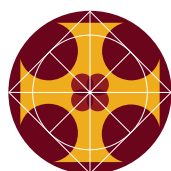


AFONSINA

I

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**EGAS MONIZ
O AIO**

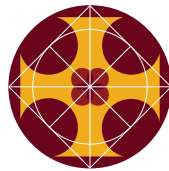


MUNICÍPIO DE
GUIMARÃES

AFONSINA

I

2019



EGAS MONIZ THE TUTOR

The articles included in this issue of *Revista Afonsina* are the result of the conferences and communications presented at the First *Jornadas Históricas*, held in Guimarães on June 15, 2019.

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Egas Moniz de Riba Douro, the Tutor between myth and reality

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Abstract

Starting from the analysis of the evolution of historiography on Egas Moniz de Riba Douro, an attempt is made to understand what was legendarily built around his figure and what is historical and factual, in order to test a proposal for understanding his role, and the role of his lineage, in the years of transition between the County of Portugal and the Kingdom of Portugal.

Keywords: historiography; myths and legends; king and aristocracy; Galicia; formation of Portugal.

Introduction¹

“We have refrained here from speaking of Affonso Henriques, whose childhood is enriched by a wealth of curious legends in our history books. Like Charlemagne’s or King Arthur’s life, and like almost all the founders of ancient monarchies, his life was, from the cradle on, peopled by popular tradition with wonders and miracles. Unfortunately, the inexorable contemporary monuments destroy, either with their testimony to the contrary or with their no-less severe silence, those golden dreams that a more patriotic and pious than illustrated erudition has collected and perpetuated. History is nowadays a serious enough thing not to be entertained by preserving legends born and disseminated in times long after the demise of the individuals to whom they refer.”

(Herculano, 1980: Vol. I, 368-369)

“One need not be a professional historian to realize that one cannot trace the biography of a medieval character without a great deal of imagination. Documentary data are almost always sparse and fragmentary. The information provided by narrative texts is found in authors who were not interested in the personal behavior of their protagonists, but rather in what they represented as symbols of virtues or vices, as exemplary actors in the struggle between good and evil, as God’s helpers in the work of the salvation of humanity, or as seduced by the devil in their yielding to sin. The actions of the saints had to be always miraculous and edifying; those of kings, always just and heroic; those of the subjects, always striving and obedient. That’s why medieval historians didn’t hesitate to change the narrative of events to better achieve their goals. Preserving the hierarchy of values, and, therefore, praising or censuring, was more important than reporting the actual fact.”

(Mattoso, 2006: 9)

Dom Affonso Henriques is, perhaps, one of the most complex and difficult figures to study of all those who adorn our national history, demanding a great deal of reflection. It is common knowledge that speaking about our first monarch in Guimarães further increases this responsibility. But I don’t think that the figure of Egas Moniz gets much simpler, so intertwined did the lives of both of them become from the birth of the King to the death of his *Aio* [Tutor]. And we all, inevitably, associate one with the other.²

How, then, to resolve the kind invitation from my Friend and Colleague, Dr. Isabel Fernandes, which, as one may already suspect, did not entail giving a conventional lecture, like many others I have given over the years, but rather to talk, in Guimarães, about the *Tutor* of King Affonso Henriques. Thereby, in the space of a few pages, I would like to propose a way in which one can “construct” a historical figure, especially considering two premises: first, the extant documents on Egas Moniz de Riba Douro are scarce and, although they can be very useful — for instance, to address his heritage or his political career —, they are very incomplete to allow us to get a little closer to the man and his personality; secondly, it is extremely difficult to separate the real from the imaginary, because much of the information, of a chronistic or lineagistic nature, that has come down to us was much conditioned by the legends and myths that were built around the figure of the Tutor.

On the other hand, Egas Moniz has already been so studied or referred to by several generations of historians, in such a wide variety of works that no great novelty will be found to build on what is already public, not least because, unfortunately, no new documents have emerged in the meantime. I will therefore make a synthetic presentation along three distinct but complementary planes, in an inverse sense to the title itself, i.e.,

¹ A significant part of the following reflections, besides having been approached at the conference given at Paço dos Duques on June 15, 2019, are based on widely known bibliography, which will be referred to at the end of this text, to reduce as much as possible the erudite apparatus in footnotes and thus provide a more dynamic reading.

² On Afonso Henriques and his time, see the extensive set of texts published in the volumes of *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães* (1996).

starting with the way Historiography has been defining the character of Egas Moniz de Riba Douro — received, transformed and then handed down by successive generations of historians —, then going through what the known facts offer us via the available documentation, to finally arrive at the mythical, or non-mythical, image of Egas Moniz de Riba Douro, *the Tutor*. At this last moment, by way of conclusion — albeit later on we will see that it is quite the contrary —, I will dare to propose a new research path, one which stems from my continued reflections on the Portuguese medieval aristocratic group until the mid-fourteenth century.

1. Egas Moniz and Historiography

For reasons that everyone will understand, this first point on Historiography is based on the considerations put forth by Friar António Brandão in the pages of Part Three of the *Monarquia Lusitana*, a work published in 1632 and generally considered to be the first essay of a History of Portugal, after the cycle marked by chronistic texts between the 14th and 16th centuries — which will serve as a backdrop for the last part of this presentation.

In fact, more than forty years ago, José Mattoso, in his analysis of the Battle of São Mamede, pointed out that, until Friar António Brandão, it was the battle of Ourique, and not so much the former, which most symbolized the beginning of the Kingdom of Portugal, especially by the hand of the various chroniclers of the 13th and 14th centuries, with some humanists, such as Duarte Nunes de Leão, having even denied the veracity of that skirmish occurred in June 24, 1128 (Mattoso, 1985a); and if it is true that Brandão accepts the veracity of S. Mamede, it is indisputable that he also values Ourique far more, and even presented an unprecedented list of the main noblemen who would have been with the monarch in that war episode (BRANDÃO, 1973: 123–126vº) — an issue to which I will return at the end of this presentation.

It is also Friar António Brandão who underlines the figure of Egas Moniz, starting from his close relationship with Count Henrique and Countess Theresa, which would result, for example, in being the beneficiary of the honor of Britiande in 1102 (BRANDÃO, 1973: 40–41vº). This same proximity would lead the Count and the Countess to hand over Affonso Henriques to the guardianship of Egas Moniz, with the Infante thus spending his childhood in the region of Lamego, between the farms of Cresconhe and Resende (BRANDÃO, 1973: 52–52vº). The illustrious Cistercian was perhaps the first author to draw attention to the information included in the Inquirições Gerais [Royal Portuguese commissions] of 1288–1290, according to which — with regard to the parish of Santiago de Piães, in the juridical district of Sanfins — one of the witnesses declared that “a quintaa que chamam Cresconhi que foy de Egas Moniz é provado que a virom as testemunhas seer onrra des que se acordan e que ouviron dizer que o foy de muy de longe e que criaron hy Rey Affonso o primeyro e tragen por onrra os d’Alvarenga toda essa aldeya de Cresconhi” (PMH–Inq. 1288–90: 415); the same scholar also mentions the miracle of Cárquere, by which the lameness in the legs with which Affonso Henriques was born was cured thanks to his Tutor’s faith (BRANDÃO, 1973: 73vº–75), a miracle that had been described much earlier by Pedro de Mariz in the first edition of his *Diálogos de Vária História* (MARIZ, 1594: 40–41vº).

However, the episode that most distinguished the relationship between the King and Egas Moniz was his oath of loyalty, on behalf of the King, before Alfonso VII of Leon and Castile, during the siege of Guimarães, as is widely known. Although Brandão places these episodes in 1129 — i.e., wrongly after São Mamede —, he does accept the episode, and does not fail to mention the supposed parallel between the *Tutor’s* gesture and that of the Leonese nobleman Pedro Ansúrez, a little over ten years earlier,

before Alfonso I of Aragon, for loyalty to Urraca of Leon and Castile (BRANDÃO, 1973: 95v^o–97v^o). Finally, the death of Egas Moniz de Riba Douro in 1146, just before the great military campaigns that would lead to the conquests of Santarém and Lisbon, would allow Friar António Brandão to expatiate upon the *Tutor's* descent (BRANDÃO, 1973: 158v^o–161), a stock of many different lineages, as we shall see later.

As could not be otherwise, the next stop on this journey is Alexandre Herculano's *History of Portugal*, where the illustrious historian, with the rigor and intelligence that made him one of the leading names not only in Historiography but also in the 1800's Portuguese culture, refines the chronology of many of the events surrounding the life of our first monarch and, of course, the figure of his *Tutor*.

Obviously, his work is in many ways already outdated, and it is only natural that it should be so, almost 175 years after the first edition (1846). However, his intelligence and brilliant reasoning are still of primary importance, as can be seen from two examples that particularly interest me here: firstly, Herculano places the siege of Guimarães, for the first time, with all the rigor and robust argumentation, in the final months of 1127, not 1129, as Brandão had claimed (1973: 95v^o), thus confirming the presence of Alfonso VII of Leon in that military action and therefore not dismissing the veracity of Egas Moniz's oath to the latter and his subsequent journey to Toledo (HERCULANO, 1980, I: 374–375 and 377–378, respectively); secondly, he is the first to understand Alfonso VII's stance regarding Theresa and Affonso Henriques, that is, for the King of Leon and Castile it mattered little who rendered him obedience for the County of Portugal, as long as it was de facto done — “because to the prince it did not matter for certain whether it was his aunt or his cousin who ruled Portugal; what mattered to him was that this province recognized his supreme authority” (HERCULANO, 1980, I: 377).³

A brief look at two of the most significant histories of Portugal in the first half of the 20th century — the first known as “of Barcelos” and the other by the Jesuit Luís Gonzaga de Azevedo — did not unravel much novelty. In the chapter on the “County of Portugal”, the author Manuel Ramos does not offer much novelty on the episodes and characters that matter to us, keeping to transcribing an extensive passage by Herculano on the siege of Guimarães, and on the abovementioned role of Egas Moniz (RAMOS, 1928: 501–502). On the other hand, Gonzaga de Azevedo's contribution deserves a somewhat more precise comment. In fact, since the author does not accept the date proposed by Herculano for the siege of Guimarães, but instead places it in the following year, after the battle of São Mamede, then the King of Leon could not be present, and therefore Egas Moniz's oath, which Gonzaga de Azevedo does admit, was not made directly to the King, but through the Galician counts who had conducted the military operation that culminated in the siege of Guimarães (AZEVEDO, 1940, I: 237–239).

In addition to other more recent general initiatives of “Histories of Portugal”, already dating from the second half of the 19th century, such as those of Publicações Alfa or Editorial Presença,⁴ two authors stand out regarding these subjects: Armando de Almeida Fernandes, and José Mattoso. In his vast work, the former has given permanent prominence to the *Tutor's* figure and those of Riba Douro, developing a true “passion” for these two topics; commanding a deep knowledge of the region where that lineage was established, his work offers numerous elements of utmost importance for understanding Egas Moniz and his family environment. Among the many titles that could be cited here, I would like to mention one he has dedicated with greater focus to the Battle of São Mamede, in which he strongly emphasizes the close relationship between the Counts of Portugal and Egas Moniz, having handed over the young Affonso Henriques to his guardianship — and Almeida Fernandes refers in finer detail

³ Regarding these two issues, among others, the significance of this siege and its impact on the future relationships between Don Affonso Henriques and his cousin, Alfonso VII, particularly up to the outcome of the Battle of São Mamede, I have recently proposed a new interpretation featuring original elements (cf. SOTTOMAYOR-PIZZARRO, 2013).

⁴ See, in the “Final Bibliography”, Mattoso (1983) and Marques (1996), respectively.

to the palaces of Cresconhe and Britiande as places where our first monarch spent his childhood, also highlighting the reference to the aforementioned Royal Commissions —, besides underlining the *Tutor*'s role in the process of the Prince's political statement (FERNANDES, 1978: 63–67). This latter aspect is indeed clearly further developed in a later work, where he stated that he considered Egas Moniz as the leader of the rebelling *Portucalense* peerage against Theresa and the Travas, also accepting his role in the successes surrounding the siege of Guimarães (FERNANDES, 1995: 200–210).

As for José Mattoso, he has undeniably advanced the most original proposals for understanding the figure of Egas Moniz de Riba Douro. For the moment, however, I would like to stress some of the more particular aspects of his political trajectory. In 1980, in one of his critical notes to Herculano's *History of Portugal*, José Mattoso, referring to Affonso Henriques' initial leading role, and while agreeing with the date of 1127 for the siege of Guimarães, saw no objective reason "to deny that the so-called Tutor played an important role in preparing Affonso Henriques' revolt against his mother" (HERCULANO, 1980: 392 [NOTE 74]). Furthermore, in 1978 he had already highlighted the importance of Egas Moniz, as early as 1121, in the revolt of the *Portucalense* noblemen against Theresa (MATTOSO, 1985a: 17), an idea he would later elaborate upon in his biography on King Affonso Henriques (MATTOSO, 2006: 36–43).

In fact, this biography condenses everything that had been written and collected about the monarch and, laterally, about Egas Moniz, where many of the disputable elements, both chronologically and content-wise, end up being specified. I believe that one of the most interesting and important aspects in this approach is to assert who was in fact the most relevant figure beside King Affonso Henriques in the early stage of his career: whether it was Soeiro Mendes da Maia, as Torcato de Souza-Soares believed, or Egas Moniz de Riba Douro, as was conveyed by the traditions that began to circulate in the courtly milieus from the mid-13th century, which will be discussed later on; or even Ermígio Moniz, the supposed elder brother of Egas Moniz, whom José Mattoso seems to favor in terms of political prominence, even though, ultimately, he accepts that the Tutor of our first monarch, whether Egas or Ermígio, was a member of the people from Riba Douro (MATTOSO, 2006: 24–25) — with which I fully agree, for I think it was Egas Moniz, as I will state in the conclusion.

Finally, the biography *Condessa-Rainha Teresa* [Countess Queen Theresa] by Luís Carlos Amaral and Mário Barroca is today, in my view, the most accurate and detailed account of the early years of the Infante's life, and of his most faithful servants, including Egas Moniz de Riba Douro. From where I sit, these two authors rightly emphasized how it was Egas Moniz, of all the members of the Riba Douro lineage, who stood out most prominently (AMARAL and BARROCA, 2012: 254–255). It is time to provide a synthesis on his life.

2. Egas Moniz in History

The genealogical and prosopographical works by Armando de Almeida Fernandes and José Mattoso, as well as the biographies of Affonso Henriques and Theresa just cited, bring together, perchance, all that it is possible to know about the life of Egas Moniz. Understandably, I will not go delve into these aspects in great detail, and will just highlight a couple of ideas which I believe reflect the importance of the Tutor and his family in the context of the 11th-to-13th-century aristocratic group.

The Riba Douro's lineage began around the end of the 10th century, with a said Mónio Viegas, the "Gasco", documented in 1014, perhaps a brother of the Bishop of Oporto, Sisnando and great-great-grandfather of Egas Moniz, from who stem the

different branches of descent of the Riba Douro, summarily referred to by José Mattoso until the mid-12th century, and which I later extended in the form of a genealogical text until the mid-14th century (Mattoso, 1981: 137–157; Sottomayor-Pizarro, 1999, I: 449–511). From what can be ascertained from the documentation regarding the heritage of its different members over the generations, everything suggests that the Riba Douro lineage may have originated in a nucleus probably located between the basins of the Tâmega River and the Douro River, with a wide diversity of assets located in the present-day municipalities of Penafiel, Lousada, Marco de Canaveses, Baião or Amarante, holding several advowsons of churches and seemingly with strong ties to some of the region's monasteries, such as Soalhães, Travanca and Pendorada, but particularly Paço de Sousa, with which they would increasingly relate throughout the 11th and 12th centuries; but they also had interests in the south margin of the Douro River, especially regarding the administration of some lands such as Anégia-Arouca or Lamego.

But it was with the generation of Egas Moniz and his brothers that the Riba Douro lineage came to own a very significant estate on the left bank of the Douro River, as a result of several donations by King Affonso Henriques and a policy of acquisitions that would set them apart in that region in comparison with any other lineage. A particularly interesting aspect is the policy of settlement carried out by the brothers Egas and Mem Moniz de Riba Douro and their wives via the granting of several charters of collective settlement, as I pointed out several years ago:

We can consider our first monarch's Tutor figure as a myth. But when reading the text of the medieval Inquirições from 1258 and 1288–1290, we can hardly fail to realize its enormous political and social importance, as well as his family's prominence in the Douro territory. Virtually in every parish, regardless of the juridical district, there is mention to Egas Moniz or his brother, Mem Moniz, their wives and descendants (...). A brief note on a series of documents referred to by the 1258 Inquirições — inexplicably disregarded by researchers — and which, more than any other, reveal the great patrimonial and political power of the Ribadouros. It has to do with the reference to the various charters of settlement granted by Egas Moniz and Mem Moniz and which prove their initiative regarding the settlement of these lands in the Douro basin, for the benefit of the villages of Alhões, Vila Boa, Gralheira, Bustelo, then belonging to the parish of Ferreiros de Tendais, and the villages of Macieira, Aveloso and Marcelim, then belonging to the parish of Tendais (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 2014: 96–97).

As for Egas Moniz in particular, he is already documented in 1102, and died in 1146, as evidenced by the funeral epigraph kept near his tomb in Paço de Sousa. He occupied several locum-tenancies, as important as Lamego or Riba Minho, and held the important position of Affonso Henriques' majordomo between 1136 and 1146 (MATTOSO, 1981: 145–150; AMARAL and BARROCA, 2012: 245 and 254). He had abundant offspring from his two marriages, first with Dórdia Pais de Azevedo, and then with Teresa Afonso das Astúrias; some of his descendants originated several surnames that have come down to us, such as Fonseca or Coelho (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 1999, I: 449–511). Finally, we cannot fail to mention that the Tutor, Teresa Afonso and some of her daughters were responsible for the protection of several coenobia, as mentioned above, and the foundation of several others, such as Tarouquela, Cárquere, Salzedas or Tuías, which was clearly telling of the expression of power and prestige of this Riba Douro lineage.

Finally, as to his political relevance, to which I will return at the end of this text, I

do not think there is much doubt nowadays regarding both the closeness of Egas Moniz to Affonso Henriques, being the most documented of the three brothers — Egas, Mem and Ermígio —, and the one who played one of the most relevant roles at the outset of Affonso Henriques' political career. Thus, regardless of the considerations surrounding some chronological detail, we are indisputably dealing with one of the most influential figures in the political environment of our first monarch, all other considerations aside, from his rising to power until his death, on the eve of the great conquests of Santarém and Lisbon.

3. Myth... or Reality?

Let us address now the last point, i.e., what may be considered the “legendary” part of Egas Moniz's life, which includes a series of “stories”, some original in nature and others stemming from the interpolation of the Tutor's figure in a gest dedicated to Affonso Henriques, as is the case, for example, of his intervention at the Battle of São Mamede, replacing the figure of Soeiro Mendes de Sousa. The illustrious historian José Mattoso very accurately addressed this matter and identified the person responsible for the creation of Egas Moniz's gest as the troubadour João Soares Coelho, a descendant of the Tutor by bastardy who held a somewhat prominent position at the court of King Affonso III (MATTOSO, 1985b).

According to his proposal, which was strongly contested by A. de Almeida Fernandes (FERNANDES, 1990: 161–172), the said troubadour, head of the Coelho lineage, a bastard branch of the Riba Douro, produced important poetics and was one of the Boulonnais' most trusted men and his advisor — documented in the courtly milieu between 1235 and 1278, when he must have died (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 1999, I: 481–482). Apparently, he would have written the aforementioned gest about his ancestor to increase his own prestige in the aristocratic society of his time, even more so because the legitimate lines of descent of the Riba Douro had become extinct or highly decadent.

As may be expected, the fundamental text of that gest refers to the Tutor's prominent role at the siege of Guimarães in 1127 — already mentioned here a few times —, with the oath taken to Alfonso VII of Leon and Castile and the subsequent journey of Egas Moniz and his family to Toledo; moreover, according to José Mattoso, it was also João Soares Coelho who commissioned Egas Moniz's second tomb, located in the monastery of Paço de Sousa, where some episodes of the gest are recorded, namely his trip to Toledo (Mattoso, 1985b: 314–316).

The main sources of these texts — viz, the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*,⁵ written by Count Pedro de Barcelos, and the *Crónica de Portugal 1419*,⁶ among others —, mention further episodes, such as the abovementioned event at São Mamede, the miracle of Cárquere or the death of Egas Moniz on his way to Ourique.⁷ But my attention is undeniably captured by the source about the upbringing (or supposed upbringing) of our first monarch by the nobleman of Riba Douro. According to this source:

- E este dom Egas Moniz criou el rei dom Afonso de Portugal, o primeiro que i houve, e fez erguer o emperador que jazia sobre Guimarães com companhia a guisa de lealdade. E fez senhor do reino o criado, a pezar de sa madre, a rainha Tareja, de cuja parte o reino vinha (LD9A2);
- E este Lourenço Veegas, suso dito, foi o que amou muito el rei dom Afonso, o primeiro rei de Portugal, e nom no chamava senom irmão, porque o criara seu padre dom Egas Moniz (LL36A6);
- Senhor, eu vos peço por merçe que qualquer cousa que vossa molher, a rainha Tareja, parir, ora seja homem, ora seja molher, que vós mo deis e eu o criarei” (Cr.1419: 6).

⁵ This version mentions Egas Moniz as the main responsible for the victory at São Mamede, as well as in the episodes of the siege of Guimarães, the homage of loyalty, and the journey to Toledo (Cr.1344: 216–223).

⁶ Here is the most thorough version of the various episodes involving Egas Moniz, namely the miracle of Cárquere (Cr.1419: 5–7, 10–11 and 12–18).

⁷ This is, naturally, a late addition and a misunderstanding, since Egas Moniz died in 1146, that is, some years after that battle, which took place in 1139. José Mattoso has rightly pointed out that it was a matter of “justifying the absence of the Tutor in such an important event” (Mattoso, 1985b: 303). I believe that associating the name Egas Moniz to Mem Moniz de Candarei, one of the main actors in the attack and conquest of Santarém in 1147, might also have served the same purpose, i.e., the Tutor was not present in the conquest because he had died the previous year, but he was a relative of one of the heroes of that journey. As for the miracle of Cárquere, the same Author, while not excluding that it might belong to the original text, admits that it was created to be associated with the gest of Afonso Henriques (MATTOSO, 1985b: 302–303).

I have no reason to dispute my Master's proposal as to the authorship of Egas Moniz's gest by João Soares Coelho. But did the latter build this whole poetic plot or narrative out of nothing, or did he start from specific elements, memories of real episodes transmitted from generation to generation by family tradition? Is this too difficult to accept, at a distance of just a century between Egas Moniz and his great-great-grandson, João Soares Coelho?

I even consider that the starting point may have been the actual upbringing of Affonso Henriques by Egas Moniz, precisely in the palaces the former owned by the Douro. The question is the following: If João Soares Coelho did create the gest — let us assume that it was around the 1250's or 1260's —, it would have circulated especially in the Court, the place where its author would have most desired to publicize it. But what is the possibility of it taking root so quickly among the people of the distant juridical district of Sanfins, to the extent that the witnesses who were questioned there in 1288, as mentioned above, peremptorily stated that the young prince was brought up in Egas Moniz's palaces in Cresconhe?

I thereby believe that Egas Moniz was, in fact, our first monarch's tutor, for he undeniably played a very relevant role in launching his "pupil's" political career. However, before concluding, I would like to propose an interpretation, which hopefully will at least merit some pondering from readers and researchers on these topics.

Indeed, I do not think that the interest of the lords of Riba Douro in the son and heir of the Counts of Portugal was a mere exercise in devoted loyalty. It would certainly be the case, but I admit that the underlying reasons for this interest were far deeper and more ancient. It should be noted that my hypothesis, undoubtedly fragile, is based on two coincidences: the first is the lineage per se, that is, the leading role of the lords of Riba Douro regarding Affonso Henriques and not any other lineage; and the second is the fact that they were the first ones to distance themselves from Theresa, precisely when she began to unabashedly assume the Travas' declared support.

This has always been the central question — Queen of what? Certainly not of Portugal, which had no tradition whatsoever as a kingdom, but of Galicia. Now, the Riba Douro people had a close relationship with this ephemeral kingdom — which only lasted between 1065 and 1072⁸ in the possession of King García II —, particularly with the unfortunate monarch, and most of the few remaining documents from his reign are kept in the registry of the Portuguese monastery of S. João de Pendorada, precisely one of the coenobia that benefited from the committed protection of the Riba Douro people.

In brief, I believe that the Riba Douro people — whether Mónio Ermiges, the Counts' majordomo and father of Egas Moniz, or the latter and his brothers — may have been the guardians of the idea of a restored kingdom of Galicia. In the person of Theresa, I concede, as García's niece, and with the support of the *Portucalense* noblemen, whose previous generation had helped the monarch to defeat the last count of Portucale, Nuno Mendes, in Pedroso (1071). But never under the tutelage of the Galician nobility, and much less under the tutelage of the more powerful Travas counts. Hence their distancing from Theresa from 1121, hence the beginning of the revolt, apparently led by Egas Moniz, and hence his support to Affonso Henriques, both in 1127 and at São Mamede. Stressing what I have already stated on other occasions, this also explains why none of the most prominent noblemen who fought with him at the battlefield of São Mamede accompanied our first monarch when he journeyed from Guimarães to Coimbra (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 2009 and 2018).

The first and foremost project of the northern lords was the restoration of the kingdom of Galicia, whose crown would be taken by Affonso Henriques, the grand-

⁸ On this reign and the relationship with the Riba Douro lords, see, for all, PORTELA SILVA, 2001.

nephew of García II, and whenever he traveled through Minho they were at his side. But his distinct project implied his liberation from the suffocating tutelage of the noblemen to whom he owed his rise to earl's power, that is, he could only assert himself in the border war against the Moors, expanding the territory he had received from his forefathers. These are different projects and, from my point of view, they had consequences that went far beyond the lives of these protagonists. But that would be an entirely different matter..

Conclusion

At the end of all these considerations, and as in many other matters, everything points to the effectual historical importance of Egas Moniz de Riba Douro, and his decisive role, along with other noblemen, in the beginning of the revolt against the troublesome Galician presence and influence on Queen Theresa, and then in the unequivocal support to Prince Affonso Henriques on his rise to the Throne.

As for legends and miracles, as well as for the rest, it is merely a matter of Faith, and faith should be respected, whether one professes it or not. But beyond that perspective, how many of the most inspired moments in European and world literature would not have existed without this simple touch of human devotion? In view of this, the miracles of Cárquere and Ourique, or the episode of Egas Moniz with his wife and children dressed in sackcloth and with a rope around their necks before a loutish King of Leon, whether they existed or not, they are a seminal part, and true cement, of our relationship with History and, whether we like it or not, the Heritage of all Portuguese.

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