Studies of conflict in medieval history and related disciplines have recently come to focus on wars, feuds, rebellions, and other violent matters. While those issues are present here, by firm in buff and red, this volume treats other forms of conflict that period to the face. With these assembled essays on conflict and collaboration in the Iberian Peninsula, it provides an insight into key aspects of the historical experiences of the Iberian kingdoms during the Middle Ages, ranging from the fall of the Visigothic kingdom and the arrival of significant numbers of Berber settlers to the Christianisation of the Spanish Inquisition. At the end of the Middle Ages, the actions depicted here, both as cross-ethnic and inter-religious meetings, in hostility of pacified communities. The book does not, however, forget inter-ethnic relations and could provide in the mechanics within regional and ethnic groups of which conflict war channelled and, occasionally, collaboration could emerge.

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CHAPTER 10

MIXED MARRIAGES, MOORISH VICES AND MILITARY BETRAYALS: CHRISTIAN-ISLAMIC CONFLUENCE IN COUNT PEDRO’S BOOK OF LINEAGES

TIAGO JOÃO QUEIMADA E SILVA

This article deals with representations of Christian-Islamic confluence in the medieval Portuguese genealogical compilation known as Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro (Count Pedro’s Book of Lineages), assembled in the mid-fourteenth century by Count Pedro of Barcelos. Several narratives dealing with the non-military interaction of Christians and Muslims are analysed in this article, which discusses their role in the aristocratic discourses of political legitimation. The article’s main argument is that, when evoking ancestors who reinforced the family’s prestige, medieval Portuguese aristocratic families considered ethnic and cultural origin as secondary to their ancestors’ social status.

Introduction

In aristocratic medieval Portuguese genealogical literature, the foundation for a discourse of political legitimation was the depiction of the warrior aristocracy as a social sector vitally necessary to the prosperity of the realm. It was the warrior aristocracy that had seized the Kingdom of Portugal from the Muslims, and thus this social sector was nothing less than chiefly responsible for medieval Portugal’s existence. However, even though military interaction between Christians and Muslims is emphasized in these sources, there are also narratives depicting other forms of intercultural relations, which suggests a degree of confluence between the two. In this article I
analyse the phenomenon of Christian-Islamic cultural confluence in medieval Portugal’s main genealogical compilation: the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* (Count Pedro’s *Book of Lineages*).1

This confluence co-exists with almost permanent warfare, which was the normal state of affairs between Christians and Muslims; and, judging from chronicles and genealogical texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Portugal, presented as the *raison d’être* of both royalty and aristocracy, even when Islam was not a tangible menace. Paraphrasing Ferreira, war was a viable mode of ethno-religious coexistence in the Iberian Peninsula.2 During the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, however, neither aristocracy nor royalty viewed it as a radical religious confrontation. In the period’s genealogies and chronicles, war between Iberian Christians and Muslims was generally characterised as being political-territorial, thus differing from texts of other provenance (for example, clerical) in which the religious element was much more decisive.3

Following an introduction to medieval genealogical literature in its Western European and Iberian contexts, I present my source and investigate three examples of Christian-Islamic confluence: first, accounts of marriages between Christian and Muslim aristocrats; second, descriptions of Christian participation in practices understood in the source as rooted in Islamic culture; third, narratives of Christian-Islamic military association, as well as of Christian aristocrats seeking refuge in Muslim lands in the wake of internal political conflicts in Christian kingdoms. I construe these narratives to be parts of a wider discourse of aristocratic ideological legitimization in which Muslims usually appear as enemies but which also evoke, sporadically, cultural confluence, either to legitimize or delegitimize a given lineage.

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Medieval Genealogical Literature

In medieval Europe from the seventh century onwards, first in regions of Celtic or Germanic culture and thereafter throughout Latin Christendom, there emerged a literary genre cultivated by royal, princely and aristocratic families which was devoted to the enumeration of family members and exposition of their kinship. The common feature of these texts is the organization of the historical narrative by genealogical succession, with generational change providing its main structural divisions. The passing of time is expressed by that of generations, in contrast to annalistic texts or chronologies based on calendar time. These genealogies, of which Count Pedro’s book is a prime example, aim to present the lineage of one particular family, group of families or a single individual. They differ from chronicles in the sense that their main purpose is not to convey elaborate narratives. When they do encompass narrative segments, these are quite brief or fragmentary. However, there are obvious reciprocal influences among these genres since some genealogical texts include intricate narrative sections, especially in the late Middle Ages.

The first medieval genealogical texts appeared in Ireland and in the courts of Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian and Carolingian monarchs, during the seventh and eighth centuries. These texts seemingly derived from oral tradition. After the eleventh century it was not just royal families who commissioned genealogical works but also princely families. Later on, during the twelfth century, aristocratic families with sufficient political autonomy started to compose their own. In France, the genre throve greatly after 1150, particularly in the western and northern regions between Gascony and Flanders. Until 1160, documents of this kind in the French Kingdom were mostly connected to the families of the counts of Flanders and Anjou, but thereafter the genre spread to other centres. By the thirteenth and fourteenth

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4 The genealogy of Arnould the Great, Count of Flanders, which was already composed in the tenth century (between 951 and 959), is a noteworthy case of a princely genealogy written before the eleventh century. See Georges Duby, The Chivalrous Society, trans. Cynthia Postan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 150.

centuries, even aristocratic families of lesser importance commissioned the compilation of their own genealogical records. At the same time, compilations devoted to the aristocracies of whole regions, as in the Portuguese case, began to appear. While the older texts mostly consisted of simple lists, genealogical narrative gradually developed and became more detailed. In the twelfth century, the conflation of genealogical writing with epic themes was already verifiable. By the fourteenth, cross-contamination between chronicles and genealogies was prevalent, as can also be seen in the Portuguese sources.

Thus we see that genealogy, despite the royal provenance of the earliest texts (devoted to Frankish and Anglo-Saxon royal dynasties), developed chiefly as “literature of the nobility”. It had its origin at the very top of feudal society, subsequently filtering through the aristocracy’s lower ranks. Genealogy asserted itself as a model of historical narrative at a time when western European aristocracy was attempting to reconfigure familial structures as vertical organizations based on agnatic ancestry – in other words, as lineages modelled after those of royal families. This development was linked to the weakening of central monarchic authority, the gradual expansion of aristocratic political autonomy and the consolidation of a clearly defined heredity attached to feudal property, a phenomenon verifiable from the ninth until the eleventh century. As Duby summarized it, “in its deepest sense the genealogy traces the transmission of a title and a patrimony”.

Genealogical texts reflected this evolving perception of the family from a horizontal web-like structure towards a vertical organization

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6 Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 152, 154, 156.
7 Besides the works of Georges Duby already mentioned, this introductory synthesis on medieval European genealogical literature is based on Léopold Genicot, *Les Généalogies*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975).
topped by a patrilineal chief. Simultaneously, genealogical lists passed down within the family imposed this notion upon the members of its lineage. As laudatory texts dedicated to a given family, genealogies represented, constructed and affirmed the lineage’s self-consciousness and reinforced its position in political terms, as opposed to rival families and centres of power. Genealogy provides privileged insights not only into the consciousness of a particular family but of the aristocratic class as a whole, particularly in the Portuguese case where the compilations purported to list the entire Portuguese and Iberian aristocracy. As Mattoso asserted, they are expressions of class ideology, compiled at a time when the warrior aristocracy was being politically challenged by the royal power.

Genealogical literature flourished in the medieval Iberian Peninsula: first, with the tenth-century *Roda Codex*, which contains numerous genealogies; then, with several renditions of the *Liber Regum*, composed around 1200 in Navarra. Originally written in Aragonese, this work was translated into a number of languages and was one of the most important sources for medieval Iberian historiographers, widely used in Galicia and Portugal. There are additionally a few Catalonian genealogical works, both in Latin and Catalan.

Before the thirteenth century in Portugal, the only genealogical information was contained in lists of serfs, used as juridical documents to settle disputes. Thus one of the antecedents of Portuguese genealogy is found in documents pertaining to the lowest sectors of society. Although not genealogies per se, these lists do reflect an interest in kinship structures even if merely for property-related

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administrative purposes. There are vestiges of a thirteenth-century royal genealogy, as well as genealogical records of some Portuguese families such as the Ribadouros and, already in the fourteenth century, the family of the lords of Gouviães. These antecedents and the influence of the Liber Regum in Portugal spurred the genre’s profuse growth during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are at least three genealogical compilations from these centuries, one of them – Count Pedro’s book – providing the basis for at least two revised versions.\footnote{There is yet a fourth genealogical compilation; however, it is only known from the indirect testimony of Damião de Góis, a sixteenth-century royal chronicler. See Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptores 1:2, ed. Alexandre Herculano (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1860), 136–8; José Mattoso, “Os livros de linhagens portugueses,” 36.}

As in other European regions, such as Wales or Belgium, medieval Portuguese genealogical compilations were not restricted to the royalty of a given polity but enumerated its whole aristocracy. In fact, they are the only known instances in which an entire realm’s aristocratic families are listed; the scope of the Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro is even pan-Iberian, as we shall see. Like other European late-medieval genealogical compilations, its Portuguese representatives have an exhaustive character, identifying nearly all family members including bastards, concubines, younger sons, daughters, secondary family branches, and so on. Despite the emphasis on patrilineal family inheritance, this seems to show that the perception of family structures within the aristocracy was at the same time fluid, complex and plural.\footnote{Nicholas L. Paul, To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 14–16.} Furthermore, medieval Portuguese genealogy was clearly influenced by other historiographical genres such as chronicles, annals and epic narratives. This is particularly evident in the somewhat lengthy narrative segments on which my analysis is based.

One idiosyncrasy of medieval Portuguese genealogical literature is that it was written while the genre was decaying in the rest of Europe, under the sway of humanism. Moreover, it emerged from an area of Latin heritage, unlike most European genealogies which hailed from regions of Germanic or Celtic cultural background. The
medieval Portuguese books of lineages projected their influence into the modern era, with two compilations of the same type being composed in Portugal in the sixteenth century.17

For a long time the books of lineages were not particularly appealing sources for Portuguese historians, mainly due to the dryness of the texts, comprised mostly of lists of names and respective familial relations. Furthermore, the texts were transmitted in editions practically unusable by the historian. It was only in the 1980s that a proper critical edition of the books was produced, and only since then have studies on the medieval aristocracy been a dominating theme in Portuguese historiography. Even though these sources have been used mostly for studies in social history, they also provide cultural historians with a precious insight into the ideological mindset and cultural ambience surrounding Portuguese aristocracy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Only within the past three decades have scholars consistently examined the narrative contents of the books of lineages. They are now acknowledged by Portuguese historians to be sources of inestimable value for the study of medieval societies, from several perspectives (such as those of social, political and cultural history, the study of kinship structures in the Middle Ages, and so on). However, medieval Portuguese genealogical literature has been largely ignored by most historians outside of Portugal.18

**Count Pedro’s Book of Lineages**

When researching medieval French genealogy, Georges Duby noted that “the making of these genealogies often seems to have been prompted by the necessity of legitimizing some power or authority”.19 This is also true for Portuguese genealogical literature. Its books of lineages were composed in times of tension between the aristocracy and royal power, a regional expression of a phenomenon of

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18 This summary of the development of medieval Iberian and Portuguese genealogical literature is based on Mattoso, “Os livros de linhagens portugueses”, 27–41.

monarchical centralization that was taking place throughout Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There were recurrent tensions between the aristocracy and the impinging royal power which undertook a process of political centralization, especially during the reigns of Afonso III (1248–1279) and Dinis (1279–1325). These tensions escalated into a civil war between 1319 and 1324, pitting a broad faction of the aristocracy, led by Infante Afonso (who would succeed to the throne as King Afonso IV), against his father King Dinis. Thus the commemoration of (sometimes fictional) prestigious ancestors and awe-inspiring stories contributed to the prestige of the families subscribing to the genealogies. Discourses of legitimization were not only prevalent at the level of kinship relations but also implicit in the narrative segments.

As in the rest of Western Europe, the compilation of genealogical literature in Portugal was conditioned by political factors, in this case as a response to the aggressive royalist stance. Conflicting narratives about the Iberian and Portuguese past were produced in aristocratic and royal cultural centres. During the late thirteenth and fourteenth century in Portugal, the aristocracy was much more active than royalty in historiographical production, with three books of lineages and one chronicle being compiled in aristocratic cultural centres as opposed to only one royal chronicle. While the royal court preferred

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21 The Primeira Crónica Portuguesa, written around 1270 probably in a literate centre close to Afonso III’s court, is a short narrative focused on the foundation of the Portuguese kingdom and the exaltation of its founder Afonso Henriques, Afonso III’s great-grandfather. The legitimation discourse in this rather crude and sketchy narrative revolves around conflicts between Afonso Henriques and his Christian opponents at several levels: his internal opponents within the emerging kingdom, namely his mother Teresa and her allies; his opponents from other Iberian kingdoms, namely his cousin Alfonso VII of Castile-León; and his opponents in the papacy. Interaction with Muslims is almost absent from this chronicle. Afonso Henriques’ military activity in general is mentioned as justification for the Portuguese kingdom’s autonomy in face of encroaching enemies, but conquests to the Muslims are not particularly highlighted. Military conquest is the basis of the legitimation discourse, encompassing conquests to both Christian and Muslim enemies, with victories over the latter not being particularly highlighted in the narrative.
administrative, fiscal and bureaucratic means to affirm its power, the aristocracy saw historiography as an appropriate instrument for political legitimation. The books of lineages are excellent examples of aristocratic perspectives on the past, and illustrate how history was depicted according to aristocratic political interests during confrontation with the monarchy. In these sources, war against the Muslims provided the aristocracy with political legitimacy, giving it a raison d’être and social usefulness.

Even though the landed aristocracy participated in the expansionist war against the Muslims from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, it would be a mistake to attribute the main drive for conquest to the high-ranking Portuguese aristocrats. During the Portuguese Kingdom’s foundational period, the principal actors in the frontier war were, firstly, middle- or low-level aristocrats from the border regions, and urban cavalry from the frontier towns; and secondly, the armies of the


first two Portuguese Kings, Afonso Henriques and Sancho I, together with certain marginal frontier gangs and the religious military orders. Ultimately, during the thirteenth century, it was to the latter orders that the leading role mostly fell.  

In this article, I use the most influential text of the genre in Portugal: the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, compiled in the 1340’s by Count Pedro of Barcelos. 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 also has a little over fifty short narrative segments, which will be the basis of this study. Through this structural arrangement, Count Pedro grafts Iberian aristocracy into the Christian myth of the origin of humankind, which provides a model of patrilineal succession and justifies the patriarchal social order. However, as already mentioned Count Pedro’s text is not restricted to primogenitary male succession since it purports to enumerate the families’ complete membership. The extensive character of the work is explained by Pedro’s ambitious objectives. In the prologue, the count particularly stresses his purpose of strengthening the bonds of solidarity among the members of the  

24 Until recently, it was thought this book was written between 1340 and 1344. However, recent studies by Rosário Ferreira demonstrated that the text was gradually compiled until as late as 1348. See Maria do Rosário 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; Maria do Rosário Ferreira, “O *Liber regum* e a representação aristocrática da Espanha na obra do Conde D. Pedro de Barcelos,” *e-Spania* 9 (June 2010); Maria do Rosário 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; Maria do Rosário Ferreira, “A estratégia genealógica de D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos, e as refundições do *Livro de Linhagens*”, *e-Spania* 11 (June 2011).  
25 These narrative segments were edited separately by José Mattoso, ed., *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983).  
aristocratic class in Spain according to ancestral tradition, to end the permanent squabbling among rival aristocratic lineages. Paraphrasing Aristotle, Count Pedro considers that the materialization of this ideal of class solidarity would render monarchic judicial institutions superfluous and obsolete. Confident that the blood relations established between the aristocratic families are the best instrument to cement this class-consciousness, the Count assigns himself the task of exposing them.

Pedro of Barcelos is a pivotal figure in fourteenth-century Portuguese political and cultural history: a royal bastard, one of the most powerful Portuguese aristocrats of his time; chronicler, genealogist, troubadour and an active participant in the struggles between factions of the aristocracy and the monarchy at the beginning of the fourteenth century. His sensitivity to the aristocracy’s political

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27 LL, Prologue 2: “por meter amor e amizade antre os nobres fidalgos da Espanha”. Spain in this context means ancient Hispania, the entire Iberian Peninsula, not the modern Spanish state which appropriated the designation. On the concept of Spain during the Middle Ages, see Maria do Rosário Ferreira, “‘Terra de Espanha’: A Medieval Iberian Utopia,” Portuguese Studies 25:2 (2009): 182–98. The system of references to the primary sources used in this article is based upon the internal division of the texts in the critical editions referenced in footnotes 1 and 21: the initials LV (Livro Velho de Linhagens), LD (Livro de Linhagens do Deão), and LL (Count Pedro’s Book) indicate the genealogical compilation. In this article, I only use Count Pedro’s Book. This is followed by the chapter number (each chapter lists the descent of an 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, Portuagliae 1: Livros Velhos, 18–9. All translations from Galician-Portuguese are my own.

28 LL, Prologue 1: “segundo seu ordinamento antigo”.

29 LL, Prologue 3: “dando-se fe pera se nom fazerem mal ũus aos outros”.

30 LL, Prologue 4: “Esto diz Aristotiles: que se homẽes houvessem antre si amizade verdadeira, nom haveriam mester reis nem justiças”. On the appropriation of Aristotelian postulates by Count Pedro, see Ferreira, “Amor e amizade.”

31 For a detailed analysis of D. Pedro’s prologue, see Ferreira, “Amor e amizade.”

32 António Resende de Oliveira, “O genealogista e as suas linhagens: D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos,” e-Spania 11 (June 2011); Manuel Simões, “Pedro de Portugal, conde de Barcelos”, in Dicionário da Literatura Medieval
interests is clearly visible in his literary work. Like most medieval Iberian Christian historiographers, Count Pedro typically stressed the military aspects of the encounter with Islam. In some instances, however, he presented narrative traditions which conveyed examples of non-military interaction with Muslims. Sometimes these traditions were disseminated with the objective of defaming a rival monarch or lineage through the exposition of their collaboration with Muslim enemies. At other times, cultural confluence with Muslims was viewed as a source of prestige for the promoters of historiographical production. This illustrates how non-military intercultural coexistence also played its role in the discourses of political legitimization. In the Count’s work, Christian-Islamic confluence appears in the form of tales of powerful lineages founded by cross-cultural marriages, Christian aristocrats partaking in Muslim cultural practices and/or actively collaborating with Muslim armies and Christian political exiles living in Muslim territory.

The Narratives

Mixed Marriages

Social background appears to be more important than cultural origin in Count Pedro’s Book of Lineages. Although this source has been subject to numerous studies, these narratives have not been analysed from this perspective. Only recently have these matters drawn scholarly attention, with António Rei’s studies on the Arab ancestry of medieval Portuguese aristocracy which are based on an examination of the Arabic onomastics in one of the narratives approached here. Rei has noted signs of Christian-Islamic intercultural confluence in the foundation narratives of the major

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houses of medieval Portuguese aristocracy. He labelled this phenomenon as the “Arabization” of the social reality contemporary with the foundational era of medieval Iberian aristocracy. This reality is highlighted rather than shunned in the familial traditions. Two powerful Iberian lineages were founded through Christian-Muslim relationships: the Castilian family of Lara and the Portuguese Maia family. The latter case is particularly important for this study since all the main Portuguese aristocratic lineages were related to the ancient Maia family through matrimonial alliances established over the years.

One of the Lara family’s forefathers was Mudarra Gonçalves, son of Gonçalo Gosteuz de Lara and of a female cousin of Almanzor, the de facto ruler of the Caliphate of Córdoba in the late tenth to early eleventh century. The story recounts how, after being betrayed by his brother-in-law, Gonçalo Gosteuz is imprisoned and sent to Almanzor, while his seven sons are murdered. While in captivity, Gonçalo Gosteuz fathers a son with the aforementioned cousin of Almanzor. This son, Mudarra Gonçalves, is aided by Almanzor and later returns to Castile to avenge the deaths of his seven half-brothers. Almanzor is depicted as a merciful ruler who refuses to kill Gonçalo Gosteuz and takes pity on his sorrow when informed of his sons’ murder. The inclusion in the Lara genealogy of Almanzor, the great military leader who scourged the Christian polities of Iberia at the end of the tenth century, increased the lineage’s prestige. The fact that the founder of one of the leading Iberian aristocratic families was “half-Moor” does not seem to be a stigma for his descendants, who proudly transmitted that information in the family traditions.

Count Pedro also tells a narrative relating to the foundation of the Maia family, one which had already appeared in an older book of lineages, the Livro Velho de Linhagens, compiled in the late thirteenth century. The narrative adapts a tale of Eastern origin developed from biblical sources and originally based on the character of King...
Salomon. Set in the tenth century, it begins with the interest of the Leonese King Ramiro II in Artiga, a female descendant of one of Iberia’s eighth-century Muslim conquerors and sister of Alboazar Alboçadam, Muslim lord of a significant part of what is present-day Portugal. Ramiro is attracted by the Muslim lady’s virtues of “beauty, kindness” and “high blood”. However, Ramiro was already married and had a son, Ordonho, heir to the Leonese crown. The King’s interest in Artiga would trigger a series of kidnappings and betrayals, ultimately culminating in the marriage of Ramiro and Artiga, and the birth of the founder of the Maia family, their son Aboazar Ramires.

The plot generally develops as follows: first, Ramiro travels to Gaia to visit Alboazar and ask for his sister’s hand in marriage. The Muslim lord refuses the King’s offer, accusing him of bigamy and reminding him that he is a Christian. Ramiro then kidnaps the Muslim princess, who is baptized. Alboazar subsequently takes revenge by kidnapping Ramiro’s own wife, Queen Aldora. In retaliation, Ramiro and his son Ordonho attack and kill Alboazar, raze the castle of Gaia to the ground, slaughter everyone in the bailey and take Queen Aldora with them. Aldora, however, had already revealed her treacherous character during her captivity by betraying her husband and siding with her kidnapper. Before sailing back to Ramiro’s court, Aldora once again displays affection towards Alboazar, which prompts the King to finally decide to drown her at sea.

The question of Artiga’s social provenance is of the utmost significance in this tale. While in the Livro Velho Ramiro married a Muslim servant who aided him in the “rescue” of his wife, Count Pedro replaced the servant with a Muslim princess. The deciding factor for the foundational prestige of the Maia family is the high birth of their ancestors, and the fact that one of them was originally Muslim does not seem to bother their descendants. Social standing is more relevant here than religious or cultural filiation. Even if Artiga’s ethnic or religious background could have been an issue, the author solves the problem by introducing into the plot the character of Ramiro’s

39 LL21A16: “Rei Ramiro, o segundo, ouviu falar da fermosura e bondades de ũa moura e em como era d’alto sangue e irmãa d’Alboazar Alboçadam (...).”
astrologist, Amam. Making use of his gift of foresight, Amam declares that Artiga will certainly be a most virtuous and Christian lady who would give rise to an illustrious lineage. Amam’s prescience is then confirmed by a series of facts proclaimed by the author, such as the foundation, on Artiga’s own initiative, of monasteries and hospitals.40 Yet, there are also marks of religious antagonism. For example, in a passage where Ramiro tries to fool Alboazar into thinking that he truly regrets having abducted his sister, the king points out that she is not from “his law”, a sin for which he had repented.41 The fact that she is from another “law” (i.e., Muslim) seems to aggravate Ramiro’s misdeeds. It is not completely clear whether “law” here strictly refers to a legal system different from that applied to Christians, or rather encompasses a wider concept of community, with its own legal, political, cultural and religious elements. During the Middle Ages, law is often synonymous with religion; for example, Islam often appears as lex sarracenorum. This also seems the case here. Regardless, what is important is that the expression reflects an obvious idea of otherness as embodied in the character of Artiga. This tale also gives a somewhat negative account of Ramiro as a dishonest man who tries to trick Alboazar. This portrayal sharply contrasts with that of Alboazar, who is characterized as just, reasonable and well-intentioned.

The destruction of the castle of Gaia and the ensuing slaughter signal what is a radicalized war. There are no explicit ideological justifications for the massacre, but it seems that the conflict’s radicalization arises from a question of honour rather than religious or cultural antagonism. The same applies to Aldora’s execution. Although the notion of religious opposition is certainly present, it is effaced by honour-related ideas. The only instance in which religion (again, designated as “law”) is mentioned as a cause of irreconcilable opposition is when Queen Aldora, while still captive, urges Alboazar to kill Ramiro, thus revealing her love for her Muslim captor. In fact, Aldora states that Alboazar should kill Ramiro precisely because he is from an opposing religion, notwithstanding that Aldora herself is Christian. Therefore, the only instance when the adversary’s religion

41 LL21A172–3: “Alboazer Alboçadam ( ... ) Mostrando-te amizade, levei da ta casa ta irmãa, que nom era da minha lei. Eu me confessei este pecado a meu abade ( ... )”.
is invoked as basic, rightful grounds for enmity and violence is that of the words of Aldora, the petty, mean and adulterous “villain” of this clearly misogynistic tale. Also noteworthy is Aldora’s statement that by killing a man contrary to his “law” Alboazar would save his own soul, a vestige of a kind of “crusading” ideology although applied in this story to a Muslim character.42

Upon returning to his court, Ramiro announces that he is marrying Artiga, “who was of high lineage”.43 Once again, the determining factor in the king’s decision is Artiga’s high birth. Her Muslim origin is not an impediment as long as she is baptized and a “good Christian”.44 The earnestness of Artiga’s conversion is confirmed by Amam, who (as we have already seen) declares that Artiga will yet perform many pious deeds and give birth to a prestigious progeny.45 This rhetoric serves to reinforce the prestige of Artiga’s descent. Since the male ancestor of the Maia family (Ramiro) is painted in ambiguous colours, the determinant of the lineage’s prestige is not its royal ancestry but Artiga, who belonged to the highest Muslim aristocracy. In consequence, at least part of the prestige of all the main lineages of medieval Portuguese aristocracy derives from female ancestry of Muslim origin.46

After marrying, Ramiro and Artiga have a son, Aboazar Ramires, the founder of the Maia family. The virtues of Ramiro’s sons are mostly related to their acts of war against the Muslims. Such warfare was constantly maintained, it being precisely this that defined a good king (Ordonho, who succeeded his father on the throne) and a good knight (Aboazar). But the incompatibility between Christians and Muslims is not absolute. There are no consistent signs of religion or culture causing radical antagonism, and what there is of the latter

42 LL21A192–3: “Nom és pera viver nem pera nada se te nom vingas. E se o tu fazes por tua alma, por aqui a salvas, pois é homem doutra lei e é em contrairo da tua.”
43 LL21A1126: “Rei Ramiro ( ... ) fez sas cortes mui ricas, e falou com os seus de sa terra, e mostrou-lhes as maldades da rainha Alda sa molher, e que ele havia por bem de casar com dona Artiga, que era d’alto linhagem.”
44 LL21A1128: “boa cristãa”.
45 LL21A1127–31
46 We must remember that by the time the Count’s book was being composed, all the main Portuguese aristocratic families were somehow related to the ancient Maia family. See footnote 35.
stems from questions of honour and chivalric ethics. There is a degree of confluence between the two social formations, and the lineages of Maia and Lara represent an idealized image of Iberia: Muslim, Christian, but above all, aristocratic. Although realized in the Battle of Rio Salado in 1340, this ideal of dualism and aristocratic social predominance in the Iberian Peninsula was in crisis when Count Pedro compiled his book, as the south was almost entirely in Christian hands and royalty was enforcing its power with increasing efficiency.  

Besides these two families, there is yet another Portuguese lineage with a Muslim convert at its root: the family of Portocarreiro. Fernando Afonso de Córdova, a Muslim originally from Córdoba, converted to Christianity through the initiative of the Castilian-Leonese King Alfonso VI (1065–1109). Also at the King’s request, Fernando Afonso married a daughter of the lord of Marnel. Their son in turn married the eldest daughter of the lord of Portocarreiro, thus guaranteeing this lineage’s continuation. Like the previous stories, this one reflects a certain confluence between Christian and Muslim social formations, and gives a clear example of the political pragmatism of the Christian aristocracy and royalty when it came to establishing alliances. The Portocarreiro family, whose members occupied privileged positions in the Castilian royal court during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had no qualms about preserving the memory of a Muslim convert who in their traditions provided the family with continuity through the male line. Naturally, religious antagonism is also visible in Alfonso VI’s insistence that Fernando Afonso be baptised. Nevertheless, while Fernando Afonso’s ethnic and religious provenance does not provoke any specific comment from the genealogist, his high birth, prestige and military prowess are emphasised in the text. As we saw before, social status was more important than ethnic origin for the families who guarded these traditions.

47 Ferreira, “Entre linhagens e imagens.”  
Moorish Vices

Depictions of intercultural confluence were also used to defame a rival lineage. Previous research suggests that many of the narratives concerning the Castilian family of Castro came from a text produced by their main rivals, the Lara family. The derogatory nature of some stories concerning the Castros is derived from such texts. Mattoso argues that Count Pedro may have used a genealogical compilation endorsed by the Lara family around 1312–1325, but it is also possible that the narratives borrowed by Count Pedro originated in scattered accounts created by adversaries of the Castros, like the Laras.

First, there is the curious story of the Castilian aristocrat Pêro Fernandes de Castro. When dealing with Pêro Fernandes, the author highlights his participation alongside the Almohads against the Castilian King Alfonso VIII in the Battle of Alarcos in 1195. The text recounts how Alfonso VIII criticized Pêro Fernandes’ alliances with the Muslims and denounced his participation in “Moorish vices” like bathing. Pêro Fernandes, who was still with the Almohads at that time, rebuked the King’s criticism and defied his being forbidden to bathe in his own seigneurial dominions, which he did without the King’s interference. This narrative segment implies that military complicity with Muslims was seen as treason, especially when fighting against your own coreligionists. However, the author seems to express

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51 Mattoso, Narrativas, 27, 46, 97–8.
53 LL11C84–12: “( ... ) Pero Fernandez ( ... ) enviou dizer a el rei que iria a fazer algũus banhos em sa terra ( ... ) e que enviasse i quantos enviar quisesse, que nom leixaria de fazer os banhos e de se banhar em eles, ( ... ) e feze-os e banhou-se em eles ( ... ), e nom veo i nem ũu que o leixasse de fazer.”
a degree of empathy for the way in which Pêro Fernandes defied royal power. No matter how “immoral” his habits may be, the aristocrat insists on defending his feudal autonomy. Two discourses intersect in this tale: that of antagonism to the Muslims, nourished by notions of Christian identity; and of antagonism to royal power, nourished by those of aristocratic identity. The way in which these two vectors collide complexifies the discourse and creates a certain ambiguity.

The surprisingly rigorous moral stance on bathing in this story is enigmatic, especially if we assume that the narrative’s creator was a layperson. Despite the medieval Church’s general concern about the relation between ecclesiastical morals and the practice of public bathing, it never spoke in a united voice on the matter; regardless of occasional ecclesiastical opposition and strict norms, bathing was a widespread social and therapeutic activity in medieval Iberia until its decay and eradication during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Until then the Church and regular monastic congregations had also benefitted from the lucrative business of public baths, since after a city’s conquest Christian kings often retained them as crown property, or donated them to private individuals or religious institutions. The idea that Iberian Christians extinguished the practice of bathing after conquering Muslim cities has long been discarded as a myth. It is true that in many instances the baths were abandoned after Christian conquest, but this was probably due to the rupture of customary urban life and population shifts resulting from military conquest. Bathing was indeed much more common in the Iberian Islamic world, due not only to religious precepts (the mandatory five daily ablutions) but also to social practice. However, Christians continued to use numerous existing bathhouses and constructed new ones, although architecturally much more discreet and less sophisticated. The condemnation of bathing extant in this tale may give us a clue as to

57 Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, “Arqueología del baño andalusí,” 77.; Trindade, “Corpo e água.”
the narrative’s authorship. We could venture that the composer of the original story incorporated by Count Pedro was a member of the clergy, perhaps in the service of the Lara family.

On the other hand, we also know that participation in public bathing was sometimes regarded as an activity prone to weakening the virility and military prowess demanded of the warrior aristocracy. For example in Alfonso X’s *Estoria de España*, written around 1274 and continued by his son Sancho IV in 1289, is an episode in which King Alfonso VI of Castile-León, in the aftermath of his defeat by the Almoravids at Uclés (1108), questions his “wise men” about the causes of his warriors’ military ineptitude. They answered that it was due to the “vices” of his knights, who habitually enjoyed bathing. This criticism of bathing as an effeminate practice that could compromise the Christian knighthood’s martial ability is later echoed in texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is very probable that this was the rationale behind the criticism of Pêro Fernandes de Castro’s “vices”.

**Military and Political Collaboration**

The account of the reign of the Castilian King Pedro I also implies that military complicity with Muslims was seen as something dishonourable. When contending for the throne against his half-brother Enrique de Trastámara, Pedro I used Muslim forces. Given that in this narrative Pedro I serves to exemplify tyrannical royal governance, it appears as if the monarch’s use of Muslim forces not only symbolizes his political isolation within the kingdom but adds another element to the construction of his negative image. The use of Muslim forces for internal Castilian struggles is paralleled in his

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58 *Primera Crónica General* 1, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere e Hijos, 1906), 555: “(...) el rey don Alfonso (...) preguntó un día a sus sabios que era aquello por que sus caualleros non podien soffrir la lazeria de las armas”.


61 LL21A15.
tyrannical policies. Contrary to the aristocracy, who are defined by their valor in war against the Muslims, royalty does not hesitate to engage Muslim allies to impose its power.

The Count’s book also has an interesting reference to the political exile in Islamic Granada of a group of Castilian aristocrats led by Nuno Gonçalves de Lara, who had quarrelled with King Alfonso X of Castile.62 This passage reflects the complexity (and often ambiguity) of Christian-Islamic relations in medieval Iberia. When confronting the royal power, a group comprised of representatives of Castile’s most powerful families (the Laras, the Haros and the Castros), together with an Infante (a legitimate younger brother of Alfonso X), do not hesitate to seek refuge at the court of Granada’s Muslim rulers. This is one more demonstration of relative confluence between the two social groups and of how social conflicts internal to the Christian realms often overrode antagonism towards Islam. However, the genealogist immediately distances the Castilian exiles from any military complicity with the Muslims: first by making it explicit that they were materially sustained by Nuno Gonçalves de Lara (in other words, they were not mercenaries), and then by extolling the heroic death of the Castilian aristocrat defending Iberian Christendom against an invasion of the Marinid sultan, Abencafe (Abu Yusuf Yaquub, the Marinid Sultan during 1259–1286), who crossed the Gibraltar Strait and besieged Écija in 1275.63

Two observations arise from this story: first, military collaboration with Muslim armies was condemned in Count Pedro’s book; second, when the aristocracy faced overbearing royalist policies, political agreements with Muslims were absolutely justified.

Conclusions

The narratives analysed above point towards a relative intercultural confluence between Muslim and Christian social formations. Muslim ancestors decisively contributed to the prestige of Christian

62 LL10E11.
63 Krus, A Concepção, 214–6. Count Pedro omits the intervention of the Castilian royal armies led by Infante D. Sancho (future King Sancho IV) in the expulsion of the Marinid armies from the Iberian Peninsula. The honour of the victory is thus reserved for the Castilian aristocracy, while royalty is excluded from the picture (Krus, A Concepção, 216 n 514).
aristocratic families. The lineages of Maia and Lara represented an idealized dualistic image of *Hispania*. The social status of these lineages’ founders was a more relevant argument for political legitimization than their cultural, ethnic or religious background. Marriages between Christians and Muslims were accepted as long as the latter were of high birth and baptized. Involvement in cultural practices perceived to be of Islamic nature were to some extent criticised, but did not annul aristocratic rights to political autonomy. Political cooperation with Muslims was tolerable when the aristocracy was a victim of royalty’s domineering attitude. The only form of intercultural interaction overtly condemned in the Count’s book is that of military collaboration with Muslims.

An omnipresent opposition towards Islam is hinted at by the necessary conversion to Christianity of the Maia and Portocarreiro founders. This is further illustrated by the way in which military complicity with Muslim armies is condemned and used as grounds to besmirch a rival family’s or monarch’s name. In these tales one can glimpse a perennial state of warfare between the Christian and Muslim entities, but where there is evidence of radicalized hostility between Christians and Muslims, it usually stems from the resolution of issues related to honour and chivalric ethics, not religious antagonism.

The intersection of antagonism towards Islam and antagonism towards royal power creates some interpretative difficulties. While the aristocracy criticized royalty for siding with the Muslims, it did not recognise any royal right to limit its seigneurial autonomy even when partaking in “Moorish vices”. Besides, when facing the monarchy’s centralizing tendencies it was acceptable to seek refuge in Muslim lands, provided that the Christians’ material self-sufficiency was safeguarded. Count Pedro had to find a way to combine two discursive vectors: opposition to Islam and opposition to the centralizing monarchy. Small ambiguities were unavoidable in a text purporting to describe a reality that in itself was ambiguous and highly complex. The count set out to demonstrate that the Iberian aristocrats should be respected by royalty, asserting that the warrior aristocracy were the ones who had conquered the Iberian Christian territories from Islam, while simultaneously advancing a number of historical examples of Iberian aristocrats defending their feudal prerogatives against royalty, even if they had to seek refuge in Muslim lands.
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