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**Cultural Discourse in Hispanic Historiography on the Reconquest and Conquest:
 Historicist Hermeneutics from Alfonso X to Las Casas**

I. Introduction: Historiography and historicism

This study examines, from the points of view of the new cultural historicism (according to Michel Foucault, Hayden White, and the critics represented in Veeseer), certain parallels between the chronicles of the Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula by the Christians from the Moors and the chronicles of the Conquest of the American continents by the Spaniards from various indigenous peoples. The texts include the histories written or edited by Alfonso X (1221-84, king of Castile 1252-84), Jaume I (1208-76, king of Aragon 1213-76), Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492-1581), and Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566). Their analysis is based upon the discourse of authority as it is developed in the historiographic terms of narrative, myth, and example. The fundamental critical question concerns the network of relationships among historical authority, historiographic authorship, and historicist interpretation: to the narrative of national expansion corresponds a certain textual community and a collective identity; to the myth of heroic ages is related a certain situation of propaganda and a paradigm of formation and transformation; and to the example of legitimate power are united a certain didactic purpose and a rhetoric of apology or polemics. Taking as points of departure the models of European and Iberian expansion in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance elaborated by modern historians (Phillips, Maravall, McAlister, and Elliott), various theories of cultural historicism, myth, and reception (Montrose, White, Frye, and Jauss) are considered in relation to Hispanic historiography, so as to lay the foundations for a critique of the Iberian model of civilization that emerges from the chronicles of Reconquest and Conquest. The phenomena of expansion in Iberia and America are then analyzed in a general and abbreviated way in the following historiographic texts: Alfonso X's *Estoria de Espanna* or *Primera crónica general* (EE, 1270-75), Jaume I's *Llibre dels feits* (LF, 1244-74), Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (HV, 1568), and Las Casas' *Historia de Indias* (HI, 1527-61). By way of conclusion, it is necessary to return to the theoretical and comparative model of the interpretation of cultural history that emerges from the four chronicles.

As a preliminary step, it is important to underscore certain cultural situations and critical interpretations in the history of the Reconquest and Conquest: on the one hand, from the points of view of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries these periods of expansion are seen as ages of modernity and enlightenment; on the other hand, one should recall the contributions of critics like Américo Castro and Greenblatt on the phenomena of Iberian cultural history and scholars like Catalán and Mignolo on the models of Hispanic historiography. First, with respect to modernity, what strikes readers of these texts is the central idea of newness or renewal: a new Hispania (as land and people on the way to unification within and beyond the peninsula), a new empire (as a military and political order of an expansionist type and a domination by a ruling class that proclaims itself enlightened), a new world (as a geographic and cultural redefinition that accompanies the self-consciousness of living in a renaissance), and a renewed Christianity (as militant Church, people of faith, and temporal power in the process of reformation or counter-reformation). Second, with respect to critical interpretations, what stands out is the model of cultural dialectic in historiography. Américo Castro underscores the complex process of social formation and transformation, in terms of the phenomenology of *convivencia* (syncretist integration of cultures beyond societal coexistence) and the ideology of crusade, that characterizes the relations between Christians and Muslims and that defines both the historical reality and the historical fiction of medieval Iberia. Catalán examines the process of literary formation and transformation in historiography itself in terms of a progressively poeticized or novelized representation and of a gradually more subjective and reflexive interpretation of Castilian national history. Greenblatt attempts to reconstruct the ways of perceiving an "other" culture and of imagining a marvelous "new world" in terms of strategies of cultural projection and appropriation that are translated into the negotiation and domination of a discourse of power. Finally, Mignolo establishes textual categories and cultural functions of the so-called relaciones (official letters or reports from abroad) and crónicas of the Conquest in terms of rhetorical traditions that are modified by new experiences and of textual mediations that are brought to bear upon the ideological problems associated with a conquest. Thus the critical model and the cultural situation both serve to interpret the chronicles' authority.

II. Hispanic historiography and cultural historicism

The metacritical questions posed by medieval and Renaissance Hispanic chronicles--about literature and politics, national consciousness, history itself, and exemplarity--call for the methodology of cultural historicists, who, in the words of Louis Montrose, attempt to determine the historicity of texts and textuality of history (Montrose in Veeseer 20). Further, such inquiry assumes a fundamental principle of historiography that has recently been fully elaborated by Hayden White (in *The Content of the Form*): all history is story, that is to say, all historical narrative involves a discursive text, a coherent fiction, an explicatory *mythos*, and an exemplary lesson (White ix-x). A historicist critique of late-medieval and early-Renaissance Iberian historiography offers a way of understanding the dialectic of history and story that is at work in any chronicle, but that grows in complexity in those hybrid genres from transitional periods in which the question of authority itself (as textual interpretation and contextual legitimation) is submitted to revision. What emerges most clearly in such texts at such times is what Roland Barthes has defined as the ideological and imaginary nature of historical discourse (Barthes 20).

As historical narratives these works transcend history-as-fact so as to constitute mythic stories; they serve as emblems of culture and lessons in politics for contemporary society. Here, it is useful to refer to Frye's theory of mythology as it functions within cultural and literary history:

Certain stories seem to have a peculiar significance: they are the stories that tell a society what is important for it to know, whether about its gods, its history, its laws, or its class structure. These stories may be called myths... A mythology rooted in a specific society transmits a heritage of shared allusion and verbal experience in time, and so mythology helps to create a cultural history (Frye 33-34).

Such a concept of myth can help us understand the importance of the narrative interpretations of the Reconquest and Conquest: these mythographies constitute efforts at creating for their societies and times a coherent, significant, and exemplary or critical account of what their authors perceive to be the new nation's heroic age of expansion in Europe and the Indies.

In addition to the exemplary function of history as mythography, there exists the exemplarity of its reception. The various forms of historical narratives about the Reconquest and Conquest--the chivalric idealization in the royal chronicles of Alfonso X and Jaume I, as well as the propagandistic, apologetic, polemical, or revisionist versions of Colón's *cartas de relación* and the various *crónicas de Indias* written by conquistadors, missionaries, and *mestizos*--represent the adaptation of literary traditions to the changing horizons of expectations of new, expanding nation-states that are involved in the geopolitics of European expansion and the *Realpolitik* of Renaissance power. Such a phenomenon corresponds to the reception model developed by Jauss:

Through the "beginningness" of a literature newly forming itself in the vernacular languages, its archaic genres provide testimony for the ideal *and* reality of a unique political as well as cultural-historical world closed in itself, and offer elementary structures in which the socially formative and communicative power of literature has manifested itself (Jauss 109).

The historical narratives about the Reconquest of Iberia, expansion into the Mediterranean, Conquest of America, and colonization of trans-Atlantic empires correspond to hybrid genres that are evolving in response to the present needs of society to rearticulate its historical identity in terms of communal myths.

What is the impact on the reader of the historical and mythical exemplarity of the Hispanic chronicles? Any historical narrative about reconquest or conquest serves to privilege the discourse of power in terms of what Louis Montrose calls the poetics and politics of culture (Montrose in Veesper 20). The politics (interpretative ideology) and poetics (social rhetoric) of exemplary historical writing comprises not only esthetic and ethical registers but also idealistic and critical evaluations of human order as it evolves in local cultures. As White observes, "The more historically self-conscious the writer of any form of historiography, the more the question of the social system and the law that sustains it, the authority of this law and its justification, and threats to the law occupy his attention..." (White 13). To this concept of the cultural and moral authority of the interpreter of history must be added the complementary concept of the temporal and communal contexts of mythography. A historicist reading of late-medieval and early-Renaissance Spanish texts

about the Reconquest and Conquest offers a model of cultural reception that explains the function of their exemplarity in terms of a social rhetoric. This corresponds precisely to Frye's understanding of mythography: "Myth has two parallel aspects: as a story, it is poetic and is re-created in literature; as a story with a specific social function, it is a program of action for a specific society. In both aspects it relates not to the actual but to the possible" (Frye 49). The historicity and narrativity of the Hispanic chronicles are intertwined in such a way as to create exemplary stories of the past that serve for the moral direction, political enlightenment, and social benefit of the present.

III. Hispanic civilization and mission: The ideology of Reconquest and Conquest

Medieval Iberian historiography presents in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries a model of civilization based on the concept of the Reconquest: it interprets in terms of Romano-Visigothic cultural heritage, Christian crusade, royal mission, and ethnic destiny, the experience of the progressive reintegration over nearly six centuries of the peninsula into Western Christendom, as the expanding kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal push back the Moors; in this era of nation-building they not only succeed in regaining lost territories and converting other peoples, but they also proceed to extend their power across the Mediterranean. The new historiography in the vernacular develops in this crucial period, which Américo Castro considers the decisive one in the formation of the various Iberian national characters. The Romance chronicles in effect function as mirrors in which to recognize one's own nationhood in terms of a common military tradition, religious profession, political enterprise, and social self-image. It is in this period that Christian territories of Iberia more than double in size and population, as well as come to assimilate some of the most sophisticated centers of Islamic urban culture in the Balearic Islands, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalucía. It is also in this period that a secularization of Iberian Christendom begins to take place as a result of the efforts by self-styled enlightened kings (Alfonso X the Wise of Castile, Jaume I the Conqueror of Aragon, and Dinis the Generous of Portugal) to establish cosmopolitan courts that welcome the contributions of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish scholars and professionals from all over Europe and the Mediterranean world. Given these humanistic devel-

opments, Romance historiography begins to evolve away from the clerical codes of earlier Latin works by monastic and episcopal chroniclers (such as Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, who wrote during Alfonso X's youth) and towards the more hybrid interpretations of the so-called schools of translators (at the pluricultural centers of Toledo, Murcia, and Seville) and court chanceries (at Barcelona, Toledo, and Lisbon).

Renaissance Iberian historiography presents in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries a model of civilization based on the concept of the Conquest: it interprets in terms of a pan-Hispanic cultural heritage, Christian reform, nationalist mission, and imperial destiny, the experience of the rapid extension of European powers beyond the traditional sphere of the Mediterranean and across the Atlantic and Indian oceans. The new historiography of the general European Renaissance and Catholic Reform that now develops serves first to place Spain in the role of protagonist on an expanded world stage and then to challenge its right (and any one else's) to rule, or rather misrule, the new colonial territories in the Americas. The Hispanic chronicles of the new Spain of the Catholic Monarchs Fernando and Isabel (1479-1504 and 1516) and the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V (1516-56) in effect function as mirrors in which to reevaluate and ultimately question claims to a dominant power and superior civilization in terms of the violence of military action, limits of religious idealism, contradictions of political pragmatism, and problems of social assimilation. But it is important to note that these issues which now confront Hispanic chroniclers, apologists and critics alike, correspond not only to the imperial age of Spain but also to a period of growing nationalist fervor, religious militancy, and reformist critiques throughout all of Western Europe. To a great extent then Spanish historiography on the New World reflects a newly self-conscious concept of modern nationhood as well as an ever more self-critical vision of Western power. It is in this very period that attempts are made (by both Catholic and Protestant reformers such as Erasmus, More, Luther, Calvin, and Ignatius of Loyola) to promote a respiritualization of European Christianity and a rehumanization of Western Christendom. What results in the case of Hispanic historiography, in its multiple functions as popular cultural mythography, official literature of propaganda, and critical mirror of contemporary reality, is that history is increasingly seen

to represent not true facts or even past acts but rather controversial issues and especially present problems that challenge the traditional definitions of civilization (as religious, geographic, ethnic, or ideological distinctions) and make one think instead in the historicist terms of the poetics, politics, and ethics of culture. The chroniclers increasingly focus on culture, rather than civilization, as a complex human phenomenon that is ever evolving in opposition to (rather than in domination of) an Other and in comparison to (rather than in reflection of) a utopian model of society. In the contexts of this humanistic movement toward cultural perspectivism and historicism, Hispanic historiography can be seen to play a crucial role in making possible the transition to a reevaluation of the authority and morality of Western European civilization by representatives of the new Latin American cultures (such as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega), as well as by the reformers of the new Christian commonwealths (such as Las Casas).

It is important to note that the Hispanic chroniclers project an image of Iberia as an enlightened--civilized and civilizing--nation in the mirror of those it conquers. In the medieval period of reconquest and expansion, although the prevailing image consists of an heroic people with an imperial destiny, the code of national virtue and superiority allows for variations which may consist of wise rule based on biblical, Roman, and Oriental models (Alfonso X) or of political pragmatism related to chivalric, civic, and legalistic norms (Jaume I). In the Renaissance era of conquest and colonization, the imperial image is reinterpreted by advocates of geoeconomic progress (Colón) and apologists of national superiority (Díaz del Castillo), and then challenged by critics of the contemporary *Realpolitik* who argue from inside (Las Casas) and outside (Inca Garcilaso) the dominant cultural tradition. The latter two authors point to the tensions and contradictions (in both the metropolitan and colonial societies) that come to the surface in contacts with the other culture, yet they base their critiques on the "true" interpretation of Spain or Europe's "civilized" values: each challenges the conventional notions of civilization (cultural superiority as national virtue, power, or progress) from within the dominant system of values so as to redefine the ideology of culture in ways that do not equate political and economic ascendancy with the social and moral order; at the same time, each tempers their self-consciously modern (Western European) humanist

rationale with more ancient (Judeo-Christian or Inca) traditions of morality. In effect, the didactic, mythic, and propagandistic functions of Hispanic historiography culminate in the works of Las Casas and the Inca Garcilaso, who offer historicist perspectives on the present age of opportunity and crisis as the Old World of Europe and America is transformed into the New World of modern international powers and hybrid cosmopolitan cultures.

Crucial to the understanding of the Hispanic chronicles is the cultural textuality and mythic historicity of what is perceived to be the religious identity and mission of new nation-empires. On the level of cultural ideology, the chronicles on the Reconquest and Conquest have in common the elaboration of a European and Iberian mythography on the rise of a Christian empire to reconquer the known world from what is perceived to be the religious, cultural, military, and economic domination of Islam. As is noted by Southern and Menocal about crusading Europe and by Américo Castro and Cantarino about Reconquest Iberia (and by Said about the West's cultural imperialism in general), during most of the Middle Ages and Renaissance the image of the Muslim Other as mirror of the Christian West (in the ambivalent terms of cultural superior, political rival, and spiritual inferior) involves the mythic reconstruction of European Christendom as an alter-Islam within and beyond the frontiers of both the former Roman empire and Baghdad caliphate. Iberian chronicles are defined by the cultural parameters of the geographic and mythographic frontier with Islam: it is a physical frontier that stretches from the Mediterranean of Alfonso X and Jaime I to the Atlantic Ocean of Colón and Las Casas; it is also a historical frontier that extends from the foundation eras of Christianity and Islam to the new ages of expansion of the Iberian kingdoms and Turkish sultanate. Ultimately, at the heart of the propaganda of Iberian historical narratives in this period lies the ideological and rhetorical ambiguity of the terms Christendom and Christianity, which parallel those of Islam as universal religion and Dar al-Islam as world civilization. In effect, Iberian chroniclers manifest diachronic and polysemous understandings of the ideology of mission.

Although it is apparent that the Hispanic chronicles, like all medieval and Renaissance historiography, function primarily as propagandistic texts, it is useful to note that the concept of mission which underlies them represents an ideology in the process of redefinition and reapplication in

the period from 1250 to 1550. Mission implies a purposeful mode of travel (whether exploratory encounter or expansionist expedition) with clearly identifiable points of departure and arrival that constitute the signifying framework for interpreting whatever phenomena arise during the journey. Within the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman tradition, mission also implies the human agency for a divine task: true missionaries, whether Old Testament patriarchs or prophets, or New Testament apostles or witnesses, are those who are sent forth into the world of creation and humanity so as to mediate God's providential plan in the midst of the new lands and peoples they encounter.

But the renewal of missionary ideology in medieval and Renaissance Christendom is often cast in the cultural-historical terms of a total, universal crusade rather than in the providential or prophetic terms of a gradually unfolding revelation. For Christian mission in the West is seen to respond in great part to the missionary zeal of Muhammad, who is for Muslims God's last prophet or messenger, and to the missionary successes of the Islamic holy warriors, Qur'anic teachers, and proselytizing merchants who rapidly extend that religious message to half the known world. The Christian mission, both in its biblical-apostolic origins and in its militant-crusading developments, can thus be understood not only as an effort to reconquer the territories and peoples lost by Christendom to Islam since the eighth century, but also as an attempt to eliminate once for all the threat to Christendom posed by this strangely familiar yet alien faith, which sees in scripture the call to proclaim its message to all the corners of the earth: the Christian mission progressively unfolds in late-medieval and early-Renaissance history as a struggle to survive (especially in frontier areas from Iberia and Sicily to Austria and the Balkans), a program for restoration (of European Christendom and of the Roman Mediterranean), a campaign for ultimate victory over the infidels (with their conversion by force or persuasion), and an ambition for a total domination of the known world (in both material and spiritual terms) to counter that advocated by the Muslims themselves.

It is not surprising, then, that during this period European chronicles of reconquest and crusade (in particular those of the frontier Iberian kingdoms) develop against a background or foreground of Christian mission. This mission is explicitly or implicitly understood, according to religious purpose and political interest, in terms of the discourse of power, the rhetoric of confronta-

tion, the culture of expansion, and the politics of domination. For Iberian chroniclers in 1250 to 1550, any history of Christian restoration, unification, and extension involves a sense of mission: this mission consists of a *mythos* (interpretative communal narrative) about the destiny of a world religion, of the dominant culture associated with that religion's temporal power, and of any nation-state with imperial ambitions. In the late-medieval and early-Renaissance ages of European and Iberian expansion, such a *mythos* can lead to the identification of a nation's hegemony within (and beyond) Christendom with the very universality claimed for Christianity.

IV. Models of Hispanic historiography: Narrative, myth, and example

Various points of convergence and divergence are to be found among the models of historiography represented in the Hispanic chronicles of the Reconquest and Conquest. Among the differences, there stand out those related to the process of composition, especially questions of objective scope and subjective focus. First, there are the contrasts to be observed in the production of the histories. Alfonso X relies upon the complex activity of multiple *scriptoria* (in Toledo, Seville, and Murcia), with a diversity of scholars who represent heterogeneous origins and formations. Jaume I dictates his memoirs to a sole cleric who acts as his secretary. Díaz del Castillo, as one of the surviving conquistadors, devotes a late work to a reconstruction and reevaluation of the true experiences of the conquest of Mexico. Las Casas, as Dominican missionary and Apostle to the Indies, undertakes a vast enterprise of compiling and revising, in the midst of debates on legal reforms for the Indies, all the published histories (as well as all other known and documented experiences) related to the discoveries and conquests of the New World. Second, there are the differences to be recognized in the very subject of historiography. The extensive and ambitious collaboration among the Wise King's scholars, experts, and translators is presented as a diptych that binds the history of Hispania, centered upon the *fecho d'España* (the historical and heroic deeds of the formation and preservation of Spain) as the story of the Christian and Castilian Reconquest, with the history of the world, associated with the *fecho d'Imperio* (the traditional claims to and contemporary struggles for control of Iberian and Western Christendom) as the story of the reunification

of Christian Hispania and Europe. The Catalan Conqueror's royal autobiography concentrates, in a linear and anecdotal way, with the new era that he himself has initiated with his expansion towards and into the Mediterranean. The veteran officer and companion of Cortés undertakes a testimony designed to challenge and reclaim history in his retelling of a few exceptional years that others (like López de Gómara) had already treated from more partial or distant perspectives. The clerical chronicler and polemicist commits himself to writing a comprehensive and critical (i.e. scientific and revisionist) history that represents (like the *Historia natural y general de Indias*, a similar, but diffuse and unequal, work written in 1535-37 by his contemporary Fernández de Oviedo) a response to the lack of a complete history of the encounter with the New World and a review of the abundant, conflicting documents (of missionaries and conquistadors) on the good and bad effects of the Spanish conquests. Beyond such differences in composition, which reflect diverse literary and political cultures, it is necessary to recognize the parallels in the hermeneutic models that each chronicle represents: in the four texts one encounters similar questions about interpreting the discourse of authority in the history of the Reconquest and Conquest.

The interpretation of the discourse of power and the discourse of authority in the four chronicles corresponds to a reading of history as narrative, myth, and example. In the *Estoria de Espanna* what is narrated the origins, progress, and climax of the Christian and Castilian Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula; what is mythologized is the formation and restoration of the identity of Spain, as it is in the process of unfolding, a process that serves to reconstitute and reinterpret the ancient Hispania of Romans and Visigoths; and what is exemplified is the development of unity (as well as division) throughout the past until the present triumph of the politics of Castilianization undertaken in the southern territories and peoples conquered in Andalucía by Fernando III (a politics extended beyond military and administrative spheres into the realms of culture and ideology by his son, the current Wise King). In the *Llibre dels feits* what is narrated is the conquest by the Catalan king and nobility of Mediterranean coasts and islands, which will serve during the next three centuries decisively to reorient the expansionist politics of the Crown of Aragon; what is mythologized is the Catalan people's transformation and domination of the former Spanish Marches that

has now become the axis of a great maritime empire; and what is exemplified is the politics of expansion that is achieved through consensus among king, nobles, and burghers, as well as through the deeds of the new epic warriors (whose epic is not seen as legendary and distant but historical and contemporary). In the *Historia verdadera* what is narrated is the discovery, conquest, and colonization of the Aztec empire by a heroic group of conquistadors, who have later been cast aside by an imperial bureaucracy and manipulated by court intrigues in the mother country; what is mythologized is the invention (encounter and construction) of the New Spain in both the Old and New Worlds; and what is exemplified is the process of civilizing (Europeanizing or Castilianizing as well as Christianizing) the indigenous peoples. In the *Historia de Indias* what is narrated is not only the whole history of the discoveries and conquests that unfolds in the new continents, but also the privileged history of the conversion of pagan peoples to the true faith (Christian and Roman Catholic); what is mythologized is the historical and geographic culmination of Christian influence in the world (as temporal power of Christendom and missionary church of Christianity); and what is exemplified is the reform of that Christendom and Christianity in terms of corrective measures on the part of an intelligentsia (militant and critical) of Catholic humanists and counter-reformers.

From the comparison of the chronicles of the Reconquest and Conquest, as well as from the interpretation of the discourse of authority with respect to history, can be derived certain analytical and theoretical implications that aid in constructing a hermeneutic model. First, in terms of analysis, one can distinguish in the Hispanic chronicles of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries (periods that respectively mark the medieval renaissance of Christian Iberia and the classicist Renaissance of humanist Europe) certain parallels in historical interpretation. These parallels show that the chronicles offer a series of meanings (about the past, present, and future of the community and its élites) that function in relation to cultural tradition, ideological typology, and social reception. In Alfonso X's national chronicle what is recounted is a corpus of stories derived from clerical Latin sources and oral epic traditions; what is symbolized is the imperial typology based on the ancient Romano-Visigothic period and on contemporary contexts of the Castilian-Hohenstaufen pretensions (through the king's maternal Swabian line); and what is advocated is a national recep-

tion directly and indirectly (through a sort of vertical osmosis) by official communities of élites and subjects. In Jaume I's autobiographical chronicle what is recounted is the neoepic tradition that he is gradually creating in the present heroic age; what is symbolized is a typology that is both aristocratic (personal achievement through great, famous deeds) and corporative (sociopolitical consensus through *pactisme*, or juridical and administrative contractuality); and what is advocated is a common nationalist reception at the court on the part of the dynastic, bureaucratic, and military interests of the royal house, chancery, and nobility. In Díaz del Castillo's testimonial chronicle what is recounted is the chivalric tradition derived equally from medieval (literary or fictional) and contemporary (historical or documentary) models; what is symbolized is the typology of true and false conquistadors, as well as true and false chroniclers; and what is advocated is a favorable and just reception at the metropolitan court and among the *hidalgos* (the gentry class of the majority of conquistadors). In Las Casas' critical chronicle what is recounted is the missionary tradition of the "Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church," with its providential basis and millenarian development, as it now relates to preaching the Gospel in new lands and converting new peoples to the true faith; what is symbolized is the evangelical and reformist typology of the Renaissance and counter-Reformation humanists; and what is advocated is the trans-Atlantic, world-wide reception by an expanded Christendom of an exemplary message about conversion to the beliefs and practices of a universal, spiritual Christianity, as well as conversion to the standards of civilization and ethics of a historical, temporal Christianity. In these rhetorical, symbolic, and ideological ways the chronicles serve to interpret the discourse of authority as it is renewed in ages of expansion and revision: authority is recounted from its origins, transferred from one culture to another, redefined for a "modern" era, symbolized anew for a nation in the process of development and expansion, and exemplified for a new ruling community. This is the discourse that accompanies the new history of Spain restored, a greater Catalonia or Aragon, a trans-Atlantic New Spain, and a new Renaissance Christendom and Counter-Reformation Christianity.

Conclues In order to indicate the type of conclusions that can be reached by a more detailed application of a historicist analysis to the four chronicles of the Reconquest and Conquest, which goes be-

yond the scope and purpose of the present study, an appendix with selected passages in translation is included and the following synopsis of their discourse of authority is provided. In passages from Alfonso X (EE prologue; cc 558-59 and 564; cc 1046 and 1128-32), the discourse of power that operates in history consists of the interpretation of authority in relation to concepts of the past, present, nation, dynasty, and heroism itself (medieval, classical, and biblical) as these serve to support the Castilian court. In passages from Jaume I (LF c 1; cc 47-48; cc 128-29; c 392; and c 592), the discourse of power includes the interpretation of authority in terms of the royal, chivalric, imperial, national, and dynastic values that the Catalan monarchy seeks to develop as it continually extends and redefines the Crown of Aragon. In passages from Díaz del Castillo (HV prologue; c 1; cc 209-10; and c 210), the discourse of power embraces the rival interpretations of authority put forth by conquistadors, imperial courtiers, colonial administrators, and humanist critics that are to be reevaluated by the metropolitan court of the New Spain in Europe and the Indies. Finally, in passages from Las Casas (HI book 1, c 76; book 3, c 4; and book 3, c 42), the discourse of power consists of the interpretation of authority from the points of view of missionary apologists and polemicists, as well as Christian humanists, who are to re-read, re-enact, and re-write the history of the new Christendom of the Renaissance and the new Christianity of the Counter-Reformation.

V. Conclusions: Historicist models of chronicles of the Reconquest and Conquest

In spite of the considerable insights that result from applying historicist methods to the historiographical rhetoric and propagandistic contexts of the Hispanic chronicles, there still remains the need to construct a hermeneutic model capable of examining and integrating the phenomena of the production, mediation, and reception of history (as text, culture, and ideology) in relation to the Reconquest and Conquest. (Note the summary of theories, problems, and methods in the historicist interpretation of Alfonsine texts and contexts discussed by González-Casanovas 1991-92.) The usefulness of this type of study lies in its moving beyond interpretations of historiography that are traditionally based on such concepts as the philological one of national language, literary-historical one of medieval and Renaissance periodization, or canonical one of "classic" chronicles. In-

stead, the semiotic, typological, and rhetorical functions of historiography are to be studied. By means of historicist perspectives, it is possible to consider what are the key questions of interpretation in all Hispanic (Castilian or Catalan, peninsular or colonial) historiography that treats the parallel phenomena of the expansion of power, redefinition of national community as well as élite, and renaissance of culture, as these develop during the thirteenth-century Reconquest of Iberia and sixteenth-century Conquest of America.

Once this type of cultural-historicist critique of texts and contexts is undertaken, its application to the four works here studied--Alfonso X's great national chronicle with its imperial propaganda, Jaume I's epic chronicle with its royal testimony, Díaz del Castillo's true chronicle with its veteran's revisions, and Las Casas' humanist chronicle with its missionary apology and polemic--serves to show that each represents a series of multiple and complex discourses on history. In these chronicles history is narrated, mythologized, and exemplified in ways that make manifest a diversity of traditions, hybridization of forms, problematization of typologies, ambivalence of rhetorical strategies, and a plurality of receptions. In spite of such complexity, and of the divergences in composition to be found among the works, all four texts share a common interest in the function of history in contemporary society, as history is perceived, enacted, ordered, interpreted, and reformed among the cultural and ruling élites. Hence, these chronicles come to constitute variations on one sole discourse of power: in them are fused the apology for any reconquest/conquest, the self-critique on the part of reconquerors/conquerors, and the appropriation of the conquered cultures. Thus, history as meaningful and exemplary narrative of past deeds (history as document and monument) is seen to be transformed into an imaginative, interpretative, and revisionist discourse on present acts (history as mythical and critical paradigm). It is this historiographic discourse of authority that serves in the Hispanic chronicles of Reconquest and Conquest as guide and support for the agents, mediators, critics, and receptors of power.

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1 Texts

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APPENDIX: Selected Passages from Hispanic Chronicles of the Reconquest and Conquest

(See Works Cited for editions used. All translations are mine.)

ALFONSO X, *Estoria de Espanna* (1270-75)

Los sabios antiguos...escruiieron...las gestas de los príncipes, tan bien de los que fizieron mal cuemo de los fizieron bien, por que los que después uniessen por los fechos de los buenos punnassen en fazer bien et por los de los malos que se castigassen en fazer mal, et por esto fue enderaçado el curso del mundo de cada una cosa en su orden... (EE prol; vol 1: 4).

The ancient sages...wrote the deeds of the leading men, those who did evil as well as those who did good, that those who came after might strive to do good through the deeds of the good men, and from those of the evil men they might take warning not to do evil; thus was the course of the world set right with everything in its order... (EE prol; vol 1: 4).

Nós don Alfonso, por la gracia de Dios rey..., mandamos ayuntar quantos libros pudimos auer de istorias que...contassen los fechos d'Espanna..., compusiemos este libro de todos los fechos que fallar se pudieron della desde el tiempo de Noé fasta el nuestro. Esto fiziemos por que fuesse sabudo el comienzo de los espannoles et de quáles yentes fuera Espanna maltrecha...; cómo fueron los cristianos después cobrando la tierra...; después cuémo la ayuntó Dios, por quáles maneras et en qué tiempo, quáles reyes ganaron la tierra fasta el mar Mediterráneo; qué obras fizo cada uno assí cuémo unieron unos empós otros fastal nuestro tiempo (EE prol.; vol 1: 4).

We, Alfonso, by the grace of God king..., ordered as many books as we could obtain of histories of the deeds of Spain to be collected...; we compiled in this book all deeds that could be found about her from Noah's time until our own. We did this that the beginnings of the Spaniards be known, by which peoples Spain was ill treated...; how Christians later began to recover the land...; how God reunited her after, and by what means and at what time, which kings won the land as far as the Mediterranean Sea, what acts each one did, and how they succeeded each other until our time (EE prol.; vol 1: 4).

Espanna sobre todas [las tierras] es engennosa, atreuada et mucho esforçada en lid, ligera en affan, leal al sennor, affincada en estudio, palaciana en palabra, complida de todo bien... Este regno tan noble, tan rico, tan poderoso, tan onrrado, fue derramado et astragado en una arremessa [de los moros] por desabenencia de los de la tierra que tornaron sus espadas en sí mismos unos contra otros, assí como si les minguassen enemigos; et perdieron y todos.... Fincó toda la tierra uazía del pueblo, lena de sangre, bannada de lágrimas, complida de appellidos, huésped de los estrannos, enagenada de los uezinos, desamparada de los moradores, bibda e dessolada de sus fijos, coffonduda de los bárbaros, esmedrida por la llaga, ffallida de fortaleza, fflaca de fuerça, menguada de conort et desolada de solaz de los suyos.... Dios poderoso de todas las cosas, pero que era ya yrado contra ella, non quiso olvidar la su misericordia, et menbróse de la su merced, e quiso por ende guardar all infante don Pelayo pora ante la su faz, assí como una pequenna centella de que se leuantasse después lumbré en la tierra.... [Los asturianos, vascos y aragoneses] quiso los Dios guardar por que la lumbré de la cristianidad et de los sus sieruos non se amatasse de tod en Espanna (EE cc 558, 559, 564; vol 1: 311, 312, 319).

Spain above all is talented, daring, enterprising in fighting, swift in zeal, loyal to her lord, resolute in study, courtly in speech, accomplished in every good.... This realm, so noble, rich, powerful, honorable, was dispersed and destroyed by an attack [of Moors] due to the discord of those in the land who turned their swords against each other, as if they lacked enemies; there they all lost.... All the land was left empty of people, filled with blood, bathed in tears, full of battle cries, a host to strangers, estranged from neighbors, abandoned by dwellers, a widow bereft of sons, confounded by barbarians, made worse by the wound, lacking in strength, weak in force, wanting in consolation, deprived of solace from her own.... God, powerful in all things, but now angry with [Spain], not wishing to forget his mercy, remembered his grace and wished therefore to keep Prince Pelayo in his countenance, as a small spark from which later might arise light in the land.... [The Asturians, Basques, and Aragonese] God wished to keep so that the light of Christianity and of his servants might not entirely be extinguished in Spain (EE cc 558, 559, 564; vol 1: 311, 312, 319).

Agora la estoria ua contando las nobles conquistas del rey don Fernando, et cuenta de las obras de piedat que este don Fernando fizo.... Et segunt lo prueba la estoria, vna fue esta de las mayores et más altas conquistas que en el mundo todo fue vista nin fecha que se en tan poca sazón feziere; pues por qual razón pudo seer sennor de [Sevilla] él así en tan poco tiempo auer et ganar, non puede omne entender y al, fueras merçed que fue del Sennor, cuyo seruidor era, quel quiso onrrar et dar ventura buena, porque tan noble sennorío et tan acabado ouiese; et lo al, que es la flor de los acabamientos de todas onrras: la grant lealtad de los buenos vasallos que auie, que rey que en el mundo fuese no los ouo meiores nin tales de su naturaleza, que sabemos que por todas las partes del mundo ouieron sienpre los castellanos prez desto sobre quantas gentes otras son, et más seruidores de sennor, et más sofridores de todo afán. Des aquí lieue Dios el su buen prez adelante, a onrra suya et de la su naturaleza.... [Fernando fue] rey de todos fechos granados,... que sacó de Espanna el poder et el apremiamiento de los contrarios de la fe de Cristo, et les tollió el sennorío et los tornó al suyo.... [S]i todo [lo que Fernando] encomendua [a Alfonso]... conpliese et lo feziere así, que la su bendición conplida ouiese; et sy non, la su maldición; et fizol responder «amen».... «[F]ijo, rico fincas de tierra et de muchos buenos vasallos, más que rey que en la cristiandad ssea; punna en fazer bien et ser bueno, ca bien as con qué.... Sennor te dexo de toda la tierra de la mar acá, que los moros del rey Rodrigo de Espanna ganado ouieron; et en tu sennorío finca toda: la vna conquerida, la otra tributada. Sy la en este estado en que te la yo dexo la sopieres guardar, eres tan buen rey commo yo; et sy ganares por ti más, eres meior que yo; et si desto menguas, non eres tan bueno commo yo» (EE cc 1046, 1128-32; vol 2: 733, 769-73).

Now the story tells of King Fernando's noble conquests and the works of piety he did.... As the story shows, this was one of the greatest and noblest conquests ever seen or done in the world, and it was obtained in little time; how he became lord of [Seville], and in so little time took and won it, no one knows, except that, on the one hand, it was due to the grace

of God, whose servant [Fernando] was, since [God] wished to honor and bestow good fortune upon him, that he might have such a noble and perfect dominion...; on the other hand, it was due to the flower of perfection of all honors: his vassals' great loyalty, for no king in the world ever had any better by their own national temperament, and we know that in every part of the world Castilians won fame for it over all others; they render greater service to their lord and bear with greater patience all enterprises. Hence may God carry forward their good fame to their honor and according to the national temperament.... [Fernando had] great joy over the good fortune that God bestowed on him as a reward for his efforts.... [After] King Fernando won Sevilla and had her repopulated, fortified, and well settled, he put in order all its affairs with a view to the honor and noble esteem of himself, the city, and his kingdom, to the service of God, and to the benefit and protection of its inhabitants.... [Fernando was] a king great in all deeds, who expelled from Spain the power and oppression of the enemies of the Christian faith; he wrested dominion from them and put all peoples [of Spain] of his time under his rule.... If [Alfonso] fulfilled and did thus all [Fernando] charged, begged, and ordered him to do, he would receive his full blessing, otherwise, his curse; he made him respond, "Amen." He said further: "My son, you are left rich in lands with many good vassals, more than any king in Christendom has; strive to do good and to be good, for you have the means to do so." He added: "I leave you as lord of all the land on this side of the sea which the Moors won from king Rodrigo of Spain; and in your dominion it is all left: part of it conquered, the other under tribute. If you can keep it in this state in which I leave it to you, you will be as good a king as I; if on your own you win more, you would be greater than I; but if you lose any, you are not as good as I am" (EE cc 1046, 1128-32; vol 2: 733, 769-73).

JAUME I, *Llibre dels fets* (1244-74)

[P]er tal que els hòmens coneguessen e sabessen, quan hauríem passada aquesta vida mortal, ço que nós hauríem feit ajudant-nos lo Senyor poderós..., lleixam aquest libre per memòria, a aquells qui volran oir de les gràcies que Nostre Senyor nos ha feites, e per dar exempli a tots los altres homens del món, que facen ço que nós havem feit de metre sa fe en aquest Senyor qui és tant poderós (LF c 1; vol 1: 26).

So that, after passing from this mortal life, men may know what we accomplished with almighty God's help..., we leave this book as a reminder to those who wish to hear what graces Our Lord has done for us, and as an example to all others of the world, that they might do as we have done by placing their faith in this Lord who is so powerful (LF c 1; vol 1: 26).

Ço que Déus vol no pot negú desviar ni tolre e plaer-vos ha, e tindrem per bo que vós aquella illa [Mallorca] conquerats [perquè]...vós ne valrets més e nós, ...[e] serà cosa meravellosa a les gents que oiran aquesta conquesta que prengats terra e regne dins en la mar on Déus lo volc formar.... Déus nos ha feita tanta de gràcia que ens ha donat regne dins en mar, ço que anc rei d'Espanya no poc acabar (LF cc 47-48, 105; vol 1: 28-29, 55).

Since what God wills no one can avoid nor counteract, and it will please you, we deem it good that you conquer that is-

land [Mallorca]...that you and we may have greater honor and ...that it may be a marvel to peoples who hear of this conquest, for you will take a land and kingdom in the sea where God willed to form it.... God has bestowed on us such grace that He has given us a kingdom in the sea, which no king of Spain ever obtained (LF cc 47-48, 105; vol 1: 28-29, 55).

[P]us part mar vos ha Déu dat conquerir, que a lo que està a la porta del vostre regne que ho conquerats. [València] és la mellor terra e la pus bella del món.... No ha vui dejús Déu tan delitós llogar com és la ciutat de València e tot aquell regne...; si Déus vol que aquell conquerats..., la mellor cosa haurets conquesta de delits e de forts castells que sia al món.... Si aquella prenets, podets ben dir que sots lo mellor Rei del món, aquell qui tant ha feit (LF c 128-29; vol 1: 63).

Since by sea God has given you conquest, conquer what is at your kingdom's door. [Valencia] is the best and most beautiful land in the world... There is no place now under God as delightful as the city and whole kingdom of Valencia...; if God wills you to conquer it, and He shall, you shall conquer the best delight and fortress in the world.... If you take it, you, who have accomplished so much, may say that you are the greatest king in the world (LF c 128-29; vol 1: 63).

[N]ós ho fem la primera cosa per Déu, la segona per salvar Espanya, la terça que í nós e vós hajam tan bon preu e tan gran nom que per nós e per vós és salvada Espanya. E fe que devem a Déu, pus aquells de Catalunya, lo mellor regne d'Espanya, el pus honrat e el pus noble,... (LF c 392; vol 2: 129).

We do this, first for God, second to save Spain, third that we and you may derive honor and renown, since by us and you Spain is saved. [We do it] for the faith we owe God, especially among those from Catalonia, the best kingdom in Spain, the most honored and noble (LF c 392; vol 2: 129).

Dixem [a Pere que]... primerament... Nostre Senyor nos havia honrat en aquest segle, e especialment sobre nostres enemies, e en... nos havia feit regnar al seu serviï pus de seixanta anys, més que no era en memòria, ne trobava hom que negun rei, de David o de Salomó ençà, hagués tant regnat, e que amàs sancta Esglèsia; ...e ell [Pere] degués pendre exemple de nós quant açò, que era via de bé: e que així mateix li pendria, ell complement e faent açò (LF c 562; vol 2: 188-89).

We told [Peter that]...Our Lord had honored us in this world [and] allowed us to reign in His service for over sixty years, more than...any king since David and Solomon who reigned so long and loved Holy Church; and...we had received love and affection from all our people, and been honored by them.... All this came to us from Our Lord Jesus Christ, because we for the most part had striven to follow His life and commandments; and [Peter] should take example from us in this, the path to goodness, and in this very way he should attain it, by fulfilling and doing this (LF c 562; vol 2: 188-89).

DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, *Historia verdadera* (1568)

[Y]o, como no soy latino, no me atrevo a hacer preámbulo ni prólogo..., porque ha menester sublimar los heroicos hechos y hazañas que hicimos cuando ganamos la Nueva España y sus provincias en compañía del valeroso y esforzado capitán don Hernando Cortés..., para poderlo escribir tan sublimadamente como es digno fuera menester otra elocuencia y retóri-

ca mejor que no la mía; mas lo que yo vi y me hallé en ello peleando, como buen testigo de vista yo lo escribiré, con la ayuda de Dios, muy llanamente, sin torcer a una parte ni a otra, y porque soy viejo de más de ochenta y cuatro años y he perdido la vista y el oír, por mi ventura no tengo otra riqueza que dejar a mis hijos y descendientes, salvo esta mi verdadera y notable relación..., no tocaré por ahora en más de decir y dar razón de mi patria y de dónde soy natural, en qué año salí de Castilla, en compañía de qué capitanes anduve militando, dónde ahora tengo mi asiento y vivienda (HV prol: xxxv).

Since I am not a Latin scholar, I dare not write a preamble or prologue..., for it is necessary to treat sublimely the heroic deeds and feats we performed when we conquered New Spain and its provinces in the company of the brave and resourceful captain Hernán Cortés..., and to write about it in as sublime a manner as is required there would need to be another eloquence and rhetoric better than mine. But I shall write, with God's help, very plainly, without twisting in any way, of what I, as an eyewitness, saw and found while fighting there. For I am over eighty-four years old, and, having lost my sight and hearing, have no other riches to leave my children and descendants than this my true and memorable account.... For now I shall not say any more except to state my place of birth, when I left Castile, in whose company I fought, and where I now have my dwelling (HV prol: xxxv).

Por lo que a mí toca y a todos los verdaderos conquistadores, mis compañeros, que hemos servido a su Majestad, así en descubrir y conquistar y pacificar y poblar todas las provincias de la Nueva España, que es una de las buenas partes descubiertas del Nuevo Mundo, lo cual descubrimos a nuestra costa sin ser sabidor de ello Su Majestad, y hablando aquí en respuesta de lo que han dicho y escrito personas que no lo alcanzaron a saber, ni lo vieron, ni tener noticia verdadera de lo que sobre esta materia propusieron, salvo hablar a sabor de su paladar, por oscurecer si pudiesen nuestros muchos y notables servicios, porque no haya fama de ello ni sean tenidos en tanta estima como son dignos de tener; y aun como la malicia humana es de tan calidad, no querrían los malos detractores que fuésemos antepuestos y recompensados como Su Majestad lo ha mandado a sus virreyes, presidentes y gobernadores; y dejando estas razones aparte, y porque cosas tan heroicas...no se olviden, ni más las aniquilen, y claramente se conozcan ser verdaderas, y porque se reprueben y se den por ninguno los libros que sobre esta materia han escrito, porque van muy viciosos y oscuros de la verdad; y porque haya fama memorable de nuestras conquistas, pues hay historias de hechos hazañosos que ha habido en el mundo, justa cosa es que estas nuestras tan ilustres se pongan entre las muy nombradas que han acaecido (HV c 1: 1).

As for me and all the true conquistadors, my companions, we have served Your Majesty in discovering, conquering, pacifying, and repopulating all the provinces of New Spain, one of the good lands discovered in the New World; we discovered it through our own efforts without Your Majesty's knowledge. I speak here to refute what others have said and written about things they did not know or see, for they did not have true information about what they treated, but spoke as they wished, so as to obscure our many memorable services, that they might not be famous or held in esteem as they deserve. Since human malice is so great, the evil detractors did not wish us to be preferred and rewarded as Your Majesty has

ordered to his viceroys, heads of councils, and governors. Leaving aside these reasons, I write that such heroic deeds... not be forgotten or ever be destroyed, but that they be known as famous and true. I also write so that the books written on this subject may be refuted and considered as nothing, for they are evil and obscure the truth. So that there may be famous remembrance of our conquests, for histories are written about the great feats that have taken place in the world, it is just that our very illustrious deeds be placed among the very renowned ones that have occurred (HV c 1: 1).

[T]odos los más indios naturales de estas tierras han dependido muy bien todos los oficios que hay en Castilla entre nosotros, y tienen sus tiendas de los oficios y obreros, y ganan de comer a ello.... Todos los más hijos de principales solían ser gramáticos, y...saben leer y escribir y componer libros Diré de la justicia que les hemos amostrado a guardar y cumplir, y cómo cada año eligen sus alcaldes ordinarios y regidores y escribanos y alguaciles y fiscales y mayordomos, y tienen casa de cabildo,...y hacen justicia con tanto primor y autoridad como entre nosotros, y se precian y desean saber mucho de las leyes del reino, por donde sentencian.... [E]n Méjico hay Colegio universal donde se estudian y dependen gramática, teología, retórica, lógica, filosofía y otras artes y estudios, y hay moldes y maestros de imprimir libros...y se gradúan de licenciado y doctores.... (HV cc 209-10: 581-83).

Most of the Indians natives to these lands have learned well all the offices there are among us in Castile.... Most sons of the leading men knew grammar and...many know how to read and write.... I shall speak of the justice which we have taught them to keep..., and of how every year they elect their ordinary mayors, marshals, clerks, constables, prosecutors, and stewards, and they have their council chambers...and execute justice with such strictness and authority as among ourselves, and they value and desire to know much about the laws of the realm, according to which they pass sentence.... In Mexico there is a university where grammar, theology, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and other arts and studies are taught, and there are printing types and masters, for both Latin and Romance, and they graduate bachelors and doctors... (HV cc 209-10: 581-83).

[P]orque bastan los bienes que ya he propuesto que de nuestras heroicas conquistas han recrecido, quiero decir que miren las personas sabias y leídas esta mi relación desde el principio hasta el acabo, y verán que en ningunas escrituras que estén escritas en el mundo, ni en hechos hazañosos humanos, ha habido hombres que más reinos y señoríos hayan ganado como nosotros, los verdaderos conquistadores, para nuestro rey y señor... (HV c 210: 583).

Let it suffice to note the good things I proposed as increasing as a result of our heroic conquests. I wish that wise and learned persons read my narrative from beginning to end, that they may see that in no other writings in the world nor in any great human feats have there been men who have conquered more kingdoms and dominions than we, the true conquistadors, have done for our king and lord... (HV c 210: 583).

LAS CASAS, *Historia de Indias* (1527-61)

A qué se podrá comparar en las cosas humanas haber abierto las puertas tan cerradas deste mar Océano, que o nunca ja-

más por ellas ninguno a entrar se atrevió, o si en los siglos pasados alguno las vido y por ellas entró, estaba ya en este camino tan cerrado y tan puesto en olvido... Parece que Dios, antes de los siglos, concedió a este hombre [Colón] las llaves deste espantosísimo mar, y no quiso que otro abriese sus cerraduras oscuras, a este se le debe todo cuanto destas puertas adentro haya sucedido y cuanto sucediere en todo género de bondad, de aquí a que mundo se haya de acabar. Descubrir por su persona y abrir y enseñar el camino para que se descubran tan largas e felices tierras, tan ínclitos y ricos reinos, que hay hoy descubiertas de costa de mar, que mira a ambos polos, sobre 12000 leguas de tierras tan llenas de gente, tan diversas e infinitas naciones, tan varias y distintas lenguas, las cuales todas, aunque en algunas y muchas cosas, ritos y costumbres difieran, al menos en esto son todas o cuasi todas conformes, conviene a saber: en ser simplicísimas, pacíficas, domésticas, humildes, liberales, y, sobre todas las que procedieron de Adán, sin alguna excepción, pacientísimas; dispuestas también incomparablemente y sin algún impedimento, para ser traídas al cognoscimiento y fe de su Criador. De donde parece cuánto se podrá extender este imperio y principado de Jesucristo, cuánto se dilatará su Santa Iglesia, cuán extendidos serán los límites de la cristiana religión, en cuántas y cuán infinitas partes y de cuántas y cuán innumerables creaturas será adorada e reverenciada la bandera e instrumento principal con que fuimos redimidos (digo la sancta vera Cruz)... (HI bk 1: c 76; vol 1: 328-29).

As for the good and utility that befell all by Cristóbal Colón's industry and labors..., to what human endeavor can be compared the opening of the tightly closed doors of this Ocean sea...? But it seems the God...granted this man the keys to this most awesome sea,...to him is due all good that has passed or will pass from now until the end of the world. To discover on his own and to open and show the way to the discovery of such vast and fortunate lands, such prosperous and rich kingdoms that now lie discovered along the coast, facing both poles, over 12000 leagues of lands so full of people, such diverse and infinite nations, such varied and distinct tongues, all of which, although they differ in many things, rituals and customs, at least in this they are all or almost all in agreement: in being very simple, peaceful, domestic, humble, generous, and above all Adam's descendants, without exception, very patient; also disposed, as beyond compare and without any impediment, to be brought to the knowledge and faith of their Creator. By this can be seen how much the empire and principality of Jesus Christ will be extended, how much His Holy Church will spread, how expanded will be the frontiers of the Christian religion, in how many infinite parts and by how many countless creatures the standard and principal instrument of our redemption (I mean the holy true Cross) will be adored and revered... (HI bk 1: c 76; vol 1: 328-29).

Por estas riquezas y tesoros temporales se corroboraría y haría más fuerte toda la Cristiandad, estando los reyes della en paz y conformidad, para que los enemigos de nuestra sancta fe católica no como de antes se osasen atrever a cada paso a la impugnar, sino que aunque para la acometer e invadir junten los más gruesos ejércitos que Jerjes nunca juntó, y otros algunos de los antiguos que las historias refieren por grandes haber juntado, sola España, la gracia de Dios mediante, con los niervos de las guerras, que son los dineros que salieren de nuestras Indias, los puedan vencer y prostar. Apro-

vecha mucho...que el rey sea rico y tenga guardados muchos tesoros, porque con tener fama dello, los reinos enemigos no osan atreverse contra el tal reino mover fácilmente bullicio de guerra, ni en alguna manera inquietarlo, antes procuran tener perpetuamente su amistad (HI bk 1: c 76; vol 1: 330).

By means of these temporal riches and treasures all Christendom would be reinforced and strenghtened, while its kings are at peace and in concord, so that the enemies of our Catholic faith might not as before dare to challenge it at each step, but even if they were to attack and invade it with greater armies than Xerxes or other ancients mentioned in histories ever brought together, Spain alone, with God's help, with the sinews of war, the monies drawn from our Indies, could defeat and subject them. It is very advantageous, according to all who have written about commonwealths, and the structure, order, and preservation of kingdoms and kings, for the king to be rich and store many treasures, since, by hearing of them, enemy kingdoms dare not bring the noise of war against it, nor in any way disturb it, but rather attempt to maintain its friendship forever (HI bk 1: c 76; vol 1: 330).

[Fray Antón Montesino] dijo...que todos estáis en pecado mortal y en élvivís y morís, por la crueldad y tiranía que usáis con estas inocentes gentes. Decid, ¿con qué derecho y con qué justicia tenéis en tan cruel y horrible servidumbre aquestos indios? ¿Con qué autoridad habéis hecho tan detestables guerras a estas gentes que estaban en sus tierras mansas y pacíficas, donde tan infinitas dellas, con muertes y estragos nunca oídos, habéis consumido?... Y ¿qué cuidado tenéis de quien los doctrine y conozcan a su Dios y criador, sean bautizados, oigan misa, guarden las fiestas y domingos? Estos, ¿no son hombres? ¿No tienen ánimas racionales? ¿No sois obligados a amallos como a vosotros mismos? ¿Esto no entendéis? ¿Esto no sentís?... Tened por cierto, que en el estado que estáis no os podéis más salvar que los moros o turcos que carecen o no quieren la fe de Jesucristo" (HI bk 3: c 4; vol 2: 441-42).

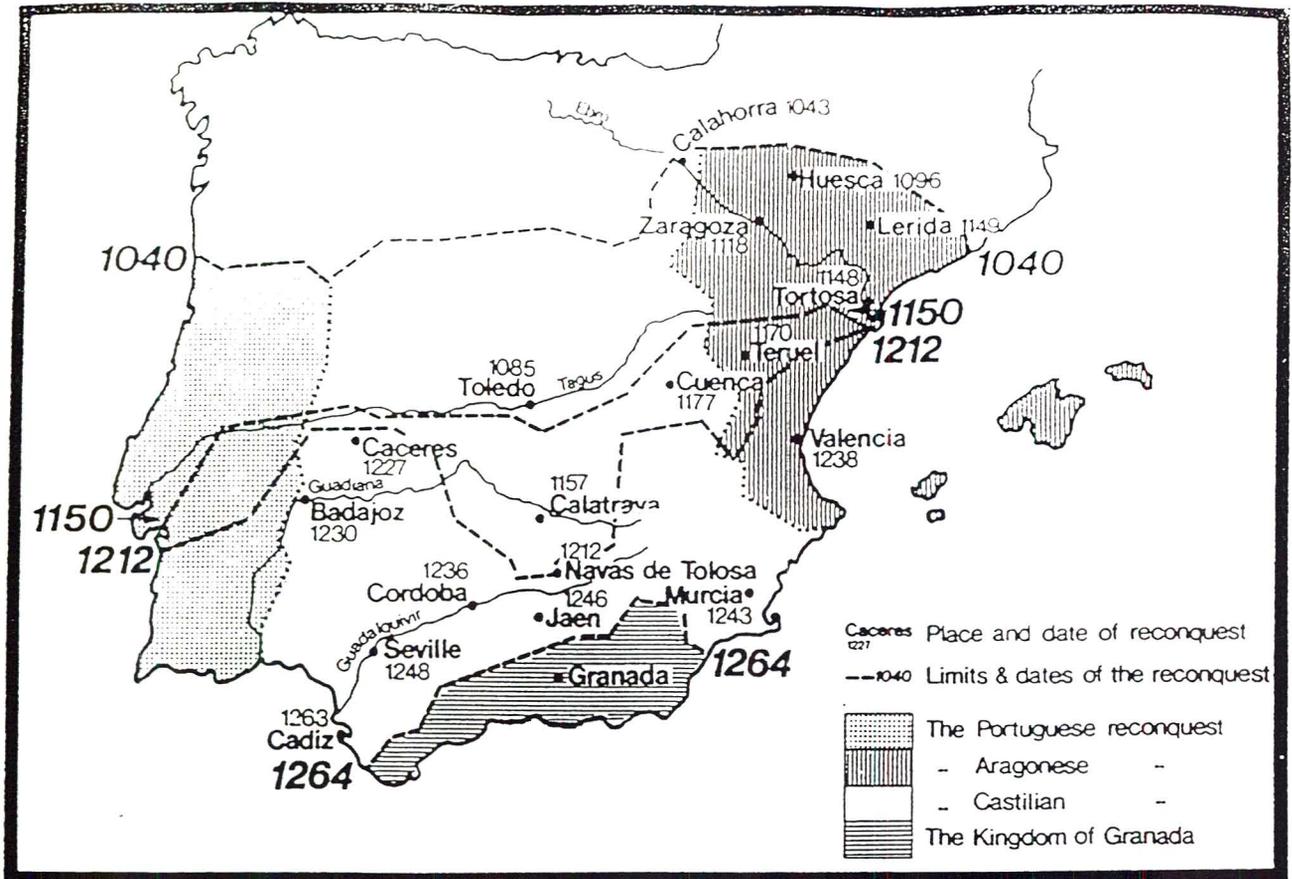
[Fray Antón Montesino] said...all of you are in mortal sin, in it you live and die, for the cruelty and tyranny you show these innocent people. Tell me: By what right and justice do you hold these Indians in such cruèl and horrible servitude? By what authority do you wage such detestable wars against people who were gentle and peaceful in their own lands, where you have exterminated so many with such death and decimation as was never seen?... What care do you take that they receive doctrine and knowledge about their God and Creator, be baptized, hear Mass, observe feast days and Sundays? Are not these men? Do they not have rational souls? Are you not obliged to love them as yourselves? Do you not understand this? Do you not feel this?... In the state you are in, you can no more be saved than Moors or Turks who lack or reject the faith of Jesus Christ (HI bk 3: c 4; vol 2: 441-42).

Hízose y hácese gran ofensa y pecado contra Dios dar el sacramento del bautismo a infieles idólatras...sin que primero sean enseñados y examinados..., y que sepan muy bien lo que reciben, y por qué, y para qué... (HI bk 3: c 42; vol 2: 574).

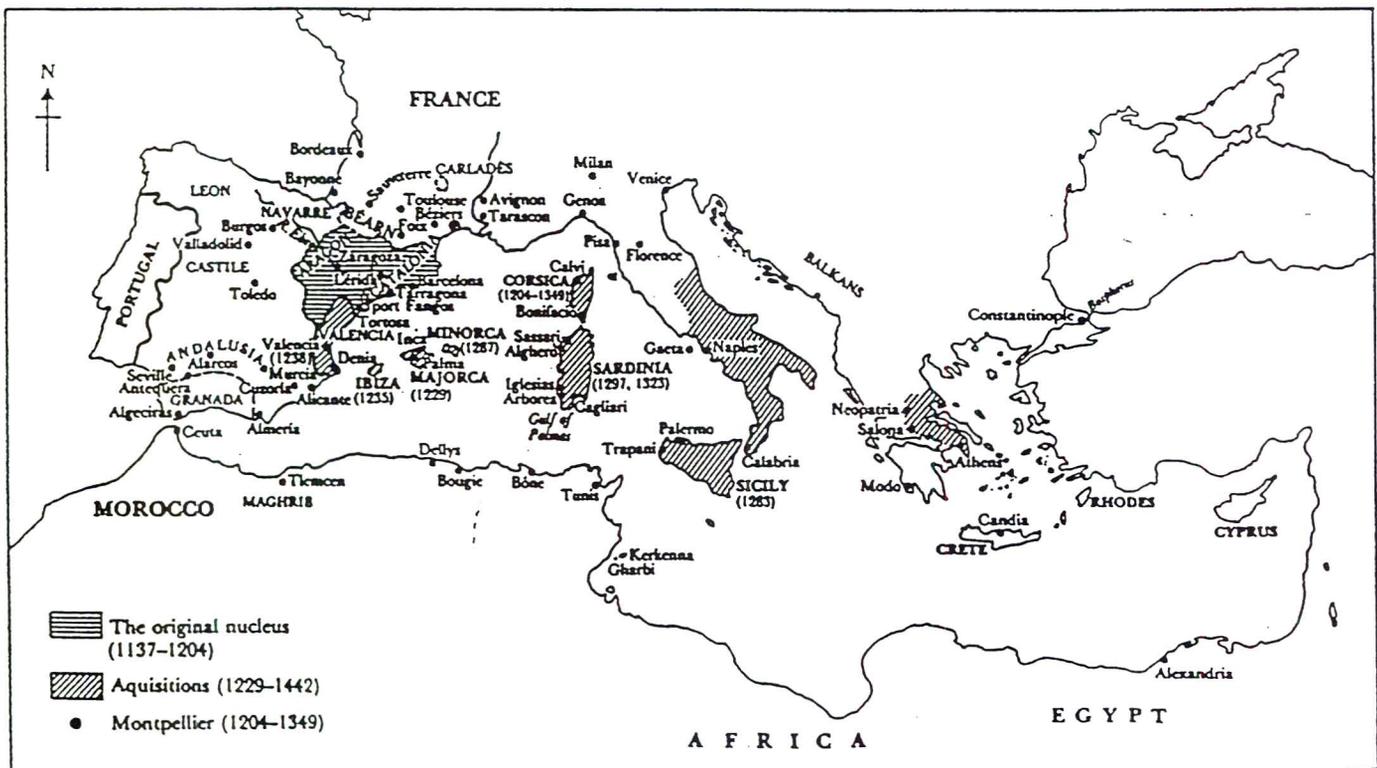
Great offense and sin against God was and is committed by giving the sacrament of baptism to heathen idolaters...without first teaching and examining them...that they know well what they receive, why, to what end... (HI bk 3: c 42; vol 2: 574).

CHRONOLOGY

HISTORY		LITERATURE	
1196-1227	Genghis Khan ruler of Mongols		
1204	IV crusade, Latins sack Constantinople		
1204-61	Baldwin I and II, Latin emperors of Byzantium	c. 1207	<i>Poem of the Cid</i> , Castilian epic
1211-15	Genghis Khan conquers China	1210	G. Villehardouin, <i>Conquête de Constantinople</i>
1212	Ibero-Christians defeat Almohads at Navas		
1212-50	Frederick II H. Rom. emperor, king of Sicily		
1213-76	James I the Conqueror king of Aragon		
1226-70	St. Louis IX king of France		
1229	James I reconquers Mallorca from Moors	1232-1316	Ramon Llull, Catalan "Apostle to Islam"
1230-52	St. Fernando III king of Castile-León	1232-42	<i>Guy of Warwick</i> , English crusader romance
1238	James I reconquers Valencia from Moors	1244-74	James I (Arag.), Catalan chronicle, <i>L. de feits</i>
1248	Fernando III reconquers Seville from Moors	1245	G. Piano-Carpini, <i>Historia Mongolorum</i>
1248-54	Louis IX's crusade in Egypt and Palestine	1248-95	translators' schools (Toledo, Seville, Murcia)
1252-84	Alfonso X the Wise king of Castile-León	1253	W. Rubruquis, <i>Missio ad Mongolos</i>
1258-82	Michael III Paleologus Gk. emperor of Byz.	1255-70	Alfonso X, <i>Siete partidas</i> (leg. summa, utopia)
1270	Louis IX's crusade and death in Tunisia	1265-1336	Ramon Muntaner, Catalan soldier-chronicler
1274	Council of Lyons (Latin-Greek reunification)	1270-75	Alfonso X, <i>Estoria de Espanna</i> (national hist.)
1276-91	Marco Polo travels in Mongol Asia	c. 1272	Ramon Llull, <i>Book of Gentile & Three Sages</i>
1281	Byz.-Arag. alliance against Venice-Anjou	c. 1275	Ramon Llull, <i>Book of the Order of Chivalry</i>
1281-1326	Osman I sultan, founder of Ottoman empire	1275-85	Alfonso X, <i>General estoria</i> (biblic.+world hist.)
1282-1328	Andronicus II emperor of Byzantium	1283-85	Ramon Llull, <i>Blanquerna</i> (missionary utopia)
1291-1327	James II king of Aragon	1283-88	B. Desclot, Catalan <i>Crònica</i>
1295-1320	Michael IX coruler of Byzantium		
1296-1337	Frederick III king of Sicily (Aragonese line)	1299	Marco Polo, <i>Livre de merveilles =Il Milione</i>
1300	Order of Templars dissolved		
1300-2	R. de Flor (exTemplar) & <i>almogavars</i> in Sicily		
1302-11	R. de Flor, Muntaner, <i>almogavars</i> in Greece		
1305	R. de Flor assassinated, Catalan Vengeance	1305	J. de Joinville, <i>Histoire de St. Louis</i>
1311-90	Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatria	c. 1308	G. Pachymeres, <i>De Andronico Paleologo</i>
1321-54	Byzantine civil wars	1325-28	Muntaner's Catalan <i>Crònica</i>
1323-24	James II of Aragon conquers Sardinia	1354-70	Ibn Battuta, <i>Voyages</i> (Africa and Asia)
1327-29	Byzantines, Serbs, Albanians attack Catalans	c. 1359	N. Gregoras, <i>Historia Byzantina</i>
1361	Turks conquer Adrianople	1375-82	Peter III (Arag.), B. Descoll, Catalan <i>Cròniques</i>
1402	Timurlane defeats Turks at Angora	c. 1400	<i>Jacob Xalabin</i> , Catalan novel (Turks + Byz.)
1404-94	Span. conquest of Canary Islands (guanches)		Ibn Khaldun, <i>Maqaddimah [Prol. to History]</i>
		1406	R. González Clavijo, <i>Embassy to Tamurlane</i>
1422	Turks besiege Constantinople	1413-68	Joanot Martorell, Catalan novelist
1443	Alfons V of Aragon conquers Naples	c. 1439	Martorell's <i>Guillem de Vâroic</i> (>TB cc 1-39)
1451	Alfons V's treaties with Muslim rulers	1454	P. Tafur, travel memoirs on Eastern Medit.
1453	Mehmet II captures Constantinople	1455-68	Martorell's <i>Tirant lo Blanc</i> (unfinished)
1479	Fernando and Isabel unite Aragon and Castile	1468-90	Martí Joan de Galba completes <i>Tirant</i>
1492	Fernando and Isabel reconquer Granada	1490	<i>Tirant</i> printed in Valencia (posthumously)
1492-1504	Columbus' four voyages to the Indies	1492-1506	Columbus' letters on discoveries in America
1521	Cortés conquers Aztec empire in México	1519-21	Cortés' letters on conquests in Mexico
1522-29	Suleiman II takes Rhodes, besieges Vienna	1527-61	Las Casas, <i>Historia de las Indias</i>
1531-34	Pizarro conquers Inca empire in Perú	1539	F. Vitoria, <i>Relecciones de Indis</i> (internat.law)
1542-43	New Laws of the Indies (Span. reforms)	1542-52	López de Gómara, <i>Hist. conquista de México</i>
1542-52	Span. & Port. Jesuits in Asia (F. Xavier)	1542-52	Las Casas, <i>Brevísima relación</i> (mis. polemic)
1545	Pizarro's followers rebel in Perú	1547	<i>Cancionero de romances</i> (frontier ballads)
1545	silver mines of Potosí (Bolivia)		
1545-64	Council of Trent (Catholic Reformation)	1557-58	<i>Viaje de Turquía</i> (Erasmist satirical voyage)
1550	Valladolid debate: Las Casas vs Sepúlveda	1558-83	F. Mendes Pinto, <i>Peregrinação</i> (Asian travels)
1565	Span. conquest of Philippines		
1568	Moriscos rebel in Alpujarra	1565	<i>Abencerraje</i> (Moorish tale) pub. in <i>Diana</i>
1571	Christian victory at Lepanto against Turks	1568	Díaz del Castillo, <i>Historia verdadera</i>
1571	Inquisition tribunal in New Spain	1572	Luís Vaz de Camões, <i>Os Lusíadas</i>
1580-1640	Portugal integrated into Span. crown	1599	M. Alemán, <i>Ozmín</i> (Moorish tale) in <i>Guzmán</i>
1607-1767	Jesuit missions [<i>reducciones</i>] in Paraguay	1601-19	G. Pérez de Hita, <i>Guerras civiles de Granada</i>
1609	conversion/expulsion of Moriscos (Aragón)	1608-9	Inca Garcilaso, <i>Comentarios reales de Incas</i>



The Reconquest



vii. The Mediterranean Crown of Aragon (1137-1479)

