An Empire of Two Religions:

Muslims as Allies, Enemies, and Subjects in the Literature of the Iberian Christian Kingdoms

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Abstract

"An Empire of Two Religions: Muslims as Allies, Enemies, and Subjects in the Literature of the Iberian Christian Kingdoms" explores the connections between the imperial ambitions of Christian rulers and the portrayal of Muslims in medieval and early modern Iberian literary works. Because of the political fragmentation and cultural diversity of the Peninsula, territorial expansion and regional hegemony were essential goals for Iberian leaders, and their inevitable consequence was ruling heterogeneous subjects. In the literature of the Iberian Christian kingdoms, such practices often appear surrounded by apparently contradictory discourses regarding the cultural and religious difference of Muslims. The conflicting duties of Christian heroes as destroyers of Muslim enemies, creators of alliances with them, and benevolent rulers of *mudéjares* or Muslim subjects, converge in the imperial images of Iberian leaders as capable sovereigns of vast territories and diverse peoples.

Such ambivalent portrayals of Iberian Muslims and Christians already appear in the twelfth-century *Cantar de mio Cid*; they develop in thirteenth and fourteenth-century works such as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the *Llibre dels fets*, the *Estoria de España*, and the *Crónica geral de 1344*; and they culminate in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with *Tirant lo Blanch* and *Os Lusíadas*, two texts that conflate the complex interactions of Christians and Muslims in medieval Iberia with their new encounters across the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Indian Ocean. The authors and sponsors of those texts—including King Alfonso X of Castile, King Jaume I of Aragon, Pedro Afonso of Barcelos, Joanot Martorell, and Luís de Camões—promote Christian dominion in the Iberian Peninsula and overseas, but they also recognize that such hegemony can only be attained through agreements with Muslims.

Because of the interdependence of ideology, literature, and social reality, these medieval and early modern texts not only represented the political aspirations of Iberian Christians, but they also examined, problematized, and shaped the relationships between Christians and non-Christians in Iberia and abroad. Additionally, their treatment of ethnic, religious, and cultural difference modeled legal and political ideas for later European imperial powers, including the providentialist justification of their rights over colonized territories and peoples.

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Introduction.

Dreaming of Empire:

On the Political Imagination of Iberian Christians and Their Literary Depictions of Muslims

According to the fourteenth-century *Kitāb al-ḥulal al-mawshīya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushīya*, a remarkable exchange of letters happened in 1084 between Alfonso VI, king of León and Castile, and al-Muʿtamid ibn ʿAbbād, king of Seville. The Christian monarch, the most powerful ruler in the Iberian Peninsula at the moment, wrote to his Muslim tributary to ask for an additional proof of his submission: to accept a Christian governor for his kingdom. Anticipating al-Muʿtamid's possible refusal, Alfonso reminded him of the many territories and towns he had conquered from Muslims, including the great city of Toledo, and warned him against a similar fate for Seville. The *Kitāb al-ḥulal* says that al-Muʿtamid, who was also a renowned poet, indignantly answered Alfonso's letter "de su mano, en verso y en prosa" (53). From al-Muʿtamid's eloquent reply, it seems clear that his anger was not only motivated by Alfonso's brazen petition; equally or more insulting was that Alfonso had dared to call himself "emperador, señor de las dos religiones" (52). Therefore, after a poem in which al-Muʿtamid addressed his political, military, and religious reasons to choose war—"Te propusimos la paz que tú rechazaste; después de ello te combatiremos mañana y tarde. / Allā es más alto que tu cruz," etc.—, he criticized twice Alfonso's high-flown imperial title. First, the king of Seville cursed Alfonso's ambition: "Alfonso, hijo de Sancho, que se ha apellidado a sí mismo rey de reyes y se ha llamado señor de las dos religiones, cuyos títulos y proclamación corte Dios" (53, 54). Second, he affirmed that the title "lord of the two religions" would better fit a Muslim king and not a Christian, especially in the Iberian context: "En cuanto a lo primero que ha empezado a proclamarse

señor de las dos religiones, los musulmanes son más dignos de este título, porque a lo que ellos han conquistado de regiones de este país y a la grandeza de sus aprestos bélicos y a los tributos del reino, no alcanza vuestro poder ni los conoce vuestra religión" (54). Undeterred by al-Muʿtamid's reaction, according to the *Kitāb al-ḥulal*, Alfonso addressed a similarly belligerent and arrogant letter to Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn, leader of the North African Almoravids; in this occasion, Alfonso called himself "emir de las dos religiones" (56). Yūsuf simply answered that Alfonso would witness his reply, instead of reading it; to clarify the meaning of this announcement, he added the lines: "Nada de escritos, sino las espadas y las lanzas; / nada de embajadores, sino el ejército numeroso" (57).

The authenticity of these letters is, at best, dubious.[1] Even if a similar epistolar exchange occurred in the eleventh century, it was obviously much altered in the following 300 years, as evidenced by the fact that Alfonso introduces himself as "hijo de Sancho" in his letter to al-Muʿtamid and as "hijo de Fernando" in his letter to Yūsuf (52, 56). It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss these letters as "just literature" and disregard their historiographical and cultural value, considering that they reflect Alfonso's desire of including non-Christians under his imperial power,

[1] Ambrosio Huici Miranda, translator of the *Kitāb al-ḥulal* to Spanish, was skeptical of the authenticity of these letters, which he considered "apócrifas, redactadas en un estilo hueco, carente muchas veces de sentido, llenas de errores gramaticales y, tan desaprensivas, que en alguna de ellas llega Alfonso VI a llamarse a sí mismo hijo de Sancho" ("Prólogo" 15). Norman Roth agrees with Huici Miranda's doubts: "The probability that either Alfonso's 'letter' or Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn's reply is authentic is very remote", since "Muslim chronicles are full of 'letters' supposedly exchanged between enemies. These, and the insults and counter-insults contained in them, are also a literary cliché, not to be taken seriously as historical evidence" (168, 167). Angus MacKay and Muhammad Benaboud, instead, have repeatedly advocated for the possibility of the letters being authentic, although they have been unable to provide definitive proof, according to their own admission: "We have never been committed to arguing that the letters in question are without any doubt whatsoever authentic. We believe that at present the arguments we have advanced favour authenticity" ("Yet Again" 178; see also "Authenticity" and "Alfonso VI" by the same authors). Like Roth, although for different reasons, Reilly has been critical of MacKay's and Benaboud's arguments (181 n. 74).

"as is proved by various private charters in which the inscription of the date contains the expression *Adefonso imperante tam christianorum quam paganorum omnia Hispaniae regna*" ("Alfonso, ruler of the Christians and the pagans of all the kingdoms of Hispania") (Folz 54; see also Ayala Martínez, "Realidad" 214 n. 27). More importantly, both historiography and literature are discourses of power that determine not only what is real or what is possible, but also what is desirable: both historiographical and literary texts express ideal views of what a society should aspire to be and, in this way, they can strongly shape reality. As Thomas Glick affirms:

> History seems scarcely distinguishable from myth. Historians, whether critical or not, at one point or another in their work, embody in the past values which seem to them to be the most significant or enduring of a given peoples' experience. Since values are culturally or socially defined, historians, from this perspective, engage in a process of myth-building (*Islamic and Christian Spain* xi).

In a similar vein, Hayden White has criticized the "reluctance to consider historical narratives as what they most manifestly are: verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much *invented* as *found* and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature that they have with those in the sciences" (82; his emphases). For White, indeed, "historical narratives are not only models of past events and processes, but also metaphorical statements which suggest a relation of similitude between such events and processes and the story types that we conventionally use to endow the events of our lives with culturally sanctioned meanings" (88). Because of this, literary structures and elements are not accidentally or superficially present in historiographical texts: they are

indispensable for historiography's ultimate purpose of making sense out of scattered events.[2]

Such intimate connection between historiography and fiction appears even more prominently in medieval texts, because "the nature of reliable evidence is at issue in medieval historiography and epistemology, intimately bound up with the nature of language and men's confidence in its conventionally established means to refer to and report nontextual evidence accurately" (Coleman xvi). Thanks to this confidence in language's reliability, historiography could be used to support ideological purposes even more effectively than imaginative literature:

> Historical writing is a powerful vehicle for the expression of ideological assertion, for it is able to address the historical issues so crucially at stake and to lend to ideology the authority and prestige of the past, all the while dissimulating its status as ideology under the guise of a mere accounting of "what was." [...] Especially in the Middle Ages, historical writing, precisely to the degree that it claimed to be free of imaginative elaboration, served as a vehicle of ideological elaboration. The prescriptive authority of the past made it a privileged locus for working through the ideological implications of social changes in the present and the repository of contemporary concerns

[2] As explained by Ann Curthoys and John Docker, the connections between historiography and fiction are part of a discussion that goes back to Antiquity. At one extreme of that debate, there are people like nineteenth-century Leopold von Ranke, for whom historians "must seek to show the past 'as it actually/essentially was'—*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" (Curthoys and Docker 3). At the other extreme, "some cultural theorists' discussions of history and fiction do indeed come perilously close to denying the value of the discipline of history altogether"; Keith Jenkins, for example, "appears to give absolute primacy to the present, as if a trifle contemptuous of the past, when he writes that historians 'invent all its descriptive categories and any meanings it can be said to have'" (Curthoys and Docker 5, 6). Hayden White's position, far from each extreme, is the one that has proven more useful for me when working with the main authors of my corpus, whose combination of historical and fictional elements is essential for their historiographical and political ideals.

> and desires. As a locus of value, a revised past held out for contemporaries the promise of a perfectible present (Spiegel 2, 5).

Not only historiography, however, is "a vehicle of ideological elaboration": openly imaginative literary texts can also present and justify ideological positions. The historical record on dragons is not prone to change, no matter how often they appear in texts by John of Patmos, the *Beowulf* poet, George R. R. Martin, and many others. Dragons, however, are far from being culturally or politically irrelevant, since such writers attached not only their internal worlds, but also their complex contexts of production in the first or tenth or twenty-first century, to their literary treatment of those monsters. In consequence, these authors' personal and collective fears, dreams, and ambitions somehow are harder, or even impossible, to comprehend if we do not also examine the dragons. This book's dragon is the imperial ambition of some Iberian Christian leaders, who first aspired to dominate the Iberian Peninsula, and then the Mediterranean basin, and finally the world. Despite being an extremely fantastic beast, this imaginary empire affected for centuries the decisions, policies, and attitudes of Iberian Christian rulers in regard to their non-Christian subjects, allies, and enemies. In such an interaction between ideology and social reality, literature had a fundamental mediating role. As Gabrielle Spiegel has written, "texts both mirror and generate social realities, are constituted by and constitute social and discursive formations, which they may sustain, resist, contest, or seek to transform depending on the individual case" (10). Abdul JanMohamed complements Spiegel's idea by writing that "the ideology does not simply determine the fiction. Rather, through a process of symbiosis, the fiction *forms* the ideology by articulating and justifying the position and aims of the colonialist" (83; his emphasis). Literature and other arts perform the fundamental role of "inventing imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions," as explained by Fredric Jameson, who, because of this, thinks that "the aesthetic art is itself ideological, and the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its

own right" (64). Ideology, literature, and social reality, in sum, constitute a triangle in which every vertex simultaneously transforms and is transformed by the other two.

In this dissertation, I argue that the imperial ambitions of Iberian Christian rulers determined the ambivalent depictions of Muslims in medieval and early modern literary texts, which at the same time represented, examined, and modified the relationships between Christians and non-Christians in Iberia and abroad. Unlike Jews and other minorities, Muslims had the political and military strength to make them impossible to overlook in even the most triumphalist imperial dreams.[3] In Robert Bartlett's words:

> Muslims had a far more articulated and universalist religion than the pagans of eastern and northern Europe and could rely on written scripture, their own law and the prospect of help from, or refuge among, coreligionists in neighbouring Islamic countries. They were part of a wider world which easily matched the West in power, wealth and culture (296).

Because of this, Muslims had to be not only fought and defeated, but also incorporated as useful partners in alliances or as subjects in surrender pacts. Medieval Iberian Christians learnt the full complexity of dealing with ethnic, religious, and cultural difference in their interaction with Islam, and their textual

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[3] This is the main reason why I focus on the relationship between Iberian Christians and Muslims, while leaving Jews mostly aside. Because of their lack of military power and their limited political influence, Jews could be easily ignored or transformed into cartoonish stereotypes by the Christian authors of texts such as the *Cantar de mio Cid* or the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Tellingly, most of the Castilian, Portuguese, and Aragonese authors of my corpus tend to see the world as divided between Muslims and Christians, and they sometimes acknowledge the existence of Gentiles or Pagans, but Jews are mentioned only incidentally, mostly as individuals in isolated episodes. Many times, however, the situation of Jews as subjects of Iberian Christian rulers is politically and legally comparable to that of Muslims, and I will point out these similarities when it is pertinent.

depictions of Muslims mirrored and at the same time affected the intricacy of those exchanges. Because the early modern descendants of those medieval Iberians went on to colonize faraway lands from the Americas to the Moluccas, and because Portugal and Spain "became the 'empires' that other kingdoms would emulate, criticize and seek to displace," their conflicting treatment of difference was deeply significant for the conformation of relationships between Christian Europeans and the rest of the world until today (Hart 4).[4]

The Latin terms "imperium" and "imperator," along with their translations to European vernaculars, had a long and complex semantic history during the entire Middle Ages and beyond: not only did some of their meanings and usages originate in Antiquity, but also they continued to be relevant during modernity by influencing the conceptualization of the nation-state (Pagden 11-28; Muldoon, *Empire* 9-20). In the case of Iberia, the term "imperator" was used since the ninth century by a number of Astur-Leonese and Castilian-Leonese rulers: "D'une manière d'abord diffuse, entre le IXe et la première moitié du XIe siècle, puis fréquente jusqu'au milieu du XIIe siècle, dix-sept de ces souverains ont vu habiller leur autorité royale d'une teinte impériale" (Sirantoine 1). While Hélène Sirantoine believes that "quant à la signification du phénomène impérial hispanique, la diversité de ses manifestations impose d'emblée une vision critique de la thèse selon laquelle il traduirait la même idée d'un bout à l'autre de la période," other authors have emphasized the common features of those manifestations (7). For James Muldoon, for example, the core meaning of "imperium" as the rule over other kingdoms was already well established

[4] On this point, it is important to indicate that not only Spaniards and Portuguese participated in the early modern campaigns led and organized by their monarchs. The main idea of Henry Kamen's *Empire* is that "the [Spanish] empire was made possible not by Spain alone, but by the combined resources of the Western European and Asian nations, who participated fully and legally in [this] enterprise" (xxv). Charles Verlinden came to a similar conclusion when he wrote that "Portuguese expansion did not take place in a vacuum; while the Portuguese themselves were at all times fully in control of the process, they were significantly aided by other Europeans, both as individuals and as groups" (79).

by Isidore of Seville in his seventh-century *Etymologiae* and, in accordance with Saint Isidore's ideas on "imperium," several English and Iberian rulers "were occasionally referred to as emperors because they had conquered neighboring lands and brought them under their imperium" (*Empire* 16).[5] Since the tenth century, this basic meaning was complemented by other ideas of "imperium," such as a monarch's superiority over other Iberian rulers or his independence from foreign powers, especially from the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire (Muldoon, *Empire* 55-57). This last point was particularly important for concepts of empire in Iberia: thirteenth-century canon lawyers like Laurentius Hispanus and Vincentius Hispanus affirmed that Iberian kings were exempt from the power and laws of the Roman Emperor (García-Gallo, *Manual* 1: 789). Vincentius underscored the historical origins of such an exemption, by explaining that "the Spanish kingdoms freed themselves from Muslim domination by their own actions and so recognized no conqueror or overlord. They were now independent, equal to other independent rulers or even to the Holy Roman Emperor" (Muldoon, *Empire* 99). For Vincentius Hispanus, Iberian kingdoms had not only managed to preserve their independence from foreign powers, but they had proven superior to them: "When Charles with all the northerners (*Francigenae*) wished to invade Spain, the Spanish blocked their passage, overcame them in battle, and killed twelve peers!" (qtd. in Post 203).[6] Some

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[5] The connection between *imperium* and territorial expansion is evident in this passage of the *Etymologiae:* "Augustus ideo apud Romanos nomen imperii est, eo quod olim augerent rempublicam amplificando. Quod nomen primitus senatus Octavio Caesari tradidit, ut quia auxerat terras, ipso nomine et titulo consecratur" ("Among the Romans, 'Augustus' is a name connected to *imperium*, because he extended the borders of the Republic. For the first time, the Senate called Octavius Caesar with the name and title of 'Augustus' to honor him because he expanded the Roman territories") (1: 766, 768).

[6] As Julio Hernando points out, the supremacy of Iberian kingdoms over foreign powers is fictionally embellished in several literary works: "Tanto *Las mocedades de Rodrigo* como el perdido *Bernardo del Carpio* ponen en escena el vigoroso rechazo a los intentos de extensión del poder imperial a la península. Las *Mocedades* describen una campaña, históricamente inexistente, en la que el Cid, a la cabeza de las huestes castellano-leonesas, derrota al ejército imperial y papal en tierra de Francia. El *Bernardo*, prosificado en la *Estoria de España*,

thirteenth-century foreign canonists such as Tancred of Bologna and Johannes Teutonicus also recognized that, while the Holy Roman Emperor had "regimen mundi" ("the rule of the world"), "regimine Hyspanie" ("the rule of Hispania") was not under his power (García Gallo, *Manual* 2: 882-883).

During the twentieth century, scholars debated the continuity of concepts of empire among medieval Christian rulers in Iberia. The main defender of such continuity was Ramón Menéndez Pidal, for whom the Astur-Leonese monarchs sought to control the Peninsula already in the tenth-century, by trying both to imitate the Carolingian dynasty and to restore the Visigothic empire; then, the same imperial project, in which the fight against Muslims had a central role, was transferred to the rulers of Navarre and Castile (*El imperio* 43-44). Alfonso García-Gallo, instead, emphasized how concepts of empire changed through different kingdoms and centuries; according to García-Gallo, the idea of a Peninsular hegemony did not exist among tenth-century Astur-Leonese kings, and early uses of "imperium" simply designated the full power of a ruler in his own territory ("El imperio" 202, 210, 212).[7] Although the strong continuity proposed by Menéndez Pidal is no longer tenable, this does not deny the coincidences and intersections among the expansionist practices of many Iberian rulers, especially after Alfonso VI of León started using a variety of imperial titles in the last decades of the eleventh century. More importantly, even in the case of Iberian leaders who did not call themselves "emperors," such as the rulers of Portugal and Aragon, some of their projects can

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transforma la tradición de la *Chanson de Roland* en una derrota del ejército carolingio a manos de una armada ecuménicamente peninsular" (145 n. 24).

[7] Other important participants in this historiographical discussion were Ernst Mayer, Hermann Hüffer, José López Ortiz, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, and José Antonio Maravall. Hélène Sirantoine has presented a useful summary of their debate in her chapter "L'empire hispanique médiéval: Un mythe historiographique à revisiter" (11-48). A shorter, but equally valuable summary that includes Sirantoine's own views as part of the discussion, appears in Bartolomé Bellón (62-68).

still be interpreted as "imperial" as long as they reflected key aspects of the medieval concepts of "imperium": mainly, conquering other territories, pursuing hegemony over a region, and ruling by force over heterogeneous subjects. In fact, cultural diversity and political fragmentation in Iberia made imperial practices essential to govern: all Peninsular kingdoms included diverse subjects to be ruled using some degree of force, and the unstable dynamics of power meant that conquering new territories, or at least transforming them into tributary polities, was the best way to ensure a kingdom's subsistence and independence. These political motifs appear repeatedly in the literary production of the Iberian Christian kingdoms and they are often surrounded by apparently contradictory discourses: sometimes, the authors advocate for recurrent military agressions and the destruction of the enemy; other times, they emphasize the capacity of negotiating with different peoples and incorporating them into the own political and cultural system. Such concerns are particularly noticeable when dealing with the cultural and religious difference of Muslims: writers from Christian kingdoms ardently argue for the need to attack and defeat Muslim opponents, but they are also frequently committed to show their rulers' skills to create alliances and govern non-Christians in the relative peace of an imperial (or imperial-like) system. The *Cantar de Mio Cid*, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the *Llibre dels fets*, the *Estoria de España*, *Tirant lo Blanch*, and *Os Lusíadas* are all texts that include strong statements about how wrong Islam is, how sinful Muslims are, and how eliminating Muslims constitutes a service to God and Christendom. The same texts present a variety of Muslim characters who collaborate with Christians, protect them, convert to Christianity, and/or become good subjects of charismatic Christian leaders.

There are other writings by Iberian Christians in which Muslims are reductively seen as only the religious enemies to be expelled or annihilated, and I will make ocassional references to those works, mainly to contrast them with my corpus. Texts such as the twelfth-century *Prefatio de Almaria*, the thirteenth-century

Poema de Fernán González, the fourteenth-century *Crónica da tomada de Lisboa,* the fifteenth-century *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*, or the sixteenth-century *Vida rimada de Fernán González* promote a different form of relationship among Christians and Muslims, one that better agrees with the crusading initiatives instigated by Rome and supported by other European powers. Crusading discourses, indeed, occupied an important place in the imagination of Christian Iberians. Scholars as dissimilar as José Goñi Gaztambide and Jonathan Riley-Smith argue against those who have questioned the properness of the term "crusade" for military campaigns unrelated to Palestine and the Holy Places. Goñi Gaztambide writes: "Como [Paul] Riant, hay muchos autores que restringen el uso de la palabra a las expediciones militares de Tierra Santa, sin tener en cuenta los centenares de documentos pontificios y de textos medievales que hablan de cruzadas intraeuropeas" (44). Jonathan Riley-Smith emphasizes that Pope Urban II himself, the initiator of the first crusade, equated holy wars in the East with the fight against Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula: "Some historians have suggested that crusades aimed elsewhere than to the East were deviations from an original ideal, but in fact the first deviation occurred during the First Crusade, was proposed by the originator of crusading, and stemmed from a concern of his to preserve an initiative that pre-dated it" (*Crusades* 7; see also Goñi Gaztambide 61-62 and Mastnak 234-238). Because of this, Riley-Smith defines a crusade as "a holy war fought against those perceived to be the external or internal foes of Christendom for the recovery of Christian property or in defence of the Church or Christian people," a description that encompasses religious wars not only in Iberia, but also in the Baltic, Languedoc, Bohemia, and even Italy (*Crusades* xxviii-xxix). Goñi Gaztambide, instead, defines "crusade" as "una guerra santa indulgenciada": "todas y solas las expediciones favorecidas por la Iglesia con la indulgencia, aunque no tengan los demás atributos que suelen acompañarla, [merecen] el título de auténticas cruzadas" (46). This narrower definition still

applies to many campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula, as explained by Joseph O'Callaghan:

> Alexander II granted participants in a projected expedition into Spain a remission of sins comparable to later crusading indulgences. From then on Gregory VII, Urban II, Paschal II, and their successors took great interest in the struggle to drive the Muslims out of Spain, declaring that effort to be tantamount to the crusades to the Holy Land (*Reconquest* 209; see also Edwards 166).

To reinforce the equivalence between fighting for a Christian East and for a Christian Iberia, several popes authorized the commutation of vows to crusade in Jerusalem or Egypt when combatants instead joined the troops of the kings of Castile or Portugal (Riley-Smith, *Crusades* 139-141; see also Erdmann 18 and Mastnak 237-238). As a result, men from all over Europe participated in some of the battles between Iberian Christians and Muslims from the twelfth to the fifteenth century (Edwards 177-178; Riley-Smith, *Crusades* 103, 166, 222; Russell-Wood, "Iberian expansion" 17). The effect of these campaigns can be appreciated in the Iberian texts that advocate for the annihilation or expulsion of every last Muslim from the Peninsula, as required by the belligerent rhetoric of Urban II, in which "the conflict between Christians and Muslims was of central importance and became irreconcilable, driving Christians into a God-willed war of extermination" (Mastnak 241). Gomes Eanes de Zurara, for example, affirms in his *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* that "a uida destes jmfiees nom he amtre nos per uirtude da sua própria força, soomente por uoomtade do Senhor Deos, ao quall praz dar lugar que nos dem fadiga e trabalho"; however, because Muslims have already fulfilled their role of increasing the resiliency and faith of Christians, the time has come for the Portuguese and God to destroy them (161). A similar defense of the extermination of Muslims can be found in the *Poema de Fernán González*, whose hero is called "de los moros vn mortal omiçero, / dizien le por sus lides el vueytrre carniçero"; in the *Crónica da tomada de*

Lisboa, in which the king of Portugal and his troops kill "tantas companhas de mouros, que os rios do sangue corriam pelas praças da dita cidade"; or in Gonzalo de Arredondo's *Vida rimada de Fernán González,* which praises the Castilian count for burning "todos los moros [...] / en foguera muy 'straña" or for bringing "entera destruyçión / a las gentes rrenegadas"(*Poema de Fernán González* 54; *Crónica da tomada de Lisboa* 79; Arredondo 6, 8).

In contrast to such crusading discourses, the main works that I analyze in this dissertation present a space and a time in which destruction or expulsion of Muslims is not the ultimate goal. The authors that I study envision an Iberian Peninsula undoubtedly destined by God for Christians, but they also recognize that such conquest can only be attained through alliances and agreements with Muslims. Therefore, it would be misguided to consider these authors' rejection of crusading ideals as motivated by their tolerance or acceptance of difference; instead, it simply constitutes the most effective way—sometimes, the only possible one—for Christians to rule over the ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity of the Iberian Peninsula. When a text like the twelfth-century *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* presents the Leonese and Castilian troops devastating the territories between Seville and Córdoba, torching cities and castles, butchering the Muslim "sacerdotes" and "doctores," and burning their books, this blood-spattered picture could maybe satisfy a Pope or a northern crusader, but it would look absurdly ineffective to a realistic Iberian ruler (167). A campaign of destruction as the one described by the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* makes sense if its only purposes are terrorizing the enemies and pillaging from them: this is probably why the author pays special attention to the animals (horses, mares, camels, donkeys, oxen, sheep, and goats) and other supplies (wheat, wine, and oil) taken during the raid (167). For a Christian ruler with ambitions of territorial expansion and regional hegemony, however, such a raid would be entirely counterproductive. Why would he burn down the places where his servants and subjects will soon have to live? Why would he destroy the

fields and steal the animals that his subjects will need to survive? More importantly, to exterminate the inhabitants of the region would transform it into a waste land: to keep a productive territory, farmers, shepherds, artisans, servants, and builders are needed. Why not simply use the local manpower, instead of attempting the expensive, complicated, and maybe unfeasible task of importing colonizers from another kingdom? And if most of the local workforce is Muslim, why would an aspiring ruler alienate them by massacring their authorities and burning their valuable books? Much more practical and logical would be for a Christian king to impose his force, but at the same time to avoid unnecessary savageries and to reach respectful agreements that transform his former enemies into his subjects and collaborators. As pointed out by Brian Catlos, the policies of Christian rulers regarding Muslims were not determined by "the ruminations of the decretalists on the toleration of peaceful subject Muslims," but by these communities' "capacity to exploit economic niches and create wealth both for themselves and for their Christian collaborators (and exploiters). Those Muslim communities that were most successful at this—those of the kingdoms of Aragón, Castile, Navarre, and Valencia—were those that survived the longest" (*Muslims* 440). The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* itself presents a more benevolent Christian ruler in other passages, and it bases Alfonso VII's coronation as an emperor in his dominion over heterogeneous subjects, including "rex Zafadola Sarracenorum" ("Zafadola, king of Muslims") alongside with Catalan and French noblemen (182). David Wacks notices that "one of the most enduring aspects of the Christian Iberian culture of conquest is the recontextualization of Islamic monuments and institutions within a Christian society: mosques are converted into churches, banners are lowered and new ones raised over fortresses, monuments are changed to reflect the culture of the conquerors" (103). Instead of pointlessly destroying buildings and objects, transforming them into displays of legitimate power is a process that parallels and complements the conversion of previous enemies into subjects.

It is far from a coincidence that several of the texts of my corpus were composed and copied under the patronage of some of the most powerful Christian rulers of Iberia. People like the king Alfonso X of Castile and León, the king Jaume I of Aragon, or the count Pedro Afonso of Barcelos had extensive knowledge of the realities of war and politics.[8] Members of the royal families in Castile, León, Portugal, and Aragon knew that a crusading flourish here and there could benefit their reputations as defenders of the Christian faith, but they were also aware of how religious fanaticism was mostly a hindrance to effective military, political, and administrative decisions. Because of this, Iberian rulers and warriors frequently clashed with foreign supporters in their treatment of Muslim enemies. For example, during the siege and capture of Barbastro in 1064, French combatants "displayed a fanaticism toward the Muslims that differed from the comparative tolerance of peninsular Christians"; as a result of these divergent views on how to deal with the Muslim population of Barbastro, "the defenders were assured that they could depart in safety, but the Christians massacred them, raped their women, and enslaved their children" (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 27, 26). Almost a century later, in 1147, a similar situation happened when northern crusaders joined the troops of the first king of Portugal during the siege of Lisbon and "não faltaram divergências entre portugueses e cruzados. Êstes viam, nos mussulmanos, só os inimigos da cruz, que deviam ser completamente aniquilados, ao passo que o rei D. Afonso, não querendo privar a terra dos seus habitantes e vendo já na população moura de Lisboa os súbditos de amanhã, punha sumo empenho em os poupar" (Erdmann 24). Foreign clergy particularly disagreed with the leniency of Iberian Christian leaders towards

[8] Scholars who write in English tend to refer to Jaume I as "James," but at the same time they do not normally anglicize Alfonso X's name. In the case of other rulers that I mention, such as Fernando (or Ferdinand) III, there seems to be no agreement. For the sake of consistency, I will try to use the original Castilian, Portuguese, or Catalan names of most people, although it is not always possible to determine the "original" name of some whose family connections and activities spanned several kingdoms with different languages.

Muslims. A well-known example was the clash between Alfonso VI of León and the archbishop Bernard of Sédirac after the conquest of Toledo. Alfonso had promised the Muslim inhabitants the preservation of their great mosque, "as a necessary part of a policy designed at once to retain as large a part as possible of the Muslims population in Toledo and to demonstrate to the taifa kings of the peninsula that his aims were limited and moderate rather than the beginning of a crusade against them and their faith" (Reilly 182). Oblivious to these economic and political purposes, the Gasconian archbishop took advantage of the king's departure and, with the complicity of Alfonso's Burgundian wife, he converted the mosque into a Christian cathedral. According to Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, the thirteenth-century historiographer and archbishop who included this story in his *De rebus Hispanie*, Alfonso was so "indignatus [...] et dolore accensus" ("incensed and spurred by pain") that only the pleas of the inhabitants of Toledo stopped him of burning his wife and Bernard alive (206). It sounds highly improbable that the king intended to kill his wife and a bishop to defend the rights of Toledan Muslims; however, this story clearly shows the desire of Alfonso VI himself, later writers, or those writers' royal patrons, to present him as a ruler who valued and protected his non-Christian subjects.

The alternation between hostile and empathetic views of Muslims in texts written by Iberian Christians has received critical attention since the late nineteenth century, when Ramón Menéndez Pidal inevitably noticed the intriguing "relaciones mutuas de los dos pueblos enemigos" when analyzing the legend of the *infantes* of Lara, in which the Christian heroes are helped and later avenged by Muslims from the Caliphate of Córdoba (*La leyenda* 16). However, it was only in 1948, with the publication of Américo Castro's *España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos*, when the ambivalent interactions of Christians and non-Christians became one of the central topics of Iberian studies. For Castro, medieval Iberian culture can only be understood as an "entidad histórica, humana, integrada por una contextura

cristiano-arábigo-judía, y en la cual se conjugaban y articulaban (o desarticulaban) esas tres formas de existir" (*España* 14). Although Castro's concept of *convivencia* has been frequently misrepresented as the rosy picture of a tolerant multicultural Iberia, his work actually explains Peninsular history and culture through the interplay of collaboration and hostility between faiths: for Castro, the medieval "hispano-cristiano" acquired his identity by imitating some of the customs, culture, and values of Muslims and Jews, while at the same time subduing them (*España* 622).[9] Castro points out the contradictory attitudes towards cultural difference generated by political interests and religious views: "The Spaniards, molded in their structure by the historical impulse of three beliefs, were tolerant because of the exigencies of politics, and intolerant because of the totalitarian, omnipresent character of their belief" (*Structure* 229).

Later scholars have better defined the ways in which both hostile and collaborative interactions occurred simultaneously among medieval Iberian groups. David Nirenberg focused on the need of periodical, ritualized aggression to establish community borders and, paradoxically, to sustain coexistence: "Violence was a central and systemic aspect of the coexistence of majority and minorities. *Convivencia* was predicated upon violence; it was not its peaceful antithesis. Violence drew its meaning from coexistence, not in opposition to it" (*Communities* 245). Staying closer to Castro's ideas, María Rosa Menocal emphasized the contradictory attitudes of Christian Iberians towards Muslims in different spheres

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[9] "Though there is no reason why *convivencia* need designate only harmonious coexistence, it has in fact acquired this meaning among certain historians who have romanticized the concept," writes David Nirenberg (*Communities* 8). Thomas Glick also alludes to those historians who "have rejected Castro's view of intergroup relations as idealized, romanticized, and idyllic, presenting only the positive aspects of cultural contact and underrating the negative ones" ("Convivencia" 2). Some of those misreadings of Castro's work clearly serve the purpose of transforming him into a straw man, as, for example, when Serafín Fanjul defends his own very negative view of Muslim Iberia by criticizing "la idílica Arcadia inventada por Castro" (29).

of life, which resulted in the admiration of Muslims as cultural models and their loathing as military and religious enemies:

> The conceptual error that has plagued all sides of the study of what some call medieval Spain, and others al-Andalus, and yet others Sefarad [...], is the assumption that these phenomena, reconquest and convivencia, are thoroughgoing and thus mutually exclusive—that, to put it directly to the example, those whose commitment to the military and religious victory of Christian state over Muslim state in Toledo would not be building a monument to that victory that said loudly and clearly that the culture of the vanquished was superior to, or perhaps indistinguishable from, their own. And yet that is exactly what happened ("Visions" 14).

Robert Burns observed a similar ambivalence in public and personal attitudes towards religious difference in Iberia: while both Muslims and Christians "nourished a posture of public hostility toward the other—expressed in its laws, religion, refusals, exclusive communities, attitudes, and sense of superiority," such a stance was "conventionalized, even impersonal, freeing individuals occasionally to act humanly across the social boundaries and to share significant psychological elements, values, and mentalities" (*Muslims* 51). Burns quickly clarifies that "this was not tolerance. Neither people would have conceded that our modern tolerance was a virtue"; however, "it is a *modus vivendi*, an experience not without its human warmth and practical respect for irreconcilable difference. And it provided an effective ground for unremitting cultural interchange" (*Muslims* 51).

Brian Catlos has taken into consideration the effect of the divide between personal and public attitudes, as well as of the variations of behavior in different spheres of life, on Christian-Muslim relations. Because Catlos explains medieval society as a system constituted by "components that correspond to distinct orders

of magnitude, each of which has particular characteristics and is governed by different rules of behavior," he proposes three "modes of self-identification" that regulate the interaction between cultural groups (*Muslims* 525). First, "the macro- or 'ecumenian' scale, related to formal, dogmatic-informed religious identity [...] is the mode in which people imagined themselves as 'Christians' or 'Muslims'—rigidly defined and mutually exclusive groups"; second, "the meso-, or 'corporate' stratum is that of the formal collective, of the 'firm,'" "the stratum of law, regulation, and institution," where "corporations and institutions, whether lay or ecclesiastical, must by their nature adopt a pragmatic approach to policy, based on the attainment of concrete, mid-range, apparently achievable goals, and giving the greatest priority to those that relate to their own survival as an institution"; finally, "the micro- or 'local' scale corresponds to individuals and informal collectives" and "it is the sphere of syncretism, of intermarriage and cross-communal friendship and solidarity, as well as of unorganized communal violence and intuitive and ill-defined, but powerful, currents of anxiety and reaction" (*Muslims* 525-526). Catlos's model is especially useful for understanding how contradictory attitudes towards cultural difference can coexist not only in the same society or religious group, but even in the same person or text. As Catlos explains:

> People in the Middle Ages were not the two-dimensional caricatures they have frequently been imagined to be. Rather, they were complex individuals living in diverse societies, who pursued numerous and ever shifting ambitions (material wealth, social prestige, religious salvation, sexual satisfaction, and so on). And no less than people today, they were able to rationalize and reconcile aspects of their lives that might appear to be contradictory or immoral (*Infidel Kings* 319).

According to Catlos's model, for instance, a Christian author may utilize a crusading rhetoric when dealing with Muslims at an "ecumenian" scale, at the same time that he accepts them as convenient political or commercial partners at a

"corporate" scale, and he even admires or befriends some when considering them as individuals. Because most of the texts of my corpus are strongly determined by political ambitions, it is reasonable to anticipate their preference for "the corporate mode of expression," this is, "the language of business and negotiation," which "readily sets aside the ideal in the name of the functional" (Catlos, *Muslims* 527).[10] However, because of the crucial importance of religious ideas and structures for medieval politics, the moralizing and dogmatic rhetoric of the ecumenian mode is similarly apparent in most of these texts. Occasionally, and especially when authors like Alfonso X of Castile and Jaume I of Aragon include themselves as characters in their works, it may be possible to distinguish a personal, individual mode of expression, which Catlos characterizes by the predominance of "feelings, needs, and appetites" (*Muslims* 527). The need for a king to cultivate a public image before his subjects, enemies, and competitors, however, makes the sincerity of such personal portrayals very doubtful.

The analysis of the ambivalent relationships between Christians and Muslims by scholars such as Nirenberg, Menocal, Burns, and Catlos adds a further level of complexity to Iberian imperial projects. Any imperial plan is obviously complicated by its obligation to satisfy the needs and requests of diverse peoples over an extended, sometimes disjointed territory. However, the work of scholars on Iberian and Mediterranean studies reveals that similarly conflicting desires can appear in a small, delimited area, and even inside of a homogenous group or an individual. In the case of medieval Iberian leaders, the juxtaposition of their personal drives with

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[10] For Catlos, this level is also predominant in Muslim-Christian relationships in general, which has led him to propose "conveniencia" as a more appropriate term to replace Castro's "convivencia," since "the glue that held Muslim and Christian society was interest—the self-interest of Christians and of Muslims, and the mutual interest generated by an interdependence that emerged as a consequence of the broad range of economic and political relationships that they engaged in, whether by circumstance, by choice, or by force, and that benefited either the constituent members and collectives of one group or both" (*Muslims* 524).

the need to fulfill religious and political obligations offers a beguilingly intricate, and many times unsolvable, challenge. The situation of Alfonso X, the best known of the rulers and authors in my corpus, can be illustrative. He had to live up to the example of his father, Fernando III, who had conquered most of the Muslim south of the Peninsula, including the cities of Córdoba and Seville. In addition to administrating and colonizing the territories acquired by Fernando, Alfonso aspired to continue expanding his kingdom. On the basis of his connections to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, Alfonso also tried to be recognized as Holy Roman Emperor. And each of these needs and ambitions put him into a troubled relationship with a different political and religious entity: his German and Italian competitors for the imperial crown, the Pope, the other Iberian Christian rulers, the local nobility, his own family, and finally his Muslim enemies, allies, and subjects. In consequence, while the historiographical and scientific works sponsored by Alfonso presented a world and a history neatly organized by divine Providence, his reign was a delicate balancing act that finally degenerated into chaos when he lost his kingdom, battled against his son and noblemen, and received the unexpected support of the same Marinid Muslims he had fought for decades. Alfonso's interactions with both Muslims and Christians encompass several contradictory levels: his relationship with his own son, opponent, and successor Sancho is no less intricate that the one with the Muslim inhabitants of recently conquered cities. However, Alfonso's interactions with Muslims, and their depictions in literary texts, are of particular interest because they constantly intervene and transform the totality of power relations around the king. Muslim enemies are crucial for religious justifications of war and expansion, no less than Muslim subjects are essential for plans of colonizing and assimilating other peoples: this is why to study their representations by Iberian Christians illuminates much more than the contact between two religious groups. Analyzing the ambivalences of Muslim-Christian interactions in an imperial context elucidates a large part of the political ambitions, the religious ideas, and the cultural

assumptions of the people who started out aspiring to control the Iberian Peninsula and ended up founding the first global empires of history.

My dissertation, therefore, is theoretically located at the intersection of imperial and colonial projects, with especial attention to their effects on both the colonized and the colonizers. David Wacks has noticed that, although historians like Peter Linehan, José Antonio Maravall, and Joseph O'Callaghan have for decades considered the Christian conquests of the Muslim south as colonial endeavors, "Hispanists have almost completely avoided postcolonial readings of the Christian conquest of al-Andalus" (19). A similar avoidance has affected the examination of medieval Iberian imperialism: partly because the modern Spanish and Portuguese empires have co-opted the attention of those interested in imperial studies, "imperialism" is a concept even less used by scholars on medieval Iberia than "colonialism." However, this is not an exclusive problem of Hispanists: "imperialism as a subject has been very largely monopolized by modern historians" writes John Gillingham, who defends the pertinence of talking about English imperialism as early as in the twelfth century (3). On Gillingham's position, I previously wrote that "no sería difícil argumentar lo mismo sobre algunas de las relaciones de poder entre reinos medievales de Iberia y su tratamiento en textos literarios"; however, I found that, even when working with a text as conspicuously imperialistic as the *Poema de Fernán González*, most scholars refrain from using the term ("El *Poema"* 439, 440). I do not think that these conceptual avoidances are meaningless; in fact, I strongly believe that choosing to talk about premodern "colonialism" and "imperialism" is deeply consequential for the reach of scholarly work on medieval Iberia, because it facilitates its connections to later periods and other geographical areas. In that same article, for example, I concluded:

> Leer el *Poema de Fernán González* prestando atención a la agresividad de su imperialismo y su fanatismo intransigente ayuda a entender la manera en que ideales y discursos similares a los que motivaron la

> expulsión de judíos o moros de la Península Ibérica, las empresas coloniales fuera de Europa y las aspiraciones del fascismo contemporáneo se fueron incubando en un imaginario construido por leyendas y textos literarios siglos antes de la llegada de la modernidad ("El *Poema*" 450-451).

Because of this, it is important to underscore that the main texts of my corpus did not only reflect imperial ambitions and projects, but also contributed to the formation and development of imperialistic ideals in the Iberian Christian kingdoms. Such imperialism is especially noticeable in the progression of these kingdoms' political and territorial aspirations. After securing the control of an Iberian region, several of these polities sought hegemony over the entire Peninsula and/or to control parts of North Africa and the rest of the Mediterranean; still later, their ambitions extended to the rest of Africa, India, the Americas, and the Far East. In this sense, the aspirations of Iberian Christian rulers conform to Joseph Schumpeter's definition of imperialism as "the objectless disposition on the part of a state to unlimited forcible expansion" (6).[11] The "objectless" part of this definition does not contradict or exclude the political and material interests of Iberian kingdoms; instead, it refers to an ambition that "is never satisfied by the fulfillment of a concrete interest," because "whenever the word imperialism is used, there is always the implication—whether sincere or not—of an aggressiveness, the true reasons for which do not lie in the aims which are temporarily being pursued; of an aggressiveness that is only kindled anew by each success" (Schumpeter 6, 5).

[11] Although this passage seems to refer only to modern nation-states, Schumpeter previously talks about imperialistic attitudes "of states—or of such earlier organizational structures as history may record" (3). Therefore, his definition of "imperialism" is definitely not restricted to modern polities.

Because of the strong connection between such imperialism and colonial issues, my analysis has also benefited from postcolonial theory.[12] Indeed, when analyzing the contradictory depictions of Muslims by the Christians who conquered their lands and subjugated them, it would be impossible to ignore Homi Bhabha's explanation of colonial stereotypes: "The stereotype is a complex, ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation, as anxious as it is assertive," through which "colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible" (100, 101). Furthermore, Bhabha writes that fixity, a mode of representation that includes stereotype among its discursive strategies, "is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated… as if the essential duplicity of the Asiatic or the bestial sexual licence of the African that needs no proof, can never really, in discourse, be proved" (94-95). This anxious reiteration appears prominently in the writings of many Iberian Christians on Muslims: for the main authors that I study, Muslims were the well-known, familiar "moros," with whom Christians had fought and coexisted for centuries; at the same time, their literary works present Muslims as mysterious, unreliable others, sometimes amiable and sometimes aggressive. Accordingly, Muslims' reactions towards Christian dominion were simultaneously expected and unpredictable. If they accepted submission, this proved Christians' religious and political superiority;

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[12] As Julian Weiss points out: "Los que niegan la relevancia de los estudios postcoloniales para épocas premodernas arriesgan confundir el anacronismo *metodológico* con el anacronismo *histórico*, perdiendo así la oportunidad de llegar a una comprensión matizada del colonialismo en sus distintas formas y modalidades históricas. Evidentemente, hay que poner texto y teoría en una relación dialéctica: el problema no es *si* se puede o no aprovechar los debates y planteamientos de los estudios postcoloniales, sino *cómo*" (180). Nadia Altschul highlights how postcolonial readings are not only possible, but remarkably suitable for the premodern Iberian context, by noticing that "postcolonialism engages with the myriad effects and interstices produced on all sides and between all elements of hierarchically uneven cultural contacts, and is engaged not only with the resistances but also with the collaborations, contradictions and legacies produced by colonial encounters" (7).

if they resisted, Muslims just confirmed their depravity and ignorance. No matter what the Muslims decided, Christians had a fitting and prejudiced explanation for it.

Bhabha's ideas are as useful for my analysis as JanMohamed's criticism of them. For JanMohamed, "any evident 'ambivalence' is in fact a product of deliberate, if at times subconscious, imperialist duplicity, operating very efficiently through the economy of its central trope, the manichean allegory" (61). This means that "the imperialist is not fixated on specific images or stereotypes of the Other but rather on the affective benefits proffered by the manichean allegory, which generates the various stereotypes" (68). This is an important point, since, as long as the oppositional difference between colonizer and colonized remains, its representation may vary not only considerably, but also unpredictably. From this perspective, the fluctuation between a hostile and an amiable portrayal would still be insufficient to characterize the depictions of Muslims by Iberian Christians; a more accurate approach would involve recognizing the constant affirmation, through any means, of "the moral authority of the colonizer" and "the inferiority of the native [or, more broadly, the colonized or the Other] as a metaphysical fact" (84). The emphasis here is not on contradiction and fixity, as in Bhabha, but on multiplicity and fluctuation.[13]

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[13] There has been some discussion on the convenience and risk of studying colonial interactions both as binary, structured relations of powers, and as much more complex and multiform relationships. Frederick Cooper, for example, writes that "the binaries of colonizer/colonized, Western/non-Western, and domination/resistance begin as useful devices for opening up questions of power but end up constraining the search for precise ways in which power is deployed and the ways in which power is engaged, contested, deflected, and appropriated" (1517). Cherry Leonardi, instead, warns about the "obvious danger that in emphasising the complexity and hybridity of colonialism, and the agency of the colonised, subordinate and marginal, we risk underplaying power relations, structures and hierarchies" (61-62). I value and use both approaches: for literary analysis, the binary opposition between Christians and Muslims (or non-Christians) is as fruitful as the endless diversity of relationships between each Iberian Christian kingdom and its Muslim enemies, allies, and subjects, both local and foreign. This fluctuation also reflects the varied strategies

JanMohamed's idea may be exemplified by the variety of Muslim types presented by the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, which I analize in chapter 2. In this collection of poems, Muslims are inconsistently depicted as barbaric and chivalrous enemies, loyal and treacherous allies, or docile and rebellious subjects. All these depictions, in spite of their lack of fixity and their incongruous content, are used by the authors of the *Cantigas* for the same goal: to emphasize the Muslims' difference and inferiority, while reinforcing the authority of Christianity and Christian rulers over them.

Bhabha's and JanMohamed's ideas reveal an essential aspect of the intersection between literary representation and political imperialism: that representing something is always an attempt to possess and dominate it. When Iberian Christians portray Muslims, they are ultimately trying to control them, confine them, and exploit their difference for their own purposes, among which imperial goals are prominent in the texts that I analyze. In other words, the textual representation of cultural difference constitutes almost inevitably a colonizing and imperialistic effort. Among other things, this means that such depictions tend to present the colonizers and the colonized as separate and in opposition, despite their many alliances and connections. This situation creates the paradox of "Christian kingdoms" whose literary, scientific, and artistic endeavors actually depended on the collaboration of Jews and Muslims, while those same cultural products intentionally made the intervention of non-Christians disappear or resignified it to further endorse Christian superiority. As John Tolan writes in regard to Alfonso X's utilization of Islamic culture, "s'il appréciait la culture et la science arabes, il les voulait pour lui, et il les voulait hispanisées, déracinées, privées de leurs contextes politique et religieux. La sagesse arabe, comme ses sujets arabes, il entendait la rendre docile, soumise au pouvoir du monarque" ("Une *convivencia*" 390).

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with which my corpus depicts Muslims, sometimes as un undifferentiated mass of "moros" and other times as divided according to their political, ethnic, and geographical distinctions.

Such asymmetrical relationship between the colonizers and the colonized, however, does not preclude the transformative impact of their interactions on all of them. Every participant in a colonial relationship is changed by it, despite some having the political power to disseminate their own version of history and others simply being subjugated through military campaigns and textual representations. Scholars' increased awareness of these multidirectional dynamics is what Antoinette Burton calls the "imperial turn," defined as the "accelerated attention to the impact of histories of imperialism on metropolitan societies in the wake of decolonization" (2). Mary Louise Pratt summarizes the connection between the people at both ends of the colonial relationship by writing:

> While the imperial metropole tends to imagine itself as determining the periphery (in the emanating glow of the civilizing mission or the cash flow of development, for example), it habitually blinds itself to the reverse dynamic, the powers colonies have over their "mother" countries. For instance, empires create in the imperial center of power an obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. It becomes dependent on its others to know itself (4).

Although "metropole" and "peripheries" are terms barely adequate for the political fragmentation of premodern Iberian space, Peninsular Christian kingdoms experienced similar colonial interactions to those described by Pratt: especially when they most wanted to flaunt their political power and religious orthodoxy, Christians paid increased attention to Muslims in their literary and historiographical works.[14] The development of such colonial dynamics not only in occupied territories,

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[14] Pratt's observation of how "empires create in the imperial center of power an obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries" is instead entirely accurate in early modern Portuguese chronicles, which I study in chapter 5. Regarding sixteenth-century Portuguese authors (such as Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, João de Barros, Damião de Góis, Gaspar Correia, and Diogo do Couto), Rebecca Catz comments that "with them, the history of the

but also inside each Christian kingdom and even in their main cities, supports Barbara Fuchs's observation of how "the metropole is not a uniform locus of political power, even if it might occasionally appear thus from the colonies. Instead, it too is marked by conquests, migrations, cultural transformations, and enduring tensions between center and peripheries" ("Imperium Studies" 74). Iberian Christians defined themselves and their polities through their depiction of local and foreign Muslims, and they became so dependent on these representations that, when Muslims were no longer a significant threat in the Peninsula, Christian authors transferred those interactions to the rest of the Mediterranean and the world. As long as Iberian Christians were concerned with matters of territorial expansion, conquest of other peoples, and political hegemony, their ambivalent interactions with Muslims played a central role in how they saw themselves and how they represented cultural difference.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I analyze the centrality of issues such as territorial expansion, ruling over heterogeneous subjects, and competition for hegemonic Peninsular power, in the twelfth or thirteenth-century *Cantar de mio Cid*. This Castilian epic never explicity connects such matters to the building of an empire or the search for an imperial title, a probably intentional omission since Alfonso VI of León, the "emperor of the two religions," is depicted as a not too worthy competitor to the hero of the poem. Unlike Christian leaders from previous chronicles in Latin, the Cid is an improbable hero who moves easily across religious and cultural lines, and he cunningly uses such fluidity to increase his power and his wealth until he surpasses his own king's prestige. The poem's presentation of Alfonso VI as an ineffectual ruler complements its emphasis on the Cid's political

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country is now considered to be almost exclusively the recording of its overseas expansion. The nation was living on and for the Orient; that is why it is not surprising that the historians of King Manuel and John III give so much space to the events of those distant places, while paying less attention to the civil, economic and moral life of the country itself" (331).

and military qualities, not only when defeating his non-Christian enemies, but also when reaching agreements with them and governing them. Because of this, I argue that the author of the *Cantar de mio Cid* exhibits an "imperial mindset," reflected in his preoccupation with imperial issues and particularly with the problematic relationships between Christian leaders and their Muslim enemies, allies, and subjects.

My second chapter focuses on two texts dissimilar in genre and style, but with comparable political and cultural views. The *Llibre dels fets* is an apparently autobiographical narrative by King Jaume I of Aragon, while the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are a compilation of poems to the Virgin Mary written under the patronage of King Alfonso X of Castile. Alfonso and Jaume were not only relatives by blood and by marriage, but also military allies and competitors, and their literary works evidence the paralellisms of their imperial ambitions and strategies. Alfonso was invested in upholding the Peninsular hegemony of his kingdom, achieved by his father through conquering most of the Muslim south, and also in being recognized as Holy Roman Emperor by the rest of Christendom; Jaume had to contain the overwhelming power of Castile-León, while building his own Mediterranean empire by conquering the Iberian Eastern coast and the Balearic Islands. To defeat, assimilate, and govern Muslims were crucial tasks for all these purposes, and both the *Llibre dels fets* and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* show the alternation between conciliatory and aggresive gestures used by these Christian kings to transform their Muslim enemies into allies or subjects.

The third chapter of this dissertation studies the evolution of the legend of the *infantes* of Lara from its thirteenth-century Castilian sources to its fourteenth-century Portuguese retellings, which resignify the story's empathetic portrayal of Muslims as triumphalist Christian propaganda. The first preserved version of this legend appears in the *Estoria de España*, a historiographical project sponsored by Alfonso X of Castile, which generally presents Muslims as invaders to be resisted

and ultimately expelled from Iberia. The story of the *infantes*, however, unsettles the chronicle's more Islamophobic views by depicting several Muslim characters as heroic figures that selflessly protect and avenge the victims of a family feud among Christians. Although a rewriting of the *Estoria de España* known as its *Versión crítica* already Christianizes the main Muslim hero in the narrative, a more radical transformation occurs when the story crosses political and linguistic borders. The *Livro de linhagens* and the *Crónica geral de 1344*, both attributed to the Portuguese count Pedro Afonso of Barcelos, reverse all the elements in the Castilian narrative that contested the superiority of Iberian Christians. While the first Alfonsine text highlighted the alliances between Iberian groups despite their political and cultural differences, the Portuguese adaptations emphasize the irresistible power of Christians, destined by God to convert and subjugate Iberian Muslims. In this way, the different iterations of the legend of the *infantes* of Lara show the step-by-step transformation of a popular story uncritical of Islam into an imperial narrative that glorifies the subjugation of Muslims to Christians.

In the fourth chapter, I examine how the fifteenth-century Valencian novel *Tirant lo Blanch* expands the imperial ambitions and strategies of previous Iberian texts to the entire Mediterranean, establishing similar dynamics of collaboration and hostility with Muslims from North Africa to Constantinople. Though the complicated and still unsolved authorship of this novel can partially explain its contradictory attitudes towards Islam, I prefer to consider them as one more expression of the ambivalent Christian-Muslim relationships analyzed in previous chapters. Therefore, while other scholars have utilized the inconsistencies of the Muslims' depictions to try to elucidate the plural authorship of the book, I give more importance to their derivation from the previous centuries of interactions between Iberian religious groups. At a time in which the last Muslim kingdom of the Peninsula was about to fall under the power of the Catholic monarchs, and Iberian rulers were extending their territorial ambitions to other continents, *Tirant lo*

Blanch reflects the connection between the imperialistic practices of the medieval past and those of the early modern future.

My fifth and last chapter precisely addresses the establishment of the first global Iberian empire, as depicted by Luís de Camões in the sixteenth-century Portuguese epic *Os Lusíadas*. Thanks to early modern explorers and conquerors, Camões's world is much vaster than the one known by previous authors, extending from the Americas to the Moluccas. Despite the variety of the peoples that inhabit that world, Camões still predominantly focuses on Muslims as the main allies, adversaries, and subjects of the Portuguese empire. Through the positive and negative depictions of the Muslims with whom the heroes of *Os Lusíadas* interact, the Portuguese are simultaneously presented as fearsome promoters of their political and commercial empire, and benevolent conquerors of non-Christians. In an explicit utilization of the Peninsular past to explain the purposes and methods of sixteenth-century empire-building, Camões frequently alludes to previous Iberian chronicles. In this way, he establishes a coherent, totalitarian imperial narrative, which connects the contacts between Christians and Muslims in medieval Iberia with their modern liaisons and confrontations across several continents.

When faced with the question of "why research / teach / promote / publish / fund medieval and early modern studies?," those of us who dedicate years or entire lives to do this frequently stress their connection to contemporary issues. As summarized by Norman Cantor, the "ways that medieval studies can be didactically justified as of central and persistent importance in education and culture" fall mainly into two camps:

> First, we can say the medieval heritage is very rich today in a prominent set of ideas and institutions, such as the Catholic Church, the university, Anglo-American law, parliamentary government, romantic love, heroism, just war, the spiritual capacity of little as well

> as elite people, and the cherishing of classical literatures and languages. [...] Secondly, we can say less conventionally that medieval civilization stands toward our postmodern culture as the conjunctive other, the intriguing shadow, the marginally distinctive double, the secret sharer of our dreams and anxieties. This view means that the Middle Ages are much like the culture of today, but exhibit just enough variations to disturb us and force us to question some of our values and behavior patterns and to propose some alternatives or at least modifications (47).[15]

No research on the relationship between Christians and Muslims in a previous period could be complete without acknowledging this double connection to the contemporary world. On the one hand, this dissertation aspires to contribute to the study of the ongoing religious and cultural tensions between these two groups, made the more problematic because of their strong historical and spiritual links. Christians and Muslims have not only cohabited across the Mediterranean for more than one millennium, but also their beliefs stem from the same Abrahamic tradition and they venerate many of the same biblical patriarchs and prophets. Tellingly, some of the first medieval Europeans who tried to debate and discredit Islam did not even consider it a separate religion, but simply one more Christian heresy.[16] Nonetheless, despite their many kinships and similarities, Muslims and Christians have clashed so many times and in so many different scenarios, that some of the most violent moments of that history, such as the Crusades in the Middle East

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[15] During an interview with William Ferris, Caroline Walker Bynum answers the question "Why study the Middle Ages" very similarly to Cantor: because the Middle Ages can be seen "as the roots of the modern world" or because "it gives you a built-in contrast within your own tradition. The only way to understand yourself or your own society is by seeing how it might be other. Where some things are familiar, the differences stand out more starkly."

[16] See the chapter "Antihagiography: Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti*," in Tolan's *Sons of Ishmael* (1-18).

or the Iberian *Reconquista*, have become symbols of religious fanaticism and discord. This violent past and its repercussions, unfortunately, are still part of the present: as John Tolan writes, "anyone familiar with Western news media can see that Western attitudes toward Muslims and toward Arabs (terms that are often poorly distinguished) are still problematic, still tinged with condescension and mistrust, still rife with contradictions" (*Saracens* xvii). Indeed, what Edward Said wrote twenty years ago sounds equally or more pertinent today: "Malicious generalizations about Islam have become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture in the West; what is said about the Muslim mind, or character, or religion, or culture as a whole cannot now be said in mainstream discussion about Africans, Jews, other Orientals, or Asians" (Introduction xii). I hope that my analysis of the ambivalent depictions of Muslims by medieval and early modern Christians can help simultaneously complicate and clarify some of these contemporary contradictions and prejudices.

On the other hand, when considering premodernity as an imperfect double of the present, the study of my corpus offers much to "disturb us and force us to question some of our values and behavior patterns and to propose some alternatives or at least modifications," in Cantor's words (47). A pressing issue to reevaluate is the relationship between politics and religion, which continues to powerfully influence contemporary Western democracies, although in a more covert way than in medieval and early modern societies. While most Western governments would flatly deny the impact of religious beliefs in their political decisions, this is clearly contradicted by actions like the different treatment of Christian and Muslim immigrants, the criminalization and discrimination against the citizens of Muslim-majority countries, and the increasingly explicit use of Islamophobia by political parties and demagogues in Europe and the United States. These are crucially urgent issues, as exemplified by the recent attempts of the American government to ban the entrance of citizens of several Muslim-majority countries to the United States.

The alleged non-religious bias of such measures has been repeatedly dismissed by different courts, which have based their opinions on President Trump's "disparaging comments and tweets regarding Muslims," as expressed by Roger Gregory, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit (Hurley). In situations like this one, which combines political goals with ethnic and religious animosity against Islamic countries and Muslims, it can be especially enlightening to study the strategies used by premodern Christians to comprehend, reject, or assimilate non-Christians.

Finally, a deeper understanding of the ways in which Iberian Christian rulers often presented themselves as sympathetic to religious and ethnic minorities, while at the same time exploiting them for their own benefit, should be a lesson and a warning for contemporary discourses on tolerance and diversity. These kinds of discourses can promote social equality and understanding, but they can also mask and perpetuate unresolved problems of discrimination. The utilization of conciliatory attitudes to actually undermine the rights of religious minorities in the Iberian Christian kingdoms should at least give us pause when similar strategies are used by contemporary governments and institutions. Many Iberian Muslims who trusted in the humanity of their Christian conquerors and allies would wholeheartedly agree with Sayeeda Warsi's opinion that overt bigotry constitutes a less dangerous form of hatred than a "more covert form of Islamophobia, couched in intellectual arguments and espoused by thinktanks, commentators and even politicians" (v). A disturbing example of how Islamophobia can be surreptitiously institutionalized is the case of "Countering Violent Extremism," an apparently well-meaning program created by President Obama's administration that, by focusing on Muslim Americans and ignoring Christian and right-wing extremists, "stigmatizes Muslims communities as inherently suspect" and "creates serious risks of flagging innocuous activity as pre-terrorism and suppressing religious observance and speech" (Patel and Koushik 1). When Western democracies pride themselves on

their protection of human rights while invading Muslim-majority countries, rejecting Muslim refugees, and restricting the liberties of their Muslim citizens, to continue examining the contradictory attitudes of Christians toward non-Christians in previous periods becomes less of an intellectual exercise and more of an ethical duty. Hopefully, to deconstruct and expose the destructive prejudices and hypocrisy of our past can help us reveal, understand, and overcome the ones in our present.

• Three Notes on Terminology

1. "Hispania," "Spain," and "Iberia."

As most contemporary scholars who write in English, I use "Iberia" or "the Iberian Peninsula" to refer to a geographical zone that during the Middle Ages was divided among a variety of Muslim and Christian polities. Medieval and early modern authors, however, often talked about a geographic/political/cultural entity named "España," which can create some confusion about what they meant, considering that Spain as a centralized nation-state did not really exist until the eighteenth century.

Medieval "España" derives from Latin "Hispania," which "meant, for Christians, all the peninsula, and included the Muslim-occupied lands," according to María Rosa Menocal ("Visions" 12). The specification "for Christians" is important, because "for the Arab historians its equivalent, Ishbaniya, was usually applied only to Christian Spain. Al-Andalus, for the Arabs, similarly could encompass either the whole peninsula or only the portion under Muslim rule" (Menocal, "Visions" 12). There was a consistent tendency, in both local and foreign languages, to alternate between designating part of the Peninsula or its entirety by the same name: in the Occitan of the troubadours of Languedoc, where the term "espanhol" or "espaignol" first appeared, "Espanha" sometimes referred to the whole Peninsula, sometimes to the Iberian Christian kingdoms, and other times only to Castile (Alvar 295-297).[17] According to Glick, "Spania" could also be understood as encompassing "broadly the

[17] Américo Castro also mentions the Occitan origin of "español," which appeared in the Peninsula just in the thirteenth century. Before that, between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, the only term that could include the inhabitants of several different Iberian Christian kingdoms was "cristiano," an obvious choice that at the same time complicates the identification of political, ethnic, and religious groups that I will discuss in my next two notes on terminology (Castro, *Spaniards* 10-11).

area which had fallen within the Visigothic sphere of influence, sometimes even including the region of Narbonne, on the northern side of the Pyrenees" (*Islamic and Christian Spain* xx-xxi). Medieval Hispania could extend not only past the Pyrenees in the north, but also past the strait of Gibraltar in the south, as when Isidore of Seville enumerates Hispania's "provincias sex: Tarraconensem, Cartaginensem, Lusitaniam, Galliciam, Baeticam, et trans freta in regione Africae Tingitaniam" ("six provinces: Tarragona, [Nova] Carthago, Lusitania, Gallaecia, Baetica, and, across the strait and in Africa, Tingitana") (2: 186).[18]

The ambiguity of the terms "Hispania" and "España" explains the scholarly consensus to differentiate between the geographical term "Iberia" (or "the Iberian Peninsula) and the individual identification of each Iberian polity (as the Caliphate of Córdoba, the kingdoms of León or Granada, the Crown of Aragon, etc.). It is important to notice that the same ambiguity, however, was extremely useful for ambitious Christian leaders. When Alfonso X of Castile commissioned the tomb of his father, Fernando III, he ordered inscriptions in Latin, Castilian, Hebrew, and Arabic. In these inscriptions, Fernando is called not only king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, and Jaén, but conqueror of "totam Hispania(m)" or "toda España" (Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale 200-201). Since the extent of "Hispania" or "España" was debatable, the properness of the title was impossible to determine, just like when Alfonso VI of León called himself "imperator

[18] Isidore was taking into consideration Roman and Visigothic precedents when establishing this link between the Iberian Peninsula and Africa: "In Roman times the province of Mauritania Tingitana (now Morocco) formed part of a larger administrative unit known as the Diocese of Spain. When the Visigoths established their dominance over all of Spain in the sixth century they also asserted claims to Mauritania, but it is difficult to ascertain the extent of their authority there" (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar Crusade* 3). The cultural and political repercussions of these ideas are crucial for Iberian imperial projects: from the Castilian hero of the *Cantar de mio Cid* to the Portuguese kings praised by Camões, Iberian literature and history are full of Christian leaders who conquered North African territories or aspired to do so.

totius Hispanie" ("emperor of all Hispania") or "rex Spanie" ("king of Spain") (Gambra, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería* 1: 692). A terminological problem for modern scholars was a source of imaginary power for medieval leaders. In the case of the kings of León-Castile, the ambiguity of "Hispania" allowed them to exploit their Visigothic past, while ignoring that there were several Iberian rulers who could claim the same origin; this is why Carlos de Ayala Martínez affirms that "Hispania no es tanto una tierra concreta como la trasposición de una idea de Imperio" ("Realidad" 212).[19]

The vagueness of the term "España" still existed in the late Middle Ages and early modernity. Zurara's *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*, written in the mid-fifteenth century, includes the following conversation between an old inhabitant of Ceuta and a Portuguese child, as remembered by that same child as an adult:

> Chegamdosse a mim começoume de oolhar pregumtamdome domde era. e eu lhe disse como era espanholl. Nom uos pregumto disse elle, senom de que lugar sooes da Espanha. E eu lhe rrespomdi como era naturall da çidade de Lixboa. Essa çidade disse o uelho, em que rregno he. E eu lhe rrespomdi como era do rregno, de Portugall (56).

To answer the simple question of where he is from, this fifteenth-century boy first thinks of the Iberian Peninsula, then of his hometown, and he only mentions his kingdom when asked specifically about it. A century later, Luís de Camões still frequently refers to the Portuguese as natives of "Espanha" and the love for his

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[19] Such an imperial idea is deeply indebted to Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and *Historia de regibus Gothorum*, from which later Iberian chroniclers took the concept of a *translatio imperii* from the Romans to the Goths and then to all Christian rulers in the Peninsula. According to David Rojinsky, Isidore's works "demonstrate that language, and more specifically here, *written* language, does indeed *produce* people[s]: a Hispano-Roman-Gothic people reconciled after the Visigothic conversion to Catholicism and the concomitant military subjugation of virtually the whole Peninsula" (33; his emphasis and brackets).

kingdom juxtaposes with his celebration of the entire Peninsula: while "o Reino Lusitano" is "quási cume da cabeça / de Europa toda," "a nobre Espanha" is "cabeça ali de Europa toda" (*Lusíadas* canto 3, sts. 17, 20). And once again, the ambiguity of "Espanha" becomes fruitful for ideological purposes: both Zurara and Camões take pride on the feats not only of Portuguese heroes, but also of all "espanhois," including the Castilian Cid or Alfonso VI of León (Zurara, *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* 37; Camões, *Lusíadas* canto 3, sts. 23-24).

2. "Moros," "mouros," and "sarraïns."

Castilian and Catalan "moro," as well as its Portuguese cognate "mouro," are terms with a charged and complicated history. "Strictly speaking, Moors were the Mauri, Berbers who lived in the Roman province of Mauretania," writes Glick: "The etymology of *moro*, however, is Greek *mauros*, meaning black" (*Islamic and Christian Spain* xxii).[20] These different geographic, ethnic, and racial meanings come together in the medieval use of the terms "moro" and "mouro," a couple of "dramatically slippery" words that may allude to an inhabitant of Mauritania, to anybody from North Africa, or to all Muslims (Blackmore, "Imagining" 28-30). In the main texts of my corpus, however, "moro" or "mouro" can be generally interpreted and translated as "Muslim." It is true, as Ross Brann points out, that these terms "underscored for Christian readers not only the Muslims' religious and cultural otherness but also and more particularly their 'foreign,' racialized African origins" (312). Despite this, the texts analyzed in my dissertation usually refer to both Iberian and foreign Muslims as "moros" or "mouros," and the context often makes clear that they are not concerned with their geographical origin or ethnic background. A good

[20] Isidore of Seville believed that the "Mauri" were originally Greek "Medi," who traveled to Africa, became darkened by the hot climate, and therefore were called "blacks" by the inhabitants of Libya (1: 762).

example of this purely religious use of the term is found in this quote of the *Estoria de España*: "Agora sabed aqui los que esta estoria oydes que, quando este Mudarra Gonçales llego de Cordoua a Salas, que lo fizo su padre batear, e torno lo cristiano, ca antes moro era" (*Estoria de España: Versión crítica* 350; ch. 182). In a similar vein, "moros" and "cristianos" are often presented as two complementary or contradictory groups in the texts of my corpus.[21]

Before "Mauri," "moros," and "mouros" became the favorite terms for Iberian authors to refer to Muslims, there were a variety of Latin denominations for them: "*Saraceni*, *Agareni*, and *Ismaelitae*, all derived from the Book of Genesis (Gen. 16-17, 21, 25), appear primarily in the early Latin sources," writes O'Callaghan: "Also of biblical origin, but quite anachronistic, were the words Chaldeans, used in the Hebrew Bible with reference to Babylon, and Moabites, a people settled east of the Dead Sea" (*Reconquest* 15-16). These and other, more aggressive terms, such as "infidels" or "enemies of the cross of Christ (*inimici crucis Christi*)" later gave ground to "Mauri" and "moros," which "eventually supplanted nearly all of the other biblical and ethnic terms in common usage" (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 15-16).

Among the main texts of my corpus, the exception to the predominance of "moro" and "mouro" is the *Llibre dels fets* by Jaume I of Aragon. Although Jaume regularly utilizes the term "moros," he overwhelmingly prefers "sarraïns": "moro" and "moros" appear 89 times in the *Llibre dels fets*; "sarraïns," "sarraïnes," and other variations of the same word ("sarrahí," "sarraý," etc.) appear 340 times (Bruguera 267, 312). Catalan "sarraïn" derives from Latin "Saracenus," a term clearly less neutral than "Maurus." While "Maurus" simply alludes to an African origin, "Saracenus"

[21] There are other Iberian texts in which these terms are, instead, highly problematic. For example, in a chronicle that I only utilize in passing, the *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné*, Gomes Eanes de Zurara uses "mouro" to mean "any African non-Christian" or "Muslim" even in the same passages, as when he writes that Portuguese explorers in Africa encountered some "mouros," but they could not find out if they were "mouros ou gentios" (57, 58).

involves a biblical imposture, which reinforces the accusations against Muslims as distorters of the Judeo-Christian tradition: Isidore of Seville explains that Muslims call themselves "Saraceni" "quia ex Sara genitos se praedicent" ("because they say that they descend from Sarah"), although he believes they descend from her slave Hagar and Hagar's son, Ishmael, and they should therefore better be known as "Agareni" or "Ismaelitae" (1: 748). It is important to notice that Jaume does not differentiate between the meanings or the contexts of "moro" and "sarraïn," not even to distinguish between local and foreign Muslims. Therefore, "sarraïn" in the *Llibre dels fets* can be generally interpreted as "Muslim," just like "moro" or "mouro." Similarly to what happened in Castilian and Portuguese, the term "moro" ended up being predominant also in Catalan, as observed in *Tirant lo Blanch*, which was written two centuries after the *Llibre dels fets*: "Los personajes musulmanes del *Tirant* son, incluso los turcos, 'moros,'" writes María José Rubiera, and she adds:

> En la documentación valenciana de los siglos XIV y XV se utiliza este concepto para designar a los musulmanes reinícolas o foráneos y a las aljamas, morerías, conservándose la antigua denominación de sarracenos para los documentos en latín, aunque la denominación de la lengua vulgar, es decir, moros, va invadiendo igualmente la documentación latina (*Tirant contra el islam* 47).

3. "Religio" and "ley."

When interpreting medieval "moros," "mouros," and "sarraïns" as "Muslims," there is one more cultural problem: a medieval "Christian" or "Muslim" is not simply somebody who believes in Christianity or Islam, but somebody whose entire life, from his diet to his neighborhood or profession, may be determined by his belonging to a religious group. In contemporary Western culture, a religion is something that mostly concerns issues of personal conscience and morality; in medieval Iberia,

instead, being a Muslim, a Christian, or a Jew involved a legal status and civil duties similar to those of the citizens of modern nation-states.

Actually, our use of "religion" has many similarities with medieval "religio," which, for example for Thomas Aquinas, referred "to interior acts of devotion and prayer, [...] more important than any outward expressions of this virtue" (Harrison 7). "Religio" and its derivations, therefore, were not exactly what Pedro Afonso de Barcelos, Joanot Martorell, or Luís de Camões had in mind when writing on the differences between Christians and non-Christians. While Iberian Christian authors sometimes wrote on their own "fe" and on others' "sectas," their favorite general term was "lex" or "lei" or "ley," which included the spiritual commitment of believers as well as their social responsibilities and rights. In *Las siete partidas*, for example, Alfonso X defines "judio" as "aquel que cree et tiene la ley de Moysen segunt que suena la letra della, et que se circuncida et face las otras cosas que manda esa su ley," while "moros son una manera de gentes" whose "ley es como denuesto de Dios" (3: 669, 675). What after the sixteenth century became to be known as "Islam," during the Middle Ages was "referred to as the 'law of Muhammad' or the 'law of the Saracens'" (Tolan, *Saracens* xv). As summarized by Lucy Pick, medieval "'law' encompasses not only theology and anthropology, but other notions as well, such as the idea of being bound to a community, and as a community. It is much more than a set of rules and sanctions; it is a system of interwoven beliefs, ethics, liturgical and extra-liturgical practice" ("What Did Rodrigo" 234).

A fundamental problem with such a totalitarian, all-encompassing view of "leyes" was the difficulty that it created for integration between different groups:

> Christian and Muslim societies were mutually exclusive, by reason not only of social and legal differences, but above all because of religion which suffused every facet of life. Daily interaction between Christians and Muslims did contribute to a degree of acculturation, especially in

> matters of language and social usage, but there was no real possibility of the full integration of Christians into Muslim society of Muslims into Christian society. In each instance Christians or Muslims could only be protected minorities with limited political and legal rights (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 10).

The same reasons complicated the possibilities of conversion: because each "ley" highlighted the "influence that one's religious beliefs had over the totality of one's life and actions," conversion for Muslims "meant not only the abandonment of Islamic theological ideas and religious beliefs, but also the abandonment of an entire legal system and the acceptance of both Christian doctrine and the civil law of the Christian community" (O'Callaghan, "Mudejars" 56). Catlos similarly emphasizes how, because religious identity "structured one's social and economic relationships both by circumscribing marital opportunities and through informal, but powerful, networks centered on communities of worship," "changing religion [...] demanded both social marginalization and cultural conversion—a daunting prospect few were prepared to undertake" (*Muslims* 340, 341; see also *Victors* 249-259). This situation explains why Muslim-Christian conversion appears in the texts of my corpus mostly as a fantasy. When Muslims become baptized in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the *Estoria de España*, or *Tirant lo Blanch*, they do not make this decision after being taught and convinced by Christians, but as the result of a spontaneous and miraculous change of heart. Tolan explains that these representations of Christianized Muslims in Iberia and the rest of Europe are literary motifs mostly based on "the conversions of pagan kings of old," which allowed Christians to imagine that Muslims "could also be transformed into allies through a few dramatic and exemplary conversions" (*Sons* 69). Although in the historical record Muslims indeed became Christians (and Christians became Muslims), the Iberian authors of my corpus were seemingly not thinking of any familiar, real-life

examples when writing about conversions, maybe because fantastic circumstances and supernatural explanations were more useful for their ideological goals.

To use "religion" in a medieval context, therefore, is a problematic and maybe confusing choice, but I have not found a satisfactory alternative. "Faith" stresses even more the private, personal aspects that characterize modern religious belief, and it further excludes cultural, social, and political dimensions. While "law" would be the most proper term from a medieval perspective, it would also constantly interfere with the juridical, more common meaning of the word. In my title and the rest of this dissertation, consequently, I have chosen to refer to medieval Christianity and Islam as "religions," while emphasizing and often reminding the reader of all the other aspects of life that premodern Iberians normally associated with their adherence to a faith.

Chapter 1.

Rodrigo's Imperial Mindset:

Intercultural Aggression and Collaboration as Political Strategies in the *Cantar de mio Cid*

The importance of imperial issues in medieval Iberia is reflected even in texts that do not seem explicitly involved with empire-building. Such is the case of the Castilian epic *Cantar de mio Cid*, a twelfth or thirteenth-century fictionalized account of some of the feats carried out by the military leader Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, nicknamed the "Cid."[22] In the almost 4000 lines of the poem, there are exactly three passing references to emperors and empires: a vain claim by the sons-in-law of Rodrigo about their possibilities of marrying "fijas de reyes o de enperadores," a repetition of that same phrase in another context, and a mention of the "buen enperador" Alfonso VII, the grandson of the king Alfonso VI of León, who is an important character in the epic (vv. 2553, 3297, 3003).[23] In spite of the scarceness of those allusions, they are essential for the plot and the themes of the *Cantar de mio Cid*. Rodrigo's sons-in-law, who are characterized by their ambition and foolishness, look down on his daughters because they do not have royal blood. The poem, however, argues that the Cid's heroic feats make him comparable to any king; because of this, his daughters end up separating from their first husbands and marrying into Navarrese and Aragonese royalty. According to the poem, therefore, Rodrigo's excellence as a warrior and a leader makes his lineage worthy of relating to "los reyes d'España," among them the "buen enperador" Alfonso VII and other

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[22] A summary of the discussion about the dating of the *Cantar de mio Cid* can be found in the edition of the poem by Alberto Montaner (281-289). The conclusion of Montaner is that the poem can be dated "sin apenas dudas en las cercanías de 1200" (289).

[23] All quotes of the *Cantar de mio Cid* come from the critical edition by Alberto Montaner.

Iberian rulers with imperial ambitions (v. 3734). From this perspective, the entire *Cantar de mio Cid* can be read as an explanation of Rodrigo's ascent from mid-nobility to the same level of the most powerful Iberian Christian leaders. It is not unusual, in consequence, that both the author and the main character of the *Cantar de mio Cid* show what I will call "an imperial mindset": a constant concern over issues of Peninsular hegemony, territorial expansion, and ruling other peoples by force, particularly Muslims, despite the poem's silence on actual empires or imperial titles.

The imperial mindset of the *Cantar de mio Cid* derives from the historical context of its main character, who witnessed or participated in a series of events that were decisive in the power struggles among different Iberian polities. Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid, served the kings Fernando I and Alfonso VI, two of the rulers that secured the lasting hegemony of León-Castile over the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, at the death of Fernando I in 1065, such supremacy was already incontestable:

> The three strong taifa kingdoms of Zaragoza, Toledo, and Badajoz had all been forced to recognize [Fernando's] overlordship, to pay parias regularly, and had yielded up portions of their territories of greater or lesser extent. He had made his strength felt, as well, in the rather more distant Muslim realms of Valencia and Sevilla. Among the major kingdoms of Spanish Islam only Córdoba and Granada had gone untouched. In the Christian north, Navarra had become a vassal state, given up territory, and was pinned against the Pyrenees by León-Castilla and Zaragoza. Aragón was still a petty principality of the northeastern foothills and remote Barcelona no more than a struggling if ambitious county (Reilly 13).

Iberia by then was an assortment of Christian and "taifa" kingdoms, as are known the smaller Muslim polities derived from the breaking up of the caliphate of

Córdoba at the beginning of the eleventh century. This situation made hegemony over the Peninsula a complicated business that Fernando I solved not as much through territorial conquest as through the singular institution of *parias*, "a form of tribute exchanged in return for 'protection,'" as summarized by Brian Catlos:

> As long has the kings continued to pay, Fernando would provide them with troops and defend them from any Muslim or Christian princes. It was a brilliant strategy. Without having to conquer and occupy those kingdoms, and without having to subdue or displace their populations, Fernando simultaneously filled his coffers and prevented competing Christian powers from gaining footholds of their own in al-Andalus (*Infidel Kings* 76).[24]

After a decade of warring against his siblings, Alfonso VI finally reunited his father's territories, continued with the *parias* system, and added Toledo to his kingdom in 1085. While some contemporary documents refer to Alfonso's father as "imperator," there is no evidence that Fernando I ever adopted such title in an official way (Gambra, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería* 1: 680-681; Menéndez Pidal, *La España* 1: 110; Sirantoine 157-161). Alfonso VI, therefore, was "el primero de los monarcas leoneses que asumió el título de emperador en primera persona, es decir, el primero en utilizarlo para designarse a sí mismo en la *intitulatio* y en la suscripción de sus diplomas, y no sólo en el texto de los documentos como hicieron sus predecesores desde la época de Alfonso III" (Gambra, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería* 1: 672). The high-flown titles used by Alfonso VI emphasized the legitimacy of his hegemony over the entire Peninsula: he called himself "divina gratia rex et imperator" ("king and

[24] A more detailed explanation on *parias* and their history can be found in O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 165-171. According to O'Callaghan, "the Catalan counts seem to have been the first to profit in this way" in the mid-eleventh century; during the next two centuries, similar systems of levying tribute from their Muslim neighbors were also used by the rulers of Navarre, León, Castile, and Aragon (*Reconquest* 166).

emperor by divine grace"), "imperator totius Hispaniae" ("emperor of all Hispania"), "totius orbis Hispaniae imperator" ("emperor over the entire land of Hispania"), "ab ipso [Christo] constitutus imperator super omnes Hispaniae nationes" ("appointed by Christ as emperor over all peoples of Hispania"), and similar variations (Gambra, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería* 1: 695-696, 706-710; García Gallo, "El imperio" 214-218; Menéndez Pidal, *La España* 2: 727-733; Sirantoine 208-210). Probably, it was not only his competition with other Iberian monarchs, but also his resistance to papal claims of suzerainty over the Peninsula which drove Alfonso to use these titles: when the Pope "claimed that 'the kingdom of Spain was given by ancient constitutions to Blessed Peter and to the Holy Roman Church in right and ownership,'" Alfonso's imperial titles "implicitly rejected Gregory VII's pretensions" (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 29; see also Gambra, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería* 1: 696-698; Ganshof 90; Menéndez Pidal, *La España* 1: 233-235; Reilly 103-104). For Alfonso, even more intensely than for his predecessors that had aspired to imperial dignities and titles, his role as king of León and Castile became intertwined with his hegemonic position among Iberian rulers and his independence from foreign powers like the Papacy.

Despite Alfonso VI's major presence in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, the epic does not mention his imperial titles or ambitions. The silence is telling, especially in contrast with the frequent references to Alfonso as "Imperator" in the *Historia Roderici*, a Latin chronicle on the Cid, written probably not long after his death.[25] An

[25] For example: "Adafir rogauit imperatorem Aldefonsum multis precibus ut auxiliaretur sibi. Quo audito, imperator Aldefonsus misit ad eum Ranimirum infantem et comitem Gundissaluum et alias quam plures potestates cum ingenti exercitu, ut subueniret ei" ("Adafir heartily begged the emperor Alfonso for his help. And the emperor Alfonso listened to him and sent *infante* Ramiro and count Gonzalo and other powerful people with a great army to assist him") (55). The dating of the *Historia Roderici* has been much debated, but today there is some agreement about the work being composed close to Rodrigo's death in 1099: Barton and Fletcher argue for an early twelfth-century composition, and Catalán specifies a date between 1102 and 1110, which was also the date originally proposed by Menéndez Pidal (Barton and Fletcher 92-97; Catalán, *El Cid* 20, 277-280; Menéndez Pidal *La España* 2: 917-919). Emma Falque, editor of the text of the *Historia Roderici* that I use, believes that "con los datos que hay no se puede llegar a conclusiones seguras," but she

emphasis on the imperial power of Alfonso VI would work against the *Cantar de mio Cid*'s purposes, since the poem consistently represents Rodrigo as more admirable than Alfonso VI, as summarized by some anonymous villagers of Burgos: "¡Dios, qué buen vassallo, si oviesse buen señor!" (v. 20). While the Cid goes to the extreme of prostrating himself and biting the grass with the purpose of "dar omildança a Alfons so señor," the author's depiction of Alfonso as impressionable and capricious highlights Rodrigo's military and moral superiority (v. 2024). Alfonso only surpasses the Cid by possessing more lands and vassals:

> Rey es de Castiella e rey es de León,
>
> e de las Asturias bien a San Çalvador,
>
> fasta dentro en Santi Yaguo de todo es señor
>
> e llos condes gallizanos a él tienen por señor" (vv. 2923-2926).

In the context of the epic, however, even the imperial vastness of Alfonso's territories, most of them inherited or taken from his siblings, pales in comparison to the achievements of the invincible Cid, a warrior that rises from exile to owning an important principality and them marrying his daughters into royal families.

Towards the end of the poem, King Alfonso himself seems impressed by the Cid's extraordinary, almost superhuman powers, and his undeniable wealth. After the Cid's daughters are beaten and then abandoned by their first husbands, the *infantes* of Carrión, the king convenes his court in Toledo to solve the dispute between the *infantes* and Rodrigo. The Cid arrives to the meeting in the most

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admits that "quizás de todos los argumentos esgrimidos en uno y otro sentido el más convincente sea el que la propia obra parece apoyar la tesis de que la *HR* fue escrita por un contemporáneo del Cid, testigo ocular de muchos de los acontecimientos que narra, lo cual estaría, sin duda, a favor de la cronología que hemos denominado temprana" (20).

spectacular fashion, covered in clothes decorated with gold and silver, and causes the respectful reaction of everybody, even the king:

> Cuando lo vieron entrar al que en buen ora nació,
>
> levantós' en pie el buen rey don Alfonso
>
> e el conde don Anrich e el conde don Remont,
>
> e desí adelant, sabet, todos los otros" (vv. 3107-3110).

Unexpectedly, Alfonso invites Rodrigo to occupy the king's seat and shockingly tells him: "¡Maguer que a algunos pesa, mejor sodes que nós!" (v. 3116). Alberto Montaner, in his edition of the poem, lessens the importance of what sounds like "un elogio excesivo en boca del rey" by saying that "se trata de una fórmula de cortesía que no hay que tomar en sentido literal" (187).[26] However, when the king and the Cid appear together for the last time in the poem, Alfonso's recognition of Rodrigo's superiority is reaffirmed. When the king sees Rodrigo riding his favorite horse, Alfonso comments with astonishment: "¡Yo lo juro par Sant Esidro el de León / que en todas nuestras tierras non ha tan buen varón!" (vv. 3509-3510). Then, Rodrigo offers the horse to the king as a present, because, according to him, there is no better horse "en moros ni en cristianos" (v. 3514). Alfonso refuses, however, by accepting his own inferiority as a rider and a warrior: "Si a vós le tolliés, el cavallo no havrié tan buen señor, / mas atal cavallo cum ést pora tal commo vós, / pora arrancar moros del campo e ser segudador" (vv. 3517-3519).[27] This mention of

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[26] Rita Hamilton and Janet Perry, two translators of the poem to English, had similar apprehensions about taking this line too literally. While their translation is normally very faithful to the original, they completely reinterpret this line: "Although many will begrudge it to you, I give you the place of greatest honour," says Alfonso to the Cid (*Poem of the Cid* 183, 185).

[27] Julio Hernando offers a very different reading of the episode of the horse. According to him, Alfonso's words delineate two interconnected social strata: "de una parte el rey, que posee la autoridad; de otra, el guerrero, que pertenece a la categoría social que ejerce la fuerza que sustenta esa autoridad"; because of this, Rodrigo's excellence as a warrior "no

"moros" as instrumental in the deferential struggle between Alfonso and Rodrigo is not the only instance in which Muslims appear as useful to determine the value of a Christian knight on the battleground. Two hundred lines earlier, another Muslim fulfills the same function during a dispute between one of the Cid's followers, Pedro Bermúdez, and one of the *infantes* of Carrión, Fernando González. In front of the king and his court, Pedro reminds Fernando of an incident during the siege of Valencia, when he had to intervene in a fight between Fernando and a Muslim to save the cowardly *infante*'s life (vv. 3315-3328).

To demonstrate the superiority of Rodrigo over his king, the author of the *Cantar de mio Cid* omits not only Alfonso's imperial titles, but also most of his achievements. Somebody who knew Alfonso VI only through the poem would never consider him among the most important medieval kings of Castile and León, as contemporary historians do. [28] Alfonso successfully reunited and preserved the vast territories that his father had divided among his children, no small feat given the delicate balance of political forces in Iberia. He conquered Toledo, a city of enormous historical, symbolic, and cultural importance not only for the Peninsula: Toledo was the capital of the last Visigothic kingdom, the scenario of eighteen Church councils, and for centuries a prominent center for the diffusion of Arabic knowledge and sciences to the rest of Europe. Alfonso played a leading role in reforming the Iberian Church, managing to create collaborative ties to the French congregation of Cluny and to Rome, and at the same time not letting these foreign powers intervene in the

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amenaza la prioridad jerárquica del monarca porque tiene lugar en un plano complemente distinto" (168). Hernando's interpretation is interesting but problematic, since, as he points out in a footnote, the standing of all European kings of the period, including Iberian rulers, was closely related to their military leadership (168 n. 90).

[28] The interpretation of Alfonso VI's reign by Ramón Menéndez Pidal suffered from a related problem: even though Menéndez Pidal did not ignore the historical sources, he gave similar or more credit to the poem, which resulted in a deformed and adverse portrayal of Alfonso in *La España del Cid* and other works (Gambra, "Alfonso VI y el Cid" 190-191).

matters that he wanted to personally control. These are some of the reasons why Bernard Reilly concludes his book on Alfonso with this firm assertion: "In any event what matters most is the public record. By any measure of it Alfonso VI of León-Castilla was a great king" (379). Richard Fletcher agrees: "The public record establishes Alfonso VI as one of the greatest rulers of his age" (119). The author of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, however, was most likely not intending to reach a fair and balanced appraisal of Alfonso's entire reign. For Alfonso's contemporaries and their immediate descendants, the lasting image of his reign could have been determined by his incapacity to stop the advances of the Almoravids, Berber Muslims that extended their empire from North Africa to the south of Iberia. The Almoravids soundly defeated Alfonso and other Christian leaders in the battles of Sagrajas and Uclés, where Alfonso additionally lost his only son. In contrast, the Almoravids were unable to defeat Rodrigo and take Valencia from him, a historical fact that is lauded by the *Cantar de mio Cid*. It is possible that some Christian Iberians such as the author of the epic, who lived around a century after Alfonso's death, fantasized about how different the history of the Peninsula would be with somebody like Rodrigo as "imperator totius Hispaniae," instead of Alfonso.

In obvious tension with his own critical view of Alfonso, the author of the *Cantar de mio Cid* often underscores Rodrigo's loyalty and submission to his king. His insistence may be revealing, because, in the Castilian poem as much as in the historical record, there is some evidence of Rodrigo's desire to be an independent ruler, or at least as independent as possible while not entering into conflict with the powerful Alfonso. In this sense, the author of the poem seems to be carefully trying to exonerate the Cid from any charges of disloyalty against his king, while other documents point out in the opposite direction. One of the strongest signs of the Cid's ambitioned independence is that, after conquering Valencia, he installed his own bishop in the city, Jerome of Périgord, without any apparent consultation with Alfonso or the Iberian Church. In the *Cantar de mio Cid*, Jerome arrives "de parte de

orient," simply because he ardently wishes "que s' viesse con moros en el campo" (vv. 1288, 1293). Immediately, the Cid confides to his second-in-command, Minaya: "En tierras de Valencia fer quiero obispado / e dárgelo a este buen cristiano" (vv. 1299-1300). Three lines later, the poem states: "a este don Jerónimo ya l'otorgan por obispo, / diéronle en Valencia o bien puede estar rico" (vv. 1303-1304). In this passage, the poem describes a completely unorthodox procedure by which Rodrigo appoints his own bishop without approval from King Alfonso, the Primate of Iberia, or even the Pope. Such an unconventional situation is not entirely fictional, according to the only document which historians today consider signed by Rodrigo in person: a charter of endowment conceded to Jerome and the cathedral of Valencia in 1098. This charter "explicitly states that Jerome had been unanimously and canonically acclaimed and elected and had been consecrated bishop 'by the hand of the Pope' (*per Romani pontificis manus*) and elevated by the liberty of a special privilege (*specialis privilegii libertate*)" (Barton 527). Simon Barton explains:

> The most plausible conclusion [...] is that El Cid, anxious to reinforce the independence of his principality in spiritual as well as temporal matters, had himself requested prior to 1098 that Valencia be placed under the direct authority of the papacy rather than under that of the primate of the Spanish church, the archbishop of Toledo (527).

Richard Fletcher and Georges Martin agree with Barton on Rodrigo's role behind this canonical arrangement. Fletcher adds that the Cid's "success in detaching Jerónimo from Toledo by turning to the fountainhead of authority in the Western church is further evidence of his determination to be master of his own household," opinion with which Martin concurs: "La dependencia directa del obispado valenciano con relación a Roma, sería la señal más destacada e incontrastable de la acérrima voluntad de independencia que animaba al señor de Valencia" (Fletcher 183; Martin par. 8). Fletcher also notices that in the charter "Rodrigo, styled prince (*princeps*) of Valencia, is presented as fighting God's battles, but not the king's. There is no

reference to King Alfonso in the preamble nor anywhere else in the document" (179). As Fletcher points out, that does not mean that the relationship between Alfonso and Rodrigo was necessarily poor: they had a common enemy in the Almoravids and Rodrigo's only son (never mentioned in the poem) fought in the royal army (179-180). But the charter and the entire episode of Jerome's consecration strongly suggest that the historical Rodrigo was not the submissive vassal of the *Cantar de mio Cid* and his political purposes far exceeded obtaining or regaining the esteem of his king.

For Rome to concede such a special privilege to the bishop of Valencia, Rodrigo probably had to argue the importance of the city and its ruler in a crusade against Muslims: the charter of 1098 alludes to this by explaining that "después de cuatro siglos de 'calamidad', el Padre muy clemente suscita a Rodrigo, al 'invictissimus princeps Rodericus Campidoctor', para que vengue el oprobio de su pueblo y propague de nuevo la fe cristiana," as paraphrased by Martin (par. 14). That possibility also fits well with the sudden appearance or exacerbation of a crusading tone in those fragments of the *Cantar de mio Cid* that narrate the conquest of Valencia and its defense against the Almoravids. During these episodes, for the first and only time the *Cantar de mio Cid* calls Muslims "las yentes descreídas," a derogatory term which is instead ubiquitous in more Islamophobic works such as the thirteenth-century *Poema de Fernán González* (*Cantar de mio Cid* v. 1631; *Poema de Fernán González* sts. 60, 82, 89, 102, 174, etc.). Before the decisive battle against the Almoravids, bishop Jerome pronounces the only crusading speech of the poem: "El que aqui muriere lidiando de cara, / préndol' yo los pecados e Dios le abrá el alma" (vv. 1704-1705). Interestingly, something similar happens in the *Historia Roderici*: only when Valencia is sieged by the Almoravids Rodrigo becomes the protector of the whole Peninsula from "Sarracenorum gentes" ("the Sarracen peoples"): "nisi uero tam cito uenisset, ille barbare gentes Yspani<am> totam usque ad Cesaraugustam et Leridam iam preoccupassent atque omnino obtinuissent" ("if he had not acted so swiftly, those barbarous peoples would have occupied and subjugated all Hispania through

Zaragoza and Lérida") (84).[29] These literary representations are congruent with the fact that "a significant shift in El Cid's reputation and public image occurred during the very final stages of his career," according to Barton: "Territorial rulers, as the taifa kings could have told him only too well, required ideological support and legitimacy if they were not to go under, something that the Cluniacs, through Bishop Jerome, were only too willing to provide, by presenting Rodrigo's conquest as a divinely sanctioned enterprise" (542). Catlos explains how the Cid's Christianization of Valencia, which included the repurposing of the main mosque as a cathedral, resulted in "a popular perception among Spaniards and Christians abroad that the Cid was a hero of Christendom and a foe of its 'pagan' enemies" (*Infidel Kings* 75).

The Castilian poem acknowledges, but does not support ideas of crusading against Muslims and exterminating them, actions that would run counter to the imperial goal of ruling over heterogenous peoples in relative peace. In fact, Jerome, who in battle against the Almoravids "es farto de lidiar con amas las sus manos, / non tiene en cuenta los moros que ha matados," looks like a cartoonish representation of crusaders from further lands (vv. 1794-1795). Such portrayal is certainly related to his status as the only non-Iberian warrior among the Cid's troops: as María Rosa Menocal stresses, the poem "contains a single character—a Frankish churchman, to boot, rather than any Castilian—who speaks and behaves as a wild-eyed Moorslayer, as the later mythology tells us all Christians did" (Introduction xv). This was not an unusual situation in the Peninsula: the contrast between Jerome's bloody fanaticism and the Cid's more lenient ways mirrors the different attitudes of Iberian and foreign clerics or soldiers towards Muslims. The Cid does not censor Jerome, but his own

[29] Because of the similarities in tone and content between the *Historia Roderici* and the second part of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, which includes the fight against the Almoravids, Irene Zaderenko argues that both texts are related. Zaderenko thinks that the second part of the epic is its originary core, to which the rest of the poem was added later (see *Problemas de autoría*, especially chapters 7, 9, and 10).

relationships with Muslims are much more complex and representative of the imperial mindset predominant among Iberian Christian rulers.

Rodrigo Díaz's conflicting relationships with Muslims have been frequently decontextualized or recontextualized to better serve certain ideological agendas. Between the eighteenth and the twentieth century, prominent Spanish and foreign scholars held acrimonious discussions about the stance of both the historical and the literary Cid in regard to Muslims. On the base of medieval Arabic sources, Orientalists like José Antonio Conde and Reinhard Dozy questioned the credibility of the *Cantar de mio Cid* and its portrayal of Rodrigo as loyal to his king, respectful of the law, and magnanimous with his enemies. For two Andalusi historians from the twelfth-century, Ibn ʿAlqama and Ibn Bassām, Rodrigo is an always shrewd and frequently brutal warlord; they call him "el tirano" (*al-ṭāgiya*), "opresor" (*bā'iqa*), Alfonso's "perro" (*kalb*), while his name (*Ruḍrīq* or *Luḍrīq*) or his appellative (*al-Kabiyaṭūr*) is often accompanied by the formula "castíguele Dios" (*waqama-hu Allāh*) or "maldígale Dios" (*laʿana-hu Allāh*) (Viguera Molins 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, etc.)[30] If sometimes the Cid shows some mercy towards his enemies, it is mainly because such indulgence plays to his economic or political advantage. For example, Ibn ʿIḍārī, in a passage probably taken from Ibn ʿAlqama, describes the docility of recently conquered Valencians and their joy and hopefulness when they realized that "ni el Campeador ni los suyos hiciesen nada que de alguna manera implicase perjuicio para Valencia y sus habitantes" (*Al-bayān al-mughrib* 77). Such relief, however, must be understood in relation to the brutality of the preceding siege of the city, when Valencians were starving to death and, to those who escaped and tried to take refuge in the Christian camp, the Cid's troops "les sacaban los ojos, les

[30] The lost *Al-Bayān al-wāḍiḥ fī l-mulimm al-fādiḥ* by Ibn ʿAlqama was quoted by many medieval chroniclers, including Ibn al-Kardabūs, Ibn ʿIḍārī, and even the authors of the *Estoria de España* in the court of Alfonso X of Castile. Ibn Bassām's passages on the Cid from his *Al-dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra* have been translated to Spanish and included, along with all existing Arabic sources on Rodrigo, in Viguera Molins's article.

amputaban las manos, les rompían las piernas, o los mataban, por lo cual los valencianos preferían morir dentro de la ciudad" (*Al-bayān al-mughrib* 75).[31] In reaction to these Arabic chronicles and their defense by Conde and Dozy, the two most prominent Spanish philologists of the early twentieth century, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, enthusiastically praised the *Cantar de mio Cid* as a faithful and positive depiction of an exemplary national hero (Banús and Galván 120-123).[32] Menéndez Pidal decried the "triunfo de la cidofobia" during the nineteenth century and blamed those Orientalists that gave undeserved importance and credibility to some "hostiles y malevolentes" Arabic historians (*La España* 1: 29, 5). Menéndez Pelayo, in a similar vein, criticized "el tipo, en gran parte imaginario, del Cid *condottiero* y soldado de fortuna, asalariado indistintamente por cristianos y musulmanes, devastador de comarcas enteras y saqueador de iglesias, cruel en sus venganzas y pérfido en sus tratos, medio moro en su vida y hasta en sus vestimentas," which he considered Dozy's creation (*Recherches* 8). For Menéndez Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal, the valorization of the epic poem went hand to hand with the rehabilitation of the "real" Rodrigo Díaz: the more historical and realistic

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[31] It is important to notice that Arabic sources do not present all Christian leaders with the same brutality of the Cid and therefore his negative portrayal does not depend exclusively on him being a political and religious enemy. For example, Muslim chroniclers describe the conquest of Valencia by the Cid as much crueler than the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI, and they emphasize Rodrigo's personal responsibility for the destruction of the city and the suffering of its inhabitants (Benaboud 126). In addition to this, even the Christian and sympathetic author of the *Historia Roderici* condemns some of Rodrigo's barbaric military actions, such as his devastation of La Rioja (82-83).

[32] Evidently, any kind of nationalism would be impossible to find in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, centuries before the conformation of Spain as a nation-state. It could be argued that the poem contains some traces of "proto-nationalism," according to the definition of this concept by Eric Hobsbawm: a communitarian feeling based, among other lesser factors, on "the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to a lasting political entity" (73). But even "proto-nationalism" seems improbable in Castile before the influential works of thirteenth-century historians like Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the scholars of the court of Alfonso X, who wrote decades after the *Cantar de mio Cid* was composed and more than a century after Rodrigo died.

the poem was considered, the better for the historical Cid and his reputation as a quintessential Spanish and Christian hero.[33]

The historical record, however, is unmerciful towards any fantasy of the Cid as a flawless defender of his homeland or his religion. In fact, Rodrigo simply sustained the military and political strategies of convenience that previous and contemporary Iberian rulers, such as Fernando I and Alfonso VI, used to deal with their Muslim enemies, allies, and subjects. Unsurprisingly for a twelfth-century Iberian warrior, Rodrigo fought equally against Muslim and Christian adversaries, and he did not make significant religious distinctions among his allies and vassals either. In addition to this, there are some reliable sources on the Cid's sympathy toward Islamic culture and customs, from his famous Arabic nickname (*sīdi* or *sayyid*, that is, "my lord" or "master") to this famous passage by Ibn Bassām: "Dicen que ante él se enseñaban los libros y se leían las biografías [heroicas] (*siyar*) de los Árabes, y que al llegar a la historia de al-Muhallab se arrebató de emoción, gustándole y asombrándose de ella" (Viguera Molins 63).[34] Some Islamic influence over Rodrigo seems undoubtable, even without going to the extremes of Dozy, for whom the Cid "était plutôt musulman que catholique," or Catlos, who entitled a

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[33] Menéndez Pelayo's and Menéndez Pidal's views on the Cid as a Spanish hero were equally indebted to the Romantic idea of a "Volksgeist" or "national spirit" and to the nationalist nostalgia of the "generación del '98" (Armistead, "Menéndez Pidal"). Unfortunately, this nationalistic portrayal of Rodrigo was later exploited by official propaganda and educational curriculum during Franco's dictatorship, which resulted in anthologies and handbooks of Spanish literature promoting for decades a jingoistic misinterpretation of the poem (see Lacarra, "La utilización del Cid"; Gómez Moreno; Banús and Galván).

[34] On the meaning and etymology of the title "Cid," see Viguera Molins 85-86. The authenticity and meaning of the passage by Ibn Bassām have been debated. Fletcher accepts this "most surprising glimpse" of the Cid as "credible because it comes from a hostile source" (109). Viguera Molins disagrees with the traditional interpretation of the episode: while Menéndez Pidal and others thought that the Muslim historian was presenting Rodrigo as particularly learned and sensitive to Islamic culture, Viguera Molins believes that Ibn Bassām wanted to highlight the cultural superiority and artistic mastery of Muslims, capable of seducing even their worst enemies (Menéndez Pidal, *La España* 2: 571-573; Viguera Molins 88).

book section on the Cid "A Christian Sultan in the Age of 'the Reconquest'"(Dozy, *Recherches* 253; Catlos, *Infidel Kings* 67). Even Menéndez Pidal recognized Rodrigo's inclination towards Islamic culture, although he considered it not very pronounced in comparison to some of his contemporaries: the Cid was familiar with "literatos musulmanes, y sin duda también oía a juglares moros," but at the same time "no se abandonó a la poderosa seducción de las cantoras árabes, como los conquistadores de Barbastro" and "tampoco el Cid afectaba arabismo, según hacía, por ejemplo, su gran amigo el rey Pedro de Aragón, que siempre firmaba en árabe" (*La España* 2: 571). In addition to this attenuation of the Cid's presumed affinity with Islamic culture, Menéndez Pidal notices "dos normas claras de conducta" in the interaction between Rodrigo and Muslims:

> Con los musulmanes de raza española el Cid quiere convivir en justicia, respetándoles escrupulosamente religión, leyes, costumbres y propiedad. [...] Pero los moros españoles abrieron el Estrecho a los almorávides, y ante este contubernio a que se entregan las razas hispánicas con las africanas, el Cid adopta una nueva actitud, opuesta y terminante: la guerra con los invasores no puede acabar en convivencia, sino en eliminación del africano (*La España* 2: 601).

The choice of the derogatory word "contubernio" to describe the alliance between some Iberian Muslims and the North African Almoravids says more about Menéndez Pidal's prejudices against "African races" than about medieval Muslims or the Cid. The same prejudices were expressed by Menéndez Pelayo, who praised "el gran servicio que el Cid prestó al cristianismo y á la civilización de Occidente" when Rodrigo alone could stop the "nube de langostas que abortaron los arenales de la Libia para abrasar hasta el último retoño de la brillante cultura arábigo-andaluza tan floreciente en los reinos de Almotamid el de Sevilla y de Almotación el de Almería" (14). These quotes by Menéndez Pidal and Menéndez Pelayo should serve as caution against the easy path of simply differentiating among the Cid's

supposedly cordial attitudes towards local, Iberian Muslims, and his hatred of Muslim "invaders" from Africa. Most of the Muslims fought by the Cid in the poem are Iberian and one of his longest and bloodiest battles is against Muslim troops from Valencia (vv. 625-809). The poem also acknowledges the brutality of the siege of Valencia: although it does not mention Muslims being tortured by Christians, as the Arabic chronicles do, the epic comments sympathetically on the famine in the city: "¡Mala cueta es, señores, aver mingua de pan, / fijos e mugieres verlos murir de fanbre!" (vv. 1178-1179).[35] In comparison to Iberian Muslims, the Almoravids certainly represented a more dangerous and unmanageable threat to the northern kingdoms of the Peninsula, mainly because their religious radicalism excluded any possibility of alliances with Christians. However, neither in the historical record nor in the *Cantar de mio Cid* relationships across religious, cultural, and ethnic lines are so easy to differentiate and classify.[36]

The ambivalence of intercultural relationships is one of the key aspects in which the *Cantar de mio Cid* exhibits its imperial mindset, especially when showcasing the outstanding abilities of Rodrigo to negotiate with Muslims and rule them, no less than to defeat them. The poem silences some of the most cordial interactions between the historical Rodrigo and Muslims; it never mentions, for example, his service under the Muslim rulers of Zaragoza, whom he defended against Christian Aragonese troops during his first exile from Castile. Still, political

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[35] At the same time, the poem tells of the ferocious measures of Rodrigo against some of his Christian troops that intended to loot the city and leave, instead of settling in Valencia: "Esto mandó mio Cid, Minaya lo ovo consejado: / que ningún omne de los sos vassallos / que s' le non spidiés o no l' besás la mano, / si l' pudiessen prender o fuesse alcançado, / tomássenle el aver e pusiéssenle en un palo" (vv. 1251-1254). Once again, the pragmatic needs of the moment supersede any religious animosity or camaraderie.

[36] My position mostly agrees with Lacarra, who criticizes authors like Erich von Richthofen, Menéndez Pidal, and Edmund de Chasca for putting forth a different attitude of the Cid towards Peninsular and African Muslims; instead, she affirms the generalized cruelty of Rodrigo towards all Muslims, except "por razones prácticas militares" (*El poema* 192, 195).

and economic ambitions determine the fictional Cid's interactions with Muslims more frequently than moral principles or religious convictions. For example, Rodrigo justifies not annihilating all Muslims in the recently conquered Alcocer, not out of any humanitarian motives, but for the financial benefit of him and his troops:

> Oíd a mí, Álbar Fáñez e todos los cavalleros;
>
> En este castiello grand aver avemos preso,
>
> los moros yazen muertos, de bivos pocos veo;
>
> los moros e las moras vender non los podremos,
>
> que los descabecemos nada non ganaremos,
>
> cojámoslos de dentro, ca el señorío tenemos,
>
> posaremos en sus casas e d'ellos nos serviremos (vv. 616-622).

"This is colonialism in a nutshell," comments David Wacks on these lines: "Christians are not to deport or kill Muslims, but rather subjugate them politically and exploit them by occupying their space and appropriating their resources" (90). I agree with the overall colonialist spirit of the episode, but it is important to emphasize that the Cid only resorts to this kind of exploitation after already killing many Muslims, as made explicit by the line "los moros yazen muertos, de bivos pocos veo." Rodrigo's actions are simply a consequence of his pressing circumstances at that moment: recently exiled by his king and without a fixed place of residence, he realizes that using the remaining Muslims as servants will facilitate his life and that of his troops while they rest temporarily in Alcocer.

The cold pragmatism of the Cid in the epic outweighs his religiosity, but does not negate it. For the author of the poem, material gain, military victory, and spiritual salvation do not oppose or even hinder each other. A clear example of this is the way in which the Cid publicizes the siege of Valencia with the purpose of enlarging his troops:

Por Aragón e por Navarra pregón mandó echar,

a tierras de Castiella enbió sus mensajes:

quien quiere perder cueta e venir a ritad,

viniesse a mio Cid, que á sabor de cavalgar,

cercar quiere a Valencia por a cristianos la dar (vv. 1187-1191).

A slight suggestion of a crusading purpose appears at the end of the Cid's announcement, but what he really offers to his prospective soldiers is "ritar," that is, to plunder and to profit, which are central activities for Rodrigo and his troops throughout the epic; as Israel Burshatin indicates, "Moorish weapons, tents, and horses exist in the poem only to be detached from armies whose defeat is episodic and invariable" (101). It is noteworthy that the Cid addresses his message to people from several Iberian Christian kingdoms, and not only to his fellow Castilians. This detail may be read with a crusading intention, but a sense of competition among the most powerful leaders of the Peninsula is more apparent. Many of the central conflicts in the poem are not between the Cid and Muslims, but between him and other Christians: his king, the count of Barcelona, the *infantes* of Carrión. This is perfectly congruent with Rodrigo's offer of a new position, in his service, to vassals of other Iberian rulers. The Cid's "pregón" suggests that his conquest of Valencia has several purposes at once: to crusade against Muslims, to acquire wealth, and to show his strength to Christian competitors. However, only the final two objectives are relevant to the conclusion of the poem, when Rodrigo achieves such wealth and power that his daughters are worthy of marrying into royalty: "¡Ved cuál ondra crece al que en buen ora nació / cuando señoras son sus fijas de Navarra y de Aragón! / Oy los reyes d'España sos parientes son" (vv. 3722-3724).[37] While the poem

[37] During the second half of the twelfth century, immediately before the *Cantar de mio Cid* was composed, other Iberian texts emphasized the connections between Rodrigo and Alfonso VII, the grandson of Alfonso VI that was crowned as "Imperator totius Hispaniae"

inconsistently and vaguely states Rodrigo's religious purposes when he conquers Muslim cities or defeats the Almoravids, the political and economic goals of these military endeavors are unambiguously established.

The conflation of pragmatism and religiosity sometimes results in apparently contradictory attitudes and actions. For instance, when troops from Valencia intend to recover Alcocer, the *Cantar de mio Cid* offers an incoherent series of justifications for combating them. First, Minaya, Rodrigo's second-in-command, formulates a sound and simple rationalization for war: "De Castiella la gentil exidos somos acá, / si con moros non lidiáremos, no nos darán del pan" (vv. 672-673). This view of the fight against Muslims as a mere matter of survival for an exiled warrior is later confirmed by Rodrigo, when he expands Minaya's idea to also include Christian enemies: "Prendiendo de vós e de otros irnos hemos pagando," says Rodrigo to the imprisoned count of Barcelona: "abremos esta vida mientras ploguiere al Padre Santo, / commo qui ira á de rey e de tierra es echado" (vv. 1046-1048). However, as soon as the battle against the Valencian attackers begins, a tone of religious war surprisingly appears: "¡Feridlos, cavalleros, por amor del Criador!," exhorts the Cid to his troops, while "los moros llaman—¡Mafómat!—e los cristianos,—¡Santi Yagüe!" (vv. 720, 731-732). The victory of the Cid is further praised as "tan buen día por la cristiandad" (v. 770). Immediately after the battle ends, the poem abandons the crusading tone and returns to the usual relationships of convenience with Muslims. The Cid not only allows the Muslims from Alcocer to continue living in their city, under his power, but he also gives them part of the booty: "A so castiello a los moros

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in 1135. The Navarrese *Liber Regum* from around 1195 states that the Cid and Alfonso VII descended from the two legendary judges that ruled Castile in the ninth century; the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* from the mid-twelfth century narrates the wedding of a grandson of the Cid with a daughter of the Emperor (Catalán, *El Cid* 24-25, 170-171, 175-177). These texts, therefore, make explicit what the *Cantar de mio Cid* only insinuates: that Rodrigo's outstanding military and political skills put him at the same level of the "buen enperador," as the poem calls Alfonso VII (v. 3003).

dentro los an tornados; / mandó mio Cid aún que les diessen algo" (vv. 801-802). When the same "moros de la frontera" who fought to recover Alcocer try a different method and offer the Cid "tres mill marcos de plata" in exchange for the city, Rodrigo gladly accepts, because, anyway, the surrounding land is "angosta e sobejana de mala" (vv. 840, 845, 838). No traces of any religious animosity. Even more surprisingly:

> Cuando mio Cid el castiello quiso quitar,
>
> moros e moras tomáronse a quexar:
>
> —¡Vaste, mio Cid, [...]!
>
> ¡Nuestras oraciones váyante delante![38]
>
> Nós pagados fincamos, señor, de la tu part.—
>
> Cuando quitó a Alcocer mio Cid el de Bivar,
>
> moros e moras compeçaron de llorar (vv. 851-856).

As previously mentioned, the Cid's troops killed most inhabitants of Alcocer when they conquered the city. The few Muslims that survived are the ones who now bless Rodrigo, express their satisfaction with serving him, and cry over his departure. This strange reaction is not unprecedented in the poem: the Muslims of Castejón also recover their city for even the same amount, "tres mill marcos de plata," and when Rodrigo leaves "los moros e las moras bendiziéndol' están" (vv. 521, 541).[39] If the Cid decides to sell Alcocer because of the low quality of the land, his reason to

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[38] In the manuscript, "¡Vaste, mio Cid! ¡Nuestras oraciones váyante delante!" is one line of the poem. The presence of three hemistichs suggests, as Alberto Montaner edits here, that there is a missing second half for line 853a.

[39] The *Historia Roderici* mentions similar strategies employed by Rodrigo in other places: in Valencia, the Cid devastates the surrounding towns that present resistance, while showing compassion towards those that surrender peacefully (84-85); in Murviedro, he is admired as merciful when he announces a massacre, does not fulfill his threat, and allows instead the inhabitants to abandon their city (95-96).

sell Castejón may help explain the implausible reaction of "los moros e las moras." In less than thirty lines, the poet mentions three times that Rodrigo is not far enough from King Alfonso and therefore fears for his safety: "Comidiós' mio Cid, el que en buen ora cinxo espada, / el rey Alfonso, que llegarién sus compañas, / que l' buscarié mal con todas sus mesnadas"; "buscarnos ie el rey Alfonso con toda su mesnada. / Quitar quiero Castejón"; "en Castejón non podriemos fincar, / cerca es el rey Alfonso e buscarnos verná" (vv. 507-509, 528-529, 531-532). The contrast could not be more striking between Alfonso, unfair and violent against his most loyal vassal, and the Cid, relatively fair and compassionate even with Muslim captives. While Rodrigo is such a good lord that Muslims prefer to serve him instead of being free, the king harms those he should protect: besides banishing his best warrior, Alfonso unwisely marries Rodrigo's daughters to the cowardly and cruel *infantes* of Carrión, with almost fatal consequences to the young women. The exaggerated reaction of the Muslims who bless the Cid and cry over his departure proves again the superiority of Rodrigo over every monarch of Iberia, including his own king. When the poem was composed, between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Iberian Christian leaders were learning that conquering their enemies' territories was easier than ruling over peoples with different cultures, languages, and religions. Indeed, the diversity of the Peninsula's inhabitants transformed any significant territorial expansion into an imperial endeavor, burdened with the subsequent problems of government and administration more normally associated with empires than with enclosed and homogenous polities.

Ultimately, in both the epic and the historical record, almost everything that the Cid obtained in the form of wealth, political power, or religious and military reputation, was due to his Muslim allies, enemies, and servants. The defeated Muslims of Valencia made possible the independence of Rodrigo as "princeps," no longer subject to his king's decisions. The Muslims that he confronted in battle gave him his wealth. The Almoravids' attempts to reconquer Valencia allowed Rodrigo to

reach an unprecedented level of prestige as the defender of Christian Iberia, and his victories over them constituted the final evidence of his seeming invincibility and superiority over Alfonso, the failed "imperator totius Hispaniae." Significantly for the fame of Rodrigo as transmitted by the *Cantar de mio Cid*, Muslim figures were fundamental to conveying his renowned compassion and "mesura," which can be translated as "moderation," but also "restraint" and "courtesy." In stark contrast with the torturer and slaughterer of Muslims depicted by the Arabic chronicles, the Cid of the poem is a Christian lord that repeatedly earns the gratitude and admiration of his religious and political opponents thanks to his equanimity.

The bond between Rodrigo and Abengalvón, the ruler of Molina, summarizes the various relationships between the Cid and Muslims, as well as the ability of Rodrigo to exploit them for his benefit. The tendency to consider the Cid and Abengalvón as true friends has traditionally prevailed, with scholars often taking literally the several statements of the poem about the Muslim being Rodrigo's "amigo," "amigo de paz," or "amigo natural" (vv. 1464, 1479, 1528, 2636). For example, Michael Harney has written about Rodrigo and Abengalvón's "ritualized friendship," whose "amical imperatives [...], in the pre-state world of kin-ordered society, supersede all but the closest ties of blood kinship. The intimacy and trust between the two men is strikingly reiterated" (69). The trust is undeniable, according to the epic: Rodrigo puts Abengalvón in charge of the safety of his wife and daughters when his family moves from Castile to Valencia. However, it is hard to find in the poem any "intimacy" between Abengalvón and the Cid, and there is one passage that actually denies any closeness between them. When Abengalvón greets Minaya, he does it with unusual familiarity: "Sonrisándose de la boca ívalo a abraçar, / en el ombro lo saluda, ca tal es su usaje: / —¡Tan buen día convusco, Minaya Álbar Fáñez!" (vv. 1518-1520). Abengalvón's next words, however, show that his alliance with Rodrigo is merely a matter of self-preservation:

Traedes estas dueñas por o valdremos más,

mugier del Cid lidiador e sus fijas naturales;

ondrarvos hemos todos, ca tal es la su auze,

maguer que mal le queramos non ge lo podremos far,

en paz o en guerra de lo nuestro abrá,

¡mucho l' tengo por torpe qui non conosce la verdad! (vv. 1521-1526).

In these lines, the Muslim ruler of Molina recognizes that it would be impossible for him not to comply with Rodrigo's requests. If the Cid needs something from him, he will obtain it "en paz o en guerra"; therefore, it is more convenient to be his ally than his enemy. The calculated pragmatism of this relationship excludes both the possibility of a friendship between the two characters and the interpretation of Abengalvón as "the very spirit of chivalry," "the emblem of courtesy," or "the earliest incarnation of the idealized Moor in Spanish literature," as argued by Michael Gerli (261). The interaction between the Cid and Abengalvón simply transfers the political system of *parias* to a personal sphere: while news of the devastations by Rodrigo's troops causes consternation in Monzón and Huesca, "porque dan parias plaze a los de Saragoça, / de mio Cid Ruy Díaz que non temién ninguna fonta" (vv. 941-942). In a similar way to the inhabitants of Zaragoza, Abengalvón has nothing to fear from the Cid, as long as he continues acting as a reliable and submissive ally. For his part, the Cid can put his full trust in Abengalvón, because both know that the Muslim would pay for any disloyalty with his life. Because of this, when the thirteenth-century *Estoria de España* combines the narrative of the *Cantar de mio Cid* with other sources, including the lost chronicle by Ibn ʿAlqama, "Abengalvón is defined as a loyal vassal, but there is no reference to any personal friendship between him and the Cid. Despite Abengalvón's virtues, his admirable actions were not particularly praised, since they were regarded as normal duties required by his subordinate position" (Liuzzo Scorpo 156).

In conclusion, the *Cantar de mio Cid* presents a protagonist vastly different from both the cruel tyrant in the Arabic chronicles and the patriotic Christian hero defended by Menéndez Pidal and Menéndez Pelayo. Rodrigo's complexity as a character is based on his flexibility to navigate among the stormy conditions of Iberian politics, while always obtaining some profit from his relationships with Christian and Muslim competitors, enemies, and subordinates. Still, his interactions with Muslims are of particular interest, because they so frequently involve ambivalent or contradictory attitudes. The entire political ascent of the Cid in the poem, from exiled vassal to ruler of his own principality, demonstrates how the twin strategies of aggression and conciliation towards Muslims helped Christian leaders to acquire and secure their power in the Iberian Peninsula. From this perspective, it would have been unimaginable for the Cid to pursue the elimination or expulsion of all non-Christians: his own meteoric career proves Muslims' indispensable role for the political, military, and economic goals of Christian rulers. This conviction remained true for the author of the poem and his audience a century or more after the Cid's death, which is why he revived Rodrigo's figure and crafted his narrative in the way he did. For the author, "moros e cristianos" means "everybody," "the whole world," as when the Cid's daughters are tortured by the *infantes* of Carrión and ask them to be instead beheaded and martyred, so "moros e cristianos departirán d' esta razón" (v. 2729). The author cannot imagine the Iberian Peninsula devoid of non-Christians, not even in a hypothetical future: when he wants to say that something will be remembered in a community "for all time," he uses the expression "mientra que sea el pueblo de moros e de la yente cristiana" (v. 901). "After four hundred years of the Moorish presence, a writer of the twelfth century believed that the consuetudinary situation would last as long as his world," comments Américo Castro on these lines of the poem (*Spaniards* 88)

The imperial mindset of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, with its fixation on intercultural relations of power and the competition for hegemony in the Iberian

Peninsula, only in one moment transcends its potential state and becomes something closer to actual empire-building and imperialism. In a moment of intense happiness, after a victory over the Almoravid king Búcar, the Cid thanks God for his wealth and power, both derived from a military reputation that has even reached Africa:

> ¡Grado a Dios, que del mundo es señor!
>
> Antes fu minguado, agora rico só,
>
> que he aver e tierra e oro e onor,
>
> e son mios yernos ifantes de Carrión.
>
> Arranco las lides commo plaze al Criador,
>
> moros e cristianos de mí han grant pavor.
>
> Allá dentro en Marruecos, o las mezquitas son,
>
> que abrán de mí salto quiçab alguna noch,
>
> ellos lo temen, ca non lo piensso yo;
>
> no los iré buscar, en Valencia seré yo,
>
> ellos me darán parias con ayuda del Criador,
>
> que paguen a mí o a qui yo ovier sabor (vv. 2493-2504).

The poem does not clarify how the Cid intends to obtain *parias* from the Almoravids while staying in Valencia. Seemingly, Rodrigo imagines someday becoming so powerful that distant lands will tribute to him without any need to engage them in battle, something that has already happened with several towns in the Peninsula. Anyway, Rodrigo's plan of extending his influence across the Mediterranean reflects an obvious consequence of his imperial mindset: once an Iberian leader obtains hegemony over the entire Peninsula or cannot continue invading his neighbors' territories, the next logical step is expanding to North Africa,

which, as pointed out in my introduction, included territories considered by Isidore of Seville and others as a part of "Hispania." In addition to more lands to conquer, Africa conveniently offered new Muslims to subjugate and another opportunity to compete with other Christian rulers. While Rodrigo was alive or when his feats were sung in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, such possibility was no more than a political fantasy. But its imperial logic made it a constant temptation for future Iberian monarchs, such as Fernando III of Castile and León, who for a long time planned that "fecho de allent mar," or his son, Alfonso X, who ruled for a few weeks over the African port of Salé, or the Portuguese kings that finally, during the fifteenth century, extended their dominion to the north of Africa and created a transcontinental empire.

Chapter 2.

The Learned Conquerors:

Writing on Empire and Muslims in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and the *Llibre dels fets*

In addition to being alternately competitors and allies in several Iberian political struggles, Alfonso X of Castile and Jaume I of Aragon were in-laws since 1246, when Alfonso married Jaume's 10-year-old daughter, Violante. The two Iberian kings governed polities with distinct histories and seemed to have differing personalities, which influenced their posthumous reputations: for centuries, the more reserved Alfonso has been remembered as "el Sabio" or "the Learned" (often mistranslated as "the Wise"), and larger-than-life Jaume as "el Conqueridor" or "the Conqueror." However, despite his love for books and sponsorship of cultural endeavors, Alfonso was also a warrior who started participating in the military operations of his father at age 16 and extended Castilian dominion even to North Africa, although not for long. Similarly, in addition to leading the conquests of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, Jaume composed the autobiographical *Llibre dels fets,* a text whose literary qualities are as noteworthy as its historiographical value. Because of their multiple activities, Jaume could have equally deserved the epithet of "el Savi" and Alfonso could have been known as "el Conquistador." As summarized by Robert Burns, "the two kings afford a fascinating contrast not because one was an 'emperor of culture' and the other a magnificent 'conqueror,' but because each was at once patron and warrior in such different ways and such different balance" ("Castle" 18).

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the similarities and contrasts between both kings' relationships with Muslims, as depicted in two literary works closely associated with them: the *Llibre dels fets,* written or most probably dictated by Jaume, and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, sponsored and maybe partially written by Alfonso.

In these texts, the kings themselves are central characters who interact frequently with Muslims in a variety of roles. These interactions show the complexity of the relationships between thirteenth-century Iberian Christian rulers and their Muslim enemies, allies, and subjects. Because both kings were lords of many lands recently conquered and still mainly inhabited by Muslims, their texts put special emphasis on their interactions with Muslim subjects or *mudéjares*. Similarly to the character of Rodrigo Díaz in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, analyzed in the previous chapter, Alfonso X and Jaume I are presented as fearsome destroyers of their non-Christian enemies, savvy creators of alliances with them, and benevolent rulers of *mudéjares*. These apparently contradictory facets converge on Alfonso's and Jaume's images as capable rulers of vast territories and heterogeneous peoples.

For my analysis, it is important to try to clarify the connection between the kings and the texts, in an age when authorship, translation, adaptation, and patronage were processes often undifferentiated or greatly confused. Jaume's authorship of the *Llibre dels fets* has been debated, but today it is hard to doubt the overwhelming evidence in favor of the king of Aragon as its main creator:

> There is the detailed knowledge of all the king's campaigns and the political events of the king's adult life [...]. Events are seen almost entirely from what would have been James's perspective. [...] There is a justification of the actions of the king, which nobody but the king need [sic] justify. [...] The *Llibre* reveals feelings that only the king could have felt. [...] There are many intimate memories of events [...]. Throughout the text there is an easy familiarity with the rulers and major figures of James's reign (Smith, Introduction 6).

Because of this, recent studies on the *Llibre dels fets* mostly take for granted the role of the king of Aragon as its author, as in this passage by Jaume Aurell: "Among James's many talents, perhaps the greatest was his ability to tell a compelling history.

His vivid images make his autobiography a dynamic and dramatic document. He edits, colors, and structures the narrative of his own deeds, transforming them from experience into literary legend" (54). The only obvious exception to the king's authorship is the one-sentence ending in which somebody else interrupted Jaume's narration to record his death: "E aquí, en València, en l'any de .MCCLXXVI., .VI.º kalendas augusti, lo noble En Jacme, per la gràcia de Déu rey d'Aragó e de Maylorques e de València, comte de Barcelona e d'Urgell e senyor de Montpeyler, passà d'aquest segle. *Cuius anima per misericordiam Dei sine fine requiescat in pace*" (386-387; ch. 566).[40] Also, there is some disagreement about the authorship of the book's prologue, "almost certainly incorporated into the text by a court official after the monarch's death," according to Aurell (45). Josep Pujol, instead, affirms that "la utilització de citacions, en llatí o en català, i alhora els defectes en el maneig del llatí i en les remissions escripturàries que s'hi observen remeten a Jaume I com a responsable ple i total del conjunt de l'obra i del pròleg en particular" (167). Excepting those two short segments at the beginning and at the end of the book, the rest of the *Llibre dels fets* was almost without any doubt conceived and dictated by Jaume I in person.[41]

The circumstances surrounding the writing of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are more complicated. Traditionally, most manuscripts and published editions of the works associated with Alfonso X's court have presented him as the nominal author, although the monumental dimensions of those texts are enough to eliminate the

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[40] All the quotes from the *Llibre dels fets* are taken from the edition by Jordi Bruguera.

[41] Even though some "traces of the participation of other people in the drafting of the text" are to be expected, since the king had to be helped by *amanuenses* or scribes and secretaries, Aurell sees "no difficulty in accepting that collective participation in the material production of a chronicle is compatible with the fact of a single author" (160). Aurell is very convincing when arguing against other scholars' "skepticism regarding the existence of true autobiography in the Middle Ages" for reasons as shallow as autobiography being "an 'intimate' genre, and therefore too subjective, emotional, and personal for chroniclers to understand and practice" (134). The autobiographical chronicles of Jaume I, Ramon Muntaner, and Pere IV of Aragon are used by Aurell to refute such prejudices, at least in regard to medieval literature in Catalan (133-153).

possibility that he personally wrote, or even was able to read, all of them. The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* include more than 400 poems in a variety of meters, the legal code the *Siete partidas* comprehends 2010 pages in its last Spanish edition, and the only published version of the historiographical work *General estoria* fills ten thick volumes, whose editing required the collaboration of eight scholars.[42] Alfonso himself clarified his role as an "author" when, during the *General estoria*'s retelling of the biblical Exodus, he compared it with God's intellectual authorship of the Bible:

> Podemos entender e dezir que compuso Nuestro Señor las razones de los mandados, e que ovo ell autoridad e el nombre dend porque las mandó escrivir, mas que las escrivió Moisén, assí como dixiemos nós muchas vezes el rey faze un libro non por quel él escriva con sus manos, mas porque compone las razones d'él e las emienda e yegua e endereça e muestra la manera de cómo se deven fazer, e desí escrívelas qui él manda, peró dezimos por esta razón que el rey faze el libro. Otrossí cuando dezimos el rey faze un palacio o alguna obra non es dicho porque lo él fiziesse con sus manos, mas porquel mandó fazer e dio las cosas que fueron mester pora ello (part 1, vol. 2, p. 393).

Therefore, the so-called "Alfonsine" works can be mostly considered as texts sponsored by the Castilian king, with maybe some personal involvement of Alfonso as an editor and less likely as an author for some of them. Among all these works, however, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* is precisely the one in which "la aportación personal del mismo Alfonso llega a su apogeo," in Joseph Snow's words ("Alfonso X y

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[42] The last Spanish edition of the *Siete partidas* was published in 1807 by the Real Academia de la Historia, although there exists a reprint from 1972; there is a much more recent English translation from 2000, edited by Robert Burns. The first complete edition of the *General estoria* was published in 2009, under the general direction of Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja; specific volumes or segments were edited also by Belén Almeida, Bautista Horcajada Diezma, Carmen Fernández López, Verónica Gómez Ortiz, Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, Raúl Orellana, and Elena Trujillo.

las 'Cantigas'" 160). According to Snow, the critical consensus ("no unánime," he cautions) on the king's participation in the work is that "Alfonso ideó, diseñó el plan general de construcción, y embelleció con algunas trovas personales, las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Concibió el proyecto, le dio vida arquitectónica, forma y sentido, y un fondo narrativo muy original" ("Alfonso X y/en sus *Cantigas*" 74). There are several reasons to draw this conclusion. First, Alfonso's full approval and support of the *Cantigas* seem undeniable: nobody else could have spent the extraordinary amount of artistic and financial resources invested in the four preserved manuscripts, some of them including musical notation and splendid miniatures.[43] Second, the text and the illustrations of the *Cantigas* suggest a strong interest for emphasizing the monarch's own image, ideas, and values: the *Cantigas* exalt the power of God and the Virgin no less than the qualities of Alfonso as a great king and potential emperor. Third, Alfonso himself is the protagonist of several poems, and the miniatures often represent him accompanied by the Virgin, while he prays to her or serves as an intermediary between Mary and his subjects.[44] Some poems even mention Alfonso's labor as "trobador" of the *Cantigas*, "trobador" being an ambiguous term that may equally mean "composer" or "singer":

> Enton el Rei Don Affonso, fillo del Rei Don Fernando,
>
> reinava, que da Reynna dos ceos tĩia bando

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[43] All four manuscripts of the *Cantigas* were apparently produced in the Alfonsine court, according to Walter Mettmann (47). The *Códice toledano* includes only 129 cantigas. The *Códice rico* contains 195 cantigas and 1257 miniatures, which illustrate each cantiga in groups of 6 or 12 panels. The *Códice florentino* includes 104 cantigas and about 300 complete miniatures, along with many others that are more or less unfinished. Finally, in the *Códice escurialense* there are 406 cantigas and 41 miniatures which represent musicians; because of this, this manuscript is also known as the *Códice de los músicos*. For more detailed descriptions of the manuscripts, see Mettmann 25-34 and Fernández Fernández.

[44] See, for example, the illuminations for cantigas 1, 50, 70, 80, 90, 100, 110, 120, 130, 140, 160, 170, and 190 in the facsimile edition of the *Códice rico* of the *Cantigas,* published by Testimonio Compañía.

contra mouros e crischãos maos, e demais trobando

andava dos seus miragres grandes que sabe fazer (cant. 345, vv. 11-14).[45]

These lines are representative of Alfonso's dual role as a devout poet and a conquering king, both central to the purposes of the *Cantigas*.[46] Alfonso X's imperial ambitions are famous because he was the only Iberian medieval ruler who aspired not only to the hegemony over the Peninsula, but also to rule the Holy Roman Empire. This endeavor occupied him for almost twenty years, from 1257 to 1275, when he finally renounced his claim to be crowned by the Pope as *Rex Romanorum*.[47] Alfonso's imperial claim derived from his maternal family: his mother was a Hohenstaufen princess and a cousin to the Emperor Frederick II. Through his mother's lineage, Alfonso was also the grandson of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos. On his father's side of the family, he descended from a long line of rulers of León and Castile who called themselves "emperors," starting with Alfonso VI, the "imperator totius Hispanie" who exiled the Cid, and Alfonso VII, oficially crowned as emperor in the cathedral of León. Perhaps in an attempt not to pale in comparison with his son-in-law's ancestry, Jaume I of Aragon gave much importance to his family connections to

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[45] All the quotes from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* come from the edition in three volumes by Walter Mettmann. The numbering of the cantigas differs in modern editions; I follow the numbering proposed by Mettmann, which is also the one used by *The Oxford Cantigas de Santa Maria Database*.

[46] The centrality of Marian piety in the *Cantigas* can sometimes conceal that they are no less political and imperialistic than the *Llibre dels fets*. See, for example, Francisco Prado-Vilar's emphasis on how "the image of Mary is made a focal point that encapsulates a universal idea of divine love that transcends religious boundaries" (73). At the same time, Jaume's devotion to Mary is also deeply connected to his military campaigns. The Virgin's support on the battlefield is mentioned often in the *Llibre dels fets* and, in one striking case, her invocation transforms the reluctant Christian troops into a bellicose army that marches against Majorcan Muslims while shouting "¡Sancta Maria, sancta Maria!" (97; ch. 84).

[47] Salvador Martínez's biography of Alfonso includes three chapters on this topic: "La búsqueda de la corona imperial," "Alfonso, Rey de Romanos," and "Gregorio X y el final de las ambiciones imperiales" (chs. 4, 5, 6).

Iberian and foreign emperors in the first chapters of the *Llibre dels fets*. The second chapter of the book begins:

> Vera cosa és e certa que nostre avi, el rey Don Amfós, féu parlar matrimoni a l'emperador de Contastinoble que li donàs sa filla per muyler. E sobre aqueles paraules que foren tractades e acordades d'amdues les parts, ço és assaber, de nostre avi e de l'mperador, féu matrimoni nostre avi ab la regina Dona Sanxa, que fo fiyla de l'emperador de Castella (7; ch. 2).

The "emperador de Castella" mentioned in that passage is Alfonso VII, put here at the same level of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. Jaume manipulates part of his family history to be able to include both emperors in his genealogical tree: "E nostre Seyor volch que per aquela promessa que·l rey havia feta primerament, ço és assaber, que seria sa muyler la fiyla de l'emperador Manuel, que aquella tornàs en son loch. E par-ho en açò, que la néta de l'emperador Manuel fo puys muyler de nostre pare, on nós venim" (12; ch. 7).[48] Even though Jaume is not being completely accurate with all dates and names, he justifies the strange series of events by calling it "cosa [...] miraculosa" and "obra de Déu," a strategy he often employs with the most questionable or suspicious aspects of his 63-year-long reign (12; ch. 7).

The importance that Jaume gives to his imperial ancestors is a clear attempt to stand out in the crowded political scene of Iberia. The inclusion of an Iberian and a Byzantine emperor in his lineage elevates Jaume over almost all his Christian peers,

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[48] There is one more so-called "emperor of Spain" among Jaume's ancestors: Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre, nicknamed "el Bataller" or "el Batallador." Jaume probably avoids mentioning him because, in spite of his great military victories, Alfonso's role as emperor was not too glorious: first, his dominion over León, Castile, and Toledo originated not from his conquests, but from his marriage to Urraca I de León; second, his baffling decision to give his kingdoms in inheritance to three military orders caused the immediate division of the territory at his death.

the only exception being his son-in-law, Alfonso, who surpasses him by adding the Hohenstaufen emperors to the intricate network of his political links. Alfonso's Hohenstaufen connection was, however, a curse in disguise: a popular view of his reign criticizes him for getting so engrossed by the "fecho del imperio" that he stopped paying attention to the needs of his own kingdom (Martínez 135). This criticism, which originated not long after his reign and lasts until today, connects Alfonso's imperial aspirations to high taxes and authoritarian measures that caused resistance among the local nobility, culminating with a civil war between Alfonso and his son and heir, Sancho. Carlos de Ayala Martínez disagrees with such a view and suggests that both Iberian and imperial issues were complementary instead of contradictory for Alfonso. According to Ayala Martínez, being recognized as Holy Roman Emperor was crucial to Alfonso mainly because it validated his hegemony in the Peninsula:

> Por su sóla [sic] calidad de Electo y Rey de Romanos, y su consecuente proximidad a las fuentes del poder eminente y soberano de los detentadores del Sacro Imperio, el rey adquiría un prestigio y una autoridad que convertirían en teóricamente indiscutibles su vocación autoritaria en Castilla y, sobre todo, la máxima pretensión de su política peninsular: la hegemonía sobre el conjunto de los reinos hispánicos (*Directrices* 339).

Among many other documents, the fawning prologue of the Alfonsine *Libro de las cruzes* seems to support Ayala Martínez's position. Although it is dated in 1259, a couple of years after Alfonso started claiming the imperial crown, the *Libro de las cruzes*' commendation of the king as somebody "en qui Dyos puso seso, et entendemiento et saber sobre todos los principes de su tyempo" is not explicitly connected to his aspiration to rule the Holy Roman Empire, but to the fictional title of "rey dEspanna" (1). The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* similarly present Alfonso as the

de facto Christian leader of the Iberian Peninsula, to the detriment of other powerful and ambitious rulers, including Jaume.

Jaume's and Alfonso's military campaigns and literary works share the same constant anxiety over their competition with other Iberian leaders. Both carried that concern as an almost genetic trait, linked to the histories of their kingdoms and the achievements of their ancestors.[49] In the case of Jaume, he governed a composite monarchy, the so-called Crown of Aragon, which was less than a century old when he started his reign in 1213. Since 1137, when the Kingdom of Aragon and the County of Barcelona were merged by a marriage, the Crown of Aragon had stubbornly resisted Castilian influence and hegemony, while simultaneously battling Muslim enemies. In the case of Alfonso, his vast territories were inherited from his father, Fernando III, who first reunited Castile and León following the example of Iberian "emperors" from the previous century, and then conquered almost the entirety of the Muslim south. The religious dimension of these conquests is emphasized in the *Cantigas*, which present Fernando as a direct opponent of Muhammad: Seville is a city "que Mafomete perdeu / per este Rey Don Ffernando" and a statue erected by Alfonso of his father portrays him armed with "ssa espada [...] / con que deu colbe a Mafomete mortal" (cant. 292, vv. 33-34, 58-59). Even without considering the symbolic aspects of Fernando's expansion, numbers alone are impressive: "Si en 1217 Fernando III el Santo hereda el reino de Castilla con unos 153.000 kilómetros cuadrados, en 1230 suma ya 100.000 más al heredar el reino de León, y antes de su muerte ha anexionado a su reino más de 130.000 kilómetros cuadrados conquistados a los musulmanes"

[49] In the early thirteenth-century, the belligerent competition among Iberian Christian rulers was already so infamous that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada tried to explain it through their Visigothic ancestors: "Reges Hispanie a feroci Gothorum sanguine contraxerunt ne maiores aliquem uelint parem nec minores superiorem" ("From the fierce blood of the Goths, the kings of Hispania inherited this: that the most powerful cannot stand anybody to be their equal, and the less powerful cannot stand anybody to be superior") (*De rebus Hispanie* 194).

(Vallvé 104). The Alfonsine *Setenario* clearly states the imperial ambitions of Fernando III and how they were frustrated when he could not conquer the entire south of the Peninsula, a task that was obviously left for Alfonso to complete:

> En rrazón del enperio, [Fernando] quisiera que ffuese así llamado ssu ssennorío e non rregno, e que ffuese él coronado por enperador segunt lo ffueron otros de su linage. [...] Mas él, commo era de buen seso e de buen entendimiento e estaua sienpre aperçebido en los grandes ffechos, metió mientes e entendió [...] que non era en tienpo de lo ffazer, mostrando muchas rrazones buenas que non se podía fazer en aquella sazón: primeramiente, porque la tierra daquent mar non era conquerida toda e los moros fincauan en ella (22-23).

The expansionist duties of Alfonso, only implied in the *Setenario,* become explicit in a fourteenth-century version of the *Estoria de España*, in which the dying Fernando III says to his son and heir:

> Sennor te dexo de toda la tierra dela mar aca que los moros del Rey Rodrigo de espanna ganado ouieron Et en tu sennorio finca toda la conquerida ¶ la otra tributada sy la en este estado en que tela yo dexo la sopieres guardar eres tan buen Rey commo yo Et sy ganares por ti mas eres meior que yo et si desto menguas non eres tan bueno commo yo (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fol. 358v).[50]

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[50] Excepting when I quote segments of the *Versión concisa* and the *Versión crítica* of the *Estoria de España*, which have been partly edited by Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez, most of my quotes of this Alfonsine work are taken from the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project, directed by Aengus Ward. Because this website contains transcriptions of different manuscripts and versions of the *Estoria de España*, I indicate the specific manuscript and the folio number immediately after the name of the project. The manuscript *E2* is composed of fragments taken from several thirteenth and fourteenth-century versions of the *Estoria de España*; the passage that I quote here is from a segment dated in the mid-fourteenth century (Ward et al.)

Although they are surely apocryphal, Fernando's final words to Alfonso serve to illustrate the pressing obligations of an Iberian king, in a Peninsula always divided and disputed among many local and foreign adversaries. For Alfonso and Jaume, to expand their territories was actually a way of staying in power, by proving their strength against competitors and enemies. However, in order to achieve their political purposes, preparing for war and prevailing on the battlefield were only part of the equation. Other important factors were the literary and historical works that they created or sponsored, along with the religious justifications for imperialism and the constant appearance of Muslims in those texts.

The political intentions of both the *Llibre dels fets* and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are particularly evident when both monarchs boast about their military power and devout Christianity. Just like in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, belligerence and religiosity do not oppose, but interconnect and reinforce each other. As I have already mentioned, the poems and the miniatures of the *Cantigas* represent Alfonso as a close ally of the Virgin Mary, who staunchly supports the Castilian king against his enemies. At the end of a cantiga that narrates how the Virgin protected a church in conquered Murcia from *mudéjares* who wanted to demolish it, the author attributes Christian victories in Iberia to Saint Mary and prophecizes the expansion of Castilian power to Africa:

> E porend' a eigreja sua quita é ja,
>
> que nunca Mafomete poder y averá;
>
> ca a conquereu ela e demais conquerrá
>
> Espanna e Marrocos, e Ceta e Arcilla (cant. 169, vv. 63-65).

The mention of Morocco, Ceuta, and Asilah evokes the disastrous conquest of the North African city of Salé, which the troops of Alfonso infamously looted while

massacring its inhabitants, only to lose control over it after a few weeks.[51] In a more general way, these lines demonstrate a pugnacious opposition of Alfonso and the Virgin to all Muslims in Iberia and overseas. However, there are plenty of cantigas that indicate something completely different, starting with the same cantiga 169 that denigrates Muhammad and promises the conquest of North Africa. The poem is narrated from the perspective of Alfonso X, and its first stanza positions the king as the protagonist and the Murcian *mudéjares* as his antagonists:

> E daquest' un miragre direi grande, que vi
>
> des que mi Deus deu Murça, e oý outrossi
>
> dizer a muitos mouros que moravan ant' y
>
> e tĩian a terra por nossa pecadilla (cant. 169, vv. 8-11).

Even though the author sets up an antithetical relationship between the king and his Muslim subjects, they all share the roles of witnesses and retellers of the miracle. This commonality prefigures the paradoxical relationship developed by the king and the Murcian *mudéjares* in the rest of the poem. In the words of the fictitious Alfonso:

> E pero muitas vezes me rogavan poren
>
> que o fazer mandasse, mostrando-mi que ben
>
> era que o fezesse, depois per nulla ren,
>
> macar llo acordaron, no valeu hũa billa (cant. 169, vv. 28-31).

The phrasing, which highlights the fruitlessness of the *mudéjares*' petition, downplays the surprising role of Alfonso, who indulgently authorizes the destruction of a Christian church because Muslims do not like its presence in the district of La

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[51] About the Castilian conquest and loss of Salé, see the articles by Ballesteros, Huici Miranda ("La toma"), Dufourcq, and Marín, as well as O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar Crusade* 25-29.

Arrijaca. Two stanzas later, Alfonso once again consents to the Muslims' request and this time he mentions his reservations, although for reasons more material than religious: "Mui greu / me foi, ca era toda de novo pintadilla. / [...] Poren muit' a envidos enton llo outorguei" (cant. 169, vv. 45-46, 48). The cantiga never explains why in this issue Alfonso sides with his Muslim subjects and against his religious convictions and the will of the Virgin Mary, but it is not an anomaly in the compilation: a similar situation occurs in cantiga 328, when Alfonso orders some of his troops to be whipped, because they informally renamed the town of Alcanate (*al-Qanāṭir*) as "Santa Maria do Porto." His men wanted to honor the Virgin in this way, but the king considered more important not to insult his local Muslim allies. In both cantigas 169 and 328, the Virgin finally resolves the problem by influencing not Alfonso but a Muslim authority. In cantiga 328, the "alguazil" or constable from Jerez offers Alcanate and a series of other villages to Alfonso, in order to keep the peace with Castile. In cantiga 169, after Alfonso authorizes the destruction of the church in La Arrijaca one last time, "toda a Aljama foi ao mouro rei / que o fazer mandasse; mas diss' el: 'Non farei, / ca os que Mariame desama, mal os trilla'" (vv. 49-51). This is one of many instances in the *Cantigas* in which a Muslim character shows his fear or reverence towards Mary, since, as the sultan of Egypt points out in cantiga 165, "Eno Alcoran achey / que Santa Maria virgen foi sempr'; e pois esto sey, / guerra per nulla maneira con ela non fillarey" (vv. 65-68). The veneration of Mary and Jesus by most Muslims is certainly one of the reasons why their relationship with Christians is ambivalent and not entirely antagonistic, as is almost always the case with the Jews of the *Cantigas*. Besides the obvious respect towards biblical patriarchs, prophets, and kings, the only Jews of the *Cantigas* who deserve not to be lynched or burned alive are those who finally become Christians, while unconverted Muslims are presented several times in positive or neutral terms.[52]

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[52] The very negative portrayals of Jews in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* evidence the divide between actual intercultural exchanges and their literary representation. The importance of

The ambivalence of Alfonso's depictions of Muslims in the *Cantigas* has attracted the interest of many scholars, who have struggled to explain such contradictory attitude towards "mouros." For Albert Bagby, while "Alfonso's relations with the Moors, when not on the battlefield or at the strategy table, were often stimulating and cultural" and he could even act as a "protector and guardian angel of the Moorish scholars who worked under his auspices," "for reasons politico-patriotic and for reasons religious, all of which may quite probably have been completely sincere, Alfonso depicted primarily the Moorish enemy in his *Cantigas* and not the Moorish friend" ("Moor" 42, 44, 44-45).[53] Rhonda Zaid's conclusion is much more negative: even "superficial positive characterizations [of Muslims in the *Cantigas]* often belie an opposite intent," because "the three significant attitudes the king expresses toward Moslems in the five canticles to be discussed are conversionary, spiritual superiority of Christianity, and temporary Moslem superiority, on a physical level, primarily seen as a Christian punishment for sinning" (147). As the last quote evidences, Zaid is analyzing only five cantigas among more than 400, which makes her study much more partial than the one by Bagby, who examines all the *Cantigas* and bases his conclusion on a majoritarian tendency. Mercedes García-Arenal creates a division between the good *mudéjares* or Muslim subjects of Alfonso, the rebellious *mudéjares* from the territories more recently conquered by Castile, and the Muslim invaders from North Africa. This classification works only partially: some of the

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Jewish collaborators in the Alfonsine cultural projects is not reflected at all in the *Cantigas*, which consistently present even the Jews' wisdom as a tool for evil: "The possibility of a Jew being able to teach something of value to a Christian is broached in *Cantiga* 108. However, here the Jew is criticized for using his knowledge for evil purposes (the criticism of Mary and Christianity) instead of for good. Thus, although the wisdom and knowledge of non-Christians is acknowledged, its value is negated" (Walmisley Santiago 39).

[53] Bagby later published a couple of very brief articles on the topic, but his main idea remained the same ("Alfonso X El Sabio" and "Some Characterizations"). A third article studied only the positive representations of Muslims in the *Cantigas*, avoiding again to address both sides of the problem ("Alfonso and the Virgin").

African invaders, generally characterized as ruthless, display their reverence towards the Virgin, recognize her miraculous powers, and even convert to Christianity (for example, in cantigas 28 and 46). García-Arenal mentions these cases to prove that "los 'buenos' moros están en disposición de convertirse o, por su respeto a la Virgen, en un estado de 'preconversión,'" but she does not acknowledge that those conversions problematize her previous division of Muslims into three separate groups and the alleged demonization of foreign Muslims (147).[54] Regarding the *mudéjares* from recently annexed territories like Murcia, Alicante, and Seville, the *Cantigas* show Alfonso as sometimes hostile, but also cordial and even ingratiating, as I have already shown in cantigas 169 and 328.

The studies by Olga Walmisley Santiago and Connie Scarborough displace the focus of the discussion by examining simultaneously the treatment of Muslims and Jews in the *Cantigas*. Therefore, Walmisley Santiago's conclusion clarifies the differences between the depictions of both non-Christian groups, but not the problem of the ambivalent representations of Muslims: "Probably because of the religious nature of the *Cantigas*, the Jew is considered more dangerous, because he threatens Christianity, the very basis of Spanish existence as envisioned by Alfonso X, while the Moor, with his relative tolerance and respect of Christianity, is seen primarily as a warrior" (39). Scarborough devotes most of a chapter to analyzing the less ambiguous case of the Jews and she includes both groups in her general conclusions: first, "the negative image of the Jew or the Moor can, of course, not be

[54] Extremely puzzling is the comment by García-Arenal about how the conversions of Muslims in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* exemplify "the thirteenth-century dream of conversion" according to Burns, i. e., "la ficción de que los musulmanes se hallan dispuestos a convertirse, de que sus hombres sabios no lo hacen por ignorancia de la buena ley y no podrían resistir una polémica razonada" (147). Actually, no conversion in the *Cantigas* results from a catechistic initiative or a rational debate: all of them are sudden, emotional reactions to a supernatural event. García-Arenal seems to be applying an idea related to the cultural practice of disputation to the lyric poetry of the *Cantigas*, therefore conflating genres and modes of writing which are deeply dissimilar in their form and intent.

ignored but the 'norm' for presenting these minority groups should not be evaluated on the scales of tolerance vs. intolerance or equality vs. inequality, as we understand these concepts today"; second, "microsocieties" such as the Muslim and Jewish communities "were not what Alfonso envisaged for the ideal Spanish society in which Christian hegemony and Spanish identity would supplant any other affiliations or allegiances, but they were part of the political landscape he paints in the *Cantigas*" (116, 117). Putting aside her questionable claim about a thirteenth-century Castilian monarch thinking of an "ideal Spanish society" or a "Spanish identity," Scarborough seemingly gives up any attempt to explain the *Cantigas'* contradictory portrayals of Muslims and instead accepts them as simply "part of the political landscape."

The respect for some Muslims in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* contrasts with many other contemporary and older Iberian texts that overwhelmingly present them as barbaric invaders of the Peninsula and natural enemies of Christians. These views are pervasive in several Iberian chronicles written in Latin between the twelfth and the thirteenth century, such as the *Historia Silense*, the *Chronica Naierensis*, the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas de Tuy, and the *De rebus Hispanie* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Most of these chronicles also link the Leonese or Castilian monarchies to the legendary Visigothic warrior Pelayo of Asturias, who fought against Muslims with the help of God and Saint James during the eighth century. A similar historiographical situation developed in the Crown of Aragon before the *Llibre dels fets:* the twelfth-century *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium* begins with the exploits of Guifredus Pilosus (Guifré "the Hairy"), a hero whose triumph against Muslims in the ninth century put the county of Barcelona "in eius dominium et totius generis sui in perpetuum" ("under his power, and the power of all his descendants, forever") (122). Such emphasis on the fight against Muslims continues in the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium* until recent events starring Ramon Berenguer IV, who, along with the "Imperator totius Hispaniae" Alfonso VII, took Almeria "cum L duobus tantum militibus armatis, XX fere milia sarracenorum mira strenuitate et audacia" ("with only

fifty-two armed soldiers and extraordinary vigor and audacity, against almost twenty thousand Muslims") (134). The first mention of Muslims in the *Llibre dels fets* makes the reader suppose that Jaume will follow a similar path of stark opposition to Islam or will actually exacerbate it, by merging the centuries-old struggles against Muslims with more contemporary crusading discourses. But Islamophobic ideas are not immediately apparent in Jaume's account, not even when he starts planning his invasion of the Balearic Islands, by then under the control of the Almohad Caliphate. The merchant Pere Martell first suggests to Jaume the idea of conquering the kingdom of Majorca for very practical purposes: according to Martell, "tindrem per bo que vós aquela yla conquirats per dues raons: la primera, que vós ne valrets més e nós; l'altra, que serà cosa maraveylosa a les gents que oyran aquesta conquesta que prengats terra e regne dins en la mar, on Déus lo volch formar" (57; ch. 47). Martell emphasizes the value of the kingdom, a very important trading center with a unique strategic location in the Mediterranean, and the reputation that its subjugation will earn for Jaume and the Crown of Aragon. Soon after, during a "cort" or assembly of the king with bishops and nobles in Barcelona, Muslims are mentioned only occasionally in the discussion, even when religious terms are frequently used in relation to the conquest of Majorca.

Jaume inaugurates the "cort" of Barcelona with an exceedingly devotional speech, which gives an almost liturgical tone to this political assembly: "*Illumina cor meum, Domine, et verba mea de Spiritu Sancto*: On, nós pregam a nostre Senyor Déus e a la Verge sancta Maria, mare sua, que nós puxam dir algunes paraules que sían a honor de nós e de vós, qui les escoltarets, e que sien a plaer de Déu e de la sua mare, nostra Dona sancta Maria" (58; ch. 48). Strategically, Jaume's speech then focuses on an unrelated topic: the tumultuous situation of the Crown of Aragon at the beginning of his reign: "Vinguem entre vós jove, de jovén de .VI. ayns e mig, e trobam Aragó e Cathaluyna torbats, que los uns venien contra los altros" (58; ch. 48). Jaume then proposes the conquest of Majorca as a virtuous remedy to the past rebellions of his

noblemen and the discord among them: "Que començem tals coses, e a vós e a nós, que a él vinga de plaer, e que la cosa sia tan gran e tan bona, que la mala fama que és entre vós que·s tolga, car la claror de les bones obres desfà l'escuredat" (58-59; ch. 48). In Jaume's speech, the island's inhabitants are only implied as a convenient tool to discipline and ennoble the Aragonese and Catalan warriors. That usefulness soon becomes explicit, when, in a more private council between Jaume and his noblemen, the count of Empúries expands on the King's proposal by underscoring the importance of recovering the "pretz que havem perdut" by taking ".I. regne de sarraïns [...] que sia dins mar" (60; ch. 49). The next day, back in the general "cort," another nobleman, Guillem de Montcada, emphasizes that "conquerir lo regne de Maylorques, qui és dins mar, que·ns serà major honrament que si·n conqueríets .III. en terra" (61; ch. 50). Once again, the war against enemies abroad is presented as a way to pacify and unite the Peninsular territories: "Que fassats pau e treves per tota Cathaluyna [...]. E, si negú no y vol ésser de Cathaluyna, nós li farem ésser, si li pesa o li plau" (61; ch. 50). Other speakers revisit the same or similar ideas: don Nunó Sanxes declares that the conquest of Majorca will be an "obra de Déu," and the archbishop of Tarragona considers it an action to the "honor de Déu e de tota la cort celestial" (62, 62; chs. 51, 52). Several dignataries pledge their support and that of their vassals. Among them, only the bishop of Barcelona hints at the campaign as something close to a crusade against Muslims, when he tells Jaume: "Vós, qui sots fiyl de nostre Seyor, quan volets perseguir los enemics de la fe e de la creu" (64; ch. 53).

In contrast with the surprisingly few allusions to Islam during the "cort" of Barcelona, Jaume suddenly seems imbued with a desire to convert or exterminate Muslims as soon as he and his troops sail to the island of Majorca: "E nós anam en est viatge en fe de Déu e per aquels que no·l creen; e anam sobr·éls per .II. coses: o per convertir-los ho per destruhir-los e que tornen aquel regne a la fe de nostre Seyor" (67; ch. 56). Despite this sudden reinscription of a military and commercial endeavor as a pious mission of Christianizing a foreign kingdom, the first encounter among

the Aragonese and a Majorcan Muslim could not be more cordial. When Jaume's troops are still exploring the coast looking for a good place to land, suddenly "lo digmenge a hora de mig dia vench .I. sarrahí qui havia nom Alí, de la Palomera, nadan a nós, e comtà'ns noves de la yla e del rey e de la ciutat" (71; ch. 59). Bernat Desclot, who a few years later wrote his own *Crònica* in which he adapted many events from the *Llibre dels fets*, added a far-fetched story to clarify why an unknown Muslim from Majorca felt impelled to supply the Aragonese invaders with information.[55] According to Desclot, Alí, who was "majordom del rei de Mallorques," explained to Jaume his desire to collaborate with the Aragonese in this way: "Sènyer, sàpies per cert que aquesta terra és tua e a ton manament; que ma mare me dix e em pregà que jo que vengués a tu e t'ho dixés. Que ella és molt sàvia femna e ha conegut en la sua art d'astronomia que aquesta terra deus tu conquerir" (86). But such a legend, apparently necessary for Desclot's sense of plausibility, is not really needed in the *Llibre dels fets*, which affirms many times during and after the "cort" of Barcelona that the conquest of Majorca is an endeavor supported by God. When the fight against the Majorcans begins, the bishop of Barcelona reminds the Aragonese troops that their struggle is a crusade in which every Christian soldier will obtain spiritual salvation, immediately if he dies in battle or later if he survives with honor:

> Aquest feyt en què el rey nostre seyor és, e vosaltres, és obra de Déu, que no és pas nostre. E devets fer aquest comte: que aquels qui en aquest feyt pendran mort, que la pendran per nostre Seyor, e que

[55] Bernat Desclot's *Crònica,* or the *Llibre del rey en Pere de Aragó e dels seus antecessors passats*, was written between 1283 and 1288, not long after Jaume's death in 1276 (Aurell 55). Desclot's book focuses first on the twelfth-century counts of Barcelona, then on Jaume, and finally on his son, Pere III. According to Aurell, the section of the book dedicated to Jaume uses a variety of historiographical sources, including oral epic poems and popular tales, most of which have been lost (57). Therefore, the provenance of many details used by Desclot to embellish Jaume's narrative, such as the backstory of Alí, is unknown.

> hauran paradís hon auran glòria perdurabla per tots tems; e aquels qui viuran hauran honor e preu en sa vida e bona fi a la mort (74; ch. 62).

Despite the words of the bishop of Barcelona and a brutal declaration by Jaume about how "val més .I. caval que .XX. sarraïns," the case of the friendly Alí is not unique (72; ch. 60). Soon after, Ben Aabet spontaneously carries supplies to the Aragonese troops and then convinces other Majorcan Muslims to peacefully submit to Jaume. The king praises Ben Aabet in remarkable terms: "E açò féu aquel àngel que Déus nos envià; e, quan dich àngel, él era sarraý, mas tant nos tench bon loch, que per àngel lo prenguem, e per açò li faem con semblança d'àngel. [...] E fiàvem-nos a él, car en él trobàvem tota veritat" (84; ch. 71). When Jaume is overwhelmed by wonder or emotion, he usually employs religious vocabulary and alludes to divine Providence; however, it is uncommon for him to do this to exalt a Muslim's good qualities, instead of his own actions. Jaume's gratitude towards Ben Aabet illustrates the problem with crusading discourses in the Iberian Peninsula: it is simply not possible to envision political conflict between Christians and Muslims across clearly defined cultural and religious lines, or at least not in a consistent way. No matter how many times Jaume, his bishops, and his noblemen emphasize their supposed higher purpose of fighting against "Saracens" and Christianizing their lands, their conquests at the end are only possible through alliances and agreements with those same non-Christians.

Iberian Christian kings drew on both war and negotiation with Muslims to expand their dominion. Sometimes conquest was not even necessary: it was enough that Muslims recognized the superiority of their Christian neighbors and accepted to pay annual tributes, through the effective system of *parias* that, as explained in the previous chapter, plays a fundamental role in the *Cantar de mio Cid*. But even in open wars, when cities were forcefully taken after long sieges and the devastation of surrounding lands, the most common course was to finally arrive at a pacted surrender. As summarized by David Nirenberg, despite the geographical and

chronological differences between surrender pacts across the Peninsula, the main concessions to Muslim populations were "fairly standard":

> In exchange for their labor and their taxes, Mudejars were to receive: 1) safety and confirmation of property rights; 2) guarantee of the free practice of religion, including the right to pray in their mosques, to teach Islam to their children, and to go on pilgrimage; 3) the right to rule themselves according to Muslim law (*Sharīʿa*), to be judged under it in any case involving only Muslims, and to name their own religious and judicial officials; 4) the confirmation of existing pious endowments in perpetuity; 5) a limitation of taxes, which were to be roughly similar to those paid under Muslim rule ("Muslims" 61).[56]

[56] There are undeniable similarities between the conditions of these surrender pacts and those of Islamic *dhimma*, the contract that protected non-Muslim subjects in Islamic polities. *Dhimma*'s conditions included "paying a poll-tax (*jizya*), [...] accepting inequality in the legal relations between *dhimmis* and Muslims, as well as regulations concerning the wearing of distinctive clothing (with various degrees of application through time and area). It was also forbidden to insult Islam and to seek to convert a Muslim, all this, in principle, subject to the death penalty" (Fierro 156). According to Catlos, the resemblance between *dhimma* and the status of subject Muslims "does not reveal an intention on the part of the Christians to imitate Muslim practice; rather it arose from logistical and military exigencies which resembled those of the Muslim invaders four centuries earlier. Practical considerations were sufficient cause for the development of these policies, which resemble those of colonial/imperial powers from Parthia to the present" (*Victors* 98). For Mark Meyerson, however, "there was a crucial difference between the Christian and Islamic systems. Whereas the *dhimmah* contract was sanctioned by revelation and was therefore universally applicable and essentially stable, the Christian system was based primarily on a series of surrender treaties and compacts concluded between Christian monarchs and individual minority communities, and was consequently more subject to change" (3). As Míkel de Epalza argues, it is fundamental to consider the influence of Islamic principles and expectations when examining the pacts created by Christians to regulate their interactions with Muslims: "The numerous pacts (*ʿuhūd*, sing. *ʿahd*) established between Muslims and Christians from the late twelfth century to the early seventeenth century in Iberia created a framework for mutual coexistence and structured the response of subject Muslim communities to the dominant Hispanic society. [...] The conception of *ʿahd* underlay, on the Muslim side, all of the agreements Mudejars reached with the Spanish Christian

The respect for the religious and legal practices of *mudéjares* is mentioned by Jaume when he narrates his conquest of Uixó: "E faem-los cartes de la lur ley, que la tinguessen, e de totes lurs costumes, així con les solien haver en temps de sarraïns, e que·ns donassen dretura així con faÿen al rey lur" (213; ch. 250). Similar conditions are repeated for the surrender of Paterna: "E nós dixem-los [...] que·ls observaríem lur ley e totes les costumes que havien en temps de sarraïns e que·ls faríem gran bé" (215; ch. 254). In both cases, the Muslims react with the same grateful joy of the inhabitants of the cities occupied by the Cid: "Exiren-nos reebre al peu del Pug ben .CC. sarraïns e les sarraÿnes e ab gran alegria" (213-214; ch. 251); "E exiren a nós tots los sarraïns e les sarraïnes ab gran alegria, e dixem-los que·ls faríem bé e que·ls affranquiríem per .II. ayns per el mal que havien pres. E éls faeren a Déu gràcies de les bones paraules que los havíem dites, e hobriren-nos les portes, e entram dins" (215; ch. 254). Undoubtedly, Jaume wanted to present himself as a merciful and empathetic ruler, in the same way in which the *Cantar de mio Cid* portrayed Rodrigo Díaz or in which the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* represented Alfonso. As Burns points out, during a decade and a half of campaign against the kingdom of Valencia, there were only "two major sieges, at Burriana and Valencia, [that] ended with the mass expulsion of Moslems at those cities. Almost everywhere else the Moors managed to surrender on excellent terms, keeping intact their society, political structure, and way of life" (*Crusader Kingdom* 4). Such tolerant policies were nothing exceptional: analogous surrender agreements were pursued when Alfonso VI of León took Toledo in 1085, when Alfonso I of Aragon captured Zaragoza in 1118, and when Afonso I of Portugal conquered Lisbon in 1147 (O'Callaghan, "Mudejars" 14-15, and *Reconquest* 139-140; Reilly 171).[57]

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kingdoms of the Middle Ages, as they entered into new relationships with these states as subject communities" (195-196).

[57] The political advantages of such agreements are even more patent when considering the vast differences between these kings' personal relationships with Muslims. While Alfonso VI allied frequently with Muslim rulers and even had a son with the convert Zaida of Seville, Afonso I emphasized his reign's crusading purposes, thanks to which Pope Alexander III recognized Portugal's independence from León; Alfonso I of Aragon also presented himself

As exemplified by the final sack and massacre of Lisbon, however, those promises were not always kept by the Christian armies, whose own interests did not necessarily align with those of their kings and bishops.[58]

In several passages of the *Llibre dels fets*, Jaume describes how the strategic process of negotiating with Muslim enemies was accompanied by an equally complicated handling of the expectations of Christian soldiers and clergymen. For example, when the King of Majorca offers to surrender his kingdom in exchange for a few ships so he and his court can self-exile to North Africa ("Barberia"), Jaume and his ambassador, Don Nunó, want to accept the proposal at once. However, the bishop of Barcelona argues that so many Christians have died in the island that "qui·ls podia venjar sirvén a Déu, que·l venjamén seria bo" (91; ch. 78). Several noblemen agree with the need to avenge their fallen comrades, and the baron Ramon Alemany additionally fears that the King of Majorca may return to the island with reinforcements from Africa (91; ch. 78). Against his better judgment, Jaume follows the opinion of his bishops and noblemen. In response to Aragon's refusal to accept his surrender, the previously hopeless King of Majorca stirs up his men, telling them that the Christians intend to capture them and rape their women (92-93; ch. 79). The Muslims react with such a violent counteroffensive that the same bishop of Barcelona and Ramon Alemany ask for Jaume to reconsider his decision, provoking his anger and frustration: "¿No valguera més que laora ho atorgàssets, que ara con me deïts que

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as a staunch enemy of Muslims. "Merciful" surrender terms were, therefore, a convenient political and military tool, entirely unrelated to personal feelings.

[58] In addition, Muslims evidently had a very different perception of the actions of Christian conquerors, even in the case of peaceful surrenders. For example, in a poem that laments the loss of several Andalusi cities, including Valencia, Córdoba, and Seville, Ar-Rundī emphasizes the suffering of their inhabitants and the abuses by Christian troops: "And were you to behold their weeping when they are sold, the matter would strike fear into your heart, and sorrow would seize you. / Alas, many a mother and child have been parted as souls and bodies are separated! / And many a maiden fair as the sun when it rises, as though she were rubies and pearls, / is led off to abomination by a barbarian against her will, while her eye is in tears and her heart is stunned" (336).

jo u faça? E dich-vos que no·m semblaria ben feyt, que, si nós los movíem ara, seria gran flaquea" (93; ch. 80). Jaume, who inherited the Crown of Aragon when he was five and spent his teenage years putting down the continuous rebellions of his noblemen, was only 21 when he conquered Majorca. More than a decade later, when he campaigned against Valencia, Jaume knew much better how to circumvent the detrimental interventions of others. This time, when he received an offer of surrender from the King of Valencia, Jaume consulted only with his wife, who practically did nothing but confirm what Jaume wanted to hear: "E ela dix que, si a nós semblava, que preséssem aquel pleyt, que bé·l tenia ela per bo" (229; ch. 278). Jaume then sent a message to the Muslims of Valencia, communicating to them his decision and the usual promises of protection to the ones who wanted to leave the city; he took time to eat, drink, and sleep in his tent; and only later he called his bishops and noblemen to announce the news, presenting it as a joyous surprise: "E, cant en aquest bé nostre havien gran part, volíem-los-ho fer saber, per tal que éls se n'alegrassen: que València era nostra" (230; ch. 281). Despite finally achieving the end of a long campaign and owning now the kingdom of Valencia, Jaume's companions were less than joyful:

> Don Nuno e Don Examèn d'Orrea e Don Pero Ferràndez d'Açagra e Don Pero Corneyl perderen les colors, així con si hom los hagués ferits endret del cor. E de l'arquebisbe enfora e dels bisbes alguns, qui dixeren que graÿen a nostre Senyor aquest bé e aquesta mercè que·ns havia donada, anch negun dels altres no u loaren ni u graÿren a Déu ni u tengren per bo (230; ch. 281).

In a masterstroke, at the same time Jaume won a new kingdom for the Crown of Aragon and curbed the ambitions of all his companions. He alone was the conqueror of Valencia, favored by God in a way that his ancestors had only dreamed of, as Jaume repeatedly reminds the reader: "No devíem alongar ço que tots temps havíem desijat nostre liynatge d'aver e de pendre"; "Con nostre Seyor nos havia feyta tanta de gràcia, que altres reys havia haüts en nostre loch tam bons o meylors que nós

e anch no volch donar aquesta gràcia e aquesta victòria que nós havem presa a neguns dels altres"; "E, quan vim nostra senyera sus en la torre, descavalgam del caval e endreçam-nos ves horient e ploram de nostres uyls e besam la terra per la gran mercè que Déus nos havia feyta" (229, 235, 231; chs. 278, 292, 282).

As proven by Alfonso X's disastrous conquest of Salé, to allow the Christian troops to plunder a Muslim city could not only stain a monarch's reputation, but also invite a fast and vehement counterattack from other Muslim kings. Because of this, Jaume's compassion and levelheadedness are at the same time a way to protect his power from the interference of others, a point of personal pride, and a strategic weapon to use in negotiations. An important factor in the surrender of Valencia, as well as a reason for the secretiveness around it, is the contrast between what Jaume offers to Valencian Muslims and what his troops could do if they took the city by force:

> E, si el rey de València queria estorçre aquest mal tan gran que poria ésser en la presó de la vila, de tant sarraý e fembres e infants que y porien morir, e perdre tot ço que haurien, que a nós plauria; e açò, que deïm per bé e per pro d'ells, e que·ls pendríem a nostra fe e·ls guiaríem ab tot ço que portar-se'n porien: "Car dolor nos pren de la lur mort; e, si ab lur volentat que·ns retessen la vila, la podíem haver, mes la volríem així haver que per altra guisa, per força; car la major partida de la ost volria lo barreg de la vila, e nós no·l volem per la dolor que·ns pren de vós" (228; ch. 277).

Jaume's concern for the welfare of his enemies disappears when it does not benefit his interests. For example, in more than one occasion Jaume comments casually on the many innocent villagers, including women and children, who become collateral damage during the attacks to castles with *fenèvols* or trebuchets (173-174, 179; chs. 194, 202). Other times, Muslims' lives are preserved only because of their

value as captives: "Nós volguem-ho, per ço can més los volíem vius que mors. [....] E, enans que passàssem Alventosa, donaren-nos per los moros .C. que nós levàvem .XVII. mília besans. E haguérem-ne .XXX. mília, si .I. mes los haguéssem retenguts; e haguem-los a dar per tam poch, per ço quan los mercaders nos cuytaven de ço que havíem manlevat d'éls per a la ost" (180, 181; chs. 203, 205). However, at least according to his own version of the events, Jaume staunchly defends the rights of Muslims once they are under his protection and become "his Sarracens," as he calls them precisely when he wants to emphasize the harm caused by other Christians to them: "E levà's En Guillem d'Aguiló, ab cavallés e ab peons e ab almugàvers, e faÿa mal als sarraïns, aytambé als nostres con als lurs" (237; ch. 295). Similarly to how Alfonso disciplines his soldiers when they offend Muslim allies in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Jaume kills some of his own men to protect the Muslims that decide to abandon Valencia after the city is conquered: "Haguem-hi a ferir hòmens per mort, sobr·açò, cant volien tolre als sarraïns robes e emblar algunes sarraïnes e tosets, sí que anch tan gran gent con de València exia, hon havia bé entre hòmens e fembres .L. mília, anch, la mercè de Déu, no perderen valent de .M. sous: sí·ls guiam e·ls faem guiar tro sus a Cuylera" (231; ch. 283). Later, when some Valencian Muslims complain to the king because Guillem d'Aguiló and other soldiers are again mistreating them and robbing them, Jaume calls the Christian offenders to reprimand them. Most of them flee from the king's wrath, but Guillem does not really see anything wrong with his actions, as he declares when he visits Jaume: "E él dix que havia feit mal als sarraïns e no·s cuydava que en açò·ns faés desservici" (244; ch. 306). For a soldier without much political guile, it was probably incomprehensible why he could not treat former Muslim opponents as animals or worse, when Jaume in person had said that they were worth much less than horses. Jaume clarifies things for Guillem: "Sí havets desservici feyt, per .II. raons: la una, perquè havets feyt mal als sarraïns; l'altra, perquè havets trencat, que·ls sarraïns vivien en nostra fe, e havets trencat ço que nós los havíem promès" (244; ch. 306). In another passage, Jaume illustrates the immeasurable value of his

protection with the strange anecdote of a swallow who made her nest on the pole of his tent: "E manam que no·n levassen la tenda tro que ella se'n fos anada ab sos fiyls, pus en nostra fe era venguda" (187; ch. 215). This improbable anecdote, which sounds more like an *exemplum* than a real event, is not original: Samuel Armistead found a parallel story narrated in Arabic about a dove and the seventh-century general ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs in the encyclopedic *Muʿjam al-buldān* by Yāqūt al-Hamawī. As Armistead points out, the phrasing and vocabulary are crucial in the Arabic version of the story:

> The Arabic text reads: '*taḥarramat bi-jiwārinā*', 'she is *ḥarām* (inviolable, forbidden, sacred) in our proximity (or neighbourhood)'; implying that the bird has become a *jār,* here not merely a 'neighbour', but a 'client' and, hence, she is fully protected by tribal law. ʿAmr, by strictest custom, is thus honour bound to afford the dove his complete protection. In giving sanctuary to the dove, ʿAmr, as a leader of Muslims fighting and in peril in a foreign land, is making an important cultural statement: he is reaffirming the Arab tradition ("An Anecdote" 2).

By including this legend in the *Llibre dels fets*, Jaume makes a similar point about the customs of war and politics in Iberia, where old enmities and differences are supposed to be canceled as soon as two parties come to an agreement of mutual convenience. The most important factor when Jaume I or Alfonso X interacts with Muslims is not if "mouros" or "saraïns" are local or foreign, prone or reluctant to conversion, respectful or indifferent towards Jesus and Mary. What matters the most and even invalidates the other variables is if they are "their" Muslims or not: if they are under their sovereignty and are useful to it, even as simply symbolic figures, much like Jaume's swallow. This is why no mercy is shown to Muslims who refuse to be integrated or who disrespect Christian sovereignty, as exemplified by these obstinate defenders of a tower in Valencia: "No·ns volien retre la torre, nós dién-los que la retessen; e .I. d'aquel de la ost mes foch a la torra, e, quan éls viren lo foch, esbafaren-

se e dixeren que·s rendrien. E nós dixem que no·ls pendríem a mercè, pus que no s'eren renduts de primer. E cremam-los aquí e presem la torre e tornam-nos-en a la ost" (222; ch. 268). The many factors that come into play into this kind of relationship lead to the instability of Muslim-Christian interplay: today's collaborator can be tomorrow's traitor and next week's ally. But the same fluctuating interaction can be established among people separated only by politics and not by religion. Jaume and Alfonso's very complex relationship is a fascinating example of the simultaneous competition and collaboration between Iberian Christian rulers, in regard to whom Muslims play an important but secondary role.

There is no doubt of the great ambitions of both monarchs. While Alfonso aspired to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, whether as a goal per se or as a way of consolidating his hegemony in the Peninsula, Jaume looked for the same hegemony through his own military and political achievements. Alfonso had inherited a flawless lineage and the biggest amalgamation of kingdoms in Iberia, but his victories on the battlefield paled in comparison with those of Jaume. In the *Llibre dels fets*, Jaume boasts of conquering Majorca, a "regne dins en mar, ço que anch rey d'Espanya no poch acabar," and calls that victory "la meylor cosa que féu hom .C. ayns ha" (113, 115; chs. 105, 108). Regarding Valencia, Jaume obviously felt blessed for regaining the kingdom that many Christians had coveted since the Cid ruled there, and the impact of this feat reached far lands:

> Gregory IX dispatched a long, ecstatic message of triumph to the provinces of Aix, Auch, Arles, Narbonne, Genoa, and Tarragona. From Milan, Piacenza, Bologna, and Faenza came an invitation to lead northern Italy against the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, offering to pay James's way and to become his vassals. The troubadours of Languedoc heard the news about Valencia, and lamented in verse that such power had been diverted from their own land into the south. In remote England, Matthew Paris enthusiastically recorded how "with

> his allies, the splendid and indefatigable warrior the lord king of Aragon had so ravaged the great city of Valencia by bloody war, and so closely invested it, as to force its surrender (Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom* 1: 1-2).

Matthew Paris ignored that, far from ravaged by bloody war, Valencia had quietly surrendered in the middle of the night, because the "splendid and indefatigable" Jaume wanted to protect the city and "his" Muslims from the abuse of Christian soldiers. Most of Jaume's victories previous to the conquest of Valencia followed a similar pattern: the last rebels of Majorca finally put down the weapons when their leader and Jaume came to an agreement, equally convenient for Muslims and Christians (119; ch. 113); the inhabitants of Menorca swore their fidelity to Jaume upon a Qur'ān after surrendering because "havien hoït dir que nós érem bon seyor a les gents nostres, e així havien esperança que seríem a éls" (125; ch. 121); in Peníscola, as in other places, "exiren tots a nós, quants hòmens e infants havia en lo castel, meyns de negunes armes que no portaven, e saludaren-nos," and Jaume responded to their cordiality by conceding to them "lur ley e aqueles franquees que solien haver en temps de sarraïns" (167, 168; ch. 184). The entire process of political prodding and maneuvering can be appreciated in the king's appeal to the *alcaid* (the *qāʾid*, "commander" or local governor) of Bairén, a chain of arguments that Jaume reuses with more than one Muslim leader, before or after a military confrontation:

> Dixem li que ben podia coneyxer que nostre Senyor volia que nos haguessem la terra: e pus el ho volia, que nons hi faes pus laguiar ni traure mal a nos ni a ell: que per talar lo pa nels arbres no era bo, pus a nos romanien los moros e quels hauiem en cor de fer be: e pus romanien per tots temps que per rao del nons destorbas, que a el e a sos parents fariem tant de be que tots temps porien esser honrats e richs (245; ch. 308).

In the first place, God wants it; in the second, Jaume is the best possible master for those lands and their inhabitants. Such a strategic approach could only work if the king was preceded by his reputation as a man who kept his promises and had already been tolerant and protective of Muslims in similar circumstances. Some of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* seem also intended on creating a benevolent reputation for Alfonso X. I have already mentioned cantigas 169 and 328, in which Alfonso looks for the best interest of his Muslim allies or vassals, even against his own preferences or those of the Virgin. Several other poems emphasize that Alfonso and Mary are willing to overlook the Muslims' religious beliefs as long as they recognize the Christians' authority and allow them to exert it. For example, in cantiga 167, the Virgin resurrects the son of a Muslim woman that held a vigil for her. In cantiga 181, the king of Marrakesh defeats another army by simply asking for the Christians' support and using a banner with Mary's image. In cantiga 205, Christian besiegers take pity of a Muslim woman and her baby because they remind them of Mary and Jesus; for this reason, the Christians pray for the mother and her child, and the two survive the siege without any harm. In cantiga 344, Muslim and Christian troops camp side by side close to a church; at the next morning, they all recognize as a miracle that nobody noticed the presence of the enemy until dawn, and everybody departs in peace. The importance of politics and commerce over religion is made evident in cantiga 379, in which pirates from Catalonia rob Muslim merchants who are sailing towards Santa Maria do Porto, the same place whose name change merited a whipping to Christian soldiers in cantiga 328. For the Virgin Mary, this is not a problem between Christians and Muslims, but between merchants protected by Alfonso and their aggressors from the competing Crown of Aragon. Therefore, Mary causes a storm that returns the Catalan pirates to Seville, where they give back to Alfonso everything they had stolen from the Muslims. Cantiga 379 concludes by stating that "empero que os mouros a vezes lle fazen guerra, / aos que vee coitados nunca lle-la porta serra / d'acorrer con sa merçee, que é mayor das mayores" (vv. 56-

58). This message is congruent with the refrain of cantiga 181, the one about the king of Marrakesh and his banner with the image of the Virgin: "Pero que seja a gente d' outra lei [e] descreuda, / os que a Virgem mais aman, a esses ela ajuda" (vv. 3-4). Muslims were not really a problem to the imperial ambitions of Castilians or Aragonese, as long as they submitted to the authority of Alfonso or Jaume and collaborated with their political plans. Indeed, Muslim subjects were indispensable to these kings since recently conquered territories urgently needed all kinds of workers in order to prosper, and it was simply not realistic to repopulate entire regions with Christian newcomers.[59] Competing Christians, instead, could result extremely damaging to the political and economic goals of a kingdom like Castile, as exemplified by the Catalonian pirates of cantiga 379.[60]

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[59] When looking over the rich archives of the Crown of Aragon, it is striking how many of the documents related to the administration of new territories contain tax exemptions and other measures to retain or attract non-Christians. Regarding the kingdom of Valencia, for instance, Robert Burns remarks: "The conquerors made little effort to displace Muslims, despite a contrary rhetoric and despite a measure of exiling and of drift toward North Africa; the Christians mounted a sustained program of importing Muslims, in fact, so as to maximize profits" (*Society* 186). Indeed, "every class of landowner tried to attract extra Muslim farmers as owner-tenants, a startling movement to colonize the heavily Islamic country with even more Muslims", at the same time that Jaume "worked valiantly to orient the flow of land away from knights and ecclesiastics, whose exemptions deprived him of taxes" (Burns, *Society* 211). The political and economic advantages of keeping and expanding the Muslim population obviously superseded any serious attempt to "Christianize" the kingdom: "Public support of religion continued through the *waqf* foundations; the muezzin cried out from his minaret; the mosque schools, pilgrimage, and *ramaḍān* remained as before. [...] There was no great effort to convert Muslims, despite Mendicant enthusiasm, since this spelled economic loss for landlords" (Burns, *Society* 187).

[60] The same applies to Castile's interference with Aragonese and Catalonian commercial affairs. For example, in an episode omitted from the *Llibre dels fets*, in the same month of April 1260 in which Jaume authorized his subjects to go fight "cum illustris rex Castelle contra sarracenos ad exaltandam fidem catholicam" ("against Saracens, with the illustrious king of Castile, to exalt the Catholic faith"), he wrote to Alfonso to excuse himself from helping him against the king of Tunis, "por la amor que el nos faz, e por las treuas que avemos con el, e la terza por que tanta de gent de nuestra tierra a en la sua, e tanto de aver, que serian a aventura de perder" (*Documentos de Jaime I* 4: 255, 264). Despite his religious beliefs and his family and political connections to Castile, Jaume could simply not endanger

The authors of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* include Jaume as an incidental figure in cantiga 169, about the *mudéjares* of Murcia who wanted to demolish a church: the Muslims address several petitions to Alfonso, but also one to Jaume. While in the historical record Alfonso regained control of rebellious Murcia only thanks to his father-in-law's help, Jaume's role in the cantiga is superfluous: he simply repeats Alfonso's approval of the church's demolition. More interesting is the relation between both kings in the illuminations of the *Códice rico*, the most luxuriously illustrated manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. In the third and fourth illuminations of cantiga 169, Alfonso and Jaume have the same face and identical gestures, in front of a similar audience of supplicating Muslims. The biggest difference between them is that Jaume has gray hair and beard, while Alfonso has no beard and his hair is still dark. It seems very probable that the illustrator wanted to emphasize the multiple family and political connections between the two Iberian monarchs; the resulting images make them clearly look like a father and his son, or as a younger and an older version of the same king.

While Jaume is an almost forgettable figure in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and his countrymen barely register as impious pirates, Alfonso and Castilians appear often and prominently in the *Llibre dels fets*. As previously mentioned, Castilian royalty is relevant for Jaume from the begining of his memoirs, because the king of Aragon is also a descendant of the "Imperator totius Hispaniae," Alfonso VII of León and Castile (7; ch. 2). However, the next mentions of Castile and the first appearances of Alfonso are overwhelmingly negative. Thirteen chapters are dedicated to a failed treaty between Jaume and Sancho VII of Navarre, according to which each king would have become the inheritor of the other, and both would have fought together against Fernando III, Alfonso's father (136-146; chs. 139-152). One of the reasons why Jaume

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the prosperous commercial network between the Crown of Aragon, North Africa, and the kingdoms of Italy. On this topic, see Batlle i Gallart, Ferrer i Mallol, and Vela Aulesa.

pursued this agreement with Navarre was precisely because it offered him an excuse to attack Castile: "Sí·ns era bo el pleyt per .III. raons [...]. L'altra, que pus a tort li faÿa mal lo rey de Castela [to Sancho], e él nos feÿa hereter de cant havia, així con a son fiyl, que bé·ns podíem metre en aquela guerra per bona raó" (138; ch. 142). Trying to pass on his bellicose enthusiasm to the elderly and ailing Sancho, Jaume imagines in detail how the two of them will crush Fernando's troops and loot his lands:

> E dir uos he con nos enpenra si .IIII. milia cauallers hauem de linyatge, e entram per Castela: los castelans son de gran ufana e erguylloses, e combatran se ab nos e aqui no ha enbarch que la batayla no sia, e ab Deu uençrem la, car nos tenim dret e els tort: e pus uençuts los haiam en camp, les aldees de Castela son totes menys de uall e de mur, e entrara hom per elles, aixi con hom faria per .I. camp, e barrejar les em: e goanyaran tant los nostres, que aquels qui no son nostres uenran a nos per lo goany que nos farem, e els faran ab nos (142-143; ch. 147).

Jaume, who many times chose to restrain his men in order to protect the lives and property of his Muslim enemies, had instead no qualms about devastating the lands of Christian Castilians, at least in his fantasies. But, since the king of Navarre did not second him in fighting against the Castilians, Jaume had to look for other ways to manage his enmity with them. The rivalry between Jaume and Fernando around the mid-thirteenth century is the perfect example of how Iberian Christian rulers fought for Peninsular hegemony by competing in their triumphs against Muslims, instead of directly attacking each other. By the same years in which Fernando conquered the Muslim south of Iberia, from Córdoba in 1236 to Seville in 1248, and transformed Murcia into a protectorate in 1243, Jaume did the same with the east of the Peninsula, by taking control of the entire kingdom of Valencia between 1233 and 1245. The extraordinary expansion of both Christian kingdoms made them finally clash and forced them to negotiate their differences. Since the twelfth century, Castile and Aragon had treaties of mutual protection of their territories, which Jaume

violated when he conquered Villena in 1240; four years later, prince Alfonso did the same when he claimed Xàtiva. Alfonso's action outraged Jaume: not only Xàtiva had "la pus bela orta que anch havíem vista en vila ni en castell," but also "era de nostra conquesta, e [Alfonso] havia nostra fiyla per moyler" (251, 264; chs. 318, 341). Actually, princess Violante was by then only eight years old, but the marriage between her and Alfonso had been agreed years earlier. In the *Llibre dels fets*, Jaume normally conceals his outbursts of anger: there is no mention, for example, of the notorious incident in which he cut out a bishop's tongue because he suspected that the clergyman had gossipped to the Pope about the king's sexual peccadilloes.[61] Only in a couple of occasions the reader is allowed to witness his anger, and the first of them is when the young Alfonso wants to take Xàtiva from him. The king of Aragon forbids his men from talking to the Muslims from Xàtiva and when one of the soldiers contravenes the order, no matter how much he swears that he was not committing treason, Jaume orders him to be hung from a tree (263-264; ch. 340). When Jaume finds out that the Muslims from Énguera surrendered to Alfonso, he captures seventeen of them, beheads some and hangs the others, and promises that "de tots aquels que poyríem pendre faríem atretal tro fos erma" (264; ch. 342). In the following negotiations between Castile and Aragon, family affairs are combined with territorial and political problems. Alfonso, at least according to Jaume, pretended to obtain Xàtiva as part of the matrimonial deal between both kingdoms; Jaume replied that they had never agreed on anything similar, that he himself had never asked for lands or goods when

[61] "Nueve años más tarde [de ser excomulgado en 1236, por obstaculizar el nombramiento de un obispo] Jaime volvió a ser culpable de nuevo por un incidente más famoso, cuando le cortó la lengua al obispo Berenguer de Girona, porque, en opinión del rey, había revelado secretos que dañaban su reputación. [...] Un hombre como Sinibaldo Fieschi, que como canonista y como papa se dedicó con tanta energía a defender los derechos de la Iglesia, dejó claro al rey que sus acciones eran completamente inaceptables y que no podía creer que el obispo hubiera revelado su confesión personal. En realidad, la reconciliación de Jaime fue tan pública y tan bien conocida como su crimen" (Smith, "Jaime I" 533). Two letters from August 1246, in which Jaume apologizes to the Pope Innocent IV for this sin and promises to do penance, appear in *Documentos de Jaime I* 2: 228-230.

he married Alfonso's great-aunt Leonor, and also that Alfonso "havia prou e no li devia fer enveja lo nostre" (266; ch. 345). The final arrangement was only reached after Jaume threatened with leaving, his wife exploded in crying while complaining "que en mal punt era nada, que ella era venguda aquí per adobar a nós e a son genre, e ara que veés que axí·s partia ta·mal," and some noblemen intervened to calm things down (267; ch. 348). At the end, Alfonso agreed to abandon his demands over Xàtiva, the king and the prince returned some towns to each other, and the two redefined the border between Murcia and Valencia (267-268; chs. 348-349).[62] After this treaty of Almizra, signed on March of 1244, Jaume says that "partim bons amichs, e reté la .I. a l'altre ço que tenia que no era seu" (268; ch. 349). As previously mentioned, old enmities seem to be easily forgotten whenever Jaume reaches an agreement with his Muslim opponents, and the same thing happens between him and Alfonso. The competition between the two powerful kings is never completely over, as signs of rivalry continue appearing in the *Llibre dels fets* and in other royal documents. After Almizra, however, Jaume and Alfonso mostly collaborate with each other, and their improved relationship reveals another interesting dimension of how Iberian Muslims and the political ambitions of Christian rulers intersect.

During their discussions of 1244, Jaume had responded to the demands of Alfonso by arguing that he had better things than Xàtiva to offer to his son-in-law: "L'infant no devia demanar terra ab nostra fiyla, que altres ajudes grans e bones podia haver de nós a honor d'él e a pro, car si mester li fossen .M. o .MM. cavallers, que poria haver en sa ajuda, ab nós ensemps, e açò no tan solament .I. vegada, mas .II. o .III. e .X., si mester hi fos; e valia més açò ab nostra amor, que no l'àls ab desamor de nós" (266-267; ch. 346). Jaume's words proved prophetic twenty years later, in 1264, when the *mudéjares* revolted in Murcia and Castile desperately required the assistance of Aragon. In an obviously intentional juxtaposition that omits several years of history,

[62] The treaty can be found in its original Latin in *Documentos de Jaime I* 2: 176-177.

Jaume puts side by side the uprising in Murcia and the traitorous collaboration between Valencian rebels and the Castilian royal family: the dealings between Alfonso, his brother Don Manuel, and the Valencians are covered in chapters 371 to 377; the reconquest of Murcia begins in chapter 378 (282-286, 286).[63] This narrative structure emphasizes how Alfonso did not deserve Jaume's support, which was probably why he sent his petition through his wife and Jaume's daughter, Violante, but the king of Aragon was willing to assist him anyway. According to Jaume, he wanted and needed to help Alfonso for several reasons: because "no pux falir a ma fiyla ni a mos néts, pus desheretar-los vol hom," because Alfonso "és .I. dels pus poderoses hòmens del món" and "tots temps me poria tenir per son enemich mortal, pus jo a tan gran cuyta no li aydàs," and, most importantly, because "si·l rey de Castella havia perduda sa terra, mal estaríem nós ça, en aquesta terra nostra; per què val més que n'hajam sobre la sua deffenén, que si n'havíem sobre la nostra" (289; ch. 382). When the "cort" of noblemen, citizens, and clergymen are not convinced by Jaume's political arguments, he opts for the religious plea and then a furious rant:

> ¿Què y goanyarets, vosaltres, si en les esglésies on és ahorat nostre Seyor e la sua Mare que, si per mala ventura se perdia, seria-hi ahorat

[63] The treason by Alfonso and his brother is addressed explicitly but tactfully by Jaume. On the one hand, the collaboration between Castilian royalty and Valencian rebels is unequivocal; on the other hand, Jaume devotes only a few short chapters to this issue and downplays the agency of Alfonso. For example, he writes that the leader of the rebellion, al-Azraq, "parlava pleyt ab Don Manuel, frare del rey de Castella, primer, e puys ab lo rey de Castella," therefore presenting Alfonso as a leader who did not easily succumb to make a deal with the rebels (282; ch. 371). Also, he emphasizes his own good will towards Alfonso, which the Muslim leader plays to his advantage: "E a .I.ª vista que ach ab ell e nós donam a Alaçrach treuga, per lo rey de Castella que·ns en pregà, d'una Pascha de Quaresma tro en l'altra" (282; ch. 372). Finally, explicit plans against Jaume are proposed by al-Azraq to the king of Castile, but Alfonso's answer is not revealed and the entire scene is attributed to some dubious hearsay: "E·l rey de Castella demanà-li si sabia caçar, e Alaçrach dix-li que, si ell se volia, caçaria castels del rey d'Aragó; e dix .I. galego que era ab lo rey de Castella que mal moro era aquel qui no sabia caçar sinó castells. E era-y .I. cavaller de nostra terra, qui hoý les paraules, e havia nom Miquel Garcés, e dix-nos-o tot" (285; ch. 377).

> Mahomet? E si·l nostre, de nosaltres reys, se pert, ben podets saber que·l vostre no·n restaurarà. E, pus així nos responets tan mal et tan vilanament, ço que anch no·m cuydé, que, si jo faés corts de cathalans, que no acabás ço que fos cosa covinent (car de la descovinent, si molt vos en pregàs, cuydara acabar ab vós), e, pus així és, part-me de vós despagat, així con negun seyor pot ésser despagat de sos hòmens (290-291; ch. 384).

In the next chapter, Jaume abandons the "cort," refuses to listen to his vassals, and even stops eating. This new fit of anger constitutes a noteworthy parallelism: the previous one was caused by Alfonso's unreasonable coveting of Xàtiva and his support of Muslim rebels against Jaume; this one is provoked by the refusal of Jaume's court to help Alfonso against his own rebellious Muslim subjects. The sincerity of Jaume's sudden appeal to religion is, as usual, dubious. A few chapters later, his three very down-to-earth reasons for the campaign in Murcia have inexplicably transformed into a crusade to save the entire Peninsula from Islam: "Nós ho fem, la primera cosa, per Déu; la segona, per salvar Espanya; la terça, que nós e vós hajam tan bon preu e tan gran nom, que per nós e per vós és salvada Espanya" (296; ch. 392). It is possible that towards the end of his life Jaume started getting more concerned about the impact of Islam across the Mediterranean, as demonstrated by his ill-fated attempt to sail to the Holy Places in a new crusade.[64] But both his campaign in Murcia

[64] According to the *Llibre dels fets*, Jaume interpreted being contacted by the king of the Tartars to fight the Egyptian sultan as a divine sign of his duty to conquer the Holy Land: "Pus a nós havien enviat messatge seyeladament, entre los altres, semblava obra de Déu, que ell volia açò comanar a nós, que nós que ho faéssem" (339; ch. 477). However, after starting his trip with several days of bad weather, Jaume decided to return home because "semblanos que nostre Seyor no vol que nós passem en Oltramar" (344; ch. 487). Still, two of his sons and part of the Aragonese troops landed in Acre, where they waited for months for Tartar reinforcements that never arrived. Jaume's contemporaries attributed the failure of the crusade to the king's many shortcomings, from his insufficient planification to his attachment to his lover Berenguera. Ernest Marcos Hierro has argued that Jaume's own account of the crusade seems written to intently refute those criticisms and rumors (509).

and his aborted trip to Palestine are also consistent with the same pragmatic king of previous decades, the conqueror of the Balearic Islands and Valencia who obtained enormous wealth and prestige while occasionally invoking religion. There is a moment in which even Jaume's noblemen seem skeptical or fed up with the religious discourses behind their military projects. During a discussion about Murcia, a Franciscan friar retells a dream of a monk from Navarre. In the dream, a man in a white robe said: "Jo son àngel de nostre Seyor e dic-te que aquest enbarch que és vengut entre los sarraïns e·ls christians en Espanya, creés per cert que .I. rey los à tots a restaurar e a deffendre aquel mal que no venga en Espanya"; the angel immediately clarified that by "I. rey" he meant the "rey d'Aragó que ha nom Jacme" (293; ch. 389). This spectacular revelation meets a lukewarm reception in Jaume's court: "Levà's don Exemèn d'Orrea e dix que les visions bones eren, mas que ells venrien denant nós, e d'açò que·ls dixéssem, que s'acordarien" (294; ch. 390).

Like previous campaigns, the pacification of Murcia is again a process that combines practical interests and belligerant discourses during the preparations, but becomes remarkably tolerant when the king comes into contact with his Muslim enemies. Villena is won through treaties, a pardon, and a bribe of one hundred *bezants* to a Muslim who spoke Latin "per ço que·ns hi fos bo" (306; chs. 410-411); similar talks of surrender and promises of protection follow in Elda, Petrel, and Elche (307, 307-308, 309; chs. 413, 414, 416). In Elche, Jaume invokes his now well-known generosity and rectitude towards his enemies: "Creem que vosaltres sabets d'aquels [...] que volgren haver pau ab nós e·s venien metre en nostra mercè, com los havíem nós bona mercè e·ls ateníem ço que promès los havíem, *si per éls no u perdien*" (309; ch. 416, my emphasis). This last exception becomes very important during the campaign in Murcia and the aborted crusade to Palestine: while during the conquest of the south of Valencia Jaume could still affirm that "anch sarraý no·ns trencà fe que·ns hagués promesa per raó de castell que·ns hagués promès de retre, de Lançrat enfora, en lo feyt de Rogat," traitorous and rebellious Muslims become increasingly

common in the last third of the book (272; ch. 356). Jaume is not subtle about why such disloyalties are at the same time bad and good news to him: "E d'una part nos pesava per la honta que feyta nos havia, e d'altra part nos plaÿa, car nos daven raó e manera que·ns en poguéssem venjar" (276; ch. 363). Progressively and predictably, the untrustworthiness of some of his Muslim subjects becomes the main excuse for Jaume to take more of their property, while at the same time trying to preserve his reputation as a tolerant ruler. Through many conquests and hundreds of chapters, Jaume has provided ample proof of his willingness to respect the Muslims' religion, laws and customs. When most of their cities and castles surrender, Jaume not only allows the Muslims to stay, but he allows them to continue living according to "les cartes de lurs çunes": according to their Sunnah or legal traditions (273; ch. 359). When Jaume gives a crane as a present to the Muslims of Almenara, he has the courtesy of keeping it alive, because "sabíem lur custuma, que no la volien morta" (210; ch. 244). He uses Muslim and Jewish interpreters and translators to explain his conditions of surrender or government, to which then he adheres even against the desires of his own Christian troops (87, 122-123, 231; chs. 74, 118-119, 283, etc.)[65] From his perspective, therefore, if his Muslim subjects fail him and he must punish them, they have nobody to blame but themselves. Everything that Jaume does during the pacification of Murcia demonstrates his political cunning. He grants the Murcian rebels all their demands, including "que tinguessen lur ley en cridar en lur mesquita," a phrase that Damian Smith and Helena Buffery translate as "that they would be able to practise their religion, as to shouting from their mosque" (310; ch. 418; Jaume I, *The Book of Deeds* 306). He convinces the Murcian *mudéjares* of his good faith and

[65] The same respect for Muslim laws and customs appears frequently in the official documents from Jaume's kingdom. On February 1268, for example, Jaume concedes to the Muslims of Valencia the right in perpetuity to be governed by their traditional authorities "secundum açunam sarracenorum ratione" ("according to the reason of the Sunnah of the Saracens") (*Documentos de Jaime I* 5: 245).

the worth of his word, by appealing to his reputation as a fair ruler of many Muslims: "Ben sabien éls que sarraïns havia molts en nostra terra (e antigament que·ls havia tenguts nostre linatge en Aragó e en Cathalunya, e nós en lo regne de Maylorques e de València), e tots tenien la ley sua tam bé con si fossen en terra de sarraïns" (320; ch. 437). A hint of a conflict appears only when, at the same time in which Jaume promises to the Murcians that they can keep their mosques, he asked for the largest one to be transformed into a Christian church:

> Car les mesquites volíem que ells les tenguessen, mas: "¿Què farien los christians, si no havien església en què entrassen? E que la església sia a la porta de l'alcàcer, e c·hom crit lo sabaçala cant jo dormiré, prop de la testa, açò, si bé ho entenets, no és cosa covinent. E vosaltres havets bé .X. mesquites en la vila: fets vostra oratió en aqueles e lexats-nos aquesta" (324-325; ch. 445).

Jaume seems pleased by his own ingenuity, so considerable that neither Muslims nor Christians can guess what he is planning. While the Murcian Muslims deliberate about his proposal, Jaume delights on hearing the complaints by his sons, the bishop of Barcelona, and many noblemen, about how the deal is disadvantageous to Christians, because "cuydàvem haver goanyada Múrcia e nós no havíem re goanyat" (325; ch. 446). Jaume boasts then on his greater experience and wisdom: "E dixem-los nós que ells erraven en lur enteniment, car nós havíem estat en plus de lochs que ells no havien e conexíem mils l'usatge dels sarraïns que ells no faÿen; que, quan hom podia haver de son enemich (no us diré de sarraïns) una braçada de terra, totavia devia hom esperar que n'hauria hom .X. o .C." (446; ch. 446). According to Jaume, his goal from the beginning was to confine all Muslims in one quarter and "give the city to God": "E nós deÿem [...] que nós los podíem getar de la vila e metre en la Rexaca, que era barri de la ciutat. [...] E nós dixem: 'Pus no u volets entendre, no y podem àls; mas nós darem la vila a Déus, a qui·s que pes'" (325-326; ch. 447). "La Rexaca" is, of course, "La Arrijaca," the same district of the controversial church that *mudéjares* wanted to

demolish in the poem 169 of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. And this cantiga imitates Jaume's strategy of achieving the political goals more convenient for Christians by blaming them on the treachery of Muslims:

> Depois, quand' Aboyuçaf, o sennor de Çalé,
>
> passou con mui gran gente, aquesto verdad' é
>
> que cuidaron os mouros, por eixalçar ssa fe,
>
> gãar Murça per arte. Mais sa falss' armadilla [...]
>
> desfez a Virgen santa, que os ende sacou,
>
> que ena Arraixaca poucos deles leixou;
>
> e a sua eigreja assi deles livrou,
>
> ca os que mal quer ela, ben assi os eixilla (cant. 169, vv. 53-61).[66]

According to the cantiga 169, the *mudéjares'* treachery allows the Virgin to show her power, the Christians to dominate Murcia, and Alfonso and Jaume to finally overcome their rivalry, which in the historical record worsened after a serious clash over the king of Castile's imperial ambitions. As Manuel González Jiménez explains, at first the "fecho del imperio" did not impact greatly on the relationship between

[66] As Connie Scarborough notices, in cantigas 169 and 328 Alfonso transfers political responsibility from his person to the Virgin and other characters, therefore presenting himself as a magnanimous and sympathetic ruler that manages to satisfy his territorial and economic interests almost in spite of his own generosity (44, 61). In the case of La Arrijaca, Alfonso and Jaume's "merciful" policies actually had devastating effects over the Mudéjar population, just like Jaume had foreseen in the *Llibre dels fets*: "During the remaining eighteen years of Alfonso X's reign, the number of Christian settlers steadily increased, while the more well-to-do Mudejars emigrated to Granada or North Africa. Fernando IV in 1305 emphasized the paucity of Mudejars in the kingdom of Murcia when he reported that 'the greater part of the Moors are dead and the others flown.' As Juan Torres Fontes points out, the political and economic situation of those who remained was depressed, as they were mostly peasants, cultivating the soil and lacking prestige and authority" (O'Callaghan, "Mudejars" 24).

Jaume and Alfonso. Jaume seemed perfectly aware of what Alfonso's aspirations meant for his own sovereignty, as reflected in a petition from 1259 for his *procurator* to prepare a legal response on "quod sit [rex Castellae] Imperator Hispano, vel quod Nos, sive regna, et terras nostras, in aliqua subiectione ratione imperii, vel qualibet alia ratione" ("the king of Castile being Emperor of Hispania or us and our kingdoms and lands being subjected to him because of the empire or any other reason") (*Memorial histórico* 151). However, that same year Alfonso promised to collaborate with Jaume's crusade to Palestine, and the next year Alfonso asked from Jaume help for his own plans against Ceuta. But when Jaume allied with Manfredi, king of Sicily and competitor of Alfonso for the imperial crown, and even married his own son to Manfredi's daughter, the king of Castile was outraged: "Et si vos desto non nos quisiessedes creer de conseio, et la passada pora ultramar quissiedes fazer, et el casamiento con la fija del Princep quissiesedes lebar adelante, [...] terniemos que ningun omne del mundo tan grande tuerto nunqua recibió de otro como nos recibriemos de vos," wrote Alfonso to Jaume in 1260 (*Memorial histórico* 166). Four years later, the common threat of rebellious *mudéjares* brought them together again.

In the *Llibre dels fets*, the relationship between Jaume and Alfonso becomes one of mutual support after their collaboration in Murcia: two powerful leaders can finally coexist in Iberia, especially when they have family connections and common interests and enemies. In this sense, it is noteworthy that many of the last interactions between the two monarchs in the *Llibre dels fets* are related to the role of both in a wider Mediterranean context. I do not think that Jaume is "ever optimistic of the prospects of a harmonious existence for the two conquering kingdoms" and much less that "Jaume portrays himself in the role of a mediator, helping to construct a Spain in which the lesser kingdoms can find a way of contributing to the larger unit, without becoming subsumed by Castile's voracious appetite for expansion" (Ibarz 97). Indeed, after its expansion to the Balearic Islands and Valencia, it was evident that the Crown of Aragon also had a "voracious appetite for expansion" and was far

from a "lesser kingdom." Jaume clearly states this by flaunting his relationships with other famous dignitaries. He mentions several times his exchange of messages with the Mongol ruler Abaqa Khān, because the king of the Tartars is "el pus alt rey del món" and "negun rey qui fos deçà mar no ach paria ne amor ab aquells tartres" (331, 339; chs. 458, 477). When Pope Gregory X invites Jaume to a council to discuss matters related to the Holy Land, the king notices that "agren-nos mesa una cadira en què nós siguéssem, prop de la sua e a la dreta part," and also that the Pope and the cardinals ask him not to stand up or take off his hat to show his respect (365, 366; chs. 525, 527). The extraordinary power and independence of Jaume is even more evident when he asks the Pope to preside a ceremony of coronation, the Pope conditions his role on the payment of a tribute promised by Jaume's father, and the king abruptly changes his mind: "E nós dixem-los que no érem venguts a la sua cort per metre-nos en trahut, mas per franquees que ell nos donàs; e, pus fer no u volia, volíem-nos-en més tornar menys de corona que ab corona" (373; ch. 538).[67] In a similar way to the Castilian chroniclers who like to establish parallelisms between Alfonso and mythological or biblical figures, Jaume compares himself to the major kings from the Old Testament: "Dixem-li [...] en qual manera nostre Seyor nos havia feit regnar al seu serviy pus de .LX. ayns, més que no era en memòria, ne trobava hom que negun rey, de David o de Salamó ensà, hagués tant regnat e que amàs sancta Església" (384; ch. 562). Inside this rarefied sphere of power and influence, the overcoming of

[67] The relationship between Jaume and the Papacy had not fewer ups and downs than his interaction with Castile. While Rome protected the rights of Jaume when the king was still a child and later supported his campaigns in Majorca and Valencia, several Popes condemned Jaume's personal sins, which included numerous adulterous affairs and cutting out the tongue of the bishop Berenguer of Girona. Few of these events are mentioned in the *Llibre dels fets*. As Damian Smith points out, "Jaime habla poco del Papado, y no porque no fuera influyente en su reinado, sino justamente porque su influencia era más grande de lo que Jaime hubiera querido reconocer. [...] En su coronación, e igualmente en su autobiografía, una obra destinada a sus sucesores, era la soberanía de la Corona la que estaba en juego. El papel del Papado tenía que ser limitado. Aunque Jaime aconsejó al rey Alfonso X la necesidad de mantener el apoyo de la Iglesia, quería su apoyo pero no su dominación" ("Jaime I" 525).

tensions between Alfonso and Jaume can be understood not as the result of more restrained ambitions, but rather as a mutual validation of their imperial, or almost imperial, dignities. According to Jaume, this cooperation derives directly from his help to Alfonso against the *mudéjares* of Murcia: "E plaçnos, si vós tan gran bé podedes haver per christianos como vos cuydades; e assí placia a Dios que sia," responds Alfonso to his father-in-law when asked for help for the crusade in Palestine: "E, pus non lo vos podemos destorbar (tanto lo havedes a coraçò), non quero que vos hi vaades menos de mi aiuda, car assí lo feystes vós a mi quant menester m'era, que m'aiudades" (341; ch. 480).

For Jaume and Alfonso, as earlier for the Cid, Muslims are at the same time the obstacle and the means: the enemies, the allies, and the source of their imperial power. The complexity of the military, economical, and political relationships between Christians and Muslims cannot completely conceal the final purpose of both the Aragonese and the Castilian ruler: to take over the lands, the wealth, and the labor of the *mudéjares*. Muslims are useful for a while, as long as they can surrender, serve, translate, build, farm, or manufacture; but the final goal, not always attainable, is to replace them by Christians. Almost at the end of the *Llibre dels fets*, Jaume includes among his final instructions to his son "que gitàs tots los moros del dit regne de València, per ço con eren tots traÿdors e havien-nos-ho donat a conèxer moltes vegades, que, nós faén bé a ells, punyaren tots temps de fer a nós greuge e a nós decebre, si poguessen" (385; ch. 564). In a similar way, in one of the last poems of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Alfonso or somebody writing in his name asks the Virgin for some last favors, in addition to the forgiveness of his sins and the admittance to Heaven:

> E que en este mundo queira que os encreus
>
> mouros destruyr possa, que son dos Filisteus,
>
> com' a seus ẽemigos destruyu Machabeus

Judas, que foi gran tenpo cabdelo dos judeus.

[...] E que contra os mouros, que terra d'Ultramar

tẽen e en Espanna gran part' a meu pesar,

me dé poder e força pera os en deitar (cant. 401, vv. 18-21, 29-31).

There is no lack of traitorous Muslims in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, such as the governor of the castle of Bélmez, who captures his Christian friend in charge of the castle of Chincolla and delivers him to the King of Granada, or the Muslim who is tutored by Saint John of Damascus and then uses his perfect imitation of the saint's handwriting to create discord between him and the emperor of Constantinople (cants. 185, 265). There are several Muslims who torture Christians or threaten them with torture, and others who desecrate their churches and holy images (cants. 83, 227, 325; and 99, 183, 215, 229, 345). The Virgin in person calls Muhammad "o falsso, vão, / mui louco, vilão / Mafomete cão" (cant. 192, vv. 102-104). Still, the final wishes by Alfonso to destroy or expel all Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula result shocking, because they ignore not only the numerous instances of collaboration and camaraderie between Christians and Muslims in the *Cantigas*, but also those other cases in which interreligious relationships are neither positive nor negative, and that probably better illustrate the most common experience for thirteenth-century Iberians. This is the situation of characters such as Ali, a Muslim master builder in charge of the construction of a church in Santa Maria do Porto. As in many other cantigas, King Alfonso himself and the Virgin appear in prominent roles, since the beginning of the miracle:

Eno Porto que de seu nom' é chamado

gran miragr' a Groriosa, que será per min contado,

no lavor da sa ygreja que faziam per mandado

de Don Affonso que éste seu rey, cousa é sabuda (cant. 358, vv. 5-8).

However, the action concentrates on two other characters, the master builder Ali and an anonymous worker who discovers a miraculous stash of middle-sized square rocks, ideal for building the church as fast as possible. Ali's name and religion are only relevant because they prove his impartiality as a witness of the miracle:

> Pois maestr' Ali viu esto, empero que x'era mouro,
>
> entendeu que ben guardadas tevera com' en tesouro
>
> a Virgen aquelas pedras que tan preçadas com' ouro
>
> foran pera lavrar toste e mais ca pedra mẽuda (cant. 358, vv. 25-28).

In spite of witnessing this "great miracle" and recognizing it as such, Ali does not convert to Christianity nor accomplish anything particularly valuable for the king or the Virgin, besides just performing his job as a master builder. A similar case is that of the already mentioned Muslim merchants who are robbed by Catalonian pirates in cantiga 379: they are innocent victims caught in the middle of a strife between Christian rival parties, and nobody is at all interested in their beliefs or feelings towards the Virgin, the king, or Muslim-Christian relationships. In these rare cases, Muslims appear in the *Cantigas* as common people, who do their jobs and live along Christians without any particular involvement in religious or political struggles. Most commonly, however, Muslims are too useful for the ambitions of monarchs like Jaume I or Alfonso X to not become symbols or examples of something else. In this way, and in addition to their actual utility as colonists and workers to maintain and increase the wealth of ambitious kingdoms in thriving expansion, Muslims become literary signs with many meanings and purposes: vehicles of the divine Providence, religious enemies to be defeated, grateful subjects to be used for propaganda, traitors whose sins justify their expulsion or dispossession. The impact of this multifaceted role of Muslims regarding the political ambitions of Christian monarchs can be appreciated in their integration to the kings' images and reputations for posterity, and not always accurately. For example, the Catalan chronicler Bernat Desclot finishes a highly

favorable description of King Jaume, "lo pus bell hom del món," saying that he was "agradable a tota gent e molt misericordiós; e hac tot son cor e tota sa volentat de guerrejar ab sarraïns" (71,72). In a similar way, Alfonso X's initial victories and the glorious conquests of his father are praised in the final chapters of the *Estoria de España* as the culmination of a struggle of centuries against Muslim enemies, because Fernando III was the "enxalçador de cristianismo" and "abaxador de paganismo" who finally "saco de espanna el poder el apremiamiento delos contrarias dela fe de cristo e les tollio el sennorio" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fol. 357v). In the next chapter, I will analyze how some Muslims are transformed in different Iberian works, through a few decades and across two languages, in a process that makes evident the ideological manipulation behind these literary characters.

Chapter 3.

From Great Muslim Warriors to Good Christian Subjects: Converting the Legend of the *Infantes* of Lara

The medieval legend of the seven *infantes* of Lara is a gruesome revenge story that was probably included in more than one medieval epic, but none of those poems survived the Middle Ages.[68] Instead, several retellings of the legend are preserved in Castilian and Portuguese historiographical works, starting with the *Estoria de España*, another monumental project sponsored by Alfonso X. According to this Alfonsine chronicle, the seven *infantes* are the children of the Castilian nobleman

[68] As Ramón Menéndez Pidal pointed out, the legend should be known as related to the *infantes* of Salas and not of Lara: according to the oldest accounts, the *infantes* and their father lived in Salas, while their enemies were from Lara. However, the confusion already existed in the post-Alfonsine versions of the legend: "E diremos de los siet Jnfantes de Salas. Et otros les dizen de Lara" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2, fol. 83v*). "Infantes de Lara" has been the preferred form at least since the late sixteenth century, when Juan de la Cueva wrote his play *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara*. A related issue is that nobody really knows why the seven brothers were called "infantes," since their father was not a king, but a nobleman at the service of a count. Menéndez Pidal surmised that "en Francia la palabra *enfant* designa siempre al adolescente que no había recibido aún caballería [...] y en España parece que se llamó *infante* á los mozos nobles, aunque ya fuesen caballeros (quizás hasta que heredasen á su padre), como les sucedía á los *Infantes de Lara*" (*La leyenda de los infantes* 443). This is an old problem that made the sixteenth-century historiographer Ambrosio de Morales shrug his shoulders: "Son llamados todos comunmente los siete Infantes de Lara o de Salas. De Lara y de Salas ya vemos como se pudieron nombrar, mas porque los llamaron Infantes, no lo hallo en ningun autor, ni yo tampoco puedo conjeturarlo" (260v.). Morales was probably unaware of the Portuguese *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro*, which offered the following explanation: "E porque os de Lara e os de Carriom foram de mais alto sangue que havia em Castela e decendiam dos reis, por esso lhes chamarom ifantes" (148; ch. 10). This information is repeated by the *Crónica geral de 1344* (3: 205; ch. 128). Samuel Zimmerman's observation on the use of the term "infante" in the fourteenth-century *Libro del conde Lucanor* can be useful: "Although the word *infante* has its roots in the Latin *infans, infantem*, the meaning of the Spanish word 'son of a noble,' more closely approximates the meaning of the Arabic *walad*, 'son of a noble.' There are at least thirty-two examples of the use of the word *infante* in the *Conde Lucanor*, and each carries the meaning connected with the Arabic *walad* and not that of the Latin *infans, infantem*" (137).

Gonzalo Gustios and his wife, doña Sancha. Sancha's brother is Ruy Velázquez, another nobleman whose seeming good fortune is to marry doña Lambra, the cousin of the count of Castile. During the wedding celebration, however, the *infantes* get into quarrels first with a relative of Lambra and then with Lambra and Ruy themselves, triggering a family feud that reaches its climax when the seven brothers kill one of Lambra's servants. Lambra asks her husband for revenge and Velázquez's excessive response is to lead his seven nephews into an ambush and abandon them amid thousands of troops from the Caliphate of Córdoba. During a prolonged battle, the *infantes* fight with such bravery that the Andalusi generals Viara and Galve consider twice sparing their lives, but finally, at the instigation of Velázquez, they kill the *infantes* and behead them. As part of the same plot, Velázquez sends the father of the *infantes*, Gonzalo Gustios, to al-Andalus with a letter for Almanzor, the ruler of Córdoba. The letter asks Almanzor to kill Gustios, but Almanzor opts instead for keeping him in prison, under the care of an Andalusi noblewoman. When the *infantes*' heads arrive to Córdoba, Gustios identifies them as belonging to his seven sons and Almanzor takes such pity on him that decides to set him free. The woman who took care of Gustios in prison then reveals that she is pregnant with his child; Gustios tells her that, if the child is a boy, she must tell him the story of his half-brothers' murder and send him to Castile to take revenge on Velázquez. At the age of 10, Mudarra, the son of Gustios and the Andalusi woman, is knighted by Almanzor and travels to Castile, where he challenges Velázquez and then kills him when the traitor attempts to escape during the night.

The *Estoria de España* tells this story with evident admiration for the *infantes*' bravery when facing death and Gustios's patience in extreme suffering. There are evident parallels with the biblical stories of the seven Maccabee brothers and Job, characters who appear in the *General estoria,* the other major historiographical work produced in the court of Alfonso X. However, neither the *infantes* nor Gustios are perfect Christian heroes. The seven *infantes,* and particularly Gonzalo González, the

youngest and most prominent of them, are characterized by their hotheaded immaturity, which is the main reason for their confrontation with doña Lambra and for their falling into Velázquez's ambush in spite of several warnings by their *ayo* or tutor. Gustios's infidelity to Sancha, while indispensable for the narrative since it allows the birth of the avenger Mudarra, tarnishes his stature as a Christian role model. Surprisingly, all the principal Muslim characters are much more exemplary: Almanzor, Viara, Galve, Gustios's caretaker, and Mudarra, are all powerful and compassionate figures, role models of moderation and good sense. Unlike the majority of good Muslims in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* or *the Llibre dels fets*, these characters are not prone to conversion and they do not serve any Christian ruler. To some degree, these characters refute my thesis of how Iberian Christian authors manipulated their representation of Muslims in simultaneously positive and negative ways to better serve their political ambitions of hegemony over the Peninsula. Such anomaly, however, allows me to compare this first version of the legend with its next iterations in a later version of the *Estoria de España* and two fourteenth-century texts in Portuguese, in which the story undergoes multiple modifications to better communicate a distinct imperial purpose through the subjugation of Muslims to Christians. By comparing the first Alfonsine version of the legend with its later adaptations in Castile and Portugal, it is possible to observe how, in less than a century, a popular epic story that presented several independent, proud, and exemplary Muslim characters is transformed into an imperial narrative that glorifies the political and religious superiority of Christians over Muslims in Iberia.

The radical differences between the earliest account of the story of the *infantes* and their later retellings have been analyzed since 1896, when Ramón Menéndez Pidal inaugurated the modern study of the Castilian epic with *La leyenda de los siete infantes de Lara*, a monograph that reproduced the text of several versions of the legend, from the *Estoria de España* to a late sixteenth-century dramatic adaptation. The many retellings and their overlapping of characters and motifs, however, have

created confusion for scholars until today: in a typical case, Gonzalo Martínez Diez states that he will analyze "la versión primera del *Cantar de los infantes de Lara*, la más antigua, la que nos ofrece la *Estoria de España*, que mandó componer el rey Alfonso X allá por los años setenta del siglo XIII," but in the next page he mentions that Mudarra's mother is "una infanta mora, hermana de Almanzor," an element that appears for the first time in the Portuguese *Crónica geral de 1344* (174, 175). In the case of Martínez Diez, who is examining the historicity of the legend, the confusion of versions is an inconsequential mistake; for other scholars, a similar mix-up has ended up distorting their conclusions. Louise Mirrer, for example, has written that in "*Siete infantes*" Almanzor gives a "*morica*" or "young Muslim woman" as a "gift" to Gustios: this leads Mirrer to the conclusion that "male Muslims' failure to properly protect what was theirs—whether young women's virtue or their own territories—legitimized Christian possession, and the young Muslim virgin's exercise of her childbearing capacities on behalf of a Christian man who was not her spouse [...] vindicated Christian hegemonic ideals by demonstrating that Muslims themselves reject Muslim values" (23). Even though in other passages Mirrer distinguishes between different versions of the story, she does not specify the one she is using as the source of this human "gift" that I do not find in any of the accounts of the legend. In an even more serious lapse, David Hanlon writes an article on representations of Muslims in Castile and León, but includes details clearly taken from the Portuguese versions of the legend of the *infantes*, such as that Mudarra is "the offspring of a sexual liaison between Almanzor's sister and Gonzalo Gustioz" (488). Therefore, his related idea of how "Al-Mansur Bi-llah ('the Victorious by God's Hand'), the most feared political leader in the western Mediterranean to his contemporaries and an enduring emblem of the hegemony of the Umayyad Caliphate, is subordinated to Gonzalo, an aristocrat of the petty Castilian state, as the quasiavuncular Almanzor" is correct in relation to the Portuguese retellings, but not in regard to anything

originally produced in Castile or León (490).[69] To prevent similar confusions, I will successively analyze the four accounts in which I am most interested (the ones contained in two versions of the *Estoria de España*, the *Livro de linhagens do Conde D. Pedro,* and the *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*) and I will describe in some detail their contexts of production, which are quite complex in all four cases.

There is no record of the legend of the *infantes* of Lara before its apparition in the *Estoria de España,* which, as previously mentioned, was sponsored by Alfonso X of Castile during the last decades of the thirteenth century.[70] The *Estoria de España*, however, is less of a text and more of an unfinished project that sparked a lengthy and jumbled historiographical tradition, as already noticed by early modern scholars:

> En el siglo XVI, Fernández de Oviedo notaba con sorpresa que entre todos los códices titulados General Historia no había encontrado uno que conformase con otro, y en el siglo XVIII, el padre Arévalo lamentaba la enorme arbitrariedad de los hombres en amplificar e interpolar las crónicas. Sin exageración hiperbólica, podemos repetir

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[69] Hanlon specifies in an endnote that "the text of the *Siete Infantes de Lara* is cited from Carlos Alvar and Manuel Alvar, eds., *Épica medieval española* (Cátedra, 1991), 202-42" (501, n.2). According to Carlos and Manuel Alvar, they simply copied the text of the *Crónica de 1344* edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in *La leyenda de los siete infantes de Lara* (178). Menéndez Pidal composed such text by using several Castilian translations of the Portuguese *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*, a crucial piece of information that Hanlon fails to mention.

[70] Because of his interest in epics, Menéndez Pidal frequently speculated about the lost *cantar de gesta* of the *infantes* of Lara and he even reconstructed about 500 lines, based on traces of rhymed passages discovered in fourteenth and fifteenth-century derivations from the Alfonsine chronicles (see *Reliquias* 199-239). Menéndez Pidal argued that there were at least two versions of the epic and subsequent scholars have generally confirmed his opinion (Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda* 3-47; Catalán, *La épica española* 320-322; Deyermond 80). Taking into consideration the studies on oral epics by Milman Parry and Albert Lord, Thomas Lathrop even supposed a "continuous evolution and revision as [the *Cantar*] passed from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation, some *juglares* adding to the epic, some editing from it, some changing the order of events from the way they learned it, some expanding what they learned, and still others adding elements from folklore" ("*Singer*" 153).

> que entre los manuscritos de Crónicas Generales de España hoy conservados no hay uno igual a otro, aunque todos son semejantes (Menéndez Pidal, "Para esta nueva edición" xii).

This is why Inés Fernández-Ordóñez enumerates the medieval volumes that contain this Alfonsine chronicle not under the title "manuscritos de la *Estoria de España*," but "manuscritos y crónicas integrantes de la tradición textual de la 'Estoria de España'" (*Versión crítica de la* Estoria 315). According to Aengus Ward and his collaborators in the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project:

> There is not one *Estoria de Espanna*. Alfonso's plan for a history of Spain which would cover all of its parts and frame the Peninsula as (amongst other things) the history of the legitimate lineage who ruled it from its origins to Alfonso's own time, would never see the light of day. [...] What remains—indeed, all that ever existed in concrete form—is the large number of manuscripts (only one of which is a product of Alfonso's own *taller*) which, in one form or another, contain the text of what we think of as the *Estoria de Espanna*. For in truth, the *Estoria de Espanna* is the totality of the evidence we possess, direct and indirect, about the chronicle (Ward et al.)

There are, in consequence, dozens of versions, adaptations, rewritings, and assemblies of different parts of the *Estoria de España.* Before the complexity of this textual history was fully understood, Ramón Menéndez Pidal created a critical edition entitled *Primera crónica general*, which was published in 1906 and reprinted in 1955 and 1977. Menéndez Pidal based his edition on two complementary volumes from the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, generally identified as *E1* and *E2*, and declared them to be the closest thing to an "official" version of the Alfonsine chronicle: both manuscripts, according to Menéndez Pidal, "componen un todo" and

"constituyen el ms. más correcto de todos" ("Notas" lix).[71] Some decades later, Diego Catalán confirmed the provenance of *E1*, which told the history of Iberia from mythical times to the arrival of Arabs and Berbers to the Peninsula in the eighth century. *E2*, however, was "un códice artificioso compuesto de textos varios preexistentes ensamblados a mediados del s. XIV," a fabrication that put together some folios literally ripped from the first manuscript, another manuscript from the reign of Alfonso's son, and an amplification of part of the Alfonsine text, with textual bridges added to patch over the gaps (Catalán, *La Estoria de España* 46). After Catalán's discovery and subsequent work by scholars like Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, Juan Bautista Crespo, and Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez, today there is a much better understanding of how the many manuscripts that derived from the Alfonsine project relate to each other. It is now known, for example, that two versions of the *Estoria de España* were produced during Alfonso X's reign:

> La primera de las dos versiones de la Estoria de España es la *Versión primitiva*, redacción más antigua de la obra que se preparaba después de 1270 y antes de 1274 (tradicionalmente conocida como "versión regia" en la historia antigua, gótica y de los reyes astur-leoneses hasta Ramiro I y como "versión vulgar" o "concisa" a partir de ese rey). [...] La segunda redacción es la llamada *Versión crítica*, texto que fue el fruto de reformar sistemáticamente la globalidad de la obra (y que conservamos desde el comienzo de la historia gótica hasta el reinado de Fernando II de León), compuesta probablemente en el entorno del

[71] Menéndez Pidal described "ms. Y-I-2" (better known today as *E1*) as the "primera parte de la *Primera Crónica General*, versión regia, escrita en la cámara real. [...] Finales del siglo XIII," and "ms. X-I-4" (*E2*) as the "segunda parte de la *Primera Crónica General,* versión regia, escrita en la cámara real" ("Notas" lvii, lviii). Menéndez Pidal noticed that "a diferencia del primer volumen, el segundo ofrece letras de distintas manos," but he dated these varied handwriting styles also in the late thirteenth century, with minor additions from the fourteenth century ("Notas" lviii).

rey en Sevilla entre 1282-1284 (Fernández-Ordóñez, "El taller" 121; see also Campa Gutiérrez 29-30; Fernández-Ordóñez, "La transmisión textual" 219 y *Versión crítica de la* Estoria 11-12).[72]

The *Versión concisa* (or second part of the *Versión primitiva)* from 1270-1274 includes the oldest written account of the story of the *infantes*; the next iteration of the legend appears in the *Versión crítica* from 1282-1284. Both versions are contained in several manuscripts with intricate connections among them. Fortunately, Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez critically edited part of the *Versión concisa* and the *Versión crítica* for his PhD dissertation, and these segments include the story of the *infantes*. In the following pages, therefore, I will mainly quote from Campa Gutiérrez's transcription and corrections of the *Versión concisa* and the *Versión crítica,* this last one published as a book.[73] However, when talking about other chapters of the *Estoria de España* that were not edited by Campa Gutiérrez, I will continue using the transcriptions of the *Estoria de Espanna Digital* project, indicating as before the name of the project followed by the specific manuscript and the folio number.

The merciful and independent Muslims in the first account of the legend of the *infantes* are not only surprising in the context of medieval works written by Christians, but more specifically in regard to the rest of the *Estoria de España*. The Alfonsine writers consciously adopted both Isidore of Seville's idea of a *translatio*

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[72] The two parts of the *Versión primitiva* are differentiated because the first part (the *Versión regia*) is contained in the royal manuscripts at the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial used by Menéndez Pidal for his *Primera crónica general*, while the second part (the *Versión concisa*) was drafted in the same royal *scriptorium*, but it never coalesced into a final product (Fernández Ordóñez, "La transmisión textual" 222-230; Gómez Redondo, *La creación* 674-675).

[73] Campa Gutiérrez's edition of the *Versión concisa* uses the manuscript T of the *Estoria de España* (at the Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo in Santander) as its main source, and corrects its mistakes mainly with the manuscripts Y, G, and Z (Y-II-11, X-I-11, and X-I-7 at the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial. Campa Gutiérrez's edition of the *Versión crítica* is based on the ms. Ss (at the Biblioteca de la Caja de Ahorros in Salamanca), with corrections taken from a dozen other manuscripts (Campa Gutiérrez 259-260, 262).

imperii from the Romans to the Goths and the development of such a concept by the clerical historiographer Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, for whom "the history of Spain begins with the rise of Gothic power in Europe and continues as the Goths establish themselves in Spain and rule the peninsula for centuries. The Moorish invasion is of course presented as a genuine disaster but is in no way an interruption of the Gothic succession and its unfailing right to rule Spain" (Fraker 9-10). In support of this perspective, which impugns the legitimacy of Muslim dominion over any Iberian territory, the *Estoria de España* includes passages from Jiménez de Rada that present the Muslim conquerors as terrifying barbarians, with monstruous and demonic features: "Las sus caras dellos; negras como la pez. El mas fremoso dellos; era negro como la olla. Assi luzien sus oios como candelas" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E1*, fol. 193r).[74] The arrival of Muslims to Iberia means the "destruición de España," a shocking succession of cruelties that goes from the smashing of babies against walls to the rape of women:

> Con los ninnos chicos de teta; dieron a las paredes. A los mocos mayores; desfizieron con feridas. A los mancebos grandes; metieron los a espada. Los ancianos e uieios de dias; moriron en las batallas e fueron todos acabados por guerra. Los que eran ya pora onrrar e en cabo de sus dias; echo los a mala fonta la crueleza de los moros. A las mezquinas de las mugieres; guardauan las pora desonrrar las. e la su fermosura dellos; era guardada pora su denosto (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E1*, fol. 193r).[75]

In previous chapters, the Alfonsine writers compiled some of the most infamous legends about Muhammad to present the founder of Islam as a

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[74] In Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispanie,* this passage reads: "Eorum facies ut nigredo; uultus gloria quasi olle et eorum oculi uelut ignis" (106).

[75] Just like the previous quote, this is a close translation of Jiménez de Rada. See *De rebus Hispanie* 107.

blasphemous trickster, who ends up being poisoned by a disciple and eaten by dogs (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E1*, fols. 161v-171r).[76] Significantly, Muhammad's "sect" is a challenge not only to Christian religion, but also to Christian political authorities: after being tutored by a Jew and a heretic Christian monk, Muhammad "començo a cuedar en muy grandes cosas e grandes fechos. ¶ e aquel su cuedar fue; en como podrie seer contrallo all Emperador de los Romanos. e sacar las yentes de so el su sennorio" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E1*, fol. 168r). Very rarely is a Muslim depicted by the Alfonsine writers in a positive way, and even then they are sparing with their words, as in this one-line praise of the caliph of Córdoba ʿAbd ar-Rahmān III: "Et este Rey fue muy poderoso. e muy onrrado. e mantouo sus yentes en Justicia e en derecho" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fol. 45r).

Few Muslim figures could channel the Islamophobia of Christian chroniclers as well as Almanzor, the *ḥājib* ("chamberlain" or "prime minister") that, under the pretension of serving the ineffectual caliph Hishām II, modified the political organization of Córdoba and increased his own power until he became the *de facto* ruler of al-Andalus.[77] His more than fifty raids against the northern Christian kingdoms were the key factor that transformed Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Maʿāfirī, an administrative employee of no noble origin, into the famous "al-Manṣūr"

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[76] This unfavorable depiction comes from a number of twelfth-century "polemical lives of Muhammad in which the prophet of Islam is painted not only as a heresiarch but also as a trickster and magician: Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti*, Gautier de Compiègne's *De otia Machometi*, Adelphus's *Vita Machometi*, and the brief biography that Guibert of Nogent inserts into his *Gesta*" (Tolan, *Saracens* 137). Three of these Latin texts "have Muhammad attacked and devoured by pigs", an ending whose not-at-all obscure meaning is made explicit by Guibert of Nogent: "The master of filth appropriately died a filthy death" (qtd. in Tolan, *Saracens* 142-143).

[77] Emilio García Gómez explains that *ḥājib* (transliterated by him as "ḥâŷib") "positivamente y en Oriente, significó 'chambelán,'" but "pasó en la España musulmana a ser el [título] del primer ministro, y los reyes de taifas, en su titulación vacilante entre soberanos y altos dignatarios suplentes del Califa, lo emplearon algunas veces" (79 n. 31). Reinhart Dozy always equates "ḥâjib" to "prime minister" (for example, in *Spanish Islam* 387, 429, 474, 511).

or "the Victorious," the most powerful man in tenth-century Iberia. For centuries, Muslim writers remembered how "during his time, Islam enjoyed a glory which al-Andalus had never witnessed before, while the Christians suffered their greatest humiliation," as the emir of Granada ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buluggīn wrote in his eleventh-century memoirs *Kitāb al-tibyān ʿan al-ḥāditha al-kā'ina bi-dawlat Banī Zīrī fī Gharnāṭa* (43). In a similar vein, the fourteenth or fifteenth-century anonymous *Ḍikr bilād al-Andalus* commented with evident Schadenfreude that Almanzor "no dejó nunca de atacar a los cristianos, asolar su país y saquear sus bienes, tanto los adquiridos como los heredados, hasta el punto de que llegaron a temerle como a la muerte y se tuvieron que contentar con las cosas más viles para su religión" (*Una descripción anónima* 196).[78] For Iberian Christians, the raids by Almanzor came as a shock after many years of relatively amicable relationships with the caliphate of Córdoba; because of this, when Almanzor was still ascending in his military and political career, Navarrese and Castilian troops supported his main competitor and father-in-law, the general Gālib (Ruiz Asencio 47-48). Once Almanzor became unrivalled in al-Andalus and unstoppable in the rest of the Peninsula, some Christian rulers were forced to make a pact with him: Sancho II of Navarre, for example, went to the extreme of giving his own daughter in marriage to Almanzor. Those Christian leaders that did not ally with him, like the Castilian count García Fernández, simply had to stoically endure defeat after defeat (Ruiz Asencio 53-54). According to sources in Arabic, nobody ever overcame Almanzor on the battlefield and he died of natural causes in his sixties. Christian chroniclers concurred with Muslim writers when describing the many victories of Almanzor and his tremendous power, but they

[78] In Mayte Penelas's words, "the *Dhikr* is a compilation of fragments of unequal value, legends mingling with seemingly historical events. [...] Its importance mainly lies in the fact that it contains a great many fragments from earlier works, some of which are totally or partially lost, such as the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān and *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār of al-ʿUdhrī*. In addition, it provides some material previously unknown, such as the lists of the legendary *afāriqa* and *ishbān* kings, and the longest extant list of Almanzor's campaigns (up to 56) against Christian lands" (594).

obviously paid more attention to the atrocities committed during his raids and also invented a final and humiliating comeuppance for him.

For the twelfth-century *Chronica* or *Historia Silense*, Almanzor was "omnium barbarorum maximus" ("the greatest of all barbarians") and a divine response to the sins of Iberian Christians (173). His destructive power is especially emphasized in regard to holy places, such as monasteries, churches, and even the much venerated tomb of Saint James in Santiago de Compostela:

> Devastavit quidem ciuitates, castella, omnenque terram depopulauit, usquequo peruenit ad partes maritimas occidentalis. Ispanie, et Galecie ciuitatem, in qua corpus beati Iacobi apostoli tumulatum est, destruxit. Ad sepulcrum vero apostoli, ut illud frangerit, ire disposuerat; sed territus rediit. Eclesias, monasteria, palacia fregit, atque igne cremavit.
>
> (He devastated cities and castles, and depopulated all the land, until he arrived to the Western coast of Hispania and destroyed the city of Galicia, where the blessed apostle St. James is buried. He came close to destroying the tomb of the apostle, but he turned back with fear. He ruined and burned down churches, monasteries, and palaces) (172).[79]

Once God's wrath is calmed, the devil who possessed Almanzor carries him to hell, according to the *Historia Silense*: "Post multas christianorum orriferas strages, Almanzor a demonio, quod eum uiuentem possederat, interceptus, apud Metinaçelim maximam ciuitatem in inferno sepultus est" ("After causing so much damage to the Christians, Almanzor was stopped in the great city of Medinaceli by

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[79] This is a particularly meaningful event, considering that "for the first time, a military role is here [in the *Historia Silense*] given to St James, called *bonus miles*, who predicts the victory of the Christians to an oriental peregrine, to whom he appears on a white horse. This episode marks the initial phase in the construction of the image of Santiago Matamoros, the Moor-slayer" (Henriet 372).

the devil who possessed him; he now lays in Hell") (176). Another twelfth-century chronicle, the Galician *Historia Compostellana*, focuses on the looting of Santiago de Compostela and its consequences: after destroying most of the church, the Muslim attackers fall sick with dysenthery and Almanzor unexpectedly dies while escaping: "In fugiendo repentino languore percussus apud Metinacelim, ubi sepultus est, animam suam sinui Mafometh infeliciter commendauit" ("While he was escaping, he became suddenly ill in Medinaceli, where he was buried and his soul was miserably taken to Muhammad's bossom") (14). Some of the same elements and a similar tone are repeated in two thirteenth-century chronicles that the Alfonsine writers admired and imitated: the *Chronicon mundi* by the bishop Lucas de Tuy and *De rebus Hispanie* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo.[80] In his introduction of Almanzor, Lucas de Tuy recognizes some positive and even lighthearted characteristics in the Muslim leader: "Largus erat et hilaris barbarus Almazor, et dum multis habundaret thesauris, cunctos muneribus ad suam beniuolenciam adtrahebat" ("The barbarian Almanzor was liberal and cheerful and, because he had much wealth, he attracted everybody with his generosity and his gifts") (268). But the following pages center on his military and political victories against the northern kingdoms, which are explained again as a divine punishment caused by the sins of Christians:

> In tantum Dominus pro peccatis nostris regi Almazor super gentem Christianorum seuire permisit, ut per duodecim continuos annos totidem uicibus Christianorum fines aggrederetur et semper uictor

[80] While Alfonsine writers do not identify other sources or only mention them in passing, they proudly declare their debt to Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy at the beginning of the *Estoria de España*: "E por end nos don alffonsso [...] Mandamos ayuntar quantos libros pudimos auer de Istorias en que alguna cosa contasse de los fechos despanna. e tomamos de la cronica dell arçobispo don Rodrigo que fizo por mandado del Rey don Fernando nuestro padre. e de la de Maestre luchas obispo de Tuy" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E1*, fol. 2v). The other authors enumerated as main sources in this prologue, after Rodrigo and Lucas, are Orosius, Lucan, Saint Isidore of Seville, Saint Ildefonsus, Isidore of Beja, Hydatius, Sulpicius Severus, Jordanes, Ptolemy, Cassius Dio, and Pompeius Trogus.

> reuerteretur Cordubam. Postremo omnia loca plana sibi subiugauit et tributaria fecit.
>
> (Because of our sins, the Lord allowed the king Almanzor to defeat Christian peoples for twelve years, during which he attacked the lands of the Christians and always returned victorious to Córdoba. As a result, he subjugated all these territories and made them pay tribute to him) (269-270).

The climax of Almanzor's humiliation of Christians is once more his looting of Santiago de Compostela, and Lucas de Tuy adds the detail of Almanzor taking the bells of St. James's church to hang them as lamps "in oratorio suo" ("in his church"), the famed mosque of Córdoba (270). Even though his troops are again punished with a bout of dysenthery, Almanzor's end is delayed to allow for the only Christian victory over him: in a place called "Canatanazor," Almanzor is defeated and dies later of shame and sadness, because "Almazor autem ab ea die, qua succubit, noluit comedere neque bibere" ("since that day when he was defeated, Almanzor refused to eat or drink") (271). The *Cronicon mundi* adds a strange coda to Almanzor's death: the appearance of a mysterious fisherman, who laments the Muslim defeat and whom Lucas immediately identifies as the devil: "Hunc credimus diabolum fuisse, qui Sarracenorum plangebat, deiectionem" ("We believed that this was the devil, who cried for the fall of the Saracens") (271).

The archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada only introduces minor changes to the narrative by Lucas, but he expands on some meaningful details, such as Almanzor's good qualities: "Almançor autem cum esset prudens, strenuus, ylaris atque largus, ita sibi Christianos allicere satagebat, ut Christianos Arabibus ostenderet cariores. Hac benignitate karissimus erat suis" ("Because Almanzor was sensible, brave, cheerful, and generous, he seduced the Christians by pretending that he cared more for them than for the Arabs. And he was extremely loved by his people

because of his benevolence") (*De rebus Hispanie* 163). At the end of the story, Rodrigo cuts the superflous element of the lamenting fisherman, but keeps Almanzor's defeat in the imaginary battle of "Calatannaçor," as well as his subsequent death from refusing to eat or drink (*De rebus Hispanie* 165-166). In another of his books, the *Historia Arabum*, the archbishop of Toledo added some crucial information on Almanzor, mainly the way in which he became so powerful in Córdoba: by pretending to serve the real caliph, who had been enthroned as a child, while keeping him "quasi clausus in presidio Cordubensi" ("practically imprisoned in Córdoba") (48-49). As noticed by Olivia Remie Constable, the information in the *Historia Arabum* on Almanzor's circumstances, role, and titles is "much more accurate" than the one contained in previous sources, including *De rebus Hispanie* (127). The *Historia Arabum* even identifies the historical person correctly, avoiding confusions with other leaders with the same nickname, by "citing his proper name, Muḥammad ibn Abī ʻĀmir, rather than simply calling him Almançor, as he appears in the *Chronicon mundi* and the *De rebus Hispania*, and as he was generally known in northern Spain" (Constable 127). However, the Alfonsine writers took most of their information on Almanzor from *De rebus Hispanie*, which they clearly considered superior to all other sources, since it was used as the basis for the organization of the *Estoria de España*:

> En un principio, se tradujo (antes de 1271) la obra reciente del arzobispo Toledano don Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, *De rebus Hispanie*, que había de servir de fuente básica, de espinazo de la historia, y se le añadieron glosas etimológicas y actualizaciones, bajo la directa supervisión de Alfonso X. Sólo en una segunda etapa se enlazó a ella, como yedra a un tronco, la narración paralela del Tudense [i.e., the *Cronicon mundi*, by Lucas de Tuy], conjuntando minuciosamente ambos relatos. Después se fueron sumando a esa historia mixta de las dos "autoridades" más respetadas toda una serie de narraciones de carácter particular: la historia poética (de origen clerical) del Conde Fernán González, la

> *Historia Roderici*, la historia árabe de la destrucción de Valencia por el Cid (de Ibn 'Alqama), etc. Tarea más grave fue el incorporar además los jugosos y dramáticos relatos de la poesía épica popular (Catalán, *La* Estoria de España *de Alfonso X* 48-49).[81]

One of those "jugosos y dramáticos relatos de la poesía épica popular" was the legend of the *infantes*, whose portrayal of Muslims in general and Almanzor in particular reveals the complex compilatory labor of the Alfonsine writers. As Catalán theorizes immediately after the previous quote, the last step in the composition of the *Estoria de España* was "encuadrar toda esta narración en un estricto casillero cronológico, repartiendo los sucesos por años de reinado" (*La* Estoria de España *de Alfonso X* 49). Because of the diversity of sources and chronological methods, many of the manuscripts of the *Estoria de España* notoriously diverge in the organization and dating of events among themselves and in regard to the historical record. For example, Almanzor's attack of Santiago de Compostela happened in 997, but both the manuscripts *E2* and *T* of the *Estoria de España* locate this event in the year of the Incarnation or *anno Domini* 972 (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fol. 297v; *T*, fol. 181v). The manuscript *Min*, preserved at the University of Minnesota, dates the attack even farther from the historical event, in the tenth year of the reign of Bermudo or *anno Domini* 969 (fols. 540r-541r). Despite the divergence of dates between manuscripts, the legend of the *infantes* invariably appears circumscribed by the raids of Almanzor against the Iberian Christian kingdoms, and one or more of those raids also fill the chronological gap between Gustios's return to Castile and the revenge of Mudarra.

Almanzor's presence before, during, and after the story of the *infantes* highlights the anomaly of the compassionate and honorable Muslims depicted by the

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[81] On this process of compilation and writing by the Alfonsine chroniclers, see also Fernández-Ordóñez, "El taller historiográfico" 116-118.

epic legend. In the *Versión concisa* of the *Estoria de España*, Almanzor first appears as "el mas poderosos moro daquen mar so el rrey Abderrahem" and the archenemy of Fernán González, the first count of Castile (231; ch. 11). Many of these chapters are based on the clerical *Poema de Fernán González* and they generally maintain the Islamophobic and belligerent tone of their source. For instance, the *Versión concisa* follows the poem closely when describing the conflict between the count of Castile and Almanzor as a religious war between Christians and a confederation of Muslims of diverse origins:

> Almançor teniendose por muy quebrantado por que asil auie uençudo el conde Ferrant Gonçalez, passose allen mar a tierra de Affrica, et mando predigar por toda la tierra que uiniessen acorrer a el e a los moros dEspaña contra los christianos. Los moros, quando lo oyeron, uinieronse todos para el commo a perdon, muchos caualleros almohades, e turcos, e alaraues. E ayunto todo el poder del Andaluzia e fuesse para Castilla para astragar toda la tierra e prender el conde e matarle (256; ch. 21).[82]

Another element that the *Versión concisa* takes from the *Poema de Fernán González* is the appearance of a flying dragon during the eve of a battle against Almanzor's troops. Both texts take this apparition as proof of the collaboration between Muslims and demons: "Los moros son omnes que saben muchos encantamientos, e llaman los diablos con sus esperimientos que fazen; et algun moro astroso que sabe fazer estas cosas, fizo aquella uision uenir por el aer por espantar nos

[82] This passage is a summary of stanzas 382-388 of the *Poema de Fernán González*. For example, when the chronicle mentions "todo el poder del Andaluzia," the poem details: "Cordova e Jaen con toda Andaluzia, / Lorca e Cartajena con toda Almeria" (st. 387). The chronicle also omits some of the poem's comments on the Muslims' dark complexions and hideousness: Turks, Arabs, Almohads, and Marinids are "mas feos que Satan con todo su convento, / quando sal del infyerno suzio e carv(o)niento" (st. 385).

con esta arteria" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 262; ch. 22).[83] In the poem and the chronicle, the climactic battle against Almanzor is won not only by Fernán González and his Castilian troops, but also by St. James and an army of heavenly crusaders: "[El conde] alço los ojos suso por ver quien era el que lo llamara; et vio al apostol Santiago estar sobre sy con grant conpaña de caualleros, todos armados con señales de cruz segunt que a el le paresçio; e yuan contra los moros sus azes paradas. Los moros quando los uieron, ouieron grant miedo, e fueron mal espantados" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 268; ch. 23).[84] In the chapters of the *Versión concisa* that precede the legend of the *infantes*, the few cordial relationships between Christians and Muslims have mixed consequences. When the Leonese king Sancho "el Gordo" honors his nickname to the point in which he cannot ride a horse anymore, he turns to the caliph of Córdoba for help from the renowned Andalusi physicians: "E Abaderrahemen rreçibiol muy onrrada mient, e diol fisicos que pensassen del, e guaresçio de aquella gordura, e torno a ser tan delgado commo otro omne" (281-282; ch. 30). While beneficial for Sancho's health and good looks, his absence provokes a rebellion among the noblemen of León, which also contributes to the progressing detachment of the county of Castile. ʿAbd ar-Raḥman further consolidates his friendship with Sancho by helping him to recover his lands after the revolt of the Leonese nobility. Finally, in a gesture that epitomizes the ambivalence of Muslim-Christian relationships, Sancho asks ʿAbd ar-Raḥman to return the body of Saint Pelagius, who was martyred by the caliph himself: "El rrey don Sancho con consejo de su muger doña Teresa e de su hermana doña Eluira la monga, enbio a don Belasco, obispo de Leon, con pieça de caualleros a Abderrahemen, rrey de Cordoua, a afirmar las pazes que antes ouieran, e quel enbiassen el cuerpo de Sant Pelayo que el martiriara" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 319; ch. 43).

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[83] This is a very condensed version of stanzas 473-476 of the *Poema de Fernán González*.

[84] This passage summarizes stanzas 551-553 of the *Poema de Fernán González*.

The thirteenth-century author of the *Poema de Fernán González* ignored (maybe deliberately) that Fernán González and Almanzor could not be enemies: the count of Castile died in 970, almost a decade before Almanzor became *ḥājib* and started his military campaigns against the Christian kingdoms. This anachronism created a major chronological problem for the Alfonsine writers, because the conflation of the *Poema de Fernán González* with the Latin chronicles of Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada meant that Almazor was actively fighting against Christians during most of the tenth century. Some of the writers of the *Estoria de España* manuscripts noticed this absurdity and tried to explain it by specifying that there were two famous generals nicknamed "Almanzor" during the same century: "Et este fue el segundo Almançor; a quien los moros este nombre llamaron. ¶ Ca el primero Almançor. el fuerte otrossi. e bueno; aquel fue con quien lidio el Cuende fernand gonçalez. yl uencio dos uezes. ¶ Et ala postremera batalla con pesar de lo quel auie el Conde uencido tantas uezes; non quiso comer e dexo se morir" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fol. 82r). Still, this explanation is nothing but an "adición impertinente" and "hecha muy a la ligera," as Catalán calls it, because later chapters of the same manuscript refute it: it is the second Almanzor the one who lets himself die of hunger, and not the first one (*De Alfonso X* 141-142). The *Versión concisa* does not even attempt to clarify the chronological inconsistencies: Almanzor fights several times against Fernán González and disappears for a few chapters while the narrative focuses on Sancho "el Gordo" and ʿAbd ar-Raḥman. Then, Almazor is introduced again as a "moro mucho esforçado e acuçioso e sabio" that takes the power from the 10-year-old caliph "Yssem" (Hishām II) and leads raids against the northern kingdoms (339; ch. 54). The *Versión concisa* does not state that this Almanzor and the one from previous chapters are the same person, but it does not deny it or try to explain it either. In fact, the writer does not seem to remember that there was another character named Almanzor not long ago, because he feels the need to elucidate (erroneously) the meaning of his nickname: "fue uençedor despues de todas las

batallas que fazie, e llamaronle de alli adelante Almançor, quiere tanto dezir commo 'deffendedor'" (339; ch. 54). Inadvertently, the many mix-ups of dates, events, and characters transformed the name "Almanzor" into a metonymy and a symbol of al-Andalus's power and hostility towards Christian kingdoms. A similar connotation had already been given to Almanzor by Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Both the *Chronicon mundi* and *De rebus Hispanie* mention Almanzor in their final chapters, when the king Fernando III takes the bells that Almanzor stole three centuries earlier back to Santiago de Compostela. The fourteenth-century writers who tried to complete the unfinished *Estoria de España* were aware of the symbolic importance of these references to Almanzor, which they copied from Jiménez de Rada and repeated towards the end of the manuscript *E2*: according to them, Fernando III "fallo y las canpanas dela yglesia de sanctiago apostol de gallizia que aduxiera y almozor quando entro alla e las aduxo ende por desonrra delos cristianos e pusolas enla mezquita de cordoua"; on the other side of the folio, there is a new mention of the bells "que dixiemos que troxiera almonzor de gallizia acordoua por desonrra del pueblo cristiano" (*Estoria de España Digital: E2* fols. 331r, 331v). In this way, all these chroniclers use Almanzor as a reminder of the Muslim threat of the past, finally overcome by Fernando's conquest of most of al-Andalus.

Despite their many other discrepancies, all the manuscripts of the *Estoria de España* unexpectedly present a much different facet of Almanzor when they include the legend of the *infantes* of Lara, in which the Andalusi leader spares Gustios's life twice. The first time, Gustios arrives with the letter that orders his execution and Almanzor opts for jailing him instead of killing him. Almanzor's merciful action is partly motivated by his astonishment at Velázquez's treachery and partly by his "love" for Gustios, even though there is not evidence of a previous meeting or relationship of any kind between the two of them: "El moro abrio estonçes la carta e leyola e pues que uio la enemiga que uinie en ella rrompiol e dixol: 'Gonçalo Gustios, ¿que carta es esta que traes? [...] Rruy Blasques me enbia en esta carta dezir que te descabesçe; mas

por que te quiero bien, e te amo, non lo fare, mas mandar te he por ende echar en la carçel'" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 354; ch. 58). The second time in which Almanzor pardons Gustios is after the Castilian captive identifies the heads of his seven children and kills seven "alguaziles" or court servants in a fit of fury. In this last episode, not only the "moros" of Almanzor's court want to kill Gustios, but Gustios himself is willing to die: "E el mando a Almançor quel mandasse matar, que mas querie ya morir que beuir" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 371; ch. 63). Almanzor, however, takes pity on Gustios and orders that nobody harms him: "Almançor, con duelo que auie del, mando que nol fiziessen ningun mal" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 371; ch. 63). Almanzor also gives Gustios a sympathetic woman as a caretaker, grants him his freedom, protects Gustios's son Mudarra, and sponsors Mudarra's trip to Castile to avenge his seven half-brothers, all of this out of compassion toward a Christian outsider without known political or family ties to him.

The compassion of Almanzor in the legend of the *infantes* is made all the more puzzling by the absence of this trait in his depictions by both Muslim and Christian sources. Even those chronicles in Arabic that more intensely praised Almanzor emphasized his bravery, cunning, religiousness, love of poetry, and even physical beauty, but never mentioned his clemency. On the contrary, one of the many legends about him tells that, after his father-in-law, Gālib, died in battle, Almanzor sent his head to Asmāʾ, Almanzor's wife and Gālib's daughter (De la Puente 380). In another well-known act of ruthlessness, Almanzor commanded the capture and beheading of his eldest son, ʿAbd Allāh, who had rebelled against him and sought refuge in Castile (De la Puente 381). Such cruelty seemed natural, excusable, or even commendable to Muslim chroniclers, who probably intended to "mostrarnos cómo Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir hacía siempre justicia, incluso cuando él mismo fuera perjudicado," as explained by Cristina de la Puente (396).

While the portrayal of a benevolent Almanzor seems odd in relation to previous chronicles or to the rest of the *Estoria de España*, such strangeness is

mitigated inside of the legend of the *infantes* because, as previously mentioned, not only Almanzor but all Muslim characters are depicted as compassionate and admirable figures. The Andalusi generals Viara and Galve reproduce Almanzor's double pardon of Gustios by twice interrupting the battle against the *infantes* and letting them live. First, the *infantes* ask for a truce in order to solicit Velázquez's help and the Muslim generals agree to it, even though the Andalusi victory is already inevitable. The contrast among Velázquez and the Muslim generals is evident: Velázquez should protect his nephews, but instead he betrays them; Viara and Galve's duty is to kill the *infantes*, but they are too honorable not to respect a truce. This contrast is reinforced later, when Viara and Galve stop the battle out of admiration and pity for the *infantes*, take their Christian enemies to a tent, and give them food and wine: "Quando los uieron assi cansados e solos Viara e Galue, ouieron dellos duelo, e fueron los sacar dentre la priessa, e lleuaron los para su tienda, e fizieron los desarmar; e desi mandaronles dar de comner pan e vino" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 367; ch. 62). This time, Velázquez threatens Viara and Galve: if they do not kill the *infantes*, he intends to settle in Córdoba and gain the favor of Almanzor, who will punish the generals for not doing their duty. Viara and Galve apologetically explain their situation to the *infantes*: if Velázquez goes to Córdoba and converts to Islam, it is indeed probable that he will have the power to harm both generals: "Non sabemos aqui que nos fazer, ca si Rruy Blasquez uuestro tio se fuesse para Cordoua assi commo diz, tornar se y mucho ayna moro, e Almançor dar le y e todo su poder e buscar nos y e mucho mal por esta rrazon" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 368; ch. 62). It is only due to Velázquez's threats that Viara and Galve finally kill and behead the *infantes*.

Another compassionate Andalusi character is the anonymous caretaker of Gustios. She starts helping him not out of her own generosity, but as an extension of Almanzor's "love" for Gustios: Almanzor "mando a una mora fiia dalgo quel guardase yl siruiesse yl diesse lo que menester ouiesse" (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa*

354-355; ch. 58). In the following sentence, however, her service to him becomes a love relationship that the *Versión concisa* characterizes as inescapable, mutual, and instantaneously fruitful: "Et auino assi a cabo de pocos dias que yaçiendo en la carçel, e aquella mora seruiendol, que se ouieron de amar vno a otro, de maña que ouo en ella don Gonçalo un fiio, a quien dixeron despues Mudarra Gonçales" (355; ch. 58). The succinct presentation of the caretaker as a "mora fiia dalgo" or a Muslim noblewoman, and the immediate announcement that she will be Mudarra's mother, seem to reduce her importance to a plot device. However, her next appearance gives her an unexpectedly high degree of agency and dignity. When Gustios goes back to prison, weeping after identifying his seven dead children, the Muslim woman speaks for the first time to offer him all her empathy, trust, and encouragement. In this moment of total loss and desperation, the nadir of Gustios's life, she says to him:

> Esforçat, señor don Gonçalo, e dexat de llorar e de auer en uos pesar, ca yo otrossi oue XII fijos muy buenos caualleros, e assi fue por mi uentura que todos XII me los mataron en un dia en batalla; mas pero non dexe de conortarme por ende e de esforçad me. Et pues yo que so muger me esforçe e non di por ende nada, ¿quanto mas tu que eres cauallero?, ca por llorar tu mucho por tus fijos non los podras por ello nunca cobrar; nin te tiene pro en matarte assi (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 371; ch. 63).

This account of her stoicism in front of the killing of her twelve children, intended as a model and inspiration to Gustios, transforms this Andalusi woman into the most remarkable female character of the legend. In comparison to her, female Christian characters seem flat and unrealistic. Lambra, Velázquez's wife and aunt of the *infantes*, is presented as a female antimodel, full of treachery, aggressiveness, and unrestraint. Sancha, Gustios's wife and the mother of the *infantes*, is Lambra's exact opposite: the model of a good mother and wife, always restrained and ladylike. In contrast, the Andalusi woman, precisely for not being Christian or Castilian, can

escape from being confined to one of those two extremes of female behavior and become a much more complex character. On the one hand, she is a Muslim and the lover of a Christian adulterer. On the other hand, she is as strong and compassionate as Almanzor and, just like him, she helps Gustios and allows justice to be restored in Castile. In the context of the entire legend and its providentialist lens, she is the unlikely proof of how "Dios escribe derecho sobre renglones torcidos," as an Iberian proverb affirms.[85]

God's straight writing on crooked lines becomes personified in the figure of one more Andalusi character, Mudarra, who brings together all the good qualities of the previous Muslims in the legend of the *infantes*. In addition to being as brave, powerful, and compassionate as his mother, Almanzor, Viara, or Galve, Mudarra proves also superior to his Christian relatives by behaving in a much more cautious and self-controlled way than Gustios or the seven *infantes*. Each manuscript of the *Estoria de España* devotes no more than a couple of folios to Mudarra, but he is undoubtedly presented as a great hero because of his loyalty to his Castilian relatives, whose honor he restores by killing Ruy Velázquez. Mudarra's exemplarity is amplified by the strange textual location of his feat: ten years pass between Mudarra's birth and his knighting by Almanzor, and the manuscripts of the *Estoria de España* fill that chronological hiatus with events unrelated to the legend of the *infantes*. In the *Versión concisa*, those ten years are occupied by Andalusi raids in Portugal and Galicia (ch. 64); the miraculous defense of the bishop of Santiago de Compostela after being accused of conspiring with Muslims and intending to convert to Islam (ch. 65); the illegitimate progeny of King Vermudo, who took two sisters as his lovers (ch. 66); new victories of Almanzor over the king of León, achieved with the collaboration of several Leonese counts (ch. 67); and, finally, Almanzor's siege, conquest, and

[85] This is one among several Castilian versions of the proverb, which may have existed first in Portuguese: "Deus escreve direito por linhas tortas" (Monteiro 216-217).

destruction of the cities of León and Astorga (chs. 68-70). These chapters reiterate the leitmotif, so frequent in Iberian chronicles written in Latin, of explaining Muslim victories through the disunity and sinfulness of Christians. The enumeration of those events creates a completely inadequate context to present Almanzor once again as an exemplary ruler and to praise the heroism of a Muslim knight under his protection. But this is exactly what the writers of the *Versión concisa* do when they resume their account of the *infantes*' legend.

The first thing that the *Versión concisa* points out after the 10-year gap in the story of the *infantes* is how much Almanzor loved Mudarra: "Pues que Mudarra Gonçales ouo X años cumplidos fizol Almançor cauallero, cal amaua mucho, por quel ueye de buen seso e mucho esforçado e de buenas maneras en todo, maguer que era aun niño" (386; ch. 71). As I have argued before, Mudarra is essentially characterized by his liminality or elusion of clear categories and boundaries:

> On the one hand, Mudarra is born and brought up in the Arabic-speaking world of the Caliphate of Córdoba, but he achieves his heroic status when he travels to Castile and avenges the death of his seven Christian half-brothers. On the other hand, he is an obviously legendary character, who interacts with Almanzor and the count García Fernández, two famous historical figures from tenth-century Iberia (Fuentes, "Memories" 25).[86]

Mudarra's presentation as a perfect knight, in spite of still being a child, adds to this liminality. However, it is important to emphasize that Mudarra's liminal character does not deny or obliterate his very evident birth, upbringing, and

[86] In my article, I used the term "liminality" as defined by Victor Turner, according to whom liminality and liminal people "elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (95).

belonging to al-Andalus. Mudarra is born from a Muslim mother in the court of Almanzor, in the caliphate and the city of Córdoba. He is knighted by Almanzor himself, which implies that he is under his protection and at his service. The *Versión concisa* makes explicit that Mudarra is neither politically nor religiously different from Almanzor by declaring that they were the two best "moros": "Este Mudarra Gonçales sallio despues tan buen cauallero e tan esforçado que, si Almançor non era, non aurie meior que el entre todos los moros" (386; ch. 71). Mudarra's desire to help his Castilian family is not questioned by others in his Andalusi social context: nobody among his 200 squires, nor Almanzor, nor other "moros poderosos" oppose to his plan. In the same unquestioning way, Gustios receives his long-lost Andalusi son with open arms: when Gustios first recognizes Mudarra, "fuel abraçar, con el grant plazer que ende ouo," and the two of them spend then several days "folgando en uno," or celebrating and bonding together (*Estoria de España: Versión concisa* 387; ch. 71). Later, when Mudarra arrives to the court of the count García Fernández and challenges Velázquez, nobody makes any allusion to his difference of origin, religion, or ethnicity. Even the affronted Velázquez insults Mudarra by calling him a liar, but he does not bring attention to his Muslim or Andalusi identity.

The legend of the *infantes* reaches its conclusion when Mudarra kills Velázquez while the traitor tries to escape by night. Mudarra cannot immediately do the same to Lambra, because she is García Fernández's cousin; therefore, he patiently waits for the count's death to consummate his revenge by capturing Lambra and burning her. In the following sentence, the *Versión concisa* goes back to his portrayal of Almanzor and the rest of Andalusi Muslims as barbaric raiders of the Christian kingdoms: "En este año otrossi saco Almançor su hueste muy grande, e uino correr tierra de christianos, e llego fasta Coyanca, la que agora dizen Ualecia, e cercola, e prisola, e desi fizola toda astragar de cimiento" (388; ch. 71). Alliances and camaraderie between Muslim and Christian figures are present in many episodes of the *Estoria de España*. I already mentioned the good relationships between Sancho

"el Gordo" and ʿAbd ar-Raḥman, and similar interreligious associations involve even the famous Christian conquerors of Toledo and Valencia: Alfonso VI builds a strong and lasting alliance with Al-Mā'mūn of Toledo and his son; the Cid does the same with Yūsuf ibn Hūd of Zaragoza (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fols. 156v-163r, 194r-200r). Still, the contradictions between the portrayal of Almanzor in the legend of the *infantes* and his other appearances in the chronicle, as well as the repeated ennoblement of all Muslim characters, make the story of the seven *infantes* of Lara a singular case in the *Estoria de España*. Particularly remarkable is that, while the alliances between famous Christian and Muslim leaders are generally based on the historical record, the only verifiable aspect of the legend of the *infantes* is its inclusion of two historical figures: Almanzor and the count García Fernández. Therefore, the Alfonsine writers could have better adapted the circumstances and the characterizations to the general goals of the entire chronicle, but they do not seem to have consistently done so.

The legend of the *infantes* clearly serves one of the main purposes of the *Estoria de España*: its exemplary function. In the prologue to the chronicle, the Alfonsine writers express their admiration for those "sabios antigos que fueron en los tiempos primeros" because they "escriuieron los fechos tan bien de los locos cuemo de los sabios. e otrossi daquellos que fueron fieles en la ley de dios. e de los que no [...] por que los que despues uiniessen por los fechos de los buenos punnassen en fazer bien. e por los de los malos que se castigassen. de fazer mal" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital*: E1, fol. 2r). According to Fernando Gómez Redondo, the several role models and antimodels in the story of the *infantes* could have been intended as an admonishment to Alfonso's many rebellious noblemen: in pursuit of a moralizing goal, the court chroniclers transformed the epic legend "en un 'exemplo' historiográfico para analizar la conducta social de la clase caballeresca, a la que se conmina a cumplir con sus deberes linajísticos" so they do not end up like Ruy Velázquez ("Los Infantes" 179). In a similar way, the positive depictions of Muslims in

the legend of the *infantes* could be useful for the didactic intentions of the chronicle by proving that there is no correlation between social origin or religious adherence and moral qualities. At the same time, however, those noble and compassionate Muslims undermine what is probably the most important objective of the *Estoria de España* according to its prologue:

> E esto fiziemos por que fuesse sabudo el comienço de los espannoles. e de quales yentes fuera espanna maltrecha [...] e por mostrar la nobleza de los godos. e como fueron uiniendo de tierra en tierra uenciendo muchas batallas e conquiriendo muchas tierras fasta que llegaron a espanna e echaron ende a todas las otras yentes. e fueron ellos sennores della. ¶ e como por el desacuerdo que ouieronlos godos con so sennor el rey Rodrigo. e por la traycion que urdio el conde do Jllan e ell arcobispo oppa. passaron los daffrica e ganaron todo lo; mas despanna. e como fueron los cristianos despues cobrando la tierra; e del danno queuino en ella por partir los regnos. por que se non pudo cobrar tan ayna. e despues cuemo la ayunto dios e por quales maneras. e en qual tiempo e quales reyes ganaron la tierra fasta en el mar mediterraneo. e que obras fizo cada uno assi cuemo uinieron unos empos otros fastal nuestro tiempo (*Estoria de Espanna Digital*: E1, fol. 2v).

In Geraldine Hazbun's words, these lines evidence how "Alfonso regarded himself as part of an unbroken Gothic line, heir to the qualities and deeds of that race which included loyalty, courage, nobility, and conversion to Christianity. The king chose to represent the [Muslim] invasion as a temporary nadir in a Gothic history whose continuity was never truly broken" (17-18). The legend of the *infantes*, however, fails to adhere to the defense of Gothic and Christian power over the Peninsula, an essential justification of the imperial ambitions of many Leonese and Castilian kings, including Alfonso X. To the contrary, every Muslim in the legend seems to tacitly question the exclusive rights of Christians to dominate the Iberian Peninsula by

showing that non-Christians can be far more compassionate, powerful, and prudent. In a case of reality mimicking fiction, less than a decade after the *Versión concisa* was written, Alfonso became as dependent on the mercy, support, and hospitality of Muslims as Gonzalo Gustios. After his son Sancho and most of Castilian noblemen rebelled against Alfonso in 1282, the Castilian king had to ask for help from his African archenemies, the Marinids. In his testament of 1283, Alfonso justified the situation by emphasizing his own helplessness, the treachery of his Christian vassals, and the good qualities of the emir Abū Yūsuf:

> E veyéndonos desapoderados de todas cosas del mundo, si non tan solamente de la merced de Dios, entendiendo que Abeincaf, rey de Marruecos e señor de los moros, e membrándose del amor que tovimos en uno, e catando el prez del mundo, adelantóse ante los reyes cristianos e moros para tener derecho a verdad, mostrando que le pesaba e que se dolia del mal e del quebranto que nos habiamos recebido, deciendo que como quier de sendas leyes eramos, et la su casa de Marruecos fuera simpre contra España que él non queria catar aquello; mas sabiendo la nuestra casa cuanto honradamente venie de lueñe, porque tenie que en tan gran prescio no se podria facer como este para el mundo, ni tamaña honra para su ley, como enguardar esta nuestra casa que non fuese destruida, nin nos muerto nin quebrantado por tan grand traición como esta que contra nos facen los traidores. Et sobre esto enviónos prometer que nos ayudaria con el su cuerpo, e con su linage, e con sus vasallos, e con su poder, e con sus haberes, fasta que todo lo nuestro hobiesemos cobrado, como nunca mejor lo hobieramos. E fizolo asi [...]. Et nos veyendo todo esto que él facía, fiamos tanto en él que moramos cerca de cuatro meses en su poder con aquella poca de gente que teniamos fiandonos en su amor e en su verdad (qtd. in Martínez 613).

According to O'Callaghan, "it is a terrible irony that the king who expressed the hope 'that I can expel the sect of Muhammad from Spain' was reduced to begging for help from Abū Yūsuf, who only a few years before had burned and pillaged his realm" (*The Gibraltar Crusade* 85). However, Alfonso's testament precisely tries to argue against such an ironic interpretation: for Alfonso, the problem that afflicts him exceeds the traditional opposition of Christians versus Muslims or Castilians versus Moroccans. When sons rebel against their parents and vassals against their legitimate lord, "tan grand traición" calls for the intervention of any decent person, no matter his religious or political affiliation. Again, this is exactly the kind of situation and solution offered by the legend of the *infantes*, which inadvertently prophecized the ethical realization that Alfonso achieved near the end of his life.

Around 1282, almost a decade after abandoning work on the unfinished *Versión concisa*, the Alfonsine writers returned to the *Estoria de España* and created what is known today as the *Versión crítica*. The authors of the *Versión crítica* carefully polished the phrasing of most of the *Versión concisa*. Other passages were more deeply changed to better conform with Alfonso X's new worries after the renouncement of his imperial ambitions and the rebellion led by Sancho. In regard to the story of the seven *infantes*, most of the modifications are stylistic: sometimes, the *Versión crítica* makes explicit the actions or the words of a character that were only suggested by the *Versión concisa*, but more frequently it simplifies the overtly detailed sentences of the previous version (Campa Gutiérrez 182-196; Fernández-Ordóñez, *Versión crítica de la* Estoria 82-87). Still, some amendments are highly consequential for the representation of Muslims and their relationships with Christians in the story of the *infantes*. The *Versión crítica*, for example, eliminates the episode in which the generals Viara and Galve welcome the *infantes* into their tent and give them bread and wine (Campa Gutiérrez 190). The suppression of those few sentences eradicates two of the five exemplary Muslims in the older version of the legend. Another significant change involves Gustios's grateful words when Almanzor

frees him. In the *Versión concisa*, Gustios said: "Almançor, Dios uos lo gradesça el bien que me dezides, e aun tienpo uenga que uos yo faga algun seruiçio por ello" (371-372; ch. 63). In the *Versión crítica*, Gustios is equally grateful, but the possibility of him someday serving or helping Almanzor is eliminated: "Almanzor, Dios vos lo gradesça el byen que me dizides e la merçed que me fazedes" (346; ch. 175). In this case, the writers did not discard Almanzor's compassion, as they did with Viara and Galve, but they apparently felt it was inappropiate for a Christian hero to consider an eventual collaboration with the Andalusi leader.

By far the most important alteration to the legend of the *infantes* in the *Versión crítica* is the surprising Christianization of Mudarra, an event that was eagerly repeated by later accounts of the story. After both Velázquez and Lambra receive their punishment, the *Versión crítica* concludes the legend of the *infantes* in this way: "Agora sabed aqui los que esta estoria oydes que, quando este Mudarra Gonçales llego de Cordoua a Salas, que lo fizo su padre batear, e torno lo cristiano, ca antes moro era; e fue muy buen cauallero e mucho onrrado en quanto viuio" (*Estoria de España: Versión crítica* 350; ch. 182). This addition barely makes narrative sense: as the last sentence of the story of the *infantes*, it sounds less like a conclusion and more like a postscript that tries to amend the religious and cultural origin of Mudarra by suddenly remembering a baptism that should have been mentioned in the previous folio. On an ideological level, this addition is less surprising: the elimination of the generosity of Viara and Galve, the suppression of Gustios's desire to serve Almanzor, and Mudarra's baptism are three clear signs of the Alfonsine writers' attempts to diminish the Muslims of the legend without modifying anything too substantial in the story. None of these changes affect the main events and the general shape of the plot; neither do they correct the moral exemplarity of Almanzor, Mudarra, or his mother. But the writers of the *Versión crítica* started pushing the legend of the *infantes* away from its subversive original content, and, by baptizing the

main Muslim hero in the story, they brought the legend closer to a more imperial and conservative ideology.

One unsolvable problem when analyzing the two Alfonsine accounts of the story of the *infantes* is the lack of any reference to it before the *Estoria de España*. Because of this, it is impossible to know to what extent the Alfonsine writers preserved or modified the original legend to better accommodate it to their particular interests. In contrast, much can be said, and has been said, about the changes to the story in its following iterations. Starting with the nineteenth-century monograph by Menéndez Pidal on the *infantes* of Lara, critics were particularly intrigued by how post-Alfonsine versions of the legend greatly expanded on the character and the story of Mudarra. Menéndez Pidal's original hypothesis was that there were at least two different epic poems based on the legend of the *infantes*, and later Portuguese and Castilian accounts used a different epic source than the one known by the Alfonsine writers: "En la segunda mitad del siglo XIII ó en los comienzos del XIV (antes de 1344) se compuso un segundo *Cantar de los Infantes*, aprovechando parte del primero, ampliando considerablemente su segunda mitad y conduciéndolo por caminos enteramente nuevos hacia su desenlace" (*La leyenda* 22). Today, the critical consensus agrees with the gist of that opinion, as concluded by Alan Deyermond after examining the positions of Menéndez Pidal, Angelo Monteverdi, Collin Smith, Diego Catalán, Louis Chalon, Anne-Marie Capdeboscq, John Cummins, and D. G. Pattison: "Tomando en cuenta dichas aportaciones, quedo convencido de que una refundición de *Los siete infantes* se prosificó en la *Crónica de 1344* portuguesa, encontrándose también en otras crónicas" (80). While many studies have focused on the divergences of the *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344* in regard to the *Estoria de España*, not enough attention has been paid to an intermediate and much abridged version of the legend that appears in a *livro de linhagens*, or genealogical book, attributed to Pedro Afonso, count of Barcelos.

The *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro* was preceded by two well-known Portuguese examples of the same genre, the *Livro velho* (or *Livro dos cinco linhagens de Portugal*) from the last decades of the thirteenth century, and the *Livro do Deão* from the first half of the fourteenth century.[87] Probably inspired by the historiographical works of his great-grandfather Alfonso X, Pedro Afonso was not satisfied with merely enumerating genealogies as the *Livro velho* and the *Livro do Deão* did, and started adding brief narratives, including summaries of epic poems and popular legends such as the story of the *infantes* of Lara. This was part of his more ambitious and inclusive vision of history, as explained by Diego Catalán and María Soledad de Andrés:

> Don Pedro no se limitó a escribir un nobiliario portugués, sino que intentó superar el tradicional localismo de los "livros das linhagens" tratando unitariamente de la nobleza hispánica, peninsular, y encuadrando la historia genealógica de España en una historia genealógica universal (referente a los grandes imperios del mundo antiguo y a las nuevas monarquías del occidente de Europa) (50).

Pedro Afonso's ambition is evident in the prologue of his book, much more elaborate than those of its predecessors. The *Livro velho* introduces its enumeration of families and names with an unsophisticated, jongleurish one-sentence invitation: "Agora, amigos, se vos plaze vos contaremos os linhagens dos bons homens filhos d'algo do reino de Portugal dos que devem a armar e criar e que andaram a la guerra a filhar o reino de Portugal" (23). The *Livro de linhagens do Deão* has a longer introduction that explains its motivations, but these are exclusively genealogical: the

[87] Joseph Piel and José Mattoso, editors of both books, date more precisely the *Livro velho* between 1282 and 1290 and the *Livro do Deão* between 1337 and 1340 (13, 15). Cintra believed that the *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro* had been written between 1325 and 1344 (clxxxvi). Mattoso suggested a process of writing in two stages: one between 1328 and 1337, and another one between 1340 and 1344 (47).

book was written "por saberem os homens fidalgos de Portugal de qual linhagem vem, e de quaes terras e de quaes coutos, honras e mosteiros e igrejas som naturaes, e per saberem como som parentes" (61). Instead, the *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro* begins with the idealistic purpose of "meter amor e amizade antre os nobres fidalgos da Espanha," because, following Aristotle, "se homẽes houvessem antre si amizade verdadeira, nom haveriam mester reis nem justiças, ca amizade os faria viver seguramente em no serviço de Deus" (II/1: 55-56). One among several reasons behind the need for Iberian Christian noblemen to know their common ancestors and to bolster their friendship is that in this way their hearts will be unified to "seguir os seus emmigos, que som em estroimento da fe de Jesu Christo" (II/1: 56). These lofty purposes justify the monumental and complex endeavor of Pedro Afonso, which begins with Adam and his sons, summarizes Antiquity until the appearance of the Goths, and then focuses for most of the book on the history of the Iberian kingdoms. In this way, Pedro Afonso combines the strategies and purposes of several previous genealogical traditions. Just like biblical genealogies, his *Livro de linhagens* presents Adam as a common ancestor for all peoples and conceives a history of humanity presided by a divine plan. Similarly to Islamic genealogies, the legitimacy of noblemen and rulers is based on their connections to previous generations of political and religious leaders, which becomes especially important when such legitimacy is questioned by others (see Fierro, "Genealogies"). Finally, these Mediterranean traditions are fused with the Gothic myth created by Isidore of Seville and developed by authors such as Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the historiographers sponsored by Alfonso X. According to that myth, Iberian Christian kingdoms have a common Visigothic origin, which justifies their right to rule the Peninsula and dominate or expel non-Christians.

The tenth chapter of the *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro* is devoted to the history of the very powerful Lara family. The "mui boo e muito honrado" lineage of the Laras begins with "dom Gosteuz Gonçalvez," who died fighting against Almanzor,

and "dona Hurtiga Ramirez," daughter of the king Ramiro of Aragon; Gosteuz and Hurtiga conceived Gonzalo Gustios, the father of the seven *infantes* (II/1: 147). Pedro Afonso's quick summary of the legend of the *infantes* follows closely the Alfonsine account until Gonzalo Gustios recognizes the heads of his seven sons. Then, "Almançor, com doo que houve dele, enviou-lhe ũa sa prima mui fermosa e muito entendida, que era moura, que o confortasse no carcer u jazia" (II/1: 148). Once the woman sent by Almanzor to take care of Gustios is no longer an anonymous Andalusi, but Almanzor's own cousin, a hint of Muslim humbleness and even humiliation is added to the compassion of the gesture: his offering seems less an act of mercy and more an attempt to ingratiate with a Christian ally.[88] That hint becomes an evident bias when Pedro Afonso supplements the Alfonsine narrative with the following events after the deaths of Velázquez and Lambra: "Este dom Mudarra Gonçalvez foi muito boo cavaleiro d'armas, e foi homem muito honrado e foi mui boo cristão. O conde dom Garcia Fernandez foi seu padrinho, pero que lhe nom mudarom o nome, e feze-o maior de todalas sas mesnadas, porque o servia bem e fazia muito mal aos Mouros" (II/1: 148). Pedro Afonso takes Mudarra's baptism from the *Versión crítica* of the *Estoria de España*, but goes much further by adding that the Andalusi hero entered into the service of the count of Castile, and even made his military career fighting against Muslims. This development of events, just like Mudarra's baptism in the *Versión crítica*, does not make much narrative sense: why would a Muslim born in Córdoba, without any contact with his Castilian and Christian family until he is knighted, suddenly decide to abandon his entire identity to serve a foreign lord with another religion? More importantly, if Mudarra was not only Almanzor's protégé but

[88] In the manuscript *E2* of the *Estoria de España*, composed of thirteenth and fourteenth-century fragments of the chronicle, Mudarra is already mentioned as Almanzor's relative but their kinship is not specified: Almanzor "amaual mucho. Ca era muy su parient" (*Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fol. 96r). Therefore, the blood relationship between Mudarra's mother and Almanzor appeared as an element of the legend at some moment between the composition of the *Versión crítica* of the *Estoria de España* and the writing of the *Livro de linhagens*.

the son of his cousin, why would he betray the mighty ruler of the caliphate of Córdoba to go serve a less powerful lord in a poorer kingdom? One possible explanation is that, in the eyes of Pedro Afonso, the superiority of Christianity trumps all kinds of family, economic, and political ties and advantages. Another possibility is that Pedro Afonso needs to somehow explain the origins of the influential Lara family: since all versions of the legend affirm that the *infantes* died while they were still very young and without descendants, Pedro Afonso's only alternative is connecting the lineage of the Laras to (a Christianized, de-Muslimized) Mudarra. This is well supported by the continuation of the story in the *Livro de linhagens*: "Este Mudarra Gonçalvez foi casado com ũa dona que foi molher mui filha d'algo e de mui alto sangue, e viinha do linhagem dos Godos, e fez em ela ũu filho que houve nome dom Nuno Gonçalvez d'Avalos. E teve Deus por bem que foi bom cristão, como seu padre era, e porque havia mui gram sabor de fazer mal aos Mouros, como quer que deles veesse" (II/1: 148). In addition to forcibly connecting Mudarra to a Gothic lineage, Pedro Afonso transforms his Christian piety and belligerence against Muslims into genetic traits that are transmitted to his descendants. Indeed, Nuno Gonçalvez's hate of Muslims reappears a couple of generations later in Mudarra great-grandson, "o conde dom Nuno Gonçalvez, que chamarom o Corvo d'Andaluz, e porque o chamarom o Corvo foi porque era mui cruel contra os Mouros, e matava-os ante que os prender" (II/1: 149). In this way, the *Livro de linhagens* not only makes acceptable the presence of an Andalusi Muslim in a noble Christian lineage, but turns it into a proud example of the Christian kingdoms' capacity to absorb and transform Muslim difference.

The *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro* gives so much importance to the Christianization of Mudarra that both his status as a good Christian and his fighting against Muslims are mentioned twice, in spite of the reduction of the entire legend to around 500 words. The assertion that his son Nuno was an equally upstanding Christian is emphasized by a curious legend in which an angel appears to old Nuno

and tells him that God will concede any of his wishes. Nuno asks for the salvation of his soul; the angel replies that his good works are enough to earn that. Given a second chance, Nuno requests the endlessness of his lineage and God grants his wish: "E o angio lhe disse que pedia bem, e que Deus lho havia outorgado. E por esto cuidam os homẽes que o solar de Lara nunca ha de seer destroido" (II/1: 149). The exaltation of the powerful Lara family could not be more blatant. While Alfonso X probably had no sympathy for the Laras, since they were among the Castilian noblemen who revolted against him in 1272, Pedro Afonso was obviously invested in their reputation. Both Luís Lindley Cintra and Diego Catalán thought that the count had privileged access to genealogical and historiographical information about the Laras through his friendship with one of them, probably don Juan Núñez de Lara, who was exiled from Castile and allied with Pedro Afonso in Portugal (Cintra cxiii, cxlviii-cxlix; Catalán, *La épica española* 317-318; Catalán and De Andrés xxi, li).[89] That situation may perfectly explain the interest of Pedro Afonso in transforming Mudarra and his descendants into good Christian and Castilian noblemen. However, it is necessary to exert critical caution with such a simple explanation, mainly because Pedro Afonso's personal involvement with the *Livro de linhagens* is still debatable. As noticed by Cintra, the problem is similar to the one in relation to Alfonso X's authorship of his works: when Pedro Afonso or Alfonso X is identified as the "author" of a book, it probably means that he ordered the compilation of sources and their utilization, gave some orientations and supervised the writing, and maybe corrected the finished work, but it does not mean in any case that he personally wrote it (clxxxiii). In the case of the *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro*, the situation is further complicated

[89] The friendship between the count Pedro Afonso and Juan Núñez de Lara is mentioned in a contemporary document: a declaration of treason by the king Dinis against his heir, Afonso. Among many other accusations, Dinis affirms that Afonso hated the count Pedro Afonso because of his loyalty to the king, but the prince's attitude changed when the count "sayiu da voontade dEl Rey e [...] se trabalhou dandar en seu desserviço, tomando gram amor e gram preyto con Don Johane Nuniz en tenpo que Don Johan Nuniz era a desserviço dEl Rey" (Lopes 28).

because the work was recast several times between its original writing before 1344 and the oldest preserved text: "Por meio de, pelo menos, duas actualizações e novas redacções, realizadas ainda durante o século XIV, se explica o estado em que esse *Livro* atingiu o século XVI e nos foi transmitido" (Cintra clxxxi).[90] Therefore, it is not enough, and it can even be erroneous, to justify the ideological decisions of the work by turning to Pedro Afonso's biography. Additionally, the *Livro de linhagens* does more than just create an idealized ancestry for the Laras: it also reacts against the subversive ennoblement of Muslims in the *Versión concisa* of the *Estoria de España*. This effort to tone down the admiration of the *Versión concisa* for its Muslim characters had already been initiated by the *Versión crítica* and it continues in the *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*.

Cintra convincingly attributed the *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344* to the same authors of the *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro*.[91] Among their many

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[90] José Mattoso, editor of the *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro*, corroborates that this book "chegou até nós numa versão refundida pelo menos duas vezes" (8). According to Mattoso, the first major rewriting of the book happened between 1360 and 1365, and the second one between 1380 and 1383 (43). Mattoso, who consulted 60 manuscripts to create his critical edition, was convinced that "o texto que hoje possuímos, não pode de modo algum pertencer ao conde D. Pedro de Barcelos, nem sequer reproduzi-lo fielmente com simples acrescentos de gerações posteriores às que ele indicou" (41).

[91] Cintra examines numerous pieces of evidence to determine whether the author of the *Crónica de 1344* is Pedro Afonso and/or the same as the author of the *Livro de linhagens* (cxxvii-clxc [sic: it should be cxc]). Cintra concludes: "Nenhum destes argumentos é, só por si, decisivo. Todos reunidos, significam contudo alguma coisa. É quase seguro que a redacção da *Crónica Geral de 1344* se deve à iniciativa do autor do *Livro das Linhagens*, o Conde D. Pedro de Barcelos" (clxc [cxc]; see also Catalán and De Andrés xxi). It is important to emphasize that the uncertainty about the exact role of Pedro Afonso in relation to these works, as well as their complicated manuscript transmission, do not contradict their evident proximity to the count of Barcelos. As summarized by Maria do Rosário Ferreira: "Independentemente das actualizações sofridas circa 1360 e circa 1380 pelo *Livro de Linhagens*, o discurso desta obra e o da *Crónica de 1344* estão marcados por estratégias de escrita e por traços ideológicos e estilísticos que indiciam que em ambas se manifesta uma mesma vontade autoral. Ora só parece viável equacionar empiricamente a figura de autor assim inscrita nos textos com a personalidade e a acção do Conde D. Pedro de Barcelos" (124).

similarities of content and style, both Portuguese works coincide in their ideological resignification of the legend of the *infantes* of Lara, which builds on the Christianization of the legend started by the *Versión crítica* of the *Estoria de España.* In different degrees, the *Versión crítica* and the two works attributed to Pedro Afonso atenuate or eliminate those aspects of the story of the *infantes* that challenged the superiority of Christians over Muslims in the *Versión concisa*. But the *Crónica de 1344* is the most ideologically radical of all these texts because of the quantity and the importance of the changes that it introduces to the oldest account of the legend.

If Pedro Afonso indeed created the *Crónica de 1344*, there is no doubt that he was following the steps of his great-grandfather Alfonso X: his universalist ambitions, already manifest in the *Livro de linhagens*, are fully accomplished in his own monumental chronicle, which encompasses Iberian history from mythical times to the fourteenth century.[92] The writers of the *Crónica de 1344* took much information from "una traducción al gallego de la *Versión amplificada en 1289 de la Estoria de*

[92] The manuscripts of the *Crónica de 1344* are less numerous than those of the *Livro de linhagens*, but their history is equally or more complex. Thanks particularly to Cintra's study, most scholars accept that the original Portuguese version of the chronicle was lost, but it is possible to know most of its content because of an incomplete Castilian translation, which only lacks the beginning and the ending (ms. *M*, at the Biblioteca General Universitaria de Salamanca). Around 1400, the *Crónica de 1344* was rewritten; although this rewriting was also lost, several manuscripts in Portuguese and Castilian originated from it, including the two oldest ones in Portuguese, from the early fifteenth century: the first one preserved at the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa and the second one at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. As summarized by Catalán and De Andrés, the main difference between the two versions is that the recast of around 1400 accentuates the similarities between the *Crónica de 1344* and the *Estoria de España*: "El refundidor eliminó las incursiones del antiguo autor en la historia genealógica universal y completó la historia de la península aprovechando la copiosa información reunida por Alfonso X acerca de aquellas secciones de la historia hispánica que el primer autor no trataba bajo una forma cronística" (xvii). On the manuscripts and the textual tradition of the *Crónica de 1344*, see Cintra cdlxxxix-dxl and Catalán and De Andrés xv-xxi, lxxiii-lxxxii. Cintra based his critical edition of the *Crónica de 1344* on the manuscript of the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, and used the one at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France to correct mistakes and fill up textual gaps (dxl-dxlii). For more information on the manuscript tradition of the *Crónica de 1344*, see Alves Moreira and Askins.

España de Alfonso X, que abarca desde el reinado de Ramiro I de Asturias hasta la muerte de Vermudo III de León," written "en el propio siglo XIII o comienzos del XIV" (Lorenzo 96). [93] Their high regard for the *Estoria de España*, however, exceeds servile imitation: they do not copy the Alfonsine content as much as the general concept and the methods of work. Just like the Alfonsine writers before them, Pedro Afonso and his collaborators incorporate and try to reconcile a variety of materials, but their sources are often very different. For example, one of their major influences is the *Crónica do mouro Rasis,* a translation of fragments of the *Ajbār mulūk al-Andalus* by the tenth-century Andalusi historian Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ar-Rāzī (Cintra xxxi-xxxii). Though Ar-Rāzī's book was already known and quoted by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, the *Crónica de 1344* uses the Portuguese translation personally comissioned by Pedro Afonso's father, the king Dinis of Portugal. Another original source used by the *Crónica de 1344* is a post-Alfonsine account of the *infantes* of Lara, with marked divergences from the legend as told in the different versions of the *Estoria de España* and in almost total agreement with the abridged story in the *Livro de linhagens*. Actually, except for one important discrepancy regarding the final punishment for Lambra, the *Crónica de 1344*'s account reads like a much more comprehensive retelling of the same source used by the *Livro de linhagens*.[94] In comparison to all

[93] Despite the importance of this Galician translation as a link between the Alfonsine versions of the *Estoria de España* and the *Crónica geral de 1344*, it does not introduce significant innovations to the legend of the *infantes*. In *La traducción gallega de la* Crónica general *y de la* Crónica de Castilla, Mudarra's return to Castile occupies only a couple of folios and culminates abruptly with Mudarra killing Velázquez with one blow of his sword, just like in the ms. *E2* of the *Estoria de España* (*La traducción* 213-215; *Estoria de Espanna Digital: E2*, fols. 96r-96v). Therefore, the many new details in the *Crónica geral de 1344* about Mudarra's revenge originated from a source that was either unknown to the Galician translators or not considered by them.

[94] The only significant difference between both accounts was indicated by Cintra: in the *Livro de linhagens*, Lambra is burned to death by Mudarra, as in the *Estoria de España*; the *Crónica de 1344*, instead, states that Lambra was executed in the same manner as Ruy Velázquez, who was dismembered (cxiii-cxv). Cintra points out that such an isolated discrepancy does not disprove that Pedro Afonso's collaborators used the same main source

previous accounts of the legend, however, the *Crónica de 1344* stands out because of a paradoxical pair of narrative options: on the one hand, it pays meticulous attention to the figure of Mudarra and his selfless dedication to avenge his seven half-brothers; on the other hand, it greatly increases the power and influence of the Castilian over the Andalusi characters. Therefore, the legend of the *infantes* as told by the *Crónica de 1344* may be read in two distinct ways: either as a text that exalts the figure of an Andalusi hero, by giving more importance and centrality to Mudarra, or as a narrative that frequently undermines Muslims' cultural, political, and religious independence from Christians. From a political perspective, both readings can complement each other: for a fervent supporter of Christian hegemony over the Iberian Peninsula, it would be logical that such a praiseworthy hero like Mudarra sided with the legitimate, God-chosen inheritors of Roman and Gothic power. Such propagandistic use of Mudarra's heroism was already present in the *Livro de linhagens*, but it is even more prominent in the *Crónica de 1344* because of its increased focus on historiography instead of genealogy. As I said before, Pedro Afonso's friendship with Juan Núñez de Lara does not fully explain the conspicuous Christianization of Mudarra in the *Livro de linhagens*. In the *Crónica de 1344*, the interests of the Lara family are definitely not reason enough for the author to expand the character of Mudarra through several chapters while modifying almost every circumstance of his life, from his conception to his final victory over Velázquez and Lambra.

The story of the conception of Mudarra is a good example of how the *Crónica de 1344* manipulates the relationships between Castilian and Andalusi characters to demonstrate the superiority of Christians. Because of a defective assembling of sources, the mother of Mudarra appears as two different people in separate segments of the chronicle. First, she is mentioned as simply "hũa moura," an anonymous

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for both works; it merely shows that they gave more credit to an alternative source regarding that detail (cxv).

Muslim sent by Almanzor to serve Gustios in prison (3: 129; ch. 371). Folios later, after Gustios identifies the heads of his sons, Almanzor sends her again to console him, but now she is Almanzor's sister and a model of feminine beauty and good qualities: "Almãçor mandou chamar hũa iffante, sua irmãa, que era muy fremosa e muy mãceba e era donzella virgẽ e fallava muy bem e muy apostamente" (3: 148; ch. 376). As previously mentioned, the *Livro de linhagens* added an undertone of humiliation to Almanzor's compassion by transforming the anonymous Muslim woman into his cousin. Her further conversion by the *Crónica de 1344* into Almanzor's sister reinforces the possibility of an authorial intention to tarnish the memory of the famous Andalusi leader. The chroniclers seem to be reversing the historical record and several legends in which Almanzor married or seduced relatives of the Iberian Christian leaders. The historical Almanzor married and had a son with the daughter of Sancho II of Navarre, but the Christian chroniclers also reproduced rumors of him seducing the wife of the count García Fernández or receiving his daughter in marriage.[95] Shocking as these events were to Christian writers, the truth is that Almanzor was just following a long tradition of Andalusi leaders choosing Christian women as wives and concubines: the mothers of most Iberian rulers of the Umayyad dynasty had been born in the Christian kingdoms in the north and taken to al-Andalus as slaves (Ruggles 69, 72-74). In this context, a sexual relationship between

[95] According to the twelfth-century *Chronica Naierensis*, the "king" Almanzor seduced García Fernández's wife by promising to make her his queen. To weaken García Fernández's horse, she fed it with bran instead of barley and the troops of Almanzor killed the count when his horse failed him in battle (144). The count's heir, Sancho García, then offered his sister in marriage to Almanzor, in an effort to appease him (*Chronica Naierensis* 145). These episodes, known as elements of the legend of the *condesa traidora*, are then repeated with variations by other chroniclers. For example, the *Versión concisa* of the *Estoria de España* includes how García Fernández was betrayed by his wife, but the object of the countess's love is an anonymous "rrey de los moros," a necessary modification because Almanzor dies in a previous chapter (408, 409; ch. 83).

Gonzalo Gustios and Almanzor's sister was probably something between an irony and a case of poetic justice for the writers of the *Crónica de 1344*.

The amount of attention paid by the *Crónica de 1344* to all circumstances surrounding Mudarra's conception suggests that the authors were aware of, and concerned about, its ideological implications. In both versions of the *Estoria de España*, Mudarra's mother was a compassionate Muslim noblewoman who fell in love with Gustios and bore his son. The *Livro de linhagens* added the significant, but isolated and brief fact that she was Almanzor's cousin. The authors of the *Crónica de 1344,* instead, seem to delight in adding more and more details to the story. For example, Almanzor's sister originally hates Iberian Christians and, when Almanzor asks her to go console Gustios, her first reaction is to curse all of them: "Assi jouvessem ora todollos cristãaos que som ẽ Espanha!" (3: 149; ch. 376). She complies with Almanzor's wish only when he threatens to behead her if the suicidal Gustios dies: "Em toda guisa confortadeo, se queredes meu amor; se nõ, seede certa que nõ faredes hy vossa prol, ca, se elle morre, mandarvos hey cortar a cabeça" (3: 149; ch. 376). Almanzor's threat modifies the significance of the entire episode, even when the main events are still similar. Just like in the *Estoria de España,* the Muslim woman tells Gustios the story of her killed children so he feels understood and encouraged by her fortitude. She even comforts him physically by lifting him from the floor, laying him down like a child, and sitting by him: "chegousse a Gonçallo Gustius e tomoulo pellos braços e alçouho e assentousse a par delle e acostouho a sy e começou de o cõfortar" (3: 149; ch. 376). However, she does all of this "cõ medo d'Almançor" and, at the end of her pitiful story, the chronicler explains: "E, ella, todo esto que dizia era mentira pollo confortar, ca ella nunca fora casada nẽ ouvera filhos, mas era muy manceba e muy fremosa e era virgem" (3: 149; ch. 376). The compassion and love that she showed in the Alfonsine account are replaced by fear and deception in the *Crónica de 1344*. After Almanzor's sister finishes her story, there is still a darker turn to the episode when Gustios suddenly decides to conceive a new son with her and the

chronicler makes it explicit that she does not consent to his desire. She protests: "Esto nõ provedes, ca vos cortaryã a cabeça e a mỹ açoutariam porem!" (3: 149; ch. 376). The following passage unsettlingly combines sexual violence with Christian providentialism when using the conception of a divinely chosen hero to justify the rape of Almanzor's sister:

> E dõ Gonçallo Gustiuz disse que a nõ leixaria por quantos mouros avia em Spanha. E, como quer que fosse lazerado da muy maa prisom que ouver e mui mal de comer, todo lhe em aquella hora esqueeceu. E lançou por ella mãao e jouve com ella. E assy teve Deus por bem que daquelle ajuntamẽto ficasse ella prenhe dhũu filho que depois chamarõ Mudarra Gonçalvez, que foy despois muy bõo cristãao e a serviço de Deus e foy ho mais honrrado homẽ que ouve ẽ Castella, affora o conde dom Garcia Fernandez que ende era senhor (3: 150; ch. 376).

Although the only one at fault during this entire episode is Gustios, the Andalusis are the ones who suffer the consequences. Almanzor looks naive and ineffective by forcing his sister to help the Christian who rapes her. The Andalusi woman, instead of being a model of fortitude and compassion, is just a powerless victim that cannot object to the desires of her brother or Gustios. On top of that, Gustios's violence does not affect Almanzor's friendliness and even seems to win his sister over. A few lines later, once Gustios is freed by Almanzor, the Andalusi woman does not express any hate against the Christian that assaulted her and instead treats him with complicit cordiality: "Amigo senhor, vos idesvos e bem creo que de nosso feito nõ quisestes a Almançor dizer nada. Se per ventuira algũu filho geeramos, onde vos hira buscar por padre?" (3: 150; ch. 376). Her words make clear that Almanzor is still unaware of the rape at his point. Later, when she cannot hide her pregnancy anymore and decides to tell the truth to Almanzor, he bafflingly rejoices: "E Almançor, quando o soube, prouguelhe muito. E mandouha muy bem guardar e fazer quanto prazer pode, ataa que pario seu filho. E a Almançor prougue muyto cõ elle" (3:

152; ch. 377). In the *Estoria de España*, the close relationship between Almanzor and Mudarra was explained by the mysterious "love" that the Andalusi leader felt towards Gustios. In the *Crónica de 1344*, the blood relation between them justifies an even closer bond, transforming Mudarra into a substitute for the son that Almanzor did not have: "E Almançor vyao cada dya e pagavasse delle tanto que se nõ pagaria mais de hũu filho, se o ouvesse, ca Almãçor nom avya nem hũu filho. [...] E, desque soube fallar Mudarra Gonçalvez, nũca o Almãçor partio de sy" (3: 153; ch. 377).[96]

In the *Livro de linhagens*, Mudarra was already mentioned as a vassal of the count of Castile, Garcia Fernández. The *Crónica de 1344* creates a convoluted backstory to explain the apparent absurdity of Mudarra serving García Fernández, who was Lambra's cousin according to all versions of the legend. The *Crónica de 1344* mentions four "reis mouros que eram capitãaes da hoste" in the battle against the *infantes*: "Alicante e Byara e Galve e Barazim" (3: 140; ch. 375). After the death of the *infantes*, Alicante is distressed because of the thousands of troops he lost during the battle. He immediately holds Velázquez responsible for the excessive casualties, and challenges him in the name of Almanzor. Velázquez reacts with despair when he realizes that he can no longer find allies among the Andalusis nor the Castilians: "Cativo, como sõo malandante pollo maao feito que fiz, ca hei perdudos quantos amigos e parentes avya e daquy adyante cristãaos nẽ mouros nõ fiaran de mỹ, por que fiz tam grãde treiçom!" (3: 143; ch. 376). His solution is to rebel against the count García Fernández and to trust in the strength of his fortresses and troops to defend him: "E assy se alçou come treedor ao conde dom Garcia Fernãdez, seu senhor, cõ

[96] Even though Almanzor's childlessness serves in the *Crónica de 1344* as a convenient narrative justification for his affection towards Mudarra, previous Christian chronicles equally ignore the sons of the historical *ḥājib*. This is a striking oversight, since two of Almanzor's sons succeeded him as *de facto* rulers of al-Andalus: ʿAbd al-Malik al Muẓaffar and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shanjūl or "Sanchuelo." Additionally, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shanjūl has enormous historical importance because his ambition to succeed the legitimate caliph precipitated the end of the Caliphate of Córdoba.

todollos castellos e fortellezas que delle tiinha" (3: 143; ch. 376). According to the chronicle, Velázquez's plan works, because some folios later the count has not only accepted that he will never recover his lands or avenge the *infantes*' death, but he also recommends his vassals to escape from Velázquez's power: "O treedor de Ruy Vaasquez alçousseme com a terra e nõ a posso delle cobrar por a morte destes iffantes. E cada hũu se vaa pera sua casa e guardesse do treedor, ca poderiades delle receber dampno por as fortellezas que tem" (3: 151-152; ch. 376). These circumstances cause Mudarra's arrival to Castile to be as welcome by the count García Fernández as by Gustios and Sancha. They also change radically the political meaning of Mudarra's revenge. In the Alfonsine account, Mudarra killed Velázquez when he was still being protected by his powerful brother-in-law, the count García Fernández; in the *Crónica de 1344*, Mudarra captures Velázquez after he has rebelled against García Fernández and constitutes a danger to the whole county. In this way, Mudarra is transformed from a foreign vigilante, interested only in avenging his half-brothers, into a useful collaborator of the count of Castile.

As I pointed out before, the *Versión crítica* and the *Livro de linhagens* never explain why Mudarra would prefer to serve a foreign and less powerful lord instead of Almanzor. The *Crónica de 1344* offers a highly implausible explanation for this question: although Almanzor lovingly shares considerable power and wealth with him, Mudarra has a natural desire to become a Christian. Before visiting his Castilian relatives, Mudarra enters a church and imitates the Christians that are praying there: "E, hyndo pello caminho, achou hũa igreja e entrou em ella a fazer sua oraçom, assy como viia fazer aos outros cristãaos" (3: 158; ch. 378). Later, when Gustios denies his paternity in order to hide the rape of Almanzor's sister from Sancha, Mudarra angrily clarifies the two purposes of his trip: "Se me vos nõ queredes por filho, nẽ eu vos por padre, ca, onde eu menos valho, assy he da vossa parte. Mas leixeme Deus vingar os iffantes, pois mhos dam por irmãaos, e receber cristiindade por salvar mynha alma!" (3: 159; ch. 378). In this convoluted way, García Fernández's powerlessness in front of

Velázquez and Mudarra's desire to become a Christian end up perfectly complementing each other. In the cathedral of Saint Mary of Burgos, and all in one morning, Mudarra is baptized, adopted by Sancha, knighted by García Fernández, and appointed as "alcayde mayor" of all Castile, the same position that Velázquez held before his treason (3: 162; ch. 379). Almost simultaneously, Mudarra acquires a new faith, a place in a Castilian family, and a political position at the service of a Christian lord. This total assimilation of a non-Christian to an Iberian Christian society serves evidently to satisfy a colonial and imperialistic fantasy. As already discussed in my introduction, the deep connections between medieval religion and all other spheres of life, from diet to legal rights, made conversion unappealing for most Muslims, even after being subjugated by Christians. In addition to all other personal and cultural disadvantages brought by conversion, Muslims simply did not have a clear "path" to become a part of Christian society, as explained by Catlos: "Unlike Islam, which adapted *walā',* the Arabo-Islamic institution of clientage as a vector for assimilating converts, Christian society lacked mechanisms for the social and economic integration of new Christians into established networks of familial patronage" (*Muslims* 340). The *Crónica de 1344* imagines such integration in a radical way, by simply obliterating Mudarra's Muslim and Andalusi past.

Mudarra's story in the *Crónica de 1344* culminates with his willing subjugation to Christianity and Christians, along with the erasure of his previous identity. The more radical modifications made by the *Crónica de 1344* to the Alfonsine accounts of the legend attempt to clarify and justify Mudarra's triple conversion into a Christian, a member of the Lara family, and a Castilian knight. Other additions contribute to those goals by emphasizing the Providential power that surrounds the main characters and the events in which they participate. Mudarra's mother not only gets instantly pregnant when Gustios rapes her, but, at least according to her, that is also the only time in which she has ever had sex: "E despois," she says to Mudarra, "que eu fuy prenhe de vos nũca ante nẽ despois outro homẽ ouve de jazer cõmigo nem em tal

razom conheci" (3: 155; ch. 377). Mudarra's arrival in Castile is announced to Sancha by means of a dream with a goshawk that flies from Córdoba to dismember Ruy Velázquez, even though she does not yet know of Mudarra's existence (3: 156-157; ch. 378). The half of a ring that Gustios left with Almanzor's sister fuses miraculously with the other half when they are joined, at the same time in which the almost blind Gustios recovers his sight: "Entom a filhou dom Gonçallo Gustĩiz e ajuntouha aa outra mea que tiinha e assi se ajuntou que nũca a pode mais partyr—e esto foy milagre; e posea pelos olhos e prougue a Deus que vyo tã bem e tã claramente como ante" (3: 160; ch. 378). Even though they have different mothers, Mudarra and the youngest of the *infantes* look so much alike that several Castilian characters express their surprise when they see Mudarra for the first time: "Se vos vissedes como soyades a veer e vissedes este e o rostro e a cabeça delle, diriades que este era Gonçallo Gonçalvez, vosso filho," "Filho Gonçallo Gonçallvez, a sua semelhança he a vossa meesma!," and "Este he Gonçallo Gonçalvez e este he o seu corpo e a sua cara meesma!" are the respective reactions of Sancha, Gustios, and García Fernández (3: 159, 160, 161; ch. 378).[97] All these miraculous events prove that Christians serve the right God, because He always finds a way to restore justice for those who adore him, even in the direst of circunstances and against any logical hope. Most Muslims like Almanzor, his sister, or Alicante, are chess pieces utilized by divine Providence to accomplish its goals. God does the same with Mudarra, but at the same time grants him a "privileged" place in his plan, at least according to a Christian perspective. Mudarra's exceptional qualities lead him to finally accept the true faith and serve a Christian ruler: somebody who, unlike Almanzor, exerts legitimate dominion over Iberia.

In other words, the legend of the *infantes* as retold by the *Crónica de 1344* condenses a number of fantasies used by Christian leaders to justify their wars against

[97] On the mythical origins and the meaningful implications of Mudarra being a reincarnated or reborn Gonzalo González, see Bluestine.

Muslims and their right to take their lands and govern them. From this perspective, the dissemination and importance of the manuscripts that contain this chronicle are especially significant. It seems that the *Crónica de 1344* was quickly translated to Castilian, because the oldest preserved manuscripts of the chronicle are these translations and not the original Portuguese text. The chronicle's recast of around 1400 is also contained in several Castilian and Portuguese manuscripts, including one of the most remarkable medieval books produced in Iberia: the luxuriously decorated manuscript 1 Série Azul, kept at the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Moreira and Askins call it "inquestionavelmente o manuscrito português laico mais rico elaborado em data anterior ao século XVI" because of the illuminations on 311 of its 324 folios, according to the counting by Catarina Martins Tibúrcio (Moreira and Askins 68; Tibúrcio 13, 43). No description can do justice to the visual impact of this manuscript, with a profusion of miniatures of people, animals, monsters, and vegetation, all of them painted with vivid colors, profusely decorated with gold leaf, ingeniously distributed between the columns of texts and in the margins, and many times stretched from the top to the bottom of the page.[98] The beauty and value of the manuscript are sure signs of its connection to the rulers of Portugal. In Cintra's words, "a riquíssima decoração deste manuscrito—sem paralelo entre os outros códices portugueses e castelhanos da *Crónica*—é, sem dúvida, um indício importante a acrescentar ao, já mencionado, da letra, no que respeita à sua provável proveniência da biblioteca real" (Cintra cdxcviii). Catalán and De Andrés agree with that probability: "Aunque no sea posible afirmarlo con seguridad, el códice parece haber sido escrito para la cámara del rey don Duarte en las primeras décadas del siglo XV"

[98] To protect this invaluable manuscript, the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa has limited the access of most researchers to it. However, it is possible to admire and study the manuscript through a facsimile edition published by Xuntanza in 2007. For more information on the codicological and visual aspects of the manuscript 1 Série Azul, see Tibúrcio, Afonso, and Pandiello.

(lxxv).[99] Another manuscript of the *Crónica de 1344*, this one at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, may not be as visually spectacular since only the recto of its first folio is illuminated, but its provenance is equally related to an Iberian Christian ruler: "É, com efeito, seguro que o códice *P* foi mandado copiar para a sua biblioteca pelo Condestável D. Pedro, filho do infante D. Pedro de Portugal e durante alguns anos rei de Aragão" (Cintra dix). Just as with the *Estoria de España*'s relationship to its unknown source for the story of the *infantes*, it is not possible to find out how much Pedro Afonso and his collaborators adapted their own source for their particular purposes in the *Livro de linhagens* and the *Crónica de 1344*. However, the close connection of this chronicle's manuscripts to Portuguese and Aragonese royalty suggests that some of the most powerful Christian leaders of Iberia supported, or at least did not oppose, the ideological content and intentions of this version of the legend.

Through its diffusion in two languages and several prestigious manuscripts, the *Crónica de 1344* influenced practically all the following accounts of the legend of the *infantes*. The so-called *Refundición toledana de la Crónica de 1344*, for example, is basically the same account with some interesting distinctions, such as the creation of

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[99] The almost certain endorsement of the manuscript 1 Série Azul by the Portuguese royal family is one of the reasons why I use the edition by Cintra, which is based on that manuscript, even though it does not reflect the oldest version of the *Crónica de 1344*. Catalán and De Andrés intended to "editar la *Crónica Geral de Espanha* de don Pedro Afonso, conde de Barcelos, en su primera redacción, fechada el miércoles 21 de enero de 1344", but they only published one volume, which covered about a sixth of the entire chronicle (lxxxvii-lxxxviii). I acknowledge the criticism by Moreira and Askins about identifying "o texto da edição Cintra" as "o texto da *Crónica de 1344* redigido pelo Conde de Barcelos, o que, evidentemente, não poderia deixar de provocar sérias distorções analíticas" (66). However, through Menéndez Pidal's edition of the legend of the *infantes* as told by the Castilian *Crónica de 1344* (included in *La leyenda* 249-334) and my own examination of a copy of the manuscript *M* (the oldest manuscript of the Castilian version, at the Biblioteca General Histórica of the Universidad de Salamanca), I am confident that the rewriting of about 1400 barely affected the story of the *infantes* and Mudarra: while other parts of the *Crónica de 1344* were greatly modified, the variations in the account of the *infantes* are always limited to a few words suppressed or added in a sentence.

a Ruy Velázquez who "acts variously as a Christian or a Moor, attributing opinions either to God or to Allah, whichever suits him best at the moment," or the description of a longer and loving relationship between Gustios and Mudarra's mother (Lathrop, *Legend* 59, 64-65). In a meaningful change that takes the process of Christianization of Mudarra even further than the *Crónica de 1344*, the *Refundición toledana* affirms that Mudarra lost his Andalusi name during his baptism and acquired the one of the youngest *infante*: "Et donde primero le desían Mudarra Gonçales, púsole en la pila nonbre don Gonçalo Gonçales" (qtd. in Lathrop, *Legend* 71).[100] Centuries later, when Florián de Ocampo and Ambrosio de Morales wrote a *Crónica general de España* to be printed, they used a number of Alfonsine and post-Alfonsine chronicles as sources.[101] In the segment about the siete *infantes* and Mudarra, Morales mostly summarized the account of the *Estoria de España*, but added some comments that interrupt the main narrative and originate from the works attributed to Pedro Afonso. For instance, after Velázquez tries to escape during the night and is swiftly killed by Mudarra, as in the *Estoria de España*, Morales adds that Mudarra was later baptized, adopted by Sancha, and knighted by García Fernández, as in the *Crónica de 1344* (293r). In the conclusion of the story, Morales clearly takes inspiration from the *Livro de linhagens* to underscore the genealogical importance of Mudarra: "Notoria cosa es en Castilla, y en que ninguno duda, que Mudarra Gonçalez como heredo la casa de

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[100] Both the *Livro de linhagens do conde D. Pedro* and the *Crónica de 1344* specify that Mudarra decided not to change his Andalusi name when he was baptized. Julio Escalona writes that "esta insistencia, unida al hecho de que en *Ll* [the *Livro de linhagens*] el hijo de Mudarra se llama Nuño González hace pensar que ya entonces circulaba una versión de la leyenda según la cual Mudarra sí habría tomado el nombre del menor de los infantes, lo que es mucho más coherente con la ceremonia de profiliación y con todo el significado de la trama" (142 n. 167).

[101] Florián de Ocampo intended to write a very ambitious *Crónica general de España* from mythical times to the sixteenth century. He published five books of his chronicle and the last one only extended to the third century before Christ. Ocampo's work was then continued by Ambrosio de Morales, who wrote on the history of Iberia until the early eleventh century.

Lara, assi fue el tronco y principio de los caualleros Manrriques, cuyo inclyto linaje esta muy estendido por tantas y tan principales casas de grandes y de señores en el reyno" (293v). Even though Morales is writing a book for print in times of Felipe II, during the heyday of the Spanish Empire and after decades of Islam being outlawed in Castile, he does not notice anything potentially subversive or complicated about the heroism of Mudarra. After centuries of adaptations of the legend of the *infantes*, the great Muslim warrior of the *Versión concisa* has been definitively converted into something much more pedestrian: "vn tan insigne Cordoues, que se puede contar por vno de los muchos excelentes varones, que de aquella ciudad han salido" (Morales 294r). For the Alfonsine writers, Mudarra was one among several Muslim Andalusis who, out of selfless heroism, helped an unfortunate Castilian family. For Pedro Afonso and his collaborators, Mudarra was already more Christian than Muslim and more Castilian than Andalusi. For Ambrosio de Morales, Mudarra was simply a great Spaniard, whose birth in the city of Córdoba did not carry more meaning than if he had been born in León or Burgos. In fact, because Morales himself was born in Córdoba, he basically saw Mudarra as a fellow countryman and collaborator to the magnificence of the Spanish Empire, and not as a threat or problematization of it in any way.

Chapter 4.

A Mediterranean Empire of All Peoples:

Fighting Islam by Embracing Muslims in *Tirant lo Blanch*

Because there are so many uncertainties with the production of medieval texts, their authorship is a usual focus of scholarly attention. Most of the works that I have analyzed in previous chapters are anonymous, although several have a famous sponsor that traditionally has been misidentified as their author; in any case, all of them are surrounded by debates about the identity, number, and origin of their creators. The case of the fifteenth-century novel *Tirant lo Blanch* is more peculiar, because the identity of its author is made explicit several times, but these statements do not fully agree. The dedication of the book not only identifies its author twice as "Joanot Martorell, cavaller," but also emphasizes his exclusive responsibility for the text: "E perquè en la present obra altri no puxa ésser increpat si defalliment algú trobat hi serà, yo, Johanot Martorell, cavaller, sols vull portar lo càrrech, e no altri ab mi" (61, 63; "Dedicatòria").[102] The colophon, however, tells a different story:

> Ací feneix lo libre del valerós e strenu cavaller Tirant lo Blanch, príncep e cèsar de l'Imperi Grech de Contestinoble, lo qual fon traduït de anglés en lengua portoguesa e, aprés, en vulgar lengua valenciana, per lo magnífich e virtuós cavaller mossén Johanot Martorell, lo qual, per mort sua, no·n pogué acabar de traduir sinó les tres parts. La quarta part, que és la fi del libre, és stada traduïda, a pregàries de la noble

[102] I use the critical edition by Albert Hauf for all quotes from *Tirant lo Blanch*.

> senyora dona Ysabel de Loriç, per lo magnífich cavaller mossén Martí Johan de Galba (1539; ch. 487).[103]

Claiming that an original work was a translation from a mysterious foreign book constituted a "puro ardid habitual de los libros de caballerías" already in the fifteenth century, and this is why critics have not paid much attention to the alleged English origin of *Tirant lo Blanch* (D'Olwer 133).[104] At most, as Lourdes Sánchez and Enrique Nogueras argue, the "europeísmo" of an English-Portuguese-Catalan translation simply imitates the same "característica unificadora, no-nacional" of the hero, since "Tirant nace en Bretaña, y, además, tiene parentesco con franceses y alemanes" (163). The intervention of Galba, instead, is almost certain: not only was he responsible for the publication of the book in 1490, 22 years after Martorell's death, but many chapters present noticeable gaps in their tone and the coherence of the plot. One of the scholars who defend the individual authorship of the *Tirant* is Martí de Riquer, for whom "si no fuera por este incongruente colofón, nadie, absolutamente nadie, jamás hubiera puesto en duda que Joanot Martorell es el autor único de todo el *Tirante el Blanco*" ("Introducción" xlvi; the same passage appears in Catalan in *Aproximació* 291). [105] "Pero el colofón existe," replies María Jesús Rubiera, "y no es la

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[103] According to Riquer, "el tratamiento de 'mossén' en la Corona de Aragón, equivalente al latino 'miles,' se otorgaba entonces exclusivamente a los que habían recibido la orden de caballería, y este tratamiento lo adoptaron algunos caballeros navarros (como mossén Pierres de Peralta) y algunos castellanos (como mossén Diego de Valera)" ("Introducción" xxi).

[104] A different question is the transformation of "William (or Guy) of Warwick, a legendary Anglo-Norman hero [...] whose exploits were celebrated in a thirteenth-century epic poem and as subsequent fifteenth-century French prose version" into the knight "Guillem de Varoych," whose feats occupy the first 27 chapters of *Tirant lo Blanch* (Aylward 24). There is a Catalan version of the legend of William of Warwick that may have been written by Martorell and then expanded for the first chapters of *Tirant* (Aylward 24, 183; D'Olwer 135-138).

[105] Jesús Villamanzo and Jaime Chiner agree with Riquer on this point (82-89). Following Albert Hauf, Josep Guia and Curt Wittlin argue for the intervention of a third author, Joan Roíc de Corella (Guia and Wittlin 117). However, in a postscript to his article co-written with Guia, Wittlin recognizes that Corella may be simply one among many sources: "The major

única incoherencia e incongruencia de la última parte de la novela, por lo que ha hecho correr más ríos de tinta que la abundante sangre derramada por Tirant en sus batallas" (*Tirant contra el islam* 11). Rubiera and others, therefore, have focused on how to distinguish between the segments written by Martorell and those written or modified by Galba. Their attempts to delimit Martorell's and Galba's authorships "*grosso modo*, se han efectuado desde dos estrategias metodológicas," according to Rafael Alemany Ferrer:

> El análisis del grado de convergencia o divergencia de las soluciones lingüísticas y estilísticas adoptadas en las diferentes zonas de la obra, por una parte, y, por otra, el análisis del grado de coherencia temático-argumental, ideológico-conceptual, estructural o de configuración de los personajes que se da en ellas. Las conclusiones a que se ha llegado son, por lo general, bastante dispares (21).

Indeed, the only scholars who have come close to an agreement are the ones who base their conclusions on linguistic and stylistic reasons: according to Antoni Ferrando, Galba's intervention begins in chapter 299, while Joan Corominas thinks that it starts in chapter 320 (Alemany Ferrer 21-22).[106] The scholars who have tried to

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new factor in Tirant-studies since 1996, from my point of view, are the discoveries that, just as Corella was used as a source of extracts for the *Tirant*, there are in this novel also very many fragments drawn from the Catalan translations of Colonne's *Històries troianes*, Ovid's *Heròides*, Seneca's plays, and of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*. [...] While the argument that the person who most easily could have put extracts from works of Corella into the *Tirant* was Corella himself, seems self-evident, one finds it much more difficult to envisage Corella interpolating all those 'quotations' from Seneca, Boccaccio, etc." (125-126). On Martorell's use of Corella, see also Riquer, *Aproximació* 298-301.

[106] Although many have tried to solve the problem as precisely as Ferrando or Corominas, it is probable that Galba's intervention was gradual and not limited to one part of the book, as it was argued by Riquer years before he started defending instead the hypothesis of the individual authorship: "Avui acceptem una intervenció progressiva de Galba, el qual, a partir d'un cert moment, en els episodis de Tirant al nord d'Àfrica, començaria a intercalar detalls i, sobretot, parlaments. La seva intervenció aniria creixent, sempre sobre un original més

clarify the authorship of the *Tirant* on the basis of thematic and ideological differences, instead, have arrived at entirely incompatible conclusions: Rafael Bosch, who analyzes the clash of knightly and bourgeois views in the *Tirant*, believes that Galba wrote most of the book, excepting chapters 1-41 and parts of chapters 42-97; for María Jesús Rubiera, who examines the inconsistencies in the representation of Muslims, Galba wrote only chapters 300-349 (Alemany Ferrer 21-22; Rubiera, *Tirant contra el islam* 58-60, 71; Rubiera, "*Tirant* et l'Islam" 432-434; Rubiera, "Tirant lo Blanc" 62-64).[107] For Guia and Wittlin, Rubiera's analysis of Muslims "offers the most important new support for the hypothesis of two authors in the novel" (124).

Rubiera's conclusions, first formulated in her book *Tirant contra el islam* and then condensed in two articles, subordinate the conflicting depictions of Muslims in *Tirant lo Blanch* to the double authorship of the novel. According to Rubiera, Martorell was familiar with Valencian Muslims while Galba was not, and this discrepancy determined their differing treatment of Muslim characters in *Tirant lo Blanch*. As summarized by Guia and Wittlin, "Martorell was reasonably well informed about most aspects of Muslim life. But after chapter 300 we find statements which that first writer would not have made. There are drunken Muslims, a reference to a Muslim king of Christian Ethiopia, the suggestion that Mohammed was a divinity, misunderstandings concerning the Friday prayers, and so on" (124-125). To directly

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breu de Martorell, i en la darrera part—segona estada de Tirant a l'Imperi grec i final de la novella—seria molt més densa i acusada" ("Joanot Martorell" 83).

[107] As Guia and Wittlin indicate, other researchers have used more intuitive criteria to determine the division of authorship in the novel: "For instance: that Martorell was the imaginative, creative mind, Galba just a proof reader; that Martorell was totally realistic, while Galba would add supernatural elements (e.g. Espercius and the dragon, chapter 410 et seq., taken from Mandeville); that Martorell was interested in fights and battles, while Galba liked sermons and speeches; that Martorell quoted proverbs, Galba not; that Martorell used the traditional prose style, while Galba was infatuated with the new Valencian rhetoric, and so on" (115). Because of the novel's length (487 chapters and almost 1500 pages in the critical edition by Hauf), such subjective judgments are as easy to formulate as to refute by simply focusing on different passages.

connect these isolated inconsistencies with two different attitudes towards Muslims, however, ignores the ambivalent interactions between Christians and Muslims that preceded the *Tirant* for centuries and caused similarly conflicting representations in many other Iberian texts. When compared to the main works that I have analyzed in previous chapters, from the *Cantar de mio Cid* to the *Crónica geral de 1344*, *Tirant lo Blanch* seems to be simply exporting the contradictory relationships between Christians and Muslims in Iberia to the rest of the Mediterranean. This process is accompanied by a similar expansion of the political ambitions of Iberian Christian kingdoms, whose imperial fantasies now extend beyond the Peninsula and include also North Africa and the Middle East. When *Tirant lo Blanch* was published in 1490, the last Muslim kingdom of the Peninsula, Granada, was about to fall under the power of the monarchs of Castile and Aragon; meanwhile, Iberian rulers were already colonizing Africa and soon they would reach the Americas and India. At this time in which Christian rulers finally controlled the entire Peninsula and were invested in expanding their dominion to other continents, *Tirant lo Blanch* reflected the connection between the imperialistic practices of the medieval past and those of the early modern future.

Tirant lo Blanch's prologue begins by lamenting "la debilitat de la nostra memòria," which "sotsmetent fàcilment a oblivió no solament los actes per longitut de temps envellits, mas encara los actes freschs de nostres dies" (69; "Pròlech"). This suggests that the feats of "aquell valentíssim cavaller Tirant lo Blanch, del qual fa special conmemoració lo present libre" happened not long before Martorell started writing it, around 1460, and in fact the novel contains numerous references to the Mediterranean sociopolitical context of the mid-fifteenth century (70; "Pròlech").[108]

[108] The author states in the dedication that the novel was "començada a II de giner de l'any MCCCCLX" (63; "Dedicatòria"). Despite the many doubts on the other circumstances of the novel's production, most scholars accept as plausible that Martorell started writing the definitive version of *Tirant* in 1460, probably after a long period of preparation and partial

The most fundamental element of that recent context, and a crucial one for the author's views on Muslims, was the conquest of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II and his armies in 1453.

According to Norman Housley, the fall of Constantinople was an event as deeply significant for the Byzantines and Ottomans as for Western Europeans:

> For the Greeks, the loss of their city signified the demise of an empire which had lasted for more than a millennium. For the Latins, it meant that Ottoman power rested on their possession of the greatest city in the northeastern Mediterranean, enabling them to move armies at will from their Asian to their European lands, and facilitating the creation of a war-making capacity at sea. And for the Ottomans, Constantinople stimulated ambitions to add 'Old' Rome to 'New' Rome in a programme of messianic expansion (Introduction 1).

Michael Angold, however, argues that the Ottoman capture of Constantinople did not generate a uniform reaction, or even the same attention, across the Mediterranean: "The exact degree of interest in the fall of Constantinople varied both over time and from society to society. It was fuelled by the relevance which this event had in different places and at different times" (16). This helps explain the passionate persistence of some writers, like Enea Silvio Piccolomini (who would later become Pope Pius II) "to shape opinion in the West about the fall of Constantinople" by presenting this event as a "blow to civilisation" in his popular *Cosmographia* and his letters to Pope Nicholas V (Angold 16). Nicholas V himself did his part by writing the bull "Etsi ecclesia Christi," in which "a hostile view of the Ottomans which had been taking shape for almost a century was given expression in language which combined military threat, eschatological anxieties and theological formulations"; furthermore,

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drafts (D'Olwer 133; Riquer, *Aproximació* 179, "Introducción" xxxvi, xliii, and "Joanot Martorell" 79-80; Wittlin 623, 632).

"Etsi ecclesia Christi" "helped to allay a widespread fear that the conquest of Constantinople was only a preliminary to a Turkish invasion of Italy" (Housley, Introduction 1; Angold 92). Not all European Christians were, however, equally concerned or stirred by the exhortations of Piccolomini or Nicholas V. "Western Europe's most powerful monarchies, England and France, virtually withdrew from active interest in the crusade, preoccupied by war, recovery from war, and dynastic disputes" (Housley, Introduction 5). Anconitans "were able to continue their trade with Turkey, even though their overlord the Pope disapproved of it"; likewise, Florentines "soon established good relations with the Sultan" (Runciman 164). Venetians also resumed their commercial operations in Constantinople in less than a year, by paying the Ottomans "a 2% customs duty, rather than being exempted from payment, as had been the case under the Byzantines" (Angold 87). In the case of Iberian kingdoms, Castilian rulers expressed their interest in participating in a crusade against the Ottomans for decades, but their intentions never materialized and "by the end of the fifteenth century the Castilians were too close to the conquest of Granada, the last Muslim bastion in the Peninsula; therefore, Castile could not be expected to participate in an anti-Turkish Crusade" (Piera 50). Aragonese monarchs had a similarly passive reaction, despite their stakes on the matter being far higher: "The taking of Constantinople ruptured, or at least drastically reconfigured, important commercial sea lanes through the eastern Mediterranean, and it rendered the promise of a seaborne empire—an Aragonese dream since at least the reign of Jaume I (1208–1276)—a chimera" (Barletta 4). Regardless of this, before 1453 Alfons V of Aragon refused to help the Byzantines unless they gave him the island of Lemnos; when Constantinople had already been conquered, Alfons "creyó hacer bastante enviando cuatro buques, socorro irrisorio que, aunque hubiera llegado a tiempo, no hubiera solucionado nada" (Goñi 407). Between 1455 and 1456, the Pope Callixtus III, who had been born in Valencia, granted indulgences and conceded Aragon's ecclesiastical taxes to Alfons with the purpose of financing an armada against the

Ottomans; the armada was created, but Alfons used it instead against the Genoese (Goñi 410-411; Runciman 68).[109] In sum, despite being "king of Naples and therefore a vassal of the Pope," "ruler of perhaps the strongest Christian kingdom in the Mediterranean," and "singled out as a potential leading participant in a grand crusade," Alfons simply had too many "enemies closer to home" to get into a direct confrontation with the Ottomans (Aloisio 67, 68, 71).

The Crown of Aragon, therefore, had a particularly complicated relationship with the Ottomans and their conquest of Constantinople. On the one hand, the Ottomans' power directly threatened the Mediterranean empire that the Aragonese had been building since Jaume I's invasion of the Balearic islands in the thirteenth century. On the other hand, Alfons V of Aragon did little to oppose the Ottomans and, on the contrary, several of his actions hindered the efforts of the Papacy to defend the interests of European Christians against the advances of the Ottoman empire. Such a combination of concern, passivity, and selfishness, along with the shame that some Aragonese probably felt for the inglorious role of their kingdom during this conflict, are indispensable factors for the worldview and the purposes of *Tirant lo Blanch*. Influenced by and dependent on its historical context, yet simultaneously obsessed with materializing the dream of a Christian Mediterranean empire, *Tirant lo Blanch* is a novel that rewrites history at its convenience:

> In the pages of this book we encounter again all those Catalan heroes who conquered the Mediterranean, the Christian warriors who fought

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[109] Like the king of Aragon, the king of Portugal also used resources destined to liberate Constantinople for his own political purposes. In 1456, Pope Calixtus III "authorized Afonso V [of Portugal] to raise money for the war against the Turks by granting him the tithe of 'all ecclesiastical revenues'"; however, after the death of Calixtus in 1458, "the army Afonso V had raised for the Crusade was now turned toward an attack on Alcácer-Seguer in Morocco. Thus the fall of Constantinople became for Portugal one of a series of events that led to the affirmation of Portugal's ambition to establish itself firmly in Africa" (Diffie and Winius 108, 109).

> against the spread of Islam. The fiction not only reverses the historical events about the fall of Constantinople but also erases within the textual stage the threat of the demise of two proud Empires: the Byzantine and the Catalan-Aragonese, which act in the text as a reflection of each other (Piera 53).

In *Tirant lo Blanch*, "Martorell refleja con cierta exactitud la situación del Imperio Griego en los últimos decenios de su existencia y, más o menos, lo que aún dominaba en 1450, año en que el novelista ha precisado el comienzo de las caballerías de Tirant": according to the novel, most of the territories of the Byzantine empire, excepting Constantinople, were occupied by "lo soldà" (the Sultan of Egypt) and "lo gran Turch" (the Ottoman Sultan) (Riquer, *Tirant lo Blanch* 126; Martorell and Galba 459; ch. 115). In addition to this, Mediterranean geography in the novel is mostly grounded in reality and the character of Tirant is seemingly based on two historical figures: Joan Hunyadi, a Hungarian general who fought the Ottomans to protect his kingdom, and Roger de Flor, a Sicilian mercenary who, because of his services against the Turks, ended up marrying a niece of the Byzantine emperor (D'Olwer 140-142; Riquer, "Joanot Martorell" 72-74). All these more or less realistic elements, however, are framed in *Tirant lo Blanch* by some outlandish knightly feats, which include fending off a Muslim invasion of England, defending the island of Rhodes against the Sultan of Egypt, Christianizing the north of Africa, and impeding the fall of Constantinople. While the first one of these events is purely fictional and the second one derives from the siege of Rhodes by the Mamluk Sultanate in 1444, the other two campaigns "are of the nature of 'wish-fulfilment,'" in William Entwistle's words (150). Riquer agrees with Entwistle: *Tirant lo Blanch* is a "novela en la que todo está tomado de la realidad contemporánea y cuyos más diversos episodios se identifican con sucesos ciertos, pero que se cierra con una colosal ficción: gracias al genio militar del

protagonista de Martorell, Constantinopla seguirá siendo cristiana para siempre y el norte de África quedará completamente cristianizado" (*Tirant lo Blanch* 208).[110]

The entire novel, in sum, can be read as a literary fantasy in which the increasing power of the Ottoman empire in the Mediterranean is resisted and finally eradicated by an ideal Christian knight. However, the antagonists in the novel are not precisely the Ottomans, but all Muslims, and, in a similar way, Tirant acts as a metonimy for a variety of Christian heroes. This conflict between broad religious groups, and not between particular polities, is especially evident in the first 27 chapters of the novel, which precede the appearance of Tirant. In these chapters, the English count Guillem de Veroych fights against "lo gran rey de Canária" and his "moros," who "anaven conquistant per la illa, fent morir molts cristians e desonint dones e donzelles e posant-les totes en captivitat" (87; ch. 5). Despite the nonsensical circumstances, the Muslim invasion of a European kingdom undoubtedly evokes the

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[110] Marina Brownlee considers this blend of history and fiction characteristic of medieval romances: "Romance and historiography are perennially linked. Far from offering an atemporal imaginary universe that bears no resemblance to historical specificity, romance is constructed as a response to it. Rather than simply projecting for the reader the naïve appeal of a prelapsarian escapism for the harsh realities of history, romance involves a continuous and sophisticated reinvention of itself as a response to an ever-changing historico-political configuration" (119). However, as proved by most works analyzed in this dissertation, such a combination is omnipresent in medieval works of many genres, including prestigious historiographical texts sponsored by Iberian monarchs. Because of this, I agree with James Fogelquist when he argues that "resulta arbitraria la división de la mayoría de los historiadores de la literatura española entre la crónica y la 'novela de caballerías.' Pues, en la narrativa peninsular de los siglos XIII a XVI, existe una compleja relación simbiótica entre el relato supuestamente verdadero y el puramente ficticio. ¿Dónde termina lo verdadero y comienza lo ficticio en el relato de las hazañas de Hércules en la conquista de España que se halla en la *Primera Crónica General*? ¿Dónde está la frontera entre historia y ficción en la *Gran conquista de Ultramar*? ¿Es fábula o historia la *Crónica sarracena* de Pedro del Corral?" (205). Fogelquist also points out that at least some medieval and early modern scholars were aware of and concerned about the lack of a clear divide between historiographical writing and fictional literature: "La falta de una separación aparente entre la historia supuestamente verdadera y el relato fabuloso es un fenómeno que preocupa constantemente en España a los moralistas e historiadores más escrupulosos, desde el siglo XIV hasta comienzos del XVII" (205).

conquest of Iberia in the eighth century, as described by Christian chroniclers such as Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada: "Principes eius in obprobrium abierunt et uir bellator in exterminium. Qui erant liberi, mancipiti sunt seruituti [...]. Mulieres seruantur ad ignominiam et earum speciositas ad contumeliam" ("Their leaders fell in ignominy and their warriors were exterminated. Those who were free, were enslaved. Women were destined to disgrace and their beauty to being abused") (*De rebus Hispanie* 106-107). In another form of wish-fulfillment, the novel's Muslim invasion does not lead to the creation of a British al-Andalus; instead, Canarians are quickly defeated and their ruler is gruesomely killed by the "hermit king," who is Guillem under disguise: "E lo rey moro ab l'arch defenie's e rebatia-li molts colps, en tant que·l rey hermità li tirà un gran colp que li taillà lo braç e mès-li l'espasa tota dins lo costat, e fon forçat al rey moro que caygués en terra; e tan prestament com pogué, lo rey hermità li taillà la testa, pres la lança e mès la testa en la punta" (124; ch. 19). Guillem's ferocity against Muslims is highlighted more than once: he becomes famous, according to Tirant, because "ab la sua victoriosa mà, féu morir infinida morisma, no volent-ne pendre negú a merçé" (190; ch. 38).

Guillem's defeat of Canarians is barely connected to the adventures of Tirant; it serves, however, to set the main conflict of the novel as a struggle between Muslims and Christians. By starting with the invasion of England and finishing with the defense of Constantinople, the novel establishes the entire Mediterranean and beyond as a scenario for Muslim attacks and Christian resistance. To consider those separate and very different events as part of the same religious struggle is a fundamental literary and ideological strategy in *Tirant lo Blanch*. Thanks to the opposition of good Christians against all Muslims, as Francisco Franco-Sánchez argues, the unrelated battles in the novel "no són una sèrie de perills aïllats i independents, de situacions militars sense connexió a les quals Tirant i els seus aliats s'enfronten i vencen, sinó que tots ells són un mateix enemic comú: l'islam" (648). While the novel identifies Muslims from many close and distant places, from

Granada to Persia, that geographical variety is not accompanied by a diversity of purposes. In *Tirant lo Blanch*, "there is a general assumption that Mamluks, Turks, and north African sultans all have common objectives," writes David Abulafia:

> Among them are the King of Bougie, the King of Fez, the King of Persia, the King of Lesser Armenia, the King of Damascus, the King of Granada, and the King of Africa. The links between Saracen lords span the east: we are told that the King of Egypt is married to the daughter of the Great Khan, who commands six kings, and is even so less mighty than the Egyptian sultan (295).

The author of the novel seems to delight in these kinds of enumerations, which depict the great power of the Muslim enemies, their political and family connections, and their numerous troops, as when he describes the allies of the African king Scariano:

> Primerament, lo rey de Bogia, son germà, e lo rey de Feç e lo rey Menador, lo rey de Pèrsia, lo rey de la Tana, lo rey de la menor Índia, lo rey de Domàs, lo rey Geber, lo rey de Granada, lo rey d'Àfrica. Tots aquests reys, los de més, eren en deute de parentesch ab aquest rey Scariano. E lo menys que cascun de aquests portava eren XXXXV mília combatents. E lo rey de Belamerín se ajustà ab lo rey de Túniç ab LXXX mília combatents, e ab aquella gent vengueren a socórrer los altres, e tots justats tenien lo siti (1163; ch. 321).

Muslims in *Tirant lo Blanch* are not only united by their religion, their political alliances, and their family ties: they also speak the same language, which is a noteworthy detail in a novel that emphasizes the variety of cultures and languages around the Mediterranean. Riquer writes that "Joanot Martorell se dio cuenta de un problema que no vieron, o soslayaron, la mayoría de los escritores medievales e incluso algunos modernos: la intercomunicación lingüística de personajes de

diferentes procedencias" (*Tirant lo Blanch* 180-181). For example, the author specifies that the Byzantine princess Carmesina and the queen of Ethiopia "se parlaren de moltes cortesies" only because Carmesina "havia aprés de molts lenguatges per la pràtica dels strangers qui per la causa de la guerra eren venguts en la cort de la magestat de l'emperador, pare seu" and the queen "aprés de gramàtica e parlava ab molta gràcia la lengua latina" (1471-1472; ch. 463). The Berber Melchisedech can be an ambassador to Constantinople because "era home de gran eloqüència, molt savi, e sabia parlar de tots los lenguatges" (1321; ch. 389). However, Ottomans simply speak the same "lengua morisca" of North Africans, in contradiction to the experience of real travellers like fourteenth-century Ibn Baṭūṭa: "Tot lector del viatge d'Ibn Battuta recorda les dificultats d'aquest magribí per trobar a Turquía algú que parlés àrab, ja que amb ell no viatjava ningú que parlés turc, mentre al *Tirant* tothom parla la 'lengua morisca.' És més, se subratlla la utilitat de conèixer-la per espiar els turcs" (Espadaler 682). Christian Europeans in the novel have to learn Arabic to speak to foreign Muslims: this is the case of "hun frare de la Mercé, cathalà, natural de la ciutat de Leyda, lo qual havia nom frare Johan Ferrer, qui era aquí [in the north of Africa] legat per lo sant Pare e sabia molt bé parlar la lengua morisca" (1339; ch. 402). All Muslims in the *Tirant*, instead, have a common language, which reinforces their cultural, religious, and political unity against Christians.

Such a unified Muslim front does not have an exact equivalent in Christendom. On the one hand, the authors of the *Tirant* do not differentiate between the Roman Catholic Church and the Christian Churches of the East, in the same way that they do not distinguish among the branches of Islam. Indeed, the eastern Mediterranean of the novel is strikingly devoid of the diversity pointed out by Catherine Holmes, according to whom "although some parts of the region exhibited a greater level of religious complexity than others, one did not have to travel far to encounter Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Monophysites, Maronites, Nestorians, Copts, Jews, Sunni Muslims, Shii Muslims, and Druze" (31). On the other

hand, there are many Christians who help the Mamluks or the Ottomans, and the authors of the novel pay much attention to their nationalities and even to their lineages, in order to better shame them and to contrast their behavior with the heroism of Tirant: "When Tirant defends the Greek Empire against the combined armies of the Turkish sultan and the king of Egypt, the allies of the Saracens include the son of the Duke of Calabria, the Duke of Andria, and the Duke of Amalfi, figures clearly modelled on the pro-Angevin opponents of Alfonso [Alfons V] at the time of his conquest of Naples" (Abulafia 301). Even more intense than their animosity against the political enemies of Alfons V, is the authors' hate of the Genoese, who were the great adversaries of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean trade. The Genoese are repeatedly depicted as treacherous collaborators with Muslims: they are the "cruels genovesos, qui solament los plau la glòria dels vençuts e no dels vençedors, no tenint clemència ne pietat ha llur proïsme crestià, ans fan part manifesta ab los infels," as Tirant explains to the king of Sicily (391; ch. 101). "The narrative of the Turkish siege of Rhodes as told in *Tirant* is a story of Genoese perfidy," writes Abulafia, and he points out that *Tirant lo Blanch* does not present "ordinary and uncontroversial Genoese," unlike another famous Catalan novel of the fifteenth century, *Curial e Güelfa* (302). Riquer concurs: "Martorell, en estas páginas, no tan sólo exagera la actitud de los genoveses a favor de los infieles sino que no ahorra nota ignominiosa para desacreditarlos" (*Tirant lo Blanch* 110). An extreme example of this smear campaign is the surprising revelation that the Sultan of Egypt is actually a Genoese renegade, according to the Muslim "alcadi" (the *qāḍī* or judge of Islamic law) who condemns him to be devoured by lions:

> O cavaller de poch esforç! Ab la cara girada al revés has senyorejats XII reys coronats, los quals tostemps són stats a tu obedients. Est-te concordat ab la mala intenció dels teus pròximos parents e fictes crestians, los genovesos, qui pietat ne amor no han a negú—com no sien moros ni crestians—, com tu sies nat dins aquella mala ribera e

> costa de Gènova. E per ço los teus reprovats mals te condemnen que muyres, com a home çelerat, de mort vituperosa (415; ch. 107).

The novel has a very different view of alliances between Christians and Muslims when they contribute to the establishment of a Christian Mediterranean empire. The condemnation of Muslims and their religion, along with the acceptance of them and their culture when useful for Christians' imperial ambitions, reproduce the ambivalent depictions of Muslims in previous Iberian texts, only at a larger geographical scale. As already mentioned, María Jesús Rubiera has focused on such conflicting relationships with Muslims to delimit the participation of Martorell and Galba in the writing of the novel. However, Rubiera is more convincing when arguing about Martorell's and Galba's different levels of familiarity with Islam than when correlating such familiarity, or lack of it, to different attitudes towards Muslims. The shared authorship of the novel is probably to blame when the narrator's fair degree of knowledge of Muslim beliefs and customs is abruptly replaced by a complete ignorance of Islam. The proximity of these cultural slips make them even more suspicious: in less than ten contiguous chapters, a Muslim character swears "per Mafomet, lo meu Déu" and others attribute a Christ-like character to Muhammad, with phrases such as "que axí és stat plasent a Mafomet" or "sí Mafomet reba la tua ànima" (1103, 1116, 1119; chs. 301, 305, 307). Rubiera draws on the biographical information of Joanot Martorell and Joan Martí de Galba to explain such inconsistencies: while Martorell was Valencian and owned territories in predominantly *mudéjar*-populated Vall de Xaló, Galba was Catalonian and probably knew less about Muslim beliefs and customs (Rubiera, *Tirant contra el islam* 45, 60). In consequence, Rubiera concludes:

> La interpolación de Joan Martí de Galba se extiende desde los capítulos 300 a 349, porque al elemento diferenciador que hemos visto entre los dos autores, es decir, en el texto de Galba, el carácter divino de Mahoma, hay que añadir otros datos significativos: la desaparición de

> los pequeños detalles que han caracterizado a los personajes musulmanes de Martorell, trajes, oraciones, etc. (*Tirant contra el islam* 71).

However, the authors' varying levels of familiarity with Muslims do not correlate to the differing attitudes towards Islam throughout the novel. In one of the chapters that Rubiera identifies as written by Galba, it is said that "la secta de Mafomet és molt falsa e reprovada, e tots los qui en ell crehen van a total destrucció e damnació" (1180; ch. 329). A very similar statement appears more than 200 chapters earlier, when Tripoli is described as a "terra de maledictió, hon se canta nit e dia la reprovada secta de aquell enguanador sens fe, amor e caritat de Mafomet, qui tanta gent ha deçebuda en lo món" (450; ch. 113). "Perros de moros," "fill de perro," "perro fill de ca," and "perro, fill de gos" are insults against Muslims that appear in chapters 106, 166, 179, and 333, before and during the segment allegedly written by Galba (412, 730, 762, 1193). At the same time, the chapters that Rubiera attributes to Galba, most of them focused on Tirant's military and missionary actions in North Africa, include some of the novel's most sympathetic portrayals of Muslims. In sum, both hostile and favorable depictions of Muslims appear throughout the entire novel and cannot be satisfactorily explained by its multiple authorship. Instead, just like in the main works I have analyzed in previous chapters, those same contradictions can be better understood as complementary textual strategies that simultaneously repel and incorporate religious difference as part of the same imperial project.

The double attitude of *Tirant*'s authors towards Islam can be exemplified by the splitting of the Mamluk Sultan into two contrasting characters. As explained by Rubiera:

> Martorell desdobla a un mismo personaje histórico, el sultán mameluco de Egipto, en el sultán de Babilonia y el rey de Egipto [...]. Pero no se limita a crear dos personajes idénticos sino opuestos como

> las imágenes de un espejo, pues mientras el Soldà de Babilonia es un moro renegado y fanfarrón, el rey de Egipto es un valiente campeón enamorado que desafía a Tirant con paragón de sus damas respectivas, y aún herido sigue combatiendo (*Tirant contra el islam* 40).

While the Sultan of Babylon "pretende tirar de la barba al emperador griego, convertir a Carmesina en camarera y a la emperatriz en cocinera, así como hacerse erigir una estatua de oro, todo ello cuando conquiste Constantinopla," the king of Egypt is one of several "caballeros musulmanes [...] descritos con rasgos muy semejantes a los de los cristianos, como 'cavallers valentissims e de gran ànim,' dignos antagonistas de Tirant" (Rubiera, *Tirant contra el islam* 18). This is particularly remarkable given the authors' great admiration for the institution of knighthood, as stated in the prologue:

> Antigament l'orde militar era tengut en tanta reverència, que no era decorat de honor de milícia sinó lo fort, animós, prudent e molt spert en lo exercici de les armes. Fortitud corporal e ardiment se vol exercir ab saviesa, com per la prudència e indústria dels batallants diverses vegades los pochs han obtesa victòria dels molts: la saviesa e astúcia dels cavallers ha bastat aterrar les forçes dels enemichs. E per ço foren per los antichs ordenades justes e torneigs, nodrint los infants de pocha edat en lo exercici militar perquè en les batalles fossen forts e animosos e no hagessen terror de la vista dels enemichs. La dignitat militar deu ésser molt decorada, perquè sens aquella los regnes e ciutats no·s porien sostenir en pau, segons que diu lo gloriós sanct Luch en lo seu Evangeli. Merexedor és, donchs, lo virtuós e valent cavaller de honor e glòria, e la fama de aquell no deu preterir per longitut de molts dies (69-70; "Pròlech").

Because of the book's encomiastic view of knights as moral role models and protectors of society, its appreciation of some Muslims as good knights constitutes the highest, and most unexpected, compliment it could give to them. Equally surprising is the emphasis on the parallels between the behavior of Muslim and Christian knights. For example, after Tirant and the king of Egypt challenge each other with very similar words, Tirant affirms the superiority of his lady over the king's beloved, while inadvertently highlighting how much his enemy's situation resembles his: "Sabut és com tu ames la filla del Gran Turch e yo la de l'emperador. La tua, mora; la mia, crestiana. La tua té sisma e la mia crisma. Per tot, seria aquesta jutgada per millor e de major dignitat, que la tua no seria digna de descalçar-li la sabata del seu peu a la sua gran excel·lència" (650; ch. 152). This is a clear example of the same "maurophilia" that Barbara Fuchs has studied in sixteenth-century Castilian texts like *El Abencerraje* and Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*: these works "typically conflated Moors and knights" and "imagined no contradiction between the individual Christian knight's fondness for Moors or things Moorish and the larger project of Christian conquest" (*Exotic Nation* 26). In this way, "with its emphasis on the nobility of the individual knight, whatever his faith, chivalry proved an essential vehicle for maurophilia," which "complicates the essentialism and othering in which the exclusionary versions of Spain depend" (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 33). By simply recognizing that a Muslim knight can be a worthy rival and as good a warrior and a lover as him, Tirant refutes the "othering" of Muslims endorsed by the same novel in other passages, as when the friar Johan Ferrer affirms that "la secta mafomètica" promotes "actes de gola e luxúria" that "als animals bruts e no rahonables són propis" (1340; ch. 403).

The acknowledgement of some Muslims as worthy of admiration is even more pronounced in the case of the Ottoman ambassador Abdal·là Salomó, a "home molt docte en totes sciències e de singular consell, que lo Gran Turch lo tenia en stima de pare e no fehia neguna cosa sens consell de aquest, que en tota la pagania no s'i

trobava home de tanta sapiència ni eloqüència, e totes es coses que fehia ab molt gran deliberació" (565; ch. 134). Abdal·là's wisdom and eloquence are appreciated by the authors as much as by the Christian characters: Tirant, in particular, "no deixava partir prop de si al moro Abdal·là per les bones e discretes rahons que li dehia" (598; ch. 142). Although Christians take Abdal·là captive, they treat him with utmost respect and, when he gives a moralizing speech for the edification of Tirant and other Christian lords, all of them are so impressed that they decide to free him: "E Tirant fon molt content: per amor de tants grans senyors qui lo y demanaven, e per contemplació de ells, li dava libertat e XX d'altres per amor de ell" (619; ch. 144). Abdal·là's speech is "in fact lifted from a letter sent by Petrarch to the Florentine Seneschal of Naples, Nicola Acciaiuoli," which just makes the episode even more dignifying: to attribute the words of such an admired Christian author to a Muslim is, again, a clear rebuke of the accusation of all non-Christians as sinful or bestial (Abulafia 301).

The recognition of the virtues and the rationality of some Muslims facilitates the missionary labor of Tirant in North Africa: because so many Muslim Africans are good and reasonable people, it is possible to convert thousands of them at once. Paradoxically, Tirant's adventures in Africa are the accidental result of his most unjustified act of violence against a non-Christian, an "episode of racial violence [that] radically alters the trajectory and assumptions of the narrative" (Spiller 61). While in Constantinople, Tirant is tricked by the evil "Viuda Reposada" into believing that Carmesina is having an affair with "hun moro catiu negre, comprat e venut" (1055; ch. 286). After slitting the black slave's throat, Tirant prepares to leave Constantinople still believing that Carmesina was unfaithful to him. Although Carmesina's servant Plaerdemavida finally clarifies the situation before Tirant sets sail, a sudden storm takes both the hero and the servant to "Barberia," a generic term with which the authors refer to most of North Africa. In contrast to Tirant's brutal killing of the innocent slave, African Muslims generously welcome the two Christian

castaways. Plaerdemavida is rescued by an old Muslim who was once a captive in Iberia and who is still grateful to Christians because of his freedom, as he explains to her:

> Yo vull que tu sàpies com yo fuy gran temps catiu en poder de cresttians, en Spanya, en hun loch que havia nom Càliç. La senyora de qui yo era catiu, vehent la mia gran servitut que yo feta li havia, se seguí hun cars que, tenint ella hun fill, enemichs que tenia li vengueren per matar-lo, e certament lo hagueren mort sinó per mi, car, per ma valentia, ab la spasa en la mà leví de terra lo fill de ma senyora e nafrí'n dos. Los altres fiu fugir. E per aquell sguart yo fuy posat en libertat per la senyora. Vestí'm tot de nou e donà'm diners per a la despesa e féu-me posar a ma voluntat dins en Granada. E per aquesta gentilea que aquesta senyora me féu, tu hauràs loch en mi. E com yo tinga una filla viuda, la qual, per contemplació mia, ella·t tendrà en stima de una germana (1096; ch. 299).

In a similar way, Tirant is found by the Muslim knight Capdillo-sobre-los-capdillos and also adopted into his family. Capdillo-sobre-los-capdillos says to Tirant:

> La gran bellea que veig en la tua persona porta dins mi pietat molt profunda. E com sia cosa acostumada als hòmens, per grans senyors que sien, que s'esdevé que són presos en batalla en mar o en terra o per naufraig, axí com ara la fortuna ha portat a tu, e per ço, si virtuós est, no·t deus desconfortar, car encara que la fortuna te haja portat ací no·t deus desesperar de la misericòrdia de aquell gran Déu qui tot lo món governa, car yo·t jur per lo nostre sant profeta Mafomet, qui t'à liberat de tan gran perill e t'à feta gràcia que sies vengut en mon poder, com yo veja que natura no ha fallit en formar lo teu cors de tanta singularitat,

> no crech menys aquell no haja dotat de moltes virtuts. Yo tinch tres fills, tu seràs lo quart (1101; ch. 300).

The old man's personal history, Tirant's beauty, and Capdillo's religious piety are just different ways to rationalize the unexpected kindness of these African Muslims towards two Christian strangers. In any case, the presentation of these Muslims as righteous people, in contrast to so many treacherous Christians in the novel, prepares the reader for the massive conversions of the following chapters. A few pages after Tirant irrationally killed a Muslim slave, the hero's praise of his Muslim host sounds especially poignant and it highlights how knightly virtues are not limited to Christians: "De gran humanitat proceheix haver pietat e compassió dels miserables, e a mi és molta glòria ésser vengut en poder de ta senyoria per catiu o presoner, per tu ésser cavaller tan magnànim e virtuós que m'has promés premiar del que la fortuna de sa pròpia auctoritat me ha levat dignament" (1103; ch. 301). During the rest of Tirant's adventures in Africa, writes Edward Aylward, "we are constantly apprised of Tirant's mercifulness toward those who surrender to him without resistance: neither their person nor their property is damaged or violated in any way, and many liberties are granted to them—particularly the freedom of worship" (72-73). The good qualities of Muslims and Tirant's tolerant policies combine to produce spontaneous conversions among the conquered Africans: "E per la gran liberalitat que veÿen en Tirant, molts se feÿen crestians. Los altres restaven en lur secta sens que no·ls era feta violència alguna ni empediment. E deÿen los pobles que aquest era lo més magnànim senyor que en tot l'univers món trobar-se pogués" (1311; ch. 384).

As Riquer points out, Tirant's methods for Christianizing Africa are inspired by an author who is recurrently "seguido y plagiado" in the novel: the philosopher and writer Ramon Llull, who "was born on the island of Majorca short years after it had been captured from the Muslims by the Crown of Aragon, and spent part of his prolific career urging the conquest of more Muslims lands to assist his project of

converting them to Christianity" (*Tirant lo Blanch* 220; Pick, "Edward Said" 269).[111] According to Llull, Muslims mistakenly believe that "the truth of Christianity is not provable," but "with the aid of a number of his books [...] in which the truth of central Christian doctrines is demonstrated, this state of affairs can be rectified" (Hames 714). In his *Libre de doctrina pueril*, Llull affirms:

> Aquells sarrayns qui saben molt e han soptil engin e qui han elevat enteniment, no creen que Mafumet sia propheta; e per assò han fet establiment los sarrayns que null hom no gos mostrar logica ne natures enfre ells, per so que no agen subtil enteniment, per lo qual sien en openio que Mafumet no sia propheta. Amable fill, aytals sarrayns qui han soptil enteniment e qui no creen que Mafumet sia propheta, serien leygers a convertir a la fe catholica, si era qui la fe los mostrás els preycás [...] e car ells son ja en openio que Mafumet no es missatge de Deu, los altres sarrayns convertir s íen, si veyen que los mayors savis lurs se faessen crestians (178-179).

Despite his faith in Christianity's irresistible logic, which should first convince Muslim intellectuals and then expand to the masses, Llull's several attempts to convert North Africans only led him to be imprisoned and expelled by the local authorities. He persisted until the very end: because his last works were written in Tunis, Llull probably died there or on his way back from Tunis to Majorca, at the age of 83 or 84 (Bonner 43). Tirant lo Blanch makes Llull's frustrated dreams a reality by combining the labor of Christian knights with that of preachers: "El procedimiento misional siempre es el mismo: Tirant vence a un rey enemigo, le hace ver la verdad del Cristianismo, lo bautiza y luego siguen su ejemplo la mayoría de sus súbditos"

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[111] The longest and most evident of these literary borrowings are chapters 32-34 of *Tirant lo Blanch*, which are taken from Llull's *Llibre de l'ordre de cavalleria*, erroneously called *Arbre de batalles* by the narrator.

(Riquer, *Tirant lo Blanch* 220). The success of this method across several points of "Barberia" results in the final figure of 400,000 converted Africans, "cifra sorprendente, pues, en tiempos de Martorell, la población del reino de Valencia era aproximadamente ésta" (Riquer, *Tirant lo Blanch* 221).

By using both fighting and preaching to spread Christianity in Africa, Tirant unites the two sides of the fifteenth-century "sophisticated debate developed on the relations between Christianity and Islam in terms of crusade and conversion," in which prominent theologians such as Juan of Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa "questioned the efficacy of crusade as a means of defeating Islam" and proposed that "Christian powers should seek to make peace with Islamic rulers and then undermine their faith through public disputations, in which the Christian cause would emerge triumphant" (Housley, *Religious Warfare* 181). It is important to emphasize that the ultimate goal of these theologians was still to defeat Islam, although using debates instead of violence, which makes doubtful to interpret "the desire to convert one's enemies" as proof of Juan of Segovia and other Christians' "ability to conceive of [Muslims] as something other than perennial enemies," in Anne Marie Wolf's words (217). For Wolf, Juan of Segovia's "inclination to convert Muslims, offensive as that might sound to medieval or even modern Muslims, nevertheless aimed at the establishment of meaningful connections between Muslims and Christians and ultimately at the Muslims' inclusion in the Christian community" (217). The phrase "the Muslims' inclusion in the Christian community" implies the possibility that they could continue practicing their religion under Christian dominion, as many Muslims were allowed to do in the *Llibre dels fets* or the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. However, Juan of Segovia and other fifteenth-century Christians wanted to integrate converts to Christianity and not Muslims. These theologians' purpose was not to establish

"meaningful connections" with Muslims, but to eradicate them, which is exactly what Tirant does in North Africa by using both military and peaceful methods.[112]

Tirant's two-pronged strategy proves so effective that he finally conquers "tota la Barberia," including "los regnes de Túniç, de Tremicén, de Feç e de Bogia" (1322, 1342-1343; chs. 390, 403). His biggest success is the conversion of the Ethiopian king Scariano, "home fortíssim, tot negre e de molt desmesurada figura segons los altres hòmens, qui era rey molt poderós de si, de molta gent e de gran riquea" (1104; ch. 301). First a ferocious enemy of the king of Tremicén, and therefore of his subject Capdillo-sobre-los-capdillos and of Tirant, Scariano decides to convert after the queen whom he loves is baptized by the Christian hero. Despite his non-religious motivation to convert, Scariano wisely asks Tirant to explain Christian doctrine to him so he can deserve baptism. The narrator attributes Scariano's humility, desire to learn, and easy understanding of Christian beliefs to the action of God: "per què, ab la devoció que ell venia al sanct babtisme, per obra del sanct Sperit ell comprengué tant nostra fe com si tota sa vida fos estat crestià" (1175; ch. 327). Divine influence also inspires Scariano to be baptized during a public ceremony: he chooses "en presència de tota la mia gent fer-me crestià e rebre lo sanct babtisme, a fi que, vehent batejar a mi, tinguen occasió de batejar-se," and Tirant agrees on "lo gran benefici que·s sperava de aquesta cosa en aument de la santa ley crestiana" (1178; ch. 328). Scariano does not force his subjects to convert, but almost everybody decides to become a Christian anyway, as both he and Tirant had foreseen: "E en aquell dia foren batejats, per la mà de Tirant, passats VI mília moros. Los altres restaren per a l'endemà e per als altres dies, fins que tots fossen crestians. E pochs foren los qui se n'anaren e, dels més roÿns, los qui no·s volgueren batejar" (1180; ch. 329).

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[112] For more on Nicholas of Cusa's and Juan of Segovia's plans of conversion, see Bisaha 143-147.

Similarly to the king of Egypt of previous chapters, Scariano is presented as "the African alter ego to the very white, northern Tirant. As white and black, as northerner and southerner, as a foreign knight with his 'barbarian Breton rabble' at the court of Constantinople, on the one hand, and as the powerful opponent to the King of Tunis, on the other, Tirant and Escariano are mirror images of each other" (Spiller 61-62). Tirant's whiteness is highlighted during his arrival to Africa and his first meeting with Capdillo-sobre-los-capdillos. Asked about his name, Tirant answers: "Lo meu dret nom és Blanch," and Capdillo replies: "Beneyta sia la tua mare, qui de tan bell nom te dotà, car lo teu nom se concorda ab la tua singular perfecció" (1103; ch. 301). It is during this same chapter, one page later, when Scariano is described as a "home fortíssim, tot negre," clearly establishing the contrast of skin color between the Christian and the Muslim knights. When Scariano converts and he swears to become Tirant's "bo e leal germà d'armes, tant e tan longament com los nostres dies duraran, ab promesa fe de ésser amich de l'amich e enemich de l'enemich," the union of the black African and the white European leader makes Christendom finally strong enough to defeat the Ottomans. In this sense, Scariano replaces the much sought-after Prester John, the mythic Christian ruler of some unknown Asian or African kingdom who could help Christian Europeans to vanquish Muslims (Spiller 63). By transforming a former Muslim into a Prester John figure, the authors of *Tirant* reaffirm what multiple Iberian works had already argued for centuries: a Christian empire cannot succeed against Muslim enemies without the collaboration of Muslim subjects and allies.

After conquering and converting "tota la Barberia," Tirant returns to Constantinople, defeats the Ottomans, marries Princess Carmesina, and becomes "Cèsar" of the Byzantine empire. As the emperor's second-in-command and son-in-law, Tirant turns into the leader of an unstoppable and heterogeneous Christian army: "Tant era lo poder que lo cèsar portava que posava spant a tota la morisma del món, car passats quatre-cents mília combatents eren útils, hon havia de moltes

nacions de gents, que no era ciutat ni fortalea alguna que tingués atreviment d'esperar combat" (1464-1465; ch. 459). On Tirant's army, Elizabeth Spiller comments that "diversity of birth becomes unity of faith and is all the more powerful because of that. The power of this army of four hundred thousand thus arises from a unity of identity that is founded on religious belief" (65). Despite his opposition to Islam and his ultimate victory over "tota la morisma del món," however, Tirant shows as much mercy to his Muslim enemies as Muslims showed to him in Africa. Instead of killing their archenemies, the Sultan of Babylon and the Ottoman Sultan, Tirant and the Byzantine Emperor offer them generous terms of surrender:

> Perquè conegau quanta és la humanitat e clemència del senyor emperador, és content de salvar-vos la vida e pendre-us a mercé en la forma següent, ço és, que lo soldà e lo Turch, ab tots los reys e grans senyors qui són en lo vostre camp, se posaran en poder de l'emperador com a presoners e staran aquí tant e tan longament fins que li hagen tornat e restituït totes les terres que li tenen de l'imperi, segons haveu ofert. E axí mateix, li faran portar tots los presoners e catius crestians que seran trobats axí en les terres del soldà com del Turch. E la magestat del senyor emperador és contenta de lexar anar salva e segura tota la morisma qui és en lo vostre camp, emperò tots a peu e sens armes. E més, és content de fer pau e treva a cent e hun any, e liga e germandat ab lo soldà e ab lo Turch, e valer-los sempre contra moros, mas no contra crestians (1435; ch. 446).

Given this offer, "lo soldà e lo Turch restaren molt contents e demostraren molt gran alegria de la gràcia que obtesa havien" (1436; ch. 446). They respectfully surrender to the Emperor, who imprisons them "en una bella cambra, molt ben emparamentada de draps de seda e de raç, ab hun lit molt bell e molt bé en orde" (1442; ch. 449). When both the emperor and Tirant die not much later, the next emperor "féu traure de presó lo soldà e lo Gran Turch, e tots los altres reys y grans

senyors qui ab ells presos eren, e feren pau e treva a cent e hun any, e festejà'ls molt, que ells ne foren tan contents que li feren moltes submissions e de grans ofertes, tota hora que·ls hagués mester de valer-li contra tot lo món" (1539; ch. 487).[113] Such is the ending of the book, with a lasting truce between Mediterranean Muslims and Christians, which only makes the Byzantine Empire stronger and more prosperous.

The chivalric treatment of Muslim enemies in *Tirant lo Blanch* is particularly striking in comparison with the frequent Christian depictions of them, after the fall of Constantinople, as less-than-human barbarians.[114] According to the Byzantine cardinal Basilios Bessarion, the conquerors of Constantinople were "the most savage enemies of the Christian faith, the most ferocious wild beasts"; Milanese humanist Francesco Filelfo questioned "if, indeed, the Turks should be called men at all, and not some kind of completely unrestrained and savage beasts, since they have nothing of humanity in themselves beyond a human form" (Meserve 26-27). Instead, "at Miralpeix and later at Malveí Tirant extends the maximum clemency to the defeated Turks when they deliver themselves into his hands. He sees that they are well fed and

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[113] This 101-year truce is an extreme idealization of the precarious truces between Iberian Christians and Muslims, as explained by Jarbel Rodriguez: "Christians and Muslims never reached an accord of unlimited peace, resorting instead to renewable truces lasting anywhere from a few months to a decade. To complicate matters further, truce agreements were concluded between the rulers who negotiated them and not their respective states, expiring if either of the rulers lost his position. Any time that a ruler died or was overthrown, an all-too-common occurrence, new truces had to be negotiated" (112). Because of this, Rodriguez adds, "the Crown of Aragon was almost constantly sending out and receiving ambassadors to negotiate or renew truces with its many Muslim neighbors, including Granada, Morocco, Tunis, Bougie, Tlemcen, and even Egypt" (112).

[114] Angold emphasizes the connection between the fall of Constantinople and the depictions of Ottomans as barbarians and enemies of civilization, an image that was mainly promoted by the Roman Church and the Italian humanists and constituted "quite a novel way of looking at the Turks, who until the mid-fifteenth century had generally enjoyed a reputation for honesty and bravery among Westerners" (100). Nancy Bisaha adds that "despite the specific context in which 'barbarian' became synonymous with 'Turk,' humanists soon began to stretch their use of the word. They started to apply the term indiscriminately to the larger Muslim world—even though for several centuries Westerners had regarded Arab culture as highly advanced" (78).

given the proper medical attention" (Aylward 72). As a result, Ottoman enemies frequently praise him for his mercy, just like African Muslims did in "Barberia."

As just mentioned, Tirant dies soon after defeating the Ottomans and recovering the territories of the Byzantine Empire. Princess Carmesina and the Emperor do not survive him for long. Because Tirant's only heir is his young friend Ypòlit, who has also been the Empress's lover for years, Ypòlit marries her and they lead the empire together until she dies three years later. Then Ypòlit marries an English princess, with whom he founds a new Byzantine dynasty. Scholars have generally considered this bizarre ending as one more example of the authors' irreverent humor, which is not in short supply throughout the novel: not only some secondary characters such as Plaerdemavida or the French prince Phelip provide frequent comic relief, but also the love adventures of Tirant, Carmesina, the Empress, and Ypòlit include many comic confusions and sexual jokes. The main reasons to consider the novel's ending as a "guiño al lector" or "an ironic denouement" are the absurdly sudden death of Tirant, killed by a "gran mal de costat," and the no less absurd enthronization of Ypòlit, a character fairly described by Riquer as an "autèntic play-boy" (Riquer, *Tirant lo Blanch* 171; Aylward 195; Martorell and Galba 1480, ch. 467; Riquer, *Aproximació* 10). For Monserrat Piera, the ending subverts the rest of the novel as much as the novel subverts the historical record: "Earlier Martorell undid history, now he undoes fiction" (54). However, that a handsome social climber and an English princess end up leading the Byzantine empire may be a strange plot twist, but it does not contradict the novel's constant defense of a vast polity that encompasses all Christians, no matter their lineages or geographical origins. Tirant himself lacks "a drop of royal blood" and "both in England and later in Constantinople, Tirant is repeatedly attacked as a foreigner and usurper: a 'base foreigner of ill fame and unknown origin'" (Spiller 55). He is, however, "un model de paladí transnacional, que parla diversos idiomes i que únicament serveix reis cristians. Això és el que tots tenen en comú. La cristiandat és la gran nacionalitat

comuna que comparteix amb ells" (Franco-Sánchez 653). The novel, as previously mentioned, claims to be a Catalan version of a Portuguese translation of an English book, and, despite the evident fictionality of this provenance story, *Tirant lo Blanch* is indeed a highly hybridized text that integrates an English epic along with writings by Ramon Llull and Petrarch. Even more, the authors are glad to transform a letter by Petrarch into a speech by an Ottoman ambassador by simply affixing the phrases "Déu és gran, Déu és gran. Déu és sobre totes coses" at its beginning (600; ch. 143). During the previous centuries, many Iberian rulers and authors had understood the importance of non-Christians as political, commercial, and cultural contributors to their local empires. *Tirant lo Blanch* applies that same concept to a Mediterranean context, in which imperial power not only includes all Christians from England to Constantinople, but also gets stronger by integrating Muslim converts and allies.

In the cosmopolitan Mediterranean world of *Tirant lo Blanch,* the efforts of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada or Alfonso X to connect the lineages of Iberian kings to Visigoths and Romans no longer matter. The Byzantine Emperor can take pride in descending from "un noble e valentíssim cavaller nomenat Constantí," who built "la nostra ciutat [...] e de aquí avant fon nomenat emperador de Constantinoble," but it is Tirant, the "vil hom stranger," who saves the empire and marries the emperor's daughter (521, 590; chs. 126, 141). The unexpected enthronement of Ypòlit just confirms what the novel argues from its first page, which is a dedication to a Portuguese prince, Fernando, with an Aragonese mother and an English grandmother: empire is no longer a genealogical, mechanical *translatio* from one person or kingdom to another. A real Christian empire is all-encompassing, universal, not restricted by lineages or political borders, since its foundation is "la fe cathòlica, de la qual lo capità és Jhesuchrist, rey sobre tots los reys e senyor sobre tots los senyors" (1340; ch. 303). In its limitless ambition, this empire includes all Christians, is open to all converts from any origin, and thrives on its alliances with Muslims.

Chapter 5.

An Empire of Faith and Its Infidels:

The Role of Muslims in the Expansion of the Portuguese Empire, According to *Os Lusíadas* and Its Sources

Both Luís Vaz de Camões and his epic *Os Lusíadas* have a unique preeminence in the history and culture of Portugal. In the words of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "the study of Camões in the Lusophone world [...] is already a cottage industry at an advanced level of proto-industrialisation" (155). But Camões's cultural importance exceeds the literary and scholarly spheres by far: not only have the Portuguese named streets, squares, and institutions in every city and town after their foremost poet, but they also celebrate their national holiday on June 10th, on the anniversary of his death in 1580, and they call it the "Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas." This link between an author, his homeland, and the "comunidades" founded by the Portuguese explorers around the world exemplifies the lasting effects of the alliance between literature and imperial projects in Iberia and beyond. Under the Estado Novo, the nationalist regime that ruled Portugal from 1933 to 1974, the anniversary of Camões's death was more bluntly called the "Dia da Raça." The term "raça," which proudly united colonizers and colonized under a common genetic history, was persistently attached to Camões and his work during the twentieth century: António Soares Amora considers Camões as "o Poeta da Raça" and *Os Lusíadas* as "o ponto mais elevado da inspiração poética e do poder criador de nossa raça"; Camões's poem is "a comunhão irrevogável da raça com a Cristandade" for Pedro Calmon and "o livro sempre e universalmente considerado o Poema da Raça" for Martim de Albuquerque (Amora 13, 12; Calmon 170; Albuquerque 108). The fact that both Amora and Calmon are not Portuguese like Albuquerque, but Brazilian, shows the transatlantic impact of the

myths of empire and colonialism woven for centuries around Camões's work. But those myths are even older than Camões: they originate in the same medieval imperial projects that I have examined in the previous chapters. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Portuguese rulers and explorers transformed the imperial dreams of medieval Iberians into worldwide endeavors, which were accompanied and explained by a rich textual production. *Os Lusíadas* is an aggrandizing account of the history and achievements of Portugal, first as a kingdom and then as an empire, and at the same time it constitutes the literary culmination of the imperial ambitions of Christian Iberian polities. Portugal's competition with other kingdoms of the Peninsula, as well as the role of Muslims in such a struggle, are central elements of that history.

In this chapter, I will examine the ways in which Camões utilizes Muslims to depict the Portuguese explorers as both formidable champions of Christendom and benign conquerors of other peoples. In *Os Lusíadas*, as in most of the previous texts that I have studied, the Islamophobic discourses and the conciliatory gestures towards Muslims coexist as part of the same plan to rule other lands by both defeating Muslim enemies and establishing alliances with them. To accomplish his purposes, Camões borrows liberally from the history of collaboration and opposition between Iberian Christians and Muslims, while emphasizing the similarities between that medieval past and Portugal's new confrontations with Islam in Africa and Asia. That is why I also pay attention to some of the many texts from which Camões takes elements and ideas for his poem, and particularly the Portuguese chronicles that inspired most of the historical segments. Through his utilization of the Middle Ages as a key to reinterpret the Age of Discovery, Camões transforms the narrative of Vasco da Gama's expedition to India into a paean to the past, present, and future Portuguese victories against multiple enemies, but particularly against Muslims, their quintessential adversaries.

Indeed, despite all the cultural changes experienced by Christian-Muslim relationships between the late Middle Ages and 1572, and although Islam was a minority religion in most of Africa and India, Muslims still appear in *Os Lusíadas* as simultaneously the main enemies and the indispensable allies of Christian Iberians.[115] This is especially puzzling because of Camões's direct knowledge of the main African and Asian locations in which *Os Lusíadas* takes place, along with several other Portuguese colonies: after fighting against North African Muslims in Ceuta, Camões spent several years in India, traveled to the Red Sea and the Moluccas, shipwrecked in Cambodia, and got stranded for a couple of years in Mozambique (Pimpão 2-5, L. White ix-x, xx). Therefore, as Landeg White explains, "Camões was well informed about Islam and was perfectly aware of its scope and its divisions"; he could not ignore either that most Africans and Asians were not Muslims (xix). However, Camões decides to gloss over the existence and features of non-Abrahamic religions, as when he describes Hindus in just five stanzas that mention their belief in "fábulas," their polygamy, and the caste system (canto 7, sts. 37-41). Likewise, he chooses to generalize about Muslims as simply "mouros," despite their huge geographical and cultural variety. For Landeg White, Camões's use of "the label 'Moors' insists on two things. It declares that Islam is a single and united enemy; and it identifies the Swahili traders of East Africa and the Muslim rulers of the Persian Gulf, Turkey, and parts of India, with the Muslim Berbers driven out of Portugal during the twelfth to fourteen centuries" (xix).

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[115] Probably conceived around 1554, *Os Lusíadas* was finally published in 1572 (Pimpão iv-v). There are two editions with the same year on their covers, which has created some confusion about which one is the first edition: according to Pimpão, one of them is simply "uma contrafacção intencional," which appeared twelve or thirteen years later with a false date (xvi-xxv).

Such a generalizing and anachronic view of Islam, common among Camões's fellow countrymen, could have contributed to the dominion of the Portuguese in distant lands and seas, according to Marshall Hodgson:

> The common discipline which a corporative spirit allowed the Portuguese kingdom to exercise over its merchants—which ensured that the Portuguese continued to act as a single power even remote from home—was reinforced by a Christian fanaticism in men used to anti-Muslim crusading in the western Mediterranean, so that they felt a special solidarity in hostility to all the various nationalities of Muslim traders (3: 21).

Camões's ambivalence towards Muslim begins with his recognition of their religion as a "law" as elaborate as Christianity and even related to it. Unlike the "gente sem Lei, quási infinita" that inhabits most of Africa "inculta e toda cheia de bruteza," Muslims possess, according to one of them in Mozambique, "a Lei certa que ensinou / o claro descendente de Abraão, / que agora tem do mundo o senhorio"(canto 10, st. 92; canto 1, st. 53). Camões's hero, Vasco da Gama, responds to the Mozambican Muslims by describing his own religion in parallel terms: "A Lei tenho d' Aquele a cujo império / obedece o visíbil e invisíbil, / Aquele que criou todo o Hemisfério" (canto 1, st.65). As António José Saraiva points out, this episode underscores how Christians and Muslims "apresentam-se perante os estranhos definindo-se pela sua 'Lei,'" in a matter-of-fact acceptance that every major religion has its own God and system of beliefs (71). At the same time, however, that acceptance entails a conflict: while the "gente sem Lei" are simply savages to be conquered and eventually Christianized, the recognition of Islam as a faith with its own historical background, doctrinal complexities, and political power turns Muslims instantly into competitors and enemies to fear and battle.

Many of the foundational myths that surround the birth of Portugal emphasize the political benefits of its fight against Islam, and Camões utilizes that combination of historical accounts and legends to frame Vasco da Gama's expedition as part of a process that began in the twelfth century. In canto 3 of *Os Lusíadas*, Camões nods to the epic tradition by putting Vasco da Gama in the position of the hero who narrates his past adventures to compensate a powerful host for his help, just like Odysseus in Homer's *Odyssey* or Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*. However, while the accounts by Odysseus and Aeneas focus on their personal misfortunes in Troy and across the Mediterranean, Vasco da Gama presents his intrepid journey to India as one more step in the perpetual increase of Portuguese power. Therefore, his narrative begins when Portugal was still just a county, which thanks to its victories against Muslims obtained first its independence and then its recognition as a kingdom by other European polities and the Papacy. Far from a digression, Gama's account offers a political and moral program for the consolidation of the Portuguese empire, because, as Jorge Borges de Macedo explains, in the poem "a história tem uma função essencial: por ela, Camões quer provar que na Índia os Portugueses continuam aqueles que na Península Ibérica fizeram Portugal independente. Por consequência, se aplicarem a mesma atitude que levou à providencial (porque merecida) constituição da independência metropolitana, também no Oriente poderão garantir o império" *("Os Lusíadas"* 113-114).[116] The Portuguese explorers of the sixteenth century not only descend from the warriors of the twelfth, but they also share similar political and moral principles, which transform the narrative of Portugal's beginnings into an *exemplum* to be recreated by Gama and his companions.

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[116] Several scholars have noticed that Providence in *Os Lusíadas* does not act out of pure grace, but needs to be deserved; in this sense, divine protection creates also moral obligations for the Portuguese kings and his subjects. In addition to Macedo, see Albuquerque 121 and Silva 5.

The story of the Portuguese' glorious ascent under their first king Afonso Henriques had been written several times before Camões included it in *Os Lusíadas*. When King Duarte appointed Fernão Lopes as first "cronista-mor" or royal chronicler in 1434, with the mission of "poer em caronica as estorias dos reis que antigamente em Portugal forom," he inaugurated a long tradition of Portuguese historiographers striving to complete a coherent narrative of all their monarchs' achievements, starting with Henriques (qtd. in Dias 409). Because of the institution of the *cronista-mor*, Portuguese chroniclers' work was at the same time personal and collaborative: in spite of their changing political situations and writing styles, "in the background to this consecutive labor of recompilation is a project persistently seen during the whole [fifteenth] century and even beyond: establishing a complete collection of narratives or chronicles for each king of Portugal that could serve as a comprehensive Chronicle of the kingdom" (Gomes 60).[117] Camões, therefore, had an extensive set of narratives at his disposal and he used them profusely to recount the epic history of his homeland in cantos 3 and 4. One of those sources, the *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis*, presents the battles of Afonso Henriques as motivated by a combination of religious and political reasons: the Portuguese king fights against "Mourros d Alem Mar e d Aquem Mar, e outrras gentes barbarras" not only to expand his territories, but also "com grande vomtade de serujr a Deos" (1: 39).[118]

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[117] The *cronista-mor* had the additional responsibility of being the "keeper of the royal archives (*guarda-mor dos arquivos*), which were also centralized in an autonomous way in the 1370s" (Gomes 63). Therefore, to hold these two posts conceded the power to not only articulate history, but to eliminate any evidence that contradicted the official narrative. Gomes Eanes de Zurara, for example, infamously destroyed large amounts of documents to save space in the archive; because of this, today there is practically no way to verify the facts that he presents in his *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* (Freire 23-27; Prestage xxvii-xxix).

[118] The loss of many texts, the incompleteness of works because of their authors' death, and the reworking of old fragments into new texts, have created a chaotic landscape of the Portuguese chronicles for scholars. Already in Camões's times there was widespread confusion about the authorship of previous chronicles, as demonstrated by the efforts of his contemporary Damião de Góis to distinguish between the works and fragments written by the *cronistas-mores* Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Rui de Pina, and Duarte Galvão

When Afonso's troops hesitate before a big battle against Muslim enemies, the king reminds them of the legendary victories of the Castilian count Fernán González against Almanzor and affirms that "os que aquy morerem serem çertos que loguo yrão ao Parayso" (*Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis* 1: 41). This crusading view is shared by a chronicle not authored by a *cronista-mor*, the *Crónica da tomada de Lisboa*, according to which Henriques was a "verdadeiro cristão" and "destruidor dos emmigos da fé de Jesu Cristo e da santa igreja," who led an international army against the Muslims of Lisbon and covered the city with rivers of their blood: "E matáron na entrada tantas companhas de mouros, que os rios do sangue corriam pelas praças da dita cidade" (78, 79).[119]

According to Carl Erdmann, crusading ideas were not common in Portugal until 1340, when a coalition of Iberian Christian forces defeated troops of Granada and the Marinid empire in the battle of Salado. Erdmann writes that this event "teve, pelo menos do lado dos portugueses, todo o carácter de cruzada" and its importance changed the perception of past battles: "Desde o século XIV, tôdas as notícias sôbre

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(Góis 4: 100-107). The *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis* have been partially attributed to Rui de Pina and Duarte Galvão, both active between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, but Carlos da Silva Tarouca believes that Pina and Galvão were just correcting a previous text of unknown origin: "Não sabemos de quem são estas 'estoryas dos Reys', contidas no nosso códice Cadaval 965, evidentemente seguidas com tanto interesse pelos arquivistas do Reino, Duarte Galvão e Rui de Pina, que intervêm ambos na cópia, coeva deles" (24).

[119] This chronicle exists in two manuscripts, with very similar texts despite their chronological distance and their different titles: the fourteenth-century *Chronica da tomada desta cidade de Lixboa aos mouros e da fundaçã deste moesteiro de Sam Vicente* (at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal) and the sixteenth-century *Chronica da fundação do moesteiro de São Vicente de Lixboa pello inuictissimo e christianissimo Dom Afonso Henrriquez, I, Rei deta Portugal, e como tomou a dita çidade aos mouros* (at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo). In the words of Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros, the *Crónica da tomada de Lisboa* is a "tradução parafrásica" of a twelfth-century Latin text, the *Indiculum fundationis monasterii beati Vitentii Ulixbon* (402). When comparing both works, Lopes de Barros notices that the *Crónica da tomada de Lisboa* emphasizes Afonso Henriques's "'zelo' cruzadístico" and also adds "uma adjetivação pejorativa dos muçulmanos" (404, 407).

as guerras mouriscas [projectam] a idea de cruzada, retrospectivamente, até ao início delas" (53, 54). Erdmann's thesis may explain the crusading tone in the late medieval *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis* and *Crónica da tomada de Lisboa*; it would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Afonso Henriques's campaigns were not interpreted by his own contemporaries as part of a religious war. Pope Alexander III, in his bull "Manifestis probatum est" from 1179, acknowledged Afonso Henriques's opposition to Muslims as a central reason to recognize him as the first king of Portugal:

> Manifestis probatum est argumentis quod, per sudores bellicos et certamina militaria, inimicorum christiani nominis intrepidus extirpator et propagator diligens fidej christiane, sicut bonus filius et princeps catholicus, multimoda obsequia matri tue sacrosancte ecclesie impendistj dignum memoria nomen et exemplum imitabile posteris derelinquens.
>
> (It has been clearly demonstrated that, through war efforts and military actions, you have exterminated the enemies of the Christian name and propagated the Christian faith with courage and diligence; likewise, as a good son and Catholic prince, you have rendered many services to your mother, the Holy Church, and left a praiseworthy example for future generations) (*Monumenta Henricina* 1: 19).

Along with recognizing Portugal as an independent kingdom, the Pope offered Henriques and his successors all the lands they took from Muslims and granted them his support against other Christian rulers who did not respect those rights:

> Eam sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et regnum Portugalense, cum integritate honoris regni et dignitate que ad reges pertinet necnon et omnia loca que, cum auxilio celestis gratie, de

> sarracenorum manibus eripueris, in quibus ius sibi non possunt christianj principes circumpositj uendicare, excellentie tue concedimus et auctoritate apostolica confirmamus.
>
> (We take you and the kingdom of Portugal under our protection and St. Peter's, with all the honors and dignities that kings deserve and, through our apostolic authority, we concede you the possession of all the places that, with the help of God, you take from the Saracens, on which no other Christian ruler will have any claim) (*Monumenta Henricina* 1: 19).

The bull "Manifestis probatum est" was again promulgated by Clement III in 1190, by Inocent III in 1212, and by Honorius III in 1218, thus confirming the sustained support of Rome for Portugal's war against Muslims (*Monumenta Henricina* 1: 26-28, 36-38, 50-51). As Calmon says, "nasceu Portugal enfeudado ao Sumo Pontífice e, longos séculos, o reconheceu por soberano, de quem o Rei foi vassalo impaciente, às vezes incômodo, sempre respeitoso" (133). For the same reason, while the rulers of other European polities resisted the Papacy's interference in order to preserve their independence, the Portuguese used Rome's protection to obtain and keep theirs (Calmon 134).[120]

The combined influence of the historical record and its treatment by later chroniclers strongly determines Camões's tone when he narrates the birth of Portugal: in comparison to the rest of the epic, these episodes are particularly hostile against Muslims. Camões mentions the conflicts between Afonso Henriques and the

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[120] To secure the independence and international recognition of Portugal, Afonso Henriques utilized not only the support of the Pope, but also other diplomatic relationships, especially through his own marriage and those of his children: Henriques "casa com Matilde, princesa 'italiana' (filha do conde de Mauriana e Sabóia); uma sua filha (Teresa) casa com o conde da Flandres, e D. Sancho, seu filho e herdeiro, com uma princesa de Aragão (Dulce, filha de Raimundo Berenguer IV)" (Macedo, *História diplomática* 46). See also Diffie 17, 24-25.

kingdoms of Castile and León, but he focuses with more intensity and dramatism on his struggles against Muslims and especially on the battle of Ourique, in which Portuguese troops allegedly defeated Muslim forces a hundred times larger:

> Em nenhũa outra cousa confiado,
>
> senão no sumo Deus que o Céu regia,
>
> que tão pouco era o povo bautizado,
>
> que, pera um só, cem Mouros haveria (canto 3, st. 43).[121]

Divine support is not only proven by triumph despite the odds: Christ in person appears to Afonso before the battle to boost him and his men:

> A matutina luz, serena e fria,
>
> as Estrelas do Pólo já apartava,
>
> quando na Cruz o Filho de Maria,
>
> amostrando-se a Afonso, o animava.
>
> Ele, adorando Quem lhe aparecia,
>
> na Fé todo inflamado assi gritava:
>
> —"Aos Infiéis, Senhor, aos Infiéis,
>
> E não a mi, que creio o que podeis!" (canto 3, st. 45).[122]

These lines depict Afonso as saintly enough to deserve contemplating Christ; at the same time, Afonso is such a firm and humble believer that he does not think this miracle is necessary. The suggestion that Jesus should instead appear to non-

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[121] All quotes of *Os Lusíadas* come from the edition by Álvaro Júlio da Costa Pimpão. To facilitate the reading, I have dispensed with Pimpão's initial capital letters for every line.

[122] The same episode is narrated more briefly in the *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis:* Afonso "vyo Noso Senhor Jesu Christo em a Cruz, pela guysa que lho jrmjtom disera. E adorou o com grande ledise e com lagrjmas de prazer de seu coração" (1: 43).

Christians hints at the possibility of Muslim conversion, soon contradicted by Afonso's ferocious feats. Once the battle begins, the Portuguese king turns his enemies into body parts and rivers of blood, in descriptions of cruelty reminiscent of the narratives of the siege of Lisbon or the crusades:

> Cabeças pelo campo vão saltando,
>
> braços, pernas, sem dono e sem sentido,
>
> e doutros as entranhas palpitando,
>
> pálida a cor, o gesto amortecido.
>
> Já perde o campo o exército nefando;
>
> correm rios do sangue desparzido,
>
> com que também do campo a cor se perde,
>
> tornado carmesi, de branco e verde (canto 3, st. 52).[123]

This apparent incongruity between Afonso's humble sanctity and his annihilation of Muslims evokes what Jonathan Riley-Smith has memorably called "crusading as an act of love": the attack of non-believers on the basis of twisted interpretations of Christian charity. Riley-Smith quotes apologists of the crusades such as eleventh-century Anselm of Lucca, who argued that "punishment could be imposed not out of hatred but out of love; and that wars could be benevolent in intention," or twelfth-century Ivo of Chartres, for whom "Christians could, in fact, sin if they did not persecute those engaged in evil works" and "wars fought by true Christians were in fact acts of pacification, since their aim was peace" ("Crusading" 188). But in Vasco da Gama's narrative in *Os Lusíadas*, as in the *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis* that Camões closely follows in these passages, the emphasis is really

[123] I correct the fourth line of the stanza, which presents an obvious typo in the edition by Pimpão: "o cesto amortecido." This is just an editorial oversight, since "gesto" can be clearly read in the first edition of 1572 (f. 46v).

put on God's unconditional support of Portugal. Afonso Henriques is depicted simultaneously as a saint and a warrior, and his victories over Muslims are at the same time Christian miracles and martial feats. At the end of the battle of Ourique, both its religious and military aspects become merged and memorialized in the Portuguese coat of arms, composed of the shields of the five defeated Muslim kings, the cross of Christ's apparition to Afonso, and the thirty coins of Judas's betrayal (*Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis* 1:47; *Os Lusíadas* canto 3, sts. 53-54). The connection between the battle of Ourique and the Portuguese coat of arms transforms that specific victory into a foundational event for the entire kingdom, even though it was "in fact a small battle" whose exact location "no one has ever been able to determine for certain" (Diffie 15). Thanks to the legendary elements that later narratives used to embellish Ourique, this triumph over Muslim enemies acquired a symbolic importance for the Portuguese that even surpassed their actual independence from León.

A series of other victories, rapidly enumerated in a dozen of stanzas of *Os Lusíadas*, reinforces the idea of Portugal as a polity singularly protected by God and destined to greatness: between the stanzas 55 and 68 of canto 3, Afonso Henriques's troops conquer Leiria, Arronches, Santarém ("Scabelicastro"), Mafra, Sintra, Lisbon, Óbidos, Alenquer, Torres Vedras, Elvas, Moura, Serpa, Alcácer do Sal, Évora ("a nobre cidade, certo assento / do rebelde Sertório"), Beja, Palmela, Sesimbra, and Badajoz. Afonso's apparent invincibility over more numerous and stronger adversaries repeatedly proves "quanto mais pode a Fé que a força humana," because "co braço dos seus Cristo peleja" (canto 3, sts. 111, 109). Precisely because of Portugal's alliance with God, the still incipient kingdom already shows a military prowess that makes the achievements of ancient empires pale in comparison:

> Se César, se Alexandre Rei, tiveram
>
> tão pequeno poder, tão pouca gente,

> contra tantos imigos quantos eram
>
> os que desbaratava este excelente [Afonso Henriques],
>
> não creias que seus nomes se estenderam
>
> com glórias imortais tão largamente (canto 8, st. 12).

Henriques's victories, therefore, evidence at the same time the superiority of Christendom over Islam and the preeminence of Portugal over all other present and past polities. The references to Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great constitute a striking adaptation of the concept of *translatio imperii* that medieval authors used to justify the imperial ambitions of their kingdoms. Vincent Barletta comments on that same stanza:

> As Camões presents them, the conquests of Caesar and Alexander are [...] something less than extraordinary: the result of the strength and discipline of their enormous armies [...] and the superior strategies of the Greek and Roman generals themselves, these victories pale in the face of Afonso Henrique's divinely assisted and nation-forming exploits (134).

This supernatural invincibility, in the opinion of Camões, additionally exposes the futility and folly of the Muslims' struggle against those protected by a Lord who conquered death and defeated Satan:

> Destarte o Mouro pérfido despreza
>
> o poder dos Cristãos, e não entende
>
> que está ajudado da alta Fortaleza

> a quem o Inferno horrífico se rende (canto 3, st. 112).[124]

Even though Camões condemns the stubbornness of Muslims, his interpretation of Portuguese history makes clear that his kingdom owes them its independence and international prestige, as also evidenced by the bull "Manifestis probatum est" and medieval chronicles. The utilization of Muslim enemies to justify the political exceptionality of Portugal was indispensable for Afonso Henriques and his successors during the thirteenth and most of the fourteenth century, and acquired a new relevance when a different dynasty began governing in 1385. Starting with João I, a natural son of King Pedro I, the Avis rulers needed to legitimize their power by proving that they were the rightful descendants of Afonso Henriques, at least at a military and spiritual level. As previously mentioned, it was João I's son, King Duarte, who created the position of the *cronista-mor,* and these official chroniclers' main purpose was to establish a unified narrative that connected the origins of the kingdom to its struggles against other Iberian polities and its later conquests around the world. Stephen Parkinson explains:

> João's son Duarte and his grandson Afonso V were responsible for commissioning chronicles of the two dynasties: Duarte employed Fernão Lopes to write chronicles of all the monarchs up to and culminating in João I, while Afonso renewed the mandate, and the pension accompanying it, and officially nominated a successor, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, to chronicle the deeds of João I and his son Prince Henrique, prime mover of the Portuguese discoveries. Zurara was followed by Rui de Pina and Damião de Gois, before historical writing moved its focus from monarchy to Empire, and João de Barros

[124] Jupiter also speaks against the useless resistance of Muslims to the Portuguese: "Ali vereis o Mouro furioso / de suas mesmas setas traspassado; / que quem vai contra os vossos, claro veja / que, se resiste, contra si peleja" (canto 2, st. 49).

and Diogo do Couto gave more expansive histories of the Portuguese in Asia (46).

Despite the many writers involved and the vastness of their historical subjects, some motives remain consistent and are later reflected in the work of Camões, who had undoubtedly read these fundamental authors: because many stanzas of *Os Lusíadas* are basically summarizing passages from fifteenth and sixteenth-century chronicles, "escusado seria dizer-se que Camões conheceu todas as crónicas do Reino, além das ultramarinas de Castanheda, Barros e Gaspar Correia" (Pimpão xi).[125]

Probably due to the problems of royal legitimacy in Portugal, first because of its conversion from county into kingdom during the twelfth century and then because of the change of dynasties in 1385, Portuguese chroniclers frequently emphasize the importance of their rulers as role models in the Iberian Peninsula and defenders of the entire Christendom. They do this by not only praising their own kings, but also by questioning the religious orthodoxy and political abilities of their neighbors. For example, Fernão Lopes employs much of his *Crónica de D. Pedro* to highlight the contrast between the justice of King Pedro of Portugal and the cruelty of King Pedro of Castile. In this text, Muslims such as the kings of Granada are little more than chess pieces used by the monarchs of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon in their complex power struggles. Non-Christian characters serve to highlight the personality differences between Iberian rulers: Pedro of Castile kills a Muslim king who had already surrendered, an action that his own subjects condemn as ruthless; Pedro of Portugal, instead, executes two of his own servants charged

[125] See also Rodrigues, who devotes several chapters of his *Fontes dos Lusíadas* to the influence of the chroniclers Duarte Galvão, Rui de Pina, and Fernão Lopes. Camões tends to be very faithful to the chronicles that narrate the history of Portugal and the expansion of its empire. For this reason, it is quite noticeable when he decides to dismiss them in part or entirely, for instance when he introduces mythological elements or creates a fantastic account of Gama's return journey (see Alves 215, Salgado Júnior 42-43).

with murder and stealing, even though the victim was a Jew (153-154, 28-30). In his *Crónica de D. Fernando*, Lopes presents the conflicts between Iberian Christians as one of the reasons behind the end of the Afonsine dynasty, as reflected in the repeated admonishments by the Pope, who tries to convince the kings of Portugal and Castile of "os damnos e malles que sse da guerra seguiam a elles e a seus rreinos e como por tal aazo se enxalçaria a soberva dos emmiigos da santa fe" (179). The Pope, according to Lopes, blames the devil for the "guerra e discordia que o emmiigo da humanall linhagem a meude se trabalhava de poer antre os rreis filhos da Egreja, moormente antre aquelles acerca dos quaaes as barbaras naçoões dos infiees, por aazo de tall odio e mall-querença podessem aver entrada a destroir a relegiom christãa" (*Crónica de D. Fernando* 283). However, when Lopes writes about João I, his patron and the founder of the Avis dynasty, the chronicler blames only the Castilians for the dissensions among the Christian kingdoms. Because Castilians supported the Avignon papacy after the Western Schism of 1378, Lopes condemned them with the same arguments that the Portuguese had previously used against Muslims, including a crusading rhetoric and appeals to bellicose role models from the Old Testament (Amado 131-132). According to Lopes's *Crónica de D. João I*, the main reason behind the crowning of João I was that, without him, Portuguese lands "estariam em gram perigoo de viinr en maãos de seus emmiigos, moormente çismaticos e rrevees aa Santa Egreja" (1: 422). In an evident parallelism with the battle of Ourique, in which Afonso Henriques proved his right to be an independent king by crushing his Muslim enemies, the Portuguese troops' spectacular triumph in Aljubarrota demonstrates their supremacy over Castile and the legitimacy of João I's reign. The similarities are reinforced by the emphasis on the inferior numbers, the poverty, and even the old age of Portuguese soldiers, who nevertheless defeat the stronger Castilian army thanks to their faith on God and the justice of their cause, as explained in a triumphant sermon by a Franciscan preacher in the cathedral of Lisbon:

> Pois eles pouquos e mal corregidos que os fez atrever a pelejar cõ tal moltidaõ e asy guoarnida? Fezeo a firme esperamça que em Deus e na sua priçiosa Madre aviã, cremdo como he verdade, que tinhão rezaõ e dereito em defemder sua terra que lhe per força tomar queriaõ, e a homrra da Samta Igreija. Doutra guisa vẽcer tamanhos arraiãis de gemtes naõ diguamos que foy por humanal força mas por divinal juizo, a que prougue de ser asy, e hee graõ maravilha amte os nosos olhos (*Crónica de D. João I* 2: 127).[126]

In his chronicles, Fernão Lopes continuously relates the religious superiority of Portugal over other polities to its military victories, even when its enemies are other Christian kingdoms, and he interprets these triumphs as expressions of God's support. The next *cronista-mor*, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, applies the same ideological pattern to the expansion of Portuguese power beyond the Iberian Peninsula. Zurara's *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* is a key text in the process by which Iberian motifs of previous centuries are adapted in late medieval and early modern works dealing with the exploration of Africa and Asia, including *Os Lusíadas*. Although he agrees with Lopes in the fairness of João I's fight against Castilians, Zurara presents a king whose scrupulous conscience makes him feel guilty about the Christians he has killed and who decides to atone for this sin by "washing his hands" with the blood of Muslims: "Posto que elle ouuesse guerra muy justa com seus

[126] The impact of the victory in Aljubarrota two centuries later, during Camões's lifetime, can be appreciated in the *Ditos portugueses dignos de memória*, an anonymous sixteenth-century collection of anecdotes. In this book, the battle of Aljubarrota is mentioned six times, more than any other military action of Portuguese history, and every time to revile Castilians. For example, in one of those *ditos* a Portuguese knight responds to a slighting graffiti, presumably written by a Castilian, with another one that reminds him of Aljubarrota, where "vos cobardes marranos / huyendo deante de nos / no os valiendo las manos" (75). In another *dito*, when a Castilian criticizes the custom of the Portuguese always dressing in black, a Portuguese nobleman replies that they are just mourning the decision of King João not to invade all of Castile after his triumph in Aljubarrota (444).

jmigos a qual era por defensam de sua terra, na qual suas armas muitas vezes forom tintas de sangue, que elle nom entendia dello fazer comprida pendença senom lauando suas maãos no sangue dos jnfiees" (8-9). According to Zurara, only a fool or a coward would think that "a guerra dos mouros nam he o mayor seruiço que a Deos pode seer feito per os seus fiees christaãos" (15). However, because the Muslims of Granada has a truce with Castile and João I wants to avoid any more conflicts with his Christian neighbors, the only alternative for Portugal is to export its holy war to Africa. Modern scholars have alternately interpreted the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 "as the first identifiable action in the historical trajectory of early modern European imperialism or as a culminating manifestation of a medieval crusading mentality that promoted Christian–Moorish interaction in conflictive terms" (Blackmore, *Moorings* xv). But, from a medieval and early modern perspective, those two options are complementary: Zurara and Camões are two among many Portuguese authors who consider the conquest of Ceuta not as a beginning or an end, but as one more step in the unstoppable progress of their kingdom's power.

In the case of the *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*, the continuity between Portugal's expansionist past and its colonialist future becomes crucial during a meeting of theologians convoked by João I to discuss if the conquest of an African city qualifies as a just war. According to Zurara, the council agrees that biblical sources are not necessary to settle the question. Instead, it is enough to remember the many feats of Iberian Christian heroes against Muslims, including Afonso Henriques, Alfonso VI of Castile, and the Cid: on the basis of Peninsular history, the theologians conclude that the king "pode mouer guerra comtra quaaesquer jmfiees assy mouros como gemtios, ou quaaesquer outros que per alguũ modo negarem alguũ dos artijgos da samta ffe catholica" (37). Similar arguments appear repeatedly in documents related to the sons of João I, famously called by Camões the "ínclita geração" because of their military and intellectual achievements (canto 4, st. 50). In his treatise *Leal conselheiro*, King Duarte, João I's oldest son and successor,

acknowledges how detractors of the wars in Africa can also invoke the Iberian past: "Diziam: por que razom fariamos contra elles pelleja, ou moveriamos guerra, pois soportavamos antre nos vyverem judeus e outros mouros taaes como elles?" (270) The answer, in this case, does not come from history, but from the obligation of all Christians to extend the Church's power and facilitate conversions: "Muy justamente Nos e todos senhores catholicos lhe devemos fazer guerra pera tornar suas terras a obediencia da santa madre igreja, e poer em liberdade todos aquelles que a nossa ffe quiserem vĩr, que livremente o possam fazer" (270). In a letter adressed to Duarte in 1436, his brother Henrique combines religious reasons with the emulation of their heroic ancestors: "Os grandes jnperadores e reis e grandes senhores, dos quaes grande conto he dos nosos anteçesores e de quem uos desçendes, per perigos e trabalhos e despesas, gançarom e merçarom o seruiço de Deus e as grandes honrras, do qual he bom exemplo ao noso uirtuoso padre" (*Monumenta Henricina* 5: 204). According to Henrique, the military campaigns of the House of Avis are comparable to the efforts of those who sacrificed their comfort "a fym de Deus e da honrra," including Christ, Moses, David, the apostles, the martyrs, and other saints (*Monumenta Henricina* 5: 203-204). Henrique led by example: he was the Grand Master of the military-clerical Order of Christ, which in the early fourteenth century inherited the properties and privileges of the abolished Knights Templars and "developed a tradition of being Portugal's chief anti-Moslem offensive weapon" (Diffie 39). In the following century, thanks to Henrique's obssession with the exploration of Africa, the Order of Christ "estabeleceu uma das mais importantes pontes entre a guerra mourisca do tempo das cruzadas e as viagens de descobrimento," because the *infante* "em nome da Ordem e com os capitais da mesma equipou [...] os seus barcos" (Erdmann 51-52).

Camões's view of Muslims incorporates the belligerent attitudes towards Islam present in previous Portuguese texts sponsored or produced by members of the Avis dynasty. For Camões, political and religious conflicts are predominantly

between Muslim and Christian forces, despite his personal knowledge of Africa and Asia and his awareness of vast polities with non-Abrahamic faiths, such as the Mutapa and the Chinese empires (canto 10, sts. 93, 129). Historical circumstances are partially responsible for this bias: when Gama and his followers broke into the Indian Ocean trade network, this area was dominated by Muslim political and commercial forces (Hodgson 3: 19-22; Sérgio 62). Camões did not invent the escalating tensions between the Portuguese explorers and the Muslim traders of the city of Calicut (or Kozhikode, on the Malabar Coast). The hostility of Muslim locals toward the European newcomers appears in all previous accounts of Gama's expedition: first, the *roteiro* or logbook apparently written by Álvaro Velho, a companion to Gama; later, the chronicles by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, João de Barros, and Damião de Góis.[127] However, Camões dramatically highlights the religious aspects of that conflict by blaming "as insídias que ordenava / o Mahomético ódio" and making those "insídias" originate in a dream in which Bacchus, "em forma do Profeta falso e noto / que do filho da escrava Agar procede," appears to a "sacerdote da lei de Mafamede" (canto 8, sts. 64, 47). From Camões's perspective, the problems between Muslims and Christians in India just prove once more the traditional opposition between both groups, similarly to when "o Céu

[127] The *Roteiro da primera viagem de Vasco da Gama* has been attributed to Álvaro Velho since its first edition by Diogo Köpke in 1838 (Costa xiii). Castanheda's first volume of his *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses,* in which he includes Gama's trip, was published in 1551; one year later, Barros published the first volume or *década* of his *Ásia*. Góis's *Crónica do felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* was published in its entirety between 1566 and 1567. Among these authors, Velho and Castanheda were the ones who better knew the Portuguese colonies: after accompanying Gama to India, Velho also lived in Guinea; Castanheda collected most of his information while traveling for ten years between India and the Moluccas. Barros and Góis, instead, had closer ties to Portuguese royalty: Barros wrote directly under royal patronage and Góis held a number of positions in the court, from being a page as a child to guarding the royal archives for more than two decades. The chronicles by Barros and Castanheda are the sources most frequently used by Camões: José Maria Rodrigues estimates that "em um terço, approximadamente, das estancias dos *Lusiadas* é manifesta a influencia exercida pela leitura que o poeta tinha daquelles dois escriptores" (72-73).

justo" determined that twelfth-century Portugal "floreça / nas armas contra o torpe Mauritano, / deitando-o de si fora," or when João I conquered Ceuta "por fazer que o Africano / conheça, pelas armas, quanto excede / a lei de Cristo à lei de Mafamede" (canto 3, st. 20; canto 4, st. 48).

On the Islamic side of this apparently eternal religious war, Camões includes all Muslims from the past and the present, spread over the three continents of the Old World. No matter if they are Iberian Muslims from the past, Almoravids, modern African Muslims, or Turks, all of them are ultimately "Mouros," as grossly generalized as in the works sponsored by Alfonso X of Castile three centuries earlier. Even worse, Camões often refers to Muslims with extremely hateful terms: "a infiel e falsa gente," "o Mouro pérfido," "o povo imundo," "inimigos do antigo nome santo," "cães," "o povo bruto" (canto 2, st. 6; canto 3, st. 112; canto 7, sts. 2, 7, 9, 13). On the Christian side, instead, Camões emphasizes internal differences: there are some historical events, like the siege of Lisbon or the battle of Salado, in which Portuguese troops ally with Christian foreigners to fight against Muslims (canto 3, sts. 57ss, 109ss.) But Camões's depiction of other Christian nations is deeply unflattering: in canto 7—"a parte mais significativa do Poema, quanto ao seu carácter cristão" in Amador dos Anjos's opinion—, several stanzas bash Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Italians for their many vices, and especially for their inaction in front of Muslim dominion in the Mediterranean, including the Holy Places (Anjos 37; *Lusíadas* canto 7, sts. 4-14). Something that particularly infuriates Camões is that, instead of fighting against Islam, Christian nations are worn down by fratricide wars:

> Ó míseros Cristãos, pola ventura
>
> sois os dentes, de Cadmo desparzidos,
>
> que uns aos outros se dão à morte dura,
>
> sendo todos de um ventre produzidos? (canto 7, st. 9).

According to Camões, Muslims are "sempre unidos," which should constitute an example to imitate by Christians:

> Vedes que têm por uso e por decreto,
>
> o qual são tão inteiros observantes,
>
> ajuntarem o exército inquieto
>
> contra os povos que são de Cristo amantes (canto 7, sts. 9-10).

Muslims, despite their regional and political differences, are essentially united by their religious duty and common opposition to Christians. Christians, instead, are so impious and selfish that Camões disdainfully offers them riches to encourage them to fight in Asia and Africa, since they are indifferent to nobler causes: "Mova-vos já, sequer, riqueza tanta, / pois mover-vos não pode a Casa Santa" (canto 7, st. 11).[128]

On the desolate landscape of contemporary Christendom as depicted by Camões, only one nation stands out as the glorious exception, a role model and a hope for all Christians: Camões's homeland. *Os Lusíadas* insists on a few key ideas that define Portugal as a nation: it is a small country, its inhabitants are the bravest and noblest Christians, and because of this they are destined to build the largest empire in history. As Macedo explains, the contrast between the reduced size of Portugal and the glory of its achievements "prova, simultaneamente, dois factos: a ajuda da Providência a quem tão bem sabe executar-lhe os desígnios e, portanto, a

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[128] Among his criticisms of other European nations, Camões is especially harsh against those where Protestantism has replaced Catholicism, such as Germany, which "do sucessor de Pedro rebelado, / novo pastor e nova seita inventa," and England, which "nova maneira faz de Cristandade" (canto 7, sts. 4, 5). Still, Camões's proposed union between Protestants and Catholics to conquer the Holy Places is quite openminded for his context: as Macedo notices, in the same year 1572 in which *Os Lusíadas* was published, French Catholics killed thousands of Protestants in Paris and the Portuguese celebrated the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre with a procession in Lisbon *("Os Lusíadas"* 107).

excelência dos escolhidos" (*"Os Lusíadas"* 128). At the same time, the emphasis on Portugal's courage against all odds establishes a vivid connection between its past and its future: "Os Portugueses criaram na Península uma comunidade diferente e mantiveram-na, apesar de poucos e pobres, contra tudo e contra todos. No Índico, continuam a ser uma minoria que se dispôs, apesar disso, a procurar e a manter o seu domínio, contra tudo e contra todos" (Macedo, *"Os Lusíadas"* 118). Such ideas are present since the first canto of *Os Lusíadas*, in which Camões calls Portugal hope of Christendom and terror of Muslims:

> Não menos certíssima esperança
>
> de aumento da pequena Cristandade;
>
> vós, ó novo temor da Maura lança,
>
> maravilha fatal da nossa idade,
>
> dada ao mundo por Deus, que todo o mande,
>
> pera do mundo a Deus dar parte grande (canto 1, st. 6).

In the next stanza, Camões declares that, thanks to its inhabitants' religious and military virtues, Portugal has proven superior to the Holy Roman Empire and France:

> Vós, tenro e novo ramo florecente
>
> de ũa árvore, de Cristo mais amada
>
> que nenhua nascida no Ocidente,
>
> Cesárea ou Cristianíssima chamada (canto 1, st. 7).

When Camões introduces the Olympian gods as a device to explain the supernatural elements of his hero's journey, he bases Venus's sympathy towards the Portuguese on their virtues that remind her of ancient Romans: "Vénus bela" is "afeiçoada à gente Lusitana / por quantas qualidades via nela / da antiga, tão amada,

sua Romana" (canto 1, st. 33). Those virtues make Portugal not only worthy of an empire as large as those of antiquity, but also destined to surpass them, as Jupiter mentions more than once: "É dos Fados grandes certo intento / que por ela ['a forte gente de Luso'] se esqueçam os humanos / de Assírios, Persas, Gregos e Romanos"; "Vejais / esquecerem-se Gregos e Romanos, / pelos ilustres feitos que esta gente / há-de fazer nas partes do Oriente" (canto 1, st. 24; canto 2, st. 44).[129] In one more appeal to Iberian medieval history, Jupiter uses Portugal's victories against Castilians and Muslims in the Peninsula to exemplify its exceptional prowess and the inevitability of its future greatness:

> Já lhe foi (bem o vistes) concedido,
>
> cum poder tão singelo e tão pequeno,
>
> tomar ao Mouro forte e guarnecido
>
> toda a terra que rega o Tejo ameno.
>
> Pois contra o Castelhano tão temido
>
> sempre alcançou favor do Céu sereno:
>
> assi que sempre, enfim, com fama e glória,
>
> teve os troféus pendentes da vitória (canto 1, st. 25).

Camões's certainty on Portugal's religious superiority over all other Christian nations, along with his belief in the imperial rights derived from that preeminence,

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[129] Camões is not the only early modern author for whom the power of Portugal has surpassed the great empires of Antiquity: in the prologue to the first *década* of his *Ásia*, João de Barros praises his king and his fellow countrymen because "têem tomado posse, não sòmente de tôda a terra marítima de África e Ásia, mas ainda de outros maiores mundos do que Alexandre lamentava por não ter notícia dêles" (1: 5). David Lupher has studied how a similar "agonistic stance toward classical antiquity" was used by early modern Spaniards: "Not only was Cortés declared a far greater general than Julius Caesar, but even an ordinary conquistador in the ranks, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, could claim that he personally had surpassed the exploits of that celebrated Roman" (2).

is based on the Church's direct support of Portuguese territorial ambitions through dozens of papal bulls and briefs.[130] The political validity of these documents depended on theological foundations that were deeply hostile to non-Christians. As mentioned in my introduction, early modern apologists for European colonialism found ideological support in thirteenth-century canonist Enrico da Susa, according to whom the Pope had the right to give away the lands of non-Christians to Christians, because the Church's power extended over the entire world and non-believers lacked any authentic sovereignty (García Gallo, *Manual* 2: 624; Muldoon, *Popes* 27-28; Russell-Wood, "Iberian expansion" 27). While not explicitly endorsing Enrico's ideas, the Papacy repeatedly interacted with Portuguese rulers as if their conquests were "Christian offensives designed to reduce territory held by non-Christians" and, therefore, part of a "just war" that was not only legally sound, but exemplary for the rest of Christendom (Russell-Wood, "Iberian expansion" 27).

During the fourteenth century, through bulls like "Apostolicae sedis" in 1320 or "Gaudemus et exaltamus" in 1341, the papacy conceded part of the kingdom's ecclesiastical taxes to the Portuguese monarchs in support of their resistance to Muslims from Granada and North Africa (*Monumenta Henricina* 1: 133-135, 194-199). After the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, several popes emphasized the need for all Christian rulers to help the Portuguese in their fight against Muslims and affirmed the territorial rights of Portugal over the conquered lands. For example, the bull "Rex regum," emitted in 1418 and renewed in 1436 and 1443, promised the same indulgences to the combatants in Africa as those granted to the crusaders in the Holy Land (*Monumenta Henricina* 2: 282-286). Similar indulgences and privileges for the participants in the Portuguese wars in Africa and Asia were periodically confirmed by bulls such as "Intenta salutis" in 1459, "Orthodoxae fidei" in 1486, and

[130] For an overview of these papal documents, see the series of articles entitled "Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle" by Charles-Martial de Witte.

"In sacra Petri sede" in 1514 (*Alguns documentos* 25-26, 57, 363). Russell-Wood highlights two of these bulls because of their consequences for the political expansion of Portugal and for its relationships with conquered peoples: "Dum diversas," which gave the King Afonso V "authorization (*facultas*) to attack, conquer, and subdue Saracens and other enemies of Christianity" in 1452; and "Romanus pontifex," which "granted the Portuguese a virtual monopoly over all conquest, navigation, and commerce from the Maghrib to 'the Indies'" in 1454 ("Iberian Expansion" 27-28). This last bull, called by Boxer "the formal charter of Portuguese expansion," specifies that Portuguese kings may "quoscunque sarracenos et paganos aliosque Christi inimicos ubicunque constitutos ac regna, ducatus, principatus, dominia, possessiones et mobilia ac immobilia bona quecunque per eos detenta ac possessa inuadendi, conquirendi, expugnandi debellandi et subiugandi illorumque personas in perpetuam seruitutem redigendi" ("invade, conquer, vanquish, and subjugate all Saracens, pagans, and other enemies of Christ wherever they live, along with their kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, dominions, possessions, and all their movable and immovable goods, and to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery"), because those territories and peoples "ad ipsos Alfonsum regem et successores suos ac jnfantem, et non ad aliquos alios, spectasse et pertinuisse ac imperpetuum spectare et pertinere de iure" ("rightfully belong, and forever will belong, to King Afonso, his successors, and the *infante*, and not to anybody else") (Boxer 73; *Monumenta Henricina* 12: 75, 76). In "Romanus pontifex," the Pope was declaring "a just war of defense against known enemies of Christendom," which even allowed their enslavement; additionally, the bull established a logical dependency between spiritual purposes and material gain: "The costs that the Portuguese would bear in the missionary work upon which they had embarked would be repaid from the profits of the trading monopoly" (Muldoon, *Popes* 135). Norman Housley underscores the odd confluence of spiritual and military purposes in the first paragraph of "Romanus pontifex" and how "this sleight of hand pervaded the rest of

the bull, which viewed the capture of Ceuta, Prince Henry's southwards explorations, the search for Prester John, and the forced conversions of Negroes in Guinea as diverse elements in a single struggle" (*Religious Warfare* 186). Happily for Portugal, there were no geographical or temporal limits to this struggle and its benefits: as Russell-Wood notices, such papal bulls were written with "ambiguous phraseology and generalizations" that permitted their justifications of conquest and slavery to be readily applied to all newly found or subdued lands, whatever their particular circumstances ("Iberian Expansion" 28).

The ideological effect of papal documents is noticeable in the frequent references to them by the members of the Avis House, who invoke them using a circular logic: one can be sure that God protects Portuguese campaigns because the Pope has declared it, while at the same time the Pope's decrees are to be observed because God endorses them. In this way, the *infante* Henrique can affirm that "da guerra dos mouros ser serujço de Deus nom ha que duujdar; pois a jgreja o detrimyna" and King Duarte identifies the main reason to battle Muslims as the "seruiço de Noso Senhor Deus [...] pois o santo padre asy o manda" (*Monumenta Henricina* 5: 203; 6: 94).[131] The material consequences of papal bulls for Portuguese expansion are even easier to notice: explorers just needed to erect a "padrão," an inscribed stone cross or column, to claim a new land as a legitimate part of their empire, as Vasco da Gama did in several places during his voyage to India:

> Deixou Vasquo da gama postos nesta viajẽ çĩquo padrões, sam Raphael no rio dos bõs sinaes, sam George em Moçãbique, sancto Spiritu em Melinde, sancta Maria nos Ilheos, que se per este respeito chamam de sancta Maria, situados entre Bacanor, & Baticala, & ho outro em

[131] Henrique's words, included in a letter, are repeated almost exactly by Duarte in the *Leal conselheiro*: "A guerra dos mouros tenhamos que he bem de a fazer, pois que a santa igreja assy o determina, e nom da lugar a fraqueza do coraçom que faça conciencia onde aver se nom deve" (270).

> Calecut chamado sam Gabriel. Com os quaes, per virtude das bullas dos Papas Nicolao quĩto, & Sixto quarto concedidas aho Infante dom Hẽrrique filho delRei dõ Ioam primeiro, & a elRei dom Afonso quinto, sobrinho do dito Infante, filho delRei dõ Duarte, tomou liçitamente posse pera coroa destes Regnos de tudo o que descobrira atte o Regno de Calecut, quomo ho dantes fezeram hos outros capitães, atte a parajem do rio de Lopo Infante (Góis 1: 107).[132]

As Gama's actions and Góis's explanation make clear, by the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese were no longer discussing the theological or historical reasons to fight non-Christians and take their lands, as in Zurara's *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*. As long as they had the Pope's authorization, Iberian explorers were totally comfortable with arriving in a new land and claiming it as theirs. This represented the culmination of a long medieval debate about the right of non-Christians to own and govern their own territories. According to Muldoon, the influential and conflicting views of Pope Innocent IV and Enrico da Susa (often called "Hostiensis") were not that dissimilar in practical terms:

> Both Innocent and his student took similar approaches to the actual exercise of the power that they claimed for the pope. Innocent's opinion would require the pope to demonstrate either that infidels who were the objects of a Christian invasion occupied previously

[132] Alvaro Velho mentions several *padrões* erected by Gama but not their connection to papal bulls, an important aspect for Góis since he was the keeper of the royal archives that included those documents, as he acknowledges immediately after the quoted passage: "Das quaes bullas me pareçeo desneçessario poer aqui ho tresledo, ha hũa por conterem muita lectura, & ha outra porque quem per coriosidade has quiser ler, has achara na torre do Tombo destes Regnos, onde aho presente estão em meu poder"(Velho 13, 19, 64, 70, 79; Góis 1: 107). Later European imperial powers followed the Portuguese example by using, instead of *padrões*, a variety of objects to take symbolic possession of new territories: during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the explorers from Holland, England, and France "claimed lands by hanging and burying plates and coins, and painting signs and planting their crosses and flags" (Miller 21).

> Christian territories or that they clearly violated the terms of natural law. Hostiensis' argument would not require such a demonstration because the infidels by definition were usurpers, not lawful possessors (*Popes* 17-18).

According to Hostiensis, the Pope had "potestad no sólo sobre los cristianos sino también sobre todos los infieles"; even more, "con la venida de Cristo todo cargo y todo principado y todo dominio y jurisdicción, conforme a Derecho y por justa causa, les fué quitado a todos los infieles por Aquel que tiene la potestad suprema y no puede errar, y se transfirió a los fieles" (qtd. in García Gallo, *Manual* 2: 624). Consequently, the Pope "by delegation held the authority to annul all power exercised by infidels and to deprive them of their possessions" (Russell-Wood, "Iberian expansion" 27). Although most late medieval canonists took Innocent's side, Hostiensis's ideas were evidently more convenient for Portugal and other European powers to justify their colonial endeavors (Muldoon, *Popes* 27-28; Saunders 37).

The territorial and commercial benefits that resulted from the sustained alliance between the Avis dynasty and the papacy were accompanied by the Portuguese kings' increased reputation as fervent Christian leaders. Rui de Pina praised them in the prologue of the *Chronica delrey D. Sancho I* as so "catholicos, devotos, e obedientes ha Deos, e à Santa Sée Apostoliqua" that they were recognized as "generosos, e conquistadores pela Santa Fée" not only by their Christian neighbors, but even by the "barbaros infieis, ainda que seja com grandes seus estraguos, e cativeyros" (11-12). The combination of Portuguese military and commercial power with the religious and political support from the Church allowed the Avis monarchs to "apresentar-se *de facto* como *Reis de Reis* ou, nesse sentido, como *Imperadores* de um novo orbe externo à Christiandade" (Saldanha 329). António Vasconcelos de Saldanha points out that, although the kings of Portugal

did not officially use imperial titles, it was not unusual for their noblemen and writers to address them as "Imperador de Oriente" or "Rei de muitos reis" (329).

Camões extends this same pride on the Avis rulers to all Portuguese, because, despite constituting a "pequena parte [...] no mundo," they are "poucos quanto fortes" and, indifferent to their "fraco poder," they repeatedly give their lives to propagate "a lei da vida eterna" (canto 7, sts. 2-3). According to Camões, Portuguese bravery makes the help of other nations unnecesary to defend Christendom. Adding hyperbole to hyperbole, Camões ends up affirming that, even if the world were bigger, the Portuguese empire still would reach every part:

> Não faltarão Cristãos atrevimentos
>
> nesta pequena casa Lusitana:
>
> de África tem marítimos assentos;
>
> é na Ásia mais que todas soberana;
>
> na quarta parte nova os campos ara;
>
> e, se mais mundo houvera, lá chegara (canto 7, st. 14).

Camões is here paraphrasing Barros, who wrote that Portugal was "ũa nação a que Deus deu tanto ânimo, que se tevera criado outros mundos já lá tevera metido outros padrões de vitórias" (1: 170). Camões and Barros shared not only their faith in Portugal's glorious destiny, but also their belief in such a fate being determined by God. According to Barros, God chose the *infante* Henrique to lead the exploration and conquest of African territories because he was "um barão tam puro, tam limpo, e de coração tam viriginal," in the same way that the expansion of the empire to India was reserved for King Manuel, "outro tam cristianíssimo e zelador da Fé e honra de Deus" (1: 18). Luciana Fontes Parzewski has studied similar discourses of predestination in Zurara, Barros, and Castanheda, for all of whom "os portugueses surgem como os instrumentos para a efetivação da vontade divina," which "garantiu

o sucesso das navegações" (377, 378). A notable example of Camões's literary use of those historiographical discourses of predestination is his adaptation of the following passage by Castanheda:

> Parece que por inspiração diuina começou ho Ifante dom Amrrique este descobrimento por mar mais q̃ outro nhũ principe da Europa q̃ erão senhores de muyto mayor estado que ele, porque dele herdassem os reys de Portugal que forão dali por diante este descobrimẽto principalmente ho inuictissimo Rey dõ Manuel, pera quem a diuina prouidencia tinha goardado ho effeyto dele que era a India, cujo descobrimento estaua profitizado dantes pola Sibila Cumea (1: 71).

Starting from this pious intuition of Castanheda, Camões develops a memorable episode in which King Manuel dreams of two very old men, "de aspeito, inda que agreste, venerando" (canto 4, st. 71). They greet Manuel as "Ó tu, a cujos reinos e coroa / grande parte do mundo está guardada," before introducing themselves as the rivers Ganges and Indus (canto 4, st. 73). The personified rivers predict that the Portuguese will encounter local resistance, but they will finally triumph:

> Custar-t'-emos contudo dura guerra;
>
> mas, insistindo tu, por derradeiro,
>
> com não vistas vitórias, sem receio
>
> a quantas gentes vês porás o freio (canto 4, st. 74).

Manuel's resolution to send an expedition to India is a direct consequence of this prophetic dream: one stanza after the old men vanish and the dream ends, the king convokes his council of noblemen; in the next stanza, Vasco da Gama is chosen to command the fleet (canto 4, sts. 76-77).

Another prophecy in the poem affirms the all-encompassing reach of Portuguese power. In the last canto of *Os Lusíadas*, a nymph and the goddess Thetis show the future of the empire to Vasco da Gama, including its spread to the Far East and the Americas. Their promises echo the one made by the rivers of India to King Manuel, because they confirm that, despite momentary setbacks, the future of Portugal is a glorious one: "Por mais que da Fortuna andem as rodas / [...] não vos hão-de faltar, gente famosa, / honra, valor e fama gloriosa" (canto 10, st. 74). In his conclusion to the poem, Camões addresses his own king, Sebastião, and praises the incomparable bravery of his subjects, who confront all kinds of danger around the world to propagate "não sòmente a Lei de cima, / mas inda vosso Império preminente" (canto 10, st. 151):

> Olhai que ledos vão, por várias vias,
>
> quais rompentes liões e bravos touros,
>
> dando os corpos a fomes e vigias,
>
> a ferro, a fogo, a setas e pelouros,
>
> a quentes regiões, a plagas frias,
>
> a golpes de Idolátras e de Mouros,
>
> a perigos incógnitos do mundo,
>
> a naufrágios, a pexes, ao profundo (canto 10, st. 147).

The description of these intrepid explorers, with their commitment to extend both the "Lei de cima" and the king's "Império," evokes the beginning of the epic, in which Camões announced his intention to sing of "aqueles Reis que foram dilatando / a Fé, o Império, e as terras viciosas / de África e de Ásia andaram devastando"

(canto 1, st. 2).[133] In both cases, religion is mentioned first and the Empire follows. Both segments also present the Portuguese as violent conquerors in opposition to "mouros," "idólatras," or the inhabitants of Africa and Asia, an image that is coherent with cantos 3 and 4 and their presentation of Portugal's history as a perpetual struggle against non-Christians. However, most of Camões's poem does not really support that aggressive view of Portuguese imperial action. *Os Lusíadas* includes treacherous enemies and bloody skirmishes, but those moments are scarce and brief, while entire cantos are occupied by peaceful exchanges with African and Indian natives, most of them Muslims. Indeed, two of the most important characters in the epic are friendly, righteous Muslims, something especially noteworthy since Camões individualizes few of his characters, Christians or not. His attention to these two Muslims also contrasts with some of the Portuguese chronicles, in which anonymity prevails among non-Christians, as noticed by Alice Cruz in Zurara's *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*: "The Moors are shown to us as a homogenous and undifferentiated whole, so patently perfidious that there is no need to describe them. One exception appears solely to confirm the vile character of the Moors" (14). That exception in Zurara's chronicle is a big, black, naked "mouro," a fearsome savage armed only with stones. Camões's exceptions, instead, are civilized and amiable Muslims that become crucial contributors to the success of Gama's expedition.

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[133] Calmon believes that Camões was the first to use the word "império" with its most common modern meaning: Camões "tirou à palavra o seu sentido histórico-teológico e lhe emprestou o outro, depois correntio, de vastas terras ou vários reinos governados por um só monarca. Antes de entrar nos usos diplomáticos, o grande vocábulo fêz fortuna na literatura" (116). However, as explained in my introduction, the use of "imperium" to designate the rule of one leader over several polities already existed in Antiquity and was not uncommon in the Middle Ages.

The first Muslim ally of Gama is the king of Melinde, who welcomes the Portuguese after they have faced the hostility of other Muslims in Mozambique and Mombasa. Camões here employs his usual literary technique of attributing Gama's good and bad fortune to mythological figures: according to the poem, the opposition of African Muslims to the Portuguese is due to the influence of Bacchus, who resents Portugal's future dominion in India; likewise, the hospitality of Melinde's inhabitants results from Venus seducing Jupiter and gaining his favor for Gama and his men. As António Salgado Júnior has noticed, the interventions of the Olympians in *Os Lusíadas* frequently occur during events that Portuguese chroniclers already considered miraculous. For example, when the lack of wind impeded Gama and his crew to land on Mombasa, where Muslims were preparing to attack them, Barros and Castanheda considered it a sign of God's protection; Camões, instead, depicted Venus and the Nereids pushing the ships away (Salgado 28-31; Barros 1: 148-149; Castanheda 1: 29; *Os Lusíadas* canto 2, sts. 18-30). Something similar happens with Gama's welcome in Melinde, which Álvaro Velho records without any special amazement, but later chroniclers interpret as proof of divine intervention (Velho 35-38). Barros contraposes the king's religious prejudices, common to "all Muslims," with his good personal qualities: "Pôsto que ao nome cristão tivesse aquêle natural ódio que lhe tẽem tôdolos mouros, [...] era homem bem inclinado e sesudo" (1: 149). The king's righteousness and wisdom, however, are not enough to explain his abnormal trust in the Portuguese when he confidently visits their ships, "a qual facilidade os nossos atribuíram mais a obra de Deus que a outra cousa" (1: 150). Castanheda agrees with Barros's opinion and underscores it: according to Castanheda, the king of Melinde was hospitable to the Portuguese simply because "nosso senhor queria que a India se descobrisse" (1: 32).[134] Camões's more convoluted

[134] Góis, like Velho, narrates the episode without suggesting anything surprising or supernatural about it. In Góis's account, the king of Melinde is too old and sick to visit the Portuguese ships; therefore, his son is the one who befriends Gama and his men (1: 86-88).

account of the event implicates several deities favorable to the Portuguese (Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, and Fame), but supports the same main idea of Barros and Castanheda: supernatural causes are the best explanation for the friendly attitude of an African Muslim king towards Christian foreigners.

Despite the mythological machinations behind the king of Melinde's hospitality, his depiction in *Os Lusíadas* is deeply humane, plausible, and sympathetic. He is first commended by other Muslims because of his "bondade, / condição liberal, sincero peito, / magnificência grande e humanidade," and all his subsequent actions confirm such praises (canto 2, st. 71). It may seem paradoxical that a Muslim is the addressee of Gama's lengthy discourse on Portugal's history, loaded with belligerent animosity against Islam, but the king's reaction serves Camões as evidence of how admirable the feats of the Portuguese are, even to foreign non-Christians:

> Louva o Rei o sublime coração
>
> dos Reis em tantas guerras conhecidos;
>
> da gente louva a antiga fortaleza,
>
> a lealdade d' ânimo e nobreza (canto 5, st. 90).

Before that flattering response, mostly "the king listens in attentive, if symbolically subjugated silence," as noticed by Blackmore (*Moorings* 83). Just like many Muslim characters in medieval Iberian works such as the *Cantar de mio Cid* or the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the king of Melinde's main role is serving as a literary assurance of the Christians' superiority by recognizing their astounding military triumphs, which reveal God's support.

The second major Muslim ally of Gama, Monçaide, takes that recognition of Christians' superiority to its logical conclusion by converting to their religion. In this sense, he is similar to several "good Muslims" in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* or to

Mudarra, the hero of the legend of the *infantes* of Lara, as presented by the *Versión crítica* of the *Estoria de España* and the Portuguese chronicles derived from it. In all these cases, a Muslim's baptism represents his final submission not only to a different religion, but also to the political and cultural power of Christendom. Such medieval "dreams of conversion," as John Tolan calls them, appear in multiple European literary traditions with a similar purpose: Muslims' baptisms "become events in the perennial struggle between Christians and pagans, a struggle that is destined to end in Christian victory" (*Sons* 67). In the second half of the sixteenth century, after Muslims had proven much more resistant to conversion than what medieval authors had anticipated, Camões's pious dreams were accordingly more modest. Monçaide is the only Christianized Muslim in the entire epic, in contrast with the ambitions of Portuguese chroniclers that envisioned massive conversions as one of the results of the expansion of the empire: according to Barros, God allowed Portugal's conquests overseas because "por sua misericórdia queria abrir as portas de tanta infidelidade e idolatria pera salvação de tantas mil almas, que o demónio no centro daquelas regiões e províncias bárbaras tinha cativas" (1: 17). When the personified Ganges and Indus appear in dreams to King Manuel in *Os Lusíadas*, they do not make any reference to conversion as a result of his future victories in India; instead, they only mention political and economic effects: the king will "pôr o freio" or subjugate all the peoples that the Portuguese encounter, and he will receive "tributos grandes" from them (canto 4, sts. 73-74).

The historical record on Monçaide is varied and contradictory; because of this, it is especially useful to examine how Camões accepts or modifies the accounts of previous writers in order to achieve his own purposes. According to Álvaro Velho, the Portuguese were received in Calicut by "dois mouros de Tunes, que sabiam falar castelhano e genovês" (40). Velho later tells of a Muslim that warns the Portuguese against disembarking, because "se os capitães fossem em terra lhes haviam de cortar as cabeças, porque assim o fazia el-rei aos que vinham à sua terra e lhe não davam

ouro"; this anonymous Muslim can be reasonably identified as one of the "dois mouros de Tunes" that were able to communicate with the Portuguese (61). Finally, one of the Tunisian Muslims asks to go to Portugal, because in Calicut there are rumors of him being a Christian envoy, which make him fear for his life; Gama seemingly accepts his petition, because, during the return journey, Velho mentions some letters "escritas en mourisco por mão de um mouro que connosco vinha" (64, 69).

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda individualizes one of the two Muslims from Tunis as a Berber named Bõtaibo or Mõçaide, who "sabia falar castelhano, & conhecia muyto bem os Portugueses"; this Muslim advises Gama "como amigo" and saves his life by warning him that the king of Calicut wants to behead him "por induzimẽnto dos mouros, q̃ tinhão feito crer a el rey q̃ erão ladrões, & andauão a furtar" (1: 41, 53, 61). Castanheda also mentions the letter written by him, but not that he accompanies the Portuguese on their way home; instead, Castanheda includes another Muslim whose conversion seems to be the basis for Monçaide's baptism in *Os Lusíadas* (1: 65). On the island of Anjediva, the Portuguese capture a Muslim who is soon baptized and godfathered by Gama; unfortunately, he ends up shattering the Christians' evangelizing project by becoming a Jew: "E este se tornou despois Christão, & Vasco da gama q̃ foy seu padrinho lhe pos nome Gaspar á hõrra dũ dos tres Reys magos, & deulhe ho seu apelido da gama, & despois se disse que este Gaspar da gama era judeu por se achar q̃ fora casado com hũa judia que moraua em Cochim" (Castanheda 1: 68-69).[135]

[135] Velho presents this same event in a very different way. According to Velho, a man who "falava muito bem veneziano" tried to make the Portuguese believe that he was a Christian captive; after confessing under torture that he was a spy, he became imprisoned by Gama (74-77). Velho never clarifies this spy's religion and he does not mention his conversion to Christianity.

João de Barros published the first volume of *Ásia* in 1552, only one year after Castanheda published the first volume of his *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia*. Because of this, both authors probably worked with similar sources, but could not imitate each other's narrative of Gama's journey. According to Barros, "Monsaide" or "Monçaide" "era natural do reino de Tunes e tevera já comunicação com os portugueses em a cidade Ourão"; immediately after presenting him, Barros adds that "da hora que entrou em os navios assi se fêz familiar a Vasco da Gama, que se veo com êle pera êste reino onde morreu cristão" (1: 157). Monçaide's natural predisposition to befriend the Portuguese and accept Christianity is a mystery that intrigues Barros: the author considers the possibility of Monçaide being influenced by the longing for his Mediterranean homeland or "qualquer outra boa disposição," but he prefers a more supernatural, and selfish, explanation: "Parece que Deus o trouxe àquelas partes pera proveito nosso" (1: 157). Some pages later, Barros includes Monçaide's salvation and his service to the Portuguese in the same divine plan: "Parece que o chamava Deus por algũa boa disposição que nêle havia para se salvar, segundo logo mostrou na verdade que tratava e fiéis conselhos que deu" (1: 159). Barros also mentions Gaspar de Gama, but in his account Gaspar is a Polish Jew that, when threatened with torture, attributes the arrival of the Portuguese to God's mercy for him and other non-Christians:

> A vinda dêles naquelas partes, lhe parecia que não era sòmente por salvação dêle, mas ainda pola de tantas mil almas como havia no gentio daquelas partes. Porque não estava em razão homens tam ocidentais como era a gente português, os quais viviam nos fins da terra, virem às partes do Oriente per tanta distância de mares e caminhos não sabidos, senão pera algum grande mistério que Deus queria obrar per êles (1: 172).

The importance of providentialism for Barros obviously excludes the possibility of Gaspar later recanting his embrace of Christianity, as in Castanheda's

account. In Barros, the conversions of Monçaide and Gaspar prove how the Portuguese have been chosen by God to conquer and evangelize the world.

Damião de Góis, finally, does not add much to Barros's account, except by exaggerating Monçaide's good disposition to the point that during his first encounter with the Portuguese he immediately promises "que em tudo ho que naquella terra pudesse seruir elRei dom Emanuel ho faria, se ho nisso quisessem occupar" (1:89). As in Barros, his conversion is emphasized by Góis as definitive: Monçaide accompanied Gama to Portugal and left "ha seita de Mafamede, em que nasçera pola lei de nosso Senhor Iesu Christo, em q̃ viueo, & acabou quomo bom, & catholico Christão" (1: 95). Góis also follows Barros when presenting Gaspar de Gama as a Polish Jew and stressing the sincerity of his conversion: "Se fez Christão, & lhe chamarão Gaspar da gama, do qual se elRei dom Emanuel depois seruio em muitos negoçios na India, & ho fez caualleiro de sua casa, dandolhe tenças, ordenados, & offiçios de que se menteue toda sua vida abastadamente" (1: 105). In this way, Góis refutes Castanheda's more problematic account and highlights that conversion is not only a religious, but also a political process, by which Muslims become subjects of the king of Portugal and collaborators in his imperial projects.

Camões's literary decisions regarding the figure of Monçaide are very different to those taken with the character of the king of Melinde. In previous chronicles, the king was a marginal figure, which simply demonstrated how Providence protected the Portuguese even in distant lands and through the unlikely help of a Muslim. His presence in one or two pages of the chronicles was expanded by Camões to five of the ten cantos of *Os Lusíadas*, even if in most of them the king's only function is listening admiringly to Gama's account of the history of Portugal and his expedition to India. In the case of Monçaide, Camões had many more narrative elements to gather from the chronicles, and some of them contradicted each other or intermingled with the story of Gaspar da Gama's conversion. Therefore, instead of expanding the figure of Monçaide, Camões simplified and

clarified it, basing his depiction on a few key elements: his origin, his sympathy for the Portuguese, his service to them, and his final conversion. Camões eliminated anything that did not support one of those aspects, such as the other Muslim from Tunis or Gaspar de Gama, whose Christianization simply transformed into Monçaide's conversion story.

As in most of *Os Lusíadas*, Camões adds or substracts details from the chronicles, but does not modify what he keeps. Therefore, his portrayal of Monçaide remains very faithful to the previous accounts. He is "um Mahometa, que nascido / fora na região da Berberia" and who speaks "a língua Hispana" (canto 7, sts. 24, 25). Monçaide's attraction to the Portuguese is due in part to his amazement at their unprecedented journey and in part to camaraderie toward his "neighbors" from the Western Mediterranean: he is initially "espantado [...] da grão viagem" and later joyous, because "alegria não pode ser tamanha / que achar gente vizinha em terra estranha" (canto 7, sts. 26, 27). The feeling is mutual: the first Portuguese that Monçaide invites to his home "como se longa fora já a amizade, / co ele come e bebe e lhe obedece"; when the Muslim arrives to Gama's ship, "o Capitão o abraça, em cabo ledo, / ouvindo clara a língua de Castela" (canto 7, sts. 28, 29). Like Gaspar de Gama in Barros's account, Monçaide becomes convinced that the nearly miraculous arrival of the Portuguese to India proves that they are carrying a divine mission. He tells the newcomers:

> Deus, por certo, vos traz, porque pretende
>
> algum serviço seu por vós obrado;
>
> por isso só vos guia e vos defende
>
> dos imigos, do mar, do vento irado (canto 7, st. 31).

Camões ingeniously avoids some chronicles' long descriptions of the physical and human geography of India by instead using Monçaide to introduce the

Portuguese explorers and the reader to the history, society, politics, and customs of Malabar, the Indian region dominated by Calicut. At the same time, Monçaide presents the Portuguese to the Samorim or king of Calicut, and his main minister, the Catual. Although the Samorim and his courtiers are Hindus, the stay of Gama in India is determined by his relationships with Muslims: Monçaide's efforts to build trust between the Portuguese and the Indians are frustrated by Muslim advisors and traders that sow discord among them. When the other Muslims of Calicut plot to delay Gama's mission until ships come from Mecca to destroy the Portuguese, Monçaide saves the Christian explorers thanks to his adhesion to Islam: in regard to him, "se os Mouros não guardavam / por ser Mouro como eles (antes era / participante em quanto maquinavam)" (canto 9, st. 6). And while other Muslims are influenced by the devil and Bacchus, Monçaide is inspired by God:

> O Governador dos Céus e gentes,
>
> que, pera quanto tem determinado,
>
> de longe os meios dá convenientes
>
> por onde vem a efeito o fim fadado,
>
> influiu piadosos acidentes
>
> de afeição em Monçaide (canto 9, st. 5).

This attribution of Monçaide's actions to divine Providence agrees with Barros's account, and Camões follows him and Góis when he states not only the Muslim's conversion, but also his eventual salvation: Monçaide "guardado / estava pera dar ao Gama aviso / e merecer por isso o Paraíso" (canto 9, st. 6). Because of this, Camões rejoices at Monçaide's good fortune:

> Ditoso Africano, que a clemência
>
> divina assi tirou de escura treva,

e tão longe da pátria achou maneira

pera subir à pátria verdadeira! (canto 9, st. 15).

In sum, while all the details of Monçaide's story come from previous narratives, the main difference between those accounts and the one in *Os Lusíadas* is the explicit intervention of Providence, which some chroniclers had supposed and suggested, but did not dare to affirm with Camões's certainty. Monçaide, therefore, becomes one more element in *Os Lusíadas*' vast interpretation of Portuguese history as a God-designed road to empire. In this divine plan, Muslims are equally useful as allies and enemies, as collaborators or sources of wealth and prestige. Indeed, since the Portuguese empire was more of a vastly spread commercial network than a traditional aggregation of territories and subjects, good relationships with locals was a key component of its expansion. For this reason, and despite all the crusading and Islamophobic discourses previously mentioned, Portuguese chronicles and other documents are also sprinkled with appeals to mercy towards Muslims and to collaboration with them, because of moral motives, commercial purposes, or a combination of both.

In the same pages of the *Leal conselheiro* in which King Duarte advocates for fighting Muslims in Africa and invading their territories, he moderates these actions according to the rules of any just war: Christian participants in such conflicts "podem matar, ferir e roubar, segundo per seu rey e senhor for ordenado"; however, they have to do this "husando porem de piedade quanto mais poderem, com reguardo de seu serviço, naquelles casos que per boos confessores e leterados nos for determinado, assy nos outros nom a devemos mais alargar por seguirmos nossas voontades do que elles aprovarem" (270). Duarte gives similar advice to Henrique in a letter of 1437, when the *infante* was preparing to attack Tangier: the king recommends to his brother "que ajais piedade e misericordia, em toda coussa que rrazoadamente a poderdes auer, mandando gardar de morte as molheres, moços e

desposados e os presos, quando sem periguo bem saluar se poderem" (*Monumenta Henricina* 6: 106). Besides mercy towards helpless victims and respect for the principles of a just war, there were two other, more practical reasons not to pursue the extermination of African Muslims: the incapacity of Portugal to defeat them and their importance for Mediterranean trade. After the Portuguese conquered Ceuta in 1415, the African trade route simply moved to Tangier and the attempt by the Avis House to take this city in 1437 ended up in a debacle. By the mid-fifteenth century, a combination of military impotence and commercial needs softened also the more aggressive aspects of Portuguese imperialism in West Africa: "Since 1444, as a result of defeats suffered by the soldiers and sailors aboard the caravels at the hands of the black warriors of Senegambia, Prince Henry had decreed that crusading there was to be replaced by peaceful trading" (Russell 154-155). Even the papacy agreed to grant concessions to the Portuguese so they could continue doing business with their supposed enemies. In 1437, for example, King Duarte wrote to Eugene IV to ask for the same permission to negotiate with Muslims that Martin V had conceded to King João I: the Pope responded positively with the bull "Preclaris tue deuotionis," which only prohibited the trade of some specific goods, such as tools and weapons (*Monumenta Henricina* 6: 58-61). The reason alleged by kings and popes to tolerate or even encourage these exchanges was their supposed benefits for Christendom: other bulls, like "Romanus pontifex" in 1481 or "Sedes apostolice benigna" in 1505, absolved those Portuguese who had been excommunicated for trading with Muslims and pagans, since a collateral effect was the conversion of some non-Christian slaves or commercial partners (*Alguns documentos* 46, 141). Despite these pious excuses, missionary efforts in Africa were seemingly very poor or non-existent until the reign of João II, in the last decades of the fifteenth century: "All the evidence suggests that, until John's time, this [evangelizing in Guinea] was not really attempted at all, despite assurances to Rome that the work was proceeding apace. It was John II who, for the first time, seriously set about trying to give some semblance of reality to the

Portuguese commitment" (Russell 155). João II himself, however, "owned unbaptized slaves who retained their African names of Tanba, Tonba and Baybry" and even in the Portuguese court "there does not seem to have been much pressure" for Africans to convert (Saunders 40).

When the Portuguese campaigns overseas acquired a definitive penchant for gold, slaves, and spices, writers had to deal somehow with the contradiction between the idealistic religious war against Muslims and the quotidian commercial relations with them. Zurara's crusading rhetoric, which filled many pages in the *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta,* became increasingly inconsistent in his later *Cronica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné*: "Whatever crusading mentality Zurara invokes in *Guiné* is a kind of performance, a remnant of a previous discursive tradition that seeks to justify the raw capitalist underpinnings of the Guinean expeditions with the hallowed veneer of militant Christianity" (Blackmore, *Moorings* 44). Barros, who at the beginning of his *Ásia* wrote that all Portuguese kings seemed to have inherited from Afonso Henriques a "contínua guerra com esta pérfida gente dos arábios," later defended mercy and collaboration with non-Christians as political strategies by contrasting the experiences of different imperial administrators: Jorge de Meneses offended the inhabitants of the Moluccas with his cruelty and caused the isolation and poverty of the Portuguese colonizers; Nuno da Cunha, instead, allied with the "mouros honrados" of Melinde and invited them to Mombasa in order to protect the recently conquered city (1: 11; 4: 122; 4: 144).

How to reconcile the religious and commercial purposes of the empire, along with how to define the treatment of Muslims accordingly, become two especially crucial problems in *Os Lusíadas* because the materialistic purposes of Vasco da Gama's expedition were so evident:

> Desde que Bartolomeu Dias passara a ponta meridional do continente de África, o problema do caminho da Índia—o problema náutico e

> geográfico—, era um problema resolvido. Foi Bartolomeu Dias, por isso, o último representante do tipo de descobridor, criado pelo infante D. Henrique: homens de condição modesta, dedicados às coisas do mar. Agora, com efeito, já se não tratava de descobrir: pretendia-se organizar na Índia a compra e expedição das mercadorias, e negociar diplomàticamente, para esse efeito, com os soberanos orientais. O rei, por consequência, não escolheu um homem do mar para chefe da expedição, mas um nobre, capaz da categoria de seu enviado: Vasco da Gama (Sérgio 59).

Such pedestrian purposes did not fit well with the religious propaganda that surrounded Portuguese imperial endeavors. Vasco da Gama himself, according to Velho, denied the commercial goals of his mission during his first encounter with the king of Calicut: Gama declared that the Portuguese kings sent expeditions to the East "porquanto sabiam que, em aquelas partes, havia reis cristãos como eles. E que, por este respeito, mandavam a descobrir esta terra; e não porque lhes fosse necessário ouro nem prata, porque tinham tanto em abumdância que lhes não era necessãrio havê-los desta terra" (47). A similar repudiation of material interests would be a logical strategy for the ambitious plan of Camões's epic, in which Gama's trip is the glorious culmination of centuries of Portuguese feats at the service of God. Lawrence Lipking affirms that such a denial is present in the poem by stating that "*Os Lusíadas* managed imperiously to suppress the base commercial motives or lust for profit that fueled da Gama's voyage," while agreeing with Richard Helgerson on how "to Camões, an 'epic of commerce' would have seemed a ridiculous paradox" because "he seized on the ancient heroic genre precisely because it so obviously legitimated the military ethos of the feudal nobility to which he belonged" (Lipking 166, Helgerson 190). However, both Lipking and Helgerson are contradicted by the epic itself: in the same episode of the first encounter between Gama and the

Samorim, Camões replaces the denial of commercial motives in Velho's narrative by an explicit defense of them. Gama says to the Indian king:

> E se queres, com pactos e lianças
>
> de paz e de amizade, sacra e nua,
>
> comércio consentir das abondanças
>
> das fazendas da terra sua e tua,
>
> por que creçam as rendas e abastanças
>
> (por quem a gente mais trabalha e sua)
>
> de vossos Reinos, será certamente
>
> de ti proveito, e dele glória ingente (canto 7, st. 62).

In this stanza, Camões clarifies the connections between imperial expansion and good trading relationships with other peoples: commerce is the base for an extended peace across distant lands and cultures. It is true, as Lipking insists, that even in the historical record purely pragmatic reasons are not enough to explain the risks and sacrifices of Portuguese explorers: "Self-interest alone would hardly have spurred da Gama and his men; fewer than 1/3 of those who set out returned, and they did not come back rich. [...] For those who gave their lives to the nation, trade was *not* the point" (167). However, it is also true that "é o empreendimiento do comércio (do comércio externo, dir-se-ia hoje) que constitui a base material e histórica da aventura em *Os Lusíadas*," in Fernando Luso Soares's words (57). For Camões, imperialistic ideals or the search for glory do not contradict commercial purposes. As Balachandra Rajan succinctly puts it, "commerce is the ally of imperialism, not its replacement" (184-185).

Even if the Portuguese had preferred to dispense with Muslim help in the trade routes of the Indian Ocean, it would have been impossible: despite their

political and economic impact, "the Portuguese were able to hold only certain crucial ports; in many ports and in some of the hinterland, the Muslims continued to be the most powerful single element wherever a non-Islamicate culture had not been sufficiently deeply entrenched" (Hodgson 2: 573-574). The need for Muslim collaborators was part of a more general necessity for the assistance of any locals, because of Portugal's "'imperfect' domination of Asian commerce" (Madureira 27-28). As Russell-Wood argues, the Portuguese empire was built using not only the bodies and strength of non-Europeans, but also their minds and wills, just like in the case of Monçaide: "Indigenous peoples of Africa, India, and Asia, met not only the physical demands—sexual, military, transportation, and labour—of Portuguese overseas, but provided them with skills, information, and intelligence, which contributed substantially to what used to be referred to as 'the expansion of Europe'" (*Portuguese Empire* 18). Because of this, Camões could not just demonize all non-Christians when narrating the building of the Portuguese empire, despite his many prejudices against them and especially against Muslims, who are mentioned with more hatred in his lyrical poems than in *Os Lusíadas*. In an eclogue, for example, he presents a hero eager to stain his lance "naquele infido sangue Mauritano" (*Rimas* 313). In one of his sonnets, Camões wishes that "o roxo mar [literally, the Red Sea], daqui em diante, / o seja só co sangue de Turquia!" (*Rimas* 197). In comparison with these bloodthirsty fantasies of his lyric poems, Camões depicts most of the non-collaborating Muslims of *Os Lusíadas* as misguided, but not intrinsically evil, and certainly not as enemies to just be exterminated. An important mitigating factor is the role of Bacchus: thanks to the god's malicious schemes, the hostility of Muslim characters is at least partly disconnected from their religious, ethnic, and cultural difference. Unlike Barros and his belief in a "natural ódio que lhe tẽem tôdolos mouros [...] ao nome cristão," Camões implies that the conflict between Christians and Muslims is traditional, expectable and maybe never-ending, but not natural (Barros 1: 149). In Africa and India, most Muslims do not clash with the Portuguese

until Bacchus intervenes and deceives them: Bacchus pretends to be an old counselor to the king of Mozambique and impersonates Muhammad in the dreams of a Muslim "sacerdote" in Calicut, while accusing the Portuguese of piracy and murderous intentions (canto 1, sts. 77-82; canto 8, sts. 47-51). In India, Bacchus even receives help from the devil, which shows the necessity of a determined effort by several supernatural powers in turning Muslims against Gama and his men (canto 8, st. 46). The role of Bacchus, therefore, not only partly exculpates Muslims from their opposition to Portugal, but also underscores their proclivity to become allies or subjects to Christians: what Bacchus and the devil fear is the likely submission of non-Christians to the true God and his earthly empire. In addition, subjugating Muslims may reasonably be interpreted from this perspective as a charitable act, a way to liberate them from the diabolic influences that keep them away from the Christian faith.

Camões's concessions to trading with non-Christians and creating alliances with them derive also from his contemporaries' increasing conscience of the many failures and shortcomings of the imperial project. Several Portuguese authors wrote expansively on this topic and, while their works were not published until decades or centuries later, the accumulation of evidence shows that their complaints were not isolated cases. Some of these critics focused on the dysfunctional operation of the empire, in which religious and political goals, surrounded by solemn discourses and pomp, were daily hindered by selfish ambitions. The habit of writing these grievances in the voice of a world-weary soldier became "part and parcel of a tradition of criticizing imperial practice, to the point of creating a literary commonplace, the grumbling soldier (*o soldado quexoso*)" (Moser, "Grumbling Veterans" 104). The best-known of such *soldados quexosos* is *O soldado prático* created by Diogo do Couto, who wrote two versions of the same catalog of complaints and suggestions made by an old soldier to a viceroy or governor of

India.[136] In the first version of this book, the old soldier not only scolds administrators and military leaders, but also excoriates the commercial interests of the king of Portugal: when the viceroy comments that the ruler of the Turks seemingly "mais senhoreia a terra por nossos pecados, que por poder e forças humanas," the soldier replies:

> Não me espanta nada disso; porque ele conforma as obras com o apelido, e chama-se Grão-Senhor do Mundo, trabalha pelo senhorear e meter debaixo do seu poder, e não se chama senhor de comércios, nem contratações, navegações como o nosso Rei; porque reinos não se ganharam nunca, nem guardaram de poder de inimigos, comprando e vendendo, senão morrendo e defendendo-lhes honras e mercês (*O primeiro soldado prático* 488-489).

This is a direct allusion to the unusual titles of the monarchs of Portugal, who since the reign of King Manuel added "senhor da conquista, navegação e comércio da Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e da Índia" to their traditional denomination as "rei de Portugal e dos Algarves." In the second version of the text, Couto attributes the misfortunes of the empire to God's wrath for the Portuguese' sins, and compares their catastrophic fate to that of the Christians of Iberia during the Muslim conquest of 711:

> Não ficou sem estes castigos a opulenta Espanha; porque por pecados veio a ser entregue a Mouros; nem escapou o nosso Portugal, porque, segundo se entende, por injustiças lhe mandou Deus terremotos, pestes, fomes; e inda nos acabou de castigar naquela passage de África, onde em duro cativeiro acabaram tantos as vidas, e os grandes

[136] The first of these texts is the *Soldado prático português*, which appears in the codex A-1572 of the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. When Couto's original manuscript was stolen and copied without his permission, he wrote the second version, entitled *Diálogo do soldado prático que trata dos enganos e desenganos da Índia*.

> conheceram que havia Deus; e disso acabámos de perder entre todas as nações o crédito (*O soldado prático* 136).

Along with criticizing the religious and moral deficiencies of the Portuguese like Couto does, other authors also highlight their tragic consequences for subjugated non-Christians, therefore unsettling one of the ideological foundations of the empire: its alleged religious, moral, and civilizing benefits for the colonized. Gaspar Correia, for example, tells the story of the Muslim ruler of Tanor, whose generosity and hospitality towards the Portuguese "lhe custou total destroyção de sua pessoa e fazenda, que assy aconteceo a todos os mouros e gentios que se arriscarão por nossa amizade" (2: 679). As noticed by Correia, the consequences of Portuguese colonialism affected not only Muslims, but all non-Europeans in a similar way. For instance, Fernão Mendes Pinto writes empathetically on the anger of a Chinese child when the Portuguese took "em menos de huma hora o que elle [su padre] ganhou em mais de trinta annos" and then offered him to convert to Christianity (182-183). According to Mendes Pinto, the "morte de doze mil pessoas Christãs, em que entrarão oitocentos Portugueses, os quais forão todos queimados viuos" was not caused by the cruelty of the Chinese authorities, but by the unrestrained greed of the Portuguese; even worse for the purposes of the empire, a collateral effect was "ficarmos tão desacreditados na terra, que não auia quem nos quisesse ver, dizendo que eramos nós huns demonios em carne humana, gerados por maldição da ira de Deus para castigo de peccadores" (777).

As previously mentioned and for obvious reasons, the works that more openly criticized the empire did not enjoy the same support and reception of *Os Lusíadas* or the official chronicles. Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* was published in 1614, three decades after his death. Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da Índia* stayed unpublished until the nineteenth century. Even *O soldado prático*, despite Diogo do Couto's several official positions and his work as continuator of Barros's *Ásia*, was only published in 1790. However, their writings reflected an extended

anxiety, whose roots are perceived by Russel-Wood even in previous authors like Zurara and Barros, who "faced the problem of how to avoid equating the quest for 'honor' (a noble pursuit) with material gains derived from plunder, looting, and pillage (all plebeian activities)" ("Iberian Expansion" 29). This complicated conscience about the simultaneously glorious and shameful aspects of the empire are found in all genres, including the poetry of Sá de Miranda and the comedies of Gil Vicente, adds Russell-Wood, but "perhaps nowhere in Portuguese literature of the sixteenth century was the double standard more apparent than in the very epic of Portuguese expansion—the *Lusíadas* (1572) of Luís Vaz de Camões—which expressed the doubts and ideological contradictions of an entire era" ("Iberian Expansion" 29). Because of Camões's direct experience with Portuguese colonialism in Africa and Asia, it would have been impossible for him not to notice the same problems denounced by Couto, Correia, or Mendes Pinto. In fact, "in Camões's single letter home from Goa, which he labels 'the mother of villains and stepmother of honest men,' there is already a strong whiff of what was later to be recognizable as the odour of an empire in decline" (L. White x). In *Os Lusíadas*, however, most of Camões's doubts on the imperial project appear so infrequently that they are easy to miss. One of those moments happens at the end of canto 7, in which Camões complains about the treatment that he has received from the Portuguese nobility:

> Vede, Ninfas, que engenhos de senhores
>
> o vosso Tejo cria valerosos,
>
> que assi sabem prezar, com tais favores,
>
> a quem os faz, cantando, gloriosos! (canto 7, st. 82).

Because of this, Camões clarifies that his poem will praise only those "que aventuraram / por seu Deus, por seu Rei, a amada vida" and will not mention other agents of the empire who sound very similar to those criticized by Couto or Correia: "quem ao bem comum e do seu Rei / antepuser seu próprio interesse," for example,

or the "ambicioso que quisesse / subir a grandes cargos," or the one who "não acha que é justo e bom respeito / que se pague o suor da servil gente" (canto 7, sts. 84-87). Such negative types flatly contradict Camões's words at the end of the poem, when he affirms that King Sebastião is "senhor só de vassalos excelentes" (canto 10, st. 146). Strangely enough, this last line is also challenged by the preceding stanza, in which Camões complains about singing to "gente surda e endurecida" and declares that his "pátria" "está metida / no gosto da cobiça e na rudeza / dũa austera, apagada e vil tristeza" (canto 10, st. 145).

The appearance of those contradictions even in contiguous stanzas illuminates the puzzling episode of the "velho do Restelo," a long passage that has fascinated and confused critics because of its blistering critique of Portuguese imperial endeavors. At the end of canto 4, when Gama and his men are setting sail to begin their trip to India, "um velho, d' aspeito venerando" spoils the emotional goodbyes by mothers, wives, and sisters by loudly ranting on the "glória de mandar" and the "vã cobiça / desta vaidade a quem chamamos Fama" (canto 4, sts. 94-95). According to the old man, explorers are enticed by a "nome preminente" or "promessas de reinos e de minas / d' ouro," but they and their kingdom are only heading towards "novos desastres," "perigos," and "mortes" (canto 4, st. 97). The old man then demolishes the religious justifications for Portuguese expeditions, as if he were replying to the epic's author:

> Não tens junto contigo o Ismaelita,
>
> com quem sempre terás guerras sobejas?
>
> Não segue ele do Arábio a lei maldita,
>
> se tu pola de Cristo só pelejas?
>
> [...] Deixas criar às portas o inimigo,
>
> por ires buscar outro de tão longe,

por quem se despovoe o Reino antigo,

se enfraqueça e se vá deitando a longe (canto 4, sts. 100-101).

The "velho do Restelo" is venerable, eloquent, and entirely right: if the Portuguese really mean to defend Christendom and fight Muslims, they are only wasting time, men, and resources in the Red Sea or India, because Islam continues dominating the north of Africa. Some scholars have found the old man so convincing that they have assumed that he represents the authentic position of Camões, half-buried among the praises to the empire that fill the rest of the poem. Jack Tomlins, for instance, thinks that this "condemnation of Lusitanian pride and lust for power" reflects the real feelings of "an aging and bitter soldier-poet of the Crown after seventeen years of incredible vexations in the Orient" (174). José Madeira wrote an entire book using a handful of episodes of *Os Lusíadas*, including this one, to demostrate that the imperial expansion of Portugal represents for Camões "uma loucura, uma imprudência, resultante da ignorância de quem a promove ou nela participa, porque impossível e trágica" (253). According to Madeira, Camões vehemently and heroically opposed the empire and, along with it, "uma panóplia de valores constitutivos da civilização ocidental, no mais radical afrontamento de que, quanto a nós, jamais foi capaz um poeta ou um homem" (57). But this view of a Promethean Camões is, in Subrahmanyam's opinion, incompatible with both "the thrusting weight of the text in its dominant (and most understood) mode" and the biography of the author, who "in fact spent roughly fourteen years, from 1553 to 1567, in Portuguese Asia, as a soldier and a minor administrator" (159, 155). Additionally, "almost every line of the [old man's] speech, as the commentators have been eager to demonstrate, echoes early writers," including texts by Barros that reproduced the "widespread opposition voiced in the general assemblies and royal council meetings during the reigns of João II, Manuel, and João III," as well as "similar outbursts in the writings of the humanists, from Erasmus of Roterdam to Fray Luis de León, including Camões' countrymen, the poets Sá de Miranda and

António Ferreira" (Moser, "What Did the Old Man" 141). In this episode, therefore, Camões is not baring his soul: he is quoting the opinions of others, including those presented by Barros, one of his main sources, as a nuisance for the imperial plans of Portuguese monarchs.

In sum, Camões uses the "velho do Restelo," as well as his own occasional criticisms against some unpleasant elements in the Portuguese expansionist project, to acknowledge the imperfections of daily reality, but without letting them tarnish the imperial ideal. In *Os Lusíadas*, as Richard Preto-Rodas says, "one finds the coexistence of incongruities in the poet's reverence for traditional standards and official ideology coupled with a hearty respect for the rough and tumble of harsh reality that tends to mock such standards and ideology" (xiii). However, those "doubts about the imperial mission [...] are marginalized in relation to a triumphalist core. They circulate at the fringes of an undertaking that seems determined not to allow them into its space" (Rajan 181). In such fault-finding passages, Camões is applying a rhetoric strategy used by many chroniclers, from Zurara to Barros: all of them register the voices of the contrarians, the unfair critics, the apprehensive and the luddites, to later prove them wrong with the extraordinary achievements of the Portuguese warriors and explorers. In this sense, the episode of the old man represents the system "essencialmente alternativo e como tal crítico e dialéctico" utilized by Camões to present his ideas, according to Macedo: "O Velho do Restelo é a aplicação do sistema de exposição usado por Camões onde se expõe o acontecimento que se vai a entregar à fama e logo a seguir se expõe, a seu respeito, o reverso da medalha" *("Os Lusíadas"* 84, 87). The "velho do Restelo" can question the wisdom of crossing half the world to go fight or convert non-Christians, when there are so many still in Iberia and around the Mediterranean; however, for Camões and his reader those doubts are myopic and become meaningless once the goddess Thetis shows to Gama, at the end of the poem, the miraculous development of the Portuguese empire all over the world, including China, Japan, "pelos mares do

Oriente / as infinitas Ilhas espalhadas," and finally "a grande terra que contina / vai de Calisto ao seu contrário Pólo," that is, the Americas (canto 10, sts. 132, 139). Expansion is as essential to Portugal as its Catholicism or its opposition to Muslims. To set Portugal's imperialism against its religiosity, as the old man of Restelo does, constitutes an absurd premise for Camões, as it was for most of the sources he used for his epic.

Camões seemed to firmly believe that Portugal's glory would know no end: according to *Os Lusíadas*, Portugal has a "nome eterno" and Thetis's final prophecies make clear that the empire is destined to dominate this world, "pousada dos humanos," where "se apousentam / várias nações que mandam vários Reis, / vários costumes seus e várias leis" (canto 6, st. 52; canto 10, st. 91). That variety of rulers, customs and laws was to be finally replaced by others imposed by the Portuguese, because, according to Jupiter, "por eles, de tudo enfim senhores, / serão dadas na terra leis milhores" (canto 2, st. 46). For Camões, the eternal expansion and duration of the empire had been decreed by Providence not only to benefit Portugal, but to make the entire world better, and this grandiose purpose ultimately excused any temporary setbacks or blemishes in the imperial project. His triumphalism, however, was doomed to die out in a few years. The last stanza of *Os Lusíadas* praises King Sebastião and wishes him good fortune, while referencing the prophecies made by Jupiter in cantos 1 and 2: comparing one more time Portugal's feats with those of the great empires of Antiquity, Camões expects that "em todo o mundo de vós [Sebastião] cante, / de sorte que Alexandro em vós se veja, / sem à dita de Aquiles ter enveja" (canto 10, st. 156). Contrary to Camões's desires, things could not have gone worse for his king. In 1578, only six years after the publication of *Os Lusíadas*, Sebastião died in Alcácer Quibir, fighting against the sultan of Morocco and his Ottoman allies. The Avis House, which built the foundations of the Portuguese empire on its fight against North African Muslims, was finally defeated and made disappear by the descendants of those same adversaries. Because the 24-year-old

king did not have immediate heirs, a dynastic crisis ensued and Portugal ended up being annexed to Spain by Felipe II. It took six decades for the Portuguese to recover their independence.

Despite its ultimate failure, the Portuguese empire was destined to be everlasting in a very different way than that dreamed by Camões. Portugal, "the first consciously imperial European state" in C. R. Boxer's words, deeply influenced the legal and political ideas of other Christian powers, including those that regulated their relations to colonized peoples (73). What is now known as the "Doctrine of Discovery," or the right of European nations to conquer lands inhabited by non-Christians, evolved from the rights granted by medieval and early modern popes to the kings of Portugal and was later adapted by other imperial powers, including the United States, to justify their own territorial expansion (Miller 9-22).[137] In unexpected ways, therefore, Camões and the Portuguese chroniclers who inspired him ended up contributing to worldwide imperialism, but not necessarily to the advantage of the empire they served. In a similar way, their depiction of religious and cultural difference, mainly focused on their Muslim archenemies, determined the fates of other non-Christians, including the completely unrelated natives of the Americas. While the Portuguese failed to fulfill the glorious destiny that Camões and others had envisioned, they were outlived by the influential myths that surrounded their imperial project, including their religious justification of territorial expansion and the Providential exceptionalism that convinced them of their superiority over all other nations.

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[137] Although "scholars have traced the Doctrine as far back as the fifth century AD when, they argue, the Roman Catholic Church and various popes began establishing the idea of a worldwide papal jurisdiction," the fifteenth-century dialogue constituted by Portugal's petitions and Rome's responses "helped refine the European definition of the Doctrine of Discovery" by appealing to "the perceived need to protect natives from the oppression of others and to lead them to civilization and religious conversion under papal guidance"(Miller 9, 11).

Conclusion.

Christian Imperialism and Intercultural Exchanges Beyond Iberia.

For centuries, the Iberian Peninsula has simultaneously suffered and exploited its differences from the rest of Europe, particularly the cultural legacy of medieval Muslims. Especially in the case of Spain, its intercultural medieval past has had significant and varied repercussions, from its touristic and literary exoticization to its marginalization in academic settings:

> Spain, as a space marked by Moorishness, has long been considered somehow beyond Europe. Efforts to render Spain African, I argue, reinforced and were reinforced by the Black Legend, with profound consequences for the marginalization of Spain within Europe. The early modern construction of Spain in this vein underlies the much later vision of an exotic nation in a high imperialist mode, as a colorful Andalucía of Moors and gypsies comes synecdochically to represent the nation for Europe. It also ensured the disciplinary marginalization of Spanish, as somehow less European, in historical and literary studies, particularly in the Anglo-American academy (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 4).

It is telling that *Orientalism*, the famous book by Edward Said, contains eight isolated mentions of Spain and four of Portugal in its more than 300 pages—in comparison, Germany is mentioned more than 20 times, and France and England appear constantly throughout the text (357, 364, 367). Because Said's book is about "Orientalism" as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident,'" his approach works well when dealing with the attitudes of "an Englishman in India or Egypt in the later nineteenth century," but it is much less pertinent in an age and

place with blurrier "ontological and epistemological distinctions" (*Orientalism* 2, 11). Therefore, the challenge for those who work with intercultural relations in medieval Iberia is not only trying to better comprehend their object of study, but also making their work understandable and relatable to other scholars and readers with vastly different views on what Europe, the Middle Ages, or Muslim-Christian relationships are. As Michelle Hamilton and Núria Silleras-Fernández point out, "many Hispanists have called attention to Spain's marginalization or exclusion from the traditional master narratives of European history elaborated by northern European scholars who, consciously or not, presumed, as in the famous quip attributed to Dumas, that 'Africa begins at the Pyrenees'" (xii). In the case of medieval studies, a striking example of Iberian exclusion is Norman Cantor's 450-page book on "the founding era of medieval studies from 1895 to about 1965, through the lives, works, and ideas of the great medievalists," without a single mention of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Américo Castro, or any other Hispanist (7). Cantor does not address the reason for such an exclusion, but it is easy to deduce from his opinion on what he calls "the other Middle Ages":

> We have not dealt with the making of the other Middle Ages—primarily Arab, Byzantine, and Jewish. That is the subject of another inquiry. It is my personal prejudice that while these other medieval civilizations are of enormous importance not only intrinsically but in respect to their impact on the West, for a variety of reasons, including sheer chance, the magisterial intellectual structures that were created to privilege the European Middle Ages in the twentieth century were largely lacking with respect to the conceptualization of these other medieval societies. [...] I believe that while there has been a vast accumulation of information about these three non-Western medieval cultures, no one has yet written a great book on any of them (375).

Among those "variety of reasons, including sheer chance," that have marginalized "non-Western medieval cultures," there is an obvious one: racial and ethnic prejudices. The cultural traditions studied by Cantor and almost all the scholars whom he admires have one crucial difference in comparison with those that they so nonchalantly ignore: the first ones belong to Western European nations with a predominantly white population and a history of imperialism over non-whites. In the crossroads of racism and imperialism, Spain and Portugal occupy a complex and uncomfortable position: while these two nations had a central role in the early modern history of European imperialism, the medieval legacy of non-European and non-white peoples has often relegated them to the academic kitchen table of "the other Middle Ages," along with "Arabs," "Byzantines," and "Jews."

Unintentionally, Hispanists have sometimes contributed to their own marginality by emphasizing an exceptionalism according to which Iberian issues, especially when related to ethnic and cultural interactions, are unparalleled in the rest of Europe. As Maya Soifer indicates, Américo Castro's view of a multicultural "convivencia" was as nationalist as the views of his opponents who defended a purely Visigothic Spain, "uncontaminated" by Jews and Muslims. In both cases, the ultimate purpose was to present Spain as a singular nation, matchless among all European peoples. Because of this, "not surprisingly, some of Castro's intellectual heirs, whose gaze was steadily directed south, toward Islam and its military frontier with the Christian kingdoms, inadvertently perpetuated the nationalist myth of Spain's unique status in medieval Europe" (Soifer 27).

I have no intention of perpetuating the stereotype of an Iberia isolated from the rest of the world because of its unique multicultural legacy. The increasing dialogue between experts on different linguistic and cultural traditions have shown the abundant similarities among the medieval interactions of Christians, Muslims, and other groups across the Mediterranean, which have at the same time expanded

and transformed the methods of specific fields. In the case of Iberian studies, Hamilton and Silleras-Fernández affirm:

> The widening of our theoretical frame to consider Iberia as part of the shared space of the Mediterranean offers a method to examine the ways in which those living in and moving through the Iberian Peninsula—past and present—produced and responded to the richness of linguistic, cultural, and historical threads that extend far beyond the peninsula's geographical borders (xiii).

From that Mediterranean perspective, medieval Iberia is only one among many crucial nodes of especially intense exchanges between peoples: one of those privileged points of *connectivity* between Mediterranean *microecologies*, to borrow some terminology employed by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell.[138] This is why many cultural phenomena that Hispanists have traditionally considered as distinctive of the Iberian Peninsula are not, as described by Brian Catlos:

> Scientific, linguistic, and literary acculturation can be observed in what is now Italy, not only in the well-known context of the Norman court of Sicily, but on the mainland also. Analogues of *mudéjar* architecture can be observed in Sicily and Byzantium and in Syria-Palestine. Formal translation initiatives were not only undertaken in Spain, but in Pisa, Byzantium, Armenia, Antioch, and Egypt, to name only a few locales. In terms of linguistic integration, the influence of Arabic on Castilian pales with that on Maltese, whereas it simply displaced earlier vernaculars in Egypt and Syria-Palestine. And the

[138] For Horden and Purcell, the multicultural exchanges of Mediterranean peoples are a direct consequence of such connectivity: "The distinctiveness of Mediterranean history results (we propose) from the paradoxical coexistence of a milieu of relatively easy seaborne communications with a quite unusually fragmented topography of microregions in the sea's coastlands and islands" (5).

> adaption of cultural affectations, daily habits, and tastes in fashion between Christians, Muslims, and Jews was a fundamental characteristic of the region—if only for the simple reason that Mediterranean societies were so thoroughly heterogeneous, not only vis-à-vis the grand ecumenical divisions, but in terms of subgroups, and in terms of ethnic identities and other afilliations that cut across confessional lines ("Christian-Muslim-Jewish Relations" 9).

Because those kinds of exchanges were happening for centuries in multiple places from the Iberian Peninsula to the Middle East, and on the coasts of Africa and Asia as well as Europe, ambivalent representations of Muslims and their connection to imperial ambitions could not exist only in Castilian, Portuguese, and Catalan texts. On the one hand, a consequence of the many medieval conquests described by Robert Bartlett as part of "Europe's internal expansion" was that "everywhere from Ireland to Prussia to Andalusia to Hungary to Palestine, foreign conquerors and indigenous populations faced the difficult task of reconciling their differing cultural and social worlds" (Soifer 28-29). On the other hand, in the words of James Muldoon, "if we accept as a definition of empire, rule by force over several distinct peoples, it becomes clear that institutionally medieval Europe was a period in which virtually all attempts at large-scale governments were imperial in nature" (*Empire* 63). The union of these two factors helps understand how Norman Housley can notice a similar "mixture of what seems to be irreconcilable ways of viewing and dealing with the enemy" in medieval Iberia and in places as distant from it as Hungary and Croatia (*Religious Warfare* 16).

To offer just one non-Iberian literary work as an example, the association between imperial projects and ambivalent depictions of Muslims can clearly be observed in Dante Alighieri's *Commedia*. Besides being the best known European poet of the Middle Ages, Dante wrote an entire treatise on imperial issues, the *Monarchia*, which makes his political views on empire perfectly clear. In both the

Monarchia and the *Commedia*, Dante advocates for a central European power to keep different peoples at peace and, although most of the times he refers only to polities in the Italian Peninsula and their closest neighbors, he affirms the universality of such an empire. The far-fetched possibility of a world-wide empire is justified using ancient legends popularized by Virgil's *Aeneid*: because Romans descended from Aeneas, and Aeneas had three wives from different continents (Asian Creusa, African Dido, and European Lavinia), "romanus populus de iure, non usurpando, Monarche offitium, quod 'Imperium' dicitur, sibi super mortales omnes ascivit" ("by right, and not by usurpation, Roman people took on the monarch's office, which is called 'Empire,' over all mortals") (369). Dante's assertion of Christian and European supremacy puts him, however, in an awkward position when dealing with Muslims in the *Commedia*: on the one hand, Muslims are political and religious enemies of Christendom and, consequently, should be excluded from the universal empire dreamt by Dante; on the other hand, Muslim authors figure prominently among the literary and philosophical influences which made the *Commedia* possible. The need to reconcile his simultaneous condemnation of Islam and his admiration for Islamic culture forces Dante to commit a conspicuous leap of logic: although the character of Virgil clarifies to Dante that Limbo is a place only for innocent unbaptized children and non-Christians who lived before Jesus, the author decides to make an exception for the sultan Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, the philosopher Ibn Rushd, and the scientist Ibn Sīnā, three medieval Muslims whom he seems to admire no less than Homer, Aristotle, or Virgil himself (*Inferno,* canto 4, vv. 33-38, 129, 143, 144).[139] In this way, Dante finds a satisfactory, although faulty, solution to

[139] "The name of Avicenna is flanked by that of the great physicians Hippocrates and Galen, while at the feet of Aristotle is Averroës, who elaborated the great commentary on the Stagirite," explains Jan Ziolkowski: "Although the message may be foreign to many twenty-first-century eyes and ears, medieval readers would have shared the assumption underlying these lines that the ancient past and their present were unbroken—that the Muslims belonged on the same cultural continuum as the Christians (or the Jews)" (24). The inclusion of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn in the Limbo probably intended to show how this famous Ayyubid

his own ambivalence towards Muslims: despite Muhammad and ʿAlī being among the most grotesquely represented occupants of Hell, a few Muslims are incorporated into the Christian universal empire because of their cultural value, in the same way in which ancient classics are assimilated and Christianized throughout the entire *Commedia*.[140]

Dante was not totally foreign to the Iberian Peninsula: his mentor Brunetto Latini visited the court of Alfonso X of Castile and, because of that, some have hypothesized Dante's utilization of an Alfonsine version of the *miʿrāj,* or Muhammad's journey to Heaven, as inspiration for the *Commedia*.[141] However, such direct connection is unnecessary. As part of the Mediterranean world, Dante could have become familiarized with that Muslim narrative through multiple local and foreign contacts. In the same way, the similarities between Dante's political and cultural views and those of the Christian Iberian kingdoms do not need to be directly linked in order to be related. They are simply part of a cultural background common to not only European Christians and Muslims, but also to Jews, Byzantine Christians,

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Sultan had achieved as much military and political honor as the great rulers of the Greco-Roman tradition, in a similar way to how Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd had done the same in the fields of science and philosophy. On the many positive portrayals of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn in texts written by Christians, see the chapter "Mirror of Chivalry: Saladin in the Medieval European Imagination" in Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael* 79-100.

[140] Dante includes Muhammad and ʿAlī in the infernal *bolgia* of schismatics: Muhammad is split open from the chin to "dove si trulla," exposing his entrails; ʿAlī has a similar cut across his face (*Inferno*, canto 28, vv. 22-33).

[141] Although "already in the late eighteenth century, the Spanish Jesuit Juan, or Giovanni, Andrés (1740-1817), in a remarkable book on the origin of literature, expressed his opinion that Dante might have been inspired by Arabic traditions in the composition of his *Commedia*," this idea is better known through Miguel Asín Palacios and his book *La escatología musulmana en la* Divina Comedia, published in 1919 (Cantarino 32). Asín Palacios identified many similarities between passages by Dante and traditional narratives of Muhammad's night journey to Hell and Heaven ("al-'isrā' wal-miʿrāj"), as well as some possible connections between the *Commedia* and other Islamic texts, including works by the Andalusi mystic Ibn ʿArabī. On the visit of Brunetto Latini to the Castilian court, see the article by Holloway.

and others: a shared space in which "the economic, social, and political interdependence of members of these groups, coupled with their common religio-cultural orientation (i.e., "Abrahamic" and Perso-Hellenic) acted as a catalyst for political and social accommodation and polyvalent currents of acculturation, and as a framework for competition and conflict" (Catlos, "Christian-Muslim-Jewish Relations" 9). I fully agree with Catlos in that, from this Mediterranean perspective, "'medieval Spain' does not stand alone as exceptional, but perhaps provides many of the clearest examples of what were undeniably regional characteristics and trends" ("Christian-Muslim-Jewish Relations" 9).

The expansionism of imperialist ideas makes them especially adequate to create connections between different places and times. I have chosen five moments during the development of imperial projects in Iberian literature that progressively move from the more local context to the rest of the Mediterranean and then to East Africa and India. But the story, of course, does not end there. As I pointed out in my last chapter, the ambivalent dynamics of rejecting and incorporating difference were later transferred from Iberians' relationships with Muslims to their interactions with the natives of the Americas; at the same time, other European powers imitated imperial models and discourses from the Portuguese and Spanish projects. This dissertation is, therefore, a necessarily limited contribution to the examination of an endless tapestry of intercultural exchanges, developed through too many places, texts, and languages for any individual to have a full grasp of. Scholarly work is always a collaborative effort, and even more so for those who study the never-immobile and ever-expanding fields of interactions among ethnic, religious, and cultural communities. Just like characters in a literary work as crowded and complex as the *Estoria de España* or *Tirant lo Blanch*, individual voices may be easily overlooked by a distracted reader or lost because of a torn page, but something similar to a collective voice can persist and hopefully continue illuminating our understanding of others across vast extensions of space and time.

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