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Women in Warfare:
Spanish Christian Soldiers as Rapists in Early
Modern *Romances*

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Abstract

The omnipresence of military conflict brings many hardships and dangers for women in Early Modern Europe. In the socio-historical reality of military skirmishes since time immemorial, the rape of the female (and male) occupants of conquered territory was as ubiquitous and as opportunistic an act as one could imagine by which to brutalize and demean the populace. I will analyze two romances—"Romance cuarto. De cómo don Rodrigo de Vivar mató á dos moros que forzaban una dama mora y la rescató" and "Soldados forzadores"—both of which describe the rape of women by Spanish Christian soldiers. While Spanish Christian soldiers might rape women from opposing factions as a way to demonstrate their dominance over that particular group, they might just as likely rape women from their own group if given the opportunity to do so.

"In war zones, women apparently always find themselves on the
frontline" (37).

—Ruth Seifert's "The Second Front:
The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars" (1996).

In Cervantes's *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Sancho Panza's beloved wife Teresa dictates a letter to her husband in which she describes the threat of rape to which women in her village are routinely subjected by marauding Spanish Christian soldiers:

Hogaño no hay aceitunas, ni se halla una gota de vinagre en todo este pueblo. *Por aquí pasó una compañía de soldados: lleváronse de camino tres mozas deste pueblo; no te quiero decir quién son: quizá volverán y no faltará quien las tome por mujeres, con sus tachas buenas o malas.* (2.52:1157, my emphasis)

Teresa's unemotional description of the kidnapping and inevitable rape of village girls, while perhaps demonstrating her lack of verbal sophistication, reveals a social reality: the omnipresence of military conflict results in the brutalization of the population by Spanish Christian soldiers. In fact, this act was so ubiquitous that Teresa's letter fails to register the appropriate level of indignation she would likely feel as a woman with a vulnerable young daughter of her own to protect without the support of her absent husband.¹

¹ For a more detailed study of this episode, along with three other episodes in which female characters are raped or threatened with rape, and a consideration of the correlation between the socio-economic status of the women in relation to their attackers, see my article "Quizá volverán ...' Four Incidents of Rape (or Threatened Rape) in *Don Quijote de la Mancha*," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 34.1 (Spring 2014): 121-40.

HISPANIC STUDIES

review

In the provocative study *Images of Rape. The "Heroic" Tradition and its Alternatives*, Diane Wolfthal dedicates a chapter—"The Children of Mars. Soldiers as Rapists"—to the concept of soldiers as rapists (60-98). Rape in wartime was believed to be motivated by female beauty as a catalyst for their abhorrent behavior or by the fact that women constituted a legitimate form of booty (97). Wolfthal describes a series of etchings by Jacques Callot titled *Large Miseries of War* (1633), in which Callot represents the criminal conduct of French soldiers rather than their heroism (92-96). Five of the total eighteen prints he created depict rape and other abuses, while "[avoiding] a narrowly nationalist viewpoint. Although the *Miseries* focus on the atrocities of war, the series fails to indicate in text or image any particular army as the one responsible for the crimes" (94). His etchings did more than merely represent these abuses; they indicted the perpetrators of these wartime abuses and offered punishments as a deterrent (95).

In the socio-historical reality of military skirmishes since time immemorial, the rape of the female and male (Trexler 53) occupants of conquered territory was as ubiquitous and as opportunistic an act as one could imagine² by which to brutalize and demean the populace. Historian I. A. A. Thompson comments in the book *War and Government in Habsburg Spain 1560-1620* on the danger that troops of Spanish Christian soldiers posed to the general civilian population:

The annual movement of forty or more companies [of soldiers] across Castile left in its wake a trail of destruction and rapine. An endless series of robberies, murders, *rapes*, malicious and wanton violence, jailbreaks, even pitched battles between soldiers and civilians repeated year after year stretched along all the most traversed routes of the kingdom. *The coming of a company of soldiers was awaited with the same trepidation as a hurricane. Those who could fled its path; those who could not were forced to abandon their trades to stay at home to protect their wives, their daughters, and their property.* (113, my emphasis)³

Despite the fact that wives and prostitutes accompanied most Spanish military units (Albi de la Cuesta 77-78), a strategy designed to provide an appropriate sexual outlet for the soldiers and, thereby, safeguard the welfare of local populations, especially the women, Harry Vélaz Quiñones documents the pervasive danger inherent in squadrons on the move in his study "'Templa, pequeño joven, templa el brío': Pretty Boys and Queer Soldiers in Miguel de Cervantes's *Numancia*": "In the towns along the *Camino español* (The Spanish Way), which led from Genoa through France to Flanders, fear of the *tercios*⁴ [infantry] was widespread. Aside from thieving and brawling, Spanish forces were known for perpetrating a fair share of sex crimes such as luring, abducting, and raping women" (252; my emphasis). Julio Albi de la Cuesta also exhaustively documents the notorious behaviors practiced by members of the Spanish military in his study *De Pavía a Rocroi: Los tercios de infantería española en los siglos XVI y XVII*, one of which is rape (165-66). Albi de la Cuesta also mentions the abduction and enslavement of women (326), precursors to their sexual assault, but apparently those acts were not considered criminal.

Spanish Christian soldiers naturally posed a palpable threat to non-Christian minority populations as well. In his 1613 account titled *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los*

² For research regarding the concept of martial rape, or rape as an element of warfare, its function and its social and psychology effects, see Susan Brownmiller, Claudia Card, Kathy L. Gaca and Elizabeth D. Heineman.

³ For a provocative overview of scholarly explanations to account for the practice of rape during wartime, see Ruth Seifert and Diane Wolfthal.

⁴ The term *tercio* refers to "Unidad de infantería formada por un número variable de banderas. En España se aplicó, en la segunda mitad del XVII, a una unidad de caballería superior a la compañía" (Albi de la Cuesta 386).

Moriscos de España, F. Marco de Guadalajara y Xavierr details the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain (1604-09). Despite the blatant anti-Islamic and anti-Morisco sentiment permeating the document, the author, acknowledging one of the stipulations of the expulsion orders that the Moriscos be permitted to emigrate in safety, describes an episode in which the behavior of Spanish Christian soldiers is less than exemplary.

Entrando los soldados en Roaya [November 20], executaron las libertades de la milicia, saqueando las casas, y *haciendo otros desafueros: por cuyo temor muchas mugeres se arrojaron con sus hijos en los braços por el rio Xucar [Jucar] y partes de los Moriscos se hizieron a monte, que dieron mucha molestia, y costó el darles caça.* (115, my emphasis)

While the episode only insinuates the rape of Morisca women by Spanish Christian soldiers (“*haciendo otros desafueros*”), the women are obviously terrified that such brutality will be enacted on them, and they risk the lives of their own children in their efforts to escape.⁵

The various *romances* I will analyze all share a common theme: the rape of women by Spanish Christian soldiers. While these soldiers might rape women from opposing factions as a way to demonstrate their dominance over that particular group, they might just as likely rape women from their own religious or cultural or group if given the opportunity to do so.

El Cid “remains the clear prototype of Christian Iberian feudal honor” (Burningham 21) and has been so since his literary representation appeared in the early eleventh century, a character “possessing such a keen sense of ethics that he would rather affront his natural sovereign than ignore possible injustice, accepting whatever consequences arise from his ethical stance with honorable resignation” (21). An integral part of the chivalric code is to protect the vulnerable and the weak. According to Colin Smith, “Lo que más pone de manifiesto las cualidades morales del Cid en el poema es, quizá, la frecuente presencia de los personajes femeninos. ... El Cid obtiene sus éxitos por sus cualidades morales; tiene un sentido de la justicia, la caridad, la lealtad e incluso del amor, como esposo y padre, ...” (81-82). Luis A. Acosta concurs with Smith’s assessment and notes that, “Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, el más universal de los héroes españoles, encarna el prototipo del caballero con las máximas virtudes, fuerte y leal, justo y valiente, prudente y templado, guerrero y culto” (34).

A little known sixteenth-century ballad from 1585 recounts an episode in which Rodrigo de Vivar—El Cid (1040?-1099)—rescues a woman, possibly a Muslim woman, who is on the verge of being gang-raped by four men, referred to as *caballeros* and who were knights or likely soldiers.⁶ This ballad is descriptively titled “Romance cuarto. De cómo don Rodrigo de Vivar mató á dos moros que forzaban una dama mora y la rescató” (1585). According to the manuscript date, the publication of this ballad dates from a time well after the time of el Cid (1044-1099) and after the 1502 expulsion of the Moors from Spain. The title serves to demonstrate the barbarity of the Muslims as represented from a Christian perspective, the Treacherous Moor often appearing in Western literature as a stock character (Burningham 11). As Edward W. Said notes in *Orientalism*, “the European representation of the Muslim, Ottoman, or Arab was always a way of controlling

5 In another account from 1612 titled *Relación de lo que passó en la expulsión de los moriscos del reyno de Valencia*, M.F. Damián Fonseca describes the brutal treatment the Moriscos suffered at the hands of those in whose countries they sought refuge. Upon the arrival of the Moriscos from Valencia in northern Africa—Berbería—, Muslim soldiers attacked them “como lobos á la presa, señoreau[b]anse de las mugeres,” raping the women, and robbing and killing the Moriscos (139).

6 Given that these men are not behaving in a noble or generous manner due to their attempted gang rape of the woman, the meaning of the term *caballero* as utilized here likely refers to its military etymology.

the redoubtable Orient” (Said 60).

The titular gloss identifies the woman and these potential rapists as Muslims, suggesting at least that the compiler sought to impose an opposing religious or ethnic identification to that of El Cid on the woman (*mora*) and her potential rapists (*moros*). Surprisingly, the poetic text itself provides no corroborating evidence whatsoever to account for the religious or ethnic identity of the woman, referred to as *dama*, or of her potential rapists, referring to them simply as knights (*caballeros*), thereby leaving open the possibility that they might actually be Christians.

If they are Muslims and the rape victim a Muslim herself, as evidenced by the title, the ballad demonstrates the inherently violent nature of these people. However, the fact that the lady is identified by the compiler as a Muslim makes her sexual assault less surprising when one considers the pervasive and irrational fear Christians had of Muslims and their sexual natures. Ample historical documentation exists to demonstrate the pervasiveness of military conflict between Muslim factions, and Maribel Fierro’s study “Violence Against Women in Andalusí Historical Sources (Third/Ninth-Seventh-Thirteenth Century)” details the resulting violence perpetrated against Muslim women who find themselves as the collateral damage of skirmishes between Muslims.

If they are all Christians, the ballad intuits the vicious nature of even these Christian men when presented with a vulnerable woman. Knights should uphold a chivalric code, but these do not and demonstrate great barbarity and cruelty.

Naturally, women’s sexual behavior was more closely and punitively regulated than that of men, and women often risked death for engaging in interreligious sexual relations, whether consensual or forced. On the other hand, Christian men in Christian-controlled territories could behave with impunity in their mistreatment of Muslim women. In Muslim-controlled territories, however, and whether the sexual intercourse was consensual or forced, Christian men risked execution by beheading or burning, and Muslim women risked drowning in a sack (Clissold “The Barbary Slaves” 44). However, the fact that the compiler identifies the lady as a Muslim makes her sexual assault less surprising when one considers the pervasive and irrational fear Christians had of Muslims and their sexual natures.

When Rodrigo first appears in this ballad, the sun and the moon both shine in the sky, indicating that it is likely early morning: “Cuando el rojo y claro Apolo / el hemisferio alumbraba, / y cuando su hermana bella / en el otro se mostraba, ...” The juxtaposition of these two celestial bodies signifies the inherent conflict between light and dark, good and evil, and the vulnerable woman and her would-be rapists. The titular gloss suggests that the conflict may also be between the Christian Rodrigo and the Muslim woman and her potential Muslim rapists, but, surprisingly, the poetic text does not corroborate that interpretation. It is unknown whether or not a sixteenth-century audience would have made that connection or not or if this ballad is part of a previously known topic. Rodrigo presents a dashing figure, and his mission is clear: “... ha salido de Castilla / y entra bravo en Lusitania,⁷ / solo á buscar un moro / quell fuerte Audalla se llama, ...” The name Audalla likely refers to the eleventh century king (amir) of Granada, Abd Allah (1073-1090), an Umayyad ruler and enemy of Sevilla’s King al-Mu’tamid, whom Rodrigo seeks⁸ to collect tribute due to King Alfonso (Barton 102), perhaps to fight against the ruling

7 Lusitania in this context refers to the areas encompassing the present-day regions of Extremadura and Portugal.

8 For historical information on ‘Abd Allah and his relationship to Rodrigo de Vivar, see Clissold (61-62, 87, 91, 99, 113-16). For another ballad about ‘Abd Allah, see “Romance del moro Abdalla” (44-45). For an autobiography, see *The Tiban. Memoirs of ‘Abd Allah b. Buluggin, last Zirid amir of Granada* (Leiden, 1986).

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

Almoravides.⁹ In fact, Rodrigo is so intent on carrying out his mission that it is his horse—not specifically identified as Babieca in this ballad—who first alerts him to the danger and who will not advance despite his rider’s spirited encouragement: “En medio de su camino / el caballo se paraba; / don Rodrigo de Vivar / de las espuelas le daba, / mas el caballo por eso / adelante no pasaba.” It is then that Rodrigo hears a disembodied voice belonging to a severely injured Muslim man, who exclaims, “¡Oh ingrata y cruel fortuna, / dí si estás de mí vengada, / pues me has quitado la vida / y con ella el bien del alma!” At the sight of this suffering and possibly mortally wounded man, Rodrigo is “movido de grande lástima, / apeóse del caballo; / mas aún bien no lo pensaba,” oblivious to his own personal safety. He then sees four knights (only referred to in the text as *caballeros*) who are trying to rape a woman (*dama*) who is at the point of succumbing. She only speaks once to beg for help and to identify herself and her affiliation to the very Muslim man Rodrigo seeks.

Vió estar cuatro caballeros,
y con ellos una dama
que dellos se defendía,
aunque ya cansada estaba,
y como vió á don Rodrigo,
á grandes voces le llama:
“Ayudéisme, caballero,
si cortesía en vos se halla,
yo soy Aja, sin ventura,
captiva del fuerte Audalla.”

According to the poetic text, Rodrigo injures¹⁰ two of these aggressors, while the other two escape, likely to survive and spread the tale of Rodrigo’s military prowess. It is unclear whether or not the woman was actually raped but she surely would have been if Rodrigo had not intervened. Once her attackers have escaped or are dead, she flees wordlessly into the woods, not even hesitating to express her appreciation to Rodrigo nor to proclaim her freedom: “Á la dama se volvia / por saber lo que pasaba, / mas la dama, temerosa, / no le responde palabra, / antes por el espesura / iba buscando á su Audalla; ...” Because the lady refrains from speaking, the omniscient poetic voice provides the details, telling the audience that she goes off in search of Audalla, who is perhaps the seriously injured man, the very man for whom Rodrigo is searching: Audalla (Abd Allah). Because she identifies herself as a captive (*captiva*), it is possible that she is non-Muslim.

Rodrigo demonstrates his characteristic chivalry: he is compassionate; unconcerned with his own personal safety; heroic as he rescues and protects a vulnerable woman; and humble. In fact, his humility does not allow him to succumb to braggadocio so he leaves the story of this exploit to the devices of the poetic voice to recount this act of heroism to the audience. El Cid does not care to do so as it is all in a proverbial day’s work: “... no curó el Cid de seguilla, / mas en Castilla se entraba, / y así hizo buena obra / á quien la pensó hacer mala.”

And yet in another ballad, el Cid recuperates his noble character and appears decidedly more chivalrous in his treatment of a defeated Moorish rival, Álvar Fañez, and this man’s daughters whom he vows he will not rape nor turn into whores, although that would have been what was expected, even from him.

⁹ When the Almoravides assumed control of Granada in September 1090, ‘Abd Allah went into exile in Morocco (Barton n. 90, 129).

¹⁰ According to the titular gloss, Rodrigo actually kills the two aggressors.

HISPANIC STUDIES

review

Porque les diga mi boca
toda la mi voluntad,
que non quiero sus haciendas,
nin se las he de tirar,
nin para mis barraganas
sus fijas he de tomar,
que yo non uso mujeres
sinon la mía natural, ... (“Mensajes que el Cid, dueño ya de Valencia, encomienda a Álvaro Fañez,” *Romancero del Cid* 132-33)

Interestingly enough, Stephen Clissold refers to other *romances* in which el Cid’s behavior is far less than gallant, ones in which he is tangentially involved in the abduction and rape of village women. In one, as a result of a military conflict with the Count of Gormaz (Jimena’s father), el Cid’s father’s (Diego Laínz) retaliates and “... [attacks] Gormaz and [captures] a number of the count’s vassals, including the women who have gone down to do their washing in the river” (“In Search of the Cid” 27-28). In another, Jimena confronts the king to seek justice after el Cid slays her father: “She complains that the Cid is glorying in his bloody deed, threatening to kill her page and rape her maids, and most ungallantly—for this was the treatment reserved for harlots—‘to cut off my skirts in a shameful place’” (29).

Enviéselo a decir,
envióme a amenazar
que me cortará mis haldas [faldas]
por vergonzoso lugar,
que forzará mis doncellas,
casadas y por casar, ... (“Romances de Jimena Gómez pidiendo justicia contra Rodrigo,” *Romancero del Cid* 21-22)

Muslim historical sources concur with allegations of El Cid’s brutality and also document his careless treatment of Muslim women and children who, upon being forced to leave Valencia, “fell into the hands of the blacks (al-sudan), the muleteers and the low-class traders, who abused them without the (Almoravid) general being able to prevent this vile behavior” (Lourie 191-2). Other Muslims who had aligned themselves with him also committed heinous acts, including rape, castration and sexual mutilation.

Durante ese período se unieron al Campeador, a otros [jefes cristianos], musulmanes malvados, viles, perversos y corrompidos, ... violaban los harenes, mataban a los hombres y hacían cautivos a mujeres y niños. ... Un grupo de ellos, que se había unido a Alvar Fañez, maldígale Dios, así como a ellos, cortaba los miembros viriles a los hombres y las partes pudendas a las mujeres. (Ibn Al-Kardabūs 128-29)

While El Cid’s proclivity to engage in similar behaviors may or may not elevate his heroic condition, naturally depending upon whom he is brutalizing—Christians or Muslims—, it does elevate his humanity, as Smith notes, thereby rendering him more human but not necessarily more humane (19).

The indiscriminate violence of Spanish Christian soldiers and the vulnerability of civilian women are also demonstrated in a series of *romances*, all of which appear to be variations of a similar ballad. Interestingly enough, despite the fact that the *romances* are of Judeo-Hispanic origin, there is no indication that the sexual violence is interreligious. The women are not marked

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

as Jews in any way, and the sexual violence is not interreligious. In one titled “Los soldados forzadores,” the poetic voice recounts an episode in which a soldier rapes a young village girl, identified as Catholic. While quartered in the town square of a village, several members of a squadron of soldiers, perhaps out of boredom, seek sexual release with very young, possibly pre-pubescent girls, referred to as *mocitas* and as *niñas*. While the rape is only alluded to in the text of the poem, the title reveals the brutality of the crime.

In the *Diccionario de las Autoridades*, the verb *forzar* signifies “poseer sexualmente a alguien contra su voluntad.” While historian Renato Barahona’s *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain: Vizcaya, 1528-1735* documents myriad terms to refer to various types of punishable sexual acts (41-58), the verb *forzar* is defined as “coerced or forcible sex” (54), and he recounts that nearly one third of all lawsuits utilized the word *fuerza* or a related term (62) to refer to rape. Therefore, the title of the *romance*—“Los soldados forzadores”—leaves no doubt as to the type of sex crime that occurs.

The poetic voice hints that there are far too many soldiers in the village: “que en la plaza no cabían,” a portent of the trouble that is to come. Soldiers, while on rounds, catch sight of three young girls, returning from Mass and dressed individually in green, red and white. While the colors green and red evoke sexuality, white emphasizes the innocence, sexual purity and vulnerability of the youngest. The *sargento* offers to procure the girl dressed in white as a sexual partner for his superior officer, the *alférez*, and the *sargento* alleges to have been in a sexual relationship with her for seven years: “Siete años haze, siete, / que la tengo por amiga.”¹¹ This statement insinuates her promiscuity and likely compliance with any request for sexual favors. At midnight he goes to her home to retrieve her, treating her as if she were a commodity ready for consumption. Her mother, already awake and holding vigil (“que velaba y non dormía”), is well aware of the dangers posed by a troop of bored soldiers. The absence of a male family member, whose responsibility it would have been to protect the wellbeing of the women in his household, is obvious and renders the women all the more vulnerable. When the soldier tells the mother that he has come to retrieve her daughter, after initially knocking gently on the door with *golpesitos* perhaps so as not to draw attention, she lies by telling him that her daughter is not at home. He uses his knife, an obvious phallic symbol, to break down the door and forces his way into the house. He finds the girl sleeping and undressed—highly vulnerable—and covers her with his cape—symbolically taking possession of her. As he carries her from the house, her mother reminds her to protect her honor, and she responds: “—Yo la guardaré, mi madre, / aunque me cueste la vida.” As the *sargento* carries her off to the countryside, he then decides to rape her himself rather than save her for his superior officer: “Siete lenguas han andado / y nada no le dezía; / a la entrada de las ocho / de amores la detenía.” The young girl tries to defend herself by appealing to his sense of decency and even goes so far as to suggest other methods by which he may successfully seduce her: “—Tate, tate, tú, sargento, / no tengas tal hombracia / de traer niña a los campos / y tratá gala y cortesía.” He has no patience for her attempts to postpone the inevitable sexual assault, and, in a scene reminiscent of the mythological antecedent of Ovid’s legend of Philomela and Procne, (in which Procne’s husband Tereus rapes her sister Philomela and cuts her tongue out to prevent her from denouncing him), the sergeant takes out his knife and amputates the young girl’s tongue so that she cannot speak and cannot denounce him. Then, with the dripping blood from her severed tongue, the young girl writes a letter to her mother in which

¹¹ According to Julio Albi de la Cuesta, the term *sargento* refers to “Tercer mando de una compañía. En España tuvo consideración de oficial, no de suboficial, hasta el XVIII” (386). *Alférez* refers to the “Segundo oficial de la compañía de infantería. Lleva la bandera en combate, desfiles y demás ocasiones solemnes” (383).

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

she reveals her impending death: “Sacó navajilla aguda, / la lengua le cortarí; / con el fervor de la sangre / una carta escribiría: / —Toméis, mi madre, esta carta, / que tu hija ya moría.”

In another version of the ballad in which a sergeant retrieves the girl for a captain (not an *alférez*), the poetic voice presents an extended ending and a denouement, which casts an even more moralizing tone to the event.

[...]
—Tate, tate, tú, sargento,
no tengas esta lozanía [vigor].
Saca navajita aguda,
la lengua le cortarí,
y el hombre que tal prenda pierde,
¿qué castigo merecía?
—El castigo que merezco
yo mismo me lo daría:
que me aten pies y manos
y me arrastren por la vía. (332-33)

As the sergeant transports her to his superior officer, he becomes inflamed with desire and tries to have sexual relations with her himself. She rejects his advances, and he responds violently by amputating her tongue. However, in this extended version, at the question posed by the poetic voice (“¿qué castigo merecía?”), the sergeant appears to suffer remorse and remarks that he deserves torture and likely death.

In the Portuguese versions of these same romances, titled “Dona Anna” (two versions) and “O Alferes Matador,” (another version of “Dona Anna”), the emphasis shifts to the rape victim’s mother and her interaction with the soldier who has come to her home to abduct her daughter, whom he saw through a window. The words of Dona Anna suggest a future act of vengeance in one version: “Justiça do céu, valei-me / Que na terra não a havia, / P’ra matar o cavaleiro / Que matara a minha filha.” The poetic voice reiterates the same sentiment expressed by the mother in the version “O Alferes Matador”: “Antes a quero ver morta / Que a sua honra perdida; / Justiça venha do céu, / Que na terra não a havia, / E caia sobre um Alferes, / Matador de minha filha.”

War and military conflict create a social instability that threatens the welfare of all women regardless of ethnicity or social position. As evidenced by these *romances* analyzed in this study, the sexual abuse of women by Spanish Christian soldiers was an act not reserved exclusively for ethnic minorities, as even Spanish Christian women were potential victims. Due to the propagandistic political nature of many *romances*, they usually demonstrate conflict between soldiers and civilians pertaining to different religious or cultural groups, such as, for example, Ottoman Turkish soldiers and Spanish Christian captives. In the works considered in this study, however, the antagonists are Spanish Christian soldiers and their victims are members of the same religious and cultural groups. Kathy L. Gaca notes that “the violent subjugation of women and girls through sexual assault and torment has been an integral and important part of Western warfare over the two millennia from the Bronze Age to late antiquity” (86-87). Spanish Christian soldiers, as exemplified by such illustrious historical figures as El Cid, were expected to behave with a modicum of decorum and chivalry. However, as evidenced by these literary representations and by early modern socio-historical reality, they often behaved with depraved indifference to the suffering of citizens who crossed their paths. The rape of women and men as well was often justified as part and parcel of the spoils of war, their bodies serving as the metaphorical exten-

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

sion of conquered territory and their torment surpassing all socio-economic and socio-cultural borders.

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Appendix

SOLDADOS FORZADORES #1

Allá en la plaza Mayor hazen gran Capitanía;
cuántos son de los soldados
que en la plaza no cabían.
Dijo el sargento al alférez:
—Vamos a rondá en la vía.
—Rondáisla, señor sargento,
que yo rondada la tenía.
A la subida de un monte,
a la bajá de una espía
vieron venir tres mocitas
que de la Misa salían;
la una, vestida en verde;
la otra, en grana [rojo] fina,
y la más chiquita de ellas,
en blanco viene vestida.
Dijo el sargento al alférez:
—¿Cuál de ellas es la más linda:
—La de lo blanco, mi señor,
que a mis ojos se venía.
—A querer, señor sargento,
yo te la procuraría.
—Mercedes, dijo, mercedes,
en ella y su compañía.
Siete años haze, siete,
que la tengo por amiga.
A eso de la media noche,
el sargento va por la niña,
golpesitos dio a la puerta,
nadie y le respondía
si non era la su madre
que velaba y non dormía.
—¿Quién es ése o cuál es ése
que a mi puerta combatía?
—El sargento soy, mi señora,
que vengo hoy por vuestra hija.
—No está aquí, señor sargento;
duerme en caza [casa] de su tía.
Con el puñal que traíba [traía]
la puerta levantaría
encontró a la niña durmiendo,
desnudita y en camisa;
se quitó capa de encima
y a la niña cubriría;

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

la salida a la puerta
a su madre encargaría:
—Guarda la honra, mi hija,
más es tuya que no mía.
—Yo la guardaré, mi madre,
aunque me cueste la vida.
Siete lenguas han andado
y nada no le decía;
a la entrada de las ocho
de amores la detenía.
—Tate, tate, tú, sargento,
no tengas tal hombracía
de traer niña a los campos
y tratá gala y cortesía.
Sacó navajilla aguda,
la lengua le cortarí;
con el fervor de la sangre
una carta escribiría:
—Toméis, mi madre, esta carta,
que tu hija ya moría. (T 144: 330-31)

SOLDADOS FORZADORES #2

Allá en la plaza de Argel
hacen gran capitanía;
tantos son los soldados
que en la plaza no cabían.
Dijo el sargento al alférez:
—Vamos a rondar la villa.
—Rondadla, mis caballeros;
yo rondada la tenía.
Y a la subida del monte,
y a la bajada una esquina
vieron venir tres mocitas
que de la Misa venían;
la una vestida en verde;
la otra en grana fina
y la más chiquita d ellas
de blanco iba vestida.
Dijo el capitán¹² al sargento:
—¿Cuál de ellas es la más linda?
—La de blanco, sargento,
que a mis ojos parecía.
[—]Siete años hace, siete,
que la tengo por amiga.

¹² *Capitán* refers to the “Jefe de una compañía” (Albi de la Cuesta 384). In addition, *Capitán barrachel* or *capitán de campana* refers to an “oficial con funciones similares a la moderna policía militar” (384).

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

Y a eso de la media noche
el sargento fue por la niña;
golpecitos dio a la puerta,
nadie la respondía,
sino era la su madre
que velaba y non dormía:
—¿Cuál es ése o quién es ése
que a mi puerta combatía?
—Sargento soy, mi señora,
que vengo yo por la niña.
—No está aquí, señor sargento,
que fue a casa de su tía
que tiene Pascual Florida.
Con puñal que ha traído
la puerta desquiciaría,
y encontró a la niña echada,
desnudita y en camisa
—Espere, señor sargento,
le pondré la su sayita.
—La capa traigo yo larga;
con ella la cubriría.
A la salida de la puerta
tres palabras le decía:
—Guarda tu honra, mi hija;
más es tuya que no mía.
—Yo la guardaré, mi madre,
y aunque me cueste la vida.
Tres pasos había dado
y nada no le decía
y a la entrada de los cuatro,
de amores le requería:
—Tate, tate, tú, sargento,
no tengas esta lozanía [vigor].
Saca navajita aguda,
la lengua le cortaría,
y el hombre que tal prenda pierde,
¿qué castigo merecía?
—El castigo que merezco
yo mismo me lo daría:
que me aten pies y manos
y me arrastren por la vía. (T. 145: 332-33)

Romances de Tetuán. Cancionero judío del norte de Marruecos. (Vol. I) Trans. Arcadio de Larrea Palacín. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas: Instituto de estudios africanos (I. D. E. A.), 1952. 330-31; 332-33. Print.

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

DONA ANNA

N'aquella villa viçosa
Entrou a cavallaria;
Foi por uma rua abaixo,
E virou por outra acima.
Viu estar n'uma janella
Duas meninas mui lindas;
Disse o tenente p'r'o alferes:

—Qual d'ellas é a mais linda?
“Oh aquella de azul claro
Essa é uma maravilha,
Heide lá entrar á noite,
Antes que me custe a vida.
Com vinte e cinco soldados
Foi p'ra sua companhia;
E á meia noite em ponto
O tenente á porta batia.

—Oh ¡Quem bate á minha porta,
Olhe que ida não é de dia.
“Não é comsigo, Dona Anna,
Mas é com a sua filha.
—Minha filma não está cá,
Foi a dormir com a tia.

Entrou pela porta a dentro
Sem nenhuma cortesia,
Sete salas descobriram
Sem acharem a menina;
Chegaram ao aposento
Onde ella estava dormindo.
Levanta-se a mãe da cama
A dar conselhos á filha:

—Oh,! filha, faz pela honra,
Que eu tambem fiz pela minha.

A desgraçada Dona Anna
Em lágrimas le dizia:

“Honre as barbas de meu pae,
Que a minha já vae perdida.

A' saída do palacio
O tenente le procurara:

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

—Lá em casa de seus pães
Como ella se chamava?
“Em casa de meus pães
Chamava-se-me fidalga;
Agora por estes mundos
Serei infeliz desgraçada.

Indo lá mais adiante
O tenente le procurara:

—Em a casa de seus pães
Como ella era tratada?
“Em a casa de meus pães
Comia galinha assada;
Agora por estes mundos
Comerei sardinha salgada.

Indo lá mais adiante
O tenente a acommettia;
Ella como discreta
Respondeu que não queria,
Puchou por um punhal de oiro,
Que o cavaleiro trazia,
Meteu-lo por um lado
E a coração le sahia!
Pregou n’ella em seus braços
E a sua mãe levou a filha:
E assim falou á Dona Anna
Para mais tyrania,

—Oh Dona Anna! Oh Dona Anna,
Eis aqui a tua filha!
Honrada e virtuosa
Mui bem le custou a vida.
“Justiça do céu, valei-me
Que na terra não a havia,
P’ra matar o cavaleiro
Que matara a minha filha. (590-92)

DONA ANNA

—Companheiro, companheiro,
Vês aquellas raparigas?
A do vestido azul,
Aquella de azul vestida,
Heide tiral-a de casa,

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

Inda me custe a vida.

Era meia noite em ponto
A' porta de Dona Anna batia:

—Dona Anna, abre-me a porta,
Dá-me cá a tua filha.
“Minha filha não está cá,
Foi dormir com a sua tia.

Entrou pela porta dentro,
Não lhe guardou cortesia.
Deu volta a toda a casa,
Encontral-a não podia.
Aonde foi dar com ela?
Foi al quarto d'o cozia.
“Levanta-te da costura,
Arranja-te, filha minha,
Quem vae p'ra fora da terra
Deve ir asseadinha.

Lá no meio do caminho
De amores a acommettia;
Ella como vergonhosa
Disse-lhe que o não queria.
Puchou pelo seu alfange,
Logo ali a degolou;
Agarrou n'ella em seus braços,
A' casa da mãe a levou:

—Dona Anna, abre-me a porta,
Aqui tens a tua filha,
Honrada e virtuosa,
Mas assim lhe custou a vida. (592-93)

O ALFERES MATADOR (Version of Dona Anna)

—Indo eu por quelha abaixo,
Topando por quelha acima,
Olhei para uma janela
Donde vi 'star tres donzilhas.

Aquella de azul claro
E' linda em demasia,
Tenho de a ir buscar
Inda que me custe a vida.

HISPANIC STUDIES

r e v i e w

As dez horas eram dadas,
E ele á porta batia.

“Qem bate á minha porta,
Deshoras á porta minha?
—E’ um grande avalleiro
Que vem buscar sua filha.
“Minha filha não ‘stá em casa,
Foi para a de sua tia,
Que a mandou cá buscar
Para uma função que havia.

Deitou os hombros á porta,
Não uzou mais cortesia;
Entro pela casa dentro
Com toda a sua ousadia,
E foi direito a um quarto
Aonde a filha dormia.

“Oh filha, faz pela honra,
Antes que te custe a vida;
Honra as barbas a teu pae,
Que brancas na cara as tinha.

Pegou-lhe pelos cabelos,
Foi-a arrastar pela villa,
E depois de a ver morta
A sua mãe a trazia:

—Aqui tendes, oh D. Anna,
Oh Dona Anna, vossa filha,
Honrada e virtuosa,
Mas porém custou-lhe a vida.
“Antes a quero ver morta
Que a sua honra perdida;
Justiça venha do céu,
Que na terra não a havia,
E caia sobre um Alferes,
Matador de minha filha. (594-96)

Braga, Teófilo, ed. *Romanceiro geral português*. (Vol. I). Lisboa (Lisbon): Vega, 1982. 590-92, 592-93, 594-96. Print.