

The Medieval Chronicle 15

Essays in Honour of Erik Kooper

*Edited by
Sjoerd Levelt and Graeme Dunphy*



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The Medieval Chronicle

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Preface

In his preface to the booklet of abstracts to the second international conference on the Medieval Chronicle in 1999, Erik Kooper looked back at the first conference, which he had hosted in Utrecht in 1996, and stated: 'the chronicle was then, and still is, a little studied topic'. When in 2023 we come together for the tenth international conference, we will be able to say with confidence that the study of medieval chronicles is now firmly established as a focus of research in the whole range of disciplines which comprise Medieval Studies: medieval literature, history, art history, linguistics, book history, digital humanities, and so forth—and communicates productively with both Classical Studies on one side and Early Modern Studies on the other. This is due in no small part to the series of conferences instigated by Erik, the book series *The Medieval Chronicle* which originated as the conference proceedings, the Medieval Chronicle Society which Erik founded and over which he presided in its infancy, childhood and adolescence, and the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* which it produced. It is therefore with great indebtedness and gratitude that we, members of the Medieval Chronicle Society, present this volume of essays to Erik on the occasion of the 10th International Conference of the Medieval Chronicle Society, as a special issue within the series *The Medieval Chronicle*.

This volume, co-edited by Erik's successor as president of the Medieval Chronicle Society, Graeme Dunphy, and the co-editor with Erik of the series *The Medieval Chronicle*, Sjoerd Levelt, is a collection of essays written for Erik Kooper by members of the Medieval Chronicle Society—in particular those involved in the organization of the successive conferences of the Society, those who currently hold positions in the running of the Society, and those who have or have had roles on the advisory board of *The Medieval Chronicle*.

Contributors were asked to focus their chapters on the kinds of materials and arguments in chronicle studies that each author would like to talk with Erik about: a chronicle of interest, a remarkable manuscript, an aspect of a particular historiographical corpus, a particularly interesting stylistic issue, a small but significant historical discovery, etc. Each article presents a brief case study, balancing the particulars of the chosen materials with some more generalized conclusions about their significance. In line with this brief, contributions have been kept relatively short, in order to accommodate as many contributors as possible, for the number of scholars in Medieval Chronicle Studies indebted to Erik greatly surpasses the maximum number of papers that can be contained in a single volume. The resulting collection is an anthology of different approaches in Medieval Chronicle Studies, and while not aiming to be exhaust-

ive presents a rich overview of the geographical, linguistic, chronological and methodological diversity of chronicle research as it has developed since the first Conference of the Medieval Chronicle in no small part thanks to Erik's rallying.

The diverse community which Erik sought to nurture with his instigation of the Medieval Chronicle Society, and which came into being through the series of conferences, the production of the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, and the series of volumes of *The Medieval Chronicle*, is reflected in the list of contributors, which has a wide disciplinary spread: we include essays with a historical, a literary, a book-historical, a linguistic and an art-historical bent; a broad geographical sweep ranging from York to Byzantium and from Bohemia to Castile, including, in line with Erik's particular drive to seek connections with scholars from the former Eastern Bloc, a significant number of contributions focusing on Central and Eastern Europe; an extensive chronological scope from the ninth to the seventeenth century; and contributions by both established and independent scholars, including a number who have been encouraged and supported by Erik from a very early stage in their careers.

Some who would have been asked to contribute had already contributed to the earlier volume of studies presented to Erik, *People and Texts: Relationships in Medieval Literature: Studies Presented to Erik Kooper*, edited by Thea Summerfield and Keith Busby (Brill, 2007), on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday and retirement from the University of Utrecht, where he taught Old and Middle English. In this current volume, we update the previous volume's select bibliography of publications by Erik Kooper with his publications since 2007.

Others we were unable to reach, and the work of yet others has since their engagement with the Society moved away from chronicle studies to such an extent that they felt unable to contribute. Many other stalwarts of the Medieval Chronicle Society—regular attendees of its conferences, contributors of articles to the series *The Medieval Chronicle* and/or entries to the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*—would have been more than welcome, and no doubt eager, to contribute had there not been a page limit to the projected volume; they are with us in spirit. We have been able to include papers by twenty-eight authors, but this is a present to Erik Kooper from hundreds of friends and colleagues: the entire membership of the Medieval Chronicle Society.

The editors would like to thank Marie Bláhová, Peter Damian-Grint, Isabel Barros Dias, Márta Font, Chris Given-Wilson, Michael Hicks, David Hook, Carol Sweetenham and Jaclyn Rajsic for lending us their expertise in reviewing the

contributions, Kate Hammond and Marcella Mulder of Brill for welcoming our volume as a special issue in the series *The Medieval Chronicle*, and finally the two anonymous readers for the press for their invaluable suggestions.

Sjoerd Levelt and Graeme Dunphy

Abbreviations

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Af.X–XI</i> | <i>De Afonso X a Afonso XI</i> |
| ANPB | Anglo-Norman Prose <i>Brut</i> chronicle |
| BUW | Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu |
| Chron. | <i>Chronica Hungaro-Polonica</i> |
| ChronicleNov I. | <i>The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471</i> , trans. Robert Michell |
| ChronikNov I. | <i>Die erste Novgoroder Chronik nach ihrer ältesten Redaktion</i> |
| <i>Cr.1344</i> | <i>Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344</i> |
| CS | Camden Society / Series |
| CUL | Cambridge University Library |
| EETS OS | Early English Text Society, Original Series |
| EMC | <i>The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle</i> . Ed. Graeme Dunphy. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010. / referenceworks.brillonline.com/ browse/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle |
| Gallus | <i>Gesta principum Polonorum</i> |
| GS | <i>Gesta Stephani</i> |
| HN | William of Malmesbury, <i>Historia novella</i> |
| ISTC | Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, data.cerl.org/istc/ |
| Kadhubek | <i>Magistri Vincenti dicti Kadtubek Chronica Polonorum</i> |
| KNM | Knihovna Národního muzea |
| KPMK | Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly |
| Legenda | <i>Sancti Stephani regis maior et minor, atque Legenda ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta</i> |
| <i>Linhagens</i> | Pedro Afonso de Barcelos, <i>Livro de Linhagens</i> |
| MEPB | Middle English Prose <i>Brut</i> chronicle |
| MGH, SS | Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores |
| MPH KHW | <i>Kronika Halicko-Wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów)</i> |
| NK ČR | Národní knihovna České republiky |
| NLR | Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia |
| NPL | <i>Новгородская Первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов</i> |
| ODNB | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Oxford: Oxford Univer- sity Press. / oxforddnb.com |
| ÖNB | Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien |
| <i>Onceno</i> | <i>Cronica de D. Afonso el Onceno de este nombre</i> |
| <i>Partidas</i> | Alfonso el Sabio, <i>Las Siete Partidas</i> |
| PL | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> . Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne |
| PSRL I | <i>Лаврентьевская летопись</i> |
| PSRL II | <i>Ипатьевская летопись</i> |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| PSRL III | <i>Новгородская Первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов</i> |
| PV | Peculiar Version |
| RHC.Occ | <i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux</i> |
| RHGF | <i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> |
| RIS | <i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> |
| SOA Třeboň | Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboní |
| STC | <i>Short Title Catalogue</i> , ed. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (2nd edn, 1976–1991) |
| TCR- <i>Polychronicon</i> | Condensed version of Trevisa's <i>Polychronicon</i> 1.2–24 |
| Vyšší Brod | Knihovna cisterciáckého opatství Vyšší Brod |
| Wood | Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Wood empt. 8 |

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The study of medieval chronicles is firmly established as a focus of research in the whole range of disciplines comprising Medieval Studies: literature, history, art history, linguistics, book history, digital humanities, and so forth. Each article in this volume dedicated to Erik Kooper presents a case study, balancing the particulars of the chosen materials with more generalized conclusions about their significance. The resulting collection is an anthology of different approaches in Medieval Chronicle Studies, presenting a rich overview of the geographical, linguistic, chronological and methodological diversity of chronicle research as it has developed in no small part thanks to Erik's rallying.

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On Friendship as Motivation and Object of the Historiographic Works of Pedro Afonso de Barcelos

Isabel Barros Dias

Abstract

In the Prologue of his *Book of Lineages*, Pedro Afonso, Count of Barcelos considers that his work will stimulate friendship since this feeling is more easily cultivated among people connected by family ties. Although his mindset is traditional by the standards of other Iberian approaches to the concept, his points of view have idiosyncratic traits that should be discussed. His personal concern for the issue is probably rooted in his life experience, both documented and traceable in his historiographic production. This article considers these various levels and argues that this author's approach to the idea of friendship brings together pragmatism and spirituality, the whole being marked by optimism and consciousness of mission that provide an overall sense to his work.

Medieval ideas on friendship stem from but reshape the way Greco-Roman philosophy conceptualized the idea.¹ Whereas ancient thinkers such as Aristotle or Cicero considered the bond of friendship as involving ethical and moral values joining together the virtuous ones in true friendship, and stressed its cohesive and civic force, medieval authors either distrust mundane friendship as a possible source of sin (Augustine, *Confessions*) or reframe it in terms of the supremacy of the love of God and of humanity (Aelred of Rievaulx, *De spiritali amicitia*). Besides, there is a dispersion of meanings, depending on contexts, and the linguistic interchange between love and friendship (or aporia given the frequent use of the pair 'love and friendship'). On the one hand, the clerical and monastic view of friendship seems to object to individual ties, to value the

¹ For some examples of studies on this subject (combining areas such as philosophy, history of ideas, and history of emotions) see Stern-Gillet and Gurtler (2014); McDonie (2020); Liuzzo Scorpo (2020). This study is part of the project 'Castilla y Portugal en la Baja Edad Media: contactos sociales, culturales y espirituales entre dos monarquías rivales (s. XIII–XV)'—ref. PID2020–114722GB–I00 Agencia Estatal de Investigación (AEI), Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación, del Gobierno de España. All translations in the article are mine.

spiritual love of the brotherhood, of the believers, of all humankind (even the wicked) and, above all, of God (*vd.* concepts like *caritas* and *compassio*). On the other hand, emotional erotic love emerges in poetry and courtly literature. In between, secular chivalric friendship bonds an elite of warriors sharing the same military values.

Given this frame, the fact that the *Book of Lineages* of Count Pedro de Barcelos begins with an apologia for friendship, stressing its importance as a stimulus for the composition of the work, constitutes a signal of the importance of the topic for this author, and an encouragement to investigate what this concept means to him.² In fact, prologues are a fundamental part of any book since they constitute a declaration of the authors' intents. It is here that the main lines and final objectives are defined, and ideological principles and programs are outlined. In this specific case, the idea of friendship as a reason for writing the book seems original and meaningful. So, we will discuss the various aspects of this initial reasoning, also considering the author's personal life experience and his historiographic works.

1 The Social, Legal, and Philosophical Foundations of Friendship

The Prologue of Pedro Afonso de Barcelos' *Book of Lineages* includes a passage on the social, legal and philosophical perception of friendship that derives from the compilation of legislation known as the *Siete Partidas*.³ Here we can find a title on friendship that includes a definition of the concept, its characteristics and benefits, a classification of its varieties, how to behave and to keep it, and how it can be dissolved.⁴ This book was first compiled in the *scriptorium* of King Alfonso X, but it continued to be reworked until it was enacted under his great-

² This Preface has already been commented by Mocolim (2005/6), later incorporated in her master's dissertation (2007: 86–99), and by Ferreira (2012).

³ Ferreira (2012) identified the *Siete Partidas* (*Partida* IV.27) as the source of this passage, determining that the classical echoes of Aristotle (theory of friendship in *Nicomachean Ethics*) and Cicero (*De amicitia*) in D. Pedro's text are second-hand (pp. 97–102). *Partida* IV, in turn, was based in a Latin version of Averroes' commentary on Aristoteles' *Ethics*, made by Herman, associated with the Toledo School of translators. This version was also used by Brunetto Latini in *Li Livres dou Tresor* (Ferreira, 2012: 99; Heusch, 1993: 10–11). The *Siete Partidas* are currently the object of an ongoing project at the Universidad de Valladolid (*7PartidasDigital*—<https://7partidas.hypotheses.org>).

⁴ *Partidas* IV.27. The contents of the *Siete Partidas* IV.27 have been commented by Heusch, 1993 and Liuzzo Scorpo 2020: 68–80.

grandson, Alfonso XI, nephew,⁵ and friend of Pedro de Barcelos.⁶ This personal connection, probably developed during the Count's exile in Castile (mid-1317–beginning of 1322), explains his acquaintance with and his use of this source. The Count turns to it extensively in this piece of the Prologue, albeit selectively, summarizing and inserting occasional changes.⁷ He recalls the rules of the customary laws of Spain that advocated friendship among the nobles, and the principles that regulated its breakdown (mentioned in *Partida* IV, title 27, at the end of law IV as a kind of friendship specific of Spain, related to feudal practices). He considers Aristotle's idea of a perfect society governed by friendship, that would have no need of laws nor rulers (reframing *Partida* IV.27.1). He proceeds by considering the benefits of friendship for all men, both rich and poor, at any age, summarizing law II of *Partida* IV.27. Finally, he focuses on law V and briefly enumerates the duties of those who want to keep friendship: one should not defame friends, nor believe in rumours that denigrate them; secrets must be kept, and works done should not be criticized.

The fourth *Partida* focuses on civil laws, some of which nowadays may seem awkward, but at the time were pragmatic business matters, subject to legislation. Title 27 considers friendship at the end of several issues related to family matters (rules and impediments to marriages, dowries, affinity family, legitimate and illegitimate children, servant and free men, the relationship between vassals and lords ...), which signals a difference regarding the ancient concept of friendship, which ignored family ties. This textual context probably contributed to the use of the topic in D. Pedro's prologue: just as the book of laws determined the juridical rules that should regulate society and the families, the *Book of Lineages* would provide in-depth information on who these families were.

5 Alfonso XI of Castile was the son of Fernando IV of Leon-Castile and of Constance of Portugal, daughter of King Denis and Queen Isabel. Since Pedro Afonso was natural son of King Denis, he was half-brother to Constance.

6 'Et estando el Rey en este ayuntamiento, veno y Don Pedro Conde de Barcelos, que es en Portugal: et poque este Conde amaba muy verdaderamente el servicio del Rey, et facia por ello lo que podia, el Rey fizole mucha honra' (*Onceno*: 460).

7 Namely the one highlighted by Ferreira (2012) who explores the rephrasing of 'non habrien meester justicia nin alcalles que los judgasen' (*Partida* IV.27.1) to 'nom haveriam mester reis nem justiças' (*Linhagens*: 55) suggesting a reconfiguration of concepts in the context of the coeval social tensions experienced between the monarchy and the insurgent nobility (pp. 109–116) underlining that Pedro Afonso depreciates 'institutional friendship' over 'true friendship', based on blood ties, and deriving from God, source of all love, while questioning the authority of sovereigns (pp. 116–121).

2 Friendship, and the Recording of Lineages and History

Pedro de Barcelos' *Book of Lineages* reflects one of the most pressing issues of the medieval period in Europe, the concern with origins. The importance of lineages, and of their tracing back to the beginning of the world, as well as their role in legitimizing dominant families, have been established and studied.⁸ The introduction of the question of friendship in this type of literature can be viewed as an occurrence that emanates from a very specific context, where a learned nobleman is writing about the ancestors of the members of his social circle, and of himself. At the same time, he conveys his perspective of the coeval social relations, and of what he considers should be the ideal relationships within his own milieu. So, after the presentation of the concept, the Count proceeds to assert the connection between lineage and friendship, according to 'nature' (a broad and significant term also used in the *Partidas*⁹), thus justifying the writing of the book, which would function as a companion enhancing friendship among the nobles by disclosing forgotten family ties.

E por que nem ãa amizade nom pode ser tam pura segundo natura come daqueles que descendem de ãu sangue, porque estes movem-se mais de ligeiro aas cousas per que a amizade se mantem, houve de declarar este livro per titolos e per alegações que cada ãu fidalgo de ligeiro esto podesse saber, e esta amizade fosse descuberta e nom se perdesse antre aqueles que a deviam haver. (*Linhagens*: 56)

(And because no friendship can be so pure according to nature as that of those who descend from the same blood, because they are more easily inclined towards the things by which friendship is maintained, I have organized this book by titles and attestations, so that every nobleman could easily know it, and that this friendship would be discovered and not lost among those who should have it.)

The Count of Barcelos then registers seven reasons that have led him to write his work. He summarises the question of friendship as a cohesive force based

8 On this subject there is an extensive bibliography, identifying and studying similar cases all over Europe: e.g., the classical works by Bloch (1989) and Melville (1987), and for the Portuguese context Krus (2011).

9 According to *Partida* IV. 27. IV, 'Amistad de natura' applies not only to families but also to animals and to people's relationship with their land and lord. On this concept and its juridical and political implications, see Heusch 1993: 20–25, 45–46; Bautista (2007).

on family ties. This solidarity is considered fundamental for peace and social collaboration against common enemies.¹⁰ Two main ideas stand out from the passage. On the one hand, there is a very broad concept of lineage pointing to the idea of Christianity as a family, as opposed to the infidels that must be fought. Up to a certain point, this idea converges with the notion of global friendship, although restricting it to Christians, which points to the *topos* of the division of the world according to the three lineages that issued from Noah, common information in historiography, also an argument used in the frame of crusade movements, both in the East and in the West. Accordingly, we have here an approach to the idea of the brotherhood of arms. On the other hand, even if in the frame of a basic identity of blood among the elites, the author defends the preeminence of personal value as a determining factor for friendship, which, at first sight, seems to bring him closer to the Aristotelian notion of friendship among the virtuous. Nevertheless, this opposition is between the brave and the weak, which brings us back to the military dimension. The final part of the passage introduces the topic of the intersection of friendship with social stratification and the norms of interpersonal relationships, a typology identical to the one in the advice that a contemporary high-ranking Castilian noble, don Juan Manuel, gives to his son in the *Libro infinido*, dated 1336–1337 (Ayerbe-Chaux 1969). Various parallels can be drawn between Pedro Afonso and Juan Manuel, namely, that they were both literary and historiographic authors often considered as spokesmen of the nobility, having been involved in rebellions, and both lived through troubled times. However, don Juan Manuel's reasoning on friendships differs from D. Pedro Afonso insofar as the former has a more cautious attitude, absent from the latter. Even if to a lesser degree, dissensions and insecurities have also marked Pedro Afonso's life (Lopes 1997; Oliveira 2011) since he lived through aristocratic rebellions and disputes oppos-

10 'A terceira, por seerem de ãu coração, de haverem de seguir os seus emmigos que som em estroimento da fe de Jesu Christo, ca, pois eles veem de ãu linhagem, e sejam no quarto ou no quinto grao ou dali acima, nom devem poer deferença antre si, e mais que os que som chegados come primos e terceiros, ca mais nobre cousa é e mais santa amar o homem a seu parente alongado per dívído, se bõo é, que amar ao mais chegado, se faleçudo é. E os homêes que nom som de boo conhecer nom fazem conta do linhagem que hajam, senam d'irmãos e primos cõirmãos e segundos e terceiros. E dos quartos acima nom fazem conta. Estes taes erram a Deus e a si, ca o que tem parente no quinto ou sexto grao ou dali acima, se é de gram poder deve-o servir porque vem de seu sangue. E se é seu igual, deve-o d'ajudar. E se é mais pequeno que si deve de lhe fazer bem, e todos devem seer de ãu coração.' (*Linhagens*: 56–57). Liuzzo Scorpo (2020: 199) considers that the preeminence of blood ties in friendship is a common argument in Iberian authors although addressed differently.

ing his half-brothers. In the first 'Manifesto' (Declaration) that King Denis produced against his legitimate only son, Prince Afonso, he expresses his sorrow that his heir managed to recruit his half-brother Pedro Afonso to his ranks, accusing him of having acted for self-serving motives, not genuine friendship.¹¹

King Denis' political agenda was marked by an effort towards centralization that gave rise to rebellions of the more powerful aristocrats, which were often articulated with family dissensions (Pizarro, 2005). He faced a civil war against his brother Afonso, and later confrontations that opposed his successor, the future King Afonso IV of Portugal, to his half-brother Afonso Sanches, considered the favourite son of King Denis. Also, Count Pedro Afonso opposed his other half-brother João Afonso and became closer to Prince Afonso, having subsequently seen his territories confiscated and himself exiled, as recalled in King Denis's 'Declaration'.¹²

During his exile, Pedro Afonso attended the court of Maria de Molina, becoming friends with her grandson, and his nephew, Alfonso XI. This period was also particularly difficult for Castile, marked by a pronounced weakness of the monarchy. King Sancho IV (1258–1295) did not live long and his son, Fernando IV (1285–1312) was crowned at the age of 9, the regency being assumed by the mother-queen, Maria de Molina (from 1295 to 1301). Questions about the legitimacy of these rulers further had weakened their power as opposed to the aristocracy.¹³ In addition, Fernando IV proved to be a weak

11 Lopes (1967). The 'Manifesto de D. Dinis, rei de Portugal, contra seu filho o infante D. Afonso, publicado em Santarém, a 1 de julho de 1320' is transcribed in pp. 5–25. Here we can read: 'Pera se provar craramente como el [Prince Afonso] desama mortalmente todolos que amam El Rey e seguem a sa voontade e o seu serviço, [...] E que seja verdade provasse pelo do Conde Pedro Affonso como dito he, a que el teve senpre maa voontade e peyor que a Affonso Sanches enquanto quiz seguir o serviço e a voontade dEl Rey, e des que o non quiz e o y meterom os seus creedeiros e seus atanjedores do Iffante, logo o amou afaçanhadamente e fiou del' (p. 20).

12 'des enton fyou o Jffante do Conde e o amou e o teve por seu quitemente. E assy o mostrou na assuada que ouve o Conde con Joham Affonso seu yrmão en que o Conde quisera fazer torto assy come sabudo, en que o Jffante se mostrou por parte do Conde enton envyando os seus vassalos pera el e denodadamente de feito e de dito seendo contra Joham Affonso a que avya feito o mal. E depoyos desto indosse o Conde pera Castela e tolhendolhy El Rey a terra por torto que quisera fazer en seu irmão Joham Affonso envyoyou o Jffante rogar muy aficadamente e muyto ameude a Reya Dona Maria por el que lhy fizesse bem e mostrando amor e fyança ao Conde e aos seus e catava por el.' (Lopes (ed.) 1967: 14–15).

13 Namely the fact that Sancho IV took over the kingdom after the death of his older brother Alfonso, disregarding the fact that he had left children (underaged, but supported by part of the nobility), and the tradition of his father Alfonso X's curse. There were also doubts on the legitimacy of Sancho's marriage to Maria de Molina, which reflected on their son. For an overview, see Arias Guillén (2012).

king, lacking his mother's political ability. Given the early death of Fernando IV, Maria de Molina was once again regent (from 1312 to 1321) during the minority of her grandson Alfonso XI (1311–1350). This last king sought to restore the power of the monarchy, which involved a conflicted relationship with the strong and rebellious nobility.

In 1322 Pedro Afonso is documented to be back in Portugal, assuming a conciliatory posture regarding his family's current dissensions. He shows up on the side of Queen Isabel, collaborating in the promotion of peace between King Denis and Prince Afonso. In the process, the Count was rehabilitated, and his assets were returned to him.¹⁴ Nevertheless, after the death of King Denis, when Afonso IV reached the throne, Count Pedro Afonso retired from the court to his domains, where he subsequently developed his historiographic work. Given the ups and downs of his adventurous life, it becomes easier to perceive the importance that friendship had to him, probably not so much as an abstract concept but as the genuine feeling of an ideal to be fulfilled in life, which enables us to understand its conception as a stimulus to write about the past, recognized as a means of raising awareness and establishing links that could lead to important developments.

3 Friendship as a Stimulus for Writing and to Please God

As we approach the end of this article, we will consider the starting point of the Prologue, that frames the issues already discussed:

Em nome de Deus que é fonte e padre d'amor, e porque este amor nom sofre nem ãa cousa de mal, porem em servi-lo de coração é carreira real, e nem ãu melhor serviço nom pode o homem fazer que ama-lo de todo seu sem, e seu proximo como si mesmo, [...] porem eu, conde dom Pedro, filho do mui nobre rei dom Denis, houve de catar por gram gram trabalho, por muitas terras, escripturas que falavam dos linhagões.

E veendo as escripturas com grande estudo e em como falavam d'outros grandes feitos compuge este livro por gaanhar o seu amor e por meter amor e amizade antre os nobres fidalgos da Espanha. (*Linhagens*: 55)

14 Lopes (1970) mentions a request for help that the rebellious Prince Afonso sent in December 1321 to his half-brother Pedro Afonso (p. 68), the latter's involvement in Queen Isabel's pacifying intervention before King Denis, in March 1322 (p. 75), and the subsequent pardon of the rebels (p. 80).

(In the name of God, who is the source and father of love, and because this love does not suffer from any negative element, therefore serving Him with all your heart is the real way, and no better service can a man do than to love Him with all his intelligence, and his neighbour as himself, [...] so I, Count D. Pedro, son of the very noble King Denis, have painstakingly sought throughout many lands, documents that spoke of lineages.

And reading the Scriptures with great study, and as they spoke of other great deeds, I composed this book to win His love and to establish love and friendship among the noble aristocrats of Spain.)

The Count underlines the topic of the book as a guiding companion for nobles to identify their lineages and to consequently develop friendships, thus pleasing God. Therefore, the action of writing the book is, in the long run, a contribution to the fulfilment of God's will on earth. Although these references to God are usual, their use in this Prologue seems to go beyond the *topos*, since they are personalized. This preoccupation may have emerged from Pedro Afonso's closeness to his stepmother, Queen Isabel, later Saint Isabel of Portugal. This relationship may have begun during his upbringing, and subsequently consolidated in adult life, namely during their articulated pacifying actions, as mentioned.

Books of Lineages have been considered as the nobles' reply to royal centralizing policies, since they value ancestry and the positive role of the aristocracy. In a way, they can be viewed as the counterpart to royal chronicles, which are organized according to the succession of kings and concentrate on their deeds. Pedro Afonso is a peculiar author since he is responsible for both a chronicle and a book of lineages. His social situation is also 'in-between'. He is the oldest son of King Denis of Portugal, but illegitimate, therefore hardly eligible for succession, and during his life, at different moments, as presented above, he was both a highly influential aristocrat and a banished nobleman. Therefore, it is our conviction that the life experience of the Count has had a noteworthy influence on his works, namely for what concerns the issue of friendship. Beyond the fact of his biased consideration of the people with whom he had a deeper friendship,¹⁵ if we look at the Count's historiographical works from the point of view of the wish to promote friendship, this is bound to make us reconsider the opposition chronicles / books of lineages and sovereignty / aristocracy. Rather we are led to think of these binomials in a complementary way, each deserving

15 See the laudatory passages on Alfonso XI (*Af.X-XI*) and King Denis (*Cr.1344*). On the latter see Dias (2021).

to be valued, and capable of living in harmony. Chronicles and books of lineages present the good and wrong deeds of kings and nobles with a pedagogical inclination (Dias 2003; Mocelim 2005/6; 2007), up to a point, comparable to *specula*, although not normative. In compliance with the Ciceronian maxim, *historia magistra vitae*, models of behaviour are conveyed, not only for warrior and conquering actions but also for moral and affectionate conduct.

One of the characteristics of Pedro Afonso's *Book of Lineages* that has often been commented on is his encompassing vision of the Peninsular aristocratic families. This trait accords with the idea of a united Christendom opposing the enemies of the faith as a means to overcome internal dissensions. It fully agrees with the ideological mainstream of both the *Book of Lineages* and the *Crónica de 1344* where the moments of the union of the Christian kings against Muslim forces are particularly praised. This point of view, being in consonance with religious guidelines also explains the Count's enthusiasm on the battle of Salado or Tarifa (1340) (Ferreira 2010: 91–93) which was the fullest example of the union between nobles and sovereigns and among Christian kings against a Muslim alliance in his lifetime, even if, ironically, Pedro Afonso was not able to participate.¹⁶ This perspective reshapes the previous idea of an Iberian empire, present in Alfonsine historiography since the solidarity advocated by the Count implies the existence of the different peninsular kingdoms.

Pedro Afonso's text on friendship is thus a synthetic but rich reflection. He differs both from the *Siete Partidas* and D. Juan Manuel's views, although he is familiar with them. *Partida* IV considers the juridical status of friendship seeking to apprehend the concept and to frame it socially and politically (Heusch, 1993). Don Juan Manuel's approach is not only political but also suspicious and pragmatic (Ayerbe-Chaux 1969). The Count of Barcelos, having lived in analogous cultural and social environments and having enjoyed a social position and a life experience in some ways similar to those of don Juan Manuel, seems not to have been so negatively affected as his counterpart. His view is also pragmatic and marked by the aristocratic ideas of solidarity, but he involves this interaction in the more spiritual idea of God's service. His approach is both Christian and chivalric and, above all, optimistic since, on the one hand, he seems to believe in the didactic power of example as a stimulus to promote appropriate behaviour and, on the other, his writings display a religious colouring that provides global meaning to his works, as a mission to be fulfilled. In this sense, historiographic writing can be considered an activity that pleases God since

16 For health reasons, as explained in ms. U, § 135; ms. Q2, § 151; ms. S, § 177 (*AfX-XI*).

knowledge of the past is believed to be a means to overcome dissensions and to promote social peace and harmony in the present.

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The Medieval Chronicle 15

The study of medieval chronicles is firmly established as a focus of research in the whole range of disciplines comprising Medieval Studies: literature, history, art history, linguistics, book history, digital humanities, and so forth. Each article in this volume dedicated to Erik Kooper presents a case study, balancing the particulars of the chosen materials with more generalized conclusions about their significance. The resulting collection is an anthology of different approaches in Medieval Chronicle Studies, presenting a rich overview of the geographical, linguistic, chronological and methodological diversity of chronicle research as it has developed in no small part thanks to Erik's rallying.

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