

“VARIOUS ARE THE OUTCOMES OF WAR”: THE *CHRONICON* OF SAMPIRO IN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a complete English translation of the Chronicle of Sampiro with a brief commentary, as well a historical overview of Spain, beginning with the foundation of León as Legio under the Roman Republic. The introduction analyzes major historical events that took place in the Iberian Peninsula, especially those in the late ninth, tenth, and early eleventh century. It includes a brief history of the city of León, Spain from its foundation, the influences upon it of the Romans, Moors, and Visigoths, the transition of the Asturian monarchy into the Kingdom of León, and the chronicle of Sampiro and his intent. The second part of the thesis provides the first-ever English translation and commentary of Sampiro’s chronicle from its earliest version available in an eleventh-century Medieval Latin chronicle that had been mistitled as the *Historia Silense*. Its proper name is the *Historia Legionense*.

David Rohrbacher

Humanities

Introduction

León's Cathedral looms over me as I read the words *gratia plena*.

It is August of 2017 and the city's *Casco Antiguo* made me feel like I stepped into a different era. The ground is all cobbled, the city's hospital is housed in a building made out of giant stones, and the cathedral can be seen from almost any point in the area. The city center is surrounded by a *muralla*, which I later learn has been around since the first century BC. I continue to stare at the Virgin Mary and recognize stark color differences in the cathedral's bricks—pale yellows and ivory whites show signs of restoration. I was fascinated by the juxtaposition of the two colors and I could not look away. I finally understood what it meant to say when cathedrals stretch to the heavens.

At this point, I knew I would find a thesis topic that was about León. During my year abroad, I learned about ancient and medieval chronicles at the Universidad de León and had the chance to read some codices and documents in the cathedral's archive. I sought to merge my studies in Classics and Spanish language by researching a chronicle that had little scholarship available in English. I found out about the *Historia Legionense* when I visited the Pantheon of the Kings in the Basilica of San Isidoro. The Chronicle of Sampiro, a section in the work, had yet to have an English translation. Thus, I took on the project intending to do a closer analysis of the writer's purpose.

This thesis is divided into three parts. In the Introduction, I provide the history of Spain from the arrival of the Romans in León, to the Umayyad conquest of Hispania and the emergence of the Kingdom of Asturias. The second part of the introduction

introduces the *Historia Legionense* and the other ways in which the Chronicle of Sampiro survives. Next, I explore Sampiro's intention for writing the chronicle in general: Why did he tersely detail the lives of some kings and for others dedicate more time to describe their reign? What made the chronicle Christian, and what did he think about the Arabs? What consistencies did he present and what themes did that highlight? Translating Sampiro's chronicle to English helped guide these questions. These questions are examined into two sections.

The first section addresses Sampiro's presentation of what makes a strong leader in a Christian kingdom. Alfonso III's accomplishments as king are repeated and detailed, and suggests that he is the model of an "ideal ruler." It moves on to discuss Ramiro II as another example of that "ideal ruler." The two kings possess similarities, but the differences in how Sampiro makes Alfonso the model are noted and examined. Alfonso provides direction into the real essence of leadership, and Sampiro demonstrates Ramiro following that lead.

The second section highlights the battles that took place between the Christians and the Arabs, and how religion influences politics. Historical investigation about the Arabs in other Christian chronicles provide background about Sampiro's chronicle. God's constant presence alongside the kings provides insight into Sampiro's motive for writing the work. Holy Scripture is also used for contextual understanding.

The conclusion revisits key points from the two sections for a final analysis about the implications the chronicle made for the Christians and how Sampiro achieved his purpose.

The third part of the thesis is a complete translation of Sampiro's chronicle in English with the original Latin text following the translation. The English translation is accompanied by historical commentary, as well as some clarifying information about places and people.

Legio: From the Romans to the Kingdom of León

Before the kingdom of Legio existed, the Roman Empire ruled the northwestern part of the Iberian Peninsula. As the largest peninsula in Europe, it provided passage, contact, and confrontation with several other distinct areas such as the Mediterranean, Africa, and the rest of Europe.¹ Legio or León's existence goes back to 29 BC, during the reign of emperor Augustus. Augustus placed the VI *Victrix* legion in Hispania and brought the whole Iberian Peninsula under Roman rule.² In 19 BC, Augustus Romanized the Iberian peninsula and divided it into three provinces: Tarraconensis, Baetica, and Lusitania. The peninsula's economy expanded under the Romans, and by the first century AD, all of its inhabitants were considered full Romans.³ Economy, society, and politics developed during the first and second century AD in Hispania. In 68 AD, the general Galba brought the legion in Legio under his rule under the name *Legio VII Gemina*, or the Twins' Seventh legion, and led a rebellion against the Emperor Nero. Galba

¹ Simon Keay, *Roman Spain*, (United States: Univ. of California Press, 1988), 8-9.

² Manuel Abilio Rabanal Alonso et al., 1999 "Prehistoria, Edad Antigua," in *La Historia De León* vol. 1, ed. by Manuel Abilio Rabanal Alonso (Spain: Universidad de León), 133 & 189.

³ Eric Solsten and Sandra W. Meditz, *Spain: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1990), 6.

successfully seized the throne after Nero's suicide and declared himself the new emperor of Rome.⁴ Christianity was also introduced in the first century and by the second century, it became a popular religion within its cities, but it underwent persecution and would not get acknowledged by the empire until the fourth century.⁵ Towards the end of the first century and early second century AD, infrastructure improved with the Segovia aqueduct and later, the Alcántara bridge.

Third-century sources indicate a crisis in the empire where Romans persecuted Christians, invasions took place, economic difficulty increased, and a transformation in the monarchy brought uncertainty for its future.⁶ By the fourth century, the Emperors Maximian and Diocletian had to distribute their power: disagreements about how to handle a growing Christian population caused conflict, and the empire struggled to govern all its provinces from the city of Rome. The empire had stretched from the Iberian Peninsula to Asia Minor, so Diocletian divided its responsibilities that transformed the empire into a tetrarchy. Diocletian then instigated Christian persecution, but that changed under emperor Constantine, who in the Edict of Milan came to an agreement with emperor Licinius that allowed Christians to meet in the church and returned their confiscated property. Constantine then converted to Christianity, setting the stage for the religion's official establishment in the empire. Later in the fourth century, Roman Christian bishops converted the Visigoths, who were viewed by Romans as barbarians because their non-Greco-Roman language sounded to them like a babble.

⁴ Rabanal Alonso et al., "Prehistoria, Edad Antigua," 192.

⁵ Solsten and Meditz, *Spain: A Country Study*, 6.

⁶ Géza Alföldy, "The Crisis of the Third Century as Seen by Contemporaries" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15, (1974): 89–111.

The Romans used the Romanized Visigoths to their advantage. Emperor Honorius sent his half-sister Galla Placidia and her husband Ataulf, a Romanized Visigoth, to restore Hispania from Visigoth rule to Roman rule. Ataulf managed to expel the Vandals from Andalusia to North Africa, and he subdued the Suevi in the northwestern area. The Visigoths eventually rose to high ranks in the empire. In the sixth century, Roman power collapsed in the West, and the Visigoths became an independent state.

The Visigothic kings of Hispania saw themselves as the rightful heirs of Rome. They were Romanized in religion and adopted its insignia and symbols of authority. They never viewed themselves as destroyers, but rather as successors of the empire.⁷ In the Visigothic kingdom, Catholicism and Arianism did not at first achieve peaceful coexistence, and this divide became more defined during the reign of Leovigild in the sixth century. At the Third Council of Toledo, the Visigoths officially converted from their traditional Arian form to Catholicism. In this council, the Visigothic king Reccarred pushed for religious unity through Catholicism to achieve a stronger, more centralized kingdom. Although religion united the kingdom, it only brought them temporary success.⁸ The Visigoths had a poorly designed hereditary system: every time a dynasty ended or a king was overthrown, office-holders and supporters of the previous reign would be called into question.⁹ Their weak system eventually allowed foreign rivals to intercede. The

⁷ Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, vol. 1, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 6.

⁸ David Nirenberg, "The Visigothic Conversion to Catholicism," in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, ed. O. R. Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 12-20.

⁹ Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 112-113.

dismantlement of their kingdom came with the entrance of Al-Andalus, otherwise known as the Moors, to Spain.

Al-Andalus established itself in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula under the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus. These people first invaded Gibraltar in 711 and the following year, Musa ibn Nusair, the Muslim governor of North Africa, stayed and subdued the northern regions of the Iberian Peninsula. North African Berbers made up twenty percent of Al-Andalus occupied territory. The Berbers were recent converts to Islam, and soon enough, Visigoth nobility was also converting. In 756, Damascus was overthrown by the Abbasids, but prince ‘Abd al-Rahman I fled to the peninsula to create an independent emirate, or kingdom, under the Umayyad dynasty that would exist for 250 years.¹⁰ Attempts were made by the Abbasids to bring Al-Andalus under their rule, but failed. Al-‘Ala’ ibn Mughit was one Abbasid appointed governor sent in 763 who sought to bring the emirate under Abbasid rule. Instead of immediately facing Al-‘Ala’ ibn Mughit, ‘Abd al-Rahman I sat out their siege in a fortress town of Carmona. When Al- ‘Ala’ and other opponents were unprepared, ‘Abd al-Rahman led a surprise attack on their armies and killed their rulers. Since ‘Abd al-Rahman was an Umayyad, he secretly sent decapitated heads from these battles to Kairouan as a warning for any other potential Abbasid invaders.¹¹

In 929, the emirate rose in rank to become the Caliphate of Córdoba under Abd al-Rahman III and established its political sovereignty under the Umayyad dynasty. Ibn

¹⁰ Solsten and Meditz, *Spain: A Country Study*, 8-10.

¹¹ Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain*, (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 135-136.

Abi Amir, otherwise known as Almanzor, moved from regent to dictator and preached jihad, or holy war, that soon tore the Caliphate of Córdoba apart. *Taifas*, or independent regional city-states, formed from rivals seeking to usurp Almanzor's throne.¹² Still, Almanzor led successful campaigns in the northern region of the Iberian Peninsula, and the chronicle of Sampiro discusses how he invaded these cities and would destroy several kingdoms, including the kingdom of Legio.

At the same time that Al-Andalus entered the Iberian Peninsula, in the northwestern region, *Regnum Asturorum*, or the Kingdom of the Asturias, emerged. Islamic Spain never fully encompassed this area, which allowed the Asturian monarchy to develop. King Pelagius founded the kingdom and ruled from 718 to 737.¹³ Pelagius' successful revolt against the Arab governors of León established his reign and the Asturian kingdom.¹⁴

Pelagius made Asturias a "haven for refugees from the Islamic South," during the Umayyad dynasty.¹⁵ The Asturian monarchy prospered, even when Abd al-Rahman I seized Córdoba in 756. It took him over twenty years to reach beyond the Ebro valley in the Northeast. Eventually, in the last decade of the eighth century, serious military conflict ensued between the Asturian kingdom and the Umayyad caliphate.

¹² Solsten and Meditz, *Spain: A Country Study*, 9-10.

¹³ It is not certain when king Pelagius started ruling; it may have been as late as 722. For more, see Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Orígenes de la nación española: el Reino de Asturias*, (Madrid: Sarpe, 1985), 101-108.

¹⁴ This also could have been in Gijón. See Roger Collins, ed., "Spain: the Northern Kingdoms and the Basques, 711-910," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 272-6.

¹⁵ Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 26.

In the reign of Alfonso II the Chaste in 791-842, Asturias faced conflict. In 833, Abd al-Rahman II sought refuge with Alfonso II, and within seven years, he attempted to create his own independent regional base. This betrayal led to Abd al-Rahman's death and the base's destruction in 840. Alfonso II established Asturias' capital, Oviedo, and constructed churches and palaces in the city.¹⁶

The Asturian kingdom endured its worst conflict during the reign of King Ramiro I, the grandfather of Alfonso III. The kingdom confronted their first Viking attack in 844 by a Danish fleet in the Bay of Biscay. Two years later, León was sacked by a Cordoban army. These events and further internal and external difficulties marked this period's defensive stance. King Ramiro faced revolts from his nobility and was even deposed from his throne for a couple of years by a ruler named Nepotian. It was not until his son, King Ordoño I, took the throne that the kingdom had a better opportunity for territorial expansion.¹⁷

King Ordoño I led a rebellion with the Toledans against the ruler of Córdoba, Muhammad I. While Muhammad I won, the city of Toledo continued to revolt, keeping the Islamic ruler occupied, thus allowing this little northern kingdom to grow undisturbed. Ordoño made his way up the Ebro valley and fought Musa ibn Musa, who had recently gained control of Tudela and Zaragoza, and destroyed the fortress he was

¹⁶ Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, *The biographical dictionary of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, Volume 2, Part 1*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842), 50.

¹⁷ Collins, "Spain: the Northern Kingdoms and the Basques," 281-2.

building in Albelda de Iregua, south of Logroño, Spain.¹⁸ This broke Musa's power, and his son Lubb had to submit to Ordoño's authority.¹⁹ This victory was short lived, but his son Alfonso III would re-establish Christian control over the northern part of the Meseta and Duero Valley.

The Chronicle of Sampiro and the *Historia Legionense*

Alfonso III territorial expansion marks a pivotal moment for the northwestern region of the peninsula.²⁰ The details about this progress he achieved do not come from the chronicle that bears his name, the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. Instead, two medieval Latin chronicles provide the details about this conquest: the *Chronicle of Albelda* and the *Chronicle of Sampiro*.

The *Chronicle of Albelda* focuses on the period of 866-883. The anonymous writer of this chronicle is a key witness of the reign of Alfonso III, and the details he records are validated by documents from that time.²¹ The *Albeldense* provided that in 899, Alfonso had Bishop Theodemir of Iria Flavia replace the church of the apostle James with a more substantial basilica. Arab sources record that during the second half of his reign, the Asturian kingdom was relatively peaceful. In 910, his son Garisanus deposed him, and Alfonso seems to have died soon after.

¹⁸ This battle is known as the Battle of Albelda, or Monte Laturce. See Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 9: 94–139, reprinted in *Orígenes de la nación española, III* (Oviedo: Instituto de Historia de España 1975), 281–311.

¹⁹ Collins, "Spain: the Northern Kingdoms and the Basques," 283.

²⁰ Also, sometimes goes by Alfonso the Great.

²¹ Armando Cotarelo Valledor, *Alfonso III el Magno: último rey de Oviedo y primero de Galicia* (Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1991), 14-16.

The Chronicle of Sampiro also discusses the reign of Alfonso III and narrates the lives of twelve other kings in the kingdom of Asturias and the kingdom of León. This eleventh-century chronicle begins with events from 866 and ends with Alfonso V rising to the throne around the year 999. Unfortunately, the original manuscript of the *Chronicon* of Sampiro is not available today, but it does survive in three later versions. These works that retain Sampiro's chronicle are the *Historia Legionense*, the *Corpus Pelagianum*, and the *Chronica Najarense*. The *Legionense* uses the works of Isidore of Seville, Julian of Toledo, the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the Chronicle of Sampiro, and the Chronicle of Pelayo to relate a continuous narrative from the fifth to the eleventh century.²² In order to highlight the church's place in the history of León, Pelagius wrote the *Corpus Pelagianum* using the same chronicles as the *Legionense* along with other works that fit his purposes.²³ The *Chronica Najarense* was written in the latter half of the twelfth century and includes fragments of Isidore's work and the *Corpus Pelagianum*. Both the *Najarense* and *Pelagianum* stray from Sampiro's original text, while the *Legionense* appears to represent the original text more faithfully.

At the start of the chronicle, the writer of the *Legionense* states that his purpose was to report the life and doings of the orthodox Hispano emperor Alfonso VI.²⁴ He cites several chronicles, including Sampiro's, meaning that the writer is not claiming

²² Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla, *Historia Silense: Edición, Crítica e Introducción* (Madrid: Consejo Superior De Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela De Estudios Medievales, 1959), 14, 87–8.

²³ Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro: su crónica y la Monarquía Leonesa en el siglo X* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952), 136-9. Also, B. Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del obispo Don Pelayo* (Madrid: Imprenta De Los Sucesores De Hernando, 1924), 13.

²⁴ Urbel and Ruiz-Zorrilla, *Historia Silense*, 13

authorship of the work at hand. The *Legionense* survives in eight manuscripts, which are all available in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Of those, the earliest dates back to the fifteenth-century and is twice removed from its presumed original. The title *Historia Legionense*, was only recently given to the text. Previously it was called *Historia Silense*, as its author was believed to be a monk and historian of Silos from the Santo Domingo monastery near the city of Burgos.²⁵ Floréz and Amador de los Ríos, among other scholars, based this theory on the early fifteenth-century text where a note in the margin in similar handwriting wrote *Santo Domingo de Silos* next to the phrase *domus seminis*, or “the house of the seed.”²⁶ Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorilla strongly defended this argument, Urbel himself a monk of Silos.²⁷ M. Cirot had previously rejected this theory and instead posed that the phrase should be read as *Domus Simeonis* to attribute the name to a bishop Simeón or Ximénez, a friend of Saint Dominic.²⁸

Recently, historians have argued that the author is neither of these, but instead a writer from the religious house of San Isidoro de León. This theory is backed up by a fragment that is in the *Legionense* about the translation of San Isidoro’s body and his relics. The manuscript, if not the original, is an immediate copy of it.²⁹ Close analysis of

²⁵ M. Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción a la Historia Silense: con versión castellana de la misma y de la Crónica de Sampiro* (Madrid: Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1921), xvii-xxvi.

²⁶ Francisco Santos Coco, *Historia Silense* (Madrid: Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1921),vii-viii.

²⁷ Urbel and Ruiz-Zorilla, *Historia Silense: Edición, Crítica e Introducción*, 9-13.

²⁸ Coco, *Historia Silense*, viii.

²⁹ For the fragment, Coco transcribes the fragment in the appendix of the *Historia Silense*, 93-99.

the *Translatio Sancti Isidori* within the *Legionense* suggests that the author was Leonese. Before the monastic house received the translation of San Isidoro's body, the church of San Isidoro de León had been named Saint John the Baptist. In the *Legionense*, the author refers to himself as being part of the community of Saint John. He also refers to the city of León as the *urbs regia*, or the royal city, a title common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The title *urbs regia* was also used to refer to anyone living in the community of Saint John.³⁰ The writer also focuses on how the kings of León and Asturias directly relate to the Visigoths. For this reason, contemporary scholars have proposed its new appropriate title *Historia Legionensis*.³¹

While there are two other versions of the *Chronicle of Sampiro*, they appear less reliable. The *Corpus Pelagianum*, compiled by Saint Pelagius, bishop of Oviedo, chose to focus on ecclesiastical matters, rather than the politics and military deeds of the Leonese kings. As a result, he omits about nineteen reigns and alters the work of several chronicles. To D. Antonio Blázquez, the decisions Pelagius made cause absurd chronological gaps and repetitions in the chronicle.³² Given that Pelagius was a contemporary of the *Historia Legionense*, meaning that he had access to the original chronicles, his changes depict intentionality, the motivations of which should be questioned.

³⁰ Richard Fletcher, "A Twelfth-Century View of the Spanish Past," in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. by J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Palliser (London: The Hambledon Press, 2000), 149-50.

³¹ Julio Escalona, "La historia legionensis (llamada silensis) como memoria identitaria de un reino y como autobiografía," ed. Georges Martin and Hélène Thieulin-Pardo, *e-Spania* 14, (2012), no page numbers.

³² Coco, *Historia Silense*, xxxi-xxxii.

Pelagius' reputation also undermines the chronicle's reliability. Known as the "prince of falsifiers," he made several interpolations and forgeries in other texts. For instance, he falsely declared God had transferred all rights and privileges of the church of Toledo and its relics to Oviedo.³³ Pelagius' interpolations in his chronicle discredit the twelfth-century compilation, the *Chronica Najarense*. This chronicle followed Pelagius' *Chronicon* to adapt Sampiro's chronicle and also cannot be relied on. The English translation and analysis in this thesis will therefore follow the *Historia Legionense's* version of the Chronicle of Sampiro.

Sampiro was a presbyter, an administrator, and a notary for the kings of León. The responsibilities of a notary were customarily in the hands of an ecclesiastical official whose main duties were to record proceedings and process documents with Legio's official seal that rendered them authentic. Sampiro sometimes notarized his documents with his name as *Sanct Pirus* or Saint Peter (San Pedro). It is believed by Casariego that *Pirus* alludes to *Pedro* and he may have had the biblical name of *Petrus*.³⁴ His notarized documents record that he was active between 1000 and 1023. Later, he became bishop of Astorga between 1035 and 1041.

Fita Colomé poses the idea that Sampiro wrote the chronicle to invigorate the downhearted Christians who suffered from the destruction of Almanzor in the year 988.³⁵ The chronicle then serves as propaganda for Christians and encourages them to take back

³³ Simon Barton and R. A. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 70-2.

³⁴ Casariego, "Crónica De Sampiro (Según El Silense)," 83.

³⁵ Fidel Fita Colomé, "Concilio Ovetense Del Año ¿900? Texto Inédito", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 38 (February 1901): 121-3.

Legio, the city that was ‘justly theirs.’ Sampiro highlights the successes during the reign of Alfonso III and establishes a high standard for what makes an ideal ruler of this Christian kingdom. The text further suggests a desired Christian audience when he labels the Arabs as the enemy and separates them from the Christians. Since he had the attention of the Christians, he was able to further his political agenda by integrating religion. Throughout the chronicle, Sampiro uses the mention of God and the inclusion of Holy Scripture to prompt Christian interest and support. Additionally, he implies that God determines the outcome of war and ultimately decides the rightful power. These techniques highlight Sampiro’s fundamental purpose to encourage Christians to reconquer what was once theirs.

Alfonso III: The Ideal Ruler

Sampiro summarizes the reign of twelve monarchs in his chronicle, but spends the most time highlighting those of Alfonso III and Ramiro II. He favors these monarchs most of all and shows how effective their reigns were in his eyes through the depiction of their conquests of cities and the battles these kings successfully made. Sampiro’s first words for Alfonso describe him as *bellicosus*,³⁶ or warlike, which connote the king’s readiness and responsibility as king. It immediately contrasts with the language used towards the treacherous leader named Froyla Lemundi, “a son of perdition.” Lemundi attempts to usurp Alfonso’s throne, but fails. Sampiro proves Lemundi’s act to be one of arrogance and not to be tolerated when he reveals that the religious senate of Oviedo killed him. Sampiro places importance on Alfonso’s rightful power and position as king.

³⁶ Line 2. All line numbers are based on the English translation.

Sampiro's work shows Alfonso III to be the ideal ruler and model for king. In comparison to other reigns in the chronicle, he is especially invested in this king's particular life. The bishop demonstrates the efficacy of Alfonso III as a monarch when he shows how Alfonso handles his rivals. The Alavenses rebel against Alfonso, but then Alfonso subjugates them under his rule. These people were under the direction of a leader named Eilón, and Alfonso makes him an example of what happens to those who go against him. He condemns Eilón for his opposition. The positive way Sampiro regards this interaction demonstrates Alfonso as a ruler capable of overcoming unrest.

Sampiro shows Alfonso's integrity as a ruler by juxtaposing his performance with the betrayal of his brothers. For instance, his brother Fruela tries to overthrow Alfonso by faking his death, but the king punishes him by blinding him. His other brother Bermudo escapes prison. Bermudo ruled as a tyrant in Astorga, and Sampiro mentions that Bermudo has the support of the Arabs, people who were earlier introduced as enemies to the king. Alfonso does not disregard this, and Sampiro notes that he blinds this brother for this deceitful act. Through all this, Sampiro has shown Alfonso overcoming failed family trust and still carrying out his duties as king. Even in the face of betrayal, he still manages to enlarge the Christian kingdom.

Sampiro portrays Alfonso as an effective leader due to his courtship of Jimena, which ties Gaul and the Pamplona dynasty together. Through this familial tie, Alfonso acquires the cities of Lenza and Alenza and the kingdom expands.³⁷ Queen Jimena's lineage can be traced back to the Visigoths' King Reccared. This Visigoth lineage

³⁷ Urbel, *Sampiro*, 351-52.

explains why the Christians consider themselves the rightful heirs of the Iberian Peninsula and thus the deserved owners of these newly acquired cities. Sampiro's portrayal of Alfonso III's relationship with Jimena as being so politically strategic exemplifies the author's attempt to depict Alfonso III as an ideal ruler.

Sampiro focuses also on the life of King Ramiro II, who similarly embodies the model of the "ideal ruler." Sampiro's depiction of King Ramiro II as being so successful shows Christian readers that a Christian king is the rightful ruler of the Iberian Peninsula. God provides guidance for Ramiro during violent acts and Sampiro emphasizes the king's effective victories against the Arabs. For example, Sampiro introduces Ramiro entering the city of Madrid where he commits "the greatest slaughter with the help of the Lord's mercy."³⁸ The violence is followed by Ramiro peacefully returning to Legio, suggesting his strong capability to hold power and jurisdiction.

Sampiro shows how Ramiro, like Alfonso, handles betrayal of trust. King Ramiro allows King Abohahia to seek refuge with him after he deceived his own king Abderrahmen III. However, Ramiro is blindsided by King Abohahia when he learns that Abohahia called Abderrahmen to infiltrate the kingdom. Still, God is on the king's side and He gives the king victory in battle by granting the death of over eighty thousand men. Abohahia's scheme ultimately backfires and Sampiro proves Ramiro taking effective leadership when he places Abohahia in prison.

Sampiro presented the ideal ruler through Alfonso III. The king effectively manages politics while facing betrayal. Alfonso marries Jimena, securing prosperity for

³⁸ Line 215.

the kingdom. With the help of God, he accomplishes his duties and responsibilities as king. For the rest of the chronicle, Sampiro follows a chronological order with the other leaders of León up to Alfonso V. In some cases, Sampiro provides a description of a ruler's success, while for others he provides only a sentence or two to fit the narrative of events during their reign. Sampiro, therefore, makes Alfonso the ideal king that exemplifies strong leadership for the Kingdom of Legio.

“The Great Counsel of God”: Christianity and the Kings

The text is directed towards the Christians since Sampiro designates the Arabs as the kingdom's enemies. Sampiro terms them interchangeably: the *Ismaelites*, the *Saraceni*, the *Cordubensis*, the *Toletansis*, and the *Agarenori*, as well as the *azeyfa* for a ruler of the Arabs.³⁹ In doing so, he furthers his purpose to invigorate the Christians by then integrating religion. Sampiro often speaks of God, and the enlargement of the Church is regularly praised. This and the authority of Scripture is used to persuade the Christians that a Christian king is the rightful ruler.

Sampiro notes the enlargement of the church through the diocese of Oca. This expansion, known as the Reconquista Gallega, eventually leads to the Kingdom of Navarra.²⁶ Throughout the chronicle, Sampiro makes God a prominent figure and the one who assists in the kings' tasks, and it is seen with Alfonso III. Alfonso confronts his enemies and makes more settlements with the “great counsel of God” or a “divine

³⁹ Ishmaelite: Line 21 and 398; Sar(r)aceni: Line 42, 98, 227, 327, 335, 338; Cordubensis: Line 54, 60, 114, 236, 317; Azeyfa: Line 67, 124, 127, 218; Arabs: Line 38, 70, 78, 105, 196; Toletansis: Line 86; Agarenori: Line 130, 242, 277, 324, 470.

clemency” that helps him. God’s assistance further binds Alfonso to Christianity and justify the decisions Alfonso makes. Sampiro gives him and the other kings this prophetic-like quality and God assists them through political governance. Christianity’s influence with the kings demonstrates how religion is integrated with politics to achieve Sampiro’s ultimate goal with the Christians. In the case of the “Ishmaelite enemies” invading Legio and Astorica, Sampiro places emphasis on their purpose “to destroy the church of God.” Before Alfonso and his army defeat and kill them, Sampiro emphasizes that God’s counsel was required. Power and settlement are paralleled when these acts of violence are justified through God.

Sampiro cites Scripture four times throughout the chronicle. Two of these quotes occur under King Ordoño II and happen in a climactic scene with the Arabs at the Douro river. The quotes, from the first and second Books of Samuel, recall King David, and justify King Ordoño’s actions as king.

The first quote that merits analysis is the idiomatic phrase, “destroyed them to [a person] peeing on a wall.”⁴⁰ The expression when read without context might sound jarring, and maybe oddly humorous to the modern reader, yet it means that Ordoño destroyed every man in battle. Sampiro illustrates Ordoño as immediately facing conflict when he rises to the throne, specifically battling the Cordubenses at the Castle of San Esteban de Gormaz by the river Douro. The quote recalls a scene in I Samuel where King David speaks to Abigail, the wife of Nabal, who earlier disrespected David. Abigail begs for David’s forgiveness on behalf of her husband’s foolishness and David responds by

⁴⁰ Line 119.

threatening to destroy Nabal's men for their wicked actions. Scripture's use authorizes the act, and therefore, Sampiro acknowledges God's decision in the outcome. This also makes King Ordoño the David figure and establishes his war-like nature.

A few lines later, Sampiro says that "the outcomes of war are various."⁴¹ The battle is still taking place at San Esteban de Gormaz, but war proves unfavorable for either side.⁴² Again, recalling King David in II Samuel where he commits the worst sin in the eyes of God, the themes of sin and punishment are clearly illuminated. In II Samuel, David spies on Bathsheba washing herself and sends for her, knowing she is the wife of his general Uri'ah. David sleeps with her and gets her pregnant. He then further betrays Uri'ah by writing a fake note as Uri'ah asking to be sent to battle. The plan is successful, as David then learns from his messengers that Uri'ah died in battle along with most of his men. Concluding this dramatic story with the simple quote "the outcomes of war are various" likens David to Ordoño II. Sampiro provides no further context of what Ordoño's sins might be or what punishment they may lead to, instead only concluding that God is at work. Evidence of punishment approaching in the chronicle points to the end of II Samuel where David reflects on God's decisions. God had released a plague on Israel, but David concludes that God ultimately fulfilled his promise of protecting him. Despite the deaths and hardships that David endured from God, there is the hope of God's promise. Sampiro underlies this message to show that God was working on behalf of the Christian kings. This idea sets up Almanzor's invasion, which Sampiro blames on

⁴¹ I Samuel 11:25

⁴² Line 126-127.

“the sins of the Christian people.”⁴³ Ultimately, Sampiro wants the Christians to remember God’s promise and that they, like Israel, can rise to eternal greatness.

Sampiro’s use of religion in the chronicle shows that he wants the Christians to reflect on their past and think of the future they can achieve. The authority of the Bible recalls similar scenes that these Christians are experiencing, and justify how Sampiro wants to encourage territorial expansion in the name of Christian kings. Although Sampiro did not mention it in his chronicle, the Caliphate of Córdoba was falling apart by the early eleventh century. Regional successor states, or *taifas*, emerged from Córdoba and this would give the Christians an opportunity to seize back their lands from Arab rule.⁴⁴ Although Sampiro did not live to see it, the Christians eventually seized control of the entire peninsula, fulfilling Sampiro’s political agenda for the chronicle.

⁴³ Line 394.

⁴⁴ Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 80-4.

Translator's Note

In Spain, I learned that English is the main international language in academia. I also learned that much material exists in other languages besides English that could benefit our understanding of a subject. I came across the Chronicle of Sampiro in my History of Middle Ages class, and learned that the work, embedded in the *Historia Legionense*, had yet to be translated to English. There is little scholarship available on this subject in English, so I undertook the project to contribute the first-ever English translation and literary analysis of Sampiro's chronicle.

I used Francisco Santos Coco's edition of the Vulgar Latin text from the *Historia Legionensis* for my translation, and for guidance, I relied on two translations available in Spanish by Jesús Evaristo Díaz-Casariago and Manuel Gomez-Moreno. I also used Justo Pérez de Úrbel for historical context. Pérez de Úrbel was the first to provide a transcription of the Latin along with Pelagius' version side-by-side for comparison. He provides a critical analysis of Sampiro's chronicle in the *Historia Legionensis* and has several footnotes, but mostly compares the two chronicles. J. E. Casariago provides some commentary in his translation, but since he summarizes much of Sampiro's text, convoluted sentences in the Latin were often skipped over. Manuel Gomez-Moreno presents commentary on the *Historia Legionensis* and provides a literal translation of the whole work that includes Sampiro's chronicle, but no footnotes for further analysis. All the translators castillianize proper nouns, but I did not agree with this choice since some locations and people are unknown or cannot be known with certainty. As a translator, I

decided to maintain proper nouns in Sampiro's written language to maintain accuracy of the names.

Sampiro's language is a bit stilted, so making the translation too polished would lose the writer's style. Still, my translation offers what I hope is a smooth read and interpretation of his words.

The authors I have indicated above are referred to by last name and their page number in the footnotes. The page numbers in bold, such as "P. 41" and so on, indicate the page number for the latin text. The numbers without parentheses such as " 5, 10, 15" and so on, follow the line numbering of the original latin text by Francisco Santos Coco. The numbers in parentheses reference only the line for the translation in English. The transcription of the Latin text by Coco follows the English translation.

My proficiency in Spanish gave me an undeniable advantage to tackle this project, but it still proved to be a double-edged sword. Initially, I thought the Spanish translations of the chronicle would answer all, if not most questions I had about the text. Ultimately, the Spanish translations led to deeper research and more questions about the chronicle and Sampiro's references. Spanish and Latin have linguistic similarities that allows for a smoother read in translation, but that meant figuring out how to effectively convey the Latin in English. One example I highlight is *sanctus*. The Spanish translates this to *santo* and it holds the same several meanings as it does in the Latin. Therefore, I spent time debating whether the chronicler meant a saint, or if he meant to describe something or someone consecrated and thus, "holy." This was sometimes answered after I delved into the history of the place or person Sampiro referenced. Another challenge I

faced was effectively analyzing the themes and events of Sampiro's chronicle. Few historians have delved into a literary analysis and have only done so for the central idea of the chronicle.

Thus, I hope that by providing an English translation and commentary of the chronicle, someone will gain an understanding of the time period, and perhaps be motivated to look into other obscure Medieval Latin chronicles.

The *Chronicon* of Sampiro

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5 (1) Adefonsus (III), the son of lord Ordonius (I), succeeded Ordonius I
(2) on the throne. Adefonsus was warlike, and was trained sufficiently for all of his
(3) roles. When he began his reign at the age of fourteen,⁴⁵
(4) Froyla Lemundi, a son of perdition, came from the region of
(5) Galicia, for the purpose of seeking out the throne that was not owed to him.
10 (6) King Adefonsus, hearing this, retreated to the region of the Alavenses.⁴⁶
(7) The vile Froyla⁴⁷ was killed by the senate of Ovetense.⁴⁸
(8) The king, hearing this, returned to his won region [Oviedo],⁴⁹ and he was
(9) received with gratitude.

⁴⁵ This might be an error. The *Codex Albeldense*, whose author appears to have had close relations with Alfonso III, indicates that he was 18 years of age when he began his reign. Still, there are other chronicles that make this error such as the *Chronicon Lusitano*, the *Silense*, and the *Pelagiano*, making it possible that Alfonso was 14 when his father presented him to Galicia to succeed him in 862, and was crowned at 18 in 866 (Urbel, 347).

⁴⁶ Present-day Álava. This rebellion, although only mentioned in Sampiro's, is alluded to in the *Codex Albeldense* where it strictly spoke of the Basque people. The Alavenses that Sampiro refers to here may have also been those who were close to the Pyrenees instead of the area in present-day Basque Country. (Urbel, 348-49).

⁴⁷ Also known as Fruela Vermundi or Bermúdez, he was the count of Lugo, Galicia, and may have been Galician or Asturian from origin. He came to usurp Alfonso III, but proved to be arrogant and inopportune, and not very religious, which caused him to gain enemies. In the *Albeldense* he is called a tyrant and an apostate. Ordoño I had given him an earldom and the governance of Lugo. (J. E. Casariego, 89)

⁴⁸ As Collins says in *Early Medieval Spain*, the senate of Oviedo were supporters of Alfonso III (231).

⁴⁹ Alfonso III's territory and the capital of the Asturian monarchy.

(10) From there, he went to Legio,⁵⁰ and settled in Sublancium,⁵¹
15 (11) which now its people call Sublancia, and also
(12) Cea,⁵² the beautiful city. This man was busying himself with these activities when a
messenger
(13) came from the Alavenses, because the hearts of those men had swelled up
(14) against the monarch. But the king, hearing this, set out to go there.
(15) They were overwhelmed by terror at his arrival, and quickly recognizing the legal
obligations they owe to the king,
20 (16) they as suppliants, submitted their necks to him, promising that they would be
faithful to his reign,
(17) and his law, and that they would do what they were ordered

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1 (18) to do. And so he occupied Álava and subjected it to his own power.
(19) Eilón,⁵³ in fact, who was seen as their Count,
(20) was bound by iron and taken to Ovetense with him [Adefonsus].

(21) Meanwhile, in those same days, the Ishmaelite enemies

⁵⁰ León.

⁵¹ Today Villafañe, León. These repopulations of Sublancia and Cea only appear in Sampiro's, but documents provide confirmation of this event. In the Codex Albeldensis several times it is repeated castrum Sublancium in reference to Almondhir's campaign that took place in 878 (Urbel, 350).

⁵² Cea, Municipality in León.

⁵³ Eilonem for Gilonem, or Gilón (Coco, 42). This is the first and only account that is available of this count from Álava who led the rebels of Álava against the king. He was imprisoned by the king and surrounded by chains, but there is no information available as to what happened to him afterwards (Urbel, 350).

5 (22) attacked the city of Legio with two leaders, Imundar⁵⁴ and
(23) Alcatenatel,⁵⁵ and there, many thousands were lost, while the other
(24) army escaped fleeing.
(25) Not long after, he joined the whole of Gallia⁵⁶ along with Pampilonia⁵⁷
(26) to him because of kinship; he took a wife
10 (27) from their lineage, named Jimena,⁵⁸ the cousin
(28) of King Carlos.⁵⁹ Thanks to the agreeable harmony of the army and the favor
(29) of their victories, he obtained many territories of their enemies.
(30) That man captured the city of Lenza,⁶⁰ and very many citizens of there were captured
(31) and consumed by fire in the tower, and then they acquired Altenza⁶¹ peacefully.

⁵⁴ The Codex Albeldense and the Chronicon Lusitanum says he is the son of Abderrahmen II and brother to emir Muhammad (Urbel, 350). However, it may refer to the future sultan Al-Mundhir, son of Muhammad Abd al-Rahman (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Al-Maqqarī, “Notes and Illustrations” in *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, Vol. 2, (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1840), trans. by Pascual de Gayangos, 436-7).

⁵⁵ May refer to Abulhacana who was the second leader in command to this expedition, or an allusion to Alhacam, son of Abderrahmen, who had led other expeditions in the North in 853 and 867 (Urbel, 350-51). See also Armando Cotarelo Valledor, *Historia crítica y documentada de la vida y acciones de Alfonso III el Magno, último rey de Asturias* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1933), 128-130.

⁵⁶ Gallia understood as Gallia Comata, that is next to the Pyrenees (Urbel, 351).

⁵⁷ Pamplona.

⁵⁸ The wedding took place around 870. Jimena the new queen of León descended from the family of Iñigo Arista or of García Jiménez. Urbel argues that she is most likely from the Jiménez family because of her name, Iñigo Arista’s descendants who were hostile towards Asturias, and because of Vela Jiménez, earl of Alava who was surely Basque and brother to García Jiménez (Urbel, 351-55).

⁵⁹ May refer to Carlos from the second Pampilonian dynasty where Jimena’s relation can be traced back to Pedro duke of Cantabria and carried in him Reccared’s blood (Urbel, 354-55).

⁶⁰ Leza or Deza, Basque Country (Urbel, 357).

⁶¹ Atienza, Castle of Atienza, Guadalajara (Urbel, 357).

15 (32) In those days, as they say, the king's brother named Froylanus,⁶²
(33) evading⁶³ the death of the king, fled to Castella.⁶⁴ Indeed, King and
(34) Lord Adefonsus, having been helped by the Lord, seized Froylanus
(35) and for so great a reason, blinded him, like Froylanus the same for these men:
Nunnus,⁶⁵
(36) and also Veremudus⁶⁶ and Odoarius.⁶⁷ Veremudus himself, having been
20 (37) blinded by a trick, he escaped from Oveto and came to Astorica, and for
(38) seven years, he ruled as a tyrant, having with him the support of the Arabs;
(39) together with those Berbers,⁶⁸ he sent an army to Graliare.⁶⁹ King
(40) Adefonsus, hearing this, advanced to go against them, and

⁶² Not to be confused with Froila of Galicia who rebelled against King Alfonso III in 866 and was blinded for his actions but rather Fruela, his brother and son of Ordoño I (César García de Castro Valdés and Sergio Ríos González, *Asturias Medieval* (Asturias: Ediciones Trea, 1997), 35).

⁶³ The Latin says *detractans*. Gomez-Moreno translates this as “attempting” and Casariego translates “pretended to murder the monarch.”

⁶⁴ The Codex Albeldense says nothing of this event and the *Legionense* asserts that Alfonso III was an only child. Still, Cotarelo Valledor has proved there is documentation that he had four brothers (Urbel, 357-9).

⁶⁵ Nuño, brother of Alfonso. Cf. n. 64.

⁶⁶ Bermudo or Vermudo, brother and companion to Alfonso III. He became count of Lebeña. Not to be confused with Bermudo I “the deacon” from years prior and was father to Ordoño I. Cf. n. 64.

⁶⁷ Odoario, brother of Alfonso. Cf. n. 64.

⁶⁸ The Latin says *Getulis* which could refer to *Gaetuli*, the Romanized name of an ancient Berber tribe located south of the Atlas Mountains, Northwest Africa.

⁶⁹ Grajal de Campos, León.

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1 (41) he destroyed them entirely. But the blind man

(42) fled to the Saraceni.

(43) And so the king conquered Astorica and also Ventosa;⁷⁰

(44) and having been besieged by the enemies, he defended Conimbria,⁷¹

(45) and subjugated it to his own power. Many cities of Hispania

5 (46) also yielded to his arms. At this time, the church

(47) was enlarged, because the cities of Portugalensis,⁷² Bracarensis,⁷³ Vesensis,⁷⁴

(48) Flavensis,⁷⁵ and Aucensis were populated by Christians,⁷⁶ and

(49) in accordance with canon law, bishops were appointed,

10 (50) and Christians were settled all the way to the river Tagus.⁷⁷ Under

(51) his (Adefonsus') power, a certain duke of Hispania and proconsul named

(52) Abofalit⁷⁸ having been arrested in war, was presented to the gaze of the king;

⁷⁰ The rebels were destroyed in Grajal de Campos, so Alfonso went to Astorga where the rebellion originated with its headquarters at Bergidium Flavium, also known as Castro de la Ventosa, León. Today there remains remnants of the medieval wall (Urbel, 359).

⁷¹ Coimbra, Portugal.

⁷² Porto, Portugal.

⁷³ Braga, Portugal.

⁷⁴ Viseu, Portugal.

⁷⁵ Chaves, Portugal.

⁷⁶ Sampiro follows the Albedense word by word here. He purposely omits the cities of Viseo in La Coruña and Lamego in Galicia because it was there where the situation was most precarious and grew worse when Almanzor laid waste. He chooses to add the city of Chaves since its colonization there was most effective (Urbel, 360-61).

⁷⁷ The longest river in the Iberian Peninsula. This settlement in Castile-La Mancha is part of the Reconquista Gallega, which will then lead up to the Kingdom of Navarra. (Cotarelo Valledor, xii)

⁷⁸ General to Muhammad I and led the army against Alfonso III. He was imprisoned in Galicia. There were many Christian triumphs thereafter. He is known as Abu Jalid Hashim ben Abd al-Aziz in the Arabic histories.

(52) Abofalit, ransoming himself for a price, gave a hundred thousand solidi⁷⁹

(53) for his redemption.

15 (54) Nearly around the same time, a Cordubensis army came
(55) to the city of Legio and the city of the Astoricenses; and
(56) the army from the city of Toledo and another army from other cities of Hispania
(57) came behind him, and he wished to group the armies together
(58) with the purpose to destroy the church of God. But the most prudent
20 (59) king, knowing all things through his spies, helped by the great counsel of God
(60) he stood firm. For, leaving behind the Cordubense troop,
(61) he hurried to go against the pursuing army. Indeed, that
(62) army, fearing not at all in the face of the multitude of those armed,
(63) went to Polvoraria.⁸⁰ But the most glorious king
25 (64) charged from out of the forest, and burst upon those in the previously mentioned
location
(65) of Polvoraria next to the river whose name is Urbicus,⁸¹ where

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(66) around twelve thousand people fell and were killed. Indeed, the others,
(67) with an azeyfa of Cordoba, went in flight to Valle de Mora.⁸²

⁷⁹ Money, could be gold coins.

⁸⁰ Polvorosa, Zamora.

⁸¹ River Órbigo, León.

⁸² Valdemora, León.

(68) with the king in pursuit, and they were all killed there⁸³

(69) by the sword. Therefore, none escaped except ten covered in blood

5 (70) among the corpses of the dead. After this, the Arabs sent ambassadors to king

Adefonsus

(71) for peace. But the king, keeping peace with them for three years,

(72) broke the confidence of the enemies; and

(73) from this time on, he exulted in great glory.

(74) And three years passed, until the year Hispanica⁸⁴ 938,⁸⁵

10 (75) he ordered the people to populate the cities deserted from ancient times: these are

Cemora⁸⁶

(76) Septimancas⁸⁷ and Donnas⁸⁸ and even all of the Fields of the Goths.

(77) And he gave Taurus⁸⁹ to his own son Garseanus to settle.

(78) Meanwhile, in the year Hispanica 939,⁹⁰ the Arabs convened a great army

(79) and hurried to Zamora. The most serene king, hearing this,

15 (80) gathered an army, and fighting between themselves,

(81) with the help of divine clemency, he destroyed them utterly;

⁸³ Sampiro mistakes here where the massacre took place. It is recorded in documents that the battle took place in Polvorosa, not in Valdemora.

⁸⁴ The *era* refers to the Hispanica year that began in 38 BC (before the common Era). For the date, subtract 38 years from its written year. However, some of the dates are wrong, and the correct year has been footnoted.

⁸⁵ Year 881.

⁸⁶ Zamora.

⁸⁷ Simancas, Valladolid.

⁸⁸ Dueñas, Palencia.

⁸⁹ Toro, Zamora.

⁹⁰ Year 901.

(82) even Alkaman⁹¹ who was called a prophet, fell there,

(83) and rests in the ground.

(84) In those days when they were accustomed to go to war, the king
20 (85) gathered an army and proceeded to Toletus,⁹² and there
(86) accepted copious gifts from the Toletans. Returning from there, he seized the
castle

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1 (87) which is named Quintialubel,⁹³ he killed one part with his sword,
(88) and another part he persuaded to follow him, and then he came to Carrion;⁹⁴ and
there

(89) he commanded his own servant Addaninus⁹⁵ to be killed by his sons,⁹⁶ because
(90) he had plotted the death of the king. And when he went to Zamora,
5 (91) he arrested his own son Garsianus, and restrained him with iron,
(92) and led him to Gozon.⁹⁷ His father-in-law Munio⁹⁸ ruled as a
(93) tyrant, and prepared a rebellion. And all of the sons of the king

⁹¹ The Arab chronicles by Ibn Hayán narrate this event, and add that his head hung on the gates of Zamora for a long time (Urbel, 367).

⁹² Toledo.

⁹³ Quincialubel. Could be Valladolid. Also could be in Ávila. *Quintia* is the arabic word for kanisat, or small church, sanctuary. *Lubel* or *bubel* may be *Abula* or Ávila, where Fernando I found relics of Saints Vincent, Sabina, and Cristeta, martyrs persecuted during the time of Diocletian (Urbel, 368-9).

⁹⁴ Carrión de los Condes, Palencia (Urbel, 368).

⁹⁵ Addadino.

⁹⁶ The sons of Addanino.

⁹⁷ Gozón, Asturias.

⁹⁸ Muño. Could be Nuño Núñez or Nuño Fernández (Urbel 369-70).

(94) made a conspiracy among themselves, and banished their own father
(95) to Bortes⁹⁹ where he resided in a country house. And indeed in order to deliver a
speech,
10 (96) the king proceeded to Saint Jacobus;¹⁰⁰ and returning from there, he came
(97) to Astorica, and begged his own son Garsianus, that once and for all
(98) he might attack the Sarracens. And collecting a large army,
(99) he set out and made many slaughters, and with a great victory he returned;
(100) and returning to Zamora, he died from
15 (101) natural causes. He rests in peace in Ovetensis under the church of Holy Mary
(102) the Bearer of God.¹⁰¹ He ruled for 44 years. The year Hispanica 948.¹⁰²

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1 (103) With Adefonsus dead, his son Garsianus [I] succeeded him on
(104) the throne. The first year of his reign, he brought together the greatest army,
(105) and hurried to attack the Arabs. The Lord gave him
(106) victory. He pillaged, burned, and took with him many slaves.
5 (107) And in addition, he took king Aiolas¹⁰³ with his sword, but when

⁹⁹ Can be in Villaviciosa, Asturias, Valley of Boides.

¹⁰⁰ Santiago de Compostela, Galicia.

¹⁰¹ Located adjacent to the Cathedral of San Salvador, Oviedo. Today this chapel goes by Our Lady of the Chaste King, or Holy Mary of the Chaste King (references Alfonso II “the Chaste,” as the founder).

¹⁰² Year 910.

¹⁰³ Could be Al-Warith (Urbel, 376).

(108) he came into the place called Altremulo,¹⁰⁴ Aiolas escaped due to the negligence of the guardsmen.

(109) The king reigned three years, and one month; he died

(110) from natural causes in Cemore. The first 50 days of

(111) the year Hispanica 900.¹⁰⁵

10 (112) With Garsianus dead, his brother Ordonius [II], coming

(113) from the region of Gallecie, gained the throne. Meanwhile, a great force

(114) from Cordubense with one leader named Abulhabaz¹⁰⁶

(115) came to the castle by the Dorius¹⁰⁷ bank which is called St. Stephanus.¹⁰⁸

(116) King Ordonius, hearing this, as he was a warlike man,

15 (117) having brought together a great army, he swiftly proceeded there; and

(118) with the armies clashing, the Lord gave triumph to the Catholic

(119) king, and destroyed them to [a person] peeing on a wall.¹⁰⁹

(120) The same force with their aforementioned leader fell, with his

(121) head having been cut off. Also he killed the other fat king named Abulmutaraf¹¹⁰

20(122) and the king (Ordonius) returned with great triumph to

(123) his own seat among the Legionenses.

¹⁰⁴ Maybe El Tiemblo, Ávila, Spain, in the valley of the river Alberche (Urbel, 376).

¹⁰⁵ Year 913.

¹⁰⁶ Could be Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Abda (Urbel 378-79).

¹⁰⁷ Douro river.

¹⁰⁸ San Esteban de Gormaz.

¹⁰⁹ Idiomatic phrase from I Samuel 25:22.

¹¹⁰ Abulmutarraf. May be the African Abd al-Rahman ben Salih ben Said ben Idris (Urbel and Ruiz-Zorrilla in *Historia Silense* (Madrid: CSIC, 1959), 158.

(124) Then, another azeyfa came to the place which they call Mitonia¹¹¹
(125) and fighting among themselves and initiating battle,
(126) there were casualties on both sides; as David said: Various are the outcomes
25 (127) of war.¹¹² From here, in the third year, a third azeyfa came to the place

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1 (128) which they call Mois.¹¹³ King Sancius, the son of Garsianus, sent for King
(129) Lord Ordonius, to help him against the
(130) Agarenori forces.¹¹⁴ The king proceeded with great caution,
(131) and they met them in the valley which is called Iuncaria.¹¹⁵ And as
5 (132) often happens, when sin interferes, many of our men fell,
(133) even two bishops, Dulcidius¹¹⁶ and Ermogius,¹¹⁷ and there they were seized,
(134) and led away to Corduba. In return for bishop Ermogius
(135) his nephew Saint Pelagius was sent to prison,
(136) who afterwards became a martyr. The aforementioned king led out
10 (137) both bishops still alive.

(138) And King Ordonius himself, thinking how he would

¹¹¹ Place where military campaign took place during Ordoño II (Urbel and Ruiz-Zorrilla in *Historia Silense* (Madrid: CSIC, 1959), 229).

¹¹² II Samuel 11:25.

¹¹³ Mués, Navarra, Spain.

¹¹⁴ The Arabs, descendents of Hagar.

¹¹⁵ Known as Battle of Valdejunquera or Campaign of Muez. Location is debated, but somewhere in the west of Navarra (Julio Caro Baroja, *Etnografía Histórica de Navarra*, Vol. 1, (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1971), 119-20).

¹¹⁶ Dulcidio, bishop of Salamanca.

¹¹⁷ Ermogio.

(139) go against this, brought together a great army, ordered weaponry
(140) to be collected, and on their land, which is called Sintilia,¹¹⁸
(141) he made many slaughters, laid waste to the land, even seized many castles
15 (142) in the face of the sword: these are Sarmalon,¹¹⁹ Eliph,¹²⁰ Palmacio,¹²¹
(143) and Castellion,¹²² and he plundered Magnanza,¹²³ and also many others, in fact,
(144) too many to write down, in such a way that in the span of one day,
(145) he did not reach Corduba. Returning from there with great
(146) triumph to Cemora, he found that Lady Queen Geluira¹²⁴ had died;
20 (147) and as much as he was joyful from his triumph,

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1 (148) so much great sadness did he experience from the queen's death. (Then) he
(149) married another wife from the region of Gallecie by the name of

Agaruntus,¹²⁵

(150) who, afterwards, was disdained by him because she did not please him; and

¹¹⁸ One of the three Cendejas in Guadalajara, Spain. Most likely Cendejas de la Torre. (Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *El condado de Castilla, 711-1038: la historia frente a la leyenda*, Vol. 2, (León: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2005), 255-257).

¹¹⁹ Could be Almadrones, Guadalajara, but it is not certain, (Martínez Díez, *El condado de Castilla...*, 255-257).

¹²⁰ Unknown. Cf. n. 119.

¹²¹ Pálmaces de Jadraque, Guadalajara. Cf. n. 119.

¹²² Castejón de Henares, Guadalajara. Cf. n. 119.

¹²³ Unknown, but could be Magaña, España. See José Pascual Herrero, "Nuestro Patrimonio," *Cascarita* 1 (2011) 3.

¹²⁴ Queen Elvira Menéndez, died 921.

¹²⁵ Agarunto.

(151) then afterwards, he underwent a deserved penance.
5 (152) King Ordonius, as he was provident and accomplished,
(153) heeded to Burgis for the counts who were seen to rule
(154) these very same lands: these are Nunnus Fredenandus,¹²⁶ Abolmondar
(155) Albus,¹²⁷ and his son Didacus,¹²⁸ and Fredenandus¹²⁹ the son of
(156) Ansuri,¹³⁰ and they came to a meeting with the king in the river called
10 (157) Carrion¹³¹ at a place called Tebular;¹³² and as the Holy Scripture says, *the heart
of the king*
*(158) and the course of the waters are in the hands of the Lord,*¹³³ with no one knowing
(159) except his own consulars, he seized them, bound and chained them, and brought
them to
(160) the royal seat of the Legionenses, and ordered for them
(161) to be thrown in the workhouse of the prison.

15 (162) Meanwhile, the messengers came on behalf of King Garsianus, urging
(163) our aforementioned king that he would proceed to destroy the deceitful cities:
(164) these are Nagara¹³⁴ and Beguera.¹³⁵ The king

¹²⁶ Nuño Fernández.

¹²⁷ Abolmondar Albo could refer to Count Rodrigo Díaz or to count Munio Gómez. For more see Margarita Torres, *Linajes nobiliarios de León y Castilla: Siglos IX-XIII*, (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1985).

¹²⁸ Diego Muñoz de Saldaña.

¹²⁹ Fernando Ansúrez I.

¹³⁰ Ansur.

¹³¹ Carrión river that runs through the region of Palencia, Spain.

¹³² El Tejar or Los Tejares. This place is still unidentified.

¹³³ Proverbs 21:1.

¹³⁴ Nájera, La Rioja.

¹³⁵ Viguera, La Rioja.

(165) made a journey with a great army, and plundered, overthrew, and
(170) seized Nagara, which was called Trucio¹³⁶ in ancient times.

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1 (171) Then, King Ordonius chose the daughter of the ruler of Nagara, who was
(172) pleasing to him, as his wife, whose name was Sancia.¹³⁷ With a great victory,
(173) he returned to his seat [of government]. He reigned in peace for nine years and six
months.

(174) Returning from Cemora he died from natural causes, and he

5 (175) rests in the church of Saint Mary the Virgin of the Legionensis seat.¹³⁸

(176) Year Hispanica 962.¹³⁹

(177) With Ordonius dead, his brother Froylanus¹⁴⁰ succeeded to
(178) the throne. Because of his short reign, he made no victory,
(179) cultivated no enemies, except that he ordered the slaughter of
10 (180) the blameless sons of Olmundus;¹⁴¹ and so they say, with
(181) a just judgment of God, he quickly lost his kingdom, because he sent the blameless
bishop

(182) named Frunimium¹⁴² into exile after killing his brothers;

¹³⁶ Tricio, La Rioja (about 1.5 mi. from Nájera).

¹³⁷ Sancha, daughter of king Sancho I of Pamplona.

¹³⁸ He is located in the ambulatory of the Santa María de León Cathedral, also known as the *pulchra leonina*.

¹³⁹ Year 924.

¹⁴⁰ Fruela II. Before, King of Asturias.

¹⁴¹ Olmundo.

¹⁴² Frunimio, brother to the sons of Olmundo (Urbel, 391).

(183) and from this, his reign was shortened, he finished
(184) life briefly, and he died from natural causes. He reigned for one year
15 (185) and two months. Year Hispanica 963.¹⁴³
(186) With Froyla dead, Adefonsus [IV], the son of lord Ordonius [II]
(187) gained the ancestral scepter. For this man, taking his position in the kingdom
(188) a desire arose to go seize a monastic vocation; and
(189) pursuing this calling, he sent messengers to his brother Ranimirus [II]¹⁴⁴
20 (190) who was in the region of Viseus,¹⁴⁵ saying that he wanted to depart from rule,
and
(191) assign it to his own brother. Then Ranimirus came into Cemora
(192) with a whole army of his great men, and took the throne.

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1 (193) His brother hurried to the monastery, at the place
(194) called The Saintly Gentlemen,¹⁴⁶ beyond the bank of the river Ceia.¹⁴⁷
(195) Ranimirus mobilized his army in order to attack
(196) the Arabs; and a messenger came to this man after he entered Cemora, reporting
that
5 (197) his brother, Adefonsus, left the monastery,

¹⁴³ Year 925.

¹⁴⁴ Ramiro.

¹⁴⁵ Maybe Viseu, Portugal.

¹⁴⁶ The Latin says *Domnis Sanctis* to refer to two saints, Facundus and Primitivus, who were martyrs. The place today is Sahagún.

¹⁴⁷ Cea.

(198) and regained the kingdom of the Legionenses. King Ranimirus hearing this, grew angry

(199) and ordered for trumpets to thunder and spears to be brandished. He

(200) returned to Legio, and besieged him day and night until

(201) he captured and took hold of him, and ordered him to be thrown into prison.

10 (202) With this act having been performed, all the great men of Asturiensi sent messengers

(203) on behalf of the aforementioned prince Ranimirus. That man

(204) entered Asturias and seized all the sons of Froylanus:

(205) Adefonsus, who was being seen to rule because of the ancestral scepter, Ordonius,

(206) and Ranimirus—he took them both with their

(207) brother Adefonsus, who was held in prison, and together, they were

(208) ordered to be blinded at the same time.¹⁴⁸ Adefonsus had reigned

(209) seven years and seven months. Year Hispanica

(210) 969.¹⁴⁹

(211) Ranimirus, now reigning securely, entered into a plan with

20 (212) all the great men of his kingdom to attack

¹⁴⁸ For more about this event, see Urbel (406).

¹⁴⁹ Year 931.

(213) the land of the Caldei;¹⁵⁰ and with an army having been raised, he proceeded to the city

(214) called Margerita,¹⁵¹ and destroyed their walls. He made

(215) the greatest slaughter with the help of the Lord's mercy, and returned

(216) home in peace with victory.

25 (217) While in Legio, a message came from Fredenandus

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1 (218) Gundissalvus about a great azeyfa coming to Castella.

(219) After the king heard this, he mobilized his army, and moved them to face the enemy

(220) in the place called Oxoma.¹⁵² He called out the Lord's name,

(221) ordered a battle line to be formed, and all his men

5 (222) to prepare for war. The Lord gave him a great victory:

(223) some of them were killed, many thousands of them, were led away as his captives.

(224) Then he returned to his seat [of government] with

(225) great victory.

(226) After this, Ranimirus with an army having been raised

¹⁵⁰ Chaldea was a Semitic-speaking country that existed in the southeastern corner of Mesopotamia in the late tenth or early ninth century to the mid sixth-century B.C. Here, Sampiro most likely refers to the Arabs, since this ancient country once encompassed them.

¹⁵¹ Madrid.

¹⁵² Burgo de Osma, Soria.

10 (227) proceeded to Cesaraugusta.¹⁵³ And now, King Abohahia¹⁵⁴ of the Sarracens,
(228) submitted his neck to the great king Ranimirus and subjected all his land
(229) to the jurisdiction of our king. Abohahia deceived his own king Abderrahman [III],
(230) and he surrendered with all of his people to the Catholic king.
(231) Since our king was strong and powerful, he conquered
15 (232) all the hostile castles that Abohahia possessed, and (Abohahia) surrendered the
castles to the Catholic king.
(233) Then he returned to Legio with a great victory. Abohahia, however,
(234) in turn, deceived King Ranimirus, and sent for peace
(235) from Abderrahman [III].

(236) Afterwards, Abderrahman [III] king of the Cordubensis hurried
20 (237) with a great army to Septimancas.¹⁵⁵ When our Catholic king
(238) heard this, he arranged to go there with his great army, and
(239) fight there together. The Lord gave victory
(240) to the Catholic king on the second holy day, the day
(241) of Saints Iustus and Pastor,¹⁵⁶ and eighty thousand men were destroyed.
25 (242) Even King Abohahia of the Agareni¹⁵⁷ was captured there by us.

¹⁵³ Zaragoza.

¹⁵⁴ Muhammad ibn Hashim Abu Yahya. For more see Fermín Miranda García, “Legitimar al enemigo (musulmán) en las crónicas hispanocristianas (Ss. XI-XII)” in *Cristianos contra musulmanes en la edad media peninsular*, ed. by Isabel Cristina F. Fernandes (Lisboa: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2015), 230.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. n. 87.

¹⁵⁶ Saints Justo and Pastor who became martyrs during Diocletian’s persecution in the fourth century. They are also known as “Santos Niños” because of how young they were killed, 7 and 9 years old respectively.

¹⁵⁷ Descendants of Hagar, the Arabs.

(243) He was taken to Legio and thrown into prison.

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1 (244) Because he lied to Lord Ranimirus, he was seized

(245) with the right judgment of God. Those men that remained

(246) with their journey interrupted were sent into exile. The king pursued those

(247) men as they were arriving to the city called Alhandega,¹⁵⁸

5 (248) where they were seized and killed by our men.

(249) King Abderrahman himself escaped only half alive. From there, our people

(250) carried off many spoils, namely gold, silver, and

(251) precious clothing. Now, the king safely ruled and peacefully returned

(252) home with great victory.

10 (253) In the second month after, he decided to go to the azeyfa at the bank of the
Turmus,

(254) and he populated deserted cities there. These are

(255) Salamantica,¹⁵⁹ an ancient site of military encampments, Letesma,¹⁶⁰

Ripas,¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ May refer to the village of Fresno Alhándiga. For more, see Ricardo Martínez Ortega, “Confusión de topónimos y sus identificaciones en el *Chronicon Mundi*: Elbora y Talauera (4,25), los castillos del río Tormes (4,32) y el topónimo Axea,” *Fortunatae* 23 (2012): 65-8.

¹⁵⁹ Salamanca.

¹⁶⁰ Ledesma, Salamanca.

¹⁶¹ May be an area in the vicinity of the river Tormés, Naharros del Río, Aldealengua, and Moriscos, in Salamanca. Martínez Ortega, “Confusión de topónimos” 68-9.

(256) Balneos,¹⁶² Albandegua,¹⁶³ Penna,¹⁶⁴ and many other castles, which

(257) would take too long to list.

15 (258) After this was done, Fredenandus Gundissalvi¹⁶⁵ and Didacus

(259) Munio¹⁶⁶ governed as tyrants against King Lord Ranimirus,

(260) and they also planned for battle. That king,

(261) wise and powerful, seized them, and threw them into prison bound in iron;

(262) one in Legio and the other in Gordon.¹⁶⁷

20 (263) After much time passed, after swearing an oath to the king,

(264) they left prison. Then Ordonius [III], the son of the king (Ranimirus II),

(265) chose the daughter of Fredinandus,¹⁶⁸ Urraca,¹⁶⁹ for matrimony.

(266) And Ranimirus, the most kind-hearted king, dedicated his daughter

(267) Geluira¹⁷⁰ to God. In her name, he constructed a monastery

25 (268) of remarkable size in the city of Legio

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1 (269) next to his palace in honor of the Holy Savior.¹⁷¹

¹⁶² Baños de Ledesma, Salamanca.

¹⁶³ Alhándega; cf. n. 161.

¹⁶⁴ May be Peñamecer or Peñaserracín in Ledesma. See Martínez Ortega, 67.

¹⁶⁵ Fernán Gonzalez of Castile.

¹⁶⁶ Diego Muñoz of Saldaña.

¹⁶⁷ La Pola de Gordón, León.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. n. 165.

¹⁶⁹ Queen Urraca Fernández.

¹⁷⁰ Princess Elvira Ramírez.

¹⁷¹ San Salvador. Today this is the Church of San Salvador de Palat del Rey located in León.

(270) (He constructed) other monasteries in the name of Saint Andre and

(271) Saint Christofor¹⁷² on the Cey¹⁷³ riverbank.

(272) He built another on the Dorius¹⁷⁴ riverbank in the name of Holy Mary.¹⁷⁵

5 (273) He also inherited another monastery by the

(274) name of Saint Michael the Archangel beyond the river

(275) Ornia.¹⁷⁶

(276) In the nineteenth year of his reign, he organized and brought together

(277) an army. He proceeded to destroy the city of the Agareni which now

10 (278) the people call Talavera.¹⁷⁷ He undertook war and there killed

(279) twelve thousand, and took away seven thousand captives.

(280) He then returned to his land with victory. Then, he set out to Ovetus

(281) and there became very sick. After returning to Legio,

(282) he received penance from the bishops and abbots,

15 (283) having strongly encouraged them. By the evening came the Lord's epiphany,

and he

(284) abdicated his throne, and said: *Naked I came*

(285) *from my mother's womb, naked I will be returned there.*

The Lord is my helper,

¹⁷² Church of Saint Andrés and Saint Cristóbal in Monasterio de Vega, Valladolid.

¹⁷³ Cea.

¹⁷⁴ Duero.

¹⁷⁵ This the Priorato de Santa María de Duero monastery in Valladolid.

¹⁷⁶ Most likely the area of Destriana, León. See Ayuntamiento de Destriana, n.d.

“Municipio: Introducción Histórica.” Accessed April 3, 2019.

<http://www.aytodestriana.es/municipio/introduccion-historica/>.

¹⁷⁷ Talavera de la Reina, Toledo.

(286) *I will not fear what man does to me.*¹⁷⁸ He died
(287) from natural causes, and lies in a sarcophagus next to the church
20 (288) of the Holy Savior at the cemetery which he built for his daughter Lady
(289) Geluira.¹⁷⁹ He reigned for nineteen years, two months, and twenty-five days.
(290) Year Hispanica 988.¹⁸⁰
(291) With Ranimirus dead, his son Ordonius [III]¹⁸¹ gained the ancestral
(292) scepter; a fairly wise man who knew much
25 (293) about administering and mobilizing an army. His brother,¹⁸²
(294) Sancius,¹⁸³ launched a plan with Ordonius III's step-mother's brother,

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1 (295) Garsianus, King of Pampilonensis,¹⁸⁴ and Count
(296) Fredenandus Gudissalvus of the Burgenses.¹⁸⁵ Each one with his own army,
(297) approached Legio, to expel Ordonius
(298) from his kingdom, and set up his brother Sancius on the throne.
5 (299) When King Ordonius heard this, he stood sufficiently prepared,
(300) defended his cities, and protected the scepter of his throne. These men
(301) then returned to their respective regions.

¹⁷⁸ Job 1:21

¹⁷⁹ Cf. n. 170.

¹⁸⁰ Year 950.

¹⁸¹ Ordoño III of León.

¹⁸² Half-brother. He is from Ramiro II's second marriage.

¹⁸³ Sancho I of León, also known as Sancho the Fat.

¹⁸⁴ García Sánchez I of Pamplona.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. n. 165. "Burgensius" refers to Burgos, Spain.

(302) King Ordonius brought together a great army,
(303) conquered Gallecia, pillaged Olixipona,¹⁸⁶ and took
10 (304) many spoils and captives with him.¹⁸⁷ He then returned
(305) with peace and victory to the royal throne. Fredenandus,¹⁸⁸
(306) since he was his father-in-law, whether he liked it or not,¹⁸⁹
(307) went to King Ordonius' service with great fear. King Ordonius reigned for
(308) five years and seven months. He died from natural causes
15 (309) in the city of Zemora, and lies in Legio next to the church of the Holy Savior,¹⁹⁰
(310) beside his father's casket, King Ranimirus.
(311) Year Hispanica 993.¹⁹¹

(312) With Ordonius [III] dead, his brother Sancius, son of Ranimirus,
(313) peacefully received the kingdom's crown. After completing the first year of
20 (314) his reign, with a certain trick having been made by a conspiracy of the army,
(315) he went from Legio and came to Pampilonia. With messengers sent away
(316) by the agreement of Garsianus, uncle of the king,

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1 (317) he was ordered to go to King Abderrahman [III] of the Cordubenses. All

¹⁸⁶ Lisboa, Portugal. At the time, it was under control of the Arabs (Casariego, 98).

¹⁸⁷ Although the Latin says this, Gómez-Moreno switches the grammar and writes that "he pillaged Galicia, and conquered Lisboa," (cv). Casariego writes "with which he conquered Galicia, he seized Lisboa" (98).

¹⁸⁸ Cf. n. 165.

¹⁸⁹ The Latin says *volens nolens*.

¹⁹⁰ Cf n. 171.

¹⁹¹ Year 955.

(318) the warlords of his kingdom took counsel together from count Fredenandus
(319) of Burgensius, and chose King Ordonius [IV], son of King Adefonsus [IV],
(320) who was blinded by his own brothers,
5 (321) for the new royal power. Count Fredenandus gave his daughter¹⁹² to Ordonius
[IV],

(322) the abandoned wife from Ordonius ([III]'s marriage), son of Ranimirus [II].

(323) Since King Sancius was extremely fat,
(324) the Agareni brought an herb that removed
(325) the thickness from his belly. Restored to his former high degree of agility,
10 (326) he entered a plan with the Sarracens, to return to the kingdom
(327) lost to him from which he had been removed. He then advanced on Legio
(328) with an army of countless men, and entered the land
(329) of his kingdom, and when Ordonius [IV] heard this, he fled from Legio
(330) at night, entered Asturias, and lost the kingdom. Since that man
15(331) lost it, Sancius took over. Entering Legio, he conquered the whole
(332) kingdom of his fathers.

(333) Of course, the aforementioned Ordonius was kicked out of Asturias,
(334) so he went to Burgos. The Burgenses expelled him with his wife and
(335) two sons, from Castella, they went to the land of the Sarracens.
20 (336) Urraca herself
(337) joined with another man. Ordonius, still alive, remained

¹⁹² Urraca Fernández's second marriage.

(338) with the Sarracens, and he paid the penalty, lamenting.

(339) King Sancius devised a beneficial plan with

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1 (340) his sister Geluira, to send messengers to Corduba,

(341) and ask for the body of the martyr Saint Pelagius,¹⁹³ who

(342) accepted martyrdom during the days of prince Ordonius [II], under the king of the

Arabs

(343) Abderrahaman [III], year Hispanica 964.¹⁹⁴ And while they sent envoys to them

5 (344) for peace and for the saint's sacred body, King Sancius left

(345) Legio and went to Gallecia, and conquered it up to the

(346) river Dorius. Gundissalvus,¹⁹⁵ who was duke beyond

(347) this river, heard this, brought together a great army, and went to the

(348) riverbank of that very river. Then, he sent messengers and devised a plot,

10 (349) to demand tribute from the land which he held.

(350) And thinking cunningly against the king, he sent poisoned fruits in a cup¹⁹⁶

(351) to that man. When he tasted it, he sensed his heart

(352) change; silently muttering to himself, he left swiftly to return to Legio.

(353) On the third day of this journey, he died. He reigned for

¹⁹³ Saint Pelagius of Córdoba, otherwise known as San Pelayo Mártir.

¹⁹⁴ Year 926.

¹⁹⁵ Gonzalo Menéndez or Gonçalo Mendes, count of Portugal in the kingdom of León and great duke of the Portuguese.

¹⁹⁶ The Latin is a bit unclear here. Urbel suggests that it may have been a poisoned apple (427).

15 (354) twelve years. Year Hispanica 1004 (or 1005).¹⁹⁷

(355) With Sancius dead, his son Ranimirus [III], at
(356) five years old, succeeded to the kingdom of his father. He governed
(357) with the advice of his dear aunt Geluire,¹⁹⁸ very prudent and
(358) devoted to God. He kept the peace with the Sarracens, and received
20 (359) from them the body of Saint Pelagius,¹⁹⁹ and he buried him with
(360) religious bishops in the city of the Legionenses. In the second year of his reign,
(361) a hundred Norman ships with their own king, Gunderedo,²⁰⁰
(362) attacked the cities of Gallecia, and made many slaughters

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1 (363) around Saint Iacobi.²⁰¹ They killed the bishop of that place
(364) named Sisinandus²⁰² by a sword. And they sacked all of Gallecia,
(365) as far as the Pirene mountains of Ezebrarius.²⁰³
(366) In the third year, when those people were returning to their region, God,
5 (367) from whom secrets do not lie hidden, exacted vengeance. For just as
(368) those men sent Christian people from the village into captivity and

¹⁹⁷ Year 967.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. n. 170.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. n. 193.

²⁰⁰ Viking warlord Gunrod.

²⁰¹ Santiago de Compostela.

²⁰² Sisnando Menéndez, otherwise known as, Sisnando II of Iria Flavia.

²⁰³ O Cebreiro, Lugo.

(369) killed many men by the sword, similarly, before they could escape the confines of Gallecia,

(370) they endured to the full many terrible things. And now, Count Guillelmus

(371) Sancionis,²⁰⁴ whose land they pillaged, in the name of God, and in honor of Saint Iacobi,

10 (372) left with a great army

(373) and began battle with them. The Lord gave him

(374) victory, and [the count] killed the whole nation, along with their own king,

(375) by the sword, and helped by divine clemency,

(376) he burned their ships with fire.

15 (377) King Ranimirus, since he was a child with sparse

(378) knowledge, began to afflict the counts of Gallecia with deeds and actions.

(379) The counts, enduring such things, skillfully plotted against him,

(380) and they raised another king by the name of Veremudus²⁰⁵

(381) above him, who had been ordained in the seat of Saint Iacobus²⁰⁶

20 (382) the apostle on the Ides of October,²⁰⁷ year Hispanica 1020.²⁰⁸

(383) Ranimirus, having heard this, hurried from Legio to Gallecia. King

(384) Veremudus left to go against them at Portella de Arena,²⁰⁹ and

(385) they began to fight fiercely. Finally, they separated from one another,

²⁰⁴ Guillermo Sánchez of Gascony, otherwise known as William II Sánchez.

²⁰⁵ Bermudo II, called the Gouty.

²⁰⁶ Santiago de Compostela.

²⁰⁷ November 13.

²⁰⁸ Year 982.

²⁰⁹ Near Antas de Ulla, Lugo, Galicia.

(386) neither of them surrendering to the other. Ranimirus returned
25 (387) to Legio; there he died from natural causes. He finished life
(388) in the sixteenth year of his reign.

P. 58

1 (389) With Ranimirus dead, Veremudus [II], the son of Ordonius [IV], entered
(390) Legio, and accepted the throne peacefully. The man was reasonably
(391) prudent; he strengthened the laws established by Prince Vambanus;
(392) he ordered the canons to be published; he esteemed mercy and justice;
(393) he desired to condemn the bad and choose the good.

(394) In the days of his reign, on account of the sins of the Christian people,
(395) a vast multitude of Sarracens arose. Their king,
(396) who took the false name of Almazor, whom he was not like before
(397) and would not be like in the future, devised a plan with the Sarracens
10 (398) from across the sea. And with all the Ismaelites, he attacked
(399) the territories of the Christians, and began to devastate
(400) and slaughter with a sword many of their kingdoms: these are the Kingdoms of the
Franks,
(401) the Kingdom of the Pampilonenses, even the Kingdom of the Legionenses.
(402) Indeed, he devastated the cities, the castles, and he depopulated all the lands.
15 (403) He went all the way to the western maritime regions of
(404) Hispania, and destroyed the city of Gallecia, in which the body of the blessed

(405) apostle Iacobus was covered with a burial mound.
(406) He had planned to go to the tomb of the apostle to destroy it, but
(407) terrified, he retreated. He crushed the churches, the monasteries, and the palaces
20 (408) and he even burned them with fire. Year Hispanica 1035.²¹⁰ The Divine
King,
(409) remembering his mercy, made vengeance onto his enemies:
(410) the people of the Agareni began to die by a sudden death and a sword
(411) and everyday they were coming to nothing.
(412) King Veremundus, helped by the Lord, began
25 (413) to restore that place of Saint Iacobus for the better. And in the second (414)
year, after [confronting] the azeyfa, he died from natural causes²¹¹ in the
(415) land of the Bericensus²¹² in confession to the Lord. He reigned for seventeen years.

P.59

1 (416) After he died, his son Adefonsus [V]
(417) at three years old gained the throne.
(418) Year [Hispanica] 1037.²¹³

²¹⁰ Year 987.

²¹¹ He died from gout, a form of arthritis where too much uric acid forms in the joints. This gave him his name Bermudo the Gouty (Casariego, 102).

²¹² El Bierzo, León.

²¹³ Year 999.

Latin Text

— 41 —

riosus rex debitum carnis persolvit anno VIII^o regni sui, mensibus duobus, cuius membrorum cineres sepulchrum circumclaudit.

Post cuius obitum. ¹

5Adefonsus ² filius domni ³ Ordonii successit in regnum. Hic fuit bellicosus, undique partibus satis exercitatus. In ingressione regni annos gerens etatis xIII, filius quidem perditionis Froyla Iemundi ⁴ ex partibus Gallecie venit, ad inquirendum regnum sibi non debitum. Rex 10 vero Adefonsus hoc audiens, secessit in partibus ¹ Alavensium. Ipse vero nefandus Froyla a senatu Ovetensi interceptus est. Hec audiens rex ad propria remeavit, et gratifice susceptus est.

Exinde Legionem venit, ac populavit Sublancium, 15 quod nunc a populis Sublancia dicitur, et Ceiam civitatem mirificam. Ipse vero istis satagens ⁵ operibus, nuntius ex Alavis ⁶ venit, eo quod intumuerant ⁷ corda illorum contra regem. Rex vero hoc audiens, illuc ire disposuit. Terrore adventus eius compulsi sunt, et subito iura debita cognoscentes, supplices colla ei submiserunt pollicentes se regno et ditioni eius fideles existere, et quod imperaretur

² sepulchrum ⁵ domni *falta* ⁸ Lemundi ¹⁰ secessit
Alavensium: *f.* 27 v. ¹⁷ Alaviis intumuerat

¹ Aquí empalma el texto del códice seguidamente con la crónica atribuída a Sampiro, como si acabara de hablarse de Ordoño I y no del II.^o

² Vuelve a tratarse de Alfonso III el Magno.

³ Así, la Misc. y Pelayo.

⁴ Así, Pel.; *Leemundi*, la Misc.

⁵ *Satagente*, la Misc., lo que pide corregir antes *Ipsa*.

⁶ Así, Pelayo y el ms. 51; *alavensibus*, la Misc.

⁷ Así, la Misc. y Pellicer; *intumuerat*, Pel.

efficere. Sicque Alavam obtentam, proprio imperio subiugavit. Eilonem ¹ vero qui comes illorum videbatur, ferro vincum Ovetum secum attraxit.

Interea ipsis diebus Ysmaelitica hostis urbem Legio-
5 nensem attemptavit cum duobus ducibus Imundar et Al-
catenatel, ibique ² multis milibus amissis, alius exercitus
fugiens evasit.

Non multo post, ¹ universam Galliam simul cum Pam-
pilonia ² causa cognationis secum adsociat, uxorem ex illo-
10 rum prosapia accipiens nomine Xemenam consubrinam
Caroli regis. Studio quippe exercitus concordante, favore
victoriarum multos inimicorum terminos sortitus est. Len-
zam urbem iste cepit, atque cives illius captis plurimis igne
turre consumptis, Alenzam pace acquisivit.
15 In hiis diebus frater regis nomine Froylanus, ut
ferunt necem regis detractans, aufugit ad Castellam. Rex
quidem domnus Adefonsus adiutus a Domino cepit eum,
et pro tali causa orbavit; hos simul Froylanum, Nunnum, ³
etiam Veremudum et Odoarium. Ipse Veremudus orba-
20 tus fraudulenter ex Oveto exivit, et Astoricam venit, et per
septem annos tyrannidem gessit Arabes secum habens;
una cum ipsis Getulis exercitum Galiare direxit. Rex
vero Adefonsus hoc audiens, obviam illis processit, et eos

¹ eficere ² Gilonem ³ atraxit ⁵ atemptauit
⁶ ubique ⁸ uniuersam: *f.* ²⁸ Galiam Pampilona ¹⁸ Nun-
num *falta* ¹⁹ Vermudum ²¹ tiranidem

¹ Así, la Misc.; *Eylone*, Pel. y Luc.
² Así, la Misc. y Pel.
³ Así, la Misc., pel. y Luc. La omisión de nuestro có-
dice debió verificarse con motive de pasar á otra linea.
así: *Froila][num, Nun]num.*

usque ad interemptionem ¹ delevit. Cecus I autem ad Sar-
racenos fugiit ².

Tunc edomuit rex Astoricam simul et Ventosam;
Conimbriam ² quoque ab inimicis obsessam defendit,
5 suoque imperio subiugavit. Cesserunt etiam armis illius
plurime Yspanie urbes. Eius quoque tempore ecclesia am-
pliata est: urbes namque Portugalensis, Bracarensis ², Ve-
sensis ², Flavensis, Aucensis a christianis populantur ², et
secundum sententiam canonicam episcopi ordinantur, et
10 usque ad flumen Tagum populando producit. Sub cuius
imperio dux; quidam Yspanie et proconsul nomine Abo-
falit ³ bello comprehensus, regis obtutibus est presentatus;
qui se pretio redimens, c millia solidorum in redemptio-
nem suam dedit.

15 Per idem fere tempus Cordubensis exercitus venit
ad civitatem Legionensem atque Astoricensem urbem; et
exercitum Toletane urbis atque alium ex aliis Yspanie ci-
vitatibus post eum venientem, in unum se tunc aggregari
voluit ad destruendam Dei ecclesiam. Sed prudentissimus
20 rex per exploratores I omnia noscens, magno consilio Dei
iuvante instat adiutus. Nam Cordubense agmen post ter-
gum relinquens, sequenti exercitui obviam properavit. Illi
quidem pre multitudine armatorum nil metuentes, Polvo-
rariam tendentes venerunt. Sed gloriosissimus rex ex
25 latere silve progressus, irruiit super eos in predictum locum
Polvorarie iuxta flumen cui nomen est Urbicum, ubi

¹ intererincionem autem: f. 28 v. ² fugit ⁴ Coinbriam
⁵ illus ⁷ Bragarenis, Vessensis ⁸ populatur ¹⁸ agregari
¹⁹ voluint ²⁰ omnia: f. 29 ²¹ Cordubensse

¹ *Interemcionem* puso Ferreras; *internitionem*, la Misc., Pel.
y el ms. 51, como se repite en el folio siguiente.

² Así, la Misc. y Pel.

³ *Abohalit*, Pel. y Luc.

interempti ad duodecim millia corruerunt. Illa quidem alia azeyfa Cordubensis Valle de Mora ¹ venit fugiendo.

Rege vero persequente, omnes ibidem gladio interempti sunt. Nullus inde evasit preter x involutos sanguine inter 5 cadavera mortuorum. Post hoc Arabes ad regem Adefonsum legatos miserunt pro pace. Sed rex per triennium illis pacem accomodans, fregit audaciam inimicorum; et ex ¹ hinc magna exultavit gloria.

Ac triennio peracto, sub era DccccxxvII, ² urbes de-
10 sertas ab antiquitus populare ³ iussit: hec sunt Cemora ⁴,
Septimancas et Donnas vel ornnes Campi Gotorum. Tau-
rum namque dedit ad populandum filio suo | Garseano.
Interea sub era DccccxxIx^a, congregato exercitu magno
Arabes Cemoram properarunt. Hoc ⁵ audiens serenissimus
15 rex, congregato exercitu, inter se confligentes, cooperante
divina clementia, delevit eos usque interemptionem ⁶.
etiam Alkaman⁷ qui propheta dicebatur ibidem corruit,
et quievit terra. ,

In illis diebus quando solent ad bella procedere, rex
20 congregato exercitu ⁸ Toletum perrexit, et ibidem a Tole-
tanis copiosa accepit. Exinde reversus, cepit gladio castel-

¹ milia ² niora ⁶ trienium ⁷ acomodans Rex,
por et ex ⁹ trienio disertas ¹⁰ Semora ¹² Garseano: *fô-*
lio 29 v. ¹⁶ interimcionem ¹⁷ Alhaman

1 Asi, la Misc., Pel. y Luc.
2 Igual fecha se infiere de la Misc.; *Era* DccccIII,
Pelayo.
3 *Populari*, la Misc. y Pel.
4 Asi, Pel. y la Misc.
5 *Hec*, la Misc. y Pel.
6 *Internitionem*, la Misc., Pel. y el ms. 51.
7 Asi Pel.; *Alfaman*, la Misc.
8 *Paralipom.* I, xx, 1.

lum quod dicitur Quintialubel¹, partem gladio truncavit,
partem secum adduxit, atque Carrionem venit; et ibidem

servum suum Addaninum a filiis suis trucidare iussit, eo
quod cogitaverat in necem regis. Et veniens Çemoram,
5 filium suum Garsianum comprehendit, et ferro vinctum
ad Gozonem duxit². Socer quidem eius Munio³ tiranni-
dem gessit, ac rebellum⁴ paravit. Etenim omnes filii regis
inter se coniuratione facta, patrem suum expulerunt Bor-
tes⁵ villula consedentem. Etenim causa I orationis ad sanc-
10 tum Iacobum rex perrexit; atque inde reversus, Astoricam
venit, atque a filio suo Garsiano petivit ut adhuc vel semel
Sarracenos persequeretur. Et multo⁶ agmine congregato
perrexit, multasque strages fecit, et cum magna victoria
regressus est; atque Çemoram veniens, proprio morbo
15 abscessit⁷. Oveto in pace quiescit sub aula sancte Marie
Dei genitricis. XLVIII annis regnavit. ⁸ Era DCCCCXLVIII.

¹ Quintialubel ⁵ Garseanum ⁶ Nunio tiranidem ⁹ ora-
tionis: f. 30 ¹¹ Garsyano ¹² multitudine et ¹⁵ abscessit
¹⁶ xvIII anno añade antes de Era

1 *Quinicialubel*, Pel.; *Quinitiabubel*, la Misc.

2 *Direxit*, la Misc., Pel. y Luc.

3. Así, la Misc., que agrega *Ferrandiz*; *Munino Frede-*
nandi, Pel.; pero falta la filiación en Lucas.

4 Así también, Pel.; *rebellium*, la Misc.

5 Igual, la Misc.; *Boytes*, Luc.; *Boides* o *Boyides*, Pel.

6 Así, la Misc.; *multitudo*, Pel.; pero Lucas conserva
el *multo*, dando a entender que ésta sería la forma inicial.

7 Corrección del ms. 5 I y de Pellicer; *discessit*, Pela-
yo.; *decessit*, la Misc., y es la palabra usual.

8 *Regnavit ann.* XLIX, la Misc.; esta misma cifra, ^{XLVIII},
en Pel., según el código de Alcalá; pero el de Batres
pone ^{XVIII}. Quizá sobre alguna corrección marginal en este
sentido se explica el añadir nuestro código aquí la frase
incongruente: ^{XVIII} *anno*.

Adefonso defuncto, Garsias filius eius successit in regno. Primo anno regni sui maximum agmen aggregavit, et ad persequendum Arabes properavit. Dedit illi Dominus victoriam; predavit, ustulavit et multa mancipia secum
5 adtraxit. Insuper et regem Aiolas gladio cepit, et dum venit in locum qui dicitur Altremulo, negligentia custodum aufugit. Rex vero regnavit annos III, mense uno; morbo proprio Çemore discessit. Era Dcccc quinquagessima prima.

10 Garsiano mortuo, frater eius Ordonius ex partibus Gallecie veniens, adeptus est regnum. Magnum interim agmen Cordubense una cum alcaide nomine Abulhabaz ¹ ad I castellum ripe Dorii quod dicitur Sancti Stephani venit. Rex vero Ordonius hoc audiens, ut erat vir bellicosus, 15 magno exercitu aggregato illuc festinus perrexit; et confluentibus ² ad invicem, dedit Dominus triumphum catholico regi, et delevit eos usque mingentem ad parietem ³. Ipsum quidem agmen cum supradicto alcayde corruit, eius capite truncato. Etiam alium regem crassum interfecit,
20 Abulmutaraf, et reversus est rex cum magno triumpho ad sedem suam Legionensem.

Deinde alia azeyfa venit ad locum quern vocitant Mitonia, et inter se conflictantes at prelium moventes, corruerunt ex ambabus partibus; ut ait David: *varii sunt eventus*
25 *belli* ⁴. Exhinc in anno tertio tertia venit azeyfa ad locum

¹ defuncto ² agregavit ¹³ castellum. *f.* 30 v. ¹⁵ agregato
²³ conflitantes

1 *Abulabaz*, la Misc.; *Ablapaz*, Pel.

2 *Conjligentibus*, la Misc.; *dimicantibus*, Pel.

3 Lib. Regum, I, xxv, 22 y 34.

4 Id., II, XI, 25.



quem dicunt Moys¹. Rex vero Sancius² Garsiani filius misit ad regem domnum Ordonium, ut adiuvaret eum contra acies Agarenorum. Rex vero perrexit cum magno presidio, et obviaverunt sibi in valle que dicitur Iuncaria. Et ut
5 adsolet peccato impediante multi corruerunt | ex nostris;
etiam duo episcopi Dulcidius et Ermogius³ ibidem sunt comprehensi, et Cordubam sunt adducti. Pro isto Ermogio episcopo ingressus fuit subrinus⁴ eius sanctus Pelagius carcerem, qui postea pervenit ad martirium. Quos episcopus
10 prefatus rex adhuc viventes adduxit.

At vero rex ipse Ordonius cogitans quatinus ista contraheret⁵, congregato magno exercitu iussit arma componi, et in eorum terra que dicitur Sintilia strages
multas fecit, terrarum depopulavit, etiam castella multa in
15 ore gladii cepit: hec sunt Sarmalon, Eliph, Palmacio, et Castellion et Magnanza depredavit, siquidem et alia multa, quad longum est prenotare, in tantum ut unius diei spatio non pervenit ad Cordubam. Exinde remeans cum magno triumpho Çemoram, invenit reginam dominam Ge-l u iram⁶
20 defunctam; et quantum habuit gaudium de triumpho, tan-

5 peccato	ex: f.31	7 aducti	8 santus	10 aduxit
12 contraheret-i-vindicaret		17 die		

1 *Mohis*, Pel. y Lucas.

2 Al margen de nuestro c6dice, con letra igual: «Iste Sancius in era nonigentissima XLIII surrexit in Panpilonia rex novus et obiit era DccccLxII.»

3 Las respectivas sedes de estos obispos, *Salamanticensis*, *Tudensis*, constan en la Misc., Pel. y Luc.

4 *Sobrinus*, la Misc., Pel. y Pellicer.

5 Asi Pel.; rtuestro cod. añaade, coma glosa, «*id est vindicaret*»; esta segunda palabra sola figura en la Misc., y sobre la misma compuso Lucas su frase correspondiente.

6 Tambien asi Luc.; Pel. sustituy6 *Mummadonnam*, y la Misc. acoge ambos nombres.

tam gustavit ¹ tristitiam de regine leto. Aliam quoque duxit uxorem ex partibus Gallecie nomine Agaruntum ², que postea | fuit ab eo spreta, quia non fuit illi placita; et postea tenuit inde confessionem dignam.

5 Equidem rex Ordonius, ut erat providus et perfectus, direxit Burgis pro comitibus qui tunc eamdem terram regere videbantur: hii sunt Nunnus ³, Fredenandi, Abolmondar Albus et suus filius Didacus, et Fredenandus Ansuri filius, venerunt ad iunctam regis in rivo qui dicitur Car-
10 rion, loco dicto Tebulare ⁴; et ut ait agiografa, *cor regis et cursus aquarum | in manu Domini* ⁵, nullo sciente exceptis consiliariis propriis, cepit eos, et vinctos et cathenatos ad sedem regiam Legionensem secum adduxit, et ergastulo carceris trudi ⁶ iussit.

15 Interea nuntii venerunt ex parte regis Garsiani ⁷, ut illuc pergeret rex noster suprafatus, ad debellandas urbes perfidorum: hee ⁸ sunt Nagara et Beguera ⁹. Rex vero iter egit cum magno exercitu, et ex pugnavit et oppressit, atque cepit supradictam Nagaram, que ab antiquo Trucio ¹⁰ vo-

² Gallicie ³ fuit: f. 31 v. 6 comittibus ⁷ Nunius ⁹ iunctam
17 Begera

¹ *Tantum gestavit*, la Misc. y Pel.

² *Aragontum*, Pel. y Luc.

³ Asf, Pel.; *Nuno*, la Misc.; *Nunius*, los copistas.

⁴ *Teliare*; Pel.; *Tegulare* corrige Pellicer sobre Rodrigo.

⁵ Prov., XXI, 1.

⁶ Pelayo intercala aquí: *et ibi eos necare*, siguiéndole la
Misc. y Luc.

⁷ Al margen de nuestro cod., con letra igual que su texto: «1st Garsias regis Sandi Panpilonensis filius regnavit annos xxxv et obiit era ^a MVIII.»

⁸ *Hec* o *hee*, Pel.

⁹ Así, Pel., la Misc. y Lucas.

¹⁰ Lo mismo, Lucas; *Tructio*, Pel.; *Trictio*, la Misc.

cabatur. Tunc sortitus est filiam suam in uxorem nomine Sanciam convenientern sibi, et cum magna ¹ victoria ad sedem suam venit. Regnavit in pace annos novem, menses. sex. Progrediens de Çemora morbo proprio discessit, et 5 quiescit in aula sancte Marie virginis sedis Legionensis. Era DccccLxII.

Ordonio defuncto ¹, Froylanus frater eius successit in regno. Propter paucitatem dierum nullam victoriam fecit, nullos hastes exercuit, nisi quad ut obtumant ² filios Ol- 10 mundi ³ sine culpa trucidare tussit; et ut dicunt, *iusto Dei iudicio*, festinus regno caruit, quia episcopum ⁴ nomine Frunimum ⁵ post occisionem fratrum absque culpa in exilium misit; et. ob hoc adbreuiatum ⁶ est regnum; ac breviter vitam finivit, et morbo proprio discessit. Regnavit anno 15 uno, mensibus duobus. Era DccccLxIII.

Mortuo Froyla, Adefonsus filius domni Ordonii adeptus est scepra paterna. Huic consistenti in regno voluntas evenit arripiendi viam confessionis; et in talibus operibus satagens, nuntios misit pro fratre suo Ranimiro 20 in partes Visei dicens qualiter vellet a regno discedere, et fratri suo tribuere. Venit quidem Ranimirus in ¹ Çemoram cum omni exercitu magnatum suorum, et suscepit regnum.

² victoria: *f. 32* ⁴ discesit ¹⁰ trucidare ¹² Fruminum
¹³ abreuiatum ¹⁸ confesionis ¹⁹ Ramiro, *siempre* ²⁰ velet
²¹ Çemoram: *f. 32 v.*

1 Hasta aquí no procedía empalmar nuestro texto con la narración de Sampiro, omitido lo precedente.

2 Así también Pel.; *autumant*, la Misc., e igualmente corrigió nuestro texto Berganza.

3 *Nobilis* añaden aquí Pel., la Misc. y Lucas.

4 *Legionensem* añaden las mismos textos.

5 Así, la Misc., exactamente.

6 Así, la Misc. y Pel.

Frater quidem eius properat ad monasterium in locum qui dicitur Domnis Sanctis super crepidinem alvei Ceie.

Qui Ranimirus exercitum movit ad persequendum Arabes; Zemoramque ingresso nuntius illi venit, quia
5 frater Adefonsus ex monasterio progressus, Legionis regnum esset iterum adeptus. Hoc audiens rex, ira commotus iussit intonare buccinis, vibrare hastas; iterum Legionem remeans festinus, obsedit eum die ac nocte usquequod
10 ilium cepit; et comprehensum iubet ergastulo retrudi.

10 Arte quidem facta, omnes magnates Asturiensium nuntios miserunt pro supradicto principe Ranimiro. Ille vero Asturias ingressus, cepit omnes filios Froylani ¹: Adefonsum qui scepra paterna regere ² videbatur, Ordonium et Ranimirum secum adduxit; pariterque cum fratre suo
15 suprafato Adefonso, qui ergastulo tenebatur, coniunxit, et omnes simul in uno die orbare precepit. Regnaverat quidem Adefonsus annos **I** septem et menses septem. Era nonagentessima **LXIX**.

Ranimirus securus regnans, consilium inivit ³ cum
20 omnibus magnatibus sui regni qualiter Caldeorum ingrederetur terram; et coadunato exercitu, pergens ad civitatem que dicitur Magerita, confregit muros eius, et maximas fecit strages dominica dementia adiuvante ⁴, reversus est in domum suam cum victoria in pace.

25 Legione vero consedenti, nuntius venit a Fredenancio

7 bucinis hastas 17 septem: f. 33

1 *Fratris domni Ordonii*, añaden Pel., la Misc. y Lucas, siendo quizá frase del texto primitivo.

2 *Regredere*, la Misc.; falta esta frase en Pel.

3 *Iniit*, la Misc. y Pel.

4 La pureza de esta frase, alterada en la Misc. sobre Pel., garantizase mediante Lucas.

Gundissalvi ex azeyfa grandi que properabat ad Castellam. Quo audito exercitum movit rex, et obviam illis exivit in locum qui dicitur Oxoma, ac nomen Domini invocando acies ordinare iussit, et omnes viros ad bellum
5 parare precepit. Dedit illi Dominus victoriam magnam: partem ex eis occidit, partem multa millia captivorum secum adduxit, et reversus est ¹ ad propriam sedem cum victoria magna.

Post hec Ranimirus congregato exercitu Cesaragust-
10 am perrexit. Rex namque Sarracenorum Abohahia regi magno Ranimiro colla submitit, et omnem terram ¹ ditioni regis nostri subiugavit. Abderrahman regi suo mentitus est, et regi catholico cum omnibus suis se tradidit. Rex ipse noster ut erat fortis et potens, omnia castella
15 Abohahia que habebat infesta edomuit, et illi tradidit; et reversus est Legionem cum magna victoria. Abohahia vero iterum regem Ranimirum fefellit, et Abderrahman pro pace misit.

Postea Abderrahman rex Cordubensis cum magno
20 exercitu Septimancas properavit. Rex noster catholicus hoc audiens, illuc ire disposuit cum magno exercitu; et ibidem confligentibus ad invicem, dedit Dominus victoriam regi catholico secunda feria imminente festo sanctorum Iusti et Pastoris; deleta sunt ex eis Lxxx^a millia ².
25 Etiam ipse Abohahia rex Agarenius³ ibidem a nostris comprehensus est ⁴, et Legionem advectus et ergastulo

6 milia 7 est *falta* 9 Raymirus, y así otras veces 10 Abohahya 11 ditioni *f. 33 v.* 17 fefelit 20 Septymancas catholicus 24 milia 26 est *falta*

1 Así, la Misc., Pel. y Luc.

2 *Maurorum* añaden Pel. y la Misc.

3 *Agarenorum*, Pel. y la Misc.

4 Así, los mismos y Lucas.

trusus : quia mentitus est domino Ranimiro, comprehensus est recto iudicio Dei. Illi vero qui remanserant, itinere arrepto in fugam versi sunt. Rege | vero ipsos ¹persequente, dum ipsi pervenerunt ad urbem que dicitur Alhandega ², a nostris ibidem comprehensi et extincti sunt.

Ipse vero rex Abderrahman semivivus evasit. Unde nostri multa attulerunt spolia, aurum videlicet, ³argentum et vestes pretiosas. Rex quidem iam securus perrexit ad domum suam cum victoria magna in pace.

10 Postea secundo mense azeyfam ⁴ ad ripam Turmi ire disposuit, et civitates desertas ibidem populavit. Hee sunt Salamantica sedes antiqua castrorum, Letesma, Ripas, Balneos, Albandegua ⁵, Penna et alia plurima castella, quod longum esset prenotare.

15 Hiis factis ⁶ Fredenandus Gundissalvi et Didacus Munionis contra regem dominum Ranimirum tyrannidem gesserunt, necnon et bellum paraverunt. Ille vero rex ut erat prudens et fortis comprehendit eos, et unum in Legionem, alterum in Gordone ferro vinctos carcere trusit.

20 Multo quidem tempore transacto, iuramento regi dato exierunt de ergastulo. Tunc Ordonius filius regis sortitus est filiam Fredinandi I in coniugio nomine Urracam.

Et Ranimirus qui erat rex mitissimus, filiam suam Geluiram Deo dicavit, et sub nomine eiusdem monasterium intra urbem Legionensem mire magnitudinis con-

3 vero: f 34 7 videlicet 11 disertas 12 sedis
20 trasacto 22 in: f 34 v. 23 mittissimus

1 *Illos*, Pel. y la Misc.

2 *Albandegua*, Lucas.

3 *Et* añaden la Misc. y Pel.

4 *Id est exercitus* añaden como glosa Pel. y la Misc.

5 *Alhandega*, la Misc.; *Alphandega*, Pel. y Lucas.

6 *Peractis*, la Misc. y Pel.

struxit in honore sancti Salvatoris iuxta palatium regis. Alia quidem monasteria in nomine sancti Andree et sancti Christofori hedificavit super ripam fluminis Ceye. Aliud super ripam Dorii in nomine sancte Marie hedifica-
5 vit. Aliud etiam monasterium in sua hereditate propria in nomine sancti Michaelis archangeli super fluvium nomine Orniam ¹.

XvIII^o regni sui anno consilio inito, exercitu aggregato perrexit evolvere civitatem Agarenorum que nunc a
10 populis Talavera vocitatur; et bello inito occidit ibidem duodecim millia, et asportavit septem millia captivorum, et reversus est ad propria cum victoria. Et tunc Ovetum ire disposuit, et illic graviter egrotavit. Ad Legionem reversus, accepit confessionem ab episcopis et abbatibus valde
15 eos exhortatus, et vespere apparitionis Domini ipse se ex proprio regno abstulit, et dixit: *Nudus egressus sum de utero matris mee, nudus revertar illuc. Dominus adiutor meus, non timebo quid faciat michi homo* ². Proprio morbo discessit, et quiescit in sarcofago iuxta ecclesiam sancti
20 Salvatoris, ad cimiterium quad construxit filie sue domne Geluire. Regnavit annos ³ xvIII, menses duos, dies xxv. Era DCCCCLXXXVIII ^a.

Ranimiro defuncto, filius eius Ordonius scepra paterna est adeptus. Vir satis prudens, et in exercendis dis-
25 ponendisque exercitibus nimis sapiens. Frater quidem eius nomine Sancius, consilio inito ⁴ una cum avunculo suo

7 Ormam 8 agregato 11 milia 15 exortatus apari-
cionis 16 Nudus: f. 35 19 ecclesiam santi 20 ciminterium
21 annis 26 inico

1 Así Pel. y Lucas, correctamente.

2 Psal., cxvII, 6.-Hebbr., xIII, 6.

3 Así, Pel. y la Misc.

4 Así la Misc., Pel. y Luc. y corrección de Pellicer.

nomine Garsiano regis Pampilonensium, necnon Fredenandus Gundissalvi Burgensium comes, unusquisque cum exercitu suo Legionem accesserunt, qualiter Ordonium a regno expellerent, et Sancium fratrem eius in regno confirmarent.

5 Quo audito rex Ordonius satis exercitatus stetit, suasque civitates defensavit, et regni sceptrum vindicavit, hiis supradictis remeantibus ad propria.

Ipse quidem rex Ordonius magno exercitu aggregato Galleciam I edomuit, Olixiponam depredavit, et multa spolia simul cum captivis secum adduxit, et ad sedem regiam cum pace et victoria rediit. Fredenandus vero supradictus, quia socer eius erat, volens nolens ¹ cum magno metu ad eiusdem servitium properavit. Rex vero regnavit annos quinque, menses septem. Propria morte ² urbe Zemora discessit, et Legione quiescit iuxta aulam sancti Salvatoris, iuxta sarchofagum patris sui Ranimiri regis. Era Dcccc ^a nonagessima III

Ordonio defuncto, frater eius Sancius Ranimiri filius pacifice apicem regni sui suscepit. Annoque primo ³ regni sui expleto quadam arte exercitus coniuratione facta ⁴, ex Legione egressus, Pampiloniam pervenit amissis ⁵ nuntiis una cum consensu avunculi Garsiani regis ad regem

8 agregato 9 edomuit: *f. 35 v. 12* volles- nollens ¹⁴ discessit ¹⁶ Raymiry ¹⁸ defunto Santius Ramiri ¹⁹ suscepit idem, *por* primo ²⁰ faeta *falta*

1 Así, Pel. y la Misc.

2 *Proprio morbo*, Pel. mejor.

3 *Uno*, Pel.; *idem.*, también la Misc., donde el original pondría solamente I, como advirtió Cirot.

4 Así Pel. y Luc.; pero falta en la Misc. también.

5 *Ac missis*, la Misc. Antes de esto añade *iussus*, y lo mismo Pel., palabra que no da sentido y se repite luego.

Cordubensem Abderrahaman ire iussus est. Omnes vero
magnates regni eius consilio inito una cum Fredenando ¹
Burgensium comite, regem Ordonium elegerunt in
regno ², Adefonsi regis filium qui orbatus fuerat cum
5 fratribus suis. Fredenandus quidem comes dedit ei filiam suam,
uxorem relictam ³ ab Ordonio Ranimiri filio.

Sancius quidem rex cum esset crassus nimis, ipsi
Agareni herbam attulerunt, et crassitudinem abstulerunt a
ventre eius. Et ad pristinam levitatis astutiam reductus,
10 consilium inivit cum Sarracenis, qualiter ad regnum sibi
ablatum perveniret, ex quo eiectus fuerat. Egressus cum
innumerabili exercitu pergens ³ Legionem; at ubi terram
regni ¹ sui intravit, et Ordonio auditum fuit, ex Legionem
per noctem fugiit, et Asturias intravit, et regno caruit; ille
15 caruit, Sancius suscepit. Ingressus Legionem, edomuit omne
regnum patrum suorum.

Supradictus quippe Ordonius ab Asturiis ⁴ proiectus,
Burgis pervenit. Ipsum etiam Burgenses, muliere ablata
cum filiis duobus, a Castilla expulerunt, et ad terram Sarra-
20 cenorum direxerunt. Ipsa quidem remanens Urraca no-
mine, alio se sociavit viro. Ordonius adhuc vivens inter
Sarracenos mansit, et eiulando penas persolvit.

Rex vero Sancius salubre inivit ⁵ consilium una cum

¹ Abderrahamam ² Ferdinando ³ comite ⁶ ab: f. 36
13 regni *falta* 17 Asturis 19 expullerunt 23 Santius inuit

1 Así, Pel. y la Misc., como siempre.
2 *Regnum*, la Misc., Pel. y Lucas.
3 *Perrexit*, la Misc., haciendo punto en *Legionem*;
perrexit in Legionem corrige el ms. 1508.
4 Así, la Misc., Pel. y Lucas.
5 Así, Pellicer y Berganza; *inivit*, la Misc. y Pel. y tam-
bién Ferreras; *innuit*, el ms. 1508.

soore sua Geluira, ut nuntios mitteret Cordubam, et
peteret corpus sancti Pelagii martiris, qui martirium
accepit in diebus Ordonii principis, sub rege Arabum
Abderrahaman, era Dcccclxliii^a. Et dum legatos illis ¹ pro
5 pace et ipsius corpore sancti ² miserunt, egressus rex San-
cius Legione venit Galleciam, et edomuit eam usque ad
flumen Dorii. Quo audito Gundissalvus qui dux erat ultra
flumen illud, congregato magno exercitu venit usque ri-
pam ipsius fluminis; deinde missis nuntiis et coniuratione
10 facta, ut ³ exsolueret tributum ex ipsa terra quam tenebat,
callide adversus regem cogitans, veneni pocula illi in
pomo duxit ⁴. Quod dum gustasset, sensit cor suum immu-
tatum; silenter musitans, festinus cepit remeare ad Legio-
nem. In ⁵ ipso itinere die tertio vitam finivit. Regnavit
15 annos xii. Era MV^a. ⁶

Sancio defuncto, filius eius Ranimirus habens a nati-
vitate annos quinque suscepit regnum patris sui, continens
se cum consilio amite sue domne. Geluire devote Deo ⁷ ac
prudentissime. Habuit pacem cum Sarracenis, et corpus
20 sancti Pelagii ex eis recepit, et cum religiosis episcopis in
civitate Legionensi tumultavit. Anno secundo regni sui c
classes Normannorum cum rege suo nomine Gunde-
redo ingresse sunt urbes Gallecie, et strages multas facien-

3 bum: *f. 36 v.* 5 Santius 6 Galliciam 11 calide
14 In *falta* 17 succcepit 22 normanorum 23 sunt: *f. 37*

1 *Illuc*, la Misc. y Pel., qui, a mejor.

2 *Sancti corpore*, la Misc. mejor.

3 *Ne* corrige sobre *ut* nuestro código, apartandose de los demás textos, y ello prueba lo moderno de la corrección, que además no se justifica.

4 *Direxit*, la Misc., Pel. y Lucas.

5 Así, los mismos; *et in* pone el ms. 1508.

6 *Era* MIIII, la Misc. y Lucas. ...

7 *Deo devote*, la Misc., Pel. y Luc.

tes in giro sancti Iacobi, episcopum loci illius gladio peregunt nomine Sisinandum, ac totam Galleciam depredaverunt, usquequo pervenerunt ad Pireneos montes Ezebrarii. Tertio vero anno, ¹ remeantibus illis ad propria, Deus
5 quem occulta non latent, retribuit ultionem. Sicut enim illi plebem christianam in captivitatem miserunt, et multos gladio interfecerunt, ita et illi priusquam a finibus Gallecie exirent, multa mala perpessi sunt. Comes namque Guillelmus Sancionis, in nomine Domini et honore sancti Iacobi
10 cuius terram devastaverunt, exivit cum exercitu magno obviam illis, et cepit preliari cum illis; dedit illi Dominus victoriam, et omnem gentem ipsam simul cum rege suo gladio interfecit, atque classes eorum igne cremavit, divina adiutus
dementia.

15 Rex vero Ranimirus, cum esset in pueritia et modica scientia, cepit comites Gallecie factis ac verbis contristari. Ipsi quidem comites talia ferentes, callide adversus eum cogitaverunt, et regem alium nomine Veremudum super se erexerunt, qui fuit ordinatus in sede sancti Iacobi
20 apostoli ¹ idus Octobris, era millesima vicessima. Quo audito ² Ranimirus ex Legione ad Galleciam properavit. Rex vero Veremudus obviam illi exivit in Portella de Arena: et ceperunt acriter preliari. Nullus tandem eorum alteri cedens, separati sunt ab invicem. Ranimirus vero reversus est
25 Legionem; ibique proprio morbo decedens, xv^o ³ regni sui anno vitam finivit ⁴.

5 Sicud 16 y 17 comittes 17 calide
4 anno *falta*
20 idus: *f. 37 v. auditu*

1 Así, los mismos textos.

2 Así, el ms. 51; *quod audiens*, la Misc.

3 XV^o la Misc, la Iriense y Pel. *Quindecim annis, mensibus septem*, Lucas.

4 *Et in Destriana sepultus fuit*, añaden la Misc., Pel. y Lucas. *Era MXX* agregan también la Misc., Luc. y la Iriense.

Mortuo Ranimiro, Veremundus Ordonii filius ingressus est Legionem, et accepit regnum pacifice. Vir satis prudens; leges a Vambano principe conditas firmavit; canones aperire iussit; dilexit misericordiam et iudicium; reprobare malum studuit et eligere bonum.

In diebus vero regni eius propter peccata populi christiani crevit ingens multitudo Sarracnorum; et rex eorum qui nomen falsum sibi imposuit Almazor, qualis non antea fuit nec futurus erit, consilio inito cum Sarracenis transmarinis et cum omni gente Ysmaelitarum intravit fines christianorum, et cepit devastare multa regnorum eorum, atque gladio trucidare: hec sunt regna Francorum, regnum Pampilonense, regnum etiam Legionense. Devastavit quidem civitates, castella, omnemque terram depopulavit, usquequo pervenit ad partes maritimas occidentalis Yspanie, et Gallecie civitatem, in qua corpus beati Iacobi apostoli tumultatum est, destruxit. Ad sepulchrum vero Apostoli, ut illud frangeret¹, ire disposuerat; sed territus rediit. Ecclesias, monasteria, palatia fregit, atque igne cremavit. Era M.^a tricessima quinta. Rex celestis memorans misericordie sue, ultionem fecit de inimicis suis: morte quidem subitanea et gladio ipsa gens Agarenorum cepit interire, et ad nichilum quotidie pervenire.

Rex vero Veremudus a Domino adiutus², cepit restaurare ipsum locum sancti Iacobi in melius. Et secundo anno post azeyfam terra Bericensi proprio morbo in confessione Domini emisit spiritum. Regnavit annos xvii.

3 Vanbano 6 pecata 12 hee corum: f. 38 16 Galecie
17 sepulchrum 18 frangere 19 reddiit. ecclesias 23 cotidie

¹ Así, Luc., y lo mismo corrigieron el ms. 51 y Pellicer; *frangendum* sólo, sustituye la Misc.

² *Adiutus a Domino*, la Misc. y Lucas.

Quo defuncto, Adefonsus filius eius, habens a nati -
vitate sua annos tres, adeptus est ¹ regnum . Era millesima
tricesima septima ².

² est *falta* millesima

¹ Así Pel. y Luc., y además lo suplió el ms. 51.

² Aquí parece terminar la crónica atribuida a Sam-
piro, siguiendo el relato primero con intento de ilustrar la
ascendencia de Alfonso VI; mas por de pronto se explaya en
amplificaciones sobre el desastre de Almanzor.

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