reccared's conversion to Catholicism accomplished two things: firstly, it neutralized his enemies by uniting Iberia under one religion, thus making any attack on the king akin to attacking the Church; and secondly, neutralizing the Church by gaining control of its councils (O'Callaghan 47).

The identification of Church with worldly empire had been an issue since the early Middle Ages. Its theoretical foundation was in Eusebius of Caesarea's influential conception of the Roman Empire as part of the unfolding of God's plan (Ainsworth 22), based on the circumstance that Jesus chose to be born in the Roman Empire during the time of Caesar Augustus, and, in time, the Roman Emperor Constantine made Christianity the official religion of the empire. In this way, Christianity became the

religion of the most powerful empire in the world, which presaged the fact that Christianity was destined to be the religion of the world. The “end of times” was near, and the supreme arbiter of the Church must necessarily play a key role in the fate of all worldly kingdoms. From Eusebius’s schema, Jerome and especially Orosius elaborated a Christian theory of universal history (Ainsworth 25-28). In this theory, the history of the world has a beginning and an end, going through seven ages. In between, world powers rise and fall, their *imperium* being transferred to gradually to an ever more powerful one, until the all-powerful Roman Empire conquered all.⁴² This idea of transference of power was prefigured in the Bible (Curtius 28). In Leviticus 9, nations lose the *imperium* because of sin, and their power is transferred to another, a point confirmed by Ecclesiasticus 10:8 (Geller 4). This sin, which may or not be accompanied with the adoration of false gods, almost unfailingly consists of a sexual transgression.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, the preoccupation with the transfer of world power continued. In the Sixth Century, Bishop Isidore writes a history of the Visigoths placing them above the Romans: “Ut non solum terras, sed et ipsa maria suis armis adeant subactusque serviat illis Romanus miles, quibus servire tot gentes et ipsam Spaniam videt” [they proceed with their arms not only over land but also over the seas themselves, and the Roman soldier is the servant of those whom he sees that so many peoples and Spain itself serve (Isidore of Seville History of the Kings 70)].⁴³ Since the Visigoths had humbled Rome, they were now the world leaders: the power had been transferred. However, official transference of empire from Rome was only performed by the Pope in 800 in the person of Charlemagne. This has been interpreted as a renewal of Constantine’s original partnership of Empire and Church (Curtius 27-28). The Church

⁴² Augustine incorporated this idea of transference into his allegorical reading of Book of Daniel.

⁴³ I quote from Mommsen’s edition. For the English translation, I am using Donini and Ford.

had seen itself as the legitimate continuance of Rome, with a universal mission that absorbed and sanctified the Roman Empire's universality. This prolongation of Rome in the mission of the Church went beyond such signs as the preservation of Latin to an ideal in which one religion and one *imperium* would be combined someday. Ironically, the aspirations of the Church would become tools for all aspirants to local and world rule, from Alfonso X to the Catholic Kings Isabel and Fernando. For in the name of the Christian God a war against non-Christians, likely to be sexual deviants, could be justly waged.⁴⁴

In summary, the *translatio imperii* implied that the transference of power from one principality to another was caused by sin: immoral rulers not only soil their own souls, but they lose their right to *imperium*. The *imperium* moves from one nation to another in a pattern that follows God's plan for a universal kingdom on earth. This movement, as outlined by theologians and medieval historians, is from East to West. We can see the workings of this view of universal history in the Christian reconfiguration of the Muslim invasion narrative: as the Muslim legend of Oliba's rape presented an immoral Christian ruler losing through his transgression the sanction of the *imperium* to powerful new-comers, the first Christian legend of the Reconquest presents an immoral Muslim ruler in a symmetrical move, losing his *imperium* due to a mirror transgression, to newly faithful new-comers. The first transference had been a punishment (temporary), but since the Christians repented, God forgave them. The story of the past sinners, however, had to be told: the Visigoth past must be reclaimed because Goths had transferred the *imperium* from Rome to Spain. The significance of the rape tale is that it

⁴⁴ See the *La Historia General de las Indias*, de Oviedo. The conquest of the native population is justified, among other things, because of they are libidinous and furthermore, they practiced sodomy (Book V, chapter 3).

shows the bodies of Luzencia and Oliba as signs through which the history of the transfer of power is narrated.

NARRATIVES OF CONQUEST

The story of the rape of Luzencia appears for first time in *Crónica de Alfonso III* (*Rotense* manuscript). Subsequent Christian chronicles narrating the mythic uprising also narrate, as a counterpoint, the rape of Oliba—the *Crónica Najerense*, for example, has both, while the *Historia Silense* provides an interesting variation by narrating Pelayo's heroics without mention of his sister.⁴⁵ From 13th century on, both Luzencia and Oliba appear in the three most important historical works produced in the Peninsula: *Chronicum Mundi*, *Historia de Rebus Hispanie* and *Estoria de Espanna*. However, the *Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, the first Christian testimony of the Muslim Conquest does not mention either rape. Instead, the cause of the fall of Visigoth rule is internal strife. The author, a Christian, writes as the unhappy citizen of a decayed colonial state. His *Crónica* is not a narrative of conquest (or Reconquest), but a litany of the ills of bad administration on the part of the governors sent from Bagdad⁴⁶. *Mozárabe of 754*

⁴⁵ *Silense* is presumed to be 12th century, though the earliest surviving manuscript is dated late 15th-century (Barton and Fletcher 9). This makes it too late for consideration in this dissertation, since my hermeneutical approach is based on the premise that each manuscript is a unique text, the product of an equally unique set of circumstances. A 15th-Century manuscript therefore would be far removed from the interests of a 13th Century society.

⁴⁶ The *Cronica Gothorum a Sancto Isido Editum*, better known as *Crónica Pseudo Isidoriana*, presents a different view. Written in the 11th-Century in Toledo by a Mozarab living in Muslim Toledo, this Latin text gives us the first account of the rape of Count Julian's daughter in a non-Muslim source (Sánchez Alonso 112). The *Pseudo-Isidoriana* places the rape episode at the time of Witiza—here called "Getico"—a good king, though he ends up raping the daughter of Julian (Iuliano), who in revenge offers the Moors "the keys" to Spain. In the meantime, Getico dies of natural causes, and the people bypass his sons because of their young age, choosing Roderick. There is no mention of acts of fornication involving nobles or the religious class. Rodrigo's death comes as the result of the sons of Getico, who see him as usurper of their rights. They make a deal with the invading army: in exchange of cooperation in battle, they will be allotted land and freedom under the new rulers. The invasion takes place, Roderick is killed, the sons of Witiza receive "tria milia LX" towns. As for Iulianus, whose help was key to Muslim victory, he can be seen in the penultimate chapter as an adviser to Tarec ("Seudo Isidoriana" 49-53). A seemingly satisfying ending ensues: in a double act of justice, the father takes his revenge, and the sons take theirs. The *Pseudo*

deplores over and over the dire situation of the citizenship—not merely the Christian community—of Al-Andalus. The rape tale is absent in the 754, as well as in *Liber regum*⁴⁷ a work also written from the margins of power. This may suggest that the rape tale appears only in texts produced within the circle of power—for example, the Muslim Abenalcotiya was an Umayyad client writing for a powerful ruler of said dynasty, while Christian Bishop Ximénez de Rada (who will be discussed in Chapter 3) has close ties to the Castilian crown. Similarly, the anonymous author of the *Crónica de Alfonso III* whom we are about to discuss wrote in the employ of a successful Asturian warrior king who was in the process of expanding his *imperium*.

CRÓNICA DE ALFONSO III

The author was likely a Mozarabic monk recently arrived at the Asturian court (Bonnaz LXIII). Among the Mozarabs, the Christian past was tied to Visigoth past—the Mozarabic Mass, for example, dates back to Isidore's times. Troubles in the Muslim South fomented a Mozarabic emigration to the North, where King Alfonso III of Asturias, successful warrior and a “bibliophile” (LIII), may have suggested to the Mozarabic author of the *Crónica* that the end of Muslim rule was near. The work was likely written after the conquest of Viseo (876-877).

The text, preserved in two similar manuscripts: *Ovetense* (also known as “*ad Sebastianum*”) and *Rotense* (the version that appears to have been used by later chroniclers), is presented as a continuation of Isidore's chronicle, bringing the Visigoth lineage up to the present. Consequently, Asturian King Ordoño II and his father Alfonso

Isidoriana reflects the values and interests of the powerful descendants of Visigothic nobles, who were proud of their Gothic past, and who were in good standing with the Muslim Caliphs prior to 11th-Century.

⁴⁷ See *El Liber regum: estudio lingüístico*, by Louis Cooper.

III are part of this lineage, as illustrated in the opening lines: “Incipit cronica Uisegotorum a tempore Bambani regis usque nunc in tempore gloriosi Ordoni regis” [Here begins the chronicle of the Visigoths from the time of King Bamba all the way to the times of the glorious King Ordoño ("Alfonso III" 3)].⁴⁸ Here the writer presents the Visigoth lineage as descending without interruption from King Bamba to the present, making the Asturian Kings the true inheritors of Visigoth rule. In this way, the successes of Alfonso can be seen as the equivalent to a “restoration” of Christian Visigoth order.

However, this bold claim overlays the history of a troubled (and defeated) line of rulers, of whom some had been Arian, some fratricides, while the last two had been sex maniacs, and collectively the house had been famously obliterated by the Moors in 711. The redeeming link to this tainted past consisted not of succession through a family tie to either a pervert or a heretic, but in the mission carried out by a previously unknown character: the Christian warrior Pelayo, purportedly a *spatario* of Kings Witiza and Rodrigo.

Pelayo may have been historical character. There is evidence of his existence in *Ajbar Machmua*:

[Okba] Recibió el gobierno de España, viniendo en 110 y permaneciendo en ella algunos años, durante los cuales conquistó todo el país hasta llegar a Narbona, y se hizo dueño de Galicia, Alava y Pamplona, sin que quedase en Galicia alquería por conquistar, si se exceptúa la sierra, en la cual se había refugiado con 300 hombres un rey llamado Belay (Pelayo), a quien los musulmanes no cesaron de combatir y acosar, hasta el extremo de que muchos de ellos murieron de hambre; otros acabaron por prestar obediencia, y fueron así disminuyendo hasta quedar reducidos a 30 hombres, que no tenían 10 mujeres, según se cuenta. (Ajbar Machmuâ 38-39)

⁴⁸ I will only quote from *Rotense* version. All translations from Latin—*Crónica de Alfonso III*, *Najerense* and *Chronicon Mundi*—are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

This passage seems to be a version of what came to be known as the mythical Battle of Covadonga. However, this text can't really count as historical proof of the existence of Pelayo, seeing that it was written three hundred some years after him. Of course, one cannot discount the possible existence of an oral tradition dating from this time. Nevertheless, what I would like to highlight here is that there is neither mention of a successful rebellion nor, importantly, of a rape. As legendary figure, Pelayo resembles other mountain heroes: for instance, Viriato, a Spanish warrior who held the Romans at bay in the Basque mountains, and Pelasgus, founder of the Arcadia. Although this may just be a fortunate coincidence, it is impossible to ignore the similarity of the former with the latter's name. With the Virgin Mary's help, Pelayo defeats the Muslims and, years later, his daughter marries Alfonso, from "regni prosapiem" (lineage of kings) (36), successfully grafting the noble blood of the one good Visigoth in the royal trunk of Asturian kings.

In contrast to the Muslim chronicles previously analyzed, King Rodrigo does not play an important role in the *Crónica*. He is a minor character, described as "vir bellator" (warrior-like), but nothing else is said about him. Furthermore, the Oliba Rape tale is not narrated—which means Count Julian and his daughter do not appear in the text. Instead, the causes of the Muslim invasion are attributed to "fraudis filiorum Uitizani" (20), the crime of the sons of Uitiza, who abandoned the king in the battlefield because they saw him as a usurper.

Pelayo, in his role of the avenging relative, not surprisingly shares many characteristics with Julian. Pelayo works for *prefectus* Munnuza, as Julian works for king Rodrigo. Like Julian, Pelayo is absent from the court when the rape of his sister occurs. The prefect sends Pelayo away on business, to Cordoba, because of his sister: "Qui

supranominatus Munnuza prefatum Pelagium, ob occasionem sororis eius, legationis [causa] Cordoua misit" ("Alfonso III" 24) .

Munnuza, in his role of Rapist, is described as "conpar Tarec" (24) [an equal to Tariq or comrade of Tariq], the general that invaded Spain. This could point to a possible identification between the two, whereby Munnuza's actions are equivalent to actions by Tariq: as if Tariq had raped Luzencia himself. In an allegory of history, the rape of Luzencia equals invasion, and her guardian, Pelayo, is the champion of Spain.⁴⁹ While Munnuza stands for the invader Tariq, Pelayo stands for those Visigoths who were good Christians. We know this because since all the sinners perished: "quia dereliquerunt Dominum ne seuirent ei in iustitia et ueritatem, derelicti sunt a Domino" [because they abandoned God... they were abandoned by God] (22), those who survive had to be the faithful. So Pelayo does not share the tainted blood of the last kings (great sinners), but he is a noble Visigoth and a warrior for the "salbationem ecclesie" [salvation of the church] ("Alfonso III" 24). Later on, the Ovetense version will underscore Pelayo's leadership by making him "ex semine regio" [from the lineage of kings] ("Alfonso III" 24-25.)⁵⁰ Still later, in the 13th-Century *Chronicon Mundi*, Bishop Lucas would deem it convenient for Pelayo to be part of the same family as Rodrigo, that of King Chisdavinth.

The tale of Luzencia's rape fulfills an important role in this text. The *Crónica* was composed in a court in which the dream of 'winning back' Spain seemed a real possibility, in light of the many military successes of Alfonso III (Reilly 82). The three

⁴⁹ Linehan has noticed that in *Rotense*, Oppas calls Pelayo "confrater," thus making him part of the same family of Witiza (*History* 103). Moreover, the word here may be used within an appeal directed to Pelayo, where Oppas calls him not only *confrater*, which is to say, not only a family relative, but a fellow Visigoth. He also calls Pelayo *fili*, son, member of the church where Oppas serves as spiritual father.

⁵⁰ Pelayo does not represent either Witiza nor Rodrigo, because the lineage of the sinning kings dies with the latter: "Rudericus, ultimus rex Gothorum" (22). However, in this work, he represents a 'clean' (or at least new) Visigothic dynasty.

characters of the legend reveal colonial/empire relations, in which the former colonial subjects are now re-writing their history. The rape tale expresses the aspirations of a people (or rather, a dynasty) who claim their right to empire. Worth noting is the fact that when those who narrate their history as if they had been losers at some point, now in their new role of conquerors, they narrate their history in the same manner of the former rulers: by way of the rape tale. In their version, the tale of Luzencia is performing the same function Oliba's tale performed in *Ajbar Machmua*.

This Christian deployment of the rape tale reveals the similarity of tropes used by both the Muslim and Visigoth chroniclers, taken from the same pool. Here, invasion or tyranny is figured by rape, used here to demonize the conquered (or soon to be conquered) Other, with the purpose of justifying expansion and control of the Peninsula. It is a way of declaring a *Translatio Imperii*.

CRÓNICA NAJERENSE

The oldest surviving manuscript of this work, which may have been composed between 1152 and 1157, has been dated somewhat prior to 1239 ("Crónica Najerense" 7), and the author may have been a monk from the Cluny order. This manuscript at some point belonged to the monastery of Isidore of Leon. Like the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, the *Najerense* is constructed as a continuation of Isidore's history of the Visigoths after King Swintila. It follows some of the passages of *Rotense* very closely—rape of Luzencia, for example. However, it presents one striking difference with *Crónica de Alfonso III*: the reappearance of Oliba.

The version in the *Najerense* is much richer in biographical details than the Muslim texts. In the *Ajbar Machmua*, Rodrigo is merely described as "not of royal lineage," while in Abenalcotiya's history, Rodrigo is a general chosen by King Witiza. In

both cases, the fact that he was not a member of the royal family is emphasized. *Najerense*'s version affirms the opposite: "Quia iam fatus Rudericus ex patre Teudefredo est genitus. Teodefredus [sic] uero filius Cindasuindi regis fuit, quem mater in etate puerili reliquit" ("Crónica Najerense" 1.12) [For Rodrigo of whom we spoke was born from his father Teudefredo. Teudefredo truly was the son of King Cindasvinth, whose mother had left him at a young age.] Rodrigo is of royal lineage, a descendant of King Cinsdavinth. This takes away one of the usual characteristics of the rapist ruler: usurper, which may indicate that a new crystallization of the tale has taken place, with its subsequent change in meaning.

The narrator tells that Teudefredo, Rodrigo's father, had raised the suspicion of king Egica, who saw him as a potential enemy. Consequently, the king ordered Teudefredo's eyes gouged and sent to exile in Cordoba. Rodrigo is born and raised there, eventually arriving at a perfect age ("etatem perfectam"), and becoming a warrior "vir bellator fuit" (1.12). Towards the end of the biographical passage, appears a castle that Rodrigo built in Cordoba: "Cordoba in ciuitate palatium est fabricatus, quod nunc a caldeis balaath Ruderici est uocitatum" [He made a palace in the city of Cordoba, which now it is called by the Muslims Baalath of Roderick (1.12)]. "Baalath" (or the alternative spelling "balaath") is a semitic word meaning "fortress" or "palace."⁵¹ The semitic reverberations of the Baalath may point towards Biblical references to King Solomon (1 Kings 9, 18; 2 Chron. 8, 6), where it is one of the fortified cities (fortresses) built by him. This brings to mind the Muslim legend of the house of many locks and its theme of taboo, which, as we have seen, plays the role of an analog to Rodrigo's more violent transgression.

⁵¹ In a similar passage, *Crónica de Alfonso III* says "uallat" (Latin for fortress) instead of "balaath."

The palace (or house) of the Muslim legend as told by Al-Hakam, contained an “ark.” Similarly, in the Bible, the Temple of Solomon contained one. The house built by Solomon, the Temple, represented a covenant with God (1 Kings 9, 1-9), whereby, if Solomon followed the commandments, God would grant him and his descendants *imperium sine fine*: “I will establish your royal throne over Israel forever, as I promised your father David, saying, ‘There shall not fail you a successor on the throne of Israel’” (“The New Oxford Annotated Bible” 1 Kings 9,5). However, if Solomon were to break the covenant, his *Imperium* would be transferred to another people:

I will cut Israel off from the land that I have given them; and the house that I have consecrated for my name I will cast out of my sight; and Israel will become a proverb and a taunt among all peoples. This house will become a heap of ruins; everyone passing by it will be astonished, and will hiss. (1 Kings 9, 7-8)

But King Solomon, for all his wisdom, broke the covenant, and adored other gods. Why? It all happened because he was extremely libidinous (1 Kings 11). This was expressed in exceeding love for foreign, idol-worshipping women, since besides the daughter of Pharaoh, he also loved “Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite women”—in all, one thousand—from nations specifically blacklisted by the Lord, as it might caused him to adore their equally foreign deities, which Solomon did (1 Kings 11,1). Consequently, the Hebrew deity punished him: “Therefore the Lord said to Solomon, ‘Since this has been your mind and you have not kept my covenant and my statutes that I have commanded you, I will surely tear the kingdom from you and give it to your servant’” (1 Kings 11,11).

Solomon lost the promised *imperium*. By implication, if this Semitic word constitutes a passing reference to King Solomon, it connotes Rodrigo’s responsibility for the loss of his people’s *imperium*: as God took it from the Hebrews because of the king’s transgression, likewise He took it away from the Visigoths.

OLIBA

The rape of Oliba in the *Najerense* appears as the story that started with a marriage but ended with a rape: the received wife returns as raped daughter. As expected, the male characters are now enemies. Although in his role of the rightfully male relative, this version emphasizes the treacherous character of Count Julian. He is egged on to his act of betrayal by the sons of Witiza (traitors we have previously seen in *Ajbar Machmua* and in *Crónica de Alfonso III*, and in the *Mozárabe of 754*), and is described as a close associate of King Witiza: “quem Uitiza rex in suis fidelibus familiarissimum habuerat” [whom King Witiza held among his very closest faithful], a king with a bad reputation (“Crónica Najerense” 1.13).⁵² The theme of betrayal is intensified with new information provided by the *Najerense*: Roderick humiliated Julian by raping his daughter, instead of marrying her. Thus the king too is a traitor, as the words “callide subriperat” [who took her shrewdly by stealth] manifest. Although the narrator pins the responsibility for the invasion on Julian and the sons of Witiza only [“ab causam fraudis Taric Strabonem, filiorum Uitizani, et comitis Iuliani, sarraceni ingressi sunt Yspaniam” (43)], yet the narrative explains the disaster through a triple chain of injury and revenge involving the King: 1. Roderick avenges the injury to her father on the two sons of Witiza, 2. The sons

⁵² Nam is [Roderick] ubi culmen regale adeptus est, iniuriam patris ulcisci festinans, duos filios Uitice ab Yspaniis remouit, ac summo cum dedecore eosdem proprio regno pepulit. Sed et isti ad Tingitanam prouintiam trans fretantes, Iuliano comiti, quem Uitiza rex in suis fidelibus familiarissimum habuerat, adhesserunt, ibique de illatis contumeliis ingemiscientes, mauros introducendo, et sibi et tocius Ispanie perditum iri disposuerunt. [For as soon as he (Rodrigo) arrived to the royal highness, feeling the urge to avenge the injury done to his father he removed the two sons of Witiza from the Spains, and with the utmost disgrace banished them from their very own kingdom. But these two, crossing to the province of Tingitania, joined Count Julian, whom King Witiza held among his very closest faithful, there crying about the inflicted affronts, by bringing the Moors, for themselves and for the whole of Spain, arranged to bring this ruin to pass.] (Book I, 13).

of Witiza plot to bring the Moors to avenge their injury and 3. Count Julian plots with the sons of Witiza to avenge the injury to his daughter.

LUZENCIA

The rape of Luzencia follows the version given in the *Rotense* except where it (*Rotense*) says “ob occasione sororis eius” [because of his sister] (“Alfonso III” 24) , the *Najerense* gives “ob occasione habende sororis eius” [in order to take possession of his sister] (43). *Habende* clarifies Munnuza’s intention towards the sister: to “have” sexual intercourse with her (Adams 187-88). In another change, where *Rotense* says “per quodam ingenium sororem illius sibi in coniugio sociavit” (24), the *Najerense* says “perquodam ingenium sororem illius sibi sociavit.” *Najerense*’s omission of the sexually overt “coniugio” (Adams 179) does not lessen the presentation of the act as a crime, because fraud is present: “per quodam ingenium” [by means of a trick].

In both the *Crónica* and the *Najerense* the reaction of Pelayo is noted as “nullatenus consentit”: he refused to accept. Therefore, this is an unwanted alliance achieved by means of fraud. In other words, a union against the wishes of the male guardian: a rape.

To summarize, the type of story called the rape tale appears in both Muslim and Christian tales of conquest; the legend of Oliba is deployed as rape historical in Muslim histories of the Conquest of Spain, while the mirror legend of Luzencia appears as rape historical in Christian tale of Reconquest. The Christian *Crónica Najerense* deploys the rape of Luzencia, as might be expected from such a source, but it also provides a twist by telling of the rape of Oliba. The reason may be simply homilectic, placing emphasis on the sin of lust. The *Najerense* follows *Rotense*’s description of King Witiza’s reign, who acquired multiples wives and concubines (“uxores et concubinas plurimas”), and ordered

the clergy to also acquire women: “episcopis, presbiteris seu diachonibus uxores habere percepit” (3.11). In conclusion, all this fornication by the *bellatores* (warriors—king and magnates) and the *oratores* (those who pray—priests, monks, bishops) was the cause of the ruin of Spain: “Istud [this] namque Yspanie causa pereundi fuit.” The *Najerense* continues here in the same vein as the *Rotense*, suggesting that although the king sinned first, the clergy is also terribly at fault:

Istud namque Yspanie causa pereundi fuit. Sicut scriptum est: “Quia habundavit iniquitas, refrigescit caritas” [Matt. 24, 12]. Et alia scriptura dicit: “Si peccat populus, orat sacerdos; si peccat sacerdos, plaga in populo” [Num. VIII, 19; XVI, 46-48]. Et quia recesserunt a Domino, ut non ambulant in uis preceptorum eius, et non obseruantes custodirent qualiter Dominus prohibet sacerdotes inique agere, dum dicat at Moysen in Exodo: “Sacerdotes qui accedunt ad Dominum Deum sanctificentur, ne forte derelinquat illos Dominus” [Exod. 19, 22]. Et iterum: “Cum accedunt ministrare ad altare sanctum, non adducant in se delictum, ne forte moriantur” [Levit. 21, 23; Matt. 5, 23]. Et quia reges et sacerdotes Dominum dereliquerunt, ideo cuncta agmina Yspanie perierunt. (“Crónica Najerense” 1.11)

[This was the cause of the destruction of Spain. As it is written: “Where evil abounds, love grows cold.” And another scripture said: “If the people sin, let the priest pray; if the priest sins, plague upon the people.” And because they abandoned the Lord, and they did not walk under his precepts and, not complying, did not guard the Lord’s prohibition on the priests to do evil; as the Lord said to Moses in Exodus: “Let the priests who approach the Lord God sanctified themselves, so that the Lord will not abandon them.” And again: “When they approach to serve at the holy altar, let them not bring themselves in sin, so that they will not die.” And because kings and priests abandoned the Lord, for that reason all the armies of Spain perished].

Notice that the very last line includes kings (in plural) in the burden of guilt, and that this explanation of the causes of the loss of Spain is inserted in the Witiza passage, not in Rodrigo’s. The clear implication is that when an empire is lost, previously somebody within it had to transgress sexually, no matter whom. The bottom line is that they (all) sinned. The apparent emphasis in Witiza’s reign, not in Rodrigo’s, is due to the priests’ role, whose participation causes an escalation of sexual activity resulting in “plaga in populo,” a plague falls over the people.

Up to here, the *Najerense* followed the *Crónica de Alfonso III (Rotense)* faithfully. Yet, by introducing the episode of Oliba's rape, with the triply emphasized theme of betrayal, the emphasis switches from the priests to the kings. This important change in interpretation will be followed by Lucas de Tuy as we will see later in this chapter.

TRANSLATIO IMPERII

As with the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, the *translatio* is performed by way of the Christian figure Pelayo. There is emphasis on Christian (moral) values and on a Christian legitimation of rule. However, the ethnic allegiance (i.e.: Leonese, Castilian) of the *Najerense* author has been debated (25-30), as opposed to the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, where it is clearly Asturian. The text as preserved in the *Rotense* has been identified as Cluniac—reflecting values of the Cluny order. It may have produced by/for monks, for the use of the monastery of Carrión, and later, of Isidore of León. Hence, it can be said that author's allegiance is solely to the Church and to the order. Also, since at this point the Kingdom of Asturias no longer exists, there is not political damage in letting Roderick be identified as a rapist, because the *translatio* is no longer claimed by blood ties. This will be further explained in relation to Alfonso X's *Estoria* in a later chapter.

LUCAS DE TUY'S *CHRONICON MUNDI*

Not much is known about Lucas de Tuy, except details that surface from his own writings. Lucas was probably born in Leon towards the end of 12th century. At some point in his life, he became the bishop of Tuy, a border town between Portugal and Leon. Emma Falque notes that Tuy was a border town that changed hands frequently in

numerous wars, and that the loyalty of bishops had to adjust accordingly (X-XI). That is, no fidelity to a former principality influenced the bishops to leave the town if it were occupied: they remained where they were. One may surmise here that the bishops' loyalty was first to the Church, second to the king. This consideration must be kept in mind whenever reading texts intended for a religious/monastic audience.

Lucas may have traveled to Jerusalem and other places, and he may have worked in the Court of Queen Berenguela of Leon. He was a writer, an intellectual who authored several works, among which were the *Chronicon Mundi*, a Universal/Ethnic history, and *De miraculi sancti Isidori*, a work that aims to appropriate St Isidore for Leon. Concerning Queen Berenguela, he may have known her personally, since he alleges in the prologue of the *Chronicon* that she commissioned the work, and it is dedicated to her. The *Chronicon* is divided in four books. It begins with a *praefatio* and a prologue.

In Lucas's lifetime, around the 1250s, Castile became the strongest of the Iberian kingdoms. Leon had been absorbed into Castile, and the remnants of Muslim empire consisted of the kingdom of Granada, client of Fernando III of Castile, and Murcia, also client of Fernando III.

Ordoño II (910-925), king of Asturias, had moved the royal city from Oviedo to León (Reilly 91), and thereafter the kingdom was known by this latter city. Desire to expand his Leonese *imperium* was passed on to his descendents. For example, Alfonso VI used the title "totius hispaniae imperator", "ruler of all the Spains", thus binding his title to a legal claim to territorial hegemony over the entire territory of the "Spains" (92). Prior to the 12th-Century, Castile paid tribute to Leon, but in 1230 Castile annexed it. Queen Berenguela was instrumental in this annexation. She was the only heir to the Crown of Castile and the mother of the only son of King of Leon. Therefore, by renouncing the Castilian title in favor of her son Ferdinand III he became ruler of both

Castile and Leon. This is the Queen of Leon (and Castile) for whom Lucas writes his work.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK

The work was written before 1239 (which was when Lucas became bishop), which we know because in the *praefacio* the author refers to himself as simply a “deacon” (XX). Falque gives 1230 as the probable date of composition, a time when Fernando III had been crowned king of Castile-Leon in an arrangement by which Berenguela retained her title of Queen.⁵³ The work must have been finished after 1237 but before 1246, the date of the death of Queen Berenguela, since the Bishop does not mention this fact.

The implied audience of the *Crónica de Alfonso III* was King Ordoño, while the narrator of the *Najerense* seems to be monastic, likely a Cluniac, considering the history of ownership of the manuscript (Ubieto Arteta 25-30). The manifest audience for the *Chronicon Mundi* is Queen Berenguela and other royal rulers, who are addressed in Lucas’ *praefacio*. It could also be that, as implied by the genre of the work—an universal history type—Lucas intended his work to be read by a monastic audience. Lucas was a Leonese bishop and an intellectual, author of religious works. The work is dedicated to Queen Berenguela, and her royal issue, as the reader surmises from the *praefacio*, which

⁵³ Falque describes the *Chronicon Mundi* thus: Books I and II are Isidore’s own *Chronicon* with some variants, Book III is made up of a number of sources: Julian of Toledo, false Isidore, and *Crónica de Alfonso III* (XXIII), and Book IV is original, since Lucas is narrating events that he witnessed in his lifetime. After this characterization, Falque asks a difficult question: whether it is possible to “separate Lucas’s voice and style from his sources.” I would answer that his voice is inscribed in the whole—the sources he chose, and the order in which he told the events. I believe that Lucas, as a medieval chronicler, composed a new text with elements shared with other histories, much like an “original” writer. The *Chronicon* should be seen as a complete work, a text that while inserting itself in a tradition, is in dialogue or in open confrontation with said tradition.

includes a mirror of princes where Lucas explains the qualities of a good king versus a bad one.

As to the intention of the work, Falque argues that Lucas writes in support of the Castilian cause (XII). I will argue to the contrary, following Linehan ("Lucas de Tuy, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y las historias alfonsíes" 21), that Lucas is pro-Leonese, though this does not mean he is anti Castilian, as it will be explained later—after all, the work is dedicated to Castilian queen who was the former queen of Leon. The *Chronicon Mundi* is a history of the world and a history of 'Spain' with Leon at its center.

THE RAPE TALE IN THE *CHRONICON MUNDI*

As we have observed in the previous texts studied in this chapter, the rape tale is frequently deployed as a common trope in national/imperial histories to explain the fall of kingdoms and principalities. Its structure is as follows: a tyrannical ruler rapes a woman and then loses the *imperium*. The rape happens at an important juncture in the narrative: before a change in the structure of power. The old system where the rape happened, dies, and a new system is born—or with a Christian twist, a former system is *reborn*. Since God has forgiven his people, the rebellion of Pelayo amounts to a "restoration" of Christian order. The final result is the *translatio imperii*: the true and faithful inherit the power, while the barbarians/infidels—terms which are equally deployed by Greek, Roman, Muslim, and Christian historiographers in reference to the Other—lose it.

Lucas' version of the rape tale, in Book III, deploys both Oliba's and Luzencia's legend. The narration of the last days of the Visigoths and the revolt of Pelayo is similar to the *Najerense's*, reflecting the triple chain of injuries followed by revenge observed in this work: (1) Roderick avenges his father on Witiza's sons, (2) Witiza's sons avenge themselves on the King, (3) Count Julian avenges the rape of his daughter on the King

and (4) all ends with the ruin of the Spains. However, there are a few meaningful variations: In the *Najerense*, Rodrigo is the son of Teodofredo and the grandson of King Chisdanvinth. King Egica had the eyes of Teodofredo gouged. Similarly, in the *Chronicon*, Rodrigo is the son of Teudefredo, whom Egica banishes. It is the lustful Witiza who gouges Teodefredo's eyes, and later tries to gouge Pelayo's eyes without success. In the *Najerense*, as well as in *Crónica de Alfonso III*, Pelayo is a *spatario*, an unclear title understood as meaning dignitary, or one belonging to a military class. So Pelayo is a noble warrior, not of the king's family, whereas in the *Chronicon*, Pelayo is son of Duke Fafila (who died after being struck in the head by Witiza), and grandson of King Chisdanvinth. This sensational turn makes Pelayo and Rodrigo cousins. Consequently, now Pelayo is of royal lineage.

WHO SINNED THE MOST, THE KING OR HIS PRIESTS?

While the *Najerense* seems to accuse equally clergy and monarchs—with a few extra lashings for the priests—the *Chronicon* shifts the emphasis from clergy to nobility. The evil traits of Witiza are exaggerated, with him being presented as leading the kingdom into a bacchanal worst than the *Najerense*: not only does Witiza orders all of the “episcopis, presbiteris, diaconibus et ceteris ecclesie Christi ministris” [“bishops, presbiters, deacons and the remaining ministers of the church of Christ”] to have “carnales uxores” (carnal, ‘of the flesh’, wives), he also ordered them to disobey the Pope on pain of death (Lucas 3.61).

As in the *Najerense*, in the *Chronicon* Witiza himself had “simul plures uxores et concubinas” [“many wives and concubines at the same time” (3.61)]. Lucas adds: not only were the king (and clergy) fornicating, but the entire (“total”) number of noble Goths was ordered to do the same. This picture of the nobles shifts the responsibility for

the loss of Spain from the Church to the aristocracy (king and his nobles). Where the *Najerense* chastised the priests first and the kings last, the *Chronicon* throws the blame on the nobles and king, and only derivatively on the priests:

Total Gotorum nobilitas in conuiuuiis, libidinibus et uiciis versa, Dominum ad iracundiam prouocauit, ita ut in illis impleretur quod dicitur: *‘Impius cum uenerit in profundum malorum, contempnit’*, et quia reges et sacerdotes Dominum dereliquerunt, cuncta agmina Yspaniarum derelicta a Domino perierunt. (3.61)

[All of the noble Goths together, turned by lusts and vices, provoked the wrath of the Lord, thus in them it was fulfilled where it was said that ‘When the impious come producing evils, scorn them’, and because kings and priests sinned against the Lord, the entire army of the Spains, having been abandoned by the Lord, perished].

As if this were not enough, Lucas further demonizes the king, who is seen piling “iniquitatem super iniquitatem” [“evil on top of evil” (3.61)] by inviting Jews to Spain and giving them privileges. Then, turning to Rodrigo, Lucas shows him following in his predecessor’s footsteps:

Era DCC.XL.VIII Rodericus filius Teudefredi consilio magnatorum Gotice gentis in regnum successit, uir belliger et durus et ad omne negotium expeditus, sed uita et moribus Vitice non dissimilis.(3.62)

[In the Era of DCC. XL. VIII Roderick, son of Teudefredo, succeeded to the throne by the counsel of the Gothic nobles; he was a warrior and vigorous and expedient in all kinds of matters, but in way of life and character, he was not different from Witiza].

In other words, he was also a fornicator and ends up raping Count Julian’s daughter. In this version, Roderick was engaged to her. The sons of Witiza had asked Julian for help against the usurper, and the Count was persuaded because “Rodericus rex filiam ipsius non pro uxore, sed eo quod sibi pulchra uidebatur, utebatur pro concubina, quam pro uxore a patre acceperat” [“King Roderick was enjoying his daughter not as wife, but, pondering her beauty, as a concubine, whom he had received as wife from her father” (3.62)].

The change in status from wife to concubine reveals two things: one, a betrayal, as the King breaks his word, and two, a change in status for Count Julian from desirable partner to enemy. The King had sealed the alliance with a marriage engagement, which he later violated by raping the bride—rape being an unlawful act of sexual violence against a woman, understood as such by a male authority, as I defined in the previous chapter of this dissertation. If Levi-Strauss is right when he suggests that “marriage constantly ventures the existence of reciprocity” (Levi-Strauss Elementary Structures 489), we can assume that both parties saw the prospective union of the king with the count’s daughter as mutually beneficial. Count Julian gives a daughter, and King Rodrigo receives her as wife. However, a strange reversal occurs: King Rodrigo rapes the daughter of Count Julian. The received wife returns as raped daughter. The assumed relationship between the father and husband changes with the rejection and rape of the bride. The males are now enemies. Effectively, our story continues with a war in which Count Julian and King Rodrigo will meet as adversaries in battle.

COUNT JULIAN

The *Najerense* had described Count Julian merely as close to Witiza: “in suis fidelibus familiarissimum habuerat,” perhaps implying that since he was a dear friend, he had participated happily in the king’s notorious pastime. In contrast, *Chronicon* offers a lengthy characterization:

Erat Iulianus uir sagax et astutus et *callide* incitauit Francos, ut expugnarent Yspanium citeriorem. Finxit etiam se esse amicum regi Roderico, et *callide* consuluit ut equos et arma ad Gallias mitteret et ad Affricam, quia in interiori Yspania ipse regnabat securus, et non erat necesse ut haberent arma in patria, quibus se mutuo interficerent. Tale tunc ad hoc Rodericus rex dedit edictum, ut, ubicumque arma inuenirentur uel equi fortissimi, uiolenter dominis auferrentur et in Affricam uel in Gallias mitterentur. (3.62)

[Julian was a man sharp and astute, and cunningly he instated the Franks, so that they would assault the Near Spain. He pretended to be a friend of the King Roderick, and cunningly⁵⁴ advised that horses and weapons were sent to Gallia and Africa, because in the interior of Spain he reigned safely, and there was not any necessity to have weapons in the fatherland, with which people would kill each other. Such things, King Roderick ordered to be done, that wherever weapons were found or very strong horses, that they be snatched violently and sent to Africa or to Gallia].

To summarize: Julian is seen as a relative to the paradigm of evil, Witiza, and is depicted as a traitor, who “finxit” (pretends) to be a friend and gives bad counsel to the King. It is because of him that there will be no weapons to confront the enemy army of Moors—which not only makes Julian instrumental in the invasion, but also “explains” why the Goths were defeated, leaving Roderick in the background.

Although we know the King committed a transgression, Julian takes center stage as the villain. He is also conveniently made a Count—as other traitors will be, for example, Count Paulus (of the well-known treason against King Bamba.) This shift of focus from the Fornicating King to the Treacherous Count may be explained by the idea expressed in the High and Late Middle Ages by authors such as Thomas Aquinas in *De Regno* and in Alfonso X’s *Estoria de Espanna* that the institution of monarchy is sacred. For Lucas de Tuy, any disturbance of public order is caused by plotting nobles, so that treason supersedes fornication as cause of invasion.

Though royals have been shown to be morally corrupted, nevertheless they are kings. It makes sense in this logic then that the leader of the Christian uprising should be a king, not merely a king-like figure: therefore, in the *Chronicon Mundi*, Pelayo is of royal lineage.

⁵⁴ Notice the repetition of this word *callide*.

PELAYO

The rape of Oliba is followed by a couple of lines about God's mercy: while destroying the sinners, God is moved to preserve those Goths who had not sinned: "quas sacerdotes et reges Yspanie sequentes sue carnis desideria reliquerent et ideo perierunt" [those priests and kings of the Spains, having followed their flesh gave surrendered to desire, died for this reason](3.62). Hence, the reader must presume that if there were survivors, they had resisted the call of the flesh. Pelayo, son of Fafila is among these survivors. Going back to the *praefacio*, in the mirror of princes that begins the *Chronicon*, Lucas states that the king should be an example of 1) high moral values (Catholic) Christian values, 2) just, 3) capable of keeping the kingdom in peace, and 4) a good warrior. Lastly, Lucas adds the quality of 5) *Sapientia*: "Beata terra, cuius Rex sapiens est" [Blessed is the land whose king is wise (*Praef.* 1)]. The *Chronicon* expresses the idea that God's punishment of a bad king brings suffering and harm to his people. Fernández Gallardo notes that in the prologue to Book II there is a reflection on the sins of lust and greed: these were the cause of the fall of the Visigoths (58). With Pelayo, a new era begins.

Pelayo is unlike his corrupt brethren in that even though King Witiza had killed his father, Duke Fafila, and attempted to gouge his (Pelayo's) eyes, he did not act like Roderick or like Julian: as tyrannical as his king was, Pelayo did not betray him. Clearly, in the *Chronicon*, the worst sin is betrayal of the king.

As in previous versions, Pelayo is absent when his sister Luzencia is raped. In the *Chronicon*, the rapist is named Muza (same as the Arab general in charge of invasion), not Munnuza. The rape scene is as follows:

Muza uero uidens sororem illius pulchram accensus libidine dolose quasi
legationis causa Pelagium Cordubam misit et eo absente sororem ipsius ui sibi
sociavit. (3.62)

[Muza, seeing his sister (Pelayo's) beauty, inflamed by sexual desire, sent Pelayo to Cordoba as if because of an embassy, and with him absent, joined himself to his sister by force.]

The evidence of Luzencia's rape rests is in the word "ui," force, violence. With the word the narrator is emphasizes that this act was performed against her will—or rather, against the will of her guardian, thus against the law. This act constitutes the Rape function. In the rendering of Oliba's rape passage, king Roderick had seen her "pulchra," beautiful, and consequently decides to "utebatur," enjoy her as concubine. This was not a desirable for Count Julian, her father, and it is a breach of contract, and he is enraged. Likewise, Pelayo is enraged by the news of his sister, and "nullatenus consensit in illicito matrimonio," [absolutely did not accept this illicit marriage.](3.62) *Matrimonio* [Marriage] is modified by the *illicito*—unlawful. The narrator's choice of adjective indicates that this marriage by way of force is not valid. Pelayo's rejection of it constitutes the sixth function, Rebellion.

Immediately after the news, Pelayo thinks of the liberation of the Christian peoples—which brings to mind Livy's Brutus, who in one breath switches from a moving eulogy in praise of recently departed Lucretia to a rousing speech calling for the liberation of Rome. Likewise, after Luzencia is raped, Pelayo rebels and the liberation of Christians ensues. As I explained in chapter 1, this creates a logical relationship of cause and effect: first, rape; then, uprising and liberation, as if the course of freedom must pass over the body of a woman.

LUCAS' NOSTALGIC *TRANSLATIO IMPERII*

Both Iberian samples of the rape tale are present in Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*. The rape of Oliba by her king is used to explain the invasion, or fall, as God's punishment for the Christian Visigoths kings' sins, while the rape of Luzencia is used to

narrate the rebirth of the reformed Christians through her brother Pelayo. Through this double rape, the *translatio imperii* from Visigoths to Muslims performed in chronicles like *Ajbar Machmua* is seized like a magic carpet and flown over the newcomers to land not in Muslim hands, but in Christian ones. It could also be said that the *imperium* is translated from bad Christians (fornicators) to good Christian warriors. This point, suggested in *Crónica de Alfonso III*, is more clearly stated by Lucas when he makes Roderick and Pelayo cousins: the first one is a sinner, the second, a savior; yet both are the heirs of the royal house of Chisdavinth and therefore, Christian.

The *imperii* then goes to the “Christians,” but... which ones? As it has been reiterated through this chapter, there were a number of competitors staking their claims on this title: *Crónica de Alfonso III* claims it for the kings of Asturias, while the *Najerense* remains ambiguous (claims it for the “Christians”), perhaps because it is a text produced for a monastery that belonged to the French Cluniac order.

The form chosen by Lucas may provide some clues as to the *translatio*. The *Chronicon Mundi* belongs to the genre of universal history, but it is also an ethnic/national history, which begins with the origins of the world and ends in 1236, date of conquest of Cordoba by Fernando III. Fernández Gallardo notices that Lucas chose to call his work *chronica*, a genre characterized by annalistic style, as opposed to *historia*, a narration. Yet his work is decidedly *historia*-like: a narrative, even though he calls the first part *chronica* (the section on universal history), while he calls *historia* the section on the Goths. It seems that for Lucas these terms are synonymous (63). Taking genre into consideration, Fernández Gallardo argues that in spite of the *Speculum Principis*, there may have been another audience at whom Lucas aimed. Such clues as Lucas’ interest in computation of time, typical of the universal history genre, reveal his theological interests, not the Queen’s. This might suggest that he is writing as a canon, perhaps for an

audience of his peers (64-66). However, Fernández forgets the identification of this genre with the theme of *translatio imperii*. Furthermore, Lucas's universal history may begin with Adam and Eve, but soon takes a path that leads directly to Spain, and there it stays.

Through Pelayo, the *Chronicon* endorses Leon (formerly the kingdom of Asturias), even though Leonese dreams had been extinguished at this point. This becomes apparent in the *Laus Hispanie* presented in the *prefacio* which ends with a praise of Leon, veritably placing it at the ruling center of Spain. This may imply that Lucas does not support Castile's supremacy. However, since *laus* refers not to the kingdom of Leon, but to the *urbs*, the city, one would have to ask—notwithstanding Linehan's keen observations on the matter ("Lucas de Tuy" 22), if the praise of Leon really poses a challenge to the former queen and to the present king of Leon. In this nostalgic version of the Iberian *translatio*, Leon, where the remains of Isidore laid, could be the center of a Christian Spain, in spite of Castilian hegemony—understood at this time as Castile-Leon. In the next chapter, we will see another Bishop striving to claim the title of imperial city for another city, Toledo.

By claiming the Visigoth past, territorial claims become legitimate because Visigoths had *imperium* over the Iberian Peninsula as well as the North of Africa. However, what changes in every text is who is claiming leadership of the "Spains": the *Crónica de Alfonso III* claims it for the kings of Asturias, while the *Najerense* remains ambiguous (claims it for the "Christians"), perhaps because it is a text produced for a monastery that belonged to the French Cluny order. Lucas arguably claims the *imperium* for Leon, formerly the kingdom of Asturias. This becomes apparent in the *Laus Hispanie* presented in the *prefacio* which ends with praise of Leon, veritably placing it at the ruling center of Spain. Through Pelayo, the *Chronicon* legitimates Leonese claims, even though Leonese dreams have been extinguished at this point.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Rape legends are key to conquest narratives of Spain. In Muslim historiography, the tale of a rapist Visigoth serves to justify the invasion and to legitimate rule over Christian infidels. Christian historiography would reclaim Visigothic past, in order to legitimate territorial claims since Visigoths had *imperium* over the Iberian Peninsula as well as the North of Africa. In Christian historiography, the rape of Oliba serves to explain the invasion as God's punishment for bad behavior. Later on, the rape of Luzencia makes its appearance through the tale of a rapist Muslim ruler in order to justify invasion (here reconfigured as Reconquest), and to legitimate rule over Muslim infidels.

Rape narratives reflect political reconfigurations. They articulate power struggles taking place at the time of the production of the text. Bishop Lucas's *Chronicon Mundi* reflects a world where Muslims have lost their former preeminence. In exalting the leadership role that Leon played in the past history of Spain, he is in fact expressing support for Castilian hegemony in the Iberian Peninsula. Since the queen of Leon was also the queen of Castile, legitimation of Leonese claims to *imperium* in the Peninsula through the foundational figure of Pelayo ends up lending support to Castilian's present hegemony. All the while, Bishop Lucas is also voicing the interests of a Church striving to keep whatever hold on the monarchy it can. This is shown by his persistent emphasis on the links between Christianity and *imperium*: good kings are Christian kings, while bad kings are sinners. The latter tend to lose the *imperium*.

Chapter 3: Rape and the re-creation of A Visigothic past

Our last chapter presented the rape tales of Oliba and Luzencia. The former functioned in mythic terms to explain the conquest of the Christian kingdoms by the Muslims, the latter marked the mythic commencement of the *Reconquista*, as though one rape were required to negate the former. Each crystallization renders new meaning as the rape tale intervenes to frame a particular point of view. Toledan Muslim writers recount the story of Oliba in their tale of conquest, where the function of the rape tale is to characterize the moral degradation of the Visigoths: the story exposes the tyranny and illegitimacy of the rulers and explains that their vassals are given little choice other than to become traitors, such as Julian and the sons of Witiza. All participants on the Visigoth side are infidels (followers of another religion), which justifies and legitimates conquest and occupation by the forces of a morally superior enemy. This interpretation of the moral ruin of the Visigoths contrasts with that given by Isidore, a Goth from the court of a Visigothic king,⁵⁵ in his *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum and Suevorum*, in which he proudly praised the Goths who had placed the Romans under their rule. For Isidore, the Gothic people are great soldiers, great rulers, and good Christians—understood here as supporters of the Orthodox (as opposed to Arrian) Church. It is to this positive portrayal that later Christian chroniclers will turn.

The Christian Asturian *Crónica de Alfonso III*, like the *Najerense*, presents itself as a continuation of the national narrative in Isidore's *Historia* in order to argue that the Asturian kings are in the legitimate line of royal succession from the royal house of Isidore's Goths. While Oliba's tale does not even make an appearance in the *Crónica*, Luzencia does. The tale, which makes its debut in this text, is presented as the turning

⁵⁵ (Although some, like Maravall, believe he was a 'Hispanoroman').

point of the rebellion against the occupiers. In the legend of the rape of Luzencia, the Muslim ruler Munnuza is cast as a tyrant, thus legitimating the rebellion of Christian Pelayo, an important event in the Reconquest legend. Pelayo is the founder of the Asturian/Leonese lineage, from which Ordoño II, writer or commissioner of the work, descends. The work, then, operates both historically and synchronically, with the net result being the affirmation of the legitimacy of the lineage.

Two historiographic works belonging to the genre of national/ethnic history, the *Chronicon Mundi* and the *Historia de Rebus Hispanie*, contain not only the Isidorian history but incorporate, as well, the twin rape tales: the Muslim legend of Oliba and that of the Christian Luzencia. Isidore's *Historia* presents the Visigoths as favorites of God, who chose them over the Romans. While Isidore's history ends with the promise that the glorious Visigoths will have *imperium sine fine*, those who continued his work had to deal with the fact that Visigothic rulers were overthrown by the Muslims. Thus, it would appear that God had withdrawn his favor.

To account for this, the chroniclers find the Goths trespassing against God—much like the people of Israel in *Book of Judges*. They committed an assortment of sins, among them disrespecting the Church and the Pope. They were grossly prone to fornication as well, a vice culminating in the rape of Oliba. Subsequently, God punished them by allowing the Moorish invasion. In their borrowing the Muslim version of the legend, the Christian historians agreed with the Muslims' fundamental point, which is that rape and betrayal are signs of the sinfulness of the Visigoths. Yet, while the Muslim version serves to justify the transfer of power from an inferior to a superior people, the legend reads here as a Christian version of Livy's Lucretia. As in Livy's text, the transgression is committed by members of the same nation who, in telling the story, partially expiate it. King Rodrigo resembles Tarquin: his actions cause the moral and physical ruin of his

subjects, who become traitors and subjects to the invaders. But this state of things passes quickly: as in Livy's legend, after the corrupt kingdom and lineage of Visigoth sinners dies, it gives way to a renewed Visigoth empire, with Pelayo as the Christian Brutus whose appearance on the scene announces the rebirth of Christian Spain. The retelling of the rape episode thus functions, in the Christian sense, as a confession. Through the destruction of the Visigoth *imperium* all sins are expiated and now Hispania can occupy her seat as a world power.

In this way, Lucas in the *Chronicon Mundi* and Ximénez de Rada in the *Historia de Rebus Hispanie* find a way to appropriate Isidore's *Historia de regibus Gothorum* for their ethnic/national histories of the 'Spains'. Bishop Lucas of Tuy, while also adding a most grave chastisement against often mischievous kings, seems to agree with the continuation scheme first seen in the *Crónica de Alfonso III*—whereby the Asturian/Leonese kings are part of the same lineage of Visigoth kings. As we shall see, Bishop Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada expresses a quite different attitude towards the Visigothic past. What Isidore intended as praise of the *gens gothorum*, in Ximénez de Rada's hands becomes a chronicle of the disastrous end of barbarian rule. In spite of this, some specialists have argued that the Toledan bishop's misappropriation of Isidore is an expression of an Isidorian 'nationalistic spirit', part of the project of laying claim to Gothic blood as a way of creating a past for a unified Spain. Pick argues that Ximénez de Rada identified with the Visigoths, on the grounds that they had made Toledo the political and spiritual of their kingdom; while Davis sees Ximénez de Rada's history as a narrative in which a united "Hispania" suffers a "common loss," experienced through a common Gothic ancestry, as well as a common redemption. (Davis 153). I argue to the contrary: for Ximénez de Rada the Goths are not the common ancestor, although they are part of the common past insofar as it was during their time that Spain was 'one.' This past

makes all the Spaniards one family, who should ideally be united in Christian spirit, for the purpose of defeating the enemy of the faith and the destroyer of unity: the Moors. Thus the national crusade was also Christian—which is to say: universal and imperial. This theme will later be enthusiastically taken up by king Alfonso X to justify his ambition to be both king of all the Spains and Holy Roman Emperor. I further argue that Ximénez de Rada makes it clear that a legitimacy gap was created by the death of the last Visigoth king during the Muslim invasion of 711. In effect, all rights and usages appertaining to the doomed Visigothic lineage were annulled, and had no footing in the re-born Christian Spain that emerged in the first stages of the Reconquista. Contrary to Davis and Pick, I think the bishop performs a *translatio* in the text, not a revival. In Rodrigo's *Historia*, Isidorian epic becomes cautionary tale, a political *exemplum* of how *imperium* can be acquired and lost. The rape legends of Oliba and Luzencia play an important part in this argument, but they gain their political force in the Reconquista when read against Isidorian historiography. It is to this complex dialectic that we turn next.

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that Bishop Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada's redeployment of the double rape theme defends an imperial (unifying) agenda, though not from a Neo-Gothic thesis. The rape tale is the basis of the bishop's scheme of an 'indigenous' Christian Spain—one that would be later easily adopted, with a few secularizing touches, by Alfonso X and his successors. The chapter will unfold as follows: section 3.1 provides a brief discussion on Isidore's *History of the kings of the Goths* and the *Chronicon*. In section 3.2, I look at Bishop Rodrigo's version of Isidore's *History*. Section 3.3 concentrates on the function of rape tale in the *Historia de Rebus Hispanie*. Section 3.4 of the chapter deals with the unique point of view of a Lateran bishop writing national/ethnic history.

ISIDORE'S HISTORIES

Born in Seville around 560 (died circa 636), Isidore was a theologian—one of the Latin Fathers, along with the likes of Augustine and Jerome—historian and encyclopedist. He lived at the time of Visigothic rule in the former Roman province of Hispania. Isidore wrote a number of historiographical works, among them a universal history, the *Chronicon*, and an ethnic history, the *Historia Gothorum, Alannorum, Sueuorum*, which inaugurated the genre of Spanish national/ist history. Written in the 7th century, the openly encomiastic tone of this Gothic epic in prose reflects the bishop's allegiance to the “glorious Swuinthila,” king of the Goths. The text has three sections: the first section, which is the longest, is dedicated to the Visigoths; the other two offer a brief summary of the deeds of the Alans and Suevi, who ruled until they were defeated by the Visigoths.

Isidore's first task is to find a place for the Goths in his overarching historical schema, which joins sacred to secular history – a gesture that becomes commonplace in medieval historiography. Thus, he begins by finding the origin of the Goths in the Bible: “1. Gothorum antiquissimam esse gentem certum est: quorum originem quidam de Magog, filio Japhet”—they are descendants of Magog, fifth son of Japhet, son of Noah. This *origo gentis*, a theme common in ethnic histories—will later appear in Bishop Rodrigo's as well as in king Alfonso's X works as one among many other lineages that populated the world. Isidore concentrated on the Goths, who were one with their horses, loved war and “praised the wound”: *Mortem contemnunt laudato vulnere Getae*.(67) This warrior nation gained the best land on Earth, Spain:

Omnium terrarum, quaequae sunt ab occiduo usque ad Indos, pulcherrima es, o sacra semperque felix principum gentiumque mater Spania: iure tu nunc omnium regina provinciarum, a qua non occasus tantum, sed etiam oriens lumina mutuatur:

tu decus atque ornamentum orbis, inlustrior portio terrae, in qua gaudet multum ac largiter floret Geticae gentis gloriosa fecunditas. (1.266)

[Of all lands that stretch from the West to India, you are the most beautiful, O Spain, sacred and ever-blessed mother of leaders and of nations. By right you are now queen of all the provinces, from whom not only the West but also the East obtains its light. You are the glory and ornament of the world, the most illustrious part of the earth, in which the glorious fecundity of the Getic people rejoices much and abundantly flourishes.] (Isidore of Seville History of the Kings 1.1)⁵⁶

Thus begins the famous passage known as Isidore's *De Laude Spanie*, "In Praise of Spain." Passages like these, full of enthusiasm for his native land, have given the *Historia* the reputation of the first national history of Spain. However, Gifford Davis comments that although this is a song of praise for the homeland, it is not "nationalistic"⁵⁷, for there is no sense of a unified "Spanish people." The reader cannot help but notice that the indigenous peoples are absent from Isidore's *Historia*. It is the praise of the land that the Goths conquered (Davis 149). Isidore's *Laude Spanie* theme is imitated centuries later by Lucas, whose version is more religious and local—there are references to the many Spanish saints, and praises both the Roman and Gothic contributions that form Spanish tradition. Luca's text is written in praise of the Spains, plural, though centered around Leon (Davis 150-51).

After introducing his *History* with praise of Spain, understood here as the best of all *lands* only, not peoples, the Bishop of Seville proceeds with the history of her

⁵⁶ For Isidore's English translation of the *Historia*, I am using Donini and Ford. For the Latin, I am using Mommsen. The first number corresponds to the editor's divisions of the text, the second is the page number of the edition.

⁵⁷ Davis makes a distinction between patriotism (love for the homeland) and nationalism or "national consciousness" (the collective reflection of a group of people of a common past and shared attributes, among which is the attribute of having this shared consciousness).

conquerors, the Visigoths, who took her away—rapuit—from her previous husband, the Roman:

Iure itaque te iam pridem aurea Roma caput gentium concupivit et licet te sibimet eadem Romulea virtus primum victrix desponderit, denuo tamen Gothorum florentissima gens post multiplices in orbe victorias certatim rapuit et amavit, fruiturque hactenus inter regias infulas et opes largas imperii felicitate secura. (1c.266)

[Thus rightly did golden Rome, the head of nations, once desired you, and although the same Romulaean virtue, first victorious, betrothed you to itself, at last, nevertheless, the most flourishing nation of the Goths after many victories in the world eagerly captured and loved you, and enjoys you up to the present amid royal insignia and abundant wealth, secure in the felicity of empire.] (History of the Kings 4.2)

Isidore's rhetoric prefigures the recurrent theme of rape in tales of conquest. Thus, the land is spoken in terms of a beautiful wife, "raped" first and now "loved," and "enjoyed"—the theme of rape appears here associated with the idea of conquest. The Goths naturally must be the best nation of the world since they possess this most perfect of lands, a real Eden on Earth. Isidore does not make any attempt to characterize the Goths as autochthonous, or build a case for Visigothic legitimacy based upon previous possession. Quite the opposite: they are conquerors from foreign lands, and their right to rule is bound up with their action in conquering the Romans, to whom they must, then, be superior.⁵⁸ His account of Alaric's sack of Rome in the year 410 illustrates this point of view. To begin with, the attack on the city was justified:

⁵⁸ After the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, the preoccupation with the transfer of world power continued. Bishop Isidore writes a history of the Visigoths placing them above the Romans: "Ut non solum terras, sed et ipsa maria suis armis adeant subactusque serviat illis Romanus miles, quibus servire tot gentes et ipsam Spaniam videt" [they proceed with their arms not only over land but also over the seas themselves, and the Roman soldier is the servant of those whom he sees that so many peoples and Spain itself serve (Isidore of Seville History of the Kings 70)]. Since the Visigoths had humbled Rome, they were now the world leaders: the power had been transferred. However, official transference of empire from Rome was only performed by the Pope in 800 in the person of Charlemagne in what is seen as a renewal of Constantine's original partnership of Empire and Church (Curtius 27-28).

Aera CCCCXLVII, anno imperii Honorii et Arcadii XV extincto Radagaiso Alaricus consors regni, nomine quidem Christianus, sed professione haereticus, dolens tantam multitudinem Gothorum a Romanis extinctam, [in vindictam] sanguinis suorum adversus Romam proelium agit obsessamque impetu magnae cladis irrumpit. (15.273)

[In the era 447 (409), the fifteenth year of Honorius and Arcadius' rule, now that Radagaisus was dead, Alaric, his colleague in kinship, who was a Christian in name but professed himself a heretic, grieving that so great a number of Goths had been slain by the Romans, waged war against Rome to avenge his countrymen's blood; after besieging the city he invaded it with an attack resulting in great slaughter. (History of the Kings 15.9)]

Revenge is the justification of the attack: revenge for the many Goths that were killed in a recent bid to take the city of Rome—albeit no glory comes to the Romans for this victory, since Isidore narrates it as God's punishment for the king of the Goths' (Radagaiso) contempt for Christ. Now this was an event that shook the known world. The unthinkable had happened: the city of Rome, the metropolis of the World Empire had been invaded: "sicque urbs cunctarum gentium victrix Gothicis triumphis victa subcubuit eisque capta subiugataque servivit" (7.273) [and so the city which had been the conqueror of all nations was conquered and overpowered by the triumph of the Goths, and, captive and subdued, it served them.] (History of the Kings 15.9). In his *City of God*, Augustine, writing as both a Christian and a citizen of Rome, confronts the shock many—including himself—felt upon watching the Empire, the world as they had known it, trampled by the barbarians, by formulating an explanation that ties in to the emerging narrative of universal history filtered through Christian theology. In contrast, Isidore writes as a Goth, who narrates unapologetically the Sack of Rome as a victory of the Goths over the Roman Empire, though he quickly clarifies that no Christian was harmed—after all, like Augustin, Isidore was a bishop too:

Tantum autem Gothi clementes ibi extiterunt, ut votum antea darent, ut, si ingrederentur urbem, quicumque Romanorum in locis Christi invenirentur, in eis agere belli iure non liceret, sed ibi et ferendi refrenaretur inmanitas et captivandi

cupiditas coereretur sicque post hoc votum aggredientes urbem quoscumque in locis Christi vel martyrum vel basilicis confugientes invenerunt, in vastatione urbis non miserunt (15.273)

[However, the Goths showed themselves so gentle here that they made a promise to the effect that if they should enter the city, none of the Romans who could be found in Christ's places would be treated according to the laws of war. So, after this vow, when they invaded the city, both death and captivity were spared all those who had sought refuge in the thresholds of the saints.] (15.9)

The "laws of war" (*belli iure* in the text) consisting of death or slavery to the enemy, were spared to persons who took refuge in the Christian temples. This story of the survival of the Christians (and others who pretended to be) appears in Augustine's text as well. Augustine's general design is apologetic: he is making the case that Christianity is not to be blamed for the destruction of the Roman civilization. In fact, the survival of Christian citizens was due specifically to their identification with this religion, which was already spreading among the barbarians. Preserving the Christians from the general slaughter meant, in effect, that Christianity was now responsible for preserving Roman civilization – which to his contemporaries was the same thing as civilization. The survival of the Christians thus demonstrates God's power. After all, Christianity seemed to have some advantages. Isidore's version of the fall picks up on this preservation detail, but transforms it into a proof of the benevolence of the Goths, who did lay waste and killed or enslaved all but spared the Christians. In the words of their leader Alaric, the war was against the Romans, not against the Church: "Cum Romanis gessisse bellum, non cum apostolis" [we wage war against the Romans, and not against the apostles.] We will see what Bishop Rodrigo of Toledo does with this very episode—let it suffice to say for the moment that he did not have vested interests in Gothic glory.

This representation by a theologian of the Visigoths as conquerors of Rome amounts to a declaration of *translatio imperii*, for the Romans were previously the rulers of the world. In his other historiographic work, the *Chronicon*, written for a scholarly

audience, this bold move is more apparent. Isidore mentions the Goths in the prologue that opens the work, and in the section that ends it. As Kenneth Wolf notes, Isidore manages to give them preferential treatment in a work that is so succinct as to leave little space for seemingly important events and dates (11). In a further rhetorical ploy of theological significance, Isidore uses not only the ruling years of the current Roman Emperor (understood here as Byzantine), but also gives the year of the current Visigoth king as a point of reference for calculating the age of the world:

Fiunt igitur ab exordio mundi usque in aeram praesentem, hoc est in anno quinto imperatoris Heraclii et quarto religiosissimi principis Sisebuti, anni VDCCCXIII. (417.480)

[5,814 years have passed from the beginning of the world to the present era 654 (616 CE), that is, to the fifth year of the *imperium* of Heraclius and the fourth of the most glorious prince Sisebut.] (Isidore of Seville "Chronicon")

To understand the importance of this bold statement, a few words on the historiographic convention of marking points of time by the ruling years of the Roman Emperors. In universal histories, dating back to the schema of Eusebius/Jerome, the World advances providentially through time, from the first and less perfect stage to the last and most perfect, which was to be a prelude to the grand apocalyptic finale: The End of the World. Throughout these ages, the *imperium* moves continually from the weaker to the stronger nation, these attributes being determined by war and conquest.

Eusebius, the father of Church History, lived in the 4th century, experiencing both the period of the worst persecutions against Christians and the threshold of Christian dominance, when Emperor Constantine declared Christians had as much right to worship their god as any other citizen of the Empire. Later, Orosius would improve on the schema by concluding that the rise of the Roman Empire was providential: it had to be, since God

chose to be born during its rule. Furthermore, the universality of the Empire was an instrument of God for spreading the Church's message around the World. By this means a universal conversion was rendered possible, which was the prelude to the Second Coming of Christ. Thus, the Roman Empire would prove, in the end, invincible, seeing that the divine plan would be accomplished through it. There would be no other world empire, no more *translatio*. The cycle of transference was over.

But by the time of Isidore, at the beginning of the 7th century, the World had still not ended and the Roman Empire *sine fine* had long been fragmented. Bishop Isidore, a theologian and firm supporter of the Gothic king Sisebut—ruler at the time of the composition of the *Chronicon*—solved the problem of sacred history by consistently presenting the Romans as pagans and heretics in contrast to the pious and Christian Goths. In this scheme of things, the reader knows a *translatio* is sure to happen, and it does, but Isidore goes about it in subtle ways. The date is set, as expected, by making reference to the ruling years of the current Roman Emperor:

Eraclius dehinc sextum decimum agit imperii annum. cuius initio Sclavi
Graeciam Romanis tulerunt, Persi Syriam et Aegyptum plurimasque provincias.
(415.79)

[120. Heraclius has completed five years of his imperial rule. At the beginning, the Slavs took Greece from the Romans; the Persians took Syria, Egypt, and many provinces.] (Isidore of Seville "Chronicon")

In his brief administration, Emperor Heraclius has already lost Greece, Syrian, and Egypt, which is to say: West, East, and the North of Africa. Since the empire did not extend to the South, not much is left for the Emperor to rule, is there? According to Mommsen's edition, this passage is reproduced in five out of six reliable manuscripts—namely

BFPSW. With K being the exception with its fitting account of the exploits of the Emperor,⁵⁹ the following less glorious bit appears in almost all the manuscripts:⁶⁰

Sisebutus Gothorum gloriosissimus princeps in Spania plurimas Romanae militiae urbes sibi bellando subiecit. (415.79)

[Sisebut, most glorious king of the Goths in Spain took certain cities from the same Roman “militia” with war.] (Isidore of Seville “Chronicon”)⁶¹

In contrast with the weak Heraclius, Sisebut, who is the only ruler (other than the Emperor) mentioned in the passage, is seen conquering, gaining territories. Although Heraclius and Sisebut are both mentioned in the final account of the years since the beginning of the world, the history ends with Sisebut, crowned with the attribute of “religiosissimi”—most religious and devout.

In the *Historia*, written a few years later and dedicated in some manuscripts to Sisnandus, King Sisebut had died a few years before,⁶² Isidore boldly declares that “the Roman is the servant of those who are served by Spain and by so many peoples.” Thus ends Isidore’s hymn of praise to the Goths, and to their king, with the promise of better things to come, in terms of expansion of the empire overseas, since they are now venturing to rule the sea:

Ed postquam Sisebutus princeps regni sumpsit sceptrum, ad tantam felicitatis virtutem provecti sunt, ut non solum terras, sed et ipsa maria suis armis adeant subactusque serviat illis Romanus miles, quibus servire tot gentes et ipsam Spaniam videt. (26.295)

⁵⁹ Heraclius dehinc vicensimum primum agit annum imperii, qui a re publica Romana multas in Oriente deficientes patrias et a Persis invasas ditioni priscae restaurat ac de Persis victoriose triumphat. (414.79)

⁶⁰ Namely, manuscripts FGKLMNOPSTVWXYZ.

⁶¹ My translation.

⁶² This happens in strange circumstances that Isidore does not clarify: he may have died of disease, or from excessive consumption of a certain drug, or poisoned (murdered).

[But after the ruler Sisebut took up the scepters of royal power, they have advanced to such excellence of success that they proceed with their arms not only over land but also over the seas themselves, and the Roman soldier is the servant of those whom he sees that so many peoples and Spain itself serve.] (History of the Kings 70.32)

But this *imperium sine fine* that Isidore prophesized for the Visigoths—much in the manner of the prophecy made to Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*—ended a century after his death. Isidore's forecast was shattered in the second half of the 7th century, as an Arabic force proclaiming a new religion, Islam, burst forth from the Arabian Peninsula and rapidly conquered Northern Africa, which had previously been under control of Visigoths and Byzantines (in competition with each other), as well as the Holy Land, much of Asia minor, and the Persian empire. In 711, an army of Berbers and Arabs crossed the straight of Gibraltar and deposed the Visigoths, who were in the midst of an internal struggle for power. The new power extended through the four cardinal points of the Iberian Peninsula, but the Muslims could not hold the harsh mountainous region of the North. It is here that the so called Christian kingdoms regrouped in the next three centuries. The first one of these kingdoms was Asturias, later called Leon.⁶³ By the early 13th century, the balance of power on the Iberian Peninsula had tilted decisively to the Christians. The Islamic dynasties that had ruled the peninsula experienced fractures under the Almohads, who presided over a dissolution reminiscent of the final days of Roman rule, with many of its provinces proclaiming independence from the Emir, and new prophets calling for reformation.

At the turn of the 13th century there were five Christian kingdoms, fighting against each other, sometimes along Muslim allies—the latter divided into a few principalities which struggled, in turn, against the expansion of the Almohads. The

⁶³ After the city of Leon, who became its center.

Spains were a rich mix of complex feuds, alliances and betrayals. Of the Christian kingdoms, the strongest was Castile. In 1212, the bishop of Toledo organized an attack against the formidable Almohad army. Three Christian kingdoms and one Muslim (not often mentioned in Christian chronicles) together with volunteers from other parts of Europe defeated the Almohads for the first time, a blow that marked the end of their expansion. This bishop was Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada.

RODRIGO XIMÉNEZ DE RADA, BISHOP AND MAGNATE

Ximénez de Rada, bishop, scholar and powerbroker, was born in Puente de la Reina (Navarra) in 1170 (Fernández Valverde "Introducción" IX-X) and died 1247. His mother was a noble with Castilian ancestry and his father was a Navarran noble ("Introducción 1987" 16). He was raised in Navarra, in the court of Sancho VI, and later left to study in Bologna and Paris. Upon returning to Spain from France, Ximénez de Rada settled in Castile.⁶⁴ He was a very politically active bishop of Toledo from 1209 to 1247 (Pick VII), participating in the 4th Lateran Council, maintaining politically advantageous ties to Pope Innocent III and his successor, and fighting to obtain for his diocese of Toledo the prerogative of See of the Spains. He sponsored the founding of the Universities of Salamanca and Palencia, and the construction of the Cathedral of Toledo. Most pertinent to my study, he was also a prolific scholar who, following self-

⁶⁴ Ximénez de Rada spent much of his active life close to the kingdom of Castile. Upon his return from Paris, he became a close advisor to Alfonso VIII of Castile after facilitating a peace treaty between him and Sancho VII of Navarra. After the death of Alfonso, Bishop Rodrigo was regent to the young king Enrique I of Castile, a position of enormous power. Among other things, he controlled the royal chancery (Linehan History 315)—meaning he had the royal prerogative to authorize diplomas, and other formal documents as if he was king himself. Young Enrique did not survive long; he was succeeded by a cousin, heir to Leon, who was crowned as Fernando III of Castile. Although Ximénez de Rada was not chancellor at this point, he still was a powerbroker, who organized the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 (Pick 34-46).

consciously in the footsteps of Bishop Isidore, wrote several historiographic works,⁶⁵ the best known being the *Historia de Rebus Hispanie*.⁶⁶ In the *Historia*, the Bishop of Toledo's deployment of the rape tales constitutes a re-interpretation of Visigothic past.

A DEPARTURE FROM ISIDORIAN TRADITION

The *Historia* belongs to the genre of national histories (Sánchez Alonso 130), since it is a local (not universal) history. Ximénez de Rada could have inserted his local history into the wider frame of universal history, as Lucas de Tuy had done with his *Chronicon Mundi*, which starts with the creation of the World. Instead, the Bishop of Toledo begins his narration with the story of the Visigoths, following Isidore's *Historia de Regibus Gothorum, Alanorum, Sueuorum*. The Bishop of Toledo had many things in common with his Sevillian homologue: both were men of letters and important figures in the Church and in the court they were serving. It is to king Fernando III of Castile that Ximénez de Rada dedicates his *Historia de Rebus Hispanie* –also known as *Historia Gothica*, or *Historia Gothorum*: History of the Goths. This I think has led to a critical misreading of the national 'spirit' encoded in the work. Indeed, some specialists mistakenly claim that Ximénez de Rada "identifies," like Isidore, with the Goths (Pick),

⁶⁵ *Historia Romanorum, Historia Ostrogothorum, Historia Hugnorum, Vandalorum, Sueuorum, Alanorum et Silingorum, Historia Arabum, Historia de Rebus Hispanie* and *Breuiarium Historie Catholice* (Femández Valverde "Introducción" XII).

⁶⁶ This was the battle in which the army of the Muwahhid (also known as "Almohades") suffered its first major defeat. Founded by ibn Tumar (d. 1130), a Berber from Morocco, the Muwahhid were an Islamic reform movement (Reilly 130), which launched a holy war against the Murabit empire. The Murabits' control encompassed North Africa and part of Iberia. The Muwahhid replaced them in Africa and declared yet another caliphate in the West. Eventually they crossed the Strait to consolidate power in Iberia, gaining control of former Murabit kingdoms and checking the advances of Christian kingdoms. But they, in turn, were turned back as a result of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, a decisive blow to the seemingly unstoppable expansion of the Muwahhid Empire, and the beginning of the end for Muslim Spain. Three Iberian Christian kings participated in the battle: Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), Pere II of Aragon-Barcelona (1196-1213) and Sancho VII of Navarre (1194-1234). Noticeably absent were Alfonso IX of Leon (1188-1230) and Alfonso II of Portugal (1211-1223), who saw the Muwahhid as less threatening than the king of Castile, who, as they knew, had plans to expand into their respective kingdoms.

or that the Goths are equivalent to “el pueblo hispano” (SA), and that they are a “common ancestor” (Davis). I think these arguments presume an ideological stance that Ximénez de Rada does not support, confusing his invocation of a “common past” that once existed – which would be in the Visigoth period – with the stronger claim that the Visigoths were the common ancestors. The former is more of a gesture towards the ideal of the one Catholic *imperium*, as it was articulated in the tradition arising from Orosius’ point of view. As for the later point, I will argue that Ximénez de Rada’s portrayal of the sons of Magog casts doubts upon a presumed vindication of family ties.

Rodrigo borrows from Isidore’s *History* for the first section of the work. Linehan claims that the text from its beginning is constructed to favor Castile, while Pick sees a bias towards the Toledan Church. These two things, it should be said, are not synonymous: the priorities of the bishop and those of the king are not necessarily the same. Ximénez de Rada, as the bishop, had obligations to the local king as well as to his diocese of Toledo; on behalf of the latter, he consistently argued for its primacy. This idea predates the bishop, dating back to king Alfonso VII (1105-1157), who had used it as a weapon against Portugal, which at this time was becoming a kingdom (Linehan *History* 269). Interestingly, from the hands of bishop Ximénez de Rada, the weapon would return to the hands of a king, Castilian Alfonso X.

Ximénez de Rada’s *Historia de rebus* centers in Toledo, which he calls *urbs regia*. In the *Historia*, the chapters on the invasion of 711 relate that Toledo was not conquered by the Muslims, but rather deserted before the advance of the Muslim army (Pick 63-64). Ximénez de Rada writes from the point of view of his office as an archbishop, putting in the first place the interests of his Toledan Church. Often, his history of Spain resembles a history of Toledo, choosing those elements that would serve Toledo well (Lomax 589). He goes so far as to lessen the importance of Santiago,

excluding the Santiago legends in *De Rebus*. As to Seville, Ximénez de Rada interprets the translation of archbishop Félix from Seville to Toledo as further proof of the primacy of Toledo, for such a translation implied a promotion (590). He also diminishes the stature of Isidore of Seville in comparison to that of Ildefonso of Toledo. There are several examples of this. In Book II, Chapter XVII, XR places Isidore of Seville at the same level as Helladio of Toledo, who is also referred to as metropolitan bishop, admired for his sanctity:

Venerabilem Helladium Toletane sedis metropolitanum episcopum sanctitatis preconio prefulgentem Ecclesia ueneratur. Hisidorum Hispalensem metropolitanum tun temporis Hispania celebrabat sanctissimum, doctorem egregium et preclarum (2.17.13-14)

[The Church reveres the venerable metropolitan resplendent bishop Eladio from the see of Toledo, known for his sanctity. At that time, Spain celebrated the most holy metropolitan Isidore of Seville, eminent and illustrious doctor⁶⁷]

In Chapter XVIII, Ximénez de Rada tells us that the Fourth Council was celebrated in the *urbs regia* of Toledo, under the direction of its bishop, Justo. The reader would expect that Isidore would have been the main figure, as he was still alive, but he merely appears as a subsidiary bishop: he is described as one among many run-of-the-mill bishops signing the *Actas*. In the description of the sixth council of Toledo, presided over by its primate, Eugenio, Ximénez de Rada accords him the title of *Metropolitan*. From here on, each bishop of Toledo in the history appears with this titled, which is another way Ximénez de Rada makes clear that Toledo was the seat of the Gothic Church at this point. All this culminates with the Church of Toledo receiving the privilege from the Pope to be named Primate of the Spains. Ximénez de Rada even manages to squeeze in the condemnation of a certain despicable bishop of Seville at the end of this Toledo-

⁶⁷ All translations from the *Historia de Rebus* are my own.

centric chapter. All of this seems to aim at what Linehan considers a campaign to make Toledo the spiritual center of Castile (Linehan *History* 316-17). For this purpose, Ximénez de Rada must diminish the importance of other dioceses, especially Seville, and of its bishops, among these the illustrious Isidore.

In fact, *vis a vis* Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*, the reader can see that Ximénez de Rada adds quite a few Sevillian villains: this, because Seville was Toledo's main competitor for the See. The aim of Ximénez de Rada is twofold: one, he advocates for supremacy of Castile over "re-" unified Spain; and two, he casts Toledo as spiritual heart of Castile (*History* 316-17). (Here Linehan approaches the thesis of Pick). For this purpose, he must lower the importance of any other diocese, including Santiago and especially Seville. His appropriations of the works of Isidore reflect these attacks.

Bishop Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada also owed allegiance to the wider "Church." And what was this Church? Linehan notes that the *Ecclesia* one sees in the *Crónica de Alfonso III* cannot be assumed to be equivalent to bishops faithfully following guidelines from the Pope. From the 7th to the 14th century, Linehan argues, individual bishops acted according to their allegiances, not as part of an institution understood as the "Church" (*History* 37). One can see this with Ximénez de Rada, whose allegiance to Rome seems contingent on his belief that the Church stands for his Toledan diocese—in which he was not only a church official, but also a powerful local magnate, land broker, and landowner. It is in this matrix of motives that we should interpret the function of Oliba's rape tale in Ximénez de Rada's *Historia*.

The work is divided into a prologue and nine books. I will focus on chosen passages of the first three books that deal with the origins of the Spains, the Isidorian history of the Visigoths, the rape of Oliba and the Muslim invasion. The prologue expresses the purpose of the work: to write a history of the antiquities of Spain in order to

transmit its memory, from its beginnings, to the time of the narrator and his posterity. The text is dedicated to the “serenissimo et inuicto et semper augusto domino suo” King Fernando III (3).

FROM THE SACK OF ROME TO THE RAPE OF OLIBA

The *Historia* starts with a brief account of the origins of the peoples that populated the Earth, quickly focusing on the ones that inhabited Hispania.⁶⁸ Notice that the Goths do not share a common father with the Hyspani, who descend from Tubal-“cetus Tubal”-which is why they are called “cetubeles.” They are also known as Yberes or Hyspani (Ximenii de Rada 1.3.13). Therefore, the Visigoths descend from Magog, while the indigenous Celtiberians, or native-Spaniards, are sons of Tubal. Ximénez de Rada marks this difference: celtiberians are the natives, autochthonous, while the rest are foreign invaders—Greeks, Romans, Visigoths and later, Moors.

At this point, Ximénez de Rada skips the Isidorian *laudes hispanie*⁶⁹ and opts to continue with a list of the names of Spain (1.3-5): Hesperia, after the star Hesperum; Celtiberia, a combination of the cetubeles and the river Hiberus (Ebro); and Hispania, after Hispan, adoptive son of Hercules: “Hispan quodam nobili qui secum ad adolescencia fuerat conuersatus, ab eius nomine Hesperiam Hispaniam nominauit.” (1.17) Here he relates the story of Hercules and Hispan (Chapters iv-vi). The final appraisal of the rule of Hispan, who had reconstructed Hispanie after the death of

⁶⁸ Humankind descends from the three sons of Noah: Shem (his sons possessed Asia), Cam (his sons possessed Africa), and Japheth. The seven sons of the latter possessed Europe: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Mosoc and Tiras. Of the seven, the *Historia* concentrates on the lineage of the fifth son, Tubal, whose descendants were the first inhabitants of Iberian Peninsula. Of the rest, the following have had an impact on the peninsula: the inhabitants of Latium (Romans) who descend from Asquenaz, son of Gomer; the Greeks (and Trojans) who come from Javan; and the Goths, Vandals, Suevi, Alans and Huns who descend from Magog.

⁶⁹ Although he will use it to great effect in Book III.

Hercules, is that it was oppressive. He is a foreign, unwanted, ruler: “Grecorum igitur seruitute Hispania remansit oppressa usque ad tempora Romanorum” (1.7.19). Hispan is a Greek, like Hercules, part of the first conquerors of Hispania. This prefigures Ximénez de Rada treatment of the history of the Goths, who are also portrayed, critically, as foreigners, contra Isidore: while Isidore writes as a Goth, celebrating the conquest and occupation of Spain, Ximénez de Rada situates himself as a native of Hispania, whose land has been unfortunately subject to conquest. This view of Gothic rulers as undesirable is reflected in subtle changes in themes taken from Isidore’s *Historia*. Even when it seems that the text incorporates the wording of the *Historia Gothorum*—“casi al pie de la letra” (Fernández Valverde “Introducción 1987” xxx)—, I would argue rather that this is an instance of citation that holds the cited content apart, as a foreign body: thus appropriating it in the service of an agenda that departs widely from Isidore’s laudatory Gothicism. The politics of interpretation emerge on the surface of the text in a *locus classicus*, the passage concerning Alaric’s sack of Rome.

At first impression, Bishop Rodrigo remains close to Isidore’s version of destruction of Rome. Upon closer examination, there are subtle but important changes. He adds a passage that provides a legal justification for the attack. Let us recall that in Isidore’s version, Alaric decides to attack the city to avenge the blood of another Goth chieftain, Radagaiso, who had previously died in a failed bid to invade Rome.

In the version recorded in the *Historia de Rebus Hispanie*, Alaric had made a truce with the Roman emperor in exchange for the Roman provinces of Hispania and Galia. This truce is violated when the Romans break the pact and ambush the retiring Visigoths. Consequently, Alaric’s decision to attack Rome is the legally justified response to a treaty violation. This explanation is not unique in Ximénez de Rada’s text, where the reader frequently finds a legal explanation for attacks or rebellions. The rest of

the episode follows Isidore—cruel invasion but respect for the Christians and their holy places. However, Ximénez de Rada makes a comment that introduces a new level to the interpretation of this passage:

Capta est itaque Roma ab Alarico anno MCLX quarto conditionis sue. Et ut beatus Innocencius Papa primus refert qui tunc temporis apud Rauennam positus ut peccatoris populi excidium non uideret: “Illa iruptio non hostis fortitudine set Dei iudicio acta fuit.” (7.5.30-35)

[Thus was Rome captured by Alaric in the year of 1164 of its foundation. And as the holy Pope Innocent the First—who at the time was in Ravenna in order not to see the destruction of the sinful people—proposes: “That invasion was not due to the power of the enemy but to God’s will”].

The city was destroyed, in other words, not as an expression of the Goth’s power – which is at the heart of the Isidorian *translatio*--but because it was God’s will to punish Rome for her sins. In this interpretation, glory and legitimacy are stripped from the Goths, who are turned into the scourge of God’s fury. The implications of this identification can be better understood when one reads it side by side with Isidore’s final judgment of the Huns:

Virga enim furoris dei sunt et, quotiens indignatio eius adversus fideles procedit, per eos flagellantur, ut eorum afflictionibus emendati a saeculi cupiditate et peccato semet ipsos eoerceant et caelestis regni hereditatem possideant. (279.29)

[For they (the Huns) are the scourge of God’s fury, and as often as his indignation goes forth against the faithful, the latter are scourged by them in order that, corrected by their blows, they may restrain themselves from worldly desires and from sin and possess the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven.]

Isidore compares the Huns to the Persians, who are “used to discipline the faithful” (15). Ximénez de Rada himself will later describe in similar terms the Muslim invasion of Spain: “incanduit ira Dei et Gothorum gloriam, quam hactenus sustentarat, eiecit a facie Maiestatis” (3.27.78) [the wrath of God flared up and He expelled from the face of His Majesty the glory of the Goths whom until now He had supported]. Ximénez de Rada speaks of the Goths, and later of the Moors, in the same terms Isidore speaks of the Huns.

This implicitly renders them a *virga furoris dei*. This has vast implications for the interpretation of Hispania's past, in essence expelling the Visigoths from the heroic role Isidore had assigned them in both his national and his universal histories.

From the perspective of the narrator, who is a bishop and a historian, this type of description creates a separation between the narrator and the nation he regards as the scourge of God. This also means that as nations that lived outside the law of God, they did not possess the right to *imperium*. Unlike Isidore, who always places the Goths above all nations, Ximénez de Rada puts them on a par with the sinning Romans. Both ascend to power by unsanctified means, like betrayal and assassination. The parallel between the Goths and the Romans, employed as a critique instead of an apologetics, prefigures Ximénez de Rada's ultimate judgment on the Goths: like the Romans, they will end up losing the *imperium*.

In the next section of this chapter, we will see how Ximénez de Rada makes the Moors –like the Huns before them– into the instrument that God brandishes against the Goths, to punish them for a long chain of sins that culminates with the rape of Oliba by king Roderick, last of the Visigoths. But since these events happened after Isidore died, Ximénez de Rada had to turn to other sources, notably the *Ajbar Machmua* and bishop Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*.

XIMÉNEZ DE RADA AND THE RAPE TALE

The rape of Oliba episode appears in Book III, Chapter XVIII. The version bears evidence of having been directly accessed from Arabic sources of the rape legend (Menéndez Pelayo CCCLIV; Milá y Fontanals 107). Gayangos opines that the episode

seems to be copied (“calcada”) from *Ajbar Machmua* (Gayangos 85).⁷⁰ The passage begins with the explanation of a Visigothic custom of bringing up the sons and daughters of the magnates in the royal palace: “Mos erat tunc temporis apud Gothos ut domicelli et domicelle magnatum filii in regali curia nutrentur” (100-101) [It was the custom at that time among the Goths that the young sons and daughters of the magnates were raised at the royal palace.] This detail appears in *Ajbar Machmua* where it serves the purpose of providing information about a foreign culture, different from the presumed reader of the text. The fact that the bishop chose this version and not the *Najerense/Chronicon Mundi* says something of his intentions. Whether his choice was deliberate or accidental, the particular crystallization of the tale as it appears in *Ajbar Machmua* cannot be separated from its meaning. Therefore, the explanation causes the same effect as in the *Ajbar Machmua*: by representing the Visigoths as exotic people with peculiar customs, the narrator appears to separate himself and the reader from the Goths. This explanation and the historical weight that it bears, does not appear in the previous Christian chronicles, the *Chronicon Mundi* and the *Najerense*, both of which posit an uninterrupted Gothic lineage that starts before 711 and continues to the present. We will come back to this distancing later in this chapter.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

1. The rapist ruler—In the *Ajbar Machmua*, the narrator tells of Muça’s efforts to conquer the cities of the coast of Africa. Count Julian is the sole barrier standing

⁷⁰ As we will see later in Chapter 4, this is also the version that appears in *Estoria de Espanna* of Alfonso X: the king’s version of the Oliba legend is a literal translation of Ximénez’s Latin text. Once again, although I am regretfully working with the edition of a “fixed” text, not with a manuscript, I say that the *Estoria* model was this Latin text/texts, and not the *Romanzado* versions—it is strikingly different from one such version, *Estoria de los godos*, manuscript BN Res/278, recently edited by Aengus Ward.

between Musa and the conquest of Europe. Among all the girls in the palace, the king wronged the very one whose father could cause his downfall. Given the mythical/historical resonances of the rape, it is significant that Ximénez de Rada prefaces the rape episode with the allegorically rich legend of the house of many locks (99-100), which further gives an idea of the capricious character of the king. He acted “contra uoluntatem omnium” (99), forcing the castle acting against a centuries-old tradition and the wishes of all. While none of the Christian chroniclers prior to Ximénez de Rada mention this legend, it does appear in Muslim works.⁷¹ The bishop writes from the standpoint represented in the *Ajbar Machmua*: placing himself in tacit opposition to the Visigoths. This forcing of the locks might have a rhetorical dimension—as for instance, the use of lock imagery by Shakespeare to signify virginity, and the opening of it with the key to signify the act of copulation. By forcing the castle, Roderick acts against the wishes of his own people to satisfy his individual desire. Upon breaking the seals, and opening the arch, a *pannum* with a prophecy is found in the legend that had been used by Muslim historians prior to Ximénez de Rada to surround the epic narrative of conquest with a divine sanction legitimizing the invasion of Western Europe: it had all been foretold, preordained by God, that the Christian king would break the seal, and the conquest would ensue. The fact that Ximénez de Rada appropriates this legend—which comes charged with a characterization of the king as frivolous, greedy and tyrannical—is a strong rhetorical indication of the distance the author wants to put between himself and the Visigoths. The prophecy serves as well to support the “last of the Visigoths” title that the bishop uses as an epithet for King Rodrigo: there will be no more Visigoths. This forecloses on the traditional argument that the necessary prerequisite for a claim to the throne of the Spains was Visigothic blood. In Chapter XVIII, Ximénez de Rada provides

⁷¹ Ibn Abd-el-Hakem’s *History of the Conquest of Spain* and the anonymous Spanish *Ajbar Machmua*.

us with a description of Roderick. He was similar to Witiza: “in moribus non dissimilis Witize” (99.1-11) [in behavior he was not different from Witiza]. This resemblance is enormously damaging to the image of the king, as his predecessor has been portrayed as a libidinous and destructive sovereign—who appears in the *Chronicon* orchestrating a bacchanal. Ximénez de Rada makes matters worse when he writes that “Witiza uiuente, cepit conregnare Rodericus” [with Witiza still alive, Roderick, last king of the Visigoths, started to co-reign.] If Witiza is still alive, Roderick becomes a usurper, a tyrant. This is confirmed by a description in Chapter XVII of how he ascended to the throne: “contra Witizam decreuit publice rebellare” (99) [he resolved to rebel against Witiza publicly.] Ximenez de Rada uses a heavy word: *rebellare*. He rebelled, and did to Witiza what Witiza had done to Rodericus’ father—gouged out his eyes, and placed him in jail. The usurpation is further underlined in the wording describing his reigning years: *uno per se, duobus cum Witiza*.

2. The guardian—Her father is of the noble blood of the Gothic royalty. This emphasis on the Gothic blood and lineage of Julian, the noble traitor, overshadows any thesis that would seek to claim the Gothic past. Julian is a relative of king Witiza: “consanguineus Witize,” of the same blood of Witiza. Ximénez de Rada is already dividing his cast of characters into two groups: the good and the evil. We may start to see, in this account of corrupt bloodlines, the prefiguring of a foreclosure: our hero Pelayo will not share this tainted blood. In fact, to jump ahead to the episode concerning Pelayo, Ximénez de Rada will show us the one inheritor of this blood line, Bishop Oppa, trying to corrupt Pelayo with wicked advice. Lucas had worked around the issue by making a division between good Goths and bad Goths; in contrast, Ximénez de Rada seems to doom the entire race—another hint to indicate that Pelayo is one of the

previously mentioned “celtiberians,” native Spaniards. Or simply, Christian, for the bishop may have another scheme in mind with two convergent themes.

Julian is very rich in land, an excellent warrior, and “comes spartariorum.” Albert Blaise’s *Lexicon* has *spatarius* or *spartharius*, with a Byzantine meaning: a court dignitary. (In the Cambridge Ancient History the word appears to have this meaning.) Blaise also defines *spatharii* as a military order in Spain, apparently deriving this fact from some unidentified 12th-century texts. In any case the meaning seems to be a military officer in the court. Later we will see that Pelayo is an *spatario* as well, although not the *comes*. The emphasis on Julian’s status makes the king’s transgression seem worse than it appears to be in Lucas, where the presentation of Julian’s status is more succinct: “quem Vitica rex inter suos secretarios familiarem habuerat carissimum” [he had been a dear member of the royal circle of king Witiza] (Liber 3.62). The king’s stratagem of sending away Julian from his daughter is also absent in Lucas’ text.

3. The raped woman—Of the girls being raised in the palace, she is the most important. Her privileged status (*prestancior*) reflects the rank and prestige of her father. There is no reference to her beauty, as there was in Lucas’s *Chronicon*: “sibi pulchra uidebatur” (3.62). (Luzencia, on the other hand, will receive a different treatment from Ximénez de Rada, who describes her as beautiful). Her importance in the story as it is presented here is determined wholly by the King’s action, on the one side, and Count Julian’s standing as the highest noble in the court.

THE KING’S TRANSGRESSION: RAPE

The rape happens while the father is away. This detail, which will also appear in the rape of Luzencia, serves to doubly damn the king. He is not only a sexual violator, but a violator of his office. Indeed, he misuses his office by sending Julian away on royal

business, thus setting in motion the series of takings – the king taking the daughter from Julian, and Julian helping to take the kingdom away from the king - that will end in the destruction of the Visigoth kingdom. Indeed, the Count received a *mal galardón*. The narrator now adds a crucial note of ambiguity: some say that the victim was the wife, not the daughter. But whoever the victim was (*utrumlibet fuerit*), this act caused the destruction of Spain: which is to say, it caused the offended vassal to rebel. This crime and the “either/or” that ambiguates the woman’s identity appears in the *Aquisgranense Capitula* (9th century):

Quid nullus seniore suum dimittat postquam ab eo acciperit valente solido uno, excepto si eum vult occidere aut cum baculo caedere vel *uxorem aut filiam maculare* seu hereditatem ei tollere. (Boretius 172)

[Let no one leave his lord after he received from him a gold coin, except if the lord wishes to kill him or hit him with a stick or soiled his wife or daughter or wished to strip him of his possessions]

Applying this list to Ximénez de Rada’s text, what seems to be going on is the implication that we as readers shouldn’t worry precisely which of the household’s subordinates, wife or daughter, were soiled by the *senior* (king),⁷² because the point is that Roderick was the type of man to commit one of those crimes. The king is thus legally at fault in relation to the feudal order. We may remember here that Lucas had given a different cause for the destruction of the Spains (*causa pereundi Yspanie*): sin. Lucas refers obliquely to widespread fornication involving religious figures of every rank, “episcopis, presbiteris, diaconibus et ceteris ecclesie Christi ministris” (Liber 3.61), which brought about the final punishment.

The male relative, Count Julian, is told about the crime from the victim’s own mouth: the daughter or the wife (*uxore uel filia*) speaks (*reuelante*). This is interesting

⁷² The *Capitula Francica*, attributed to Charlemagne, which presents a very similar list of misdeeds, labels them as crimes, “his criminibus” (Boretius 215).

and new, as the woman does not speak in the *Najerense* or in Lucas. The crime is an act of violence, of force: *uiolenter opresit*. Augustin uses a similar phrase to refer to Tarquin's rape of Lucretia: "corpore cum uiolenter oppresso," the body, having been oppressed. To erase any doubt as to the nature of the act, the legal term, *stuprum*, an illegal act of intercourse, is used. It is the same word Augustine employs in reference to Lucretia. Livy as well uses in reference to Lucretia:

Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo euentu quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinius expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris qui regibus sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset. Ap. Claudium uirginis plebeiae stuprandae libido cepit.

[This was followed by a second atrocity, the result of brutal lust, which occurred in the City and led to consequences no less tragic than the outrage and death of Lucretia, which had brought about the expulsion of the royal family. Not only was the end of the decemvirs the same as that of the kings, but the cause of their losing their power was the same in each case.]

The event that Livy wanted to introduce here is the attempted rape of Virginia. As in the case of Lucretia and Count Julian's daughter, an act of force inspired by lust, brings about the downfall of the ruler and the rise of a morally superior one, but all from within the same class and nation.

Ximénez de Rada goes one step further in his deployment of the Rape of Oliba. It is this step, I argue, that separates his narrative and purpose from that of the other Christian chroniclers. Where the other chroniclers, like Lucas or the *Najerense*, are writing ultimately in the service of establishing a continuity in the history of Hispania, Ximénez de Rada is describing an irrecoverable break. As in the other histories, the invasion ensues, and the king is deposed and killed, as expected. But unlike in Lucas or the *Najerense*, here we find no redemption for the sinners, that is, for the Visigoths. Bishop Lucas can speak of both priests and kings falling to the sins of lust and greed, but these events in themselves do not extinguish the gothic *prosapia*. Instead, the series of

violations that began with Witiza, continued through Roderick, and were reciprocated by Count Julian, are, in a sense, overcome with a new and purified victim/avenger, Pelayo, who is the grandson of king Chisdasvinth. The lineage continues, then. As Fernández Gallardo remarks, in the prologue to book II of his *Chronicon*, Lucas slaps the hand of the mischievous Goths—and then proceeds to extol the greatness of Gothic blood. Lucas, of course, supports the claim of the Leonese kings to be descendants of the Gothic monarchy (Fernández Gallardo 58). I argue that Ximénez de Rada is following the feudal logic of sanctified rule as well, but to a different conclusion. The bishop presents the fall of Roderick as the end of not merely another bad ruler, but in the Orosian understanding of World History, as the end of a people (3.21). The passage has a clerical tone, combining the homiletic and the historical. The invasion happened as a lesson to the proud, the rich, the strong, lest they forget they should be humble in the face of God. Notice how the passage begins: *Pro dolor! Hic finitur gloria Gothice maiestatis era DCCLII* (3.21) [Such pain! Here the glory of the Gothic greatness in the era DCCLII]. First, a lamentation, followed by a summary ending, the extinction of the glory of the Visigoths. From now on, nobody can claim continuation of Visigoth lineage—nobody has a right to claim *imperium* by means of common ancestry with the overthrown royal house. The Goths are finished, the *imperium* of this great nation who conquered the Persians and the Greeks; and who defeated the Alans and the Vandals has fallen forever. The next ruler that rises will not be represent a renewal of the old, defeated, Visigoths, but a new power.

The second part of the passage launches into a *laus Spanie*. In spite of the fact that it partially resembles the content of Isidore's text, most critics refer to this section as "Isidore's *laus*," as though it is a repetition of the earlier text. The style is significantly different. Isidore's *laus* is in the form of a direct address to *Spanie*, using the second

person pronoun *tu* (3.21). This creates an intimate effect, as if it were a dialogue. In contrast, Ximénez de Rada speaks of Hispanie in the third person, like Lucas⁷³. Lucas' version is less geographic than Isidore's, emphasizing the great number of saints born in this land and more specifically, in *Legio urbis*—because, ultimately, Lucas' *laus* is a praise of Leon, for “Que patri uel que ciuitas ut Legio urbs Yspanie tale quid protulit?” (Praefatio) [What land or what city of the Spains stands out as the city of Leon?]. Ximénez de Rada's *laus* resembles the Isidorian model insofar as it makes references to the richness of the countryside, but he does it in the form of a list of short phrases—in contrast with Isidore and Lucas—creating a sort of litany of the wonders of Hispania. But the major change is the shift in meaning that occurs as a result of the placement of the *laus*. While Lucas, like Isidore, starts his work with a praise of the *Spanias*. Ximénez de Rada places his praise of the land not at the beginning of the *Historia*, but at the end of story of the Visigoths, in the section right after the Muslim invasion, to underscore the greatness that has now been lost. I agree with Davies, who sees this as a way to appeal to “national” sentiment, in order to move the audience (whoever it might be) to a national crusade (153). However, Davies does not differentiate the two meanings that are at play here. One is the “common past,” and the other is the “common ancestor.” The work of meaning in this passage is to present Spain, a territory, as an *a priori* truth that remains the same through time. The verbs in the description are all in the present tense—the preterit appears only in relation to the Goths: *incuruauit*, *inclinauit*, *extinxerunt*. The effect joins together the past and the present reality of the territory, the object, Spain, which is defined as one, and not two or three. It is a territory that, following Isidore, pre-dates the arrival of the Visigoths. Thus, the praise is reserved for this territory, and the

⁷³ Ximénez de Rada uses Spain using the singular form, like Isidore. Lucas varies, sometimes using the singular, others the plural.

task is to reclaim it for the “Christians.” The territory is at the moment fragmented, and it must be reclaimed.

The deployment of the rape tale, in the form of the rape of Oliba, works in this set of circumstances as explanation and justification for the passing of yet another ruling foreign power in Spain: first, the Greeks, then the Romans, now the Visigoths. All are forever extinct. They belong to the past. The territory, Christ and his followers, however, continue from the past into the future. The historian, being a bishop, does not, of course, suggest that *translatio* be granted to the Moors—who are but the instrument of God, *virga furori dei*. As the former tainted lineage produced usurpation, then rape, and then betrayal – all of which exist as equivalents– so, too, a new Rape Historical will set in motion another set of equivalents. Where the former series were merely destructive, sin leading to retribution, the later will have a positive value, with violence bringing about a proper *translatio*.

THE RAPE OF LUZENCIA OR THE CASE FOR A *CHRISTIAN TRANSLATIO*

Before I discuss the rape of Luzencia, sister of Pelayo, I would like to clarify some ideas about its association with the Reconquest. Quite often, the legend of Pelayo is associated with the beginning of the so called Christian Reconquest of Spain. This is due to the identification of the hero with the wars of expansion of the 13th-15th centuries. The problem with this association is that it is complicit with the myth of a homogeneous Christian front, united under the banner of the cross against an equally united and homogeneous Muslim front. In reality, there were several small states negotiating survival against each other, or against overseas forces, at any one time, and alliances were not necessarily even confessionally homogenous – sometimes the Christians had Muslim allies, and vice versa. In any case, it is not surprising that a Christian magnate, a

bishop, would make this a narrative about a unified Christian Spain—as, the outcome of this would have a bishop as leader. The bishop believed he was the “the true heir of the unified Spain of the Visigoths” (Pick 63). Pick points out his interest in gaining control of urban centers, demonstrated by his willingness to negotiate less important towns without bishoprics, or already under his control: he was not merely looking to acquire land to expand his possessions, he was seeking the primacy of Toledo over all the others, with himself taking the place of the Primate of the unified Spanish Church (63). In his *Historia*, Ximénez de Rada recreates the Visigothic empire in order to turn it into a Christian empire, with Toledo at its center. I will argue that the *Historia* tweaks the legend of Pelayo—or rather, of the Rape of Luzencia, sister of Pelayo—to remove traces of any ethnic Asturian-Leonese ties, remaking it into a purely ‘Christian’ legend. The bishop performs a Christian *translatio*, upon which King Alfonso X will introduce his own twist in his *Estoria*, transforming the announcement of a ‘Christian’ nation into that of a Spanish kingdom-empire, under one king—himself. Yet all the stories come back, eventually, to a rape.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

1. The rapist ruler.—The ruler is Munnuza, a Christian who collaborates with the Arabs. We might remember here Lucas’ creative turn in calling Munnuza by the name of the invading general, Muza. Ximénez de Rada goes back to another source, the *Najerense*, who calls him Munnuza. As in all the other versions, Pelayo is his vassal, since he sends him on an embassy: *causam legationis Pelagium misit Cordubam*.

2. The guardian.—Her brother, Pelayo, is the offended male, who decides to break up a marriage that he understands as rape. He is the son of the Duke of Cantabria (3.15)—significantly enough, not related by blood to any Goth king, unlike in Lucas’s

Chronicon. He had been an *spatarius* of Witiza, but had left him when the king expressed the desire to gouge the eyes of his vassal [*qui eum uolerat excecare*]. Understandably so, Pelayo goes *fugiens* to Cantabria. (3.17)

3. The raped victim.—The first mention of Luzencia is in the account of Pelayo's move to Asturias, *secum sorore propria* (IV.1) [with his sister]. In the same passage, we hear that she is beautiful: *pulcritudine sororis Pelagii* [the beauty of Pelayo's sister]. She always appears next to Pelayo: *sororem Pelagii*, sister of Pelayo.

THE RAPE FUNCTION

As though mirroring the story of Oliba and Count Julian, the ruler takes advantage of the absence of his vassal to exert his will, for no other reason than he found the girl beautiful. With the help of *quodam liberto*, a freedman (a new detail), Munnuza then rapes her, *copulauit*—the verb is transitive and she is in the accusative case: *sororem*. In this version, she is an object of concupiscence, and not, as in Lucas's version, the object of "matrimonio," however "illicito." The copulation happens in Pelayo's absence, at which time his sister is especially vulnerable. Judging by his furious reaction, Pelayo takes it to be an insult to himself. Following the Livian model, the moment in which Pelayo finds out the rape of Luzencia is the same moment that he thinks of the liberation of Spain—as though the wish for revenge and the wish for liberation were the same thing, joined in one sentence in Ximénez de Rada's account.

TRANSLATIO IMPERII

Pursuing his idea, Pelayo goes to the Asturian mountains. Munnuza, unhappy with the loss of his wife (*ablatione coniugis*), he understands the move as rebellion.

Bishop Oppas tries to convince Pelayo to collaborate with the Muslims. This bishop of Toledo, which we may remember from the *Crónica de Alfonso III* and Lucas' *Chronicon*, is always depicted as a despicable character. Here the text makes a change that connects him irreparably with the lineage of the wicked Visigoth royal family, while expunging, as well, the black stain on the reputation of a Toledan bishop:

Ab aliquibus dicitur Oppa fuisse filius Witize, ab aliquibus frater comitis Iuliani, set uerius filius fuit Egice et frater Witize; set utrumlibet istorum fuerit, certum est fuisse archiepiscopum Hispalensem. (4.2)

[Some say that Oppa was the son of Witiza, some say that he was the brother of Count Julian, but more truly he was the son of Egica and the brother of Witiza; but whichever of these he was, it is certain that he was the archbishop of Seville]

So he makes Oppas the bishop of Seville, and the case is closed. The more important matter is to ascertain to what nation, group, or class Pelayo's rebels belong. The rape is a sign of Munnuza's tyranny, indicating that the Muslim *imperium* will soon be transferred.

But to whom? Pelayo's speech to Oppa from the cave may illuminate this:

Etsi ad tempus Deus percuciat filios pestilentes, non tamen *proiciet in eternum*. Nosti autem, episcopo Oppa, qualiter tu et frater tuus rex Witiza uestris sceleribus cum Iuliano comite iram Altissimi prouocastis, propter quod excidium gentis Gothice superuenit. Et flet Ecclesia penitus destituta filios perditos et extinctos, nec consolari sufficit donec Dominus consoletur. Set per id modicum et momentaneum exterminii nostri pondus *adiciet* Ecclesia ut resurgat, et ego sperans in misericordia Iesu Christi, hanc multitudinem cum qua uenis nullatenus pertimesco; habemus enim aduocatum apud Patrem Dominum Iesum Christum, in quem credimus et speramus. (4.2)

[Even though at times God strikes his unwholesome children, yet he does not reject them eternally. You know, Bishop Oppas, how you and your brother Witiza provoked the anger of God with Count Julian and your crimes; due to this, the destruction of the Gothic nation occurred. And the Church cries out for her lost and dead children, unassuaged until God is assuaged. But for our private, brief destruction, the Church will resurrect our bodies and as I have hope in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I do fear nowise this crowd you have about you; indeed, we have called upon God Father Jesus Christ, in whom we believe and hope.]

This is a thoroughly Christian speech that rehearses Ximénez de Rada's often repeated theme of the divine destruction wrought upon the Gothic people for their ruler's sins. Pelayo speaks on behalf of the Church, on behalf of the Christians—who are not Goths. Similarly, in *Crónica de Alfonso III*, Pelayo had been represented as saying:

Spes nostra Christus est, quod per istum modicum monticulum quem conspicis,
sit Spaniae salus et Gothorum gentis exercitus reparatus (Chroniques Asturiennes
41)

[Christ is our hope, because by means of this small rock you are looking at, the health of Spain and the army of the nation of the Goths will be renewed]

Clearly, the *Crónica* supports the thesis of the revival of the Gothic *imperium* in Spain. For Ximénez de Rada, however, the Goths are justly overthrown, and as for his idea of Spain, it seems to point to a Christian Church. Notice that Pelayo in the bishop's text does not speak of Spain, but of 'the Church', evoking its power to unify the diverse territories of the Peninsula.⁷⁴ He had been a participant in the 4th Lateran council, and it might be for this reason that Pick argues that Ximénez de Rada ultimately is claiming the *imperium* for himself—not for any king of Spain, Castilian or otherwise. He is staking his claim on his office, as the Bishop of Toledo, Primate of the Spanish Church, perhaps influenced by the Pope's assertion in the council that the Church had sovereignty over temporal rulers. Ximénez de Rada's *Historia* does not link the Goths to the Castilian royal household. Rather, it is a history in which at the center of Hispania, with Castile at its center, and Toledo as its metropolis, stands the Bishop of Toledo, rightfully supreme, at least as a spiritual ruler, of the unified Catholic people of Spain. The scope of the *Historia* focuses on Castile (and Toledo) to the detriment of other kingdoms. His aim is to enthrone Toledo as See, masked in a surface story that promotes Castile's cause. The

⁷⁴ This thematic will come in very handy centuries later, when Menendez Pelayo would identify the essence of Spain as its Catholicism.

history of the Visigoths, encompassing Books I, II, and III, plays an important part in establishing the historical importance of Toledo. In this history of power transfers, with Isidore as point of departure Ximénez de Rada feels no need to go back to Rome—since Isidore had taken care of delivering the final blow to the Romans—going through the task of making them into handmaids of the Goths, etc. Rather, as Ximénez de Rada sees it, his job will be delivering the final blow to the Visigoths. In order to do it, Ximénez de Rada deploys the rape tale. With the Rape of Oliba, he effectively closes the chapter on the Visigoths: there will be no revival. With the rape of Luzencia, Ximénez de Rada declares the birth of a new, Christian Spain, with Toledo as the center, and himself as its Primate.

Chapter 4: Alfonso X and rape tale

When King Alfonso X came of age and assumed the throne, he and his advisors were faced with a difficult problem: to claim or not to claim a common lineage with the Visigothic kings. Of course, he had the precedent of a work written under the reign of his father, Fernando III: Bishop Ximénez de Rada's *Historia de Rebus Hispanie*. As we have seen Ximénez de Rada makes it clear that the Visigothic bloodline was polluted, and that the new Christian king-emperor of the Spains needed not be connected to this line. Yet, considering that Alfonso was not a priest; which is to say, did not have vested interests in emphasizing Christian institutions above other terms of allegiance. I think we can see how he conceived of new ways of legitimating his right to power. However, as with the previous chronicles we have examined, there was to be a woman or two at the center of the mythos of legitimacy.

Although the Visigothic kings misbehaved and lost the *imperium*, in one view—the Isidorian one—these were the same rulers who transferred the *imperium* from Rome to Toledo. Therefore, as Alan Deyermond observes, King Alfonso X of Castile had a difficult dilemma, for:

if Alfonso was not in some sense the legitimate heir to the old Spain and to the Roman imperial power that it had taken on, he was cut off from much of the past; if he was in any sense a successor to the Visigothic kings, he was tainted by their vices and their failure. (346)

According to Deyermond, Alfonso's solution to this dilemma was the concept of death and rebirth. The body politic, much like the body of the individual Christian, is seen as dying to one life and resurrecting to another, more glorious one at the end of time. After atoning for its sins through a form of captivity, Spain resurrects in the figure of Pelayo. Deyermond takes note of this poetic stroke of imagination that creates a perfectly

balanced structure: on the one side, Rodrigo, the evil doer; on the other, Pelayo, the savior. I would add: on the one side, Oliba; on the other, Luzencia. Menéndez Pidal explains this symmetry of the structure as ‘only natural’: the “legend of Rodrigo” is re-written by the “cristianos del norte”: the loss, “pérdida,” is completed with the restoration; thus the tropes of poetry complement the facts of history. Indeed, it was only natural that in the poetic imagination of the nation-to-be, rape and rebirth would be united: this is what I call the rape tale. This is something more, something supplemental to poetic symmetry or Christian faith. The logic here has its roots in notions of culturally widespread ideas about purity, family, women, and honor creating a sequence in which both incidents of rape are necessary in the narration of the birth (or rebirth) of “Espanna.”

In the *Estoria*, rape marks the eclipse of one empire and the rise of another. Benito-Vessels emphasizes this point: “Tanto en el caso de la Oliba como en el de la hermana de Don Pelayo se produce, efectivamente, el eclipse de una dominación cultural y el comienzo de otra” (Benito-Vessels 49). With the rape of Oliba, the chapter of Visigoth rule in Spain is closed and the new ruler is the Moor. The narrative of the story is inscribed in a logic created by a particular beginning (violence/violation of the family/violation of God’s law) that begs for a particular ending: the fall of one, the rise of another; yet even as the *Estoria* acknowledges the invasion, the transfer of legitimate power to the Moors is denied. Rather, they represent an eclipse of God’s rule, a turning away by God for a time from Hispania. But the apogee of Moorish power is marked by a second rape, which brings about the required reversal. It is at this moment that Pelayo, a Brutus figure, comes forward and launches the Reconquest of Spain.

It was only after Lucretia was raped that Brutus declared war on the Tarquins. In the same manner, Pelayo makes his move only after his sister is abducted. The rape of his daughter moved Count Julian to betray his king, causing the destruction of Spain; so, to

mark a certain symmetry, another rape is introduced into the historical account: the abduction of Luzencia, which logically launches the miraculous beginning of the Christian Reconquest. In the *Estoria*, rape is deployed twice, each time revealing the moral coloring of the entire structure of political power. First, to explain how the Visigoths, who ruled after the Romans, lost the power; and second to mark the end of a seeming interregnum, an eclipse in the *imperium*, which was not passed to the Moorish invaders, but to the Born-Again Iberian Christians. The bodies of Oliba and Luzencia create a division between past and present: the defeated, at one point claimed as an imperial “We,” disappear with the rapist king and his victim, “last of the Visigoths;” and the victorious, born from the improper embrace of invader and conquered and most importantly, between a “them” and a newborn “us.” It is from the bodies of these two women that the idea of Spain is born. The appearance of rape in this foundational narrative represents the nation-building or empire-building needs of the creators/redactors of history.

In foundational narratives, raped women form the symbolic locus where occupation of another’s land first takes place. In Livy’s history of Rome, the women of the Sabines are seized, occupied, as prelude to the subjugation of their lands (or that of their parents and brothers). This multiple rape defines the relationship between the new rulers (Roman rapists) and their occupied subjects (Sabine subjects). Out of this act springs the Roman Republic and, ultimately, Empire. Similarly, the rape of Luzencia reveals her brother’s position in the hierarchy of power, which is inherently corrupt, in as much as Pelayo is a subject of the Moorish conquest of Iberia. This inversion of the divine order signals itself as a punishment, but is ultimately bounded by the rape of Pelayo’s sister. Following this act, a new foundation must be created, a wrong must be

avenged, the inverse order must itself be reversed; thus, Pelayo is transformed into a Christian Brutus.

Still, the historical foundation of Spain presented more complications than the relatively simple symmetries of the Livian story, as there were not two, but three parties involved: Visigoths, Moors, and post-Reconquest Christians. If the Visigoths fell following the rape of Oliba, the new Empire should properly be within the rights of the conquering Moors. Yet the Moors, far from acting, in this eclipse of the *imperium*, as instruments of justice, bring about the second rape, thus throwing the transference of power into disarray. After the dust of Covadonga settled, however, the results of the rape tale are once again apparent: the tyrant falls, the new State is born. The doomed Visigoth rulers have died off; a new Christian Spain is born. The transference of empire bypassed the Muslims.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine Alfonso's reconfigurations of Iberian rape legends in relation to his bid to become king-emperor of *las Españas*. Taking as a premise that the outcome of a narrative relates to the legal system in favor of or against which the account works (Jed 2-3), a reading of the rape passages against the laws composed at the same time, would illuminate the possible reading, intention, reception of the passage. In the case of the *Estoria de Espana*, commissioned or co-authored by king Alfonso X, this idea is particularly fitting since three codes of law—the *Fuero Real*, the *Especulo* and the *Siete Partidas*—are attributed to him.

The chapter will unfold as follows: Section 1 presents the learned king and his historiographic project; Section 2 is devoted to an examination of the rape legend of Oliba and to the case of the doomed marriage of Luzencia, read side by side against the king's *Siete Partidas*; and lastly, Section 3 recapitulates the guiding thematic throughout

this dissertation, namely, the meaning accrued by the rape tale in the conquest and Reconquista narratives of Medieval Iberia.

THE KING AS HISTORIAN

Alfonso X was both a warrior and a man of letters who dabbled in all fields of knowledge. He inherited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile from his father, Ferdinand III the Saint, and competed for the title of Holy Roman Emperor on the grounds of being a descendent of Frederick Barbarosa, of the Hohenstaufen lineage.⁷⁵ Alfonso's legal campaign for recognition of his right to the title required great amounts of money that would be extracted from his vassals in the form of taxes. This is what O'Callaghan considers the main cause of discontent and Alfonso's unpopularity among his vassals (359). Alfonso ended his days deposed, defeated by the nobles who supported his son; however, defeat did not break his ambitious spirit, for his last version of the *Estoria de Espanna* (between 1282-1284) dates from his exile in Seville. The text participates in the duel we had witnessed in Ximénez de Rada's text, between Toledo and Seville, over which city could lay claim for the spiritual leadership of the Spains. From Seville, the king never stopped trying to recover his power from those who now had control of Toledo.

The works attributed to Alfonso cover all fields of knowledge at the time: scientific treaties, legal codes, poetry both sacred and profane, and the histories (national and universal). Menéndez Pidal attributes Alfonso's scholarly pursuits to an incipient humanism, as well as to a need to give to his people what knowledge they might need

⁷⁵ This could not have particularly endeared Alfonso to the Pope since the Hohenstaufen had often been in opposition to the Pope's view of the powers of the Church the Pope once described them as a lineage of persecutors of the Church. See (Watt 130).

(Menéndez Pidal XV). These works are divided into two phases: between 1250-1260, Alfonsine schools produced translations of scientific works; from 1269-1284, the schools produced “obras compilatorias elaboradas con originalidad,” original works made of parts collected from others (Menéndez Pidal "La Primera Crónica General de España" XV-XVI). The texts were elaborated by a team of scholars who divided among themselves the duties of translating, compiling and drafting. A school to train *trasladadores* (translators) existed in Toledo from the 12th century. Translation work was also done in Sevilla, Murcia and possibly in Burgos. The Toledan school used to translate to Latin but, with Alfonso, works are translated to Romance.⁷⁶ The *ayuntadores* compiled, put together and elaborated “una nueva exposición de la materia” while the *capituladores* divided the work thematically (Menéndez Pidal "La Primera Crónica General de España" XVI). The king was the most important member of the team. He conceived the idea for the work, selected the books that would be used, chose the translators and compilers, revised the work, edited the style, and corrected the final product (Menéndez Pidal “Primera” XVI).

Alfonso’s major historiographic works are the *General Estoria*, which is a universal history, and the *Estoria de Espanna*, a national/ethnic history also known as *Primera Crónica General de España* which features the rapes of Oliba and Lucenzia.

THE *ESTORIA*

The work began around 1270. There are two versions: *regia* and *vulgar*. According to Menéndez Pidal, both derived from an original *borrador* now lost

⁷⁶ Up to this point, Latin had been the language of the chancery and of history. With Alfonso, the vernacular Castilian became the official language of legal documents, displacing Latin, which was reserved solely for international correspondence. With these and his other scientific works, Alfonso introduces Castilian as a language of intellectual pursuit. See (Reilly 151, 56).

(Menéndez Pidal “Primera” XXVII). The *versión vulgar* is the one from which more copies survive. The *versión regia* is preserved in the *manuscrito escurialense*, likely produced in the *camara regia* of Castile. This *codice* is divided in two volumes. The first goes from the beginning to chapter 565 (the Muslim invasion); the second, from the Reconquest to Fernando III. Menéndez Pidal believes that volume one of *versión regia* was copied in the time of Alfonso (Menéndez Pidal “Primera” XXV), while volume two is believed to have been copied under Sancho IV—both from the same Alfonsine draft or *borrador*.

Inés Fernández Ordoñez affirms that the *Estoria* was drafted at least three times during the rule of Alfonso X. She catalogues these versions as follows: 1. *Redacción primitiva* (before 1270); 2. *Versión enmendada después de 1274*; 3. *Versión crítica* (c. 1282-1284): not a new version, but a *refundición* of *Versión primitiva* and 4. *Versión retóricamente amplificada*: another *refundición* produced under Sancho IV (Fernández Ordoñez 42). Her conclusions confirm Menéndez Pidal’s hypothesis of two versions deriving from the one completed draft (called the archetype, in Fernández Ordoñez).

The internal structure of the first volume follows a scheme of six *sennorios* (Menéndez Pidal “Primera” XXVI): 1. the Greeks (their beginnings are not announced, as in the other cases, by an epigraph); 2. the Almujuces (Chapters 14-15); 3. Africa (16-22); 4. Romans (23-264); 5. Vandalos, Silingos, Alanos, Sueuos (365-385) and 6. Godos (386-565). Critics have noticed the disproportional space devoted to the different Roman rulers—no Emperor is skipped (Fraker 98). This contrasts with Lucas and Ximénez de Rada, both of whom, after the Isidorian fashion, ignored the Romans and characterized the time before the Muslim invasion as the time of Visigothic kings. In this sense, Menéndez Pidal judges Alfonso’s work superior to those of Lucas and Ximénez de Rada

precisely because of the use of the Roman past, a gesture that anticipates humanist interests in the classical age by at least three centuries (Menéndez Pidal XLVIII).⁷⁷

The last chapters of volume 1 tell the story of the rape of Oliba, followed by the end of Visigothic rule. Shortly after, the rape of Luzencia occurs, followed by the revolt of the Christians against the Muslims. The rapes, therefore, marked two important moments in the narration.

THE VISIGOTHS IN THE *ESTORIA*

Ximénez de Rada's *Historia de Rebus Hispanie* begins with a prologue that reflects on the role of writing in the preservation of knowledge and transmitting it to future generations. Most important of all was history, for without *scriptura* the deeds of kings, good and bad, would be lost (Prologue 5-6).⁷⁸ Alfonso appropriates the bishop's idea of preservation for the prologue to his *Estoria*, as he states his reason for gathering in a single work all the books that related the history of Spain. The king composed the *Estoria* "porque fuesse sabudo el comienço de los espannoles, et de quales yentes fuera Espanna maltrecha" (Alfonso X Primera crónica 4) [so that it would be known what was the origins of the Spaniards and what peoples caused sufferings to Spain]. The passage reveals what Fernández Gallardo calls a catastrophic vision of the history of Spain, whose source can be traced to Ximénez de Rada (Fernández Gallardo 71). Like the bishop,

⁷⁷ Fraker, in contrast, taking into account Alfonso's imperial ambitions, reads this emphasis in the Romans as a reflection of the king's vision of himself as both king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor (Fraker 95-97).

⁷⁸ The king has the same intention as the bishop, to preserve the *saberes*, but doing it from the royal scriptorium, and in his own vernacular, indicates a pointed move to take control of the instrument of preservation: writing, which previously had been the role of Church scholars. Considering that Alfonso's other historiographic project, the *General Estoria*, is a universal history—the genre of theologians—, his attitude constitutes a gesture of defiance at a time when Pope Innocent had declared at the Fourth Lateran Council that the Church had sovereignty over temporal rulers (Fernández Gallardo 62).

Alfonso views the history of Spain as a series of invasions by the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, the Silingos, the Alanos and the Suevos—all of which are marked as foreign. However, while Ximénez de Rada narrates the history of the suffering of a territory identified as *Hispanie*, Alfonso speaks of the sufferings of the *espannoles*. In Alfonso's text these *espannoles* are the original inhabitants of Spain, since they were already there when the first invader, Hercules, arrived. The noun *espannol*, which features twice in the passage and six times in total in the prologue, is absent in Ximénez de Rada's text. In the final section of his prologue Ximénez de Rada describes Fernando III (to whom the work is dedicated) as “ortum eorum qui primo in Hispaniis habitarunt” (Primera crónica 4)[from the lineage of those who first inhabited the Spains]. However, Ximénez de Rada does not identify this indigenous people, and it is not clear whether he is referring to the *cetubales* that appear in Chapter II. Alfonso gives the autochthones a proper name that corresponds to their land of origin.

In Alfonso's prologue the succession of the invading peoples, the Suevi, “que los aduxieron a seer pocos” [(Suevi) brought them (the indigenous Spaniards) to a small number], are followed by the Visigoths. Alfonso describes this new foreign conqueror in seemingly positive terms: “nobleza de los godos” (4) [the nobility of the Goths]. Fernández Gallardo calls attention over this contradiction: it is clear that for Alfonso and his team, the Goths were foreign, and (at least in the prologue) they are characterized in the same terms as the series of destructive peoples that previously occupied Spain. Alfonso solves the problem simply by omission, showing the Visigoths as having no connection with the Spanish inhabitants (Fernández Gallardo 87). The previous peoples had caused *mortandades* (deaths) and *destruymientos* (destruction) perpetrated against the *espannoles*. In contrast, the *espannoles* are not present in the sentence that narrates the conquest of Spain by the Visigoths: “et por mostrar la nobleza de los godos et como

fueron uiniendo de tierra en tierra” [and in order to show the nobleza of the Visigoths and the way they advanced from land to land.] Following the logic of the text, the Goths cannot be other than enemies of the original population, as had been the Greeks, the Almujuces, etc.

As Fernández Gallardo points out, what appeared to be a search for an autochthonous Spaniard, started by Ximénez de Rada, and followed in Alfonso’s *Estoria*, clashes against Ximénez de Rada’s Gothic vision of the past (Fernández Gallardo 87). The Visigoths could not be done without for political and ideological reasons. The arrival of the Visigoths to Espanna marks a “suerte de borrón y cuenta nueva” (87), the arrival of a *sennorio* Alfonso cannot do without because in the one that legitimates his dynastic rights, as well as the Reconquest campaign. However, with the next break in history, the invasion of the Moors, a new identity surfaces, *cristianos*: “el sujeto de la historia se define en términos religiosos” (88). I would like to add here that the Goths are presented as failing at keeping the *sennorio*, and the *cristianos* are shown regaining the land—so Goths and Christians are presented in opposite sides: the Goths, at the losing end, closer to the past; the Christians, in the next position, closer to the contemporary events. The Christians are at the other side of a *despues*, which places the Goths in an *antes*: Alfonso and his team did not understand the Goths as part of the *cristianos*. In the work, after the invasion of the Moors and the revolt of the Christian Pelayo, the catalogue of exotic characters comes to an end. From now on, there would be no more stories of diverse *yentes* that came to conquer Spain. Instead, we have the story of individual kingdoms.

Part 1 of the *Estoria* ends with dramatic events: the end of Visigoth rule and the Mulims invasion, followed by the revolt of Pelayo. In the narration of these events both, the invasion and the revolt, are announced by the rape of a girl. The Visigoths, who had expelled all the other peoples from the Peninsula, end their tenure in history with the rape

of Count Julian's daughter. The Muslims, properly rising to the empty seat of empire, are represented as quickly losing ground as the result of the rape of Pelayo's sister. As seen before in Ximénez de Rada's text, these rape episodes mirror one another: both signal a change in the structure of power.

RAPE OF COUNT JULIAN'S DAUGHTER

Alfonso's version of the rape of Count Julian's daughter follows closely Ximénez de Rada's. It appears in chapter 554 of the *Estoria*, titled "De la fuerça que fue fecha a la hija o a la muger del cuende Julian, et de como se coniuro por ende con los moros" [Of the violence done to the daughter or wife of count Julian, and how because of this he conspired with the Moors]. The chapter begins with the narration of the ancient custom of raising the sons and daughters of noblemen in the king's palace. At the time of the story, among these children was the daughter of Count Julian, a "grand fidalgo" (554.307) [an important noble]. As in Ximénez de Rada's *Historia*, the narrator emphasizes Count Julian's high status. He was of "de grand linage de partes de los godos," from the lineage of Goths. This is important, since only those of Gothic blood could be kings. He was held in great regard in Rodrigo's palace ("omne muypreciado en el palacio"), and his daughter was being raised in the palace, as the children of other members of the nobility ("fijos de los altos omnes"). He was also a member of the royal guard, "cuende de los esparteros,"⁷⁹ as well as a relative and *privado* [confidante] of the previous king, Witiza. Julian was wealthy and had land in the North of Africa. As he was commissioned by King Rodrigo, he traveled to Africa on official business, during which time the King

⁷⁹ Menéndez Pidal notes that in the translation of the Latin sources, "espatario"—something like "keeper of the swords,"—came out as "Count of the Espartos (a type of grass)" (Alfonso X Primera crónica).

“tomol el rey Rodrigo aca⁸⁰ la fija por fuerça, et yogol con ella” (554.307), meaning, took the Count’s daughter and raped her. The narrator informs us that according to some, *algunos dizen*, it was the wife of Count Julian, and not the daughter, whom Rodrigo raped, but in any case, this was the cause of the destruction of Spain and of the Gothic Gaul.

In the *Estoria*, lust is a veritable *leitmotif* in the section of the history of the Visigoths (Benito-Vessels 53). The culmination of this lust is the rape of Oliba. In chapter 553, newly crowned King Rodrigo is described as “muy fuert omne en batallas et muy desembargado en las faziendas, mas de mannas semeiauase bien con Vitiza” (551) [a man very strong in battle and very skillful in matters of arms, but in guiles he was very similar to Witiza]. Rodrigo’s success in the battlefield is followed by the adversative conjunction *mas* (however), which means if the former was a virtue the latter will be a defect. He was similar in *mannas* (wicked habits), to the recently deposed king Witiza. Previously, in Chapter 549, we have met Witiza, who in the beginning of his reign was a good lord but soon began to change his ways. This *omne luxurioso* (libidinous man) had the habit of pursuing married women (*mugieres veladas*) and had many concubines (*muchas barraganas*). In order to neutralize the opposition of the Church, he forced all the prelates to do the same. In effect, Witiza turned the whole kingdom into an abode of fornication. King Rodrigo is similar to Witiza—who ended up violently deposed. The rape tale of Oliba will end as expected, with the end of the tyranny. Alfonso’s version of the rape tale of Oliba gives us a rare opportunity to further analyze this paradigm, since we have access to legal codes, not merely contemporary, but actually composed by the schools of the learned king. The definitions of vassalage and marriage provided by the

⁸⁰ Menéndez Pidal compares the three manuscripts: Manuscript ECTL: ‘aca’, BU: ‘a Caba’, O: omits. Therefore, the name may have originated in a bad transcription (Alfonso X Primera crónica 307).

Siete Partidas may shed light on the characterization of both Rodrigo and Count Julian, as they appear in the *Estoria*—this will apply also to their mirror images, Pelayo and Munnuza.

RODRIGO, KING OR TYRANT?

In the previous chapters, I have argued that in all of the versions of the legend Rodrigo is characterized as a ruler who seized power unlawfully. This is the case also in the *Estoria*, which portrays Rodrigo as a ruler who rose to power by illegitimate means. This characterization turns Rodrigo into a tyrant, as illustrated in the *Siete Partidas*,⁸¹ The Partida II, title I, Law XI, defines the legal manner through which a man becomes king. The first way is by inheritance—from father to son⁸² (274). The second way would be by election if two conditions were met: one, that the current king had died, and two, that he left no relatives. The third is if he marries an heiress to the throne, and the fourth, if the emperor crowns him. None of these applies to Rodrigo, who not being Witiza's son could not have inherited the throne from him; nor could he be elected, since Witiza was still alive. Similarly, Rodrigo did not marry Witiza's daughter nor did the emperor crown him.

Rodrigo's ascent to the throne appears in Chapter 552 of the *Estoria*, where he is shown rebelling against king Witiza (552). The narrator says that Rodrigo *prisol e* (took hold of him), *sacol los oios* (gouged his eyes) and banished him. This fits the *Partidas'* definition of a tyrant, who obtained "possession of some kingdom, or country, by force,

⁸¹ For the English translations, I will be quoting from Samuel Parsons Scott version.

⁸² Although during the time of the Visigoths, the king was chosen in a election, not by inheritance, several kings made attempts to create a dynasty by way of associating their sons to the crown, while still alive, so that after the death of the older king, the younger one would be already in place. For instance, Reccared succeeded his father Leovigild—but the dynasty was extinguished, as the grandson did not become king. Likewise, Witiza succeeded his father Egica (Reilly 34).

fraud, or treason” (2.1.10). Chapter 553 of the *Estoria* begins with this sentence: “Pues seyendo Vitiza aun vivo et estando en Cordova en desterramiento, comenco a regnar el rey Rodrigo” (553) [while Vitiza was still alive and in Cordoba in exile, king Rodrigo began to reign]. Notice the narrator’s emphasis in the fact that the previous king was still alive, “aun vivo,” and living in Cordoba when Rodrigo began his reign. A very similar sentence had been used in an earlier chapter to express disapproval when King Vitiza named his own brother Oppa bishop of Toledo, even though the bishop Sinderedo was still alive: “seyendo Sinderedo aun vivo” (552). The narrator expresses his disapproval considering the action a sin: an “adulterio espiritual” (552).

Rodrigo is the antithesis of what a king should be. The *Partidas* state that the king should not do anything against the law, and most especially not because of a desire for riches (2.5.14). The king is the keeper of the law. He must always put the benefit of his people before his own. In contrast, tyrants “aman mas de fazer su pro, maguer sea danno de la tierra que la pro comunal, de todos” (Siete Partidas 2.1.10). This is the case of Rodrigo, as can be seen in the Muslim legend of the locked palace of Toledo, which, following Ximénez de Rada, Alfonso incorporates in his *Estoria*:

En la cibdad de Toledo auie estonces un palacio que estidiera siempre cerrado de tiempo ya de muchos reys, et tenie muchas cerraduras, e el rey Rodrigo fizol abrir por que cuedaua que yazie y algun grand auer; mas quando el palacio fue abierto non fallaron y ninguna cosa, sinon una arca otrossi cerrada. E el rey mando la abrir et non fallaron en ella sinon un panno en que estauan escriptas letras ladinas que dizien assi: que quando aquellas cerraduras fuessen crebantadas et ell arca et el palacio fuessen abiertos et lo que y yazie fuesses uisto, que yentes de tal manera como en aquel panno estauan pintadas que entrarien en Espanna et la conqueririen et serien ende sennores. (553)

[In the city of Toledo there was at that time a palace that had remained a lways closed under many kings, and it had many locks, and king Rodrigo gave the order to open it because he thought it contained great treasures, but once the palace was opened they did not find there anything, except a chest that was also closed. The king gave the order to open it and they did not find in it but a cloth on which it was written an inscription in Latin that read thus: that when those locks were

broken and the chest and the palace were opened and their contents seen, peoples resembling those that were painted on that cloth would enter Spain and would conquer it and would become its masters.]

Rodrigo broke a tradition kept by previous kings by ordering the opening of the palace. He commits this violation because of greed: he thought he would find riches inside the palace (“cuedaua que yazie y algun grand auer”). The verbs used by Alfonso emphasize that the responsibility of breaking the taboo is all his: “Rodrigo fizole abrir,” “el rey mandola abrir.” He is the subject of both actions. By acting like a tyrant who thinks of his own benefit first without considering the consequences for their people, Rodrigo brings destruction to all.

Rodrigo’s representation as a tyrant can also be attested by his treatment of the powerful. According to the *Partidas*, the king must administer justice and protect the rights of all, loving and honoring each and every one, both important and less important men: “los mayores: e a los medianos, e a los menores: a cada uno según su estado” (2.1.9). In contrast, tyrants always endeavor “de estragar los poderosos”(2.1.10). Rodrigo dishonored two sons of Witiza and banished them (553.307). He also acted with disregard for Count Julian, one of his most important vassals. This behavior contradicts the laws that regulate the relations between lord and vassal. The Partida IV, title XXV, Law I defines *señor* as “aquel que a mandamiento e poderio, sobre todos aquellos, que biuen en su tierra.” As a lord, Rodrigo must “amar, e honrrar, e guardar sus vassallos, e fazer les bien, e merceed, e desuiar les danno e desonrra” (4.25.6) [“love, honor, and protect his vassals, show them favor and mercy, and prevent them from suffering injury and dishonor” (996)].⁸³ Instead, the king is the one who brings disgrace to his vassal’s family by exerting violence against the Count’s daughter. Rodrigo, the *Estoria* states,

⁸³ *Partidas*’ quotes in *castellano* are from the 1555 edition. *Partidas*’ quotes in English are from the English version by Samuel Parsons Scott.

took “la fija por fuerça, et yogol con ella.” The *Partidas* define *fuerça* as “cosa que es fecha a otro tortizieramente, de que non se puede amparar el que la recibe” (7.10.1), something done to another by unlawful means, and that the victim cannot prevent. The violence, the taking by force is emphasized by the reference to the wife of Count Julian: “Algunos dizen que fue la muger et que ge la forço.” In the first case the daughter is taken by force (*tomol*) from her father, and then a sexual act, where she is the victim, is inflicted on the father (*yogol*): the violence is told as happening to him (*tomo a el, yogo a el*). Since we know the father is not present, the *fuerça* may refer to the fact that Count Julian could not prevent it. In the second instance, the wife is shown as forced, but the act is inflicted upon her husband, *ge la forço*: *ge*, against him. All three verbs reflect that the king’s actions are directed against Count Julian. By raping the daughter (or wife) of his vassal, the king brought great dishonor on Count Julian:

Forçar, o robar muger virgen, o casada, o religiosa, o biuda que viva honestamente en su casa, es yerro, e maldad muy grande, por dos razones. La primera porque la fuerça es fecha sobre personas que biuen honestamente, e a seruicio de Dios, e a buena estança del mundo. La segunda es que fazen muy grand desonrra a los parientes dela muger forçada, e muy grand atreuimiento contra el señor, forçandolas en desprecio del señor dela tierra do es fecho. (7.20.1)

[To force or carry off a woman who is a virgin, or married, or who belongs to a religious order, or is a widow living respectably at home, is an act of wickedness, for two reasons. First, because the force is employed against persons who are living honorably and in the service of God, and are of high consideration in the world. Second, because great dishonor is inflicted upon the relatives of the woman who is violated and great insolence is displayed against her lord by violating her in contempt of the ruler of the land where this is done]. (o. C. Alfonso X 1425)

The wicked act of sexual violence brings dishonors to the victim’s relatives, who must be persons “of high consideration in the world,” as Lucretia had been in Ancient Rome. Count Julian’s daughter belongs to this category, as can be ascertained by the fact that she was the King’s betrothed.

The text says that King Rodrigo was engaged to the girl, though not yet married: “e ante desto fuera ya fablado que auie el de casar con ella, mas non casara aun.” It does not explain why the marriage had not taken place. Partida IV, Title I, states that engagements, as well as contracts of vassalage, were arranged by the parents, if any of the parties was underage, and ratified by the spouses themselves when they reached an age of reason (seven years old). The engagements could last years, since the consummation was postponed until both parties had reached the appropriate age of twelve for the bride and fourteen for the groom, or until the bodies of both of the betrothed were considered mature. It was almost impossible to break an engagement. If all requirements had been met, a party could sue the other for delaying the marriage. The *Estoria* does not say why the marriage had not taken place yet, all we know is that the daughter of Count Julian and the King were engaged but not married. What does it mean to rape one’s fiancée? The *Partidas* state that

si a alguno robasse, o llevasse su esposa por fuerça, con quien non fuesse casado por palabras de presente, que ouiesse aquella mesma pena, que de suso diximos, que deuia auer el que forçasse a otra muger, con quien non ouiesse debdo.
(7.20.3)

[if anyone should carry off by force his betrothed to whom he was not married by words relating to the present time,⁸⁴ he should undergo the same penalty that we mentioned above, and to which a person who forced a woman to whom he was not under any obligation, was liable] (K. o. C. a. L. Alfonso X 1426)

This punishment is loss of his life and the transfer of all his properties to the family of the victim. So the *Estoria* presents the case of a man, king Rodrigo, who commits an offence worthy of the capital punishment. Yet, it is Julian, the father of the victim, who is demonized and characterized as traitor.

⁸⁴ Literally, as explained in the same Partida, a proposition made in the present tense: ‘I marry you,’ as opposed to a verb in the future: I *will* marry you.

Don Julian finds out about the *desonrra de la fija o de la muger*, and felt great sorrow (*grand pesar*). But he did not denounce the action to the king—for it was the king who perpetrated the crime. These two things show the disintegration of the Visigoth empire: a king that breaks the law, a vassal who betrays his king. In Alfonso's *Siete Partidas*, treason is the worst crime that could be committed by any person. But what if the king is unjust, what if he abuses a subject? If Count Julian was injured by king Rodrigo, what was he to do?

LORD AND VASSAL

The manner in which Julian was treated would justify a separation from his lord. As explained in Law VII, one of the legitimate reasons a vassal can leave his Lord is if the Lord “se trabajasse de desonrrar le su muger”—in the *Estoria*, Rodrigo violated the daughter “or the wife” of Don Julian.

The relationship between Rodrigo and Julian was that of lord and vassal. The lord has the obligation to give benefits and protect the vassal, which King Rodrigo did not do. The vassal, Don Julian in this case, should love, honor and protect his lord, and serve him faithfully “on account of the benefits which they receive from them,” but the king raped his daughter or perhaps his wife: “Algunos dizen que fue la muger et que ge la forço.” In Alfonso's Partida IV, Law V, *How a natural relationship may be lost*, rape or attempted rape is legitimate grounds for separation between lord and vassal: “when he dishonors him through his wife” (991). The *Capitula Aquisgranense*, previously quoted in Chapter 3, is useful to look at here since the myth of the rape of Oliba originated two or three centuries before the composition of the *Estoria*, also stated that to touch wife or daughter (*uxorem aut filiam*) was grounds for separation from the lord:

Quid nullus seniore suum dimittat postquam ab eo acciperit valente solido uno, excepto si eum vult occidere aut cum baculo caedere vel uxorem aut filiam maculare seu hereditatem ei tollere. [77. Capitula Aquisgranense (Boretius 172)]

[Let no one leave his lord after he has been admitted by him except for one reason: if the lord wishes to kill him or strikes him with a stick or stained his wife or daughter or if he took away his inheritance].

Although it was possible to seek separation, it was only acceptable under the most extreme circumstances—a threat to one’s life was considered equally as serious as the rape of one’s woman (wife or daughter). The separation was a grave matter, as demonstrated by the meticulous description of the steps that should be taken for a proper breakup given in the *Partidas*. As a ceremony had sealed the pact of vassalage with a kiss on the hand (Law IV), another ceremony (also sealed with a kiss) is needed to break it (Law VII). The most important element is that the intention must be made known to the lord by way of words; the vassal must speak to his lord in person. If he fears for his life, then somebody should speak for him. In any case, the denaturalization must be made known (Partida IV, Law VII). The vassal, therefore, must advise his former lord that he is no longer at his service. To act covertly would amount to treason. He found out about the rape, because “ella misma ge lo describio” [she herself revealed it to him], but although he felt much sorrow,

...como era omne cuerdo et encubierto, fizo enfinta que non metie y mientes et que non daua por ello nada, et demostraua a las yentes semeiança de alegria; mas despues que ouo dicho todo su mandado en que fuera al rey, tomo su muger et fuesse sin espedirse, et desi en medio dell yuierno passo la mar et fuesse a Çepta, et dexo y la muger et ell auer, et fablo con los moros. (Primera crónica 554)

[...as he was a sensible and secretive man, he pretended that he did not think much of it and did not care at all, and he appeared happy; but after he finished giving to the king the report of the embassy for which he had traveled, he took his wife and left without saying goodbye, and then in the middle of winter crossed the sea and went to Ceuta, and left there the wife and the possessions, and spoke to the Moors.]

Count Julian did not speak, instead he acted covertly and thereafter, the narrator describes him ‘Julian the traitor’. Yet, he is not the evildoer. The text leaves no doubt as to who is to blame for the invasion: the tyrannical ruler, the rapist, whose sin brought about “el destroymiento de Espanna et de la Gallia Gothica.” While the tyrant’s role remains the same, Julian’s transformation of role from victim (and would-be Brutus hero) to traitor, affects the whole structure of the story. Lucretia’s rape precedes a new beginning, a second foundation: the rise of the republic after the demise of the monarchy in Rome. In the *Estoria de Espanna*, Oliba’s rape precedes the end of Visigothic dominium and the devastation of Spain; in other words: a fall. But the story cannot end here, as the producer (or re-producer) of the legend is King Alfonso X, writing at a moment when Castile had emerged as a powerful force in the race for Iberian hegemony. As we know from both Lucas’ and Ximénez de Rada’s texts, a Brutus figure is found and deployed through Pelayo—but as he was not a character in the Oliba episode, another Rape Historical must be summoned to work its transforming effects in the history of Spain.

THE RAPE OF LUZENCIA

The passage appears in Chapter 565 of the *Estoria*. The girl is Pelayo’s sister, Luzencia. Munnuza, in the role of the rapist ruler, has seen her, and found her beautiful. She is also of high status, since she is the sister of an *inffante*. This detail is a novelty, since it doesn’t appear in Lucas de Tuy or Ximénez de Rada’s texts, which makes it all the more important. According to Blaise’s *Lexicon*, the Latin *infans* appears in the 12th-Century Spanish work *Historia Compostelana* as “heritier du prince,” the prince’s heir (Blaise 480). The second Partida provides a more clear definition, where it says that in Spain the children of kings are called *infantes* (2.7.1). From the first time Pelayo appears

in the *Estoria*, he is called *inffante*, although he is not the son of a king, but “fijo del duc Ffabila de Cantabria,” son of the Duque of Cantabria (549). Although no background is given that would relate Pelayo’s father to a lineage of kings—as in Lucas’ *Chronicon*, where both Pelayo and Rodrigo descend from King Chisdanvinth—the duke had died a victim of king Witiza, who later tried to gouge out Pelayo’s eyes. Since the gouging of eyes was the means of pre-emptively dealing with competitors, it may be assumed that in Witiza’s eyes, Pelayo had a real chance of accession to the throne.

From chapter 549 to the end of part 1 of the *Estoria* in chapter 565, Pelayo’s epithet of choice is *inffante*.⁸⁵ (In part 2, the epithet will become *rey*.) Yet, the passage begins with the ruling years of Pelayo: “Andados cinco annos del sennorio dell inffante don Pelayo.” He seems to have *imperium*—*sennorio*. Since he does not control any territory, for has all been occupied by the Moors, this *sennorio* may mean that he is seen as the legitimate *sennor*, even if in name only.

ALCALDE MUNNUZA AS THE TYRANNICAL RULER

Munnuza is a local governor, a Christian that had pledged allegiance to the Moors (“auie yura fecha”) collaborating with them (“et era de su parte”). *Najerense* and *Chronicon Mundi* had depicted him as a Moor, which I think makes for a simpler division of the good versus the bad—Christians against Muslims.⁸⁶ This change in the identity of the tyrannical ruler comes courtesy of Ximénez de Rada, who we may remember, was

⁸⁵ The title of king is mentioned for the first time in the last sentence of part 1: “Et de como regno este rey Don Pelayo et los otros reyes que fueron en Leon, en comienço del libro de la coronica de Castiella lo fallaredes.” Menendez Pidal’s edition points out in this page that this is absent from CBUOT. Neither does it appear in E, the manuscript from the royal *scriptorium*.

⁸⁶ The *Crónica Najerense* presents him as *compar Tharech* (Liber secundus.4), which means an equal to or a relative of Taric, the general in charge of the invasion; therefore, a Moor or Arab. Lucas de Tuy called him Muza, the name of governor of the North African provinces as well as Spain, therefore, a Moor or Arab.

promoting a crusade in Spain, and not all the Christians were cooperating. The king chooses to follow this version, which characterizes any collaborator as a traitor. And his choice is congruent with the *Partidas*, where it states that Christians that collaborate with Moors are “enemigos de la fe,” and if caught, can be kept as slaves or sold.

RAPE TALE, OR THE BOTCHED MARRIAGE OF LUZENCIA

Munnuza fell in love with Luzencia, and then pretended to be friendly towards Pelayo, and made up an excuse to send him away on business to Taric—for even though Pelayo has *sennorio*, he takes orders from Munnuza. The incident that prompts Pelayo to rebel that the governor had married his sister. But the act, described as a *casamiento*, is not a bad thing, God himself created it in Paradise (6.1). Yet Pelayo receives the news negatively. The problem is not apparent, and requires an investigation of what exactly was understood by marriage.

In the Fourth Partida, *casamiento* appears interchangeably with the occasional use of *matrimonio* (defined as “the Latin word for *casamiento*” (4.2) and it means

ayuntamiento de marido e de muger, fecho con tal entencion de beuir siempre en vno, e de non se departir guardando lealtad cada vno dellos al otro, e non se ayuntando el varon a otra muger, nin ella, a otro varon biuiendo ambos a dos.
(4.2.1)

This union of a man and a woman is contingent upon an honest investigation of impediments—consanguinity, for example, which was by far more complicated than simply being a cousin, as well as the myriad levels of affinity.

In the *Partidas*, clandestine marriages are forbidden by the Church, since it is likely that those who do not wish to advertise their intention to marriage may have reasons that prevent them from marrying in the first place. Clandestine marriages are performed without witnesses, or without consulting the father or “su madre, o a los otros

parientes que la han enguarda,” the relatives of the woman (4.3.1). The king advises against these “casamientos a furto,” not only because they result in terrible incidents, breaking of friendships, and even deaths, but also because those who wed without knowledge of the parents of the bride, do it with “mala entencion” (4.3.5). The right way to get engaged (*desposorio*) or married (*casamiento*) is “apaladinas” (in the open), with the knowledge (*sabiduria*) of the father, mother or closer relative (4.3.5). Instead of following this protocol, Munnuza sets out to get Luzencia *engannosamiente*—as opposed to “manifiestamente, porque se pueda prouar, e non encubierto” (4.2.6)—with lies, and pretending (*fazer enfinta*) some business in another town—to get Pelayo out of the way. In this situation, the Fourth Partida says that the relatives of the woman can seize the man guilty of “casamiento a furto,” take all his possessions, and make him a slave for life, because of the dishonor he inflicted on her and on them.

Pelayo reacts as if he had received an offense, taking away his sister, “como sil non pesasse nin diesse nada por ello,” as if it did not weigh on him nor he cared whatsoever. He may consider this *casamiento* illegal, and therefore, null—if it were otherwise, it could not be broken (4.2.7). But is it illegal? If she consented, the marriage is valid—and she probably did, as there is no *casamiento* without consent (4.2.5). The text has both *caso* and *casamiento*, the second time, modified with *malo* and *auol*.

Luzencia may have been forced to consent—in which case, the marriage can legally be broken (“se puede departir”) (4.2.16). Or, if his sister was a minor, Pelayo can consider the marriage void (“non valdria este casamiento”), since the very young do not have “entendimiento para consentir,” do not have the capacity to judge and thus consent

(4.2.6). Since the text presents the story only from the brother's point of view, it is his consent that must be required, not hers.⁸⁷

The marriage happened while Pelayo was away. This *mandado* brings to mind the previous rape episode from the *Estoria*, when the Count went abroad “en mandaderia del rey Rodrigo.” While he was performing a service to his Lord, King Rodrigo raped the daughter of the person performing a service, Count Julian. Similarly, Munnuza married the sister of his vassal during a conveniently pre-arranged absence. While Lucas de Tuy in the *Chronicon* had described the action as “ui sibi sociauit,” which means he appropriated her for himself by force, in the *Estoria* there is undoubtedly marriage: “caso,” and “casamiento.” The former version makes for an invalid marriage, and so it makes sense that Lucas writes “illicito matrimonio” (220). But although in Alfonso's as well as Ximénez de Rada's versions, there is no element of force⁸⁸ since the marriage happened without the guardian's approval, it is an act of force.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ The story of Dinah, in the Old Testament, presents a similar situation. Her brothers said she was raped. However, she may have consented on her own, without asking her father or brother—which would make this a marriage. See (Zlotnick 26-49)

⁸⁸ The unexplained intervention of a third character, a slave (in the bishop's version, a *liberto*—“freed slave”), who serves as an intermediary between Munnuza and Luzencia, may provide more clues as to the illegality of the union. Could it be that the slave is not a proper representative of the groom? I did not find anything in the *Partidas* regarding this.

⁸⁹ We may remember here the case of Bernardo del Carpio's parents, narrated in part 2 of the *Estoria*. His father, Count San Diaz, had married Ximena, the sister of king Alfonso El Casto, “a furto” (617)—behind the back of the king. When the king found out, he ordered the arrest of the Count and placed him in chains until the end of his life. This is not a case of rape tale because there is no revolution, no change in the structure of power, but it illustrates how a “marriage” can be understood as force—not against the woman, but against her father or brother.

PELAYO'S REBELLION

Pelayo reacts to the offense by taking his sister away from Munnuza, her husband, who considers himself dishonored⁹⁰With the loss of his wife, the husband proceeds not to follow the kidnapper, but to denounce Pelayo as rebel: “enuio dezir a Tarif que Pelayo se le alçara en la tierra descubiertamiente.” Pelayo had declared a rebellion with the Christians that lived in the mountains. As it should happen, Pelayo is pursued, not by the dishonored husband, but by an army: he has become a political adversary. He will be hunted down not for taking his sister (apparently, this was just a personal matter, a family affair) but for something utterly more transgressive: rebellion against the Lord of the place.

The identification of Luzencia's rape with an outrage that affects the entire community (later identified as Christians), is first made by Pelayo himself, who upon finding out about the marriage, immediately begins to think “como podrie librar la cristiandad,” how he could liberate the Christians. Similarly, in Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, Brutus' famous speech shifts in one sentence from the particular rape of Lucretia, to the general outrage of tyranny, to the active pursuit of a dramatic change in the structure of power. Both Ximénez de Rada and Alfonso manifestly show that Pelayo's actions amount to rebellion. For rape is just a manner to understand the relationship between lord and vassal, or between equal rank allies. A marriage understood as rape is a rejection of former bonds. From now on, they will no longer be part of the same family. Munnuza understood it as rebellion, because it was. Pelayo is pursued as a rebel, not as wife kidnapper. As for Luzencia's whereabouts: Pelayo, who had taken his sister from

⁹⁰ Ximénez de Rada had said the same: “Munnuza autem pro ablatione coniugis reputans se contemptum.” (IV.I).

Munnuza, nonetheless arrives alone to Cangas. Having fulfilled her role, she disappears from the story.

TRANSLATIO IMPERII

Just as the rape of Oliba had signaled the end of the Gothic kingdom, the rape of Luzencia marks the beginning of a new story for Spain—one in which Pelayo represents the paradigm of one king for all Spaniards. Ximénez de Rada's idea of fragmentation as the source of evil acquires in Alfonso's *Estoria* a new layer of meaning. This implies that Alfonso saw himself as a new Pelayo who would restore the lost unity of Spain. In this manner, the transference of power that started with Hercules and the Greeks reaches its final destination with the Christians, now understood as *Espannoles*.⁹¹

Rape thus marks a shift in genres right at the midpoint of the *Estoria*. The first part follows the model of universal histories—although instead of narrating the history of the world through the successive nations that held the *imperium*, the transference of power from the Greeks, to the Romans, to the Goths, is circumscribed to the Iberian Peninsula. After the dramatic ending of the Visigoths, the sequence should continue with the Moors. But, as analysts from Menéndez Pidal to Fernández Ordóñez observe, the structure of the *Estoria* does not recognize a *sennorio* of the Moors. Instead, after the demise of the Visigoths, the land is declared without lord:

⁹¹ The idea that strength that comes from unity under one *sennorio*—which is what Fernández Ordoñez calls the “ideario alfonsí” (45)—is already present in the prologue of the *Estoria*, where the Moorish invasion appears preceded by disagreement with the Rodrigo: “como por el desacuerdo que ouieron los godos con so sennor el rey Rodrigo et por la traycion que urdio el donde don Yllan et el arçobispo Oppa, passaron los dAffrica et ganaron todo lo mas dEspanna; et como fueron los cristianos despues cobrando la tierra; et del danno que uino en ella por partir los regnos, porque se non pudo cobrar tan ayna” (4). The invasion of the Moors resulted from *desacuerdo* and *traycion*. Had the Goths kept a perfect harmony with their *sennor*, the invasion would not have occurred. The same idea is more clearly articulated with the *danno* Spain suffered “por partir los regnos.”

E por que otro sennor non fincaua en la tierra pora amparamiento de los cristianos si este don Pelayo, traemos por ell el cuento de los annos que la tierra estido sin sennor, et fueron cinco fasta aquel alçaron a el por rey; e quando se ell alço a las Asturias et finco por sennor de los cristianos. (560.314)

De facto, the narrator represents the current events as happening during an *interregnum* that lasts five years. After this period the *imperium* goes to the Christians. Interestingly enough, the text does not reveal whether these Christians are Celtiberians, Asturians or Visigoths.

In the previous chapter, I argued that Ximénez de Rada turns Pelayo into a founder figure—like Pelasgus, the autochthonous founder of the Arcadia. Since Pelayo is not described as a Goth, by default he might be autochthonous. Like Ximénez de Rada, King Alfonso makes Pelayo somewhat ambiguous as to his ethnicity. The first people he meets in the mountains are twice mentioned as *omnes* that are living in the Cangas Valley (564). Pelayo sends messengers to “todos los asturianos,” all the Asturians. The naming of this group may mean that Pelayo and his first men see the Asturians as an other, which is why they must be named. But it may also be that the first men who joined him were a fraction of “todos,” all the Asturians. It is not clear. Later, in chapter 570, they are referred to as “yentes,” people—neither Asturian nor Visigoth. However, the latter reappear in the speech Pelayo delivers from the cave, which ends as follows:

[Nos los cristianos... creemos que con estos pocos que aqui somos que cobraremos toda la yente de los godos que es perduda, assi como de los pocos granos se crian las muchas mieses.⁹² (568. 323)

[We, the Christians, believe that with these few people that are here, that we will recover all the Gothic people that is lost, in the same manner that from a few grains grow many fields]

⁹² The dictionary of the Real Academia gives the word *mieses* a ‘Cantabrian’ meaning in the plural, just as it appears in this text. This is interesting because while Pelayo is the son of the Duke of Cantabria this is the first version of the Pelayo legend in Castilian—the others are in Latin.

We have seen this reference before, but not in Ximénez de Rada's own rendition of Pelayo's speech, where the mention of the Goths is notoriously absent. This is worth mentioning since the Gothic section of the *Estoria* mostly follows the bishop's *Historia*. This seeming identification with the Visigoths is found in *Crónica de Alfonso III*: "per istum modicum monticulum quem conspicias, sit Spaniae salus et Gothorum gentis exercitus reparatus" (Chroniques Asturiennes 41) [by means of this small rock you are looking at, the health of Spain and the army of the nation of the Goths will be renewed]. That text was written by a king who wrote himself as part of the *orto Gothorum*, clearly expressed in the beginning of the *Crónica*, where he traces an uninterrupted line from Alaric to himself, Ordoño, king of Asturias. It represents the best case of Neo-Gothicism, by means of which the kings of Asturias and the Visigothic rulers are one and the same. Alfonso's version is more complex, since it marks a difference between "nosotros" and the "godos." This difference—which, as I have pointed out, is already implicit in Alfonso's prologue eliminates the requirement of Visigothic ties in order to legitimate claims to power.

The distancing from the Visigoths and the rise of homogeneous "Christian" people in the Spains was the creation of Ximénez de Rada, as previously discussed in this dissertation. But it is the king, with his massive historiographic project, who takes the final step towards a national history of Spain. While the bishop wrote a national/ethnic history, Alfonso's *Estoria* resembles a universal history in the first part, and a national history in the second. The first part, from the first inhabitants to the Rape of Oliba and the Rape of Luzencia, can be seen as a pre-history of Spain. Diverse peoples that roamed the known world, previously seen in the universal chronicles, make their appearance. It is as if the history of the world happened in Iberia. Roman and Visigothic deeds, the life of Dido, the history of the Byzantine emperors, are related at length, even though many of

the events occurred far from Spain. The parade of powerful nations that at some point had a presence in the peninsula, who won and lost *imperium* elsewhere, end with the beginning of Visigothic presence in Spain. Their own history, which starts far away from the Peninsula, and in its last stages become an Iberian, local history, ends with the rape of Count Julian's daughter. The brief *translatio* of the last foreign power arrived from Africa, the Moors, ends suddenly with the rape of Luzencia. The rise of a new people, "Christians," and one king, Pelayo, ensues.

The second part of the *Estoria* initiates a history of local events, a narrowly focused narrative similar to Ximénez de Rada's, which relates the affairs of Castile and Leon and its diverse kings. Thus the shift from a pre-history—a narrative of the struggles of Spain under many foreign rulers—to a History of Spain, hinges upon the two rape legends. Alfonso's *Estoria* provides yet another example of how the rape tale is deployed at the service of a national or imperial agenda.

Final Remarks

A few years ago, when I first read Lucretia's rape tale in a Latin class, I felt puzzled by its similarities to the tale of Count Julian's daughter in Alfonso's *Estoria de Espanna*. I would later find that there were other women raped along the way to conquest, founding a nation, or an empire. I saw similar episodes of violence in other foundational texts—whether in sacred scriptures or in the form of national histories—themselves secular scriptures. It even appears in works conceived as fiction (but understood as allegories of the nation) that later became part of the literary canon of national literatures' respected works, read as embodying in poetic language the spirit of the nation.

It seems that the origins of the tribe, the nation, the empire are often marked by a foundational act of violence. This foundational act is rape. As I have discussed in the previous pages, rape precedes the birth of the Roman Republic, and also the birth of a free Christian kingdom in the mountains of Asturias. Episodes of rape may also signal endings, for the rape tale provides an explanation for the decline of a powerful people who regressed to a state of impiety or lawlessness. Lawlessness is represented by an act of violence perpetrated against kin. A transgression against those who should be protected signals the degeneration and end of the system.

I have described these episodes as "rape tales." The rape tale is a type of folktale. It is frequent in foundational texts where it appears right before a new phase, a new ruler, a new chapter in the life of the community, the nation, the empire. The rape tale has a fixed set of characters and a simple and reliable structure. The characters are: the rapist ruler, the guardian, and the raped woman. Its structure can be broken into a set of eight functions: 1. Improper Gaze, 2. Absentation, 3. Rape, 4. Mediation, 5. Spatial

Transference, 6. Struggle, 7. Punishment, and 8. Change in the Structure of Power. The rape of a woman is at the center of the tale. The incident is portrayed as an unlawful possession of the female body, understood as dishonorable by the victim and by her guardian. Most important: the narrator presents the act as a transgression.

The stories of Count Julian's daughter and of Pelayo's sister are both rape tales. Like other rape tales, they read like plays that stage national concerns. The actors are characterized along ethnic, class and religious lines by the diverse groups who wrote national/ethnic histories in the Iberian Peninsula. Those identified in broad terms as Muslims as well as those identified in broad terms as Christians inserted one or the other rape tale in their narratives.

The tales originated separately. The rape tale of Oliba, daughter of Count Julian, originated perhaps as a folktale. Based on the movement of the story, which follows the guardian, Don Julian, I argue that this tale may be Mozarabic. The Christian nobles that continued to thrive under the Omeya rulers identified with Julian as the positive portrayal of him in *Chronica Pseudo Isidoriana* illustrates. On the other hand, the tale of the rapist king and the traitor count fits into the characterization the Muslim chronicles give of the defeated Christian Visigoths, and so this could be the origin. The oldest extant versions can be found in texts written by Muslim Arab historians. Of these, two were produced in Spain: the anonymous *Ajbar Machmua* and the chronicle of Ibn Alcoutiya. The story of Luzencia may also have originated as a folktale. The oldest version appears in a text that represents the interests of the Asturian-Leonese kings. Both tales were united at some point around the 12th century. The oldest version may be *Chronica Naierensis*, later incorporated into Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*. From that moment on, they will appear together as part of the same story, the story of the fall and rebirth of Spain.

The adoption of the two rape tales that seem to serve opposite interests is not without problems. The narrator of *Naierensis* calls the guardian in Oliba's tale a 'traitor' in spite of the fact that he performs all the functions of the guardian. The rapist is called a victim even though he still performs the functions of the villain. While not trying to hide the rape of Don Julian's daughter, the narrator forces the guardian to be the villain. It appears that from the narrator's point of view, the guardian's rebellion against his king is worse than the king's rape. This attitude of the narrator is understandable, since from *Naierensis* to Alfonso X's *Estoria*, there is no worse crime than rebelling against the royal authority. Yet, the tale remains the same in structure, which is to say, that its original meaning—the condemnation of Visigothic monarchy—remains unchanged. This may be the reason why the writer of *Crónica de Alfonso III* skipped the tale of king Rodrigo's rape, offering instead the rape of Luzencia, sister of Pelayo. This tale perfectly fits the aim of the narrative where it is inserted: the Muslim tyrannical ruler is killed in battle while Pelayo becomes king. The marriage of his daughter to a local, links Pelayo to the Asturian lineage—coincidentally that of the king who wrote or commissioned this chronicle.

The author of *Naierensis*, likely a monk, may have had another purpose in mind. It seems that he wanted to provide a cautionary tale, where rulers who stray from the Church end up losing *imperium* as happened to the Visigothic kings of Spain. However, *Naierensis*' version of the rape tale is told out of sequence: Mediation occurs before Rape, which shifts the emphasis in the transgression to the consequences of the mediation. Don Julian's learning of the rape from the mouths of his evil cousins makes this the central function, which must be an act of villainy. Consequently, Don Julian, who in the previous versions was the Guardian hero, is turned into the villain of the story. The rape of his daughter becomes a secondary detail in the structure of the tale. In contrast,

Luzencia's tale neatly fits without changes in the structure: Pelayo, the guardian of his sister, becomes guardian of Spain. By placing the tales side by side, Don Julian is made to play the role of the villain while Pelayo remains the guardian hero, who declares an open rebellion against the Moors. The sixth function in the second tale confirms this conflation. Here, the rapist Munnuza is killed, as expected of the rapist, but surprisingly Don Julian reappears here to die at the side of the villains. In the union of the two tales, Don Julian's character loses its role as guardian and displaces Rodrigo as the villain. Luzencia, a second woman, soon to be raped, comes on stage, and her guardian becomes the only hero of the story.

Bishop Lucas de Tuy reproduced this two-part rape tale with some improvements. He provides biographical details for Pelayo of crucial importance for dynastic purposes. Pelayo is now clearly a Visigoth, grandson of a king and cousin of King Roderick, the rapist of the first tale. The story of Pelayo's father mirrors that of Roderick's father. Pelayo, though not a character in the first part of the tale, is briefly introduced here and quickly removed to reappear in the second part along with Julian, who will also be mentioned. In this manner, Pelayo and Don Julian become part of one story.

King Roderick's villainy disappears under the weight of Julian's revenge, described as a most terrible crime. Lucas lessens the importance of Roderick with a reduced account of his life and deeds, which contrasts with the detailed accounts of Count Julian, and with those of previous kings, especially his predecessor, Witiza. The final result is an uninterrupted line of Visigothic kings, with Pelayo as the bright star, representing the link to the lineage of the Astur-Leonese kings. Since King Ferdinand III of Castile was Leonese by lineage, Lucas' move legitimates Castilian monarchy's ambition of becoming the leader of all the Spains.

Bishop Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada also adopted the rape tale in two movements, though adapting it to serve different interests. The first detail that calls attention is that, in contrast with Lucas' version, Bishop Rodrigo's *Historia de Rebus Hispanie* restores the full magnitude of the rape of Oliba. Instead of an unclear gossip told by minor characters, the narrator shows in blunt words the king raping his ward. Clearly, the king is the villain in the first part of the rape tale. This makes it difficult to defend the Neo-Visigothic revival that many critics have attributed to this text. Although it could be argued that the fact that, as in the *Chronicon*, Pelayo's role as the antithesis of a bad Roderick makes Gothic lineage salvageable, other details confirm what the rape of Oliba signals: this lineage is corrupt and therefore, doomed. Their *imperium* will therefore be transferred to a pious and legitimate lineage. Bishop Rodrigo does not subscribe to the Neo-Visigothic revival. As in the Muslim versions of the tale, the king is a tyrannical rapist.

Bishop Rodrigo characterizes Count Julian as an important personage from noble Gothic lineage. Although this version presents him unquestionably as a victim, he is also presented as a traitor to his king and to Spain. This characterization follows Muslim versions that present all Visigoths as undesirable characters: they are either rapists or traitors. Any doubts as to Bishop Rodrigo's stance are dispelled by the explanation he offers in a chapter dealing with the reasons for the fall. Here, Bishop Rodrigo affirms that the health of kingdoms rests on the moral integrity of their rulers, and then proceeds to enumerate the list of Visigothic kings that died a violent death. One after another, a picture emerges of fratricides and traitors all the way to the last one, Roderick, who took the throne by force and raped the daughter of an important nobleman. With this characterization of the entire lineage of the Visigoths, confirmed by the rape of Oliba, I argue that the bishop of Toledo makes it impossible for any living dynasty to claim leadership of the Spains based on a continuation of blood lineage. The characterization of

the guardian in the second rape tale will confirm this: unlike Lucas' version, he is not related to any Gothic king.

Pelayo leads a Christian rebellion against Moors and bad Christians—the latter exemplified by Munuza, who in this version is portrayed as a Christian collaborating with the Muslim invaders. Let us remember now that Bishop Rodrigo was trying to organize a crusade in Spain with difficulty, as not all Christian kings were willing to participate. Some had lucrative protection contracts with Muslim neighbors. Others were unwilling to join a project that involved Christians who happened to be their rivals. The bishop eventually succeeded, though not with consensus, in organizing the now mythic Battle of Las Navas the Tolosa. Through his characterization of Munuza the rapist as Christian, the bishop achieves an effective polarization: the good Christians stand on the side of the guardian (Pelayo), while the bad Christians join forces with the rapist (Munuza).

The deployment of the two-part rape tale in Bishop Rodrigo's *Historia* reflects the idea of a united Spain, made up of Christians, ruled not by claims of Visigothic lineage, but by allegiance to the Church. King Alfonso X El Sabio of Castile also deploys the rape tale in a very similar manner to Bishop Rodrigo. But his aims are different, and these affect in subtle but meaningful ways the characterization of the *dramatis personae*.

The king was most interested in creating, like the bishop, the idea of one Spain, but where the bishop says *christianos*, the king writes *espannoles*. In Alfonso's version, Pelayo is characterized as *inffante*—usually understood as the son of a king. This epithet is repeated consistently until the end of part one of the *Estoria*. Starting in the second part, Pelayo's epithet will be *rey*. This suggests that, although Pelayo was raised by the people as king, he was in fact a king in waiting, a legitimate king of royal lineage. The constituents of Pelayo are *omnes* and *yentes*, which also include some *godos*. These

diverse peoples, previously called *christianos* by Bishop Ximénez de Rada, are now referred to as *espannoles*.

The rape tales of Oliba and Luzencia seem inextricably linked to the Visigothic “fall” and the Christian rebirth of Spain in Medieval texts that narrate the Iberian past. Yet, two historiographic works omit the rape tales: The *Crónica Mozárabe de 754* and the *Liber Regum*. The *Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, a work written by a Christian likely living in the Muslim city of Cordoba, explains the causes of the invasion in terms of a civil war, and then proceeds with an account of the political affairs of Spain under the Muslim rulers. Count Julian’s daughter is absent from this account. As for Luzencia, since no desire of hope for liberation is expressed, there are no traces of Pelayo and no mention of rape.

The *Liber Regum*, likely of Aragonese origin, narrates the end of Visigothic rule as the consequence of the Moorish invasion brought about by the sons of Witiza and Count Julian, who in this text is a nephew of king Roderick. They are all part of the same family. There is no mention of Oliba. Although Pelayo does make an appearance, his sister does not figure in the text. What does this mean? The *Liber Regum* is not an ethnic history but a hybrid work, part universal history, part ethnic history—although it is not clear whose national/ethnic history it aims to tell. The work ends with four lineages. The first one, “Castiella,” seemingly connects then king Alfonso VIII (early 1200’s) to the lineage of King Roderick and Count Julian of the Visigoths, to damning effect—since claims of legitimacy were traditionally made through Pelayo, not to these unsavory characters. The second and third lineages are those of Navarra and Aragon. While there is not much to comment regarding the former, the latter shows the narrator pitting Aragon against Castile, leaning favorably towards Aragon. Ramiro of Aragon appears as a better warrior than Sancho of Castile, but ends up defeated by the Castilian, who had help from

the Moors. The kingdom of Aragon is characterized as tragically finished and subservient to Castile, characterized as powerful. But the works does not end here. The story continues with the lineage of the kings of France, and there ends. This placement in the structure of the narrative makes the French lineage a culmination. Considering that the *Liber Regum* starts as a universal history, the last lineage mentioned may be seen as the most powerful of all.

Crónica mozárabe de 754 nor the *Liber Regum* was composed from the center of power. *Mozárabe* appears to reflect the interests of a Christian seemingly writing at a low point in the political history of Al-Andalus. He frequently complaints of bad administration, corruption and power feuds. The *Liber Regum* tends to lean towards Aragon, a kingdom that at this point had lost its bid for power in the Peninsula. At a time when war was the way to profit and to growth, both works reflect the point of view of the losers. Neither work reproduces the rape tale.

In contrast, works that reproduce the rape tale come from rulers or kingdoms that are claiming a place in world history as they knew it. They either want to be contenders or are already strong rulers. Such is the case of Alfonso X El Sabio, king of the most powerful Iberian kingdom in the 13th century. This leads me to conclude that the rape tale works as a foundational tale within a narrative of power. It is part of a discourse that serves to define a people by establishing a sharp contrast with another. It pits present against past. The narrator characterizes this past as an ancient time of lawlessness, and the present as the beginning or the fulfillment of a perfect order. To heighten the contrast with the past, a paradigmatic incident, a rape, symbolizes the previous state of fall from grace. The rapist is defined in terms of the present foe, which allows for a prefigural defeat, as the present enemy will have the same ending as the rapist: he will be deposed. In contrast, the present ruler fulfills the figure of the mythical avenging guardian hero.

The woman—an allegorical representation of the land that must be defended by all good men against trespassers—performs the role of moving the hero to action.

The Iberian texts studied in this dissertation provide a unique opportunity to analyze diverse deployments of the same rape tale. While the tale alternately serves the interests of one or another group, class, or kingdom, the purpose remains the same: to explain the past and legitimate claims to power.

**APPENDIX A: *History of the Conquest of Spain*, by Ibn Abd-al-Hakam
(Egypt, 9th century) (Oldest extant version of Oliba's rape)**

“Musa Ibn Nosseyr sent his son Merwan to Tangiers, to wage a holy war upon her coast. Having, then, exerted himself together with his friends, he returned, leaving to Tarik Ibn Amru the command of his army which amounted to 1,700. Others say that 12,000 Berbers besides 16 Arabs were with Tarik: but that is false. It is also said that Musa Ibn Nosseyr marched out of Ifrikiya [Africa] upon an expedition into Tangiers, and that he was the first governor who entered Tangiers, where parts of the Berber tribes Botr and Beranes resided. These had not yet submitted themselves. When he approached Tangiers, he scattered his light troops. On the arrival of his cavalry in the nearest province of Sus, he subdued its inhabitants, and made them prisoners, they yielding him obedience. And he gave them a governor whose conduct was agreeable to them. He sent Ibn Beshr Ibn Abi Artah to a citadel, three days' journey from the town of Cairwan. Having taken the former, he made prisoners of the children, and plundered the treasury. The citadel was called Beshr, by which name it is known to this day. Afterwards Musa deposed the viceroy whom he had placed over Tangiers, and appointed Tarik Ibn Zeiyad governor. He, then, returned to Cairwan, Tarik with his female slave of the name Umm-Hakim setting out for Tangiers. Tarik remained some time in this district, waging a holy war. This was in the year 92. The governor of the straits between this district and Andalus was a foreigner called Ilyan, Lord of Septa. He was also the governor of a town called Alchadra, situated on the same side of the straits of Andalus as Tangiers. Ilyan was a subject of Roderic, the Lord of Andalus [i.e. king of Spain], who used to reside in Toledo. Tarik put himself in communication with Ilyan, and treated him kindly, until they made peace with each other. Ilyan had sent one of his daughters to Roderic, the Lord of

Andalus, for her improvement and education; but she became pregnant by him. Ilyan having heard of this, said, I see for him no other punishment or recompense, than that I should bring the Arabs against him. He sent to Tarik, saying, I will bring thee to Andalus; Tarik being at that time in Tlemsen, and Musa Ibn Nossevr in Cairwan. But Tarik said I cannot trust thee until thou send me a hostage. So he sent his two daughters, having no other children. Tarik allowed them to remain in Tlemsen, guarding them closely. After that Tarik went to Ilyan who—was in Septa on the straits. The latter rejoicing at his coming, said, I will bring thee to Andalus. But there was a mountain called the mountain of Tarik between the two landing places, that is, between Septa and Andalus. When the evening came, Ilyan brought him the vessels, in which he made him embark for that landing-place, where he concealed himself during the day, and in the evening sent back the vessels to bring over the rest of his companions. So they embarked for the landing-place, none of them being left behind: whereas the people of Andalus did not observe them, thinking that the vessels crossing and recrossing were similar to the trading vessels which for their benefit plied backwards and forwards. Tarik was in the last division which went across. He proceeded to his companions, Ilyan together with the merchants that were with him being left behind in Alchadra, in order that he might the better encourage his companions and countrymen. The news of Tarik and of those who were with him, as well as of the place where they were, reached the people of Andalus. Tarik, going along with his companions, marched over a bridge of mountains to a town called Cartagena. He went in the direction of Cordova. Having passed by an island in the sea, he left behind his female slave of the name of Umm-Hakim, and with her a division of his troops. That island was then called Umm-Hakim. When the Moslems settled in the island, they found no other inhabitants there, than vinedressers. They made them prisoners. After that they took one of the vinedressers, slaughtered him, cut him in pieces, and boiled him,

while the rest of his companions looked on. They had also boiled meat in other cauldrons. When the meat was cooked, they threw away the flesh of that man which they had boiled; no one knowing that it was thrown away: and they ate the meat which they had boiled, while the rest of the vinedressers were spectators. These did not doubt but that the Moslems ate the flesh of their companion; the rest being afterwards sent away informed the people of Andalus that the Moslems feed on human flesh, acquainting them with what had been done to the vinedresser.

As Abd-Errahman has related to us on the authority of his father Abd-Allah Ibn Abd-El-Hakem, and of Hisham Ibn Ishaak: There was a house in Andalus, the door of which was secured with padlocks, and on which every new king of the country placed a padlock of his own, until the accession to power of the king against whom the Moslems marched. They therefore begged him to place a padlock on it, as the kings before him were wont to do. But he refused saying, I will place nothing on it, until I shall have known what is inside; he then ordered it to be opened; but behold inside were portraits of the Arabs, and a letter in which it was written: ‘When this door shall be opened, these people will invade this country.’

Afterwards he returns to the traditions of Othman and of the others. He says. When Tarik landed, soldiers from Cordova came to meet him; and seeing the small number of his companions they despised him on that account. They then fought. The battle with Tarik was severe. They were routed, and he did not cease from the slaughter of them till they reached the town of Cordova. When Roderic heard of this, he came to their rescue from Toledo. They then fought in a place of the name of Shedunia, in a valley which is called this day the valley of Umm-Hakim [on July 11, 711, at the mouth of the Barbate river]. They fought a severe battle; but God, mighty and great, killed Roderic and his companions. Mugheyth Errumi, a slave of Welid, was then the

commander of Tarik's cavalry. Mugheyth Errumi went in the direction of Cordova, Tarik passing over to Toledo. He, then, entered it, and asked for the table, having nothing else to occupy himself. This, as the men of the Bible relate, was the table of Suleyman Ibn Dawid, may the blessing of God be upon him.

As Abd Errahman has related to us on the authority of Yahva Ibn Bukeir, and the latter on the authority of Leyth Ibn Sad: Andalus having been conquered for Musa Ibn Nosseyr, he took from it the table of Suleyman Ibn Dawid, and the crown. Tarik was told that the table - was in a citadel called Faras, two days' journey from Toledo, and the governor of this citadel was a nephew of Roderic. Tarik, then, wrote to him, promising safety both for himself and family. The nephew descended from the citadel, and Tarik fulfilled his promise with reference to his safety. Tarik said to him, deliver the table, and he delivered it to him. On this table were gold and silver, the like of which one had not seen. Tarik, then, took off one of its legs together with the pearls and the gold it contained, and fixed to it a similar leg. The table was valued at two hundred thousand dinars, on account of the pearls that were on it. He took up the pearls, the armour, the gold, the silver, and the vases which he had with him, and found that quantity of spoils, the like of which one had not seen. He collected all that. Afterwards he returned to Cordova, and having stopped there, he wrote to Musa Ibn Nosseyr informing him of the conquest of Andalus, and of the spoils which he had found. Musa then wrote to Welid Abd Ed-Malik' informing him of that, and throwing himself upon his mercy. Musa wrote to Tarik ordering him not to leave Cordova until he should come to him. And he reprimanded him very severely. Afterwards Musa Ibn Nosseyr set out for Andalus, in Rajab of the year 93, taking with him the chiefs of the Arabs, the commanders, and the leaders of the Berbers to Andalus. He set out being angry with Tarik, and took with him Habib Ibn Abi Ubeida Elfihri, and left the government of Cairwan to his son Abd Allah

who was his eldest son. He then passed through Alchadra, and afterwards went over to Cordova. Tarik then met him, and tried to satisfy him, saying: 'I am merely thy slave, this conquest is thine.' Musa collected of the money a sum, which exceeded all description. Tarik delivered to him all that he had plundered." (Harris Jones 18-22)

APPENDIX B: *Ajbar Machmuâ* (anonymous, 11th century)

B.1. RAPE OF JULIAN'S DAUGHTER

“Murió en esto el rey de España, Gaitixa, dejando algunos hijos, entre ellos Obba y Sisberto, que el pueblo no quiso aceptar; y alterado el país, tuvieron a bien elegir y confiar el mando á un infiel, llamado Rodrigo, hombre resuelto y animoso, que no era de estirpe real, sino caudillo y caballero. Acostumbraban los grandes señores de España á mandar sus hijos, varones y hembras, al palacio real de Toledo, á la sazón fortaleza principal de España y capital del reino, á fin de que estuviesen á las órdenes del Monarca, á quien sólo ellos servían. Allí se educaban hasta que, llegados á la edad nubil, el Rey los casaba, proveyéndoles para ello de todo lo necesario. Cuando Rodrigo fué declarado rey, prendóse de la hija de Julian y la forzó.” (19)

B.2. PELAYO

“[Okba] Recibió el gobierno de España, viniendo en 110 y permaneciendo en ella algunos años, durante los cuales conquistó todo el país hasta llegar a Narbona, y se hizo dueño de Galicia, Alava y Pamplona, sin que quedase en Galicia alquería por conquistar, si se exceptúa la sierra, en la cual se había refugiado con 300 hombres un rey llamado Belay (Pelayo), a quien los musulmanes no cesaron de combatir y acosar, hasta el extremo de que muchos de ellos murieron de hambre; otros acabaron por prestar obediencia, y fueron así disminuyendo hasta quedar reducidos a 30 hombres, que no tenían 10 mujeres, según se cuenta. Allí permanecieron encastillados, alimentándose de miel, pues tenían colmenas y las abejas se habían reunido en las hendiduras de la roca. Era difícil a los musulimes llegar a ellos, y los dejaron, diciendo: “Treinta hombres, ¿qué

pueden importar?” Despreciaronlos, por lo tanto, y llegaron al cabo a ser asunto muy grave, como, Dios mediante, referiremos en su lugar oportuno.” (38-39)

APPENDIX C: Ibn Al-Kotiya

RAPE OF JULIAN'S DAUGHTER

“La entrada de Táric a España tuvo lugar en el mes de Ramadán del año 92, y la causa (u ocasión) del suceso fué que un comerciante cristiano llamado Yulián, que solía ir y venir de España a los países berberiscos... y solía llevar a Rodrigo buenos caballos y halcones de éste país. A este comerciante se le murió su mujer, dejándole una hermosa hija. Rodrigo (por aquel entonces) le encargó que pasase a Africa; pero él se excusó con la muerte de su señora y no tener a quien encomendar su hija. Rodrigo dispuso que la introdujera en palacio; fijóse en ella, parecióle hermosa y la violó. Al volver su padre, ella se lo dió a entender; y éste dijo a Rodrigo: “(Ahora) sí que he dejado yo unos caballos y unos halcones que no se han visto semejantes!” Autorizóle Rodrigo para volver por ellos; Yulián llevó consigo su dinero y fuese en busca de Táric, hijo de Ziad, a quien llamó la atención sobre España, encareciendo la excelencia (de la tierra) y la debilidad de su pueblo y diciéndole que era gente cobarde. Táric, hijo de Ziad, escribió a Muza, hijo de Nosair, participádoselo; y éste ordenó que entrase en la Península.” (5-6)

APPENDIX D: *Crónica de Alfonso III (876-877)*

PELAYO'S SISTER UNACCEPTABLE UNION

Per idem ferre tempus in hac regione Asturiensium prefectus erat in ciuitate Ieione nomine Munnuza, compar Tarec. Ipso quoque prefecturam agente, Pelagius quidam spatarius Uitizani et Ruderici regnum, ditione ismaelitarum oppressus, cum propria sorore Asturias est ingressus. Qui supranominatus Munnuza prefatum Pelagium, ob occasionem sororis eius, legationis [causa] Cordoua misit. Sed ante quam rediret, per quadam ingenium sororem illius sibi in coniugio sociauit. Quo ille dum reuertit, nullatenus consentit. Set quod iam cogitauerat de salbationem ecclesie, cum omni animositate agere festinauit. Tunc nefandus Tarec ad prefatum Munnuza milites direxit, qui Pelagius comprehenderent et Cordoua usque ferrum uinctum perducerent. (24)

APPENDIX E: *Crónica Najerense* (Nájera, between 1152 and 1233)

E. 1. WITIZA'S SINS

Consilia dissoluit. Canones sigillauit. Uxores et concubinas plurimas accepit. Et ne aduersus eum concilium fieret, episcopis, presbiteris seu diachonibus uxores habere percepit. Istud namque Yspanie causa pereundi fuit. Sicut scriptum est: “Quia habundauit iniquitas, refrigescit caritas” [Matt. 24, 12]. Et alia scriptura dicit: “Si peccat populus, orat sacerdos; si peccat sacerdos, plaga in populo” [Num. VIII, 19; XVI, 46-48]. Et quia recesserunt a Domino, ut non ambularent in uiis preceptorum eius, et non obseruantes custodirent qualiter Dominus prohibet sacerdotes inique agere, dum dicat at Moysen in Exodo: “Sacerdotes qui accedunt ad Dominum Deum sanctificentur, ne forte derelinquat illos Dominus” [Exod. 19, 22]. Et iterum: “Cum accedunt ministrare ad altare sanctum, non adducant in se delictum, ne forte moriantur” [Levit. 21, 23; Matt. 5, 23]. Et quia reges et sacerdotes Dominum derelinquerunt, ideo cuncta agmina Yspanie perierunt. Interea Uitiza regnauit annis X. Morte propria Toletum migravit, era DCC^a. XL^a. XIII^a (1.10).

E. 2. PRESENTATION OF RODRIGO

Quo Uitizane defuncto, Rodericus a Gotis elegitur in regno. Nos uero ante prosapiam generis nuntiabimus quam regni eius exordia disponamus. Quia iam fatus Rodericus ex patre Teudefredo est genitus. Teodefredus [sic] uero filius Cindasuindi regis fuit, quem mater in etate puerili reliquit. Cumque tempus transisset et ad etatem perfectam uenisset, uidens se Egica rex elegantem, recogitans in corde ne cum Gotis coniurationem faceret, et eum a paterno regno expulerent, Teodefredo oculos [euellere]

precepit, qui a regia urbe expulsus, Cordobam adiit habitaturus. Ibique sortitus est ex magno genere uxorem nomine Rizilonem; et ex eis natus est filius iam dictus Rudericus. Qui Rudericus iam suprafatus creuit et ad etatem perfectam uenit, vir bellator fuit. Antequam regnum adipisceret, Cordoba in ciuitate palatium est fabricatus, quod nunc a caldeis balaath Ruderici est uocitatum. Iam nunc euertamus ad ordinem regni. Postquam Uitiza fuit defunctus, Rudericus in regno est perunctus, cuius in tempore adhuc in peiore nequitia creuit Yspania (1.12).

E. 3. RAPE OF OLIBA

Nam is [Roderick] ubi culmen regale adeptus est, iniuriam patris ulcisci festinans, duos filios Uitice ab Yspaniis remouit, ac summo cum dedecore eosdem proprio regno pepulit. Sed et isti ad Tingitanam prouintiam transfretantes, Iuliano comiti, quem Uitiza rex in suis fidelibus familiarissimum habuerat, adhesserunt, ibique de illatis contumeliis ingemiscences, mauros introducendo, et sibi et tocius Ispanie perditum iri disposuerunt. Preterea furor uiolate filie ad hoc facinus peragendum Iulianum incitabat, quem Rudericus rex non pro uxore, sed eo quod sibi pulchra pro concubina uidebantur, eidem callide subriperat (1.13).

E. 4 PELAYO AND HIS SISTER

Per idem fere tempus in regione Asturiensium prefectus erat in ciuitate Ieione nomine Munnuza, compar de Tharech. Ipso quoque prefecturam agente, Pelagius quidam spatarius Uitizani et Ruderici regum, ditione ysmahelitarum oppressus, cum propria sorore Asturias est ingressus. Qui supranominatus Munnuza prefatum Pelagium, ob occasione habende sororis eius, legationis causa Cordobam missit. Sed ante quam rediret,

perquodam ingenium sororem illius sibi sociauit. Quod ille dum reuertitur, nullatenus consentit. Sed quod iam cogitauerat de saluatione ecclesie, cum omni animositate agere festinauit. Tunc nefandus Tharech ad prefatum Munnuzam milites direxit, qui Pelagium comprehenderent et Cordobam usque ferro uinctum perducerent. Qui dum Asturias peruenissent, uolentes eum fraudulenter comprehendere in uico cui nomen est Brece, per quemdam amico Pelagio manifestum est consilium caldeorum, sed quia Sarraceni plures erant, uidens se non posse eis resistere, de inter illos pulatim exiens, cursum arripuit et ad rippam fluuii Pianonie peruenit, sed natandi aminiculo super equum quo sedebat ad aliam ripam se transtulit, et montem ascendit, quem Sarraceni persequi cessauerunt. Ille quidem montana petens, quantoscumque ad concilium properantes inuenit, secum adiunxit, atque montem magnum cui nomen est Asseba ascendit; et in latere montis in atrium quod sciebat tutissimum se contulit, ex qua spelunca magnus fluuius egreditur nomine Enna. Quo omnes Astures mandatum dirigente, in unum concilium collecti sunt et sibi Pelagium principem elegerunt, era DCC^a. L^a. VI^a. (2.4)

APPENDIX F: Chronicon Mundi, book III

F. 1.A. PORTRAIT OF WITIZA, THE FORNICATOR

Era DCC^a.XXX^a.III^a Vitiça regnum eo uiuente obtinuit. Iste quidem probosus et flagiciosus fuit, et multa nefanda et orribilia flagicia per Yspanias seminavit, et ad uoluptates carnis soluto impudicie freno se fornicationibus multis contulit, et gentem Gotorum ad lasciuam, luxuriam et superbiam inclinavit. Namque postposita omni religione diuina spretisque animarum medicamentis, cupiditas alienas res inuadendi, rapiendi et luxuraindi exercitus inuasit. Sed et episcopi et ecclesie ministri aspernabantur ecclesiastica officia, pro nichilo habebantur synodalia, clausis foribus ecclesiarum, despiciebantur ecclesiastica sacramenta, despicientur sancti patris Ysidori instituta, deiciuntur concilia, sacri canones dissoluuntur, et quicquid honestis est, extirpartur. Et ne aduersus eum insurgeret sancta ecclesia, episcopis, presbiteris, diaconibus et ceteris ecclesie Christi ministris, carnales uxores lasciuus res habere precepit, et ne obedierent Romano pontifici, sub mortis interminatione prohibuit. Istud quidem causa pereundi Yspanie fuit, sicut scriptum est: *'Habundauit iniquitas et refrigescet caritas multorum'*. Habuit preterea nefandus Vitiça simul plures uxores et concubinas, atque suis ducibus ut similiter agerent, imperauit. Total Gotorum nobilitas in conuiuiis, libidinibus et uiciis versa, Dominum ad iracundiam prouocauit, ita ut in illis impleretur quod dicitur: *'Impius cum uenerit in produndum malorum, contempnit'*, et quia reges et sacerdotes Dominum dereliquerunt, cuncta agmina Yspaniarum derelicta a Domino perierunt. Itaque Vitiça datus est in reprobum sensum et muros cunctarum urbium sui subuertit, ne possent sibi resistere ciues, et ut eos ad sua scelera facilius inclinaret. Muri tamen Toletanem urbis et

Legionensis et Astoricencis integra remanserunt propter earumdem reuerentiam ciuitatum (3.61).

F.1.B. WITIZA GOUGES EYES OF RODRIGO'S FATHER, TRIES TO DO THE SAME TO PELAYO

Succensus etiam malicie zelo Teudefredum Cordubensem ducem dolo cepit, priauatumque utroque frontis lumine miserabiliter palpitare fecit. Fuit enim Teudefredus ex Gotorum regali stirpe progenitus, scilicet filius Cisdauindi regis, quem pater in etate reliquerat puerili. Cumque ad etatem uenisset uirilem, uidens eum Egica rex elegantem et recogitans ne cum Gotis surgeret contra ipsum, expulit eum a regno. Qui ueniens Cordubam sortitus est uxorem ex regali genere nomine Ricilonem, et ex ea natus est ei filius nomine Rodericus, qui, cum ad etatem perfectam uenisset, uir bellatorum extitit, et Cordube palacium fortissimum fecit. Ne igitur Teudefredus Witice posset resistere, eum, ut dictum est, orbauit oculis. Preterea Pelagium filium supradicti ducis Fafile Witica capere uoluit, ut similiter ipsum orbaret, sed Pelagius fugiit, quia uoluit Dominus Yspanie subuenire per ipsum (3.61).

F.1.C. WITIZA'S BAD ACTIONS

Exulato etiam Iuliano Toletano episcopo intrusit filium suum Opam, ut esset archiepiscopus Yspalensis simul et Toletanus contra sacrorum canonum instituta. Addidit et Witica iniquitatem super iniquitatem et Iudeos ad Yspanias euocauit atque fractis ecclesiarum priuilegiis Iudeis immunitatum priuilegia dedit. Deus autem tantum facinus tantamque maliciam aborrens, hominum reuinam et subuersionem Yspaniarum populis intulit. Regnauit Witica annis quindecim et morte propria Toletum decessit (3.61)

F. 2. RODRIGO BECOMES KING, BANISHES SONS OF WITIZA, RAPES DAUGHTER OF JULIAN

Era DCC .XL .VIII Rodericus filius Teudefredi consilio magnatorum Gotice gentis in regnum successit, uir belliger et durus et ad omne negotium expeditus, sed uita et moribus Witice non dissimilis. Hic anno regni sui tercio, iniuriam patris ulcisci festinans, duos filios Witice Farmalium et Expulionem ab Yspaniis cum summo dedecore expulit. Qui ad Tingitaniam prouintiam transfretantes Iuliano comiti ipsius patrie adhererunt, quem Witica rex inter suos secretarios familiarem habuerat carissimum. Qui condolens expulsionem eorum et dedecori consilium iniecit cum eis quatenus Sarracenos euocarent, et cum eis illatas sibi iniurias uindicarent. Ad hoc facinus peragendum incitabat Iulianum, quod Rodericus rex filiam ipsius non pro uxore, sed eo quod sibi pulchra uidebatur, utebatur pro concubina, quam pro uxore a patre acceperat. Erat Iulianus uir sagax et astutus et callide incitauit Francos, ut expugnarent Yspanium citeriorem. Finxit etiam se esse amicum regi Roderico, et callide consuluit ut equos et arma ad Gallias mitteret et ad Affricam, quia in interiori Yspania ipse regnabat securus, et non erat necesse ut haberent arma in patria [no habia un arma en la patria], quibus se mutuo interficerent. Tale tunc ad hoc Rodericus rex dedit edictum, ut, ubicumque arma inuenirentur uel equi fortissimi, uiolenter dominis auferrentur et in Affricam uel in Gallias mitterentur. Fuebas huic prodicioni Opa primas Yspalensis et archiepiscopus Toletanus, quem pater eius Witica duabus regalibus prefecerat ciuitatibus, ut per eum posset catholice fidei statum euertere (3.62).

F. 3. RAPE OF LUZENCIA

Muza uero uidens sororem illius pulchram accensus libidine dolose quasi legationis causa Pelagium Cordubam misit et eo absente sororem ipsius ui sibi sociauit.

Sed Pelagius, ut erat uir fortis et catholicus, postquam rediit, nullatenus consensit in illicito matrimonio, sed cum omni animositate quod iam diu cogitauerat, de saluatione ecclesie Christi agere festinauit (3.63)

APPENDIX G: *Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, by Roderici Ximenii de Rada

G. 1. CHARACTERIZATION OF BISHOP OPPE

“Witiza autem sacrorum canonum inimicus Oppe fratri suo archiepiscopo Hispalensi contradidit ecclesiam Toletanam, eiusdem urbis uiuente pontifice Sinderedo, ut sicut ipse carnali, ita et frater spirituali adulterio fedaretur” (3.17).

G. 2. RODRIGO’S REBELLION

“Igitur Rodericus filius Theudefredi, quem Witiza ut patrem priuare oculis nisus fuit, fauore Romani senatus, quieum ob Recensuyndi gratiam diligebat, contra Witizam decreuit publice rebellare. Qui uiribus preminens cepit eum et quod patri suo fecerat fecit ei, et regno expulsum sibi regnum electione Gothorum et senatus auxilio uendicauit” (99). Witiza itaque plenus abominationibus, uacuum regno, orbis oculis, propria morte Cordube, quo Theudefredum relegauerat, exul et exrex uitam finiuit era DCCLI; cumque duos filios reliquisset, Sisibertum et Ebam, neuter successit in regno, eo quod essent propter patris insolencias omnibus odiosi.” (3.17)

G. 3. CHARACTERIZATION OF KING RODRIGO

“Hortante autem et adiuuante senatu et adhuc Witiza uiuente, cepit conregnare Rodericus ultimus rex Gothorum anno Vlit IIII, Arabum uero LXXXX primo, era DCCXLVIII, anno VII Witize, et tantum tribus annis regnauit, uno per se, duobus cum Witiza. Erat autem Rodericus durus in bellis et ad negocia expeditus, set in moribus non dissimilis Witize, nam et circa initium regni sui Witize filios Sisibertum et Ebam probris

et iniuriis lascessitos a patria propulsauit. Qui relicta patria ad Ricilam comitem Tyngitanie of patris amiciciam transfretarum.” (3.18)

G. 4. LEGEND OF THE LOCKED PALACE

“Erat autem tunc temporis Toleti palacium a multorum regum temporibus semper clausum et seris pluribus obseratum. Hoc fecit rex Rodericus contra uoluntatem omnium aperiri ut sciret quid interius haberetur; putabat enim thesauros maximos inuenire. Set cum aperuit, preter unam archam repositam nil inuenit. Qua aperta reperiit quendam pannum in quo latinis litteris erat scriptum quod “cum contingeret seras frangi, archam et palacium aperiri et uideri que inibi habebantur, gentes eius effigiei, que in panno erant depicte, Hispanias inuaderent et suo dominio subiugarent”. Erant autem in panno depicte facies ut uultus, dispositio et habitus Arabum adhuc monstrat, qui sua capita tegunt uitis sedentes in equis, habentes uestes diuersis coloribus uariatas, tenentes gladios et balistas et uexilla in altum tensa; qua pictura rex et proceres timuerunt.” (3.18)

G. 5. RAPE OF OLIBA

“Mos erat tunc temporis apud Gothos ut domicelli et domicelle magnatum filii in regali curia nutrentur. Inter ceteras domicellas filia comitis Iuliani prestancior habebatur. Erat autem Iulianus uir nobilis de nobili Gothorum prosapia ortus, illustris in officio palatino, in armis exercitatus, comes spatariorum, familiaris et consanguineus Witize et in oppido quod Consogra dicitur et in maritimis diuersarum possessionum titulis habundabat. Contigit autem ut idem Iulianus legationis causa a rege Roderico in Africam miteretur. Qua legatione pendente rex Rodericus filiam eius, de qua diximus, uiolenter opresit. Hec erat regi promissa, sposalinter non traducta. Alii dicunt uxori

comitis uim fecisse. Set utrumlibet fuerit, Gallie Gothice et Hispanie exicialis excidii causa fuit. Verum peracta legatione rediens Iulianus, ut stuprum comperit uxore uel filia reuelante, dolorem continuit alacritate exterius procurata, et legatione exposita recessit indignans et tempore hyemali nauigio iuit Septam, ubi uxorem cum rebus domesticis collocauit, et habito uerbo cum Arabibus in Hispaniam est reuersus et egrotantis matris desiderium simulans a rege filiam impetrauit infirme matri solacio destinandam, quam receptam restituit matri sue.” (3.18)

G. 6. LAMENT FOR THE FALL OF SPAIN, FOLLOWED WITH A PRAISE

“Pro dolor! Hic finitur gloria Gothice maiestatis era DCCLII, et que pluribus bellis regna plurima incuruauit, uno bello uexilla sue glorie inclinauit; qui Scithiam, Pontum, Asiam, Greciam, Machedoniam et Illiricum uariis cedibus uastauerunt et eorum mulieres Orientalempagam preliis subiecerunt et Cirum magnum dominum Babilonie, Assirie et Medie, Sirie et Hircanie uictum et captum in utro sanguinis extinxerunt, et cui imperator Valens cessit incendio, cui ille eximius Athila rex Hugnorum Cathalanico bello recognouit imperium, cui Alani fugituo prelio Panoniam dimiserunt, cui Vandali cesserunt Gallias fugitiui, quorum bella minacibus tonitruis toti mundo a seculis intonarunt, Machometi nuper orta rebellio uno bello inaudito excidio consumauit, ut discant omnes ne diues in diuiciis, ne potens in potentiis, ne fortis in fortitudine, ne sapiens in sapientia, ne sublimis in gloria gloriatur. *Qui gloriatur autem, in Domino gloriatur, quoniam ipse uulnerat et medetur, ipse percutit, ipse sanat.* Cum enim sit Domini omnis terra, omnis populus, omnis natio, omnis lingua, omnia cursu instabili uariantur, Creatore omnium semper et in omnibus stabili permanente, qui mundi partes et climatum singula donis dissimilibus adornauit, inter quas Hispaniam in Occidentis finibus constitutam omnium desiderabilium copia ubertauit. Hanc, ut diximus, peragratis fere omnibus et

optentis Asie et Europe prouinciis et experti bella et certamina et mansiones uarias, quibus insederant, atendentes locorum comoda, ipsam omnibus pretlerun, eo quod inter omnes mundi prouincias specialibus ubertatis titulis redundabat; que Pireneis montibus a mari usque ad mare protensis, Oceano circumcluditur et Tirreno. Gallia etiam Gothica, id est Narbonensis prouincia cum Rutherno, Alba et Viuario ciuitatibus, que Gothorum tempore ad Narbonensem prouinciam pertinebant. Hispania quippe, quasi paradisi Domini, Ve principalibus fluminibus irrigatur, scilicet, Hybero, Doria, Tago, Ana et Bethi, montanis inter quelibet interiectis. Hanc, ut diximus, peragratiss fere omnibus et optentis Asie et Europe prouinciis et experti bella et certamina et mansiones uarias, quibus insederant, atendentes locorum comoda, ipsam omnibus pretlerun, eo quod inter omnes mundi prouincias specialibus ubertatis titulis redundabat; que Pireneis montibus a mari usque ad mare protensis, Oceano circumcluditur et Tirreno. Gallia etiam Gothica, id est Narbonensis prouincia cum Rutherno, Alba et Viuario ciuitatibus, que Gothorum tempore ad Narbonensem prouinciam pertinebant. Hispania quippe, quasi paradisi Domini, Ve principalibus fluminibus irrigatur, scilicet, Hybero, Doria, Tago, Ana et Bethi, montanis inter quelibet interiectis. Medieque ualles sui latitudine deseruiunt ubertati et humore fluminum fecundantur et pro magna parte riuis et fontibus irrigantur; set et puteorum sufragia raro desunt. Fecunda frugibus, amena fructibus, deliciosa piscibus, sapida lacticiniis, clamosa uenationibus, gulosa armentis et gregibus, superba equis, comoda mulis, priuilegiata castris, curiosa uino, deses pane, diues metallis, gloriosa sericis, dulcis mellibus, copiosa oleo, leta croco, precellens ingenio, audax in prelio, agilis, exercicio, fidelis dominio, facilis studio, pollens eloquio, fertilis in omnibus; nulla infertilitate similis, nulla municionibus comparabilis, pauce magnitudine equales, in liberalitate precipua, fidelitate preciosa, in audacia singularis. Sunt et alia flumina que retentis nominibus capitalia nuncupantur, ut Mineus qui in parte Gallecia

oritur et per eandem discurrens provinciam in Oceanum deriuatur. Ab hoc etiam flumine prouincia illa Minea appellatur; Abbaris et Succaris, que oriuntur in territorio Segontinensi Toletane prouincie, in Tirrenum retentis nominibus dilabuntur. Hoc ergo regnum tam nobile, tam ornatum, patrie gladio in se uerso, quasi in eo manus hostium non cepissent, subcubuit uno impetu uix incepto. Et capte fuerunt omnes Hispanie ciuitates et manibus diripiencium sunt subuerse.” (3.21)

G. 7. WHY THE GOTHS WERE DESTROYED

“Set quia “regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis”, peccata Witize et ultimi Roderici et aliorum regum qui precesserant, quorum aliqui factione, aliqui fratricidio seu parricidio regni usurpauerant potestatem, successione legitima non seruata, incanduit ira Dei et Gothorum gloriam, quam hactenus sustentarat, eiecit a facie Maiestatis et quos sustinuit in heresi arriana a tempore Valentis imperatoris usque ad tempora Recharedi, sicut superius est descriptum, nunc Witize abhominacionibus et aliorum regum sceleribus prouocatus, non addidit ulterius tolerare. Nomina autem regum hic duximus exprimenda qui factioso gladio perierunt. Athaulphus apud Barchinonam inter familiares fabulas a quodam suorum fuit prodicionaliter interfectus; Sigericus fuit a suis similiter interfectus; Thurismundus apud Tolosam consilio fratris fuit a suo famulo interfectus; Theodoricus fuit a fratre suo Eurico similiter interfectus; Amalaricus apud Narbonam in foro fuit a suo exercitu interfectus; Theudis fuit interfectus a quodam qui se insanum, ut regem interficeret, simulauit; Theodisclus apud Hispalim a quodam suorum fuit inter epulas iugulatus; Agila a suis est apud Emeritam interfectus; Leouegildus interfecit filium suum Hermenegildum eo quod nolebat heresi consentire; Luyba filius Recharedi ab Viterico fuit prodicionaliter interfectus; Vitericus coniuratione quorundam fuit inter epulas interfectus; et Witiza a Roderico exoculatus et Rodericus a Iuliano, ut creditur,

interfectus; Froyla fratrem suum Vimarum propriis manibus interfecit et sui in uindictam apud Canica Froylam occiderunt.” (3.22)

G. 8. THERAPE OF LUZENCIA

“Et dum tot dispendiis Hispaniam dissecarent, Deus omnipotens in ira sua misericordie non oblitus Pelagium quasi cintillam modicam in suo conspectu uoluit conseruare. Hic Pelagius, ut est dictum, fugiens a facie Witize, qui eum uolerat excecari, licet spatarius eius fuisset, apud Cantabriam se recepit, set audiens subcubuisse exercitum christianum et Arabes queque desiderabilia inuasisse, sumpta secum sorore propria Asturiis se donauit, ut saltem in Asturiarum angustiis posset christianis nominis aliquam scintillulam conseruare, Sarraceni enim totam Hispaniam occupauerant gentis Gothice fortitudine iam contrita nec alicubi resistente, exceptis paucis reliquiis que in *montana Asturiarum, Biscagie, Alauie, Guipuscie, Ruchonie et Aragonie remanserunt, quos ideo Dominus reseruauit ne lucerna sanctorum in Hispaniis coram Domino extingueretur. Prefecerunt itaque Sarraceni in singulis regionibus prepositos, qui a pauperibus uinitoribus et agricolis christianis, quos sub tributo permiserant permanere, census colligerent et tributa. Erat enim in regione Gegionis iam Sarracenis subdita, qui etiam in montanis loca aliqua occupant, prefectus quidam Munnuza nomine, Christianus quidem set Arabibus federatus; qui captus pulcritudine sororis Pelagii cum eo amicitias simulauit et fingens causam legationis Pelagium misit Cordubam, que olim patricia, tunc erat Arabibus sedes regni. Eo misso, Munnuza, procurante quodam liberto, sibi sororem Pelagii copulauit. Set postquam Pelagius rediit, fascinus noluit tolerare et resumpta sorore, licet dissimulans, in Asturiis se recepit non minus magnanimus quam sollicitus, liberationem patrie adhuc sperans. Munnuza autem pro ablatione coniugis reputans se

contemptum, Taric principi nunciauit iam manifeste Pelagium rebellare. Qui missis militibus precepit Munnuze ut Pelagium caperet et Cordobam destinaret.” (4.1)

APPENDIX H: *Estoria de Espanna*, by king Alfonso X The Wise

H.1 . THE PROLOGUE TO THE ESTORIA: ON THE REASONS TO WRITE A HISTORY

“Compusiemos este libro porque fuesse sabudo el comienço de los espannoles, et de quales yentes fuera Espanna maltrecha; et que sopiessen las batallas que Hercoles de Grecia fizo contra los espannoles, et las mortandades que los romanos fizieron en ellos, et los destruymientos que les fizieron otrossi los vbandalos et los silingos et los alanos et los sueuos que los aduxieron a seer pocos; et por mostrar la nobleza de los godos et como fueron uiniendo de tierra en tierra, uenciendo muchas batallas et conquiriendo muchas tierras, fasta que llegaron a Espanna, et echaron ende a todas las otras yentes, et fueron ellos sennores della; et como por el desacuerdo que ouieron los godos con so sennor el rey Rodrigo et por la traycion que urdio el conde don Yllan et el arçobispo Oppa, passaron los dAffrica et ganaron todo lo mas dEspanna; et como fueron los cristianos despues cobrando la tierra; et del danno que uino en ella por partir los regnos, porque se non pudo cobrar tan ayna.” (Prologue 4)

[We composed this book so that it would be known what was the origin of the Spaniards and what peoples caused sufferings to Spain; et the battles that Hercules of Greece waged against the Spaniards, and the death that the Romans caused among them, and the destruction brought upon them also by the Vandals, and the Silingans, and the Alans, and the Suevi, which caused their number to dwindle; and to show the nobility of the Goths and how they came from one land to another, winning many battles and conquering many lands, until they arrived in Spain, and expelled all the other peoples and became the masters of it; and how because of the disagreement that the Goths had with their lord Rodrigo and the treason schemed by Count Yllan and the Archbishop Oppa, those (peoples) from Africa entered and took over most of Spain; and how the Christians,

afterwards, gradually recovered the land; and the damage brought upon it by the partition of the kingdoms, which was the reason why it could not be recovered any sooner].

H. 2. PRESENTATION OF COUNT JULIAN AND HIS DAUGHTER

“Costumbre era a aquella sazón de criar se los donzelles et las donzellas fijos de los altos omnes en el palacio del rey; e avie estonces entre las donzellas de la cámara del rey una fija del cuende Julian, que era muy hermosa además. E el cuende Julian era un grand fidalgo, et vinie de grand linage de partes de los godos, et era omne muy preciado en el palacio et bien prouado en armas; demás era cuende de los esparteros et fuera parient et priuado del rey Vitiza, et era rico et bien heredero en el castiello de Consuegra et en la tierra de los morismas.” (Chapter 554)

[It was the custom at the time to raise the sons and daughters of important personages in the palace of the king; and at the moment there was among the young ladies of the king's chamber a daughter of Count Julian, that besides was very beautiful. And Count Julian was a noble of high ranking, and he descended from the great lineage of the Goths, and he was held in high esteem in the palace and he had proven himself well in battle; besides he was count of the royal guard, and had been a relative and adviser to King Vitiza, and he was wealthy and had good states in the castle of Consuegra and in the land of the Moors].

H. 3. LEGEND OF THE PALACE WITH MANY LOCKS

“En la cibdad de Toledo auie estonces un palacio que estidiera siempre cerrado de tiempo ya de muchos reys, et tenie muchas cerraduras, e el rey Rodrigo fizol abrir por que cuedaue que yazie y algun grand auer; mas quando el palacio fue abierto non fallaron

y ninguna cosa, sinon una arca otrossi cerrada. E el rey mando la abrir et non fallaron en ella sinon un panno en que estauan escriptas letras ladinas que dizien assi: que quando aquellas cerraduras fuessen crebantadas et ell arca et el palacio fuessen abiertos et lo que y yazie fuesses uisto, que yentes de tal manera como en aquel panno estauan pintadas que entrarien en Espanna et la conqueririen et serien ende sennores.” (553)

[In the city of Toledo there was at that time a palace that had remained always closed under many kings, and it had many locks, and king Rodrigo gave the order to open it because he thought it contained great treasures, but once the palace was opened they did not find there anything, except a chest that was also closed. The king gave the order to open it and they did not find in it but a cloth on which it was written an inscription in Latin that read thus: that when those locks were broken and the chest and the palace were opened and their contents seen, peoples resembling those that were painted on that cloth would enter Spain and would conquer it and would become its masters.]

H. 4. RAPE OF COUNT JULIAN’S DAUGHTER.

“Auino assi que ouo de yr este cuende Julian de que dezimos a tierra de Africa en mandaderia del rey Rodrigo; e ell estando alla en el mandado, tomol el rey Rodrigo aca la fija por fuerça, et yogol con ella; e ante desto fuera ya fablado que auie el de casar con ella, mas non casara aun. Algunos dizen que fue la muger et que ge la forço; mas pero destas dos qualquier que fuesse, desto se leuanto destroymiento de Espanna et de la Gallia Gothica.” (554)

[It happened that this Count Julian whom we were saying had to go to the land of Africa on business of the king; and while he was there, king Rodrigo over here took the daughter by force, and laid with her; and before this it had been agreed [fablado: oral contract] that he was to marry her, but had not done it yet. Some say that it was the wife

and that he forced himself on her; but nevertheless whichever of these two women was, from this act arose the destruction of Espanna and of the Gothic Gaul].

H. 5. RAPE OF LUZENCIA

“Andados cinco annos del sennorio dell inffante don Pelayo, que fue en la era de sietecientos et cinquenta et seis, quando andaua ell anno de la Encarnacion en sietecientos et dizecho, e dell imperio de Leo en cinco, en tierra de Gijon, que es en Asturias, auie un alcalde a que dizien Munuça, et era cristiano, mas pero auie yura fecha con los moros et era de su parte, et tenie aquella tierra et otros llogares que los moros ganaran en las montannas de su mano dellos. Este Munuça se enamoro de la hermana dell inffante don Pelayo, por que la uio fremosa, e puso por ende con el su amizdad engannosamientre, et fizo enfinta que auie de enuiar a Cordoua su mandado a Tarif sobre una razon, et enuio alla a don Pelayo. E sabed que Cordoua en otro tiempo fuera una uilla mucho onrrada, et por ende los moros pusieran la estonces por cabeça del regno. Munuça pues quel ouo enuiado, trexo aca en tanto por un su sieruo pletesia con la hermana daquel don Pelayo, et caso con ella. Mas luego que don Pelayo torno de Cordoua o fuera, et sopo del casamiento, pesol mucho, e como era omne atreuudo et buen cristiano non quiso sofrir aquella nemiga daquel casamiento tan malo et tan auol, e tomo su hermana como sil non pesasse nin diesse nada por ello et acogiosse a las Asturias con grand corage pensando como podrie librar la cristiandad, ca fiaua en Dios que lo podrie aun fazer.”
(565)

Bibliography

- Abenalcotía. Historia de la Conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobés. Trans. Julián Ribera. Colección de Obras Árabigas de Historia y Geografía. Vol. II. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1926.
- Adams, J. N. The Latin sexual vocabulary. London: Duckworth, 1982.
- Ainsworth, Peter. "Legendary History: *Historia* and *Fabula*." Historiography in the Middle Ages. Ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis. Leiden: Brill, 2003. 387-416.
- Ajbar Machmuâ. Trans. Emilio Lafuente Alcántara. Colección de obras árabigas y de geografía. Vol. I. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1867.
- Al-Hakam, Ibn Abd. "The History of the Conquest of Spain." 1858. Ed. trans. John Harris Jones. New York: Burt Franklin, 1858. 1969.
- Alfonso X. Las Siete Partidas. "Glosadas por el licenciado Gregorio Lopez" ed. 3 vols, 1555. 1985.
- . Primera crónica general de España. Seminario Menéndez Pidal. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón ed. 2 vols. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955.
- Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon. Las siete partidas. Trans. Samuel Parsons Scott. Chicago: Pub. for the Comparative law bureau of the American bar association by Commerce clearing house, inc., Loose leaf service division of the Corporation trust company, 1931.
- Alfonso X, of Castile. Las siete partidas. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001.
- "Annotated Justinian Code." Ed. Fred H. Blume, 2009.
- Arieti, James A. "Rape and Livy's view of Roman History." Rape in Antiquity. Ed. Susan Deacy and Karen F. Pierce. London: Duckworth, 1997. 209-29.
- Barton, Simon, and Richard Fletcher. "Introduction to the *Historia Silense*." The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000. 281.
- Benito-Vessels, Carmen. "La mujer en la *Estoria de Espanna*: Desde el rapto y el amancebamiento hasta la autoafirmación política " Exemplaria Hispanica.2 (1992-1993): 48-63.
- Blaise, Albert. Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens. Turnholt: Brepols, 1975.

- Blume, Fred H. "Notes." Annotated Justinian Code. Ed. Timothy Kearly, 2009.
- Bonnaz, Yves. "Introduction." Ed. Yves Bonnaz.
- Boretius, Alfredus (ed.). Capitularia Regum Francorum. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hannoverae: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1883.
- Brownmiller, Susan. Against Our Will: Men Women and Rape. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.
- Brundage, James A. Law, sex, and Christian society in medieval Europe. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Burkert, Walter. "Transformations of the Scapegoat." Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual. First ed. Sather Classical Lectures. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1979. 59-77.
- Chroniques Asturiennes. Ed. Yves Bonnaz. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987.
- Cooper, Louis. El Liber regum: estudio lingüístico. Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1960.
- "Crónica de Alfonso III." Textos Medievales. Ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta. Valencia, 1961. Vol. 3. 79 vols.
- Crónica Mozárabe de 754. Textos Medievales. Ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta. López Pereira, José Eduardo ed. Vol. 58. Zaragoza, 1980.
- "Crónica Najerense." Textos Medievales. Ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta. Valencia, 1966. 158. Vol. 15.
- "Crónica Seudo Isidoriana." Textos Medievales. Ed. Antonio Benito Vidal. Valencia, 1961. 75. Vol. V.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. The Latin Middle Ages.
- Davis, Gifford. "The development of a national theme in Medieval Castilian Literature." Hispanic Review 3.2 (1935): 149-61.
- Deyermond, Alan. "Death and Rebirth of Visigothic Spain in the Estoria De España." Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos IX.3 (1985): 345-67.
- Donaldson, Ian. The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Dundes, Alan. "Introduction to the second edition." Morphology of the Folktale. Austin: UTexas Press, 1968. xi-xiv.

El Fuero viejo de Castilla: sacado, y comprobado con el exemplar de la misma obra, que existe en la Real biblioteca de esta corte, y con otros mss. Madrid :: Viuda e hijos de D. A. Calleja, 1847.

Eliade, Mircea. The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History. 1965. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series XLVI. Princeton: Princeton U Press, 1971.

Falque, Emma. "Introducción." Chronicon Mundi. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003. VII-CLXVIII.

Fernández Gallardo, Luis. "De Lucas de Tuy a Alfonso El Sabio: idea de la historia y proyecto historiográfico." Revista de poética medieval 12 (2004): 53-119.

Fernández Ordoñez, Inés. "Variación en el modelo historiográfico alfonsí en el siglo XIII: Las versiones de la *Estoria de Espanna*." La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos. Ed. Georges Martin. Vol. 68. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000. 41-73.

Fernández Valverde, Juan. "Introducción." Historia de los hechos de España. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989. 13-52.

---. "Introducción." Historia de Rebus Hispanie. Vol. 1. Turnholt: Typographi Brepols, 1987

---. "Introducción." Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica. Vol. LXXII. Tvrnholti: Brepols. IX-XLVII.

Fowler, Kathleen. "Sexual Invective in the Fourth Century ". 2004. Honors Journal. Ed. Leia Manuel. (29 Oct. 2007): Sweet Briar College. February 2004. <http://www.sbc.edu/honors/HJSpecial_Iss04/KFowler.htm>.

Fraker, Charles F. "Alfonso X, the Empire and the *Primera crónica*." Bulletin of Hispanic Studies 55.2 (1978): 95-102.

"Fuero Real." Opúsculos legales del rey don Alfonso el Sabio. Vol. 2. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1836.

Gayangos, Pascual. Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la crónica denominada del moro Rasis. The original, authographed by the author. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1850.

Geller, Stephen. "The Sack of Shechem: The Use of Typology in Biblical Covenant Religion." Prooftexts 10 (1990): 1-15.

- Gibert, Rafael. "El consentimiento familiar en el matrimonio según el derecho medieval." Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español XVIII (1947): 707-61.
- Isidore of Seville. "Chronicon." Ed. tr. Kenneth Baxter Wolf.
- . History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi. Trans. Guido Donini and Gordon B. Ford. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966.
- Isidorus. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi. Ed. Theodor Mommsen. Vol. XI. Berlin, 1894.
- Jed, Stephanie. Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and The Birth of Humanism. Theories of Representation and Difference. Ed. Teresa de Lauretis. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana U Press, 1989.
- Jones, John Harris. "Introduction." The History of the Conquest of Spain. New York: Burt Franklin, 1858. 1-15.
- Joplin, Patricia Klindienst. "Ritual Work on Human Flesh: Livy's Lucretia and the Rape of the Body Politic." Helios 16.1 (1990): 51-70.
- . "The voice of the shuttle is ours." Rape and Representation. Ed. Lynn A. Higgins and Brenda R. Silver. New York: Columbia U Press, 1991. 35-64.
- Joshel, Sandra R. "The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy's Lucretia and Verginia." Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome. Ed. Amy Richlin. New York: Oxford U Press, 1992. 112-30.
- Jung, C. G. The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious. Trans. R. F. C. Hull. Bollingen Series XX. Ed. Michael Fordham Herbert Read, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire. Second Edition, 1968 ed. Vol. 9, Part 1. 20 vols. New Jersey: Princeton U Press, 1969.
- . Symbols of transformation. Trans. R. F. C. Hull. Bollingen Series XX. Second ed: Princeton U Press, 1956.
- Krappe, Alexander Haggerty. The legend of Roderick, last of the Visigoth kings, and the Ermanarich cycle. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1923.
- Lafuente Alcántara, Emilio. "Apéndice III: Cronología de los gobernadores de España." Ajbar Machmua. Vol. I. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1867. 220-65.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Trans. John Rochard von Sturmer and Rodney Needham (editor) James Hearle Bell. Revised edition ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

- . "The Structural Study of Myth." Trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. Structural Anthropology. New York, London: Basic Books, Inc., 1963. 207-31.
- Linehan, Peter. History and the Historians of Medieval Spain. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- . "Lucas de Tuy, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y las historias alfonsíes." Alfonso X el Sabio y las crónicas de España. Ed. Inés Fernández Ordoñez. Valladolid, 2000.
- Livy. "Titi Livi ab Urbe condita." Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1974.
- Lomax, Derek W. The Reconquest of Spain. London and New York: Longman, 1978.
- . "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada como historiador." Actas del Quinto Congreso Internacional de hispanistas. Vol. 2. Bordeaux: Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos, 1977. 587-92.
- Lucas, Bishop of Túy. Lucae Tudensis Chronicon mundi. Turnhout : Brepols, 2003.
- Matthes, Melissa M. The Rape of Lucretia and the Founding of Republics: Readings in Livy, Machiavelli, and Rousseau. 2000, First edition ed. University Park: The Pennsylvania State U Press, 2000.
- Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. Orígenes de la novela. Vol. I. Madrid, 1905.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. El rey Rodrigo en la literatura. Madrid, 1925.
- . "La Primera Crónica General de España." Primera Crónica General de España. Vol. 1. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955. XV-LVI.
- Milá y Fontanals, Manuel. De la poesía heroico-popular castellana. Obras completas del doctor D. Manuel Milá y Fontanals. Vol. VII. Barcelona, 1896.
- Mocedades de Rodrigo. Ed. Leonardo Funes. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2004.
- "The New Oxford Annotated Bible." Ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy. New Revised Standard Version Bible ed. New York: Oxford UP. 1991.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. A History of Medieval Spain. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. A History of Medieval Spain. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975.

- Ong, Walter J. Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word. 1982. New Accents. Ed. Terence Hawkes. London, New York: Routledge, 1982. 2000.
- Ovid. "Ovid *Fasti* ii, 685-852." The Story of Lucretia. Ed. Anthony Bowen. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1987. 8-12.
- Pick, Lucy K. Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain. History, Languages and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds. Ed. Sabine McCormack. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Propp, Vladimir. Morphology of the Folktale. Trans. Laurence Scott. American Folklore Society Bibliographical and Special Series. Revised 1968 ed. Austin: UTexas Press, 1996.
- Reilly, Bernard F. The Medieval Spains. Cambridge Medieval Editors. Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1993.
- Ribera, Julián. "Prólogo." Historia de la conquista de España. Vol. II. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1926. VII-XXXI.
- Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. El "Ajbar Maymua": cuestiones historiográficas que suscita. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1944.
- Sánchez Alonso, Benito. Historia de la historiografía española. Publicaciones de la "Revista de Filología Española". Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1947.
- Saunders, Corinne J. Rape and ravishment in the literature of medieval England. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001.
- Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. "Introducción." Crónica Najerense. Vol. 15-30. Textos Medievales. Valencia, 1966.
- Watt, J.A. "The Papacy." The New Cambridge Medieval History. Ed. David Abulafia. Vol. V. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 107-63.
- Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain. Translated Texts for Historians. Ed. Gillian Clark and Mary Whitby. 1999 ed. Vol. 9. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990.
- Ximenii de Rada, Roderici. "Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica." Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnholt: Typographi Brepols, 1987. 371. Vol. 1 of Roderici Ximenii de Rada Opera Omnia.

Zlotnick, Helena. Dinah's Daughters: Gender and Judaism from the Hebrew Bible to Late Antiquity. 2002 ed. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Vita

María Rebeca Castellanos, better known as Rebeca Castellanos, was born the fated year of 1965 in the Dominican Republic, to her parents José Tiberio Castellanos and Ari Castellanos. As a child, she learned to play the guitar and also studied piano. It was believed by her instructors that she had talent, but she did not like practicing. Rebeca finished High School in the Dominican Republic and moved to Miami, Florida. There she attended Florida International University for several years—she will not say how many—where she first studied piano and composition. Rebeca later changed her major to Spanish, and decided to pursue a Masters in the same university. Some years later, Rebeca met the poet Médar Serrata, married him, and followed him to the University of Texas at Austin, presumably out of envy, but really because she wanted to be a Medievalist. She is currently a Visiting Professor at Grand Valley State University, in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Permanent address (or email): castellr@gvsu.edu

This dissertation was typed by the author.