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The Muslim *Archother* and the Royal *Other*

Aristocratic Notions of Otherness in Fourteenth-Century Portugal

Introduction

The concept of otherness has been the object of increasing attention in contemporary historiography, with the fields of medieval and early modern studies being no exception.[1] In medieval Iberia, Muslim otherness was fundamental for legitimizing

1 See for example John Tolan, 'The "Other" in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Crusaders and their Varying Images of the Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin', in *The Mediterranean Other – The Other Mediterranean*, ed. by Medardus Brehl, Kristin Platt, and Andreas Eckl (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2017), pp. 1–10; James Palmer, 'The Otherness of Non-Christians in the Early Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History*, 51 (2015), 33–52; Sirpa Aalto, 'Categorizing Otherness in the Kings' Sagas' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Eastern Finland, 2010); Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation: On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Philippe Josserand, 'En péninsule Ibérique et par-delà: les ordres militaires face à l'Autre à la lumière de quelques contacts réputés pacifiques', in *Cristãos contra Muçulmanos na Idade Média Peninsular: Bases Ideológicas e Doutrinais de um Confronto (Séculos X–XIV)*, ed. by Carlos de Ayala Martínez and Isabel Fernandes (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2015), pp. 231–46; Francisco García Fitz, 'La confrontación ideológica con el adversario musulman a través de las biografias nobiliarias del siglo XV: la percepción del "otro"', in *Cristãos Contra Muçulmanos*, ed. by Martínez and Fernandes, pp. 271–94; Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea, 'La visión del Otro: la imagen del musulmán en el Poema de Alfonso XI', in *Cristãos Contra Muçulmanos*, ed. by Martínez and Fernandes, pp. 369–95; Luigi de Anna, 'The Peoples of Finland and Early Medieval Sources: The Characterization of "Alienness"', in *Suomen varhaishistoria*, ed. by Kyösti Julku (Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen historiallinen yhdistys, 1992), pp. 11–22; Raingard Esser, 'Cultures in Contact: The Representation of "the Other" in Early Modern German Travel Narratives', in *Racial Discrimination and Ethnicity in European History*, ed. by Guðmundur Hálfdanarson (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2003), pp. 33–47; Victor Malia-Milanes, 'Images of the Other: Venice's Perception of the Knights of Malta', in *Racial Discrimination and Ethnicity in European History*, ed. by Guðmundur Hálfdanarson (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2003), pp. 63–76. See also the introduction to this volume, where the editors discuss the concept of otherness in medieval studies and provide an ample bibliography on this multifaceted and often problematic subject.

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royal and aristocratic power, and reinforcing the ideological hegemony of the ruling classes. The otherness of Islam was of crucial importance for the justification of the very existence of royalty and the aristocracy as distinguished social groups, since war (or the prospect of war) against Muslim enemies provided these groups with a social function that was the basis of their 'raison d'être'.

Previous inquiries into notions of otherness in the medieval Iberian Peninsula mainly focus on Castile. While ethno-religious otherness has been considered, socioeconomic and political otherness are often overlooked.[2] This article examines aristocratic notions of otherness in fourteenth-century Portugal. I build upon previous research into Muslim ethno-religious otherness in medieval Iberia, framing it among other forms of otherness, such as political otherness. Instead of approaching otherness as a static phenomenon restricted to Muslim otherness, I explore this particular form of otherness among other forms of the phenomenon. I also consider different degrees of otherness, as well as how these disparate forms and degrees interrelate.[3] My main argument is that otherness in the eyes of the fourteenth-century Portuguese aristocracy was primarily defined by political enmity or rivalry. I stress that, despite being ethno-religious in origin, Muslim otherness is so conspicuous in fourteenth-century aristocratic historiographical discourse because of Islam's political status, and not simply due to religious antagonism.

I approach narrative segments from three Portuguese genealogical compilations produced in aristocratic cultural centres between the late thirteenth and the late fourteenth century: the *livros de linhagens* (books of lineages). Three books of lineages from this period have survived: one from the late thirteenth century, the *Livro Velho de Linhagens* (*Old Book of Lineages*), compiled in monastic centres connected to the Riba de Vizela family between 1270–1290; and two from the mid-fourteenth century: the *Livro de Linhagens do Deão* (*Dean's Book of Lineages*), commissioned by an unnamed dean, possibly from the archbishopric of Braga, around 1337–1340; and the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* (*Count Pedro's Book of Lineages*), compiled by Count Pedro of Barcelos in the 1340s.[4]

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2 Besides the works referenced above, see Carolina Ferreira de Figueiredo, 'Definindo alteridade: Um estudo sobre as noções de raça e etnia nas *Siete Partidas* e na *Primera Crónica General de España* de Alfonso X', *Faces da História*, 2.2 (2015), 83–99; Kellen Jacobsen Follador, 'O discurso que não foi esquecido e permaneceu na memória. O preconceito antijudaico e a elaboração da alteridade conversa', *Revista Grafia*, 11 (2014), 112–26.

3 See the introduction to this volume for a discussion on different forms and degrees of otherness.

4 Both the *Old Book* (hereafter LV) and the *Dean's Book* (hereafter LD) have been studied and critically edited by Joseph Piel and José Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, Nova Série, vol. 1: *Livros Velhos de Linhagens* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1980). The *Count's Book* (hereafter LL) has been studied and critically edited by José Mattoso, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, Nova Série, 2 vols, vol. 11: *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*. For the origin and chronology of the *Old Book*, see José Mattoso, 'A transmissão textual dos livros de linhagens', in *Naquele Tempo. Ensaios de História Medieval* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), pp. 267–83, and José Carlos Miranda, 'Do *Liber Regum* ao *Livro Velho de Linhagens*', in *Estudios sobre la Edad Media, el Renacimiento y la temprana modernidad*, ed. by Jimena Gamba Corradine and Francisco Bautista Pérez (La Rioja: CILENGUA – Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española, 2010), pp. 301–10.

These sources consist of extensive lists of members of aristocratic families and were compiled at times of tension between the aristocracy and royal power in Portugal. Animosity between these social groups arose particularly from the process of monarchical centralization occurring during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when competing narratives on the Iberian and Portuguese past emerged in aristocratic and royal cultural centres. In this article, I focus exclusively on aristocratic historiographical production. Thus, I examine only one side of the symbolic struggle occurring at the time between royalty and the aristocracy.[5]

Only a fragment of the *Old Book* has survived, and the *Dean's Book* is much poorer than *Count Pedro's* in terms of narrative segments. Most of the narratives analysed here come from *Count Pedro's Book*, undoubtedly the most relevant of the *livros de linhagens* since it was widely copied and used by historiographers and genealogists throughout the late Middle Ages and the modern era.[6] The book begins with a prologue, followed by a universal genealogy from Adam and Eve until the most powerful Iberian families of Count Pedro's time. It has a little over fifty short narrative segments interspersed among the genealogical lists. These texts were influenced by other genres like chronicles or epic material, which furnished narrative elements that complemented the genealogical lists. The contents of the *Count's Book* were reformulated twice, first in 1360–1365 and subsequently in 1380–1383. Both of these reformulations were undertaken by scribes connected to the Pereira family and the Knights Hospitallers, whose Portuguese branch was headed from *c.* 1336 until *c.* 1380 by Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira.[7] The *Count's Book* has survived only through this reformulated version, since no manuscript of the original compilation has been preserved. While both the *Old Book* and the *Dean's Book* are restricted to Portuguese families, the *Count's Book* has a pan-Iberian scope.

The concept of otherness in this article refers to a notion of difference, rivalry, or enmity, in historical contexts where relations of power among the depicted social agents are relatively balanced. It, thus, differs from the idea of the othering of subaltern social groups by dominant groups, a privileged theme in postcolonial studies.[8] Otherness in the present article is related to identity and social practices or

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5 The aristocracy was much more active than royalty in historiographical production during this chronology. There is only one short royal chronicle from the late-thirteenth century, whose royal provenance is even uncertain. See Filipe Alves Moreira, *Afonso Henriques e a Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2008). Royal historiography developed considerably in the fifteenth century. I will approach depictions of the encounter with Islam in late medieval Portuguese royal historiography in a separate study.

6 Mattoso lists a total of 60 manuscripts preserved in several European countries. Mattoso, ed., *Portugaliae*, vol. II: *Livro de Linhagens*, I, 9–30.

7 Paula Pinto Costa, 'Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira: um homem entre a oração e a construção patrimonial como estratégia de consolidação familiar', *População e Sociedade*, 23 (2015), 45–71.

8 Robert J. C. Young, 'Postcolonial Remains', *New Literary History*, 43 (2012), 36–39. On the other hand, despite being of relevance to any study on the othering of Islamic cultures, it would be anachronistic to apply to this context the Saidian concept of 'orientalism'. Cf. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979). In the introduction to this volume, Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood problematize the application of modern theories, such as the postcolonial theory, to medieval societies.

ideologies concerning identity building, preservation, or transformation. As Eriksen puts it, 'identity means *being the same as oneself* as well as *being different*'.[9] It is through this dialectic of sameness/difference that I interpret otherness, as a multidimensional notion of difference that is central to the definition of sameness.[10]

Otherness in the books of lineages is mostly embodied by an enemy, adversary, or rival, who usually appears as a military opponent. Centuries of coexistence with Islamic societies contributed deeply to the development of the socio-political identity of medieval Christian Iberian ruling groups. Military activity against Muslims was the main argument to legitimize aristocratic and monarchical social supremacy.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Portugal were also marked by the growing antagonism between the aristocracy and royalty; tensions that were fuelled by the monarchy's centralizing impetus. Therefore, the monarchy and the groups on which it relied often embodied otherness from the aristocratic viewpoint. It is, however, a form of otherness qualitatively different from the one represented by Muslims, who appear as a sort of 'Archother', the Other *par excellence*, common to all ruling strata of Iberian Christian societies.[11]

Based on a critical reading of narratives depicting deeds of several Iberian aristocrats, I examine how otherness in the medieval Portuguese aristocratic world-view was defined according to political criteria. The position of neighbouring Islamic powers as the Other upon which the identity of the Iberian Christian ruling classes was built and justified meant that the Muslim was the primary Other. However, since the political reality was dynamic and often contradictory, depictions of otherness were just as multidimensional. Degrees of otherness and borders between different forms of otherness often overlapped and were dialectically interrelated. My analysis focuses on the relation between Islam's 'archotherness' (a form of ethno-religious otherness) and strictly political notions of otherness such as the one impersonated by royal power. After a short overview of the role of genealogy and historical culture in the 'battle for legitimacy' that was taking place between the aristocracy and royalty in fourteenth-century Portugal, I proceed to analyse notions of Muslim otherness, followed by a survey on notions of royal otherness.

Genealogy and the Battle for Legitimacy

The late Middle Ages were an epoch of turmoil in Portugal. From the early thirteenth century until the late fifteenth, the Portuguese monarchy implemented a programme

9 Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, 3rd edn (New York: Pluto, 2010), p. 71. Eriksen deals with ethnic identities, but his approach is useful for the study of other forms of identity.

10 Young, 'Postcolonial Remains', 38–39. Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood discuss the relational nature of otherness in the introduction to this volume.

11 The notion of Muslim otherness as being common to all Christian social groups is present in the sources, as we shall see below, but the term 'Archother' does not come from the medieval texts. I used the expression in this paper to refer to that notion.

of political centralization that profoundly affected the traditional upper nobility. While at first the royalty relied mostly on bureaucratic or administrative means to advance its political centralization programme, the upper nobility attempted to use cultural resources to enhance its position and resist the royalist offensive — clearly manifested by the fact that the Portuguese upper aristocracy sponsored the compilation of books of lineages in order to strengthen its symbolic power. These books recounted the origins of the primordial aristocratic Portuguese families, their development, interrelations, and subdivisions, throughout the succession of generations.

I construe historiographical production in late medieval Portugal in terms of what Pierre Bourdieu named 'symbolic struggles at the subjective level'. This refers to how contending groups attempt to define categories of perception and evaluation of the social world, conditioning cognitive and evaluative structures.[12] Bourdieu's overriding argument is that '[d]omination, even when based on naked force, […] always has a symbolic dimension'.[13] Direct socioeconomic and political domination lacks legitimation that works through the imposition of classifications and perceptions of social reality. Cultural means — historiography included — are quite useful tools to reproduce or transform a social order through manipulation of the structures of perception of reality, of the way we conceptualize the social world.[14] The establishment of what Bourdieu termed a 'doxic' adherence to the social order — a political belief in the social order as something 'natural', 'common sense', and ahistorical — is the fruit of social confrontation and competing visions.[15] Symbolic power, thus, is constitutive of identities and realities; it is a performative and stratifying power; and it also is a contested power, since, as Swartz put it, it is 'a tool of struggle among social groups and their representatives either to enhance their social visibility or to change the perception and evaluation of themselves and others'.[16]

A central design guided the domestic policy of the Portuguese royal court at the time the books of lineages were compiled: to reinforce the attributes and field of action of royal power, on the one hand; and on the other, to restrict the prerogatives of lay and ecclesiastic seigniorial elites.[17] While during Afonso III's reign (1248–1279) inner tensions were mainly between the clergy and the royal court, during his son's and grandson's rule social conflicts were mostly between the lay aristocracy and royal power. These tensions ultimately culminated in a civil war during 1319–1324. Social

12 Pierre Bourdieu, 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', in Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*, trans. by Matthew Adamson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 134; David L. Swartz, *Symbolic Power, Politics and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 87–88.

13 Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, trans. by Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 172; Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, p. 81.

14 Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, p. 92.

15 Pierre Bourdieu, 'Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field', *Sociological Theory*, 12.1 (1994), 1–18 (p. 15).

16 Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, p. 106.

17 José Pizarro, *D. Dinis*, 2nd edn (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2012), p. 166.

unease also underlined struggles internal to the aristocratic group, usually between pro-monarchic and pro-seigniorial factions.

The royal court relied mostly on administrative, fiscal, and bureaucratic means for the affirmation of its power. This process of centralization started very early, already during the reign of Afonso II (1211–1223), but it was further strengthened under Afonso III, Dinis (1279–1325), and Afonso IV (1325–1357).[18] The monarchy combined different tactics to ascertain its supremacy over opposing groups: through physical and military means, the consolidation of the financial basis of the monarchy, the efficient management of royal landed property, the improvement of the efficacy of the administrative and fiscal structure of the monarchy, the carrying out of detailed surveys upon landed property in the kingdom, the systematic registry of the royal chancellery, and consistent efforts towards juridical codification. The consolidation of a bureaucratic caste under the crown's direct orders was also decisive, restricting the delegation of power to representatives of the upper nobility.

The aristocracy, on the other hand, invested in cultural production with a much more pronounced relevance to political legitimation, relying heavily on cultural forms of resources to counter the royalist advances. One could say 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.[19] While also trying to defeat the monarchy on the battlefield, the upper aristocracy strove to overcome the crown in the field of historical culture, manipulating the past to assert its historical rights to socio-political supremacy. Alongside a physical form of violence, the aristocracy attempted to inflict upon rival social groups what Bourdieu conceptualized as 'symbolic violence'.[20] The aristocracy expected historiographical production to be a source of symbolic capital, thus attempting to articulate 'coercion' (military might) with 'consensus' (cultural/ideological hegemony).[21]

The Muslim 'Archother'

There is a permanent notion of Muslim otherness in the books of lineages, which is taken for granted and lacks any need for explanation. Islam appears as the 'Archother',

18 Hermínia Vilar, *D. Afonso II* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2005); Leontina Ventura, *D. Afonso III* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2006); Pizarro, *D. Dinis*; Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, *D. Afonso IV* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2009); José Mattoso, 'Dois séculos de vicissitudes políticas', in *História de Portugal*, vol. II: *A Monarquia Feudal*, ed. by José Mattoso (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1997), pp. 25–140; Mattoso, 'O triunfo da monarquia portuguesa: 1258–1264. Ensaio de história política', in Mattoso, *Naquele Tempo*, pp. 515–45.

19 Bourdieu, 'Rethinking the State', pp. 3–4.

20 Swartz, *Symbolic Power*, pp. 83–84, 98–101; Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), pp. 167–68.

21 On the idea of cultural/ideological hegemony, see Carlos Nelson Coutinho, *Gramsci's Political Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

the common Other for both the aristocracy and royalty, which is always somehow present but not necessarily as a direct intervenient in the narratives. The 'archotherness' of Islam could be understood as what Eriksen called 'digital difference', i.e., '[w]hen [...] systems of classification operate on an unambiguous inclusion/exclusion basis, where boundaries are fixed and all outsiders of certain kinds are regarded as "more or less the same"'.[22]

This underlying omnipresence of Islam justifies the very existence of the Portuguese aristocracy. This is demonstrated in the prologue of the *Old Book*, where the author declares his purpose of dealing with '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).[23] The prologues of the books of lineages are quite important since this is where the authors state their intentions. The quotation above points to how the main axis of the legitimation discourse in the *Old Book* lies in past military endeavours against Muslims. Aristocratic prerogatives were derived from the assumption that the families included in the genealogies conquered Portuguese lands from the Muslims at the time of the kingdom's foundation. The veracity of the claim is questionable, since the principal agents of Portuguese expansion during the foundational period of the monarchy were mostly royalty, lower tiers of the aristocracy, municipal militias, and military orders.[24] The compiler, nevertheless, chose this argumentative line, thus making war against Islam the main source of historical legitimacy for the upper aristocracy.

Despite the centrality of Muslim otherness, the most common theme of the narratives is conflicts among Christian aristocrats and monarchs. For example, while the Castilian aristocrat Pêro Fernandes de Castro is admonished in *Count Pedro's Book* for siding with the Muslims in the Battle of Alarcos (1195) and otherwise participating in 'Moorish vices' such as bathing, the main focus of the narrative is the disagreements between Pêro Fernandes and Alfonso VIII of Castile.[25] In the case of Rodrigo Afonso de Leão, an illegitimate son of Alfonso IX of Leon (1188–1230), while it is mentioned that Rodrigo Afonso was sent by his father to guard the frontier and that he conquered a number of castles from the Muslims, the main focus of

22 Eriksen, *Ethnicity*, p. 79.

23 LV, Pr.1[1–3]. The system of references in the footnotes refers to the internal division of the texts in the critical editions referenced above in note 4: the initials LV (*Old Book*), LD (*Dean's Book*), and LL (*Count Pedro's Book*) indicate the genealogical compilation, followed by chapter number (each chapter lists the descent of a particular individual), capital letter indicating a subdivision of the chapter (where each separate branch of that descent is listed), another number for each successive generation, and sentence number in superscript. See Piel and Mattoso, *Portugaliae*, Vol. 1: *Livros Velhos*, pp. 18–19. All translations from Galician-Portuguese are my own.

24 José Mattoso, 'A nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos X a XIV)', in Mattoso, *Naquele Tempo*, pp. 287–310 (p. 293).

25 LL11C8; Tiago João Queimada e Silva, 'Mixed Marriages, Moorish Vices and Military Betrayals: Christian-Islamic Confluence in "Count Pedro's Book of Lineages"', in *Conflict and Collaboration in Medieval Iberia*, ed. by Kurt Villads Jensen, Anthony John Lappin, and Kim Bergqvist (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2020), pp. 241–66.

this narrative lies in Rodrigo's conflicts with another Christian aristocrat, Andreu Fernandes de Castro.[26]

The Castilian King Pedro I (1350–1369) is also implicitly condemned for his use of Muslim armies in the struggle against his half-brother Henrique de Trastâmara, when contending for the throne.[27] The main objective of the narrative of Pedro I's deposition is, however, the construction of a negative model of royal governance. Pedro I's siding with Muslim allies is merely a minor element in the construction of that image. In this process, the author stresses mainly Pedro I's tyrannical domestic policies, such as killing 'many and good [men] of high lineage',[28] including three of his own brothers.[29]

Muslim 'archotherness' is based on ethno-religious difference, but its prominence in the sources stems from political opposition, as Jewish absence in the narratives indicates. Muslim otherness is practically the only form of ethno-religious otherness in the books of lineages, since Jews are almost absent. The only exception is Rui Capão, a Jew who came to Portugal with Queen Urraca, wife of Afonso II. Rui Capão converted to Christianity and was knighted by Afonso II.[30] Despite incarnating a form of religious otherness that apparently could be neutralized by conversion to Christianity, as also happened with Muslims,[31] Jews were considered no political threat: they ruled no rival polity in Iberia, neither had they any territories to conquer. However, Jewish absence reminds us that politics is the main conditioning factor in the definition of otherness and its degrees, even when the constitutive features of that otherness stem originally from ethnicity or religion. Although originating from a conception of ethno-religious otherness, thus appearing as the common Other for both Christian ruling groups, the religious element goes unstressed when portraying Muslim enmity.

Nevertheless, the image of the Muslim as a primarily political enemy only applies to the aristocratic genealogical discourse until the late fourteenth century, when the *Count's Book* was reformulated by someone connected to the Pereira family and the Order of the Knights Hospitaller. This reformulation, carried out around 1380–1383, infused a religious tone into the text, imbuing it with martyrological and crusading ideals. The emphasis on religious enmity is most likely due to the reformulator's social background, linked to a religious military order devoted to fight the Muslims in the Holy Land. The mindset of an author affiliated with a religious military order brought the Muslim 'Archother' to the fore of the narratives, while it had previously mostly lurked passively in the background.

The Muslim appears in the reformulated narratives as an almost supernatural enemy within a sacralized universal conflict between Christianity and Islam. Take for instance the narrative of Gonçalo Mendes da Maia, who headed one of the most

26 LL58E6.
27 LL21A15[27].
28 'matou muitos e boos d'alto linhagem'. LL21A15[3].
29 LL21A15[4–6]. Cf. Silva, 'Mixed Marriages'.
30 LV2N9[1–2]; LL42X7[2–8].
31 Silva, 'Mixed Marriages'.

powerful families in eleventh- and twelfth-century Portugal, the Maia family.[32] It is possible that the tale is a prosification of a *chanson de geste* and it is difficult to establish whether it existed in this form when Count Pedro compiled the book. The narrative's characteristics (universalization of the Christian-Islamic conflict; divine intervention on the battlefield; epic overtone, etc.) point towards the 1380–1383 reformulator's authorship.[33] It is quite possible that the tale was already extant in some form in the original version of *Count Pedro's Book*, perhaps in a configuration closer to that of the tale in the *Dean's Book*.[34] It was in the Count's interest to exalt the memory of the Maia family: the previous holder of the County of Barcelos was Martim Gil de Riba de Vizela, last representative of the Riba de Vizela family's main branch and a descendant of the ancient Maia family, which was already extinct by the late-thirteenth century.[35] Through the transmission of the County of Barcelos in 1314, Count Pedro became heir of part of the patrimony of the Riba de Vizela family, who, in their turn, were inheritors of the patrimony and symbolic capital of the Maia family. Thus, Count Pedro could see himself as heir to the symbolic capital of the Maia family.[36]

According to the tale, Gonçalo Mendes served King Afonso Henriques (1128–1185) in the Portuguese southern frontier.[37] He led a small group of Portuguese knights in two consecutive battles against the 'Moors'.[38] The Portuguese knights committed acts of prodigious valour and superhuman strength, ultimately defeating their enemies. Gonçalo Mendes himself died in combat. It is a narrative ridden with epic sentiment, in which the Muslim enemies are also invested with superhuman traits, even if only to aggrandize the Christian knights who defeat them. They are rabid, animalistic warriors, whose purpose in the plot is to highlight the valour of the Portuguese chivalry. The Muslim 'Archother' had become a religious enemy, part of a radical confrontation between two uncompromising religions with universal aspirations. This transformation is further illustrated by two narratives whose authorship clearly belongs to the 1380–1383 reformulator: the narratives of the (mainly fictional) Galician

32 LL21G6.

33 José Mattoso, 'As fontes do nobiliário do Conde D. Pedro', in Mattoso, *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa: A Família e o Poder*, 4th edn (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994), pp. 57–100 (pp. 87–88); José Mattoso, ed., *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983), p. 29.

34 LD7A1.

35 José Pizarro, 'D. Dinis e a nobreza dos finais do século XIII', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 10 (1993), pp. 91–101 (p. 99).

36 Luis Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica do Espaço Ibérico. (1280–1380)* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1994), pp. 309–10.

37 The story is obviously anachronistic, since Gonçalo Mendes da Maia (1068–1110) died many years before Afonso Henriques took power and extended the Portuguese kingdom's territory beyond the Tagus River. Cf. José Mattoso, 'A nobreza rural portuense nos séculos XI e XII', in Mattoso, *Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa*, pp. 161–253 (p. 213).

38 'Moors' (port. 'Mouros') is the most common designation for Iberian and Northern African Muslims in medieval Iberian Christian historiography.

aristocrat Rodrigo Froiaz de Trastâmara during the conquest of Seville (1248) and of Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira in the Battle of Tarifa (1340).[39]

The 1380–1383 reformulation emphasizes the prestige of the Pereira family, extolling its reputed ancestors, the old Counts of Trastâmara. The Pereiras were a secondary branch of the old Trava-Trastâmara family and attempted to appropriate the family's symbolic capital after its main branch became extinct in the mid-thirteenth century. It is known that the last representative of the main branch of the House of Trava-Trastâmara, Rodrigo Gomes de Trava, participated in the siege of Seville and had several troubadours in his service. It is possible that they created a number of tales about his deeds during the conquest. These tales were perhaps subsequently appropriated by the Pereira family, who put their supposed ancestor Rodrigo Froiaz in Rodrigo Gomes' stead. Mattoso surmises that the stories were probably already conveyed in Count Pedro's version of the book, with Rodrigo Gomes de Trava as the protagonist, and were subsequently altered by the 1380–1383 author, who created the character of Rodrigo Froiaz for this purpose.[40]

The source implies that Castilian expansion in al-Andalus under the rule of Fernando III (1217–1252) succeeded thanks to the 'counsel' of Rodrigo Froiaz.[41] It suggests that royalty could only take the expansionist process forward if benefiting from the support of the nobility. Christian expansion in al-Andalus depended on good relations between the crown and the aristocracy; the former should respect the privileges of the latter and only in this case should the latter recognize the former's pre-eminence. From this equilibrium derived success against the common enemy. The war against Islam thus emerges as an element propitiating social harmony.[42]

Rodrigo Froiaz is the protagonist of two stories occurring during the siege of Seville in *Count Pedro's Book*: first, the source tells us how Rodrigo Froiaz and a few Hospitaller knights defeated a band of Muslims who had stolen some cows.[43] The fray gains a religious dimension when Rodrigo Froiaz reminds the Hospitallers that their Order was established 'for the exaltation of Christianity and the abatement of Mahomet's law'.[44] We thus encounter a holy war, for which the Hospitaller Order was created. This narrative furthermore establishes historical antecedents for the connections between the Pereiras and the Hospitaller Order in the fourteenth century.[45]

The second of Rodrigo Froiaz's stories during the siege of Seville recounts how the powerful Muslim Acaçaf vowed to convert to Christianity and surrender three of the city's towers to the Castilian heir to the throne, 'Infante' Alfonso. Rodrigo Froiaz advises the king and the 'Infante' to avoid such danger, as he and the Portuguese

39 LL21G9 and LL21G15.

40 José Mattoso, 'Sobre as fontes'; Krus, *A Concepção*, p. 223 n. 533.

41 'Este dom Rodrigo Froiaz fez muitos serviços a el rei dom Fernando, o que tomou Sevilha […] e por seu conselho filhou muitos logares a Mouros': LL21G9[1–2].

42 Krus, *A Concepção*, pp. 228–29.

43 LL21G9[18–44].

44 'pera esto foi estabelicida a vossa Ordem de cavalaria, por eixalçamento de cristiindade e por abaixamento da lei de Mafamede': LL21G9[34].

45 Krus, *A Concepção*, p. 225 n. 540.

knights would take the perilous task into their hands. Acaçaf's promise turns out to be an ambush but Rodrigo Froiaz and the Portuguese knights defeat the ambushers and return to the besiegers' camp with Acaçaf's head as a token of their bravery.[46] Acaçaf's portrait is monstrous: gigantic and black, fruit of an incestuous relationship, breastfed by a she-camel, and raised by a hermit in the mountains of Tunisia. The author draws inspiration from medieval French epics such as the *Chanson de Roland* and chivalric romances like the *Amadís de Gaula* to delineate this fiendish portrait.[47]

The conquest of Seville is an aristocratic endeavour in these two tales, since royal leadership of the enterprise is almost completely effaced and Fernando III is practically a passive character with no real control over the course of events. Rodrigo Froiaz is exalted as the leader of the Portuguese aristocracy, while the latter is represented as the vanguard of Iberian nobility, since the deeds of the Portuguese 'fidalgos' surpass even those of the mighty Castilian aristocracy.[48]

The religious characterization of the war is particularly conspicuous in the account of the Battle of Tarifa.[49] The narrative deals with the Christian victory against the Marinid invasion of the Peninsula in 1340. The triumph is due to the intervention of the Portuguese knights and more specifically of the Hospitallers led by Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, prior of the Hospitaller Order in Portugal and custodian of a relic of the True Cross. The fray is depicted as a sacralized universal conflict between Christianity and Islam. It seems that the term 'Moor' in this narrative lacks any ethnic or geographical connotation, since it is applied to all Muslims of the known world.

The Portuguese chivalry faces the Muslim army comprised of 'reis e infantes e outros altos homees' (kings and princes and other high men),[50] a specification that functions as a eulogy for the Portuguese knights who will vanquish such highly reputed adversaries. The source claims that what is at stake for the Portuguese knights in this battle is their chivalric honour, the salvation of their souls and those of their families and descendants, and the challenge to meet the valour of their 'avoos, que gaanharom a Espanha' (grandparents, who won Spain).[51] The martyrological discourse reaches its apogee when an analogy is made between Christ, who 'recebeu morte por nos salvar. Esto devemos nós fazer por el todos, prender morte hoje dia, por salvar a sa fe. E os que morrêremos hoje seeremos com el no seu reino celestial' ('received death to save us', and the Portuguese knights, who 'should all do [the same] for him, to receive death on this day, to save his faith', and who 'will join him in the celestial kingdom').[52] The salvation of Christendom lies in the hands of the Portuguese aristocracy. It is no coincidence that royalty is absent from this panegyric.

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46 LL21G9$^{45–83}$.
47 Mattoso, ed., *Narrativas*, p. 100; Mattoso, 'As fontes do nobiliário', pp. 92–93; Krus, *A Concepção*, p. 227 n. 544.
48 Krus, *A Concepção*, p. 228 n. 546.
49 LL21G15.
50 LL21G15^{98}.
51 LL21G15^{106}.
52 LL21G15$^{120–22}$.

One of the more fascinating characteristics of this narrative is the depiction of Muslims as characters actively intervening in the plot, as opposed to other narratives where they are reduced to passive enemies of Christians. Here, we encounter more complex characters and they inclusively benefit from a somewhat positive image, as courageous, valiant, honoured combatants. Although this may have been a subterfuge to indirectly extoll the valour of the Christians, if the author's sole objective was to simply praise the Christians, such a multidimensional depiction of the Muslim characters would be superfluous. I think that there is a genuine preoccupation with the plausibility and aesthetic outlook of the narrative.[53] The author had no need to demonize the Muslims — as was done in the narrative of the conquest of Seville — to sacralize the conflict.

Concluding the narrative of the Battle of Tarifa, the historical role of Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira is assessed. His memory is commemorated as custodian of a relic of the True Cross and saviour 'da fe de Jesu Christo e de toda a Cristïidade' (of the faith of Jesus Christ and of all Christendom).[54] It is quite a strong encomium for an aristocrat from a small peripheral kingdom of Medieval Latin Christendom. The 1380–1383 reformulator of the *Count's Book* saw the war against the Muslims as the main resource to honour the lineage for which he worked, imbued with a crusading ideal consistent with the mindset of a member of a religious military order. For a writer from this social background, the Muslim 'Archother' was the perfect literary resource to build a discourse of political legitimation.

The Royal Other

Notions of Muslim otherness in the books of lineages, however, have to be understood within the context of the political relations within the Christian kingdoms, particularly the relations between royalty and the aristocracy. When one of these groups fails to fulfil its social role, the equilibrium between Christian Self and Islamic Other is disrupted. The most common topic is that the royalty ceases to fulfil its social role — to arbitrate intra-aristocratic conflicts, receive military service from its vassals and reward them with wealth — and thus justifies a more pragmatic or ambiguous attitude of Christian aristocratic groups towards Muslim powers. Islam's digital difference is conditioned by constantly evolving political relations among the Christian ruling groups. Disagreements with the royal power occasionally justify agreements with Muslims, while harmony between the aristocracy and royalty assures order and allows for a Christian military impetus directed towards the Islamic 'Archother'.

53 Teresa Amado, 'A cada um a sua Batalha de Tarifa', in *Literatura Medieval*, vol. IV: *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval (Lisboa, 1–5 Outubro 1991)*, ed. by Aires A. Nascimento and Cristina A. Ribeiro (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1993), pp. 303–07 (p. 307), considered that the relevance given to Muslim characters in this narrative stems from the use of Arabic sources.

54 LL21G15[312].

The narrative of Nuno Gonçalves de Lara's exile in Granada may serve as an example: this high-ranking Castilian aristocrat found refuge in the Muslim city after quarrelling with Alfonso X of Castile-Leon (1252–1284), accompanied by representatives of the most powerful Castilian families (besides the Laras, there were also the Haros and the Castros), and even a legitimate younger brother of Alfonso X.[55] Later on, after the disagreements with the royal power were settled, Nuno Gonçalves ended his life in a battle near Écija (1275), defending Christian Iberia from an invasion of the Marinids.[56]

Aristocratic notions of otherness appear in a seemingly contradictory way due to the social agents' constantly changing political positioning. The unstable political reality and its complex web of relations determine who is the Other and who is the Self at a given time. Even though Islam is the common Other for royalty and the aristocracy, unity among Christian ruling groups is usually just a chimera. In addition to their aristocratic audience, these texts were also directed at the royal court. The books of lineages were a reminder of how the upper nobility had (allegedly) conquered the kingdom from the Muslims, thus highlighting the royalty's historical debt to the aristocracy. By writing tales of resistance against abuses of royal power, the aristocracy established exempla for the members of the class. It also reminded royalty that noblemen had successfully resisted monarchic power in the past and they would do so again if necessary. In these tales of resistance, the king, as representative of royal power, naturally embodies otherness.

Animosity towards royalty is expressed in different types of narratives. We have, for example, tales occurring in 'domestic' situations. Both the *Old Book* and the *Count's Book* include the story of how Gonçalo de Sousa punished his wife and stood up to King Afonso Henriques, who had made sexual advances towards Gonçalo's wife in his own house.[57] The *Dean's Book* and *Count Pedro's Book* also include another interesting story concerning an aristocratic Portuguese lineage and Afonso Henriques.[58] According to this tale, Fernão Mendes de Bragança was mocked during a meal by the monarch, Sancho Nunes de Barbosa and Gonçalo de Sousa. Fernão Mendes' anger at their scorn was such that he forced the king to grant him not only the land of Gonçalo de Sousa but also the king's own daughter in marriage, who was already married to Sancho Nunes. These tales have the clear purpose of conveying exemplary narratives of aristocrats defending their honour against the king, as well as against rival families.

Submissiveness and weakness, especially in military matters, are some of the traits usually attached to kinghood. For example, *Count Pedro's Book* relates the deeds of

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55 LL10E11^{9}–^{14}.

56 LL10E11^{15}–^{19}. Cf. Krus, *A Concepção*, pp. 214–16; Silva, 'Mixed Marriages'. Count Pedro omits the intervention of the Castilian royal armies in the battle. Thus, the honour of the victory is reserved for the Castilian aristocracy, while royalty is excluded from the picture (Krus, *A Concepção*, p. 216 n. 514); Simon R. Doubleday, *Los Lara: Nobleza y monarquía en la España medieval* (Madrid: Turner, 2004), pp. 91–93.

57 LV1M7; LL22A5.

58 LD12A4^{3}–^{4}; LL37B2.

Rodrigo Froiaz de Trastâmara and his Portuguese knights during the war between King Garcia of Galicia-Portugal (1065–1071) and Sancho II of Castile (1065–1072).[59] The characters of Rodrigo Froiaz and Garcia, respectively, epitomize images of aristocracy and royalty. Rodrigo Froiaz is utterly loyal to his sovereign and appears as a model of feudo-vassalic ethics. He is aware of the kingdom's higher interests and appears as the main guarantee for the kingdom's stability. King Garcia, on the other hand, is pictured as an unsteady ruler whose politico-military ineptitude leads to the loss of the kingdom.

In the beginning of the narrative, Garcia is manipulated by an anonymous favourite and alienates the upper aristocracy from the governance of the kingdom. When the protests of the aristocrats prove unsuccessful, Rodrigo Froiaz kills the king's favourite. As a result, he faces the king's wrath and goes into exile. The king, however, has to summon Rodrigo Froiaz back to defend the realm from the invasion of Sancho II's forces.[60] The message is clear: no king should alienate the upper strata of the aristocracy from political power. There is no prosperous kingdom without the nobility to defend it.

In the series of battles that ensue, only Rodrigo Froiaz and the Portuguese nobility are exalted. The king is either absent from battle or, when he does take part in the fighting, he is completely incompetent. *Count Pedro's Book* tells us, for instance, how Rodrigo Froiaz captured Sancho II in the first of two battles in Santarém, but the Castilian monarch was able to escape after Rodrigo put him under Garcia's guard. Garcia's army is usually led by Rodrigo Froiaz, while the only instance where Garcia is described as leader of the army is in the second battle of Santarém, when Garcia is finally defeated and captured by Sancho II, who takes the Kingdom of Galicia-Portugal for himself.[61] The only instance where Garcia leads the army is when the army is defeated and the kingdom lost. Garcia's ineptitude is not only military but also political. For example, depicting a meeting of Garcia's royal council at Santarém,

59 LL21G7. Rodrigo Froiaz I was, according to the *Count's Book*, the grandfather of Rodrigo Froiaz II, who took part in the siege of Seville. We have already seen that Rodrigo Froiaz II was, at least for the most part, a fictitious character. This seems also to be the case with his grandfather, since it is anachronistic to place the historical Rodrigo Froiaz, who is documented between 1091 and 1133, in a war that took place in 1071. Cf. José Luis López Sangil, 'La nobleza altomedieval gallega. La familia Froilaz-Traba. Sus fundaciones monacales en Galicia en los siglos XI, XII y XIII', *Nalgures*, 4 (2007), 241–331. According to Mattoso, this narrative is an adaptation of the *Canção do cerco de Zamora* taken from the summarized prose version in Alfonso X's *Primera Crónica General*. Mattoso considers that this narrative was also reformulated in 1380–1383, to praise another alleged ancestor of the Pereira family. Cf. Mattoso, ed., *Narrativas*, p. 28; Mattoso, 'As fontes do nobiliário', pp. 86–87; Mattoso, 'Sobre as fontes', p. 262. Despite the Galician origin of the Trava-Trastâmaras, the source treats Rodrigo Froiaz as Portuguese and Garcia's army as exclusively Portuguese. This demonstrates how the *Count's Book* is informed by a sense of regional identity that places the Portuguese aristocracy on a higher level than other regional aristocracies of the Iberian Peninsula.

60 LL21G7[16]–[30].

61 LL21G7[31]–[94].

the *Count's Book* describes how, in face of the king's wavering attitude, the aristocracy decisively took the initiative.[62] It is the aristocracy that governs the kingdom de facto.

Although Sancho II appears as the victor, the source heaps no praise on him. All the encomia go to Rui Diaz 'Cide' — the famous 'El Cid' — vassal of the Castilian monarch and supreme model of aristocratic virtue in medieval Iberian historiography. Neither is Sancho II's military prowess emphasized, since he owes his final victory to Rui Diaz, who came to the aid of the Castilian king in the final battle of Santarém.[63] If a parallel is established between Rodrigo Froiaz and King Garcia, the same applies to 'Cide' and Sancho II. This parallel can be systematized as follows:

ARISTOCRACY	**ROYALTY**
Just; fair	Tyrannical
Courageous	Cowardly
Loyal	False; perfidious
Resolved; powerful	Impotent; irresponsible; submissive; feeble; wavering
Materially disinterested	Greedy; lustful
Active	Passive
Militarily fit	Militarily unfit; absent from battle
Exercises *de facto* power	Exercises power through the 'counsel' of aristocrats; nominal power
Guarantees social stability	Unable to guarantee social stability; easily manipulated

A similar pattern is found in the narrative of the abduction of Queen Mécia, wife of Sancho II of Portugal (1223–1248), by his vassal Raimundo Viegas de Portocarreiro.[64] The tale is set during the 1245–1248 civil war in Portugal, when Sancho II was deposed by his brother who rose to the throne as Afonso III. It recounts how Raimundo Viegas led the host of another high-ranking aristocrat, Martim Gil de Soverosa, to abduct the Queen from the king's bed. The queen was taken from the royal residence in Coimbra to the castle of Ourém; Sancho II failed to rescue her, as he was attacked by the aristocrats' armies and forced to retreat. Although the narrative deals with a blatant breach of feudo-vassalic social relations (Raimundo Viegas was a vassal of Sancho II), the emphasis lies on Sancho II's incompetence — he allowed his wife to be kidnapped from his own bed — and military powerlessness.

While Muslim otherness is essentially ethno-religious — although decisively conditioned by political factors —, royal otherness is purely political. Royal otherness usually depends on the king's attitude towards the aristocracy. One could say that royal otherness is based on what Eriksen defined as 'analogue difference', i.e., '[w]hen [...] principles of exclusion and inclusion allow for differences of degree' and 'do not encourage the formation of unambiguous, clear-cut boundaries'.[65] According

62 LL21G7[48–56].
63 LL21G7[81–94].
64 LL43F5.
65 Eriksen, *Ethnicity*, p. 79.

to the aristocratic ideal, the king is merely the most prominent aristocrat, a 'primus inter pares', who exercises supreme justice and distributes wealth in exchange for service. When the king fails to fulfil this role — which happens frequently — he becomes the Other. The fulfilment of the ruling groups' mutual duties safeguards the maintenance of social harmony within the Christian kingdoms. *Count Pedro's Book* gives us some examples of monarchs failing to fulfil their responsibilities, thus losing the nobility's support and letting the kingdom fall into chaos.

The narrative of João Nunes de Lara II is a good example of this phenomenon.[66] After the death of Sancho IV of Castile-Leon (1284–1295), the regency of the kingdom fell upon 'Infante' Henrique, tutor of the infant monarch Fernando IV (1295–1312). The regent ceased to fulfil the obligations of material reward that Sancho IV had established with João Nunes and thus the relationship between the family of Lara and the crown went sour. As soon as the Lara family, represented by João Nunes, left the crown's side, chaos arose in the kingdom, with an ensuing civil war between the crown and two contenders for the throne: Fernando IV's uncle, 'Infante' João, and cousin, Afonso de Lacerda.[67] The narrative demonstrates that the lack of support from the most powerful Castilian family, the Lara family, meant the rupture of the prevailing social harmony.

João Nunes is then involved in a series of conflicts with royal power, but ends up negotiating peace and getting an even bigger material reward than the one he was entitled to in the beginning. The *Count's Book* again emphasizes the debility of royal power when facing the upper aristocracy. As soon as João Nunes negotiated peace with Fernando IV's court, one of the contenders for the throne abandoned the kingdom and the other dropped his claims to kinghood.[68]

During his conflicts with the Castilian royalty, João Nunes de Lara swore allegiance to King Dinis of Portugal.[69] Feudo-vassalic alliances with foreign royal powers were thus acceptable if one's own sovereign embarked on policies contrary to the upper aristocracy's interests. João Nunes represents the ideal exemplum for his descendants, as a head of lineage always triumphant against his enemies, which are mostly the royal power and sectors of the nobility allied with it.

Conclusions

We have two different forms of otherness in the sources: first, a notion of Muslim otherness, which is ethno-religious and permanent; and second, a notion of royal otherness that is purely political and circumstantial. I referred to the former as 'archotherness' on account of Islam's status as the Other per se, common to all Christian ruling groups. The circumstantial otherness of royalty or, using Eriksen's

66 LL10E13.
67 LL10E13$^{16–19}$.
68 LL10E13$^{20–52}$.
69 LL10E13$^{51–52}$.

terminology, its 'analogue difference', contrasts with the implicit and all-pervading notion of otherness typified by the Muslim, which in Eriksen's terms could be considered 'digital difference'. Islam's digital otherness relates to the generalization or categorization of a whole ethno-religious group, while the royalty's analogue otherness relates to a single individual and his entourage.

Aristocratic notions of otherness in fourteenth-century Portugal were decisively conditioned by political criteria. Despite being ethno-religious in origin, Muslim otherness is conspicuous in the sources due to Islam's political status; because, throughout the Middle Ages, Islam ruled part of the Iberian Peninsula. In other words, the Islamic Other simultaneously consisted of a political menace as well as an object of further military expansion for the northern Iberian Christian polities. It is this particular politico-historical reality that made Muslims omnipresent in the sources, not simply their ethno-religious difference. Both the royal Other and the Muslim 'Archother' were essential to the aristocratic historical-ideological discourse due to their status as holders of politico-military power and as enemies or rivals of the aristocracy, notwithstanding the fact that Islam's 'archotherness' derived from an ethno-religious difference that distinguished it from both Christian ruling groups.

Islam's position throughout the centuries as a politico-military enemy justified the aristocracy's very existence as a privileged social group. In the mid-fourteenth century, Iberian Islam was far from the borders of the Portuguese kingdom and confined to the enclave of Granada. Since the Portuguese aristocracy based its very 'raison d'être' on the war against the Muslims, this may have created a sort of existential dilemma for this social group, hence the necessity of investing resources in historiographical production that emphasized the warrior aristocracy's importance during the kingdom's foundational period. The Battle of Tarifa, which was a recent event at the time Count Pedro was compiling his book, could equally serve as a reminder that Islam was still a menace, thus Christian societies still needed the services of the warrior aristocracy. On the other hand, the fact that the most common adversary of the aristocracy in these sources is the royalty can be explained by the historical context surrounding the compilation of these narratives — times of confrontation between the upper layers of the aristocracy and the royal power, which pursued a programme of political centralization.

In the aristocratic world-view, political stability and social harmony depended on aristocratic support for the monarchy. Without it, royal power became either impotent or tyrannical. The legitimacy of royal power relied on the assent of the aristocracy. War against the Muslim 'Archother' functioned simultaneously as cause and consequence of the union between royalty and aristocracy. The dissolution of that union, usually due to the misconduct of royalty, often led to the establishment of alliances with Muslims. War against Islam appears in the sources as the key element for a harmonious relation among Christian ruling classes: the aristocracy fulfils its military duties against the 'Moors', while royalty rewards those services with material wealth. Royalty may appear as part of the Self when it fulfils these social functions, but it always assumes a secondary role.

Muslims frequently have a residual presence in the narratives, yet they are the main source of legitimacy. Their digital difference makes them the main element in the

discourse of political legitimation, although quantitatively less present in the narratives. Military success over Islam — or rather, the remembrance of past victories against Islam — furnishes the aristocracy with symbolic means of legitimation. War against Islam is a source of symbolic power for this social group. The confrontation with Islam, even in texts where the topic is merely secondary, is the main justification for aristocratic social prominence; the very social function of this group is defined by Islamic otherness.

The otherness of royal power and of Islam is conditioned by the relative positioning of the social agents in the political field. On the one hand, Muslims were the politico-military enemy per se for the Portuguese aristocracy, due to the very historical circumstances surrounding the origin and development of the Iberian Christian kingdoms. On the other hand, political confrontation between the aristocracy and royal power was topical at the time these genealogical works were compiled. Although Muslim 'archotherness' derived from ethno-religious difference, it is Islam's status as a political enemy that brings it to the fore. Religious antagonism is seldom noted in the narratives and Muslim otherness could apparently be neutralized by conversion to Christianity. Islam's digital difference is thus conditional, and there was plenty of room for pragmatism and negotiation. The religious dimension of the confrontation only came to be emphasized in narratives reformulated in 1380–1383, eliminating any space for compromise. The sociological and cultural background of the author of the 1380–1383 reformulation of the *Count's Book*, affiliated with a religious military order, may well explain why he chose not only to focus on tales of war against Islam, but inclusively to sacralize the war and thus extoll the valour of the Portuguese aristocracy, particularly of the Pereira family. Only the Muslim 'Archother' would permit the sacralization of the military prowess of the aristocracy so effectively.

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