



**TURUN
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THE GOOD NOBLEMEN WHO CONQUERED THE KINGDOM

Islam, Historiography, and Aristocratic
Legitimation in Late-Medieval Portugal

Tiago Queimada e Silva



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ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with aristocratic historiography and political legitimation in late-medieval Portugal (late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). It offers a perspective into the historical imaginary of the late-medieval Portuguese aristocracy; an imaginary that underlay the argumentation of members of this social class in defence of their traditional rights and jurisdictions against political centralisation. It examines how the medieval Portuguese aristocracy utilized memories of past interactions with Islam to justify its privileged social status and defend its traditional prerogatives at a time when this social group opposed the royalist policy of political centralization. This research is included into wider debates on the role of culture — in this case, historical culture — as a resource to justify, reinforce, reproduce, and transform an existing social order.

The present dissertation is comprised of an introduction and four articles. In the introduction, besides presenting the conclusions of the research, I provide a short historical contextualisation for the chronology in question. A survey on medieval Portuguese historiography is given the first article, while the others discuss the building of an Iberian Christian aristocratic identity based on Islamic otherness, depictions of Christian-Muslim interaction other than military, and the role of the Iberian Visigothic past in aristocratic historiographical memory. The thesis' main sources are chronicles and genealogical compilations written in Galician-Portuguese language. Its primary concern is the socio-cultural dimension of these texts, i.e., their ideological implications and effects upon the social world.

This research shows that, when confronting royalty over the ongoing process of monarchical centralisation, the Portuguese aristocracy invoked the war against Islam as the primary argument for its social prominence and the source of its class privileges. The sources studied in this thesis were part of the aristocracy's political legitimation discourse. They provided the nobility with an indispensable social role for the equilibrium of an idealised social order, while reality was ridden with contradictions and in rapid transformation.

KEYWORDS: medieval, late medieval, Portugal, genealogy, chronicles, Iberian Peninsula, historiography, legitimation, aristocracy, nobility, Islam

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Väitöskirja käsittelee aristokraattista historiankirjoitusta ja poliittista legitimaatiota Portugalissa myöhäiskeskiajalla, eli 1200-luvun lopulla ja 1300-luvulla. Väitöskirja tarjoaa näkökulman myöhäiskeskiajan portugalilaisen aristokratian historialliseen kuvastoon, joka on tämän yhteiskuntaluokan jäsenten argumenttien taustalla, kun he puolustivat perinteisiä oikeuksiaan ja lainkäyttövaltaansa poliittista keskittämistä vastaan. Tutkin sitä, kuinka keskiajalla portugalilainen aristokratia vetosi menneisyyteen ja kohtaamisiin ja konflikteihin islamin kanssa oikeuttaakseen etuoikeutetun yhteiskunnallisen asemansa ja puolustaakseen perinteisiä etuoikeuksiaan aikana, jolloin tämä yhteiskuntaryhmä vastusti rojalistista poliittisen keskittämisen politiikkaa. Tämä tutkimus sisältyy laajempiin keskusteluihin kulttuurin — tässä tapauksessa historiakulttuurin — roolista olemassa olevan yhteiskuntajärjestyksen perustelemisen, vahvistamisen, toistamisen ja muuttamisen voimavarana.

Väitöskirja koostuu johdannosta ja neljästä artikkelista. Johdannossa tutkimuksen päätelmien esittämisen lisäksi kontekstualisoin lyhyesti tutkimuksen kohteena olevan ajanjakson. Ensimmäinen artikkeli on yleiskatsaus keskiaikaiseen portugalilaiseen historiankirjoitukseen. Toinen artikkeli käsittelee Iberian kristillisen aristokraattisen identiteetin rakentamista, joka perustuu islamin toiseuteen. Kolmas artikkeli käsittelee kristittyjen ja muslimien ei-sotilaallisen vuorovaikutuksen kuvauksia, kun taas neljäs lähestyy Iberian visigoottisen menneisyyden roolia aristokraattisessa historiallisessa muistissa. Väitöskirjan lähteitä ovat kronikat ja sukukirjakokoelmat, jotka on kirjoitettu keskiaikaisella portugalilaisella kielellä. Tutkimuksen ensisijainen kiinnostuksen kohde on näiden tekstien sosiokulttuurinen ulottuvuus, eli niiden ideologiset vaikutukset ja vaikutukset sosiaaliseen maailmaan.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että kun portugalilainen aatelisto joutui vastakkain kuninkaallisen monarkkisen keskittämisen prosessin kanssa, se vetosi ensisijaisesti sotaan islamia vastaan, ja perusteli sillä yhteiskunnallista asemaansa ja luokkaetujaan. Tässä väitöskirjassa tutkitut lähteet olivat osa aristokratian poliittista legitimaatiodiskurssia. Ne esittivät aateliston näkökulmasta ideaalin yhteiskuntajärjestyksen, joka kuitenkin oli ristiriidassa nopeasti muuttuvan yhteiskunnan kanssa.

ASIASANAT: keskiaika, myöhäiskeskiaika, Portugali, sukukirjat, kronikat, Iberian niemimaa, historiankirjoitus, legitimaatio, aristokratia, aatelisto, islam.

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A journey that I started ten years ago reaches its conclusion. It was a bumpy road, full of obstacles, especially the long periods without funding for my doctoral research. It is thus with the greatest satisfaction that I see this process finally reaching a successful culmination. There are a few people and institutions without which this dissertation would have been impossible.

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With November's gloom slowly descending upon autumnal Turku

25.10.2022

Tiago Queimada e Silva

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List of Original Publications

This dissertation is based on the following original publications, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

- I Silva, Tiago João Queimada e. “Chronicle-Composition in Medieval Portugal: A General Outline.” *Mirator* 15, no. 1 (2015): 33–47. <http://www.glossa.fi/mirator/pdf/i-2014/chroniclecomposition.pdf>.
- II Silva, Tiago João Queimada e. “The Muslim *Archother* and the Royal *Other*: Aristocratic Notions of Otherness in Fourteenth-Century Portugal.” In ‘*Otherness*’ in the Middle Ages, edited by Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood, 415–35. International Medieval Research 25. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.
- III Silva, Tiago João Queimada e. “Mixed Marriages, Moorish Vices and Military Betrayals: Christian-Islamic Confluence in *Count Pedro’s Book of Lineages*.” In *Conflict and Collaboration in Medieval Iberia*, edited by Kim Bergqvist, Kurt Villads Jensen, and John Lappin, 241–66. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020.
- IV Silva, Tiago João Queimada e. “Aristocratic neo-Gothicism in fourteenth-century Iberia: the case of Count Pedro of Barcelos.” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 13, no. 3 (2021): 350–72.

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1 Introduction

This dissertation deals with tales the Portuguese aristocracy from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries told about themselves, about their origins, and about their place in the society. It focuses upon the relation between those tales and contemporary power structures as a field of struggle, emphasising the symbolic and discursive manifestations of social conflicts. The main thread uniting the four articles that constitute this dissertation revolves around how the medieval Portuguese aristocracy used those tales to justify their social status. They were put into writing at a time when the aristocracy's place in society was, to some extent, being questioned by historical and political developments.

The topic of Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula and representations of Christian-Muslim interaction were central in the aristocracy's historical imaginary. The war of expansion against Peninsular Muslim potentates is an omnipresent topic in medieval Iberian Christian historiography, mostly as an argument for the legitimation of the powers-that-be and justification for the state of regular warfare against Muslim enemies. I approach these topics from the point of view of their role in the aristocracy's consciousness of itself, in a context of tensions between the monarchy and the feudal aristocracy.

This research shows that the main pillar for the discursive and symbolic legitimation of aristocratic power in late-medieval Portugal was centred around memories related to Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula. I argue that the aristocratic group's subjectivity and identity were ultimately based upon the allegation that it had been the warrior aristocracy that had conquered the Muslims and secured the Christian kingdoms. The conquest of territories from the Muslims as well as the defence of Iberian Christianity from Islam was presented as the social function of the aristocracy.

The first article of this dissertation, titled "Chronicle-Composition in Medieval Portugal: A General Outline," is a survey of medieval Portuguese historiography. I succinctly presented the known historiographical works produced during the Middle Ages in Portugal. In this survey I related historiographic production with the political contexts surrounding production of the sources, namely from the perspective of the social groups that promoted historiographical production and

their respective needs for legitimation. The second article, entitled “The Muslim *Archother* and the Royal *Other*: Aristocratic Notions of Otherness in Fourteenth-Century Portugal,” approaches the question of Muslim otherness and its role in the building of a Christian aristocratic identity. Article III, “Mixed Marriages, Moorish Vices and Military Betrayals: Christian-Islamic Confluence in *Count Pedro’s Book of Lineages*,” explores forms of integrating Islam and the Muslims within aristocratic strategies of legitimation other than through memories of war and conquests. Such is the case of the integration of reputed ancestors with Muslim origins within the lineages, as well as other forms of Christian-Muslim cultural confluence. The last article of the dissertation, “Aristocratic neo-Gothicism in fourteenth-century Iberia: the case of Count Pedro of Barcelos,” inquires into late-medieval aristocratic memories of the very origin of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula with the Umayyad invasion and the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo in 711, around six centuries before the composition of my sources.

In the present chapter, I delineate the aims of this research and assess previous scholarship related to this topic. For a better understanding of my arguments, I include in this first chapter a short historical contextualisation about the relations between crown and aristocracy in the kingdoms of Castile-León and Portugal during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the second chapter of this introduction, I present my sources and discuss theoretical and methodological questions. In the third chapter I revisit the observations and arguments uniting the dissertation’s articles. This introduction is concluded by an overview upon the main results of the present research.

1.1 Research Aims

This dissertation aims to explain how the medieval Portuguese aristocracy used memories of the complex relationship of Iberian Christian polities with Islam to defend, justify, and enhance their social status and privileges. I unfold the historical imaginary of the Portuguese aristocracy during this period and interpret the centrality given to Islam in aristocratic memories. I question how the encounter with Islam was depicted in medieval Portuguese aristocratic historiography and how these depictions reflected and conditioned contemporaneous social relations. I inquire into the causes of the centrality of Islam in aristocratic historical discourse and explain it as a symbolic aristocratic defensive manoeuvre in face of the royal centralist offensive.

I approach the question of the political and ideological functionality of medieval historiography by analysing how the aristocracy’s privileged status was buttressed by a wide-encompassing historical narrative. I analyse how

historiographical production functioned as a cultural resource through which the aristocracy registered the deeds of their ancestors and established precedents that legitimated the aristocracy's rights, prerogatives, and liberties, at a time when these were questioned by the royal court's centralising policies.

1.2 Previous Research

This research belongs to a line of historical inquiry whose origins may be traced back to the so-called “linguistic turn” of the 1970s. By then, inquiries regarding historiographical sources, rather than attempting to reconstruct the historical events described in the texts, sought to approach historiographical texts as resources that actively and subjectively created the past according to the needs of the present. The emphasis thus shifted from the method of “sifting out” whatever objective historical data narrative sources could provide to the historian towards an integrated analysis of these narratives in their own right, framed within certain literary, political, and social contexts. Thus, medieval narrative sources, their authors, contexts, intended audiences, functionality, etc., started to be seen more widely as objects of historical inquiry by themselves. It is also with the linguistic turn that the literary, formal, and rhetorical features of the narratives are more widely seen as testimonies of medieval thought and constitute objects of study for the historian, instead of being mere obstacles in the “sifting out” of credible historical data for the reconstruction of concrete events.¹

The historicity of the narratives, the level to which they are truthful to the events they purport to depict, is secondary for this dissertation's purposes. My concern lies strictly upon the narratives themselves, their authors, contexts of production, reception, audiences, and, more importantly, their use for political struggles. Instead of searching for “hard” historical facts in the narratives and viewing the narrative merely as a distorted representation of objective reality, I am interested in how the texts actively construct that past reality in accordance with the needs of the present.²

This dissertation comes in the wake of historical research into the political and social utility of medieval historiography, a line of inquiry that has proven to be most fruitful in recent decades through the works of, to give some examples, Hans-Werner Goetz, Gerd Althoff, Patrick Geary, Gabrielle Spiegel, Felice Lifshitz,

¹ Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Justin Lake, “Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography,” *History Compass* 13, no. 3 (2015): 89–109.

² Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cornell University Press, 1988).

Bernd Schneidmüller and Karine Ugé.³ Jaume Aurell and Fermín Miranda García, on the other hand, have been approaching this topic in Catalan and Navarran contexts.⁴ I follow this line of research by emphasising the legitimising functions

- ³ See, e.g., Hans-Werner Goetz, “Geschichte als Argument. Historische Beweisführung und Geschichtsbewußtsein in den Streitschriften des Investiturstreits,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 245 (1987): 31–69; Goetz, “Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Geschichtsbewußtsein,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 255 (1992): 61–97; Goetz, “Der hochmittelalterliche Geschichtsschreiber und seine Quellen. Zur historiographischen Praxis im Spiegel von Geschichtsverständnis und Geschichtsbewußtsein,” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 32 (1997): 1–18; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie, 1999); Goetz, “Vergangenheitswahrnehmung, Vergangenheitsgebrauch und Geschichtssymbolismus in der Geschichtsschreibung der Karolingerzeit,” *Settimane di Studio* 46 (1999): 177–225; Goetz, “Constructing the Past: Religious Dimensions and Historical Consciousness in Adam of Bremen’s *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum*,” in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. L. B. Mortensen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2006), 17–52; Gerd Althoff, “*Causa Scribendi* und Darstellungsabsicht: Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele,” in *Litterae medii aevi: Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, eds. M. Borgolte and H. Spilling (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1988), 117–33; Althoff, *Genealogische und andere Fiktionen in mittelalterlicher Historiographie* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1988); Gerd Althoff and Stephanie Coué, “Geschichtsschreibung und Krise: I. Die Auseinandersetzungen Heinrichs IV. mit den Sachsen und Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg, II. Der Mord an Karl dem Guten (1127) und die Werke Galberts von Brügge und Walters von Théroouanne,” in *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, eds. H. Keller, K. Grubmüller, and N. Staubach (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1992), 95–129; Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997); Felice Lifshitz, “The Politics of Historiography: The Memory of Bishops in Eleventh-Century Rouen,” *History and Memory* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 118–137; Bernd Schneidmüller, “Constructing the Past by Means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples, and Communities,” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, eds. Gerd Althoff, Patrick Geary, and Johannes Fried (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 167–92; Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval Press, 2005); Lake, “Current Approaches”, 92–95.
- ⁴ Jaume Aurell, “From Genealogies to Chronicles: The Power of the Form in Medieval Catalan Historiography,” *Viator* 36 (2005): 236–64; Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Fermín Miranda García, “La lucha contra el Islam y los orígenes del reino en la historiografía medieval navarra como ejercicio de propaganda política,” *Temas Medievales* 24 (2016): 115–39.

and “present-centredness” of medieval historiography.⁵ This line of research has emphasised the centrality of specific historical circumstances surrounding the production of the texts.⁶

An important observation to be drawn from these studies is that historiographical production in the Middle Ages was often motivated by crises.⁷ That in fact appears to be the case with medieval Portuguese aristocratic historiographical texts. This was a context of crisis for the Portuguese upper aristocracy, which had manifold manifestations: first, it was a material or economic crisis, since expansion to the south was already impossible for Portugal (Algarve was definitively conquered by the Portuguese in 1249), and there were no more lands bordering Portuguese territories to conquer from the Muslims. Royal power also organized inquiries into noble properties — as we shall see in chapter 1.3.2 — and thus attempted to curtail the aristocracy’s habit of usurping royal lands to enlarge their income. Second, it was also a political crisis for the aristocracy, given that it was being progressively alienated from traditional jurisdictions and political positions due to the process of monarchical centralisation. Third, it was an ideological crisis, since the self-perceived social function of the nobility, combatting the Muslims, was to a degree obsolete due to the lack of any border with Islam.

The role of medieval historiography in identity-formation processes, as well as vehicles for laying claims upon properties, social status, or jurisdictions, has also been stressed in some of the studies referenced above.⁸ I follow this line of inquiry, since, as I argue in Article II, Muslim otherness was essential for the definition of an Iberian Christian aristocratic identity. The weight of political considerations has been verified not exclusively in the narrative content of the texts but also in the selection of sources by medieval historiographers.⁹ This observation is central to my approach concerning relations of intertextuality, as I explain in Chapter 2.

During many years, the historiographical or, more specifically, genealogical production emanating from medieval Portuguese aristocratic centres was used by historians usually for the reconstruction of familial lineages. The short narrative segments that interspersed the medieval Portuguese *livros de linhagens*, or “books

⁵ Lake, “Current Approaches,” 93. See the article by Gabrielle Spiegel, “Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch,” in Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 83–98. See also Goetz, “Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit,” and Schneidmüller, “Constructing the Past.”

⁶ Lake, “Current Approaches,” 92; Althoff, “*Causa Scribendi*,” Althoff and Coué, “Geschichtsschreibung und Krise.”

⁷ Lake, “Current Approaches,” 92; Althoff, *Genealogische und andere Fiktionen*; Althoff and Coué, “Geschichtsschreibung und Krise;” Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past*.

⁸ Lake, “Current Approaches,” 92; Goetz, “Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit.”

⁹ Lake, “Current Approaches,” 92; Goetz, “Der hochmittelalterliche Geschichtsschreiber.”

of lineages”, which are central sources in my research, were mostly approached from the literary perspective, as well as from the perspective of their chronology and authorship, as in the case of the studies of Botelho da Costa Veiga and António José Saraiva in the 1940s and 1970s, respectively.¹⁰ The fact that the *livros de linhagens* were only available in editions of difficult use also contributed to the lack of studies regarding these sources. José Mattoso and Joseph Piel changed this scenario with their edition of the books of lineages in a much more usable format.¹¹ Mattoso’s studies on medieval Portuguese nobility,¹² and on aristocratic culture,¹³ put the aristocracy at the forefront of Portuguese medieval studies.

¹⁰ A. Botelho da Costa Veiga, “Os nossos nobiliários medievais (alguns elementos para a cronologia da sua elaboração),” *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos*, série II, no. 15 (1943): 165–93; António José Saraiva, “O autor da narrativa da batalha do Salado e a refundição do Livro do Conde D. Pedro,” *Boletim de Filologia* XXII (1971): 1–16.

¹¹ Joseph Piel and José Mattoso, eds., *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livros Velhos de Linhagens* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1980); Mattoso, ed., *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1980). Mattoso also edited separately the narrative segments of the *Livro de Linhagens* in *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983).

¹² José Mattoso, *Ricos-homens, infâncias e cavaleiros: a nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII* (Lisbon: Guimarães Editores, 1982); Mattoso, “A nobreza medieval galaico-portuguesa. A identidade e a diferença,” in *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1985) (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992), 171–96; Mattoso, “A nobreza medieval portuguesa. As correntes monásticas dos séculos XI e XII,” in *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1985) (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992), 197–223; Mattoso, *A nobreza medieval portuguesa: a família e o poder*, 4th ed. (1st ed. 1981) (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994); Mattoso, “A nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos X a XIV),” in *Naquele tempo. Ensaaios de história medieval* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), 298–311; Mattoso, “A nobreza medieval portuguesa no contexto peninsular,” in *Naquele tempo. Ensaaios de história medieval* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), 311–30; Mattoso, “Perspectivas actuais sobre a nobreza medieval portuguesa,” in *Naquele tempo. Ensaaios de história medieval* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), 331–52; Mattoso, “A nobreza e os cavaleiros-vilões na Península Ibérica (séculos X a XIV),” in *Naquele tempo. Ensaaios de história medieval* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), 353–65.

¹³ José Mattoso, “A literatura genealógica e a cultura da nobreza em Portugal (s. XIII–XIV),” in *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1985) (Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992), 309–28; Mattoso, “O Mosteiro de Santo Tirso e a cultura medieval portuguesa,” in *Religião e cultura na Idade Média portuguesa*, 2^a ed. (1st ed. 1982) (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1997), 443–71; Mattoso, “Os livros de linhagens portugueses e a literatura genealógica europeia da Idade Média,” in *Obras completas* vol. 7 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2001), 27–41. For a survey concerning studies dealing with medieval Portuguese aristocratic culture, see António Resende de Oliveira, “A cultura da nobreza (sécs. XII–XIV): balanço sem perspectivas,” *Medievalista* 3 (2007), <https://medievalista.iem.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/medievalista/article/view/397> (accessed on March 23, 2022.)

Research on the medieval Portuguese aristocracy and on aristocratic culture flourished has noticeably flourished within the last three decades. From the point of view of social and economic history, one must refer to, besides Mattoso, the important works of Leontina Ventura and José Sotto Mayor Pizarro.¹⁴ António Resende de Oliveira and Luis Krus, on the other hand, decisively contributed to the cultural history of the medieval Portuguese nobility, the former dealing with troubadour culture and the latter inquiring into the conception of space in the *livros de linhagens*.¹⁵ These authors were followed by younger researchers that continued

- ¹⁴ Leontina Ventura, “A nobreza de corte de Afonso III” (PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 1993); Ventura, “Testamentária nobiliárquica (séc. XIII). Morte e sobrevivência da linhagem,” *Revista de História das Ideias* 19 (1997): 137–56; Ventura, “Relações internobiliárquicas e régio-nobiliárquicas entre Portugal e Castela no século XIII,” in *Jornadas de Cultura Hispano-Portuguesa*, ed. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1999), 255–73; José Augusto de Sotto Mayor Pizarro, “La nobleza medieval,” in *Portugal en el medievo: de los monasterios a la monarquía*, ed. María Antonia Pinto de Matos (Madrid: Fundación Banco Central Hispano, 1992), 43–48; Pizarro, “D. Dinis e a nobreza nos finais do século XIII,” *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* 10 (1993): 91–102; Pizarro, “Linhagens medievais portuguesas: genealogias e estratégias (1279–1325)” (PhD diss., Universidade do Porto, 1997); Pizarro, “A nobreza portuguesa no período dionisino: contextos e estratégias (1279–1325),” *En la España medieval* 22 (1999): 61–176; Pizarro, “A nobreza portuguesa e as relações régio-nobiliárquicas no século de Alcanices: (1250–1350),” in *El Tratado de Alcañices: ponencias y comunicaciones de las Jornadas Conmemorativas del VII Centenario del Tratado de Alcañices (1297–1997)*, ed. José Sánchez Herrero (Zamora: Fundación Rei Afonso Henriques, 1999), 279–98; Pizarro, “The participation of the nobility in the reconquest and in the military orders,” *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 4, no. 1 (Summer 2006), https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/Summer06.html (accessed on March 23, 2022); Pizarro, “O regime senhorial na fronteira do nordeste português. Alto Douro e Riba Côa (séculos XI–XIII),” *Hispania: Revista española de historia* 67, no. 227 (2007): 849–80; Pizarro, “De e para Portugal: a circulação de nobres na Hispânia Medieval (séculos XII a XV),” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 40, no. 2 (2010): 889–924; Pizarro, “Linhagem e estruturas de parentesco. Algumas reflexões,” *e-Spania* 11 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.20366> (accessed on March 23, 2022); Pizarro, “A chefia da linhagem aristocrática (sécs. XII–XIV),” *Studia Zamorensia* 12 (2013): 27–40; Pizarro, “O nascimento do Reino de Portugal. Uma perspectiva nobiliárquica (1096–1157/1300),” *Revista Portuguesa de História* 44 (2013): 29–58; Pizarro, “A Coroa e a aristocracia em Portugal (sécs. XII–XV): Uma relação de serviço?” in *Discurso, memoria y representación: la nobleza peninsular en la Baja Edad Media* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2016), 141–76; Pizarro, “A chancelaria régia portuguesa como memória aristocrática. As Inquirições Gerais dos séculos XIII e XIV,” in *Escritura y sociedad: la nobleza*, ed. Ana Suárez González (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2017), 343–54.
- ¹⁵ António Resende de Oliveira, *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco. A estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV* (Lisbon: Colibri, 1994); Oliveira, *Trobadores e xograres. Contexto histórico* (Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia, 1995); Oliveira, “Para um enquadramento histórico-cultural do canto trovadoresco

exploring medieval Portuguese historiography, focusing on its ideological dimension. Such is the case of Ana Rodrigues Oliveira, who studied depictions of women in the Portuguese chronicles, and of Carla Serapicos Silvério, who studied representations of royalty.¹⁶ The studies of Pedro Picoito and Armando de Sousa Pereira were influential in the definition of my subject of research: the former by addressing medieval Portuguese genealogy from the point of view of its ideological and political functionality,¹⁷ and the latter through his extensive inquiry into representations of war against Muslims in Latin texts from Portugal from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.¹⁸ Pereira's work helped define the *terminus post quem* of my research, as he left late-medieval vernacular historiography untouched.

One must also mention here the huge advances made in literary and philological research concerning medieval Portuguese chronicles since the mid-twentieth century. First, there was the discovery of the two presently known manuscripts of the fifteenth-century royal chronicle *Crónica de 1419*, edited in 1945 and 1952–1953 by Artur de Magalhães Basto and Carlos da Silva Tarouca, respectively.¹⁹ Second, Lindley Cintra's 1951 study of the *Crónica de 1344* showed that this chronicle was compiled by Count Pedro de Barcelos, and was therefore of Portuguese and aristocratic origin.²⁰ The place of the *Crónica de 1344* within the historiographical tradition pioneered by Alfonso X's *Estoria de España* was further

galego-português," *Máthesis* 8 (1999): 125–49; Oliveira, *O trovador galego-português e o seu mundo* (Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, 2001); Luis Krus, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico (1280–1380)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1994).

¹⁶ Ana Rodrigues Oliveira, *As representações da mulher na cronística medieval portuguesa (sécs. XII a XIV)* (Cascais: Patrimonia, 2000); Carla Serapicos Silvério, *Representações da realeza na cronística medieval portuguesa: a Dinastia de Borgonha* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2004).

¹⁷ Pedro Picoito, "As musas e a memória. História, conflito e legitimação política nos Livros de Linhagens," (Master's diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1997); Picoito, "O sonho de Jacob: sacralidade e legitimação política nos Livros de Linhagens," *Lusitania Sacra*, série 2, no. 10 (1998): 123–48.

¹⁸ Armando de Sousa Pereira, *Representações da guerra no Portugal da Reconquista (séculos XI–XIII)* (Lisbon: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2003).

¹⁹ Artur de Magalhães Basto, ed., *Crónica de cinco reis de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1945); Carlos da Silva Tarouca, ed., *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis de Portugal*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1952–1953); Basto, *Estudos. Cronistas e crónicas antigas. Fernão Lopes e a "Crónica de 1419"* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1960); Adelino Almeida Calado, ed., *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* (Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 1998); Filipe Alves Moreira, *A Crónica de Portugal de 1419: fontes, estratégias e posteridade* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2013).

²⁰ Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, ed., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, 4 vols, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1951) (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2009).

clarified by Diego Catalán,²¹ whose work in turn contributed to, among others, Inés Fernández-Ordóñez' and Francisco Bautista's studies.²² Cintra and Catalán's influence was also felt among Portuguese philologists with the work of, for instance, José Carlos Miranda,²³ Maria do Rosário Ferreira,²⁴ and Filipe Alves Moreira,²⁵ whose recent research was of the utmost relevance for this dissertation.

- ²¹ Diego Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos. Cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal* (Madrid: Gredos, 1962); Catalán, *De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí. Códices, crónicas, versiones y cuadernos de trabajo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 1997).
- ²² Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sábio* (Madrid: Istmo, 1992); Fernández-Ordóñez, "Versión Crítica" de la "Estoria de España." *Estudio y edición desde Pelayo hasta Ordoño II* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 1993); Fernández-Ordóñez "La historiografía alfonsí y post-alfonsí en sus textos. Nuevo panorama," *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 18–19 (1993): 101–32; Fernández-Ordóñez, "Variación en el modelo historiográfico alfonsí en el siglo XIII. Las versiones de la Estoria de España," in *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII–XV)*, ed. Georges Martin (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000), 41–74; Fernández-Ordóñez, "Novedades y perspectivas en el estudio de la historiografía alfonsí," *Alcanate* 2 (2000-2001): 283-300; Fernández-Ordóñez, "La transmisión textual de la 'Estoria de España' y de las principales 'Crónicas' de ella derivadas," in *Alfonso X el Sabio y las Crónicas de España*, ed. Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2001), 219–60; Francisco Bautista, "Hacia una nueva 'versión' de la 'Estoria de España': texto y forma de la 'Versión de Sancho IV'," *Incipit* 23 (2003): 1–59; Bautista, *La Estoria de España en época de Sancho IV: sobre los reyes de Asturias* (London: University of London, 2006); Bautista, "Original, versiones e influencia del *Liber regum*: estudio textual y propuesta de *stemma*," *e-Spania* 9 (2010), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.19884> (accessed on April 4, 2022); Bautista, "Cardeña, Pedro de Barcelos y la Genealogía del Cid," *e-Spania* 11, no. 1 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.20446> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Bautista, "Genealogías de la materia de Bretaña: del *Liber regum* navarro a Pedro de Barcelos (c. 1200–1350)," *e-Spania* 16, no. 6 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.22632> (accessed on April 6, 2022); Bautista, "Narrativas nobiliarias en la historiografía alfonsí y post-alfonsí," in *La conciencia de los antepasados: la construcción de la memoria de la nobleza en la Baja Edad Media*, eds. Arsenio F. Dacosta, José Ramón Prieto Lasa and José Ramón Díaz de Durana Ortiz de Urbina Bautista (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2014), 87–118; Bautista, "Para la tradición textual de la *Estoria de España* de Alfonso X," *Romance philology* 68, no. 2 (2014): 137–210; Bautista, "Alfonso X y la historia," in *Alfonso X el Sabio: cronista y protagonista de su tiempo*, ed. Elvira Fidalgo Francisco (San Millán de la Cogolla: Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española, 2020), 65–87; Bautista, "Selva manuscrita: cuatro testimonios poco conocidos de la tradición de la *Estoria de España*," *Bulletin of Hispanic studies* 97, no. 5 (2020): 497–508.
- ²³ José Carlos Miranda, "A 'Lenda de Gaia' dos Livros de Linhagens: uma Questão de Literatura?" *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Línguas e Literaturas*, série II, no. V (1988): 483–515; Miranda, "Na génese da Primeira Crónica Portuguesa," *Medievalista* 6 (2009), <https://medievalista.iem.fch.unl.pt/index.php/medievalista/article/view/359> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Miranda, "A introdução à Versão Galego-Portuguesa da *Crónica de*

- Castela (A2a): fontes e estratégias,” in *Seminário Medieval 2007–2008*, ed. Maria do Rosário Ferreira, Ana Sofia Laranjinha, and José Carlos Miranda (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2009), 61–98; Miranda, “Do *Liber Regum* em Portugal antes de 1340,” *e-Spania* 9 (2010), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.19315> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Miranda, “Do *Liber Regum* ao *Livro Velho de Linhagens*,” in *Estudios sobre Edad Media, el Renacimiento y la Temprana Modernidad*, ed. Francisco Bautista and Jimena Gamba Corradine (San Millán de la Cogolla: Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española, 2010), 301–10; Miranda and António Resende de Oliveira, “Da ‘Historia Compostelana’ à ‘Primeira Crónica Portuguesa’: o discurso historiográfico sobre a formação do Reino de Portugal,” in “*In Marsupiiis Peregrinorum*.” *Circulación de textos e imágenes alrededor del Camino de Santiago en la Edad Media*, ed. Esther Corral Díaz (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2010), 295–324; Miranda, “Historiografia e genealogia na cultura aristocrática portuguesa anterior ao Conde de Barcelos,” in *O contexto hispânico da historiografia portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV (homenagem a Diego Catalán)*, ed. Maria do Rosário Ferreira (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2010), 53–80; Miranda and Maria do Rosário Ferreira, “O projecto de escrita de Pedro de Barcelos,” *Revista População e Sociedade, CEPESE* 23 (2015): 25–43; Miranda, “A ‘Crónica de 1344’ e a ‘General Estoria’: Hércules e a fundação da monarquia ibérica,” in *Literatura y ficción: “estórias,” aventuras y poesía en la Edad Media*, ed. Marta Haro Cortés (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de Valencia, 2015), 209–24; Miranda, “A *Crónica de 1344* e a escrita profética,” *e-Spania* 25 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.26194> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Miranda, “Em torno do *Livro de Linhagens* de Pedro de Barcelos (II). Do livro às reformulações: hipóteses e argumentos,” in *Literatura medieval hispânica. “Libros, lecturas y reescrituras,”* eds. María Jesús Lacarra Ducay, Nuria Aranda García, Ana M. Jiménez Ruiz, and Ángela Torralba Ruberte (San Millán de la Cogolla: Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española, 2019), 781–98.
- 24 Maria do Rosário Ferreira, “A Lenda dos Sete Infantes: Arqueologia de um destino épico medieval” (PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 2005); Ferreira, “D. Pedro de Barcelos e a representação do passado ibérico,” in *O contexto hispânico da historiografia portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV (homenagem a Diego Catalán)*, ed. Maria do Rosário Ferreira (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2010), 81–106; Ferreira, “Entre linhagens e imagens: a escrita do Conde de Barcelos,” in *Estudios sobre Edad Media, el Renacimiento y la Temprana Modernidad*, ed. Francisco Bautista and Jimena Gamba Corradine (San Millán de la Cogolla: Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española, 2010), 159–67; Ferreira, “O *Liber regum* e a representação aristocrática da Espanha na obra do Conde D. Pedro de Barcelos,” *e-Spania* 9 (2010), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.19675> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Ferreira, “Afonso Henriques: do valor fundacional da desobediência,” *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 34 (2011): 55–70; Ferreira, “A estratégia genealógica de D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos, e as refundições do *Livro de Linhagens*,” in *e-Spania* 11 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.20273> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Ferreira, “‘Amor e amizade antre os fidalgos da Espanha.’ Apontamentos sobre o prólogo do *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*,” *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 35 (2012): 93–122; Ferreira, Joana Gomes and Filipe Alves Moreira “A *Crónica de 1344* e a historiografia pós-alfonsina,” *e-Spania* 25 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.25872> (accessed on May 4, 2022).
- 25 Filipe Alves Moreira, *Afonso Henriques e a Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2008); Moreira, “A primeira redacção da *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, fonte da *Crónica de 1419*?” in *Seminário Medieval 2007–2008*,

This thesis relates to research that problematises the question of legitimation in medieval societies, something approached, for example, in the studies gathered in a volume edited by Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy, and Julio Escalona.²⁶ Relations between medieval Latin Christendom and Islam, on the other hand, have been addressed in studies on Spain and the crusades from the perspective of cultural encounters. Concerning medieval Iberia, besides the classic study by Ron Barkai dealing with Christian-Muslim depictions of the enemy,²⁷ there is also a recent doctoral dissertation by Harald Endre Tafjord,²⁸ as well as a volume edited by Carlos de Ayala Martínez and Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes dealing with the ideological dimension of the Christian-Islamic conflict in medieval Iberia.²⁹ Concerning cultural encounters during the crusades, there are the studies gathered in a volume edited by Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt.³⁰ The medieval Arabic and Castilian narratives devoted to the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century have been the subject of research in studies by Nicola Clarke and

eds. Maria do Rosário Ferreira, Ana Sofia Laranjinha and José Carlos Miranda (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2009), 99–112; Moreira, “A historiografia régia portuguesa anterior ao Conde de Barcelos,” in *O contexto hispânico da historiografia portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV (homenagem a Diego Catalán)*, ed. Maria do Rosário Ferreira (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2010), 33–51; Moreira, “Um novo fragmento da *Crónica Portuguesa de Espanha e Portugal de 1341–1342* e suas relações com a historiografia alfonsina,” in *Seminário Medieval 2009–2011*, eds. Maria do Rosário Ferreira, Ana Sofia Laranjinha and José Carlos Miranda (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2011), 289–322; Moreira, “‘E des ally foi pera mall’ - o reinado de D. Sancho II na cronística medieval portuguesa,” *Diálogos Mediterrânicos* 3 (2012): 160–71; Moreira, “Os Sumários de Crónicas Portugueses: textos, contextos, paratextos,” *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 35 (2012): 79–92; Moreira, *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*; Moreira and Arthur L-F. Askins “A ‘Crónica de 1344’ para além de Pedro de Barcelos: perspetivas recentes e novidades,” *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies* 31 (2015): 64–79, <https://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/31> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Moreira, “A *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* e a literatura historiográfica sobre Afonso XI,” *e-Spania* 25 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.25888> (accessed on March 24, 2022); Maria do Rosário Ferreira, Joana Gomes and Filipe Alves Moreira, “A *Crónica de 1344* e a historiografia pós-alfonsina”; Francisco Bautista and Filipe Alves Moreira, “Tradição textual”.

²⁶ Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy and Julio Escalona, eds., *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimacy in Medieval Societies* (London: Brill, 2004).

²⁷ Ron Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval: el enemigo en el espejo* (Madrid: Rialp, 1984).

²⁸ Harald Endre Tafjord, “Conflict, Friends and Ideology: Aspects of Political Culture in Early Twelfth Century Castile-Leon” (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2013).

²⁹ Carlos de Ayala Martínez and Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, eds., *Cristãos contra muçulmanos na Idade Média peninsular* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2015).

³⁰ Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt, eds., *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013).

Geraldine Hazbun.³¹ The historical-ideological concept of “Reconquista”, on the other hand, has been the subject of close scrutiny in the works of Martín Ríos Saloma.³²

Portuguese expansion in the Iberian Peninsula, however, is frequently overlooked, while depictions of Christian-Muslim interaction in late-medieval Portuguese historiography were completely unexplored. Regarding this subject, we have Armando de Sousa Pereira’s work but, as already mentioned, it is limited to Latin sources from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. This underlined the necessity of research centred on depictions of Christian-Muslim interaction in medieval historiographical texts written in the vernacular, which were more widely diffused than Latin texts. There was also need of research that, instead of focusing exclusively on depictions of war, also encompassed non-military or non-confrontational modes of Christian-Muslim interaction in medieval Iberia, which is the subject of Article III. This dissertation thus fills this research gap and contributes to debates regarding the role of culture and ideology in the reproduction and transformation of hierarchical social orders, as well as the relations between cultural memory and social struggles.

With this dissertation, I also aim to contribute to discussions on the encounters between Europe and Islam, which have been previously approached by, among others, John Tolan, Gilles Veinstein, Henry Laurens, Franco Cardini, and Bernard Lewis.³³ Daniel König’s research on Arabic-Islamic views of medieval Latin Christendom is also of relevance.³⁴ This is currently a quite topical issue, when visions of the encounter between “the West” and Islam often stand at the heart of domestic and foreign policy in Europe.³⁵ Medieval historians can offer much to enrich this debate, and the medieval Iberian Peninsula is a privileged geographical and historical reference for the study of this subject since Christian and Islamic societies have coexisted there for centuries. The dialectics of coexistence/conflict

³¹ Nicola Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia: Medieval Arabic Narratives* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Geraldine Hazbun, *Narratives of the Islamic Conquest from Medieval Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³² Martín Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista. Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI–XIX)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011); Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista en la historiografía española contemporánea* (Madrid: Sílex, 2013). See also Ayala Martínez, Ferreira Fernandes, and J. Santiago Palacios Ontalva, eds., *La Reconquista. Ideología y justificación de la Guerra Santa peninsular* (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2019).

³³ John Tolan, Gilles Veinstein, and Henry Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Franco Cardini, *Europe and Islam* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001); Bernard Lewis, *Islam and The West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

³⁴ Daniel G. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

³⁵ Talal Asad, “Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?” in *Cultural Encounters: Representing “Otherness,”* eds. Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street (London: Routledge, 2000), 11–27.

experienced by Christian kingdoms and Muslim polities during the Iberian Middle Ages played a crucial role in the relationship between Western Christendom and Islam. This study provides insight not only into the complexity and multidimensionality of Christian-Muslim relations in Iberia and Western Europe during the Middle Ages, but especially into the legitimization functionality ascribed to memories of interaction between Christians and Muslims.

The study of medieval interaction between Christians and Muslims is of crucial relevance concerning the present reality, considering that past interaction between medieval Western Christianity and Islam has been used as argument in present-day debates. On the one hand, we often see simplistic views of the past as a continuous struggle between Christianity — or, sometimes, “the West” — and Islam. This is the case, for example, of the use of the concept of “Reconquista” or the crusades to provide historical precedents to modern nationalist, conservative, or reactionary views.³⁶ It is a perspective that finds its historiographical expression in Spanish national-catholic historiography from the twentieth century, as studied recently by Alejandro García-Sanjuán,³⁷ and that emphasises the *conflict* moment in the

³⁶ See Mike Horswell and Akil N. Awan, eds., *The Crusades in the Modern World* (Oxford: Routledge, 2019), which gathers studies from the perspective of present-day political uses of memories of the crusades. I have contributed to the volume with a survey of uses of the concept of “Reconquista” by European far-right movements.

³⁷ Alejandro García-Sanjuán, “Al-Andalus en la historiografía del nacionalismo españolista (siglos XIX–XXI). Entre la Reconquista y la España musulmana,” in *A 1300 años de la conquista de al-Andalus (711–2011): Historia, cultura y legado del Islam en la Península Ibérica*, eds. Diego Melo Carrasco and Francisco Vidal Castro (Coquimbo: Ediciones Altazor, 2012), 65–104; García-Sanjuán, *La conquista islámica de la península ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2013); García-Sanjuán, “La distorsión de al-Andalus en la memoria histórica española,” *Intus-Legere Historia* 2, no. 2 (2013): 61–76; García-Sanjuán, “Al-Andalus en el nacionalcatolicismo español: la historiografía de época franquista (1939–1960),” in *El franquismo y la apropiación del pasado. El uso de la historia, de la arqueología y de la historia del arte para la legitimación de la dictadura*, ed. Francisco J. Moreno Martín (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 2016), 189–208; García-Sanjuán, “La persistencia del discurso nacionalcatólico sobre el Medioevo peninsular en la historiografía española actual,” *Historiografías* 12 (2016): 132–53; García-Sanjuán, “Rejecting al-Andalus, exalting the Reconquista: historical memory in contemporary Spain,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2018): 127–45; García-Sanjuán, “Denying the Islamic conquest of Iberia: A historiographical fraud,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 11, no. 3 (2019): 306–22; García-Sanjuán, “Cómo desactivar una bomba historiográfica: la pervivencia actual del paradigma de la Reconquista,” in *La Reconquista. Ideología y justificación de la guerra santa peninsular*, eds. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, and J. Santiago Palacios Ontalva (Madrid: Ediciones de la Ergástula, 2019), 99–119; García-Sanjuán “Weaponizing Historical Knowledge: the Notion of Reconquista in Spanish Nationalism,” *Imago temporis: medium Aevum* 14 (2020): 133–62, <https://doi.org/10.21001/itma.2020.14.04> (accessed on March 25, 2022).

coexistence/conflict dialectics between Christian and Muslims in medieval Iberia. On the other hand, there has also been the opposite tendency, with the mythification of an almost idyllic Christian-Muslim “convivencia” and the idealisation of a “multicultural Al-Andalus”, a view famously championed by Américo Castro in the 1940s, which has been followed more recently by María Rosa Menocal and David Levering Lewis.³⁸ This view stresses the *coexistence* moment of the dialectics and tends to project upon the past modern values that are anachronistic in a medieval context.³⁹ My dissertation provides insight into how much more multifaceted the reality was when compared to these historiographical perspectives, and into the complexity and even ambiguity of medieval Christian perspectives of interaction with Islam.

1.3 Historical Background: Crown and Aristocracy in Castile-León and Portugal

In this chapter I present an overview of historical developments in the kingdoms of Castile-León and Portugal during the chronology in question. I focus here on relations between the aristocracy and the crown. Although my primary sources are of Portuguese origin and the focus of this research is the Portuguese nobility, the political and geographic framework for the analysis of the Portuguese aristocracy of this period must encompass the Western and Central Iberian Peninsula. Aristocratic solidarity derived from kinship and vassallic relations often crossed the kingdoms’ borders — borders that were rather fluid and often subject to rearrangements —, and there were continuing aristocratic migratory movements between Portugal and Castile-León throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁰ I mention here only the historical information I consider strictly necessary to follow my argumentation in the subsequent chapters of this introduction and in the articles.

³⁸ Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948); María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2002); David Levering Lewis, *God’s Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570–1215* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008).

³⁹ Kenneth Baxter Wolf, “Convivencia in Medieval Spain: A Brief History of an Idea,” *Religion Compass* 3, no. 1 (2009): 72–85; Eduardo Manzano Moreno, “Qurtuba: algunas reflexiones críticas sobre el Califato de Córdoba y el mito de la convivencia,” *Awraq* 7 (2013): 225–46.

⁴⁰ Pizarro, “De e para Portugal”.

1.3.1 Castile-León (1252–1350)

Concerning the most powerful of the Christian Iberian kingdoms, Castile-León, the period of relevance for this research ranges from 1252, the year of the accession of Alfonso X, until 1350, when the latter's great-grandson, Alfonso XI, dies. Both reigns were very important from the point of view of monarchical centralisation in Castile, and they are separated by a long period of aristocratic reaction and social conflicts. This historical timeframe has been interpreted as the key period for the development of Castilian feudalism, an epoch of permanent tension or dialectic opposition between royal and aristocratic blocs of power.⁴¹ This meant that individual families of the upper nobility followed a dynamic of “resistance and reconciliation” in their relations with the crown.⁴² In general terms, it was a period of often violent reaction by the Western European nobility against monarchies pushing towards political centralisation.⁴³

This chronological point of departure is shadowed by the recent conquest of almost all of the remaining Muslim territories of Al-Andalus by Ferdinand III of Castile-León (r. 1217–1252), with the only exception of the Kingdom of Granada, which would not be subdued until 1492. The stoppage of the expansion towards the south meant that the warrior aristocracy could not continue to enlarge their patrimony through appropriation of revenues from newly conquered territories. Indeed, it has been noted that, apart from some members of the royal family, the great barons were not among the main beneficiaries of the newly conquered territories in Andalucía.⁴⁴ Simultaneously, a group of lineages appeared to predominate, constituting an authentic oligarchy.⁴⁵ This is the case of families like the Laras, the Castros, or the Haros, who by the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century held lordships of such size and relevance that they constituted veritable

⁴¹ César González Mínguez, *Poder real y poder nobiliar en la Corona de Castilla (1252–1369)* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2012), 33. See also a short synthesis of González Mínguez's studies on the relations between crown and aristocracy in Castile in “Las luchas por el poder en la corona de Castilla: nobleza vs. monarquía (1252–1369),” *Clío & Crímen* 6 (2009): 36–51; Carlos Estepa Díez, “La monarquía castellana en los siglos XIII-XIV: algunas consideraciones,” *Edad Media: revista de historia* 8 (2007): 79–98.

⁴² Simon R. Doubleday, *Los Lara: nobleza y monarquía en la España medieval*, translated by Salustiano Masó (Madrid: Turner, 2004), 96. Original English edition *The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁴³ Doubleday, *Los Lara*, 74–75.

⁴⁴ Doubleday, *Los Lara*, 81; E. Cabrera, “The Medieval Origins of the Great Landed Estates of the Guadalquivir Valley,” *Economic History Review* 2nd series, XLII, no. 4 (1989): 465–83 (469–71).

⁴⁵ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 33.

principalities within the Castilian kingdom.⁴⁶ These great lineages are constantly at grips with one another and simultaneously in tension with royal power, so it would be erroneous to talk about a united aristocratic front.⁴⁷

Alfonso X's reign (1252–1284) was a key one concerning the theorisation of political power and the relation between aristocracy and the crown.⁴⁸ The Learned King's time was marked by the spreading of the principles of Roman and Canon Law, as well as by the works of Aristotle.⁴⁹ The diffusion of Roman Law in the thirteenth century, a process taking place on a European scale, contributed to the consolidation of royal rule in Castile-León. These influences meant, at the political level, a tendency towards the centralisation of political power under a single centre where the monarch governs *in plenitudo potestatis*. All inhabitants of a given territory are therefore connected directly to their ruler, regardless of existing feudal bonds.⁵⁰ Alfonso X explained the principles of government guiding his rule in his legislative work, namely in the three law codes compiled at his bequest: the *Espéculo*, the *Fuero Real*, and the *Siete Partidas*.⁵¹ Together with the Learned King's historiographical production, namely his *Estoria de España*, these works simultaneously served to legitimate his vision of royal power.⁵² Alfonso X's claims of the divine provenance and supremacy of royal power is well encapsulated in a passage of the *Fuero Real*:

⁴⁶ Doubleday, *Los Lara*, 80.

⁴⁷ Doubleday, *Los Lara*, 96.

⁴⁸ Joseph O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010); Julio Escalona Monge, "The Strengthening of Royal Power in Castile under Alfonso XI," in Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy and Julio Escalona, eds., *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimacy in Medieval Societies*, eds. Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy, and Julio Escalona (London: Brill, 2004), 179–222.

⁴⁹ Robert A. MacDonald, "Law and Politics: Alfonso's Program of Political Reform," in *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 150–202; Robert I. Burns, "Jews and Moors in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X the Learned: A Background Perspective," in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence. Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, eds. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 46–62; González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 41.

⁵⁰ José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, "Alfonso X y los poderes del reino," *Alcanate* 9 (2014–2015): 11–40 (13); González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 34–36, 43; O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, 17–30.

⁵¹ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 41–44; O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, 17.

⁵² González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 38; Leonardo Funes, "Dos versiones antagónicas de la historia y de la ley: una visión de la historiografía castellana de Alfonso X al Canciller Ayala," in *Teoría y práctica de la historiografía hispánica medieval*, ed. Aengus Ward (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2000), 8–31 (9).

so great is the right of the king's power that he has all the statutes and all the laws under himself; and he has his power, not from men, but from God, whose place he holds in all temporal matters.⁵³

Alfonso X's ideology of government brought into question old feudal prerogatives and politico-jurisdictional autonomies, as well as the aristocratic conception of royal power. The Castilian aristocracy far from shared the King's legal principles but rather held to a feudal view of royal power as a political construction based on customary norms and on bonds of lordship and vassalage, with the king heading that structure as *primus inter pares*.⁵⁴ This aristocratic point of view also appears in my sources, as described in Article IV, where I approach Count Pedro de Barcelos' view of royal power.

An aristocratic rebellion led by the King's son and heir, *Infante* Sancho, deprived Alfonso X of effective rule over his kingdom in 1282. The former rose formally to the throne as Sancho IV in 1284 after his father's death. The 1282–1284 rebellion has been interpreted as the culmination of rising tensions between royal power and the aristocracy during the preceding decades, mostly due to Alfonso's royalist programme.⁵⁵ Sancho IV rose to power with the support of a strong sector of the nobility and thus was politically indebted to them. In Article IV, I approach the historiographical and ideological dimension of this reality, highlighting how Sancho IV had to relatively moderate the royalist ideology of his predecessor. Even so, Sancho's accession did not pacify relations between the aristocracy and royal power, tensions remained and often erupted into civil war.

It should be greatly emphasised that the aristocracy in no way acted as a single bloc, but rather as a social group ridden with internal contradictions.⁵⁶ The aristocrats' actions were firstly and immediately dictated by their personal interests and only then, in certain cases, by their class interests. After Alfonso X's downfall and the accession of Sancho IV, the inner contradictions of the aristocracy were expressed through the existence of different aristocratic factions often led by members of the royal family: that is the case of Sancho's nephew Alfonso de la Cerda, and the faction led by *Infante* Juan, Sancho IV's brother.⁵⁷

⁵³ Quoted in O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, 69.

⁵⁴ García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, "Alfonso X," 11–19, 22–26; González Mínguez, *Poder Real*, 52; Doubleday, *Los Lara*, 84–85, 95–96.

⁵⁵ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 47.

⁵⁶ García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, "Alfonso X," 22; González Mínguez, "Luchas," 39.

⁵⁷ González Mínguez, "La minoría de Fernando IV de Castilla (1295–1301)," *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* 15 (1998): 1071–84; González Mínguez, "Luchas", 46–47; González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 91–97.

To secure his accession to power through the support of a large coalition formed by most of the upper nobility and the prelates, together with the “hermandades” of urban municipalities, Sancho had to make large concessions to this conservative movement. Still, it appears that Sancho soon realised that these concessions conditioned the royal court’s governing capacity and had to change its policy towards limiting seigniorial and municipal powers. Many of the promises made during the rebellion were conveniently tucked away by Sancho IV once his rule was more established. Although Sancho’s attempts to control the nobility occasionally led to harsh confrontations — such as in 1288 when he resorted to the physical elimination of Lope Díaz de Haro — overall, Sancho’s reign has been understood as one of concessions to the nobility.⁵⁸

The aristocracy’s positions in the political field were strengthened yet even further during the reign of Sancho’s successor, Fernando IV (r. 1295–1312). The years from Fernando’s accession as a nine-year-old child in 1295 until 1304 were marked by an endemic civil war opposing the infant king and his mother Queen Maria de Molina against the royal ambitions of Alfonso de la Cerda and *Infante* Juan.⁵⁹ After failed attempts at controlling the influence of the upper nobility in the court, Fernando IV attempted to revert the situation by promoting an intensive reorganisation of the judicial, local and territorial administration, based on Alfonso X’s previous designs. Fernando IV aimed to reinforce monarchical power and improve the political organisation of the kingdom. However, the King died unexpectedly in 1312, and his projected reform never got to bear fruit.⁶⁰

The heir to the throne, Alfonso XI (r. 1312–1350), was less than two years of age at the time of his father’s demise. His uncle, *Infante* Pedro, was recognised as the tutor of the infant king. Just as it happened during Fernando IV’s minority, the nobility again made use of an infant king’s precarious situation to gain positions in the power structures and utilise royal power to fulfil their class interests. Two factions lined up by then, both aiming at keeping custody of the infant monarch: on one side, there was the faction led by Queen Maria de Molina and *Infante* Pedro, in whose ranks we find many high-ranking magnates and the masters of the religious military orders; on the other side, there was the faction led by the restless *Infante* Juan, Sancho IV’s brother, and Juan Núñez de Lara, in whose ranks we find a

⁵⁸ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 83–84, 88; González Mínguez, “Minoría de Fernando IV.”

⁵⁹ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 91, 94–95. Fernando IV’s and his mother’s position was already weakened by the fact that he was a child, and it was weakened even further by his illegitimate birth — his parents, Sancho IV and Maria de Molina, were closely related. The marriage would only be papally sanctioned in 1301, the same year Fernando IV reached his maturity.

⁶⁰ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 104, 105, 113, 116–17.

brother of Fernando IV, *Infante Felipe*, Fernando de la Cerda, Juan Manuel, among other representatives of the kingdom's highest aristocracy.⁶¹

The royalist policies of Alfonso XI after he reached maturity in 1325 thwarted the nobility's ascension, with the young king being able to pacify the country after decades of endemic warfare. He also took steps forward in the process of political centralization analogous to those given by his homonymous great-grandfather. To assert royal pre-eminence in the kingdom, Alfonso XI needed to tame the ambitious aristocratic factions. He acted through a series of punishing initiatives of exemplary nature, attacking noble possessions, and executing high-ranking nobles as traitors.⁶² By the beginning of 1337, Alfonso XI had the nobility under control and could begin a new phase of his reign marked by a series of institutional reforms. Like his great-grandfather before him, Alfonso XI aimed at the strengthening of monarchical power and promoting administrative centralisation.

The conquest of Algeciras in 1344 greatly inflated Alfonso XI's prestige throughout Western Christianity and furthered his programme of reinforcing royal power. The so-called *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* was promulgated in the *Cortes* of Alcalá de Henares in 1348. This document — together with Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*, which were also enacted as law in these *Cortes* — arguably is one of the most important legal documents of Castilian medieval history. Here, the territorial foundation of law is consolidated through the approval of general laws applicable to the entire kingdom, in accordance with the old programme of Alfonso X.⁶³

The promulgation of the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* greatly contributed to the reinforcement of royal power, the territorialisation of law, the legislative uniformisation of the kingdom, and the assertion of the primacy of royal law over all other preceding legal frameworks, whether they are of customary, feudal, or municipal nature.⁶⁴ Most of the dispositions of the legal code concerned the rights and duties of the nobility, so the document must be understood within Alfonso XI's aim to pacify and tame the landed nobility by integrating it into a power network incontestably headed by the monarch. The relative calm permitted Alfonso XI to direct his attention again towards the war against the Muslims and prepare for the siege of the important stronghold of Gibraltar, which ultimately failed due to the arrival of the Black Death to the Castilian besieging army, which caused Alfonso XI's death in 1350.⁶⁵

⁶¹ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 119, 120.

⁶² González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 133, 136–38.

⁶³ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 157–58; Doubleday, *Los Lara*, 125.

⁶⁴ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 160.

⁶⁵ González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 160–64. Alfonso XI's advances were thwarted by the deposition of his successor Pedro I (r. 1350–1369) by an uprising in 1366–1369. Aristocratic discontent found an outlet in the political project of Enrique de

1.3.2 Portugal (1128–c.1350)

The Portuguese monarchy was born as an offshoot from the Castilian-Leonese kingdom. Previously a county, it gained political autonomy through the uprising of Afonso Henriques, son of the originally Burgundian Count Henrique of Portugal and his consort Countess Teresa, an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VI of Castile-León (r. 1065–1109). In 1128, Afonso Henriques led a coalition of the local nobility, the so-called *infanções*, in a rebellion against his mother Teresa. It was mostly a reaction of the local aristocracy, belonging to the lower tiers of the class, against the growing influence by the Galician upper aristocracy, particularly the family of Trava-Trastámara.⁶⁶ The *infanções* from Entre-Douro-e-Minho region united under the leadership of Teresa's son, the young Afonso Henriques, and ousted her from power in 1128.

The leading families participating in the takeover of power by Afonso Henriques subsequently constituted the core of the upper nobility in the Portuguese realm: the families of Maia, Sousa, Ribadouro, Bragança and Baião.⁶⁷ The fact that the Portuguese polity was formed out of the alliance between the comital upper aristocracy from where Afonso Henriques came, and the local, lower-ranking aristocracy of the Entre-Douro-e-Minho contributed to prevent the formation of more powerful aristocratic houses such as in Castile, where some noble families were powerful enough to actually rival central royal power. The relative modesty

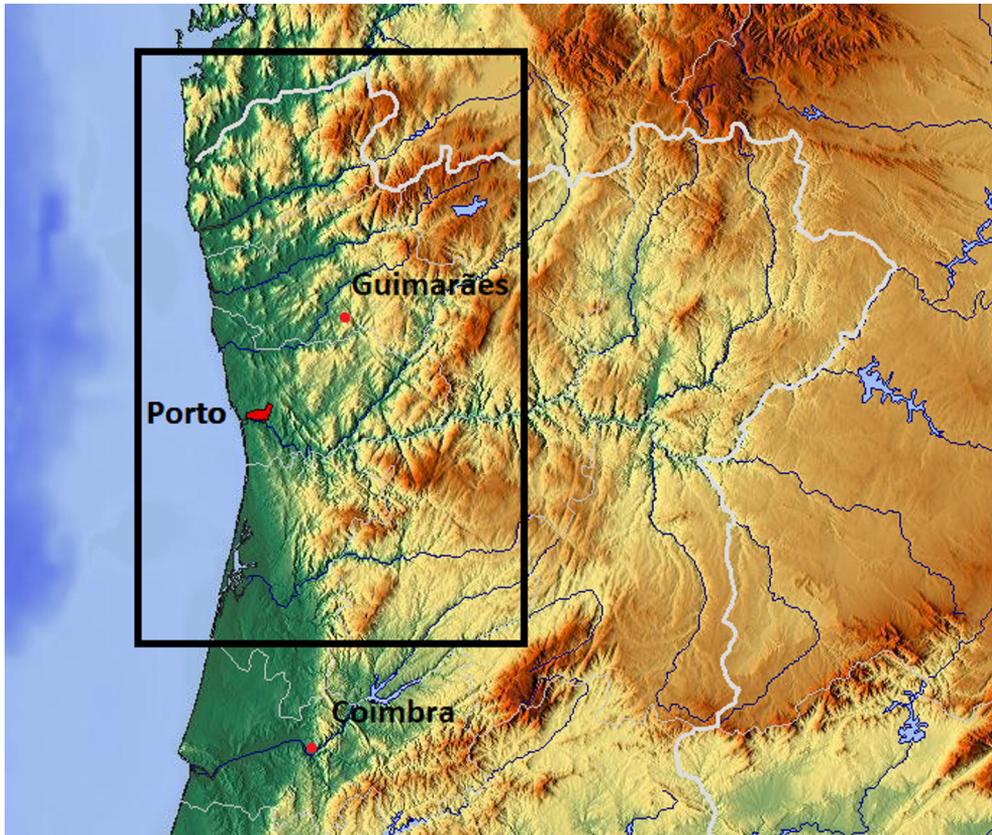
Trastámara, an illegitimate son of Alfonso XI, who deposed Pedro I and rose to power as Enrique II, thus founding the Dynasty of Trastámara. These developments, however, already lie beyond this dissertation's chronology; for a synthesis of Pedro I's reign and Enrique II's accession from the perspective of the tensions between royal and aristocratic powers, see González Mínguez, *Poder real*, 167–99.

⁶⁶ Galicia was the point of origin from where the County of Portugal evolved and to which territory it kept strong cultural and linguistic bonds even after Portuguese independence. Although Afonso Henriques' rebellion was directed against the Trava-Trastámaras, it was not a "national" reaction of the Entre-Douro-e-Minho nobility, but rather one motivated by purely political interests. The Galician nobility continued to be present at the centres of power in the Portuguese kingdom and many Portuguese aristocratic families originated from Galician nobles settled in Portugal during the twelfth century, see Mattoso, "Nobreza medieval galaico-portuguesa". Concerning Galicia during this dissertation's chronology, see the studies collected in the volume edited by José M. Andrade Cernadas and Simon R. Doubleday, *Galicia no tempo de Afonso X* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2021).

⁶⁷ José Mattoso, "Dois séculos de vicissitudes políticas", in *História de Portugal*, vol.2: *A monarquia feudal*, ed. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997), 26–58; Mattoso, "Sobre as origens do estado português. A 'ideia de Portugal'," in *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1985) (Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992), 87–99; Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2007), 51–65.

of the Portuguese aristocracy in turn facilitated the concentration of powers in the hands of the monarchy.⁶⁸

As Pizarro analysed,⁶⁹ the traditional aristocracy from the so-called “seigneurial North”, i.e., the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region, had little to do with the process that permitted the existence of Portugal as an autonomous kingdom, as a polity independent from its more powerful Christian neighbour Castile: the process of military expansion towards the south of the Peninsula over Muslim territories.



The so-called “seigneurial North”, region where the most powerful Portuguese aristocratic families had their main holdings.

The administrative centre of the County of Portucale had been Guimarães, in the heart of the “seigneurial North”. In 1131, however, the young Afonso

⁶⁸ Hermenegildo Fernandes, *D. Sancho II: tragédia* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2010), 109.

⁶⁹ Pizarro, “Participation of the nobility.”

Henriques decided to move it to Coimbra, on the southern border of the County, near to the Muslim frontier. In the young prince's mind were probably two objectives: one, to gain independence from the great aristocratic families of Entre-Douro-e-Minho; two, to be nearer the Muslim frontier and thus expand the kingdom's territories to the south.⁷⁰

From his new base in Coimbra, Afonso Henriques launched campaigns towards the south, making good use of the dissolution of Almoravid power and the occasional stop by crusader armies on their way to the Holy Land. In the famous Battle of Ourique (1139) Afonso Henriques defeated a Muslim army and was proclaimed king by his army.⁷¹ He conquered Santarém and Lisbon in 1147, going on from there to conquer most of current-day Portuguese territory.⁷² The triumphant military activity of Afonso Henriques against the Muslims until 1169 — together with the promise of an annual tribute to be paid to the pope — were the main considerations in Alexander III's decision to recognise Afonso Henriques as a king owing allegiance exclusively to the Roman Church, as established in the Papal Bull *Manifestis Probatum* (1179).⁷³

The magnates of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, however, remained mostly alienated from this process and enclosed in their northern dominions. Afonso Henriques' armies were mostly comprised of urban militia from cities like Coimbra, Leiria, Santarém, Lisbon, or Évora; middle or low-level aristocrats from the border regions; religious military orders; and certain marginal frontier gangs.⁷⁴ Some members of the northern upper aristocracy did participate in military activity against Muslims, for example while fulfilling duties related to offices in the royal court, but the upper aristocratic group as a whole remained largely disinterested in Portuguese expansion from the birth of the kingdom until the final conquest of Algarve in 1249.⁷⁵ In any case, that did not prevent the northern aristocracy from claiming the victory laurels just a few decades after the latter conquest, and

⁷⁰ Pizarro, "Coroa e a aristocracia," 151–52; Mattoso, "Dois séculos," 59–61; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, 105–111.

⁷¹ Mattoso, "Dois séculos," 63–64; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, 157–66.

⁷² Mattoso, "Dois séculos," 67–71; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, 231–47, 269–84, 296–313.

⁷³ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, 359–62; José Antunes, "O iberismo político medieval e a bula *Manifestis Probatum* como marco jurídico de divisão," *Revista de História das Ideias* 31 (2010): 25–52; Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, "A bula *Manifestis Probatum*. Ecos, textos e contextos," in *Poder espiritual/poder temporal. As relações Igreja-Estado no tempo da monarquia (1179–1909)*, ed. Maria de Fátima Reis (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 2009), 89–123.

⁷⁴ Pizarro, "Coroa e a aristocracia," 151–52; Mattoso, "A nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos X a XIV)," 293.

⁷⁵ Pizarro, "Participation of the Nobility."

justifying their traditional rights in face of encroaching royal power through their alleged past military deeds against the Muslims.

The power and wealth of the Portuguese upper aristocratic families was not particularly great in comparison with the much more powerful and rich Castilian noble houses. Their territorial dominions were rather limited and mostly confined to the Entre-Douro-e-Minho. This relative lack of resources partly explains why the Portuguese monarchy was so precocious and well-succeeded in its attempts to restrict the power, jurisdictions, and traditional prerogatives of the upper aristocracy, subordinating this social group to royal power.⁷⁶

The reign of Afonso III (r. 1248–1279) was pivotal in political centralisation. Afonso III attempted to improve the efficacy of royal power both administratively and financially. The monarch's action as the ultimate arbiter of social conflicts, including struggles internal to the aristocratic group, was also strengthened. Although Afonso III did not question the customary and violent practice of private feud (“vindicta”) among the nobility, he did assert his right to regulate the practice and prevent abuses.⁷⁷ Also connected with the reinforcement of the efficacy of royal administration and with the memorialisation of royal action was the systematic registry of the chancellery, which occurred after 1253.⁷⁸

Afonso III ordered a general inquiry (“inquirições gerais”) in the seignorial north in 1258. The inquiry permitted the King to map and register what royal possessions and rights he had in the region and to ascertain cases of abusive appropriation of royal possessions and revenues by local aristocratic families, as well as monastic or ecclesiastical institutions. It was mostly a way of reverting previous abuses by the aristocracy but also a way to prevent future ones. The “inquirições” took the tentacles of royal administration to a region where they were not previously present and projected the existence and power of the king onto the peasant communities of the region. The care taken in saving the inquiries for posterity in written form also hints at the awareness by Afonso III and his entourage of the importance of writing, not only for practical purposes but also for constructing a written memory of the kingdom that would legitimate royal power and promote its continuity.⁷⁹ This could account for the compilation of the first chronicle written in Portuguese vernacular, namely the *Primeira Crónica*

⁷⁶ Pizarro, “Coroa e a aristocracia,” 154.

⁷⁷ Leontina Ventura, *D. Afonso III* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2009), 115–21.

⁷⁸ Ventura, *Afonso III*, 121–22, 161–66.

⁷⁹ Ventura, *Afonso III*, 129–32; José Mattoso, “O triunfo da monarquia portuguesa: 1258–1264. Ensaio de história política,” and “As origens do estado português (séculos XII a XIV),” in *Naquele tempo. Ensaios de história medieval* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), 515–45 and 437–43, respectively.

Portuguesa, possibly composed around 1270, in a milieu near to Afonso III's court.⁸⁰

Afonso III attempted through his legislative practice to regulate social tensions within the kingdom and to integrate feudo-vassallic relations into a political structure headed unquestionably by the king and the royal court. The preoccupation in establishing the royal court as the ultimate judicial instance, with pre-eminence over all aristocratic or municipal jurisdictions, is transversal to Afonso III's legislative activity.⁸¹ Afonso III's son, Dinis (r. 1279–1325), continued and strengthened the centralist policies of his predecessor. In 1284, Dinis also carried out “inquirições”, just as his father did in 1258, which were much more ambitious and intended to gather much more information than the previous ones, thus triggering protests from the nobility. In response to the complaints, Dinis organised a new general inquiry in 1288. The scope and tone of the inquests, nevertheless, were no less aggressive or intrusive. It was also the first time that the “inquirições” gave way to a series of sentences by the royal court upon the inquired matters. In these sentences from 1290, numerous abuses and usurpations of the nobility were denounced. The outcry from the aristocracy was such that Dinis had to revoke the sentences.⁸²

Still, the inquiries of 1288 provided the king with a valuable property registry. New inquiries took place in 1301, 1303–1304, and 1307–1315. These were even more aggressive than the previous. Furthermore, during this phase of Dinis' reign, there was the alienation of the upper nobility from the royal court. The king pressured the landed aristocracy during these years and alienated it from political power, thus feeding noble discontent. Until 1316 the nobility attempted to solve these contradictions within the institutional frame of the monarchy, directing their complaints to the *Cortes*. But a change occurred afterwards, and the path of open rebellion became an option for the aristocracy. This was facilitated by the rift opened within the royal family, namely the conflicts between Dinis and his elder legitimate son, *Infante* Afonso, under whose banner the rebellious aristocracy gathered.⁸³

The situation culminated in civil war during 1319–1324, which opposed Dinis to an aristocratic coalition headed by *Infante* Afonso, who would rise to the throne

⁸⁰ Moreira, *Afonso Henriques*.

⁸¹ Ventura, *Afonso III*, 151–61.

⁸² Pizarro, *Dinis*, 199–200.

⁸³ José Augusto de Sotto Mayor Pizarro, *D. Dinis*, 2nd ed (1st ed. 2008) (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2012), 243–57; Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, *D. Afonso IV* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2009), 39–75.

as Afonso IV (1325–1357).⁸⁴ Although Afonso IV's proximity to the aristocracy during his years as *Infante* might lead us to believe that royal policy concerning seignorial jurisdictions would change, nothing of the like occurred. In fact, Afonso IV not only continued, but he also reinforced his predecessors' anti-seignorial measures. He took unprecedented steps forward in the formalisation of the functioning of royal judicial and administrative institutions, thus reinforcing the royal centre in face of competing jurisdictions and making procedures of the royal court more efficient. The king also promoted the strengthening of the bureaucratic caste within the royal court, directly dependent upon the king and consequently relieving him from the need of delegating political functions to members of the aristocracy. Afonso IV's reign was thus pivotal for the consolidation of Portuguese royal institutions during the late Middle Ages.⁸⁵

Afonso IV continued his father's efforts in restricting the rights, prerogatives, and political influence of the traditional upper nobility. For example, while his grandfather Afonso III attempted to regulate the practice of private feud or "vindicta" among the nobles, Afonso IV went as far as prohibiting the practice altogether, including for the nobility. Indeed, the King even established the death penalty to those who broke the law, thus motivating protests from the aristocracy. As a result, he was forced to moderate the harshness of the law. Even so, the pre-eminence of royal jurisdiction over private jurisdictions was safeguarded.⁸⁶

Instead of repeating the customary general inquiries made by his predecessors, Afonso IV published a general call ("chamamento geral") around 1334, according to which all nobles and prelates who had villages, castles, seignorial holdings, or any other form of jurisdiction should come to the royal authorities to present proof of the legitimacy of those jurisdictions. Afonso IV was particularly concerned with regulating the exertion of feudal jurisdictions and with safeguarding the exclusive right over criminal jurisdiction to the royal court. Yet, the king was careful enough to secure sufficient political support among the nobility, instead of estranging it from public governance altogether, as his father had done.⁸⁷

Although historical developments seldom are linear or unidirectional, we can see that the Portuguese royal court from an early age had been successful in consolidating its position as the political centre of society and asserting its pre-

⁸⁴ Pizarro, *Dinis*, 199–200, 229–30, 243–57; Sousa, *Afonso IV*, 65–75; José Antunes, António Resende de Oliveira, and João Gouveia Monteiro, "Conflitos políticos no reino de Portugal entre a reconquista e a expansão: estado da questão," *Revista de História das Ideias* 6 (1984): 25–160 (118–20); Mattoso, "A guerra civil de 1319–1324," in *Obras completas*, vol. 8 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2002), 217–27.

⁸⁵ Sousa, *Afonso IV*, 89–117.

⁸⁶ Sousa, *Afonso IV*, 120–124.

⁸⁷ Sousa, *Afonso IV*, 124–66.

eminence over private jurisdictions. Contrary to what happened in Castile, the Portuguese aristocracy was never able to counter the expansion of the royal centre nor was it able to rival royal power in resources and military might, unlike the Castilian nobility. The sources used in this dissertation were produced within this historical context and must be read with this reality in mind.

2 Sources, Methodology, Conceptual Framework

In the chapter that follows, I present my sources and methodology, together with the theoretical and conceptual framework that guided this thesis. The primary sources of this research are presented in Chapter 2.1. I also approach in this subchapter the relations of intertextuality among the sources and the methodological practices upon which this research is based. I then proceed to analyse in subchapters 2.2 and 2.3 two concepts that were central in my research: first, the idea of identity in its dialectical relationship with the notion of otherness; second, the concept of symbolic power, which I borrowed from the political sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and adapted to the subject and purposes of the present investigation.

2.1 Texts and Intertextuality

My analysis is based upon historiographical texts written in Galician-Portuguese vernacular and produced in Portuguese aristocratic courts during the second half of the thirteenth century and the fourteenth century. These texts belong to two disparate typologies: genealogies and chronicles. While the former basically consist of lists of kinship relations throughout generations, where the passing of time is reflected through generational change,⁸⁸ the latter belongs to a tradition of historical writing in which the passing of time is reflected chronologically.⁸⁹

I used all known Portuguese genealogical works from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the so-called *livros de linhagens* (“books of lineages”). First, the *Livro Velho de Linhagens* (“Old Book of Lineages”), which was preserved in a fragment from a version possibly compiled around 1286–1290 in the Monastery of

⁸⁸ Léopold Genicot, *Les Généalogies*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, vol. 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975); Gabrielle Spiegel, “Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historiography,” in Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 99–110.

⁸⁹ Steven Vanderputten, “Typology of Medieval Historiography Reconsidered: A Social Re-interpretation of Monastic Annals, Chronicles and Gesta,” *Historical Social Research* 26, no. 4 (2001): 141–78 (146–47).

Santo Tirso, at the heart of the “seignorial north”, under the patronage of Martim Gil de Riba de Vizela. The *Livro Velho*’s main objective is to legitimise the Riba de Vizela lineage mainly through its connection to the Maia family, one of the founding lineages of the Portuguese Kingdom, whose foundational legend I analyse in Article III. It has been argued that a previous version of the book was composed in the 1270s in the Monastery of Arouca at the behest of Abbess Mor Martins de Riba de Vizela.⁹⁰ In any case, the book’s patronage can be traced back to the Riba de Vizela family. Second, the *Livro do Deão* (“The Dean’s book”), whose known version was written in 1343 at the behest of an anonymous dean, possibly Martim Martins Zote, Dean of the Archbishopric of Braga.⁹¹ The *Livro Velho* and the *Livro do Deão* circulated together and only three manuscripts are known, all of them from the eighteenth century.⁹² Their textual tradition stems from a single older fragmentary manuscript where the last sections of the *Livro Velho* were truncated. It was once extant in the royal archive but was already lost by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The books were edited in printed format in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁹³ I used in my studies Joseph Piel’s and José Mattoso’s edition.⁹⁴

The third book of lineages is *Count Pedro’s Livro de Linhagens*, compiled by Count Pedro de Barcelos in the 1340s. It purports to encompass the aristocratic families of the whole Iberian Peninsula, but it focuses primarily on the Galician-Portuguese aristocracy and only the upper strata of the Castilian nobility were included in the compilation. The Count’s book was reformulated twice, first in 1360–1365 and again in 1380–1383. Both reformulations were connected to the Portuguese family of Pereira and the religious military Order of the Knights Hospitaller. The first reformulation affected the chapter organisation of the compilation, while the second reformulation added intricate narratives to the text, focused on exalting the memory of Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, leader of the Knights

⁹⁰ José Mattoso, “A transmissão textual dos livros de linhagens,” in *Naquele tempo. Ensaios de história medieval* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), 267–83 (271–72). See also Mattoso’s and Joseph Piel’s introduction to their edition of the *Livro Velho* and the *Livro do Deão*, in *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livros Velhos*, 9–14.

⁹¹ Piel and Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta. Livros Velhos*, 15–18; Mattoso, “Livros de Linhagens,” in *Dicionário da literatura medieval galega e portuguesa*, eds. Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1993), 419–21.

⁹² Sections of it have also been copied to a manuscript from the late sixteenth century, see Piel and Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livros Velhos*, 11.

⁹³ António Caetano de Sousa, ed., *Provas Da Historia Genealogica Da Casa Real Portuguesa, vol. I* (Lisbon: Academia Real, 1739), 141–219; Alexandre Herculano, ed., *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Scriptorum* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1860), 131–229.

⁹⁴ Piel and Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta. Livros Velhos*.

Hospitaller in Portugal.⁹⁵ The latter reformulation greatly affected the narrative contents of the *Livro de Linhagens*, as seen in Article II, imbuing it with a chivalresque ideal tempered by an ideology of crusade, much in accord with what might be expected from an author connected to a religious military order.

The Count's *Livro* is known only through this deeply revised version. It was the most influential of the three genealogical works, and it has been preserved in sixty manuscripts from many libraries throughout Europe.⁹⁶ It was printed in the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ I used in my studies the critical edition prepared by José Mattoso.⁹⁸

The fourth main source supporting my studies is the *Crónica de 1344*, also composed under the patronship of Count Pedro de Barcelos.⁹⁹ It is the first and only Portuguese aristocratic chronicle for the period encompassed by this dissertation. I used the original version of the chronicle, which has been preserved solely in a truncated Castilian translation extant in a manuscript from the fifteenth or sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ In my studies, I resorted to this manuscript and simultaneously to Ingrid Vindel's edition of its text.¹⁰¹ A second version of the *Crónica de 1344* was prepared around 1400, in which the entire initial section, one that was in great part of genealogical nature, was replaced by a narrative borrowed from other sources.¹⁰² This second redaction of the *Crónica de 1344* was edited by Lindley Cintra and is preserved in twelve manuscripts: six in Portuguese language preserved in Lisbon, Porto, Paris and Évora; and six Castilian translations preserved in Madrid, Santander and Geneva.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ See Mattoso's introduction to his edition of the Count's book for the purposes and chronology of the two reformulations of the book, Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livro de Linhagens*, vol. 1, 41–50. See Saraiva, "O autor da narrativa", for the second reformulation, namely the account of the Battle of Tarifa.

⁹⁶ See the manuscript list in Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livro de Linhagens*, vol. 1, 9–30.

⁹⁷ Herculano, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Scriptores*, 230–390.

⁹⁸ Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livro de Linhagens*.

⁹⁹ Lindley Cintra's thesis for Count Pedro's authorship of the *Crónica de 1344*, as explained in his 1951 ground-breaking study on this chronicle, has been consensually accepted. Ingrid Vindel, in the introduction to her edition of the first redaction of the *Crónica de 1344*, "Crónica de 1344, edición y estudio" (Ph.D. diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), has questioned Cintra's thesis with arguments that, in my opinion and strictly from the historical-ideological point of view, are insufficient to disprove Cintra's argumentation. See Article IV, footnote 14, 352–53.

¹⁰⁰ Manuscript 2656, Biblioteca General Histórica, University of Salamanca.

¹⁰¹ Vindel, "Crónica de 1344".

¹⁰² See Lindley Cintra's introduction to his edition of the second redaction of the *Crónica de 1344*, *Crónica Geral*, vol. I.

¹⁰³ See Cintra, *Crónica Geral*, vol. I, CDLXXXIX–DXXIV, for a description of the known manuscripts by the time he edited the second redaction of the *Crónica de*

The second redaction of the *Crónica de 1344* had therefore a much more fortunate destiny than the first redaction in terms of manuscript transmission. Until recently, we only knew the final section of the *Crónica de 1344* — all history posterior to Alfonso VII of Castile-León including the history of the Portuguese Kingdom — through the second redaction of the chronicle. Francisco Bautista and Filipe Alves Moreira have however recently discovered two manuscripts containing this section of the chronicle in the original Galician-Portuguese language.¹⁰⁴

The *Crónica de 1344* is part of the massive textual production derived from Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*, so its study involves systematic comparison with its post-Alfonsine sources — mostly with the *Versión Amplificada de la Estoria de España* and the *Crónica de Castilla*, as explained in Article IV.¹⁰⁵ It also includes other sources of utter relevance for the development of historical culture in medieval Iberia. Such is the case of the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis*: this is a Portuguese translation of a tenth-century Arabic work by Ahmad al-Rāzī, made under the patronage of King Dinis around 1300–1315.¹⁰⁶ Although the original Portuguese version of the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis* has been lost since the eighteenth century, parts of it (the geographical description of the Peninsula, the history of the last Visigothic kings, the Muslim invasion, and the emirs of Al-Andalus) were included in the original version of Count Pedro's chronicle (which, as already explained, we know through a Castilian translation).¹⁰⁷ Besides the sections included in the *Crónica de 1344*, there are three manuscripts from the fifteenth century with fragmentary Castilian translations of the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis*.¹⁰⁸

Another case is the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* (“First Portuguese Chronicle”), which Count Pedro used for the history of the Portuguese monarchs in

1344. See the website of the research project “Pedro de Barcelos e a monarquia castelhano-leonesa: edição e estudo da secção final inédita da Crónica de 1344”, <https://pedrodebarcelos.wixsite.com/cronica1344/manuscritos> (accessed on 23.2.2022) for a list of all known manuscripts of the chronicle.

¹⁰⁴ Bautista and Moreira, “Tradição textual.”

¹⁰⁵ Cintra, *Crónica Geral*, vol. I, CCCXVII–CCCLXXII; Catalán, *De Alfonso X*, 289–411; Isabel de Barros Dias, *Metamorfoses de Babel. A historiografia ibérica (sécs. XIII–XIV): construções e estratégias textuais* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003), 93–126.

¹⁰⁶ Diego Catalán and María Soledad de Andrés, ed., *Crónica del Moro Rasis* (Madrid: Gredos, 1975); António Rei, *Memória de espaços e espaços de memória: de Al-Rāzī a D. Pedro de Barcelos* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2008); Teresa Amado, “Crónica do Mouro Rasis,” in *Dicionário da literatura medieval galega e portuguesa*, eds. Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1993), 188–89.

¹⁰⁷ Cintra, *Crónica Geral*, vol. I, LI–LXIV.

¹⁰⁸ Catalán and Soledad de Andrés, *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, XII–XVII.

the *Crónica de 1344*. This is the first and only known example of royal Portuguese historiography from this period, composed before 1282 probably in a literary centre near to Afonso III, Count Pedro's grandfather.¹⁰⁹ Besides the *Crónica de 1344*, the *Primeira Crónica* was also used in a version of the *Estoria de España* compiled by Alfonso X in 1282–1284, the *Versión Crítica de la Estoria de España* — which provides the *terminus ante quem* for the *Primeira Crónica*'s date of production — and in Count Pedro's *Livro de Linhagens*. But its best testimony is a copy made in the fifteenth century in Santa Cruz de Coimbra usually named *IV^a Crónica Breve* (“Fourth Brief Chronicle”). This exemplar served as basis for the reconstruction of the *Primeira Crónica* by Filipe Alves Moreira.¹¹⁰ The narrative of the *Primeira Crónica* for the early history of the Portuguese Kingdom was enriched and actualised in the *Crónica de 1344* with many secondary texts as well as Count Pedro's personal recollections.¹¹¹

Before the late thirteenth century, historiographical activity in Portugal was in the hands of monastic and ecclesiastical institutions, with Latin as the preferred language. Depictions of war against Islam in Latin sources from the eleventh to the thirteenth century have already been analysed by Pereira, as mentioned in chapter 1.2. Pereira observed in his thesis that wars against the Muslims were central for the promotion of the aspirations of the emerging Portuguese royalty and the conquests it promoted against the Muslims, portraying the expansion as a holy war.¹¹² In my research, I start from where Pereira left off, inquiring upon vernacular historiography in the late thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries from the perspective of memories of encounters with Islam and the uses of those memories for the advancement of political agendas. It was in fact by the late thirteenth century that historiographical activity in Portugal moved away from monastic and ecclesiastical centres into lay centres of power.

Such is the case of the (presumably) royal *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, the three aristocratic *livros de linhagens*, and the no less aristocratic *Crónica de 1344*. By then, the importance of the monastic institution previously responsible for

¹⁰⁹ Moreira, *Afonso Henriques*; Miranda, “Na génese;” José Mattoso, “A primeira Crónica Portuguesa,” *Medievalista* 6 (2009), <https://medievalista.iem.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/medievalista/article/view/358> (accessed on April 1, 2022).

¹¹⁰ Moreira, *Afonso Henriques*; Fernando Venâncio Peixoto da Fonseca, ed., *Crónicas breves e memórias avulsas de S. Cruz de Coimbra* (Lisbon: author's edition, 2000), 110–19; Luis Krus, “Crónicas Breves de Santa Cruz,” in *Dicionário da literatura medieval galega e portuguesa*, eds. Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1993), 194.

¹¹¹ See Cintra, *Crónica Geral*, vol. I, XXXII, for the structure and sources of the *Crónica de 1344*.

¹¹² Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*, 171–73.

historiographical production (and concomitant legitimation of the royal house), Santa Cruz de Coimbra, in terms of historiographical activity, had diminished. This coenobium was no longer the Portuguese royal family's preferred monastic institution, and the head of the kingdom had actually been transferred to Lisbon by Afonso III. Santa Cruz did not produce "original" historiographical matter during this period, although interest in history did not vanish altogether: the Canons Regular of Santa Cruz translated in the fourteenth-century a twelfth-century Latin account of the conquest of Lisbon, translated Latin hagiographic texts, kept track of historical and natural events in annalistic lists, and copied short historiographical texts such as the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, as we saw in the case of the *IV^a Crónica Breve*.¹¹³ It is also possible, as we shall see in Chapter 3.1, that the religious military Order of Santiago produced in the fourteenth century a narrative of the conquest of Algarve, but we lack the original text.

I thus encompass in my analysis all main historiographical works of this epoch, including the late-fourteenth-century reformulation of Count Pedro's book, while simultaneously being aware of sources of secondary relevance and texts that were lost or deficiently preserved. I provide in Article I a general survey of historiographical activity in medieval Portugal.

Before approaching methodological questions related to intertextuality, I should say a word about the representativity of the sources: the aristocracy was a deeply heterogeneous social group, both horizontally as vertically. Within the context of conflict with royal power, the aristocracy was never united into a single front. On the contrary, conflicts with royal power were always to some measure intra-aristocratic conflicts that divided the class. King Dinis' last years might be an exception to this rule, when the King alienated practically the entire upper aristocracy from the kingdom's governance. Still, a great deal of the nobility remained apparently neutral during the conflict with *Infante* Afonso.¹¹⁴ The sources are, at first sight, representative only of the very highest strata of Portuguese nobility, as is the case of the Riba de Vizela family in the second half of the thirteenth century, Count Pedro in the first half of the fourteenth century, and the Pereiras in the second half of the fourteenth century. Yet, it was quite likely that these families' political and socioeconomical supremacy corresponded to an upper aristocratic hegemony also in the symbolic and ideological sphere. Subsequently, it is in no way too farfetched to think that the visions of the past produced by the upper strata of the aristocracy were also influential or even dominant among the intermediary and lower sectors of the class. Indeed, I think it quite likely that the

¹¹³ António Cruz, ed., *Anais, crónicas e memórias avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* (Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1968); Fonseca, *Crónicas breves*.

¹¹⁴ Sousa, *Afonso IV*, 70.

cultural patterns of the upper strata of the aristocracy tended to, borrowing Georges Duby's words, "spread and move down".¹¹⁵

Relations of intertextuality are central for the analysis of medieval historiographical texts. Medieval historiographical sources are defined by intertextual relations established among texts throughout centuries. In this field of studies, to "read" a text means to undertake a detailed comparison with its sources and contemporary related texts, whether they belong to the same or other typologies. This way one may pinpoint the idiosyncrasies of each text and highlight the variations in the discourses, thus unravelling their specific ideological setting and providing insight into social and political phenomena.¹¹⁶

During this research, I verified in my sources a continuous circulation of ideologically charged narrative topics through processes of intertextuality. There is in the texts a dialectics between centripetal and centrifugal pressures, or a tension between creation and repetition. A predefined language and an order of discourse — for example, a literary genre — provide a centripetal moment, motivating repetition and homogeneity, while evolving social conditions constitute a centrifugal moment, motivating creation, variation, and heterogeneity.¹¹⁷ According to this perspective, the texts negotiate social relations in contexts of social struggle. What's more, social struggles are acted out in and through the texts.¹¹⁸ I thus had to work through the relations of intertextuality (the "repetitions") to grasp the specificities of each text and relate those specificities to sociohistorical conditions.

I employed a comparative method of reading the primary sources and their respective sources. The best example of this method is perhaps given by the analysis of Count Pedro's *Crónica de 1344* in Article IV, where I discuss how the author accommodated to an aristocratic sensibility material from previous texts that were written by and in favour of royalty. Moreover, the Count was doing this in a genre, that of the chronicle, that had previously been exclusive to the royalty. Both in terms of contents as well as in formal terms, Count Pedro was "negotiating" with the previous order of discourse. The study of the *Crónica de 1344* and Count Pedro's *Livro de Linhagens* required constant comparison with their sources, such as the *Versión Amplificada de la Estoria de España*, the *Crónica de Castilla*, or the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*.

¹¹⁵ Georges Duby, "The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society," *Past & Present* 39 (Apr. 1968): 3–10 (3).

¹¹⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (Harlow: Longman, 1995).

¹¹⁷ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 7–8.

¹¹⁸ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 7.

I am particularly attentive to the idiosyncrasies of each text, both in what they have of completely original matter and of the idiosyncratic ways of appropriating their sources' matter. Therefore, I give special relevance to the heterogeneity of the texts. My sources are historiographical compilations built from previous texts from different typologies (from epic poems to genealogical records) and from disparate social provenances (from monastic institutions to royal courts). The sources are bound to contain a degree of internal heterogeneity already due to the composite nature of medieval historiographical compilations in general. The heterogeneity, diversity, and, in some instances, the contradictory nature of the texts reflect social contradictions that constitute the focus of this research.¹¹⁹ We see, for example, in Article IV how I prioritised the idiosyncratic passages of the *Crónica de 1344*, i.e., those chapters that are exclusive to this chronicle and are therefore the best testimonies of Count Pedro's personal views, to show how the Count argued for a political break between the Visigothic and the Asturian-Leonese kings.

Slight modifications in the texts often hinted at events of considerable political and social relevance. To give just two examples, in Article III we see how details in the evolution of the legend of the origin of the Maia family reflected concerns regarding the social origin of Artiga, the female founder of the lineage — she was originally a Muslim servant in the *Livro Velho's* version of the tale in the late thirteenth century but became a Muslim princess in Count Pedro's *Livro de Linhagens* in the mid-fourteenth. And in Article IV, I analyse how different ways of appropriating the *Estoria de España* reflected social struggles and alterations in the co-relation of forces between the crown and aristocracy in Castile and Portugal. Many other practical examples of the importance of intertextuality and the advantages of a comparative methodology will become apparent in my research. For now, I continue by addressing theoretical issues related to the concepts of identity, otherness, and symbolic power.

2.2 Identity and Otherness

The aristocracy's strategy of discursive and symbolic legitimation worked through the creation of an image of itself (answering the question “who we are”) and its role in society at large (“what we do/did”, “why society needs us”). I focused upon this identity-formation process and performed an inquiry into the aristocracy's self-image or subjectivity, exposing the historical imaginary within which this subjectivity was built. In this imaginary, identity building goes together with “alterity building”, that is, creating an Other against which the Self is defined.

¹¹⁹ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 8.

I apply this conceptual dialectics of identity/otherness in Article II, which deals with aristocratic notions of otherness in fourteenth-century Portugal. This article was published in a volume that constitutes the first comprehensive attempt at problematising the issue of otherness in the Middle Ages.¹²⁰ The book gathers contributions from manifold perspectives on the issue of otherness in the medieval ages. Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood introduced the volume by reflecting upon methodological issues.¹²¹ As rightfully noted by these authors, otherness is “a subjective phenomenon depending on personal views and ascriptions. Any investigation should take this ‘subjectivity’ into consideration”.¹²² Moreover, as also noted by Goetz and Wood, it is a relational concept intricately connected with the notion of Self, a notion of sameness versus difference.¹²³ This was the main reason for my interest in notions of otherness, as I questioned what those notions told about the aristocratic Self, about aristocratic subjectivity and self-awareness.

As I explain in Article II, I interpreted otherness primarily as a notion of difference that is usually expressed in the form of enmity or rivalry.¹²⁴ I further noted that, although the term has been dear to postcolonial research dealing with asymmetrical power relations between ruling and subaltern groups, I studied struggles internal to the dominant groups, that is, between aristocracy and royalty. Although it is clear by now that the perspective of otherness is helpful in the analysis of certain aspects of medieval realities, the application of modern theories such as postcolonial studies to medieval societies remains cumbersome and may indeed prove anachronistic.¹²⁵

I dealt with notions of otherness that were ethno-religious and cultural (in the case of the Muslims), and socio-political (concerning royal power).¹²⁶ I observe in Article II that the political factor and political relations were central in the foregrounding of another group’s alterity. While royalty was a purely social and political Other for the aristocracy, Muslim otherness was originally ethno-religious; still, it was Islam’s status as a political enemy — as a political Other — that established its pre-eminence in the aristocratic historical imaginary, where Muslims were portrayed as the “Archother”, the common Other for all Christian social

¹²⁰ Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood, eds., *‘Otherness’ in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

¹²¹ Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood, “Introduction: The Many Facets and Methodological Problems of ‘Otherness’,” in Goetz and Wood, *‘Otherness’ in the Middle Ages*, 11–35.

¹²² Goetz and Wood, “Introduction,” 12.

¹²³ Goetz and Wood, “Introduction,” 24–25.

¹²⁴ Article II, 417.

¹²⁵ Goetz and Wood, “Introduction,” 16–18.

¹²⁶ See Goetz and Wood, “Introduction,” 20–21, for modes of otherness in medieval sources.

groups. Muslim “archotherness” was of ethnic, cultural, and religious origin, but it was the overlapping of ethno-religious otherness with political otherness that made Islam the primary Other for the aristocracy. It was against this “Archother” that the aristocratic Self was defined, since the aristocracy’s social function was to wage war against the Muslims.

Besides different modes of otherness, degrees of otherness are also relevant.¹²⁷ I borrow in Article II the terminology employed by the social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen, who studied the phenomenon of otherness from the perspective of ethnicity and nationalism in contemporary societies.¹²⁸ Although my topic of research is completely disparate to that of Eriksen’s, his concepts of *digital* and *analogue difference* were useful for my analysis of aristocratic notions of otherness in fourteenth-century Portugal. I note in Article II that, although Eriksen deals with modern ethnic identities and nationalism, his categories can also work as interpretative tools with other modes of identity. Eriksen problematises in his book the difference in approaches between anthropologists and historians, ascribing to the latter a lack of interest in the use of history and the past for the creation of identities, focusing instead on “what *really* happened?”¹²⁹ It is a rather unfair or oversimplified accusation towards historians, since there has been historiographical research on political uses of history and on identity-formation, as seen in the bibliography provided in Chapter 1.2. In any case, the anthropological perspective of memory and historical culture from the point of view of the needs of the present is at the core of this dissertation.

I observed in my sources different degrees of otherness, and Eriksen’s terminology proved useful to interpret and illustrate those degrees. I argue in Article II that Islam’s “archotherness” corresponds to what Eriksen calls *digital difference*, that is, a categorising system where the boundaries for inclusion and exclusion are clear, unambiguous, and the boundaries between sameness and difference are fixed.¹³⁰ Royal otherness, on the other hand, is purely circumstantial and the boundaries of inclusion/exclusion are much more fluid, ambiguous, and open for negotiation. In other words, it is what Eriksen defines as *analogue difference*.¹³¹ These categories are used in Article II as analytical and explicative tools, not as descriptive terms of the objective reality. That is also the case of other theoretical and methodological concepts that I borrowed from other fields of

¹²⁷ Goetz and Wood, “Introduction,” 23.

¹²⁸ Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, 3rd ed. (1st ed. 1993) (New York: Pluto Press, 2010).

¹²⁹ Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 85.

¹³⁰ Article II, 421; Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 79.

¹³¹ Article II, 429; Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 79.

research, such as the concepts of symbolic power, symbolic struggles, and symbolic capital. This is the topic of the next subchapter.

2.3 Symbolic Power

Aristocratic historiographical activity, i.e., the recording of the lineages' memories in writing according to an aristocratic view of the past, aimed at reinforcing the nobility's prestige. The "target audience" was both "internal" — towards the members of the class — and "external" — towards rival groupings such as the royal court. I needed analytical and interpretative tools to approach this phenomenon, and I found such in Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power.¹³² Bourdieu's theories contributed greatly to my understanding of the active role of cultural practices as resources for the reproduction or transformation of a social order. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power acknowledges relations of power that operate through symbolic means (language and representations, among others). Cultural practices function as resources ("capitals") for the reinforcement, maintenance, or transformation of social hierarchies. In the case of reproduction or conservation of a social hierarchy, cultural resources are useful to legitimate the prevailing social order by representing it as something other than power relations, that is, as something "natural", ahistorical, non-political, not socially determined.¹³³

Symbolic capital and symbolic power were used in this research as analytical tools, instead of concepts aiming at objectively designating parts of a social system.¹³⁴ I focused on power in legitimation, on the symbolic legitimation of the social and political order.¹³⁵ I viewed power relations as penetrating all dimensions of human activity, including in ways that are not readily discernible. Power also operates through the cognitive structures of individuals, through the imposition of

¹³² Pierre Bourdieu, "Sur le pouvoir symbolique," *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 32:3 (1977): 405–11; Pierre Bourdieu, "Social space and symbolic power," in Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 123–39; Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Mathew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, "Symbolic capital and social classes," *Journal of Classic Sociology* 13, no. 2 (2013): 292–302; David L. Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Swartz, *Symbolic Power, Politics, and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

¹³³ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 79–122.

¹³⁴ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 70.

¹³⁵ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 34, 37.

mental classifications and perception grids that condition the individuals' behaviour towards one another and towards official or institutional power structures. Legitimation is therefore deeply embedded in everyday assumptions made by individuals and groups regarding the social reality.¹³⁶ Acceptance of the social order and its misrecognition as something “natural” — or at least acceptable — lies in deeply engraved and shared representations of that order; it lies in the imposition of schemes of classification that motivate recognition of the legitimacy of that order. This means that the subordinate classes of hierarchically stratified societies “internalize their conditions of domination as normal, inevitable, or natural”.¹³⁷ The relative arbitrariness of power structures is disguised through the misrecognition of subjective classifications of objective facts.¹³⁸ Therefore, legitimation of social hierarchies largely occurs on a taken-for-granted basis in everyday life. Cultural and ideological means are of the utmost importance for the dissemination of the schemes of perception and classification that legitimize relations of domination.

The capacity for the imposition of these classifications and perceptual grids, i.e., their operability, is what Bourdieu called symbolic power.¹³⁹ If successful, the subordinate groups will see the social reality and their own place in it through the dominant groups' lenses, thus conforming to the place ascribed to them in the social order by these dominant definitions of the social reality. The imposed systems of classification, though historically constituted — and therefore always to some degree arbitrary —, are misrecognised as objective facts. I argue that my sources had this functionality of imposing upon the ruling groups a certain view of the past as something “natural”. Moreover, their authors are aware of their functionality, especially in the case of Count Pedro de Barcelos, as seen in Article IV. Besides, symbolic production can also help to concretely define social groups and their interrelationships through classifications.¹⁴⁰ We see in my studies how the sources aimed at creating an image of the aristocracy as a cohesive social group, unified by familial and feudo-vassallic relations. Their authors' attempt to produce a homogenous image of an extremely heterogeneous social class.

I used Bourdieu's concepts to approach power relations focusing on their discursive and cultural expressions. The institutional and normative aspects of political activity are the more visible side of governance and political power.

¹³⁶ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 80.

¹³⁷ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 38.

¹³⁸ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 127; Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 80–81.

¹³⁹ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 38.

¹⁴⁰ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 41.

Documentation provides insight into how governance officially operated and which norms and practices regulated political institutions. Still, it says little about the less visible aspects of power relations, for example, how culturally transmitted social classifications and structures of perception reflected and simultaneously conditioned political praxis. Historiographical sources offer us precious insight into these issues.

In my research, I discussed how medieval historiography functioned as a cultural resource, a “capital”, to influence patterns of thought and thus condition the behaviour of individuals in accordance with a certain social order presented as “natural” or innate. If efficiently disseminated and socially recognised, this cultural capital becomes the source of symbolic power. Medieval historiography not only reflected and legitimated a given social order but also encouraged its audience to act according to the schemes presented in the text (*exempla*), thus moulding the perception of their place in society. Borrowing the words of Steven Lukes, historiography has “the capacity to secure domination through the shaping of beliefs and desires”.¹⁴¹

I mention in Article IV how the authors were aware of the functional and performative nature of the texts they wrote. I pointed out how Count Pedro de Barcelos mentioned in the prologue of his *Livro de Linhagens* his practical intention of propagating his historical views among his peers and among royalty. The Count wished to promote relations of friendship between the nobility by exposing the kinship relations uniting noblemen and women from all around the Peninsula. Beyond this, as I stress in Article IV, Count Pedro believed in the possibility, at least theoretically, of rendering monarchical and judicial institutions obsolete through the cementing of solidarity among the nobility. If the latter was united and in solidarity, there was no need for royal institutions to arbitrate intra-aristocratic conflicts.¹⁴²

I approached historiographical production in late-medieval Portugal as a field of social conflict, part of a set of mechanisms of domination and reproduction of a stratified social order. Bourdieu’s concept of *symbolic struggles at the subjective level* helped me to interpret the role of these texts in the period’s socio-political reality. As I explain in Article II,¹⁴³ this means that in social struggles there usually is a concomitant struggle to change or condition the categories of perception and evaluation of the social world, systems of classification, cognitive and evaluative

¹⁴¹ Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1974) (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 143–44.

¹⁴² Article IV, 365.

¹⁴³ Article II, 419.

structures.¹⁴⁴ Symbolic power “is a place of struggle, a contested power, being both the object and instrument of social struggle among social groups”.¹⁴⁵ I argued that my sources were resources in that symbolic struggle. They also cemented among the families whose kinship was presented in the texts what Bourdieu called “social capital”, i.e., resources derived from social relations,¹⁴⁶ in this case familial kinship and feudo-vassallic relations.

While Bourdieu analysed modern societies where there were sharply asymmetrical power relations between dominant and subaltern classes, the reality I analysed was rather different, as the battle between aristocracy and royalty was a contradiction *within* the ruling groups, instead of opposing the ruling group against the ruled. Although Bourdieu is known to medievalists,¹⁴⁷ his conceptual framework has not been used, to the best of my knowledge, in studies on medieval Iberian historiography. It is known that Bourdieu had “a historical understanding of increasing differentiation of forms of power with the transition from the traditional undifferentiated societies to modern increasingly differentiated societies”.¹⁴⁸ According to this premise, one may think that medieval forms of power were rather simpler than power relations nowadays, and that, since Bourdieu’s concepts are derived from contemporary data, they are not applicable to the study of medieval societies. This may be well true in many instances but, in my case, Bourdieu’s concepts of symbolic power and of symbolic struggles at the subjective level contributed greatly to a better understanding of the relation between historiography, politics, and legitimation in late-medieval Portugal. This will

¹⁴⁴ Bourdieu, *In Other Words*, 134; Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 87.

¹⁴⁵ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 83.

¹⁴⁶ Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58; Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 119.

¹⁴⁷ David C. Harvey and Rhys Jones, “Custom and habit(us): The meaning of traditions and legends in early medieval western Britain,” *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 81, no. 4 (1999): 223–33; Jeroen Deploige, “Priests, Prophets, and Magicians: Max Weber and Pierre Bourdieu vs Hildegard of Bingen,” in *The Voice of Silence: Women’s Literacy in a Men’s Church*, eds. Thérèse de Hemptinne and María Eugenia Góngora (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 3–22; Emma J. Cayley, “Debating Communities: Revealing Meaning in Late-Medieval French Manuscript Collections,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 105, no. 2 (2004): 191–201; Betsy McCormick, “A Feel for the Game: Bourdieu, Source Study, and the Legend,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 28 (2006): 257–61; Kevin Wanner, *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda: The Conversion of Cultural Capital in Medieval Scandinavia* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2008); Christopher D. Bahl, “Reading *tarājim* with Bourdieu: prosopographical traces of historical change in the South Asian migration to the late medieval Hijaz,” *Der Islam* 94, no. 1 (2017): 234–75.

¹⁴⁸ Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, 34 (footnote 10), 60.

become clearer in the articles included in this dissertation, as well as in the evaluation of the articles' premises and conclusions, which is the subject of the subsequent chapter.

3 Analysis of the Articles

I approach in this chapter the main conclusions of the articles and reflect upon the research path that brought me to these conclusions. Using the theoretical and conceptual framework presented in the previous chapter, I assess the conclusions of the articles and explore these observations from the perspective of the role of the past and of historical culture in the construction of an aristocratic identity, meaning by this an aristocratic subjectivity or consciousness of itself as a distinct social group. By integrating these partial conclusions, I attempt to unfold the historical imaginary of the Portuguese aristocracy from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I argue that the upper aristocracy's historical imaginary had as a background memories of past interaction with Iberian Islam, memories that constituted a "symbolic supply" from where the literate representatives of the aristocracy drew narrative material that functioned as cultural capital that enhanced the aristocracy's symbolic power and political legitimacy.

Article I represents my point of departure. I performed a preliminary survey of historiographical activity in medieval Portugal, especially concerning the chronicle genre, from the eleventh until the early sixteenth century. It provided me with a clearer view not only of the development of historic culture in medieval Portugal but, more importantly, of the social groups that invested in historiography to advance their views of the past and promote the political programmes that accompanied these views. I also thought that a general survey of historiographical activity in medieval Portugal would be useful for a dissertation whose readership might be unacquainted with the topic. It also consisted of a preliminary incursion into the source material, when I was still attempting to ascertain what texts could better serve my purposes.

Genealogical compilations, namely the *livros de linhagens*, were not included in Article I, where I focus instead on chronicles and hagiographies, the most common historiographical typologies. However, I later decided to include genealogy as a literary typology within historiographical activity. Indeed, the *livros de linhagens* became my primary sources very soon after writing Article I and provided the basis for the dissertation's articles, together with the *Crónica de 1344*.

Genealogy consisted in one mode of conveying (and constructing) memories of the past, alongside chronicles, hagiographies, and other historical accounts. While the monarchy and the literary centres at its service preferred first the annalistic genre and then the chronicle format to construct and convey a royal memory of the past, the genealogical genre was a typically aristocratic way of recording bygone times. Yet, genealogical texts in this period were pretty much “contaminated” by narrative typologies such as chronicles and especially the Count’s book has many narratives that resemble the chronicle genre, instead of being a mere list of names and kinship relations.

Article I also provides a more ample chronological scope, encompassing the entire Portuguese Middle Ages, so that the period approached in my dissertation may be framed within a wider historical frame. This survey offers a preliminary overview of historiographical activity in Portugal from the point of view of the social groups that promoted it. We thus see that, although the Portuguese royalty (possibly) inaugurated historiographical production written in Galician-Portuguese vernacular with the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, the nobility gave much more relevance to the “cultural front” of the battle between sectors of the aristocracy and royalty during the reigns of Afonso III, Dinis, and Afonso IV. Only in the following century, after the accession of a new ruling dynasty, would the situation change and the royalty would take the lead in terms of historiographical writing.

After performing the preliminary work done in Article I, I proceeded to analyse my primary sources. In the articles that resulted from this analysis, and which form this dissertation, I have identified three main discursive strategies in the texts, each of them being somehow connected to the question of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula. The war against the Muslims was the background against which the aristocracy built its historical imaginary, but the strategy was threefold: first, the most conspicuous theme in the sources is legitimation through war against the Muslims, and especially war of conquest, as I demonstrate in Article II. In this article, which I revisit in Chapter 3.1, I argue that the war of conquest against the Muslims and the protection of Christian societies from the Muslim threat were the dominant features for the definition of an aristocratic subjectivity as a distinguished social class. Yet, this is not the only strategy concerning Islamic presence, for there are also instances where Muslims (or, more appropriately, Muslim converts to Christianity) are “positively” central for the identity building and political legitimation of aristocratic families. This is the second discursive strategy I identified in the sources, which is analysed in Article III and in Chapter 3.2. Lastly, I approach a discursive strategy that frames interaction with Islam and the war of conquest against the Muslims within the ideal of the restoration of Catholic and Visigothic Spain overthrown by the Muslim invasion of 711. This discourse is present particularly in the *Crónica de 1344*, where the Iberian nobility, with the

Galician-Portuguese and Castilian aristocracies at its forefront, are presented as descendants of the ancient Visigoths. This is the topic of Article IV, which I analyse in Chapter 3.3.

3.1 Aristocratic Legitimation Through Conflict Against Islam

In Article II, “The Muslim *Archother* and the Royal *Other*: Aristocratic Notions of Otherness in Fourteenth-Century Portugal”, I approach the role of conflicts with Islam in the aristocracy’s legitimation discourses. I departed from previous research upon medieval depictions of war against Islam in Portuguese historiographical sources, especially Pereira’s work,¹⁴⁹ where we saw that holy war against Islam was at the heart of the new-born Portuguese monarchy’s legitimation rhetoric. There is no aristocratic historiographical production in Portugal for the twelfth century. Yet, I inquired whether memories of war against the Muslims were as central in aristocratic sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as they were in the royal and ecclesiastic sources of the twelfth. I considered the perspective of otherness and identity-building as being fruitful for this inquiry, by discussing how the otherness of Islam was central for the definition of a Portuguese aristocratic identity, just as it had been central for the justification of the Portuguese monarchy’s right to political autonomy.

One of the leading points of Article II is that Islam is always present in the sources, although most often as a secondary protagonist in the narratives. The topic is transversal to all sources, and I had to take it into account in all articles. In Article II I focus exclusively on this theme. The presence of Islam is of the greatest importance in the sources. It is well illustrated in a passage from the prologue of the *Livro Velho de Linhagens*. The prologues of the books of lineages are entirely relevant, since they are declarations of intentions directly from the authors, where they disclose the contents and purposes of their works. The prologues say plenty about the writers’ views, aspirations, and mental framework within which they operated.

As I observe in Article II, in the prologue of the *Livro Velho*, the matter of the book is defined as “os linhagens dos bons homens filhos d’algo do reino de Portugal (...) que andaram a la guerra a filhar o reino de Portugal” (“the lineages of the good noblemen of the kingdom of Portugal (...) who made war to conquer the kingdom of Portugal.”) The book was most likely written by a scribe of monastic background patronised by the lineage of Riba de Vizela, as I explain in Article II

¹⁴⁹ Pereira, *Representações da Guerra*.

and in Chapter 2. The *Livro Velho*'s subject is the Portuguese nobility, represented by the five most powerful families of the “seignorial North”. These families are defined by what they accomplished in the past: the conquest of the kingdom. From the aristocratic viewpoint, that is what defined the aristocracy and distinguished it from the rest of society, as I also note in Article IV.¹⁵⁰ If they are the aristocracy of the kingdom, a privileged warrior class with a specific set of rights and prerogatives defending them from royal intrusion, that is because their forefathers conquered the very kingdom that the royalty held. As it becomes apparent from the narratives themselves — and even though we know the *Livro Velho* only in a truncated version —, the war of conquest mentioned in the prologue refers to the southward expansion at the cost of Muslim territories. This is, as I point out in Article II, the main axis of the legitimation discourse in the *Livro Velho*. The prestige or symbolic capital of the families included in the compilation, as well as the prestige of their living descendants, hinged upon past military endeavours against the Muslims.

I mention this passage in Article IV, where I analyse it in relation to Count Pedro de Barcelos' works, namely his *Livro de Linhagens* and the *Crónica de 1344*. Count Pedro also viewed the history of the aristocracy as the history of Christian expansion over the Muslims, and in fact he developed the argument by appropriating the neo-Gothic myth and adapting it to the Iberian aristocracy. This is the subject of Article IV which I will revisit in Chapter 3.3.

The centrality of military activity against Islam to justify the nobility's privileged position is a common feature of the sources, which I took in consideration in all articles. This is clear from a passage in Count Pedro's prologue to his *Livro de Linhagens*. The Count lists seven reasons for composing the book. The first is to foment solidarity between the members of the noble class throughout the whole Peninsula.¹⁵¹ The second reason for composing the *Livro* is the practical intention of informing his peers about their ascendancy “de padre a filho e das linhas traversas” (“from father to son and from the crossed lines”).¹⁵² The third is to unite the aristocracy against the enemies of the Christian faith (“por seerem de ãu coração, de haverem de seguir os seus emmigos que som em estroimento da fe de Jesu Christo”, that is, “that they [the aristocrats] may be of one heart, that they follow their enemies that are for the destruction of the faith of Jesus Christ”).¹⁵³ Apart from their ascendance and current blood relations — which imposed upon

¹⁵⁰ Article IV, 361, n.82.

¹⁵¹ LL, Pr. 2³. Count Pedro's pan-Iberian class consciousness is analysed in Article IV, and I will return to it in Chapter 3.3.

¹⁵² LL, Pr. 7¹.

¹⁵³ LL, Pr. 8¹⁻².

them a duty of mutual solidarity —, the Iberian nobility was defined by their military activity against “the enemies of the faith of Jesus Christ”, that is, the Muslims.

I have interpreted that, besides noble birth, the other element constituting aristocratic identity and social belonging was military activity against the Muslims. This was most likely a hegemonic view among the Portuguese upper aristocracy, since it occurs in these two books of lineages — i.e., the *Livro Velho* and the Count’s book, which have a clearer ideological functionality when compared to the *Livro do Deão*, whose discourse is much more practical and the text much drier. The war against Islam is also the main theme of Iberian history in Count Pedro’s *Crónica de 1344*, framed within the neo-Gothic myth, as seen in Article IV.

As noted in Article II, the importance of the war against Islam remained and was deepened both “quantitatively” (in terms of the objective and explicit presence of the topic in the narratives) as well as “qualitatively” (in terms of the subjective characterisation given to the war against Islam) in the later narratives included in the only known version of the Count’s *Livro*. I refer here to the narratives written in 1380–1383 by a scribe connected to the Pereira family and the Order of the Knights Hospitaller. While in the *Livro Velho*, in the older narratives from the Count’s book, and in the *Crónica de 1344*, the war against the Muslims is a politico-territorial war (even though Muslim otherness derived from ethno-religious difference, as pointed out in Article II), in the narratives of the Count’s book reformulated in 1380–1383 we encounter a holy war heavily influenced by the crusading ideal.

I argue in Article II that, during the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the war against Islam was the main discursive axis for the historical legitimisation of the aristocracy. This was accomplished by evoking the argument that the kingdom was conquered from the Muslims by the nobility, who, after the conquest, remained the defender of the kingdom against the Muslims. The aristocracy’s alleged historical agency was memorialised in narratives that were then collected in the books of lineages. In the older narratives, the war is characterised as a politico-territorial war. In the reformulated narratives, on the contrary, the war against Islam in Iberia is depicted as a universal war between Christendom and Islam. The Iberian nobility, headed by the Portuguese aristocracy and the Pereiras, are presented as *militia Christi*. As I explain in Article II, this view is consistent with the mindset of a writer belonging or being somehow connected to a religious military order such as the Knights Hospitaller.

It is troublesome to ascertain without a doubt whether this view was hegemonic among aristocratic members of the religious military orders during the mid-fourteenth century. This view of the war informed by the ideology of crusade could have circulated among the aristocracy belonging to the religious military orders,

parallelly with the politico-territorial characterisation of the lay aristocracy in the *Livro Velho*, the *Crónica de 1344*, and the older narratives of Count Pedro's book. Unfortunately, we have no direct testimony of historiographical production from aristocratic members of the religious military orders prior to the reformulation of the *Livro de Linhagens*. A royal chronicle from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the *Crónica de 1419*, included a narrative of the conquest of Algarve in the mid-thirteenth century by the Order of Santiago and his Grand Master Paio Peres Correia, a nobleman of Portuguese origin. This narrative circulated with the title *Crónica da Conquista do Algarve* in independent manuscripts, detached from its context in the *Crónica de 1419*. The tale most likely originated in a work written by someone at the service of the Order of Santiago and was possibly written during the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁴ In the eight chapters devoted to the conquest of Algarve by the Knights of Santiago and Afonso III there is a rather detailed account of the battles and skirmishes that led to the conquest, but no stress is put upon the religious dimension of the fight. The only exception is the definition of a group of knights-friar slain by Muslims near Tavira as "martyrs that shed their blood for the honour of Christ" ("marteres que espargerom seu sangue por a honra de Christo"). Besides this, we have no vestiges of a similar discourse to that of the reformulated narratives in the Count Pedro's *Livro de Linhagens*.

In the 1380–1383 reformulation of the Count's book, the history of the Portuguese aristocracy is the history of the loss of Spain to the Moors and the subsequent conquest of the Portuguese kingdom by the nobility. I address this in Article II where this view of the past is transmitted through statements of the Portuguese knights in the depiction of the Battle of Tarifa (1340).¹⁵⁵ Although it goes unmentioned in the article, one could also have referred to the speech given by the Afonso IV in the same account of the battle:

My naturals and vassals, you know well how this land of Spain was lost by [the last Visigothic King] Rodrigo and won by the Moors, (...) and how your

¹⁵⁴ It was previously believed that the *Crónica da Conquista do Algarve* pre-existed the *Crónica de 1419* and that the latter used the former as source. Moreira, *Crónica de Portugal*, 277–302, has shown that, on the contrary, the manuscripts conveying the account of the conquest of the Algarve were in fact excerpts from the *Crónica de 1419*. Still, Moreira accepted that the *Crónica de 1419* has used previous texts devoted to this military enterprise by the Order of Santiago, see Moreira, *Crónica de Portugal*, 280. See chapters 80–88 of the *Crónica de 1419* in Calado, *Crónica de Portugal*, 145–61.

¹⁵⁵ Article II, 425.

grandparents, from whom you descend, by their great work and by deaths and disgraces, won the kingdom of Portugal.¹⁵⁶

Afonso IV goes on to describe how his ancestor Afonso Henriques rewarded the nobility with feudal property (“honras e coutos”), autonomy from royal power (“liberdades”), and money (“contias”, “maravedis”). These material rewards and privileges were then honoured by the subsequent Portuguese monarchs in relation to the conquerors’ descendants throughout generations. Afonso IV reminds his warriors that he has kept up this practice and vows to correct any possible flaws in his royal duties, should he survive the battle they were about to wage.¹⁵⁷

This passage is even more explicit than that of the *Livro Velho*’s prologue. The 1380–1383 reformulation of Count Pedro’s *Livro de Linhagens* includes a speech given by Afonso IV — unfortunately, it is impossible to say whether the speech was present in the original version of the Count’s book — that is a summary of the reformulator’s idealised notion of the aristocratic past, of the origin of the nobility’s privileges, and feudal autonomies, as well as presenting an idealised image of the king and royal power. The social functions of both royalty and the aristocracy are clearly defined: the latter must serve the former in the conquest and protection of the kingdom from the Muslims while the former should reward the latter through wealth, power, and privilege.

This strengthens the argument put in Article II, where I assert that the sources uphold harmony between these two ruling strata (royalty and aristocracy) so that they both fulfil their social functions and their historic mission, the conquest and defence of the kingdom from Islam. I argue in Article II that the war against the Muslim was dialectically seen as both cause and consequence of the union between the ruling groups. That ideal situation is usually broken in the narratives by the royalty, who fails to fulfil its social function. In Article IV, I argue that Count Pedro framed this social function of the nobility in a pan-Iberian context, pinning the origin of the highest Iberian aristocracy to the old Visigoths that ruled prior to

¹⁵⁶ LL21G15^{73–74}: “Meus naturaes e meus vassalos, sabedes bem em como esta terra de Espanha foi perduda por rei Rodrigo e ganhada pelos Mouros, (...) e em como os vossos avoos, donde descendedes, por gram seu trabalho e por mortes e lazeiras, ganharam o reino de Portugal.”

¹⁵⁷ LL21G15^{75–79}: “Em como el rei dom Afonso Anrequiz, com a que a eles guanharam, lhis deu honras e coutos e liberdades e contias por que vivessem honrados, e nom tam solamente fez esto a eles, mais por sua honra dava os maravedis aos filhos que jaziam nos berços, e o padres serviam por eles; em como os reis, que depos el veeram, aguardarom esto. Eu, depois que viim a este logo, fiz aquilo que estes reis fezerom; e, se algũa cousa i ha pera emendar, eu o corregerei se me Deus daqui tira.”

711. Portuguese expansion was, thus, contextualised within the restoration of ancestral Catholic and Visigothic Spain.

In Article II, I conclude that, although Muslim otherness stemmed from ethnoreligious difference, it was Islam's status as a politico-military entity that held power and territories in Iberia that was the basis for its — as I call in the article — “archotherness”, that is, its status as the common Other for all ruling strata of Christian societies, to the extent that it defined the social function of the warrior class. But this created a dilemma for the late-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Portuguese aristocracy: the Other upon which its social function and group identity was built was expelled from the Portuguese territory already in the mid-thirteenth century, in the above-mentioned campaigns by the Order of Santiago and Afonso III. Portugal no longer had borders with Muslim polities, with Iberian Islam being confined to the enclave of Granada.

I asserted in Article II that this situation, combined with the effects of political centralisation upon traditional seignorial privileges and rents, weakened not only the nobility's material resources but also their symbolic resources, their symbolic capital. The royalist centralist policies were legitimated more through administrative means and juridical/bureaucratic resources, rather than historiographical or cultural.¹⁵⁸ I referred to this phenomenon using Bourdieu's concepts and maintained that “while the monarchy based its political and symbolic power in objective structures — i.e., in organizational structures —, the aristocracy relied more on subjective structures — i.e., in mental structures and categories of perception transmitted through cultural means.”¹⁵⁹ Regarding this assertion, one could note that — although it is clear that the nobility was much more dependent upon symbolic means than the royalty — the latter far from disregarded culture altogether, as monarchs like Alfonso X of Castile and Dinis of Portugal also gave particular attention to cultural production.

Nonetheless, it was in response to this situation that the Portuguese upper nobility — represented by the lineages of Riba de Vizela in the late thirteenth century, Count Pedro in the mid-fourteenth, and the Pereiras and the Order of the Knights Hospitaller in the late fourteenth century — embarked on the strategy of producing historiography that reminded the members of the class as well as their rivals about the origin of the aristocracy's privileges. The Battle of Tarifa, the last great invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by North-African Muslim armies,¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Article II, 420.

¹⁵⁹ Article II, 420.

¹⁶⁰ Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista durante las invasiones africanas (almoravides, almohades y benimerines)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1956), 331–79.

functioned as an additional reminder that the “Archother” was still a menace to Christian societies and, therefore, there was still a social need for the aristocracy as a privileged social group.

Still, I observed that different agents chose different narrative options: in some texts, such as the case of the *Livro Velho* and what remains of Count Pedro’s original *Livro de Linhagens*, the Muslims are mostly present “in the background” instead of being active protagonists in the narratives. Their presence in many stories is secondary, with the focus being on intra-aristocratic struggles or conflicts with royal power. In the *Crónica de 1344* and the 1380–1383 reformulated narratives of the Count’s book, on the other hand, the Muslim is the main enemy and an active protagonist in the plot. In all my sources with the exception of the reformulated narratives of the Count’s book, the war against the Muslims is essentially a politico-territorial war, with little emphasis put on religious antagonism. Whenever there are signs of radicalised conflict against Muslims, it is usually due to notions of honour and chivalric ethics, rather than religious enmity, as I observe in Article III.¹⁶¹ In the reformulated narratives, on the contrary, the religious element is predominant.

These discursive options are mostly dependent upon the conditions of production. Factors such as the objectives of the text, formal features like genre, and the social background of their authors, were determinant. For example, since Count Pedro wished in his *Crónica de 1344* to promote the idea of the Iberian aristocracy as the heir of the old Visigoths and the restorer of Gothic Spain, as seen in Article IV, it is understandable that he focused upon the war of expansion against Islam since the Muslim invasion of the Peninsula. Moreover, the fact that the 1380–1383 reformulator of the Count’s book was most likely affiliated with a religious military order also explains why they chose to sacralise the war against the Muslims, as I conclude in Article II.

Yet, regardless of the different discursive choices, the sources concur in one thing: they provide the aristocracy with symbolic resources for their legitimation, for the justification of the aristocracy’s very existence as a distinguished social group. This social function and identity of the aristocracy were defined by Islamic otherness. Islam’s prominence as the essential “Archother” against which aristocratic historical subjectivity was created derived from the general historical circumstances of medieval Iberia, where the Christian kingdoms originated and developed within the expansionist efforts towards the Muslim territories of southern Iberian Peninsula.

¹⁶¹ Article III, 256–57.

3.2 Aristocratic Legitimation Through Confluence with Islam

I have argued that, in the historical imaginary of the aristocracy, the war against the Muslims was the backdrop against which the narratives developed. However, already while writing Article II, I noticed that the aristocracy's historical discourse of legitimation, although primarily based upon military activity against Muslims, simultaneously had a rather nuanced character and was not as uncompromising regarding Islam as, for instance, the monastic texts of the twelfth century written in favour of the Portuguese monarchy. I had shown in Article II that the war against the Muslims is depicted as a political and territorial war — except in the 1380–1383 reformulated narratives of the Count Pedro's *Livro de Linhagens*. At that point, I thought that I should perform an analysis of non-military interaction between Christian and Muslims in the sources, as well as cases of Christian-Muslim cultural confluence. That is the subject of Article III, whose title is “Mixed Marriages, Moorish Vices and Military Betrayals: Christian-Islamic Confluence in Count Pedro's Book of Lineages”.

This study departs from observations made by António Rei, who studied from the point of view of onomastics what he termed the “Arabisation” of the origins of medieval Portuguese aristocracy.¹⁶² I explore the topic from the perspective of discursive strategies of legitimation. I emphasise how this so-called “Arabisation” fit the discourse of political legitimation and stressed the relevance of characters with a Muslim background in the legendary origins of the most powerful Castilian and Portuguese aristocracy, to whom a great part of the aristocracy of the Peninsula was to various degrees related by blood.

As it happens with any medieval genealogical text, what was at stake in the books of lineages is legitimation through lineage, that is, through kinship relations, with all the social and patrimonial capital attached to them. I demonstrate in Article III how, regardless of Islam's “archotherness”, Muslims were sometimes integrated within Christian kinship networks, and the social origins of ancestors with Muslim background were exalted — provided, to be

¹⁶² António Rei, “Da ascendência árabe dos Senhores da Maia (Séculos X–XIII). Novos dados,” *Raízes & Memórias* 30 (2013): 21–36; Rei, “Ascendências árabes e islâmicas en la sociedad portuguesa (siglos X a XVI),” in *Actas del Congreso Internacional “Los Descendientes Andalusíes ‘Moriscos’ en Marruecos, España y Portugal*, eds. Tahiri Ahmed Tahiri and Aitoutouhen Tamsamani Fatima-Zahra (Tanger: Fundación Al-Idrisi Hispano-Marroquí/Cámara Municipal de Tanger, 2014), 153–63. Regarding the topic of interfaith relations and power structures in medieval Iberia, one must refer to Simon Barton's final work, *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

sure, that certain conditions were observed, such as conversion to Christianity. I analysed the legendary tales of the origins of the Laras and the Maias, respectively the most prestigious Castilian and Portuguese families. At the root of these families' trees (in the case of the Maias, a tree that extended its branches towards the whole upper Portuguese aristocracy of this period, as many aristocratic families were related to the Maias)¹⁶³ were female characters of Muslim origin. I argued that, for the aristocracy of this time, the social background of their remote ancestors was more central to the exaltation of their lineages than their ethnic, religious, or cultural background.

I analyse in Article III how the Lara family boasted descentance from Almanzor, *de facto* ruler of the Caliphate of Córdoba under Hisham II (r. 976–1009), and a great military leader who successively invaded and inflicted terrible defeats on the Northern Iberian Christian polities during the end of the tenth century. Almanzor's devastating incursions were amply recorded in the epoch's historiography, including in the *Crónica de 1344*. Those devastations notwithstanding, the Lara family conveyed that ancestry proudly in their traditions, which were then collected by Count Pedro and conveyed in his *Livro de Linhagens*.

Concerning the family of Maia, the prestige of the lineage's origin is embodied in the high status of its progenitors, King Ramiro of León and Artiga, a Muslim princess who converted to Christianity. The importance given to Artiga's station in this tale is obvious if we compare the older version of the legend, in the *Livro Velho*, with the version extant in Count Pedro's book: in the first, Artiga is a Muslim servant who aided King Ramiro in the eventful "rescue" of his wife, an adventure analysed in Article III; yet in the Count's book, Artiga is a Moorish princess who becomes a pious Christian Queen after marrying King Ramiro. It appears that the essential aim with the substitution of the servant for the princess to enhance the prestige of the family through the high birth of their founders. Artiga's original ethnoreligious otherness is not an impediment and appears to be merely a secondary factor. That otherness was, in any case, explicitly neutralised through Artiga's conversion to Christianity and her becoming a good Christian. The construction of a good model for Artiga is important for all the aristocrats somehow related to the ancient Maia family, because the image given in the legend of the male progenitor, King Ramiro, was quite ambiguous and in no way straightforwardly positive, as seen in Article III.

These tales represent Count Pedro's perception of the history of the Peninsula, and they symbolise a dualistic Muslim/Christian Iberia that is, above all else,

¹⁶³ Rei, "Ascendência Árabe"; Article III, 253–57.

aristocratic. It was within this ethnoreligious duality that the Christian aristocracy originated, and it was in it that the nobility found its social function. This social group's identity and subjectivity hinged upon the existence of this dual Iberia, within which the aristocracy was dominant on both sides of the religious divide. As I note in Article III, the ideal of ethnoreligious duality and the unquestionability of aristocratic social predominance was threatened during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Portugal. Iberian Islam was confined to Granada and thus was no longer a threat for the Portuguese kingdom, and the landed aristocracy's traditional prerogatives were weakened by the relentless attacks of the centralising royal power. Hence the importance attached in the sources to the Battle of Tarifa in 1340, when Granada united with the Marinids and momentarily actualised the aristocratic ideal of Iberian history.

But the limits of Christian/Islamic cultural confluence are also approached in Article III: this confluence occurs under relatively clear borders delimited by conversion to Christianity, and Islam's otherness is in no way effaced. This is visible in those narratives where confluence with Muslims or Islamic practices are used to defame a lineage, when confluence with Islam is a matter of delegitimation rather than legitimation. Such is the case of Castilian nobleman Pêro Fernandes de Castro and his "Moorish vices", analysed in Article III. Another conclusion derived from the analysis of the narratives of Count Pedro's book is that military collaboration with Muslim armies was regarded as treachery, even more so if waging war against Christian coreligionists.

A "class bias" is observable in the narratives: while there is a tendency to exonerate the aristocracy for their role in collaborating militarily with Muslims or for being dependants of Muslim rulers (as in the case of the exile in Granada of the Castilian aristocrats led by Nuno González de Lara, also approached in Article III), the royalty sometimes relied on Muslim armies to impose or defend its power, as is the case of Pedro I of Castile, as seen in the same article. It is true that, on the other hand, Pêro Fernandes de Castro is criticised in the narrative by his contemporary King Alfonso VIII of Castile for, in addition to participation in "Moorish vices" like bathing, having sided with the Muslims against Alfonso VIII at the Battle of Alarcos (1195). Pêro Fernandes' tale, however, is rather ambiguous. On one hand, it may be seen as condemnatory towards the Castilian nobleman; it may also be seen as laudatory in the way he defends his feudal prerogatives against the Castilian king. In any case, despite all of the ambiguousness, it is safe to conclude that, while political agreements with Muslims were acceptable especially if the aristocracy faced an unjust royalty, military complicity was condemned.

I have therefore shown that legitimation through relations of kinship and reputed ancestors also included characters of Muslim origin, regardless of Islam's

“archotherness”. The lineage founders’ social status was more relevant for legitimation purposes than their cultural or ethnoreligious origin. The “mixed origin” of the Iberian Christian aristocracy is in accord with a view of the past of the Peninsula as a space of coexistence between Christians and Muslims; a coexistence that was lived mostly, but not exclusively, through war. The families of Lara and Maia symbolised an idealised dualistic (in cultural and ethnoreligious terms) and aristocratic (in social terms) Iberia that was in crisis by the mid-fourteenth century. This reality posited a veritable “identity crisis” for the Portuguese aristocracy. It was in response to this identity crisis that the aristocracy resorted to the compilation of historiographical memories of the past, which reminded the members of the class, as well as its rivals, where the aristocracy’s privileges come from and why they were still justified.

Christian-Muslim mixed marriages stood at the root of the Castilian and Portuguese upper aristocracies, and these primordial matrimonial alliances were proudly conveyed in the aristocratic collective memory. The founders’ original Muslim otherness was annulled through conversion. Establishing the high birth of the founders of the noble families, regardless of their cultural origin, was the main concern in the sources. Episodical political alliances with Muslims were accepted if defending feudal autonomies and privileges against the tyranny of royal power. Yet, there was a clearly demarcated red line in intercultural confluence: military collaboration with Muslims against Christians. If the aristocracy’s consciousness of itself was built upon the war against the Muslims, then allowing for military collaboration with that “Archother” could perhaps be perceived as a further existential threat to the image that the aristocracy wanted to convey of itself.

3.3 Aristocratic Legitimation Through the Visigoths

After completing Articles II and III, I had a general idea of how the Muslims were integrated in Portuguese aristocratic memories and how they played a central role in their legitimation strategies. But I needed to deepen my inquiries, to now focus on the origins of Muslim presence in aristocratic memories. Why was the war against the Muslims as an ethnoreligious Other so important if the war was mostly portrayed as a political and territorial conflict instead of religious one? Why not choose political and territorial conflicts among Christians to found the legitimation discourse? Why not legitimate the Portuguese aristocracy, for instance, through the conflicts against Castile-León in the twelfth century? I hypothesised that what has been named as “ideology of Reconquista” — that is, the portrayal of medieval Christian Iberian expansion over Iberian Islam as the restoration of Christian and Visigothic Spain — could provide answers to this

question.¹⁶⁴ This is the topic of Article IV, “Aristocratic neo-Gothicism in fourteenth century Iberia: the case of Count Pedro of Barcelos”.

All my sources encompass a chronology that goes back at least a few centuries, but only Count Pedro, both in his *Crónica de 1344* and the *Livro de Linhagens*, approached the period before 711 and established a narrative of the origins of the Iberian aristocracy. I show in Article IV that Count Pedro established the origin of the Iberian aristocracy — or, at least, of its highest strata, such as the Laras — in the remote Visigothic past of the Peninsula. Departing from previous observations by Maria do Rosário Ferreira,¹⁶⁵ I named this discursive and ideological feature “aristocratic neo-Gothicism”. Count Pedro’s (at least partial) identification of the ancient Goths with his contemporary aristocracy permitted him to portray Christian expansion as the restoration of ancient Catholic and Visigothic order upon the Peninsula, after the long interregnum constituted by the Muslim occupation. Thus, the expansionist war against the Muslims is not only the social function of the aristocracy and the justification for its class privileges, but it becomes indeed a historical mission.

As I contextualise in Article IV, the presentation of the war of expansion against Islam as the restoration of the old Gothic order had been previously enunciated by the Asturian-Leonese royalty, being subsequently appropriated by their Castilian successors to the throne. Count Pedro’s work is, however, the first known instance where the aristocracy employed it in historiography.

There was a historiographical tradition in Portugal that refuted the neo-Gothic claims of the Asturian-Leonese royalty, according to which would be expected from a peripheral kingdom that seceded from the Castilian-Leonese monarchy in the twelfth century. This is seen in Portuguese annals from this period such as the *Annales Conimbrigenses I*, last entry of which was in the year 1111 and were probably compiled in the Cathedral of Coimbra not long after that.¹⁶⁶ They were

¹⁶⁴ One can notice the development of my views on the use of the term “Reconquista” in this dissertation: while in Article I, 36–37 n. 19, I still used the term and justified its use with its conventionality, in the following articles I follow Ríos Saloma’s conclusions in *La Reconquista*, 331, where he argued that the term cannot be dissociated from its ideological weight. Ríos Saloma advised historians to quit using it, preferring instead the term “restoration”, which usually appears in medieval sources describing this idea (and political programme) of the restoration of Gothic Spain.

¹⁶⁵ Ferreira, “*Liber Regum e a representação aristocrática*”, §§27–31.

¹⁶⁶ Francisco Bautista, “Breve historiografía: Listas regias y Anales en la Península Ibérica (Siglos VII-XII),” *Talla Dixit* 4 (2009): 113–90 (173–75). See the edition of the *Annales Conimbrigenses I* in Cruz, *Anais, crónicas e memórias avulsas*, 27–28, and Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Lisbon: Livraria Portugalia Editora, 1947), 303–05. David grouped these annals under the general designation of *Annales Portucalenses Veteres*, but Bautista updated David’s previous research and named the texts according to his new observations. I followed Bautista’s terminology in my text.

preserved in a manuscript copied in 1139 in the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, which was the centre of historical and ideological production at the service of the crown during the foundational period of the Portuguese monarchy.¹⁶⁷ The *Annales Conimbrigenses I* used a list of Asturian kings composed, according to Pierre David,¹⁶⁸ under Alfonso II of Asturias (r. 791–842) in the early ninth century, at a time when the discursive strategy of the Asturian monarchy for its own legitimation had not yet appropriated the legitimacy of the old Visigothic monarchy, as it happened later with Alfonso III of Asturias (r. 866–910).¹⁶⁹ According to the *Annales Conimbrigenses I*, the Goths “Expulsi sunt de regno suo” (“were expelled from their kingdom”) in 711 and the monarchy founded by Pelayo in Asturias five years afterwards is a completely new political entity.

This perspective passed to other annalistic compilations that used the *Annales Conimbrigenses I*. That is the case of the *Annales Conimbrigenses II*, whose last entry was in 1168, and the *Annales Lusitani*, written in the late twelfth century or the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Both texts were written at Santa Cruz de Coimbra in favour of the Portuguese crown. Both the *Annales Conimbrigenses I* had the objective of establishing a political memory for the new-born kingdom and legitimating its power and autonomy.¹⁷¹ The attitude of the emerging Portuguese monarchy concerning the Castilian-Leonese neo-Gothicism, which was the historical expression of Castilian-Leonese pan-Iberian hegemonic political aspirations, appeared to be one of debunking those claims altogether.

The *Crónica de 1344* belongs to a different tradition. It is indebted to post-Alfonsine historiography, as it belongs to the numerous chronicles that derived

¹⁶⁷ Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, 112–24.

¹⁶⁸ David, *Études historiques*, 326–28.

¹⁶⁹ Bautista, “Breve historiografia”, 128–30.

¹⁷⁰ Bautista, “Breve historiografia”, 175–81. The *Annales Conimbrigenses II* were edited in Cruz, *Anais, crónicas e memórias avulsas*, 69–70, and David, *Études historiques*, 306–10. The *Annales Lusitani* were edited in António Brandão, *Monarchia Lusitana, vol. III* (Lisbon: 1632), 271r–76r.

¹⁷¹ In this brief overview of twelfth-century Portuguese annals, one can also see the development of my ideas throughout the process of writing this dissertation. In Article I, 34–35, I followed David’s, *Études historiques*, and then Luis Krus’ views upon the origin and development of medieval Portuguese annalistic, as exposed in “A produção do passado nas comunidades letradas do Entre Minho e Mondego nos séculos XI e XII – as origens da analística portuguesa”, in Krus, *A Construção do Passado Medieval: Textos Inéditos e Publicados* (Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011), 235–59. In Article I I used Krus’ designations for the texts; however, in this introduction I chose to follow Bautista’s insightful actualisation of our knowledge of these texts in “Breve historiografia,” 173–81, and used Bautista’s names given to each individual annalistic composition.

from Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*.¹⁷² I mention in Article IV Francisco Bautista's work, who demonstrated that Alfonso X's successor, Sancho IV, subverted the neo-Gothic myth in his own reworking of his father's chronicle, the *Versión Amplificada de la Estoria de España*.¹⁷³ This work was one of Count Pedro's main sources for the history of the Peninsula.¹⁷⁴ I followed Inés Fernández-Ordóñez's previous research upon discursive variations among the different versions of the *Estoria de España*, and agreed that Sancho IV's apparent refusal of his father's staunch neo-Gothicism had to do with the disparate relation of forces between the monarchy and the aristocracy in Castile in the aftermath of Alfonso X's demise.¹⁷⁵ Still, I concurred with Bautista's argument that the subversion of the neo-Gothic myth was simultaneously a way for Sancho IV to strengthen Alfonso X's views upon the "naturality" ("naturaleza") of royal power, a view that was inspired by Roman and Canon Law.¹⁷⁶

Count Pedro, however, followed a different discursive strategy than that of both Santa Cruz de Coimbra in twelfth-century Portugal and Sancho IV in late-thirteenth-century Castile. Instead of refuting the neo-Gothic myth by arguing that the Goths were expelled from the Peninsula in 711, the Count relied on the originally Navarran work *Liber Regum* and adapted the neo-Gothic myth to an aristocratic historical viewpoint. His strategy was twofold: first, Count Pedro explicitly refuted a political continuity between the ancient Gothic monarchs and the Asturian, Leonese, and Castilian royalties. As seen in Article IV, Count Pedro stated adamantly that, after the fall of the last Visigothic King Rodrigo, Pelayo and the succeeding Asturian kings "non fueron llamados godos" ("were not called Goths").¹⁷⁷ Second, drawing from the *Liber Regum*, the Count asserted a genealogical continuity between the ancient Goths and his contemporary aristocracy (or, at least, its upper strata, such as the Laras or the royal families themselves, which were seen as part of the aristocracy).¹⁷⁸ I argue in Article IV that Count Pedro established a Visigothic genealogical origin for the aristocratic social group, whose identity and social function was based upon the efforts of re-establishing Iberian Christianity over Islam, as well as defending the former from the Muslim threat.

¹⁷² Cintra, *Crónica Geral*, vol. I, CCCXVII–CCCLXXII; Catalán, *De Alfonso X*, 289–411; Dias, *Metamorfoses de Babel*, 93–126.

¹⁷³ Bautista, *Estoria de España*, 57–67; Article IV, 357.

¹⁷⁴ Cintra, *Crónica Geral*, vol. I, CCXLV, CCCXVII–CCCXXX; Catalán, *De Alfonso X*, 305–23.

¹⁷⁵ Fernández-Ordóñez, "Variación en el modelo historiográfico," §§65–79; Fernández-Ordóñez, "Denotación de 'España'," 83; Article IV, 357–58.

¹⁷⁶ Bautista, *Estoria de España*, 62–67; Article IV, 358–59.

¹⁷⁷ Article IV, 362.

¹⁷⁸ Article IV, 362 n. 87.

Contrary to what happened in the *Livro Velho*, Count Pedro's historical subject encompasses the whole Iberian Peninsula, not exclusively Portugal. Yet, although the Count purported to encompass in his *Livro de Linhagens* the whole Iberian aristocracy, in fact his idealised aristocratic social group is mostly limited to the Galician-Portuguese aristocracy and the upper strata of the Castilian aristocracy. This is in any case an important difference from the previous *livros de linhagens*, which encompassed only the Portuguese nobility. The Count's *Livro* is also distinct in terms of its chronological range, since it goes as far back as the origin of humanity with Adam and Eve. I argue in Article IV that Count Pedro's notion of aristocratic identity was twofold: first, it derived from genealogical continuity; second, it was also a class identity based on the perceived social function of the aristocracy, i.e., the war against the Muslims. Count Pedro's neo-Gothic aristocratic identity is based upon a notion of social and genealogical belonging but not political as in Asturian-Leonese and Castilian royal neo-Gothicism.

For Count Pedro, the Gothic socio-historical subject was a living entity. The descendants of the ancient Goths were the Castilian and Galician-Portuguese aristocracies. We again see here the dualistic image of the Peninsula that I approached in Article III and in the previous subchapter. I have also mentioned that this ideal was actualised in 1340 with the Battle of Tarifa, which provided a concrete and recent historical materialisation of the ideal upon which Count Pedro based his notion of aristocratic identity: the defence of Christian Iberia against the Muslims and the organic unity between aristocracy and royalty to fulfil this historical mission.

I argue in Article IV that Count Pedro's historiography was an intervention at the symbolic level in his contemporaneous social struggles; struggles that during this epoch were mostly between royalty and sectors of the aristocracy over the limits between royal and feudal prerogatives. As it is made manifest in the prologue of his *Livro de Linhagens*,¹⁷⁹ analysed above in Chapter 3.1, the Count intended to propagate this view of aristocratic history and identity among the ruling classes of the Peninsula in order to unify the aristocratic class which had a common past, was of a common stock, and had a common social function. The count additionally wished to remind the royalty of why they should respect the aristocracy, since the king was nothing more than an aristocrat *primus inter pares* and royal power emerged out of the aristocracy, not above it or independently from it. Count Pedro thus attempted to inflict upon a rival social group what Bourdieu conceptualised as symbolic violence. Count Pedro's works, much like the previous books of lineages, were cultural resources in a social struggle that also had a

¹⁷⁹ Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Livro de Linhagens*, vol. 1, 55–58.

symbolic dimension. As argued above in Chapter 2 when discussing methodology, the social tensions of the period were enacted in cultural and historiographical production. The creation or consolidation of an aristocratic historical subjectivity or identity through these cultural resources was at stake here.

Moreover, the Count's symbolic intervention in the period's social struggles concerned not only the contents of the narratives themselves but also had a formal dimension relating to chronicles as a historiographical genre. I highlight in Article IV how, up until Count Pedro's time, vernacular chronicles were under the hegemony of the monarchy in Castile and Portugal, with the aristocracy preferring the genealogical genre. Count Pedro brought the chronicle genre to aristocratic historiography with the *Crónica de 1344*. The Count himself, as a writer, recurrently "hesitated" between these two genres, since, as noted in Article IV, before being a chronicler, Count Pedro was a genealogist.¹⁸⁰ That is clearly visible in the *Crónica de 1344*. The Count used mostly royal chronicles as the basis of his work, so this implied a careful reworking of the discursive material according to a different historiographical perspective.

The royalty's perceptions of history, as well as of the nature and origin of royal power, were questioned by Count Pedro and an alternative view of the past was created. Still, far from being monolithic or homogeneous, Count Pedro's discourse is at certain points rather ambiguous, as also noted in Article IV. This is first and foremost related to the practice of chronicle-composition itself: medieval chronicles were usually composite works in which previous texts and their discourses are collated together and moulded according to the writer's personal viewpoints and the objectives of their work. It is for this reason that I stress the importance of the textual material exclusive to the *Crónica de 1344* as representative of Count Pedro's ideas and take into consideration the idiosyncratic forms of reworking previous material. On the other hand, the ambiguity of the chronicle may also reflect Count Pedro's social background, who was not only the most powerful Portuguese aristocrat of his time but was also the biological (although illegitimate) son of a king, namely King Dinis. The Count was therefore related by blood to the Portuguese and Castilian royal families and that naturally influenced his writing and his view of history.

¹⁸⁰ Catalán, *De Alfonso X*, 300; Article IV, 360.

4 Conclusions

I have analysed in this dissertation all known aristocratic historiographical texts from medieval Portugal until the end of the fourteenth century. These sources' chronology of production spans the late thirteenth up until the late fourteenth century. While previously historiography in Portugal was mostly in Latin and of monastic/ecclesiastical origin, during the late thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries there appeared a few historiographical texts composed at the request of aristocratic power centres. These texts provide an important insight into the historical imaginary of the late-medieval Portuguese aristocracy. In my research, I have aimed at defining the historical imaginary of the aristocracy. This imaginary was then analysed in relation to the need for ideological legitimation that the aristocracy had during a period of confrontation with the centralising royal power.

The analysis of these sources permitted me to delineate a relatively coherent image of the historical imaginary of the Portuguese aristocracy; an image that underlay the argumentation of this social class in the defence of its traditional rights and jurisdictions in face of political centralisation. Although the aristocratic group was, sociologically speaking, extremely diverse and the sources were composed by the very highest strata of the group, I think that the views conveyed in them may be representative not only of the upper strata of the class but also of its middle and lower sectors.

I have shown that the historical imaginary whereupon the aristocracy based its subjectivity, its consciousness of itself, and its identity, had as a backdrop a state of virtually permanent war against the Muslims. This narrative about itself defined the aristocratic group, regardless of its internal heterogeneity, in genealogical terms and in terms of social function, that is, in terms of the role attributed to the warrior aristocracy in society. This role basically consisted of conquering and defending the Portuguese Kingdom from the Muslims. The sources thus ascribed to the aristocracy a social function that was vital for the very existence of the societies of which the aristocracy was part. Due to that, as it is implied in the sources and at times explicitly stated by their authors, the aristocracy deserved to possess a privileged social position. Some of the aristocracy's privileges were being undermined by the process of royal centralisation occurring at the time. Moreover,

the historical ideal upon which the aristocracy based its identity and social function was also becoming obsolete, since there were no longer Muslim lands bordering Portugal.

The monarchy symbolically legitimated the reinforcement of its power through administrative means, mainly through bureaucratic or juridical capital. I have demonstrated in this dissertation that the aristocracy attempted to defend symbolically its threatened social position with cultural resources, with cultural capital derived from an idealisation of the past. This, one must add, in addition to the social capital (power resource derived from social relations) consolidated by the kinship relations listed in the books of lineages. One may hypothesise with hindsight that the monarchy's strategy of prioritising objective and organisational structures to legitimate its power, instead of purely cultural resources, may have been one of the deciding factors for the final triumph of monarchical centralisation in the transition to modernity.

In the historical imaginary conveyed in the sources, the origin of the aristocratic class is in the distant past of the Peninsula: in the case of the *Livro Velho*, it is in the High Middle Ages during the centuries immediately following the Muslim invasion; in the case of Count Pedro, in the Visigothic era prior to the Muslim invasion. In any case, the historical context within which the nobility developed, and from which it derived its current social privileges — privileges that were being questioned —, was that of the centuries-long expansionist war against the Muslims. The past of the Peninsula was idealised as a space of coexistence between Christians and Muslims, and the aristocracy's legitimation strategy hinged upon that state of coexistence since its historical *raison d'être* was basically fighting the Muslims. The late-medieval reality, however, contradicted that ideal situation as there were no Muslim polities bordering Portugal and Iberian Islam was confined to the enclave of Granada and thus rather feeble (that is, without protection and support from the Marinids in Northern Africa). The upper aristocracy, therefore, saw the need to actualise this ideal by preserving and propagating the lineages' memories through the compilation of genealogical and narrative material.

The aristocratic ideal of Christian-Islamic coexistence in Iberia revolved around a state of almost permanent war between Christians and Muslims. Both Christian-Muslim as well as royal-aristocratic relations revolved around this central axis. War against Islam was simultaneously the cause and consequence of social harmony within Christian societies. Usually, ideal situations of social harmony in the narratives were presented in terms of, on the one hand, a valiant aristocracy that serves the royalty in the war against the Muslims; and, on the other, a royalty that lavishes privileges and riches upon the aristocrats in reward for those same services. The royal office is seen as a socially necessary office emerging from the

aristocracy and being dependent upon the aristocracy. The king is presented as a *primus inter pares*, whose pre-eminence is derived from mere social need, instead of divine grace or something else standing above the aristocracy and independent from it.

Although war against Islam was, so to speak, the “normal” situation and the main axis of the aristocratic discursive strategies, there were other forms of integrating the Muslims into the legitimation discourses. Such is the case of “mixed marriages” with Muslim women of high repute, as well as other forms of Christian-Islamic cultural confluence. Episodes of relative confluence with Islam were indeed pivotal for the exaltation of the origins of two powerful Christian Iberian families, the Maias and the Laras. Nonetheless, this cultural confluence occurs within the general scenario of permanent confrontation with Islamic powers. The Muslim origin of those lineages’ progenitors, particularly in the case of the Maias, whose foundational prestige depended so much on the character of Artiga, was neutralised through her conversion to Christianity and subsequent pious deeds.

In this dissertation I have focused upon the discursive and symbolic dimensions of power in late-medieval Portugal, laying emphasis upon the performative nature of historiography. I have exemplified in this work how a critical and selective use of concepts adapted from contemporary political sociology can be fruitful for the study of medieval societies. Bourdieu’s conceptual framework helped me to understand and explain the role of aristocratic historiography in the social questions of the time, and I think that this conceptual framework — provided it is critically and selectively used and properly adapted to medieval realities — can be useful for future studies of this nature. Bourdieu’s conceptual framework has not been used, to the best of my knowledge, in studies of medieval Iberian historiography. This dissertation demonstrated that this field of research can benefit much from concepts such as symbolic capital, symbolic power, symbolic violence, and symbolic struggles. This approach is fruitful, to be sure, but always provided that these terms are understood not as descriptions of the objective reality but rather as instruments to understand that reality.

The present dissertation is much indebted to recent scholarship on medieval Portuguese and Iberian historiography. The previous work of Maria do Rosário Ferreira was central as a departure point for this research. She has in recent years devoted a great deal of studies to Count Pedro de Barcelos’ texts and their ideological content. Ferreira has approached the Count’s idealisation of the “terra de Espanha” as a “medieval Iberian utopia”, mentioning his brand of neo-Gothicism. I developed the theme in this dissertation by departing principally from the analysis of the idiosyncratic material of the *Crónica de 1344* in relation to the Count’s *Livro de Linhagens*, together with these texts’ idiosyncratic manners of appropriating previous textual material. I expanded upon Ferreira’s observations

and directed my research questions into the sociocultural dimension of the texts and their discourses, which is not to say, of course, that I discarded formal and philological matters altogether. I emphasised, in any case, the question of how the texts and their ideological content related to society at large, taking into consideration the contexts of production, the objectives and functionality of the sources, etc. Again, I must mention that the use of concepts borrowed from political sociology were a great help in turning the investigation onto this path.

The articles included in this dissertation, together with the comprehensive and integrated assessment of their results in the third chapter of this introduction, contributed to our understanding of how the aristocracy saw itself during the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries in Portugal and of how these images of itself justified the social group's distinctiveness and political aspirations. Still, as it happens arguably with any doctoral investigation, many questions were left unanswered by this dissertation that I could not include in the present work.

The question of royalty, royal ideology, and royal historiography is essential. I have mentioned that Portuguese royalty during thirteenth and fourteenth centuries aimed at symbolically reinforcing its power mostly through bureaucratic and juridical capital. Yet, I have also mentioned that royalty hardly discarded the historiographical battlefield altogether, considering that the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* was quite possibly compiled near to the court of Afonso III in the 1270s. In any case, it is also true, as José Mattoso noted soon after the discovery of the chronicle by Filipe Alves Moreira,¹⁸¹ that the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* is a rather scrawny and unpolished narrative, especially if we compare it with the aristocratic *Livro Velho de Linhagens*, which was being compiled at the same time. Moreira's thesis concerning the royal origin of the *Primeira Crónica* has been accepted, and no other alternative provenance has been proposed. Still, its authorship is conjectural and far from confirmed. Were there any other royal historiographical texts from the fourteenth century? Since there are no direct testimonies of such texts, can there be indirect testimonies in the royal historiography of the fifteenth century, as there are of historiography connected with the religious military Order of Santiago in the *Crónica de 1419*?

Moreover, if we advance into the fifteenth century, additional questions arise. We have prolific royal historiographical activity by then, with the emergence of the royal chronicler's office, a historian on the court's payroll with access to and responsibilities over the crown's archives. We still lack a comprehensive analysis of Islam's role in the discourses of legitimation in the chronicles produced by the new ruling dynasty, the Dynasty of Avis, which rose to the throne during the

¹⁸¹ Mattoso, "A primeira Crónica Portuguesa", 16.

revolution of 1383–1385. It was, one must remember, with the Avis Dynasty that expansion over the Muslim was “actualised” through the Portuguese conquests in Northern Africa and subsequent overseas expansion.

Much also remains to be studied concerning the reception of the texts, a problem that is difficult to assess and which arose on several occasions throughout my research. The relations of intertextuality give us an example of the practical use of the texts, but questions remain unaddressed concerning the way the chronicles and genealogies were used in everyday life and practically integrated into social relations.

These are but some of the questions that emerged during my research but could not be addressed in the articles. They are, on the other hand, possible paths for future research, upon which I intend to embark in my subsequent work. As much as this dissertation is a point of arrival, may it also be a point of departure.

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