

ЧЕЛОВЕК И ОБЩЕСТВО

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IPSA DOMINA AGNES. ON THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF THE MYTH OF INÊS DE CASTRO¹

The common basis shared by historical episodes, legends, and myths can be reduced to a sentence: «Once upon a time, something happened». The difference between them lies in whether the story «really happened», or not. This apparently simple distinction, however, is not always easy to make. For instance, when studying the Middle Ages, it is quite common for the researchers to analyze historical episodes that contain fictitious elements. Sometimes truths and lies were mixed in the testimonies to achieve a — usually political — objective. Frequently, facts and fiction were blended by the authors of medieval historiographical texts. The definition of «real» — and also of «true», «actual», or «authentic» — being so complex in this context, it is especially challenging to establish the limits between «fact», «legend», and «myth» when a historical episode has become legendary or mythological. Still, anyone who intends to study the historical basis of the myth — or legend — of Inês de Castro must try to solve this set of problems: the questionable veracity of the testimonies, the complex characteristics of the medieval historiographical texts, and the borders that separate history, legend, and myth. The last one is perhaps the easiest to work out.

Presently, and according to the Oxford Dictionary, the term «legend» means «a traditional story sometimes popularly regarded as historical but not authenticated»; while a «myth» is «a traditional story, especially one

¹ This paper has been written in the remit of the project «Lugares de poder e configuração política do reino português (1279–1383)» (FCT–SFRH/BDP/73087/2010). I would like to thank Adriana Almeida for the gentle corrections and helpful suggestions.

concerning the early history of a people or explaining a natural or social phenomenon, and typically involving supernatural beings or events». In other words, a legend is a story coming down from the past, set in a historical context, and accompanied by historical facts, considered historical although not verifiable. A myth, an elaborated account that tries to make intelligible something otherwise difficult to explain — creation, divinity, religion, natural phenomena — usually including fantastical elements. This division explains why there is a legend of King Arthur and a myth of Heracles; but not why the death of Inês de Castro, a historical episode that turned into a legend, is usually designated as myth.

To understand why this designation is valid, it becomes necessary to introduce other meanings of the terms. Besides stories, both legends and myths can be real persons — extremely famous or notorious, in the case of legends, and idealized or exaggerated in that of myths. It is therefore accurate to say Inês de Castro — a famous and idealized historical character — is simultaneously a legend and a myth. It is furthermore correct to say she is at the same time a legend, a myth, and a legendary and mythological character. Being the etymological origins of the words «legend» and «myth», respectively, «something to be read» (*legenda*), and «story» (μῦθος), Inês de Castro can be considered simultaneously a famous and idealized person, and the passive heroine of her own *legenda* or μῦθος; that is, a story known for centuries and significant in the European culture.

The essence of this story is the murder of Inês, the mistress of Prince Pedro of Portugal, by order of King Afonso IV. After that, the prince rebelled against his father, started a war and, on coming to the throne, solemnly declared he and Inês had actually been married, and proclaimed her queen after her death. The story has evolved in poems, theatre plays, paintings, and novels from the Middle Ages until our days, seducing audiences throughout generations with its appealing elements: the unfair execution, the consequent war, the later vengeance, the eternal love unconquered by time or death². Numerous narratives have recreated

² On the literature about the story, *Costa, J. P.* Inês de Castro (1320?–1355): Musa de tantas paixões. Bibliografia anotada. Lisboa, 2009; *Roig, A.* Inesiana ou bibliografia geral sobre Inês de Castro. Coimbra, 1986; *Sousa, M. L. M.* 1) Inês de Castro: Um tema português na Europa. Lisboa, 2004; 2) Inês de Castro na literatura portuguesa. Lisboa, 1984.

the picture of the innocent and helpless victim asking for clemency, surrounded by her children. The scene was recounted by the chronicler Rui de Pina about a century and a half after it happened, and popularized by Luís de Camões in the probably most well-known fragment of the poem *Os Lusíadas*³:

*Shalt thou, who wear'st the sacred stamp of Heaven,
The human form divine, shalt thou deny
That aid, that pity, which e'en beasts supply!
Oh, that thy heart were, as thy looks declare,
Of human mould, superfluous were my prayer;
Thou couldst not, then, a helpless damsel slay,
Whose sole offence in fond affection lay,
In faith to him who first his love confess'd,
Who first to love allur'd her virgin breast.
In these my babes shalt thou thine image see,
And, still tremendous, hurl thy rage on me?
Me, for their sakes, if yet thou wilt not spare,
Oh, let these infants prove thy pious care!*

The death of Inês is not the only episode that has been repeatedly evoked. According to the 15th century chronicler Fernão Lopes, when the prince became king he carried out a sadistic revenge against her murderers, ordering two macabre executions⁴:

³ *The Lusiad or The Discovery of India. An Epic Poem.* Translated from the Portuguese of Luis de Camoëns by William Julius Mickle. London, 1877. The original text is this: «Ó tu, que tens de humano o gesto e o peito / (Se de humano é matar hũa donzela, / Fraca e sem força, só por ter sujeito / O coração a quem soube vencê-la), / A estas criancinhas tem respeito, / Pois o não tens à morte escura dela; / Mova-te a piedade sua e minha, / Pois te não move a culpa que não tinha» (*Os Lusíadas*, Canto III, 127). See Sousa, M. L. M. O episódio camoniano de Inês de Castro em Inglaterra, in: *Actas do Colóquio Comemorativo do VI Centenário do Tratado de Windsor*. Porto, 1988. P. 151–160.

⁴ «E el-rrei com queixume dizem que deu hũa açoute no rostro a Pero Coelho, e elle se soltou entom contra el-rrei em desonestas e feas pallavras, chamando-lhe treedor, fe perjuro, algoz e carniceiro dos homees; e el-rrei dizendo que lhe trouxessem cebolla e vinagre pera o coelho, enfadou-sse delles e mandou-hos matar. A maneira de sua

[The king] gave Pero Coelho a slash in the face, and then he said to the king dishonest and ugly words, calling him a traitor, a perjurer, a tormentor, and a butcher of men. Then the king asked for onion and vinegar [to cook] the rabbit⁵, [and after that] he got tired of them, and ordered them to be killed.

The way they were killed, if explained in detail, would be too strange and crude to tell, as the king ordered Pero Coelho's heart to be ripped out through his breast, and Alvaro Gonçalves' through his back. And the words heard by the one who did it, who did not know how to do it, would be very painful to hear. Finally, they were burnt. And everything was done before the palaces where the king was staying, so as while he ate he could watch his orders being carried out.

The nineteenth-century romantic imagination took a special interest in this event, and also in Inês' gothic *post mortem* coronation, frequently portrayed as a scene where a decomposed corpse sat on a throne while the nobility of the realm kissed its mouldering hand.

While it is easy to understand why all these episodes led to the creation and development of the legend or myth, it is not so simple to identify its historical bases. There is no doubt Inês de Castro lived in the 14th century, had a romantic relationship with Prince Pedro and gave birth to some of his children; or that was murdered, and was later declared Pedro's legitimate wife by the king himself. Several documents prove all these facts, some historiographical texts relate various chapters of the story, and a funerary monument ordered by King Pedro depicts Inês with a crown. Nevertheless, the literary narrative has eclipsed the historical episode, decorating the facts with details that possibly do not correspond to the real events. The story of Inês de Castro is, for all this, a good example of the intersections between Literature and History, fiction and fact.

This paper aims to analyze this intersection paying particular attention to its historical component⁶. Thus, and although the conversion

morte, seendo dita pello meudo, seria mui estranha e crua de contar, ca mandou tirar o coração pellos peitos a Pero Coelho, e a Alvaro Gonçallvez pellas espadoas; e quaaes palavras ouve, e aquel que lho tirava que tall officio avia pouco em costume, seeria bem doorida cousa d'ouvir. Enfim mandou-hos queimar: e tudo feito ante os paaços onde ell pousava, de guisa que comendo oolhava quanto mandava fazer», *Lopes, F. Crónica de D. Pedro*. Lisboa, 2007. Cap. XXXI.

⁵ Pero Coelho's surname means «rabbit».

⁶ This intersection has been deeply studied. See, among others: *Aranjo, D. Inês*

of a historical episode into a legend is extremely interesting, the attention will be focused on a previous stage, and specifically on the process through which reality became a story. As shall be seen, that story was constructed and transformed according to different political interests. For this reason, it is necessary to distinguish between the significance of the death of Inês de Castro at the moment it happened and the meaning it was given later on. Equally important is to understand, as far as possible, who Inês was and why she was thus condemned. This approach might invite a chronological order, but neither the sources nor the facts are ordered chronologically. Actually, the data are dispersed, located in different layers, and all these layers conform to the substratum of the story. To find out how each layer projects on the others is the main goal of this paper.

1 – The prehistory of Inês

In the first half of the 14th century, in an Iberian Peninsula divided into five geopolitical territories — Portugal, Castile, Aragon, Navarra, and Granada — the Portuguese frontiers were already similar to the current ones, although the borders held not the significance they would later acquire. It was usual for the nobility in western Iberia to hold properties and titles in both Portugal and Castile⁷,

de Castro, la Reine morte: Mythe et réalité, in: *Babel*. 2013. Vol. 27. URL: <http://babel.revues.org/3389> (11. 06. 2017); *Asensio, E.* Inês de Castro: De la crónica al mito, in: *Boletín de Filología*. 1962–1963. Vol. 21. P. 337–358; *Ferreira, M. R.* 1) Inês de Castro et la juive de Tolède: Un cas de réception active chez Fernão Lopes, in: *e-Spania*. 2014. Vol. 19. URL: <http://e-Spania.revues.org/23958> (12. 06. 2017); 2) Onde está Inês posta em sossego? Da escrita da História como lugar de poder; in: *VI Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval (AHLM)*, Coimbra, Outubro de 2006 (unpublished). URL: <http://ifilosofia.up.pt/gfm/seminar/docs/> (12. 06. 2017); 3) Inês de Castro: Du personnage au mythe. Echos dans la culture portugaise et européenne. Paris, 2008; *Marinho, M. F.* Inês de Castro. Outra era a vez. I parte, in: *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Línguas e Literaturas*. 1990. II série, Vol. 7. P. 103–136; *Marinho, M. F.* Inês de Castro. Outra era a vez. II parte, in: *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Línguas e Literaturas*. 1991. II série, Vol. 8. P. 7–46; *Pedro e Inês*. O futuro do passado. Congresso Internacional. Coimbra, 2013; *Pimenta, C. D.* Pedro I. Lisboa, 2012; *Sena, J.* Inês de Castro: Literatura Portuguesa de Fernão Lopes a Camões e História Social de D. Afonso IV a D. Sebastião, in: *Estudos de História e de Cultura*. Lisboa, 1967. P. 123–621. Still, its historical component has been less analyzed than the literary one.
⁷ On the nobility on this period, see *Pizarro, J. A. S.* Linhagens medievais portuguesas: Genealogias e estratégias, 1279–1325. Porto, 1999.

and several marriages made the Portuguese and Castilian royal families almost one and the same. The son and daughter of Sancho IV of Castile and María de Molina — Fernando and Beatriz — married, respectively, the daughter and son of Dinis of Portugal and Isabel of Aragon — Constança and Afonso. Thereby, Alfonso XI of Castile — son of Fernando IV of Castile and Constança of Portugal — and the heir to the Portuguese throne, Pedro — son of Afonso IV and Beatriz of Castile — were first cousins on both sides. The same was true for Pedro's sister, Maria, whom Alfonso XI of Castile married in 1328. Before that, he practically married Constanza Manuel, the daughter of *Don* Juan Manuel — one of the most prominent aristocrats of Castile, and grandson of King Fernando III. Eventually, Constanza became the wife of Pedro of Portugal.

In order to better comprehend this intricate panorama, it is useful to consult the genealogical tables provided at the end, which allow a finer grasp on kinship, marriages, and the political alliances in general between both kingdoms. In addition, it is important to note Alfonso XI of Castile and Juan Manuel were enemies, the engagement of the king with Constanza Manuel having been an attempt to control the bride's father. Constanza's marriage to the heir of Portugal was, therefore, viewed by the Castilian king as nothing short of betrayal. In parallel, one should take into account that around this time Alfonso XI began a love affair with a Castilian noblewoman, Leonor de Guzmán, which would last many years and cause several problems with his wife, Maria of Portugal, and his father-in-law, the king of Portugal⁸. All these and many others courtly plots conditioned the atmosphere of both the Castilian and the Portuguese royal courts in the 14th century; and this was the environment where Inês de Castro emerged⁹.

Even if not all the kings and princes of the time had mistresses, it was certainly common. Most of those mistresses, and their sons and daugh-

⁸ On this period, see: *Costa, A. P. M.* Inês de Castro, in: *A rainha, as infantas e a aia: Beatriz de Castela, Branca de Castela, Constança Manuel, Inês de Castro* / Ed. by V. L. Menino, A. P. M. Costa. P. 227–417; and also: *Sánchez-Arcilla, J.* Alfonso XI (1312–1350). Palencia, 1995, and *Sousa, B. V. D.* Afonso IV. Lisboa, 2013.

⁹ On the history of Inês de Castro, see *Arnaut, S. D.* O episódio de Inês de Castro à luz da História. Lisboa, 1972; *Coelho, M. H. C., Rebelo, A. M. R. D.* Pedro e D. Inês. Diálogos entre o amor e a morte. Coimbra, 2016; *Costa, A. P. M.* Inês de Castro...; *González Vázquez, M.* Inês de Castro. Santiago, 2003.

ters, had political weight. They usually lived in the royal courts, enjoyed some of the privileges of the royal family, and — most importantly — often had a significant influence over the kings, thereby being key pieces in the political game. As rivalries between parties were a constant, their proximity to the monarchs was unquestionably crucial. As a rule, royal mistresses belonged to noble lineages and so were part of those networks. It was common too for noblemen to have mistresses and illegitimate children, frequently cohabiting with their wives and heirs and holding similar rights. Inês de Castro was herself daughter of a mistress. Her father was Pedro de Castro, one of the most prominent noblemen of Castile at the time; her mother, Aldonça Lourenço de Valadares, was the daughter of a Portuguese nobleman¹⁰. Inês was raised in the household of Teresa Martins, wife to Afonso Sanches, an illegitimate son of King Dinis of Portugal. Teresa was the daughter of João Afonso Teles de Meneses, Count of Barcelos and Lord of Albuquerque, and Teresa Sanches, an illegitimate daughter of King Sancho IV of Castile.

Afonso IV of Portugal had no illegitimate descendants, and only three of his legitimate offspring survived. His daughters, Maria and Leonor, married the kings of Castile and Aragon respectively. His only son, Pedro, was his natural heir, and therefore his marriage was extremely important. He came very close to wedding a granddaughter of King Sancho IV of Castile — Blanca de Castilla — but, for unclear reasons, the commitment was dissolved and another one was signed, in 1336, with Constanza Manuel. Traditionally, it was believed Inês de Castro had arrived in Portugal at the time of the latter union — possibly in 1345 — as part of the entourage of the new princess. In the last few years the issue has been under discussion, and scholars now agree she was indeed in the princess' household but most probably did not travel to the country with

¹⁰ On Inês' family, see *Fernandes, F. R.* Do pacto e seus rompimentos: os Castro Galegos e a condição de traidor na Guerra dos Cem Anos. Curitiba, 2016; *Fernandes, F. R.* 1) Estratégias de legitimação linhagística em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV, in: *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História.* 2006. 3ª Série, Vol. 7. P. 263–284; 2) Os Castro galegos em Portugal: Um perfil de nobreza itinerante, in: *Actas de las Primeras Jornadas de Historia de España.* Buenos Aires, 2000. Vol. 2. P. 136–144; *Pardo de Guevara y Valdés, E.* De las viejas estirpes a las nuevas hidalguías. El entramado nobiliario gallego al fin de la Edad Media, in: *Nalgures.* 2006. Vol. 3. P. 263–278; *Romero Portilla, P.* Implicaciones gallegas en el caso de Inés de Castro, in: *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História.* 1998. 2ª Série, Vol. 15. 2. P. 1493–1508.

her. Discussion has also addressed the question of whether or not she was godmother to one of Constanza Manuel's sons, as declared in a later testimony, but no conclusion could be reached¹¹.

Unfortunately, little is known about Inês's actual life. It is not possible to establish her position at court, and there are no sources to determine when she arrived in Portugal, nor when her relationship with Pedro began. Apparently, only one thing can be ascertained: after the death of Constanza, and despite the efforts of his father, Pedro refused to marry again. The majority of the «unknowns» are due to the fact that remarkably few documents of the 14th century have been preserved in the western area of the Iberian Peninsula. This circumstance, the fact Pedro was not yet king when Inês was still alive, and the late chronology of the historiographical texts narrating this period, make it quite difficult to know what actually happened in those years. In addition, there is a veil covering the events taking place before 1355; a veil created in a specific context, thirty years later.

King Pedro died in 1367, and his son, Fernando, in 1383, leaving as heiress a child, Beatriz, married to the king of Castile, Juan I. Due to the opposition of part of the kingdom to this succession, João de Avis, an illegitimate son of Pedro, was acclaimed in 1385. In order to keep the crown, João had to demonstrate the other descendants were as illegitimate as himself. To that effect, an effort was made to declare null all the marriages of King Pedro, creating a narrative that, to a large extent, transformed the past¹². History was rewritten and, in doing so, the story of Inês de Castro was written. In order to understand this process, it is

¹¹ On all these discussions, see *Costa, A. P. M. Inês de Castro...*

¹² See *Arnaut, S. D. Os amores de Pedro e Inês: Suas consequências políticas*. Coimbra, 1986; *Arnaut, S. D. A crise nacional de finais do século XIV: A sucessão de D. Fernando*. Coimbra, 1960; *Brásio, A. Duas notas marginais ao problema do casamento de D. Pedro com D. Inês de Castro*, in: *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*. 1962. Serie II. Vol. 12. P. 97–112; *Brásio, A. Os casamentos de D. Pedro I e o auto das Cortes de 1385*, in: *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*. 1961. Serie II. Vol. 11. P. 235–280; *Brásio, A. A argumentação de João das Regras nas Cortes de Coimbra de 1385*, in: *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*. 1961. Serie II. Vol. 11. P. 197–231; *Brásio, A. As razões de João das Regras nas Cortes de Coimbra*, in: *Lusitânia. Revista do Centro de Estudos de História Eclesiástica*. 1958. Vol. 3. P. 7–40; *Caetano, M. As Cortes de 1385*, in: *Revista Portuguesa de História*. 1951. Vol. 5. 2. P. 5–86; *Conde de Tóvar. A legitimidade dos filhos de D. Inês de Castro*, in: *Bracara Augusta*. 1963. Vol. 14–15. P. 301–315.

essential to analyze the sources distinguishing between the documents prior to 1385 and the texts written after that.

2 – The history of Inês: the sources written before 1385

When reading the sources in chronological order, the first revelation is that Inês de Castro only came on the stage after her death. To be more precise, on the 5th of August 1355, when Prince Pedro, in the small village of Canaveses, commanded the following to be written down, in three copies¹³:

There being a quarrel between the very high and powerful lord Afonso, by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarve, and the very noble lord Prince Pedro, his first son and heir, as a result of the death of *Dona Enes* and a few other things that have been happening since then, the king demanded the prince forgot revenge and rage and forever forgave the noblemen and the others who had gone with him [the King] to the place where Enes had died, and also the others he [Pedro] considered and considers guilty, suspecting and asserting they had partaken, by advice, conscience and aid in the said death, as well as any others, and for all other things that have been happening since then, for what he thinks and considers that neither his honour nor his service have been kept.

Apparently, Pedro had been fighting against his father for some time. The prince and his noble supporters had tried to take Porto. Queen Beatriz, or Brites, had interceded so that peace between father

¹³ «Seendo desuairo antre o muito alto e poderoso Senhor Dom Affonso pela graça de deos rrei de Portugal e do Algarue E o mui Nobre Senhor Iffante dom Pedro seu filho primeiro herdeiro per rrazom da morte de dona Enes e d'algwas outras cousas que desentom aaca rrecreçerom dizendo El rrey que o iffante perdesse sanha e maao talante e perdoasse pera sempre aos fidalgos e aos outros da sa merçe que com el chegarom a aquele logar hu a morte da dicta dona Enes foi E aos outros que el auia e ha per culpados Sospeitando teendo e afirmando que forom en conselho e sabedores e ajudadores da sobredita morte e a quaesquer outros e por toda las outras cousas que desentom a aca rrecreçerom en que el entende e rrazoa que non foi aguardada a sa honrra nen o seu serviço». Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (A.N.T.T.). Gaveta 13. Maço 9. No 26. These, and other documents regarding this subject, were copied one year later by the notary Vasco Eanes in a «covenant and agreement' document preserved in the Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. It has been published in Documentos do Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Livro dos Reis I. Vol. 1. Lisboa, 1957. P. 118–125, and *Loureiro, S.* O conflicto entre D. Afonso IV e o infante D. Pedro (1355–1356), in: *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal*, S.a. 1^a. Série, No 7. P. 8–63.

and son could be signed. The origin of this quarrel — «desuairo» in the original — had been the death of «*Dona Enes*»¹⁴. Essentially, what can be worked out from this text is that Inês de Castro had died — although it is not explained when, how, or where — and the prince blamed his father for that. It can also be deduced King Afonso was present when she died, that he had gone there with some purpose, and that some people accompanied him¹⁵. Needless to say, the prince's promise — to forgive all those whom he considered directly or indirectly involved in the death of Inês de Castro — was not fulfilled¹⁶.

Inês de Castro was mentioned again in a document dated three years later, when the already king Pedro confirmed the jurisdictions belonging to the monastery of Alcobaça. Therein he expressed his intention to be buried in the monastery with his wife Inês and his sons¹⁷. By that time,

¹⁴ See: *Menino, V. L.* Beatriz de Castela, in: *A rainha, as infantas e a aia; Menino, V. L.* A rainha D. Beatriz e a sua casa (1293–1359). PhD thesis. Lisboa, 2012; *Vasconcelos, A., Vasconcelos, C. M., Vasconcelos, J.* Inês de Castro: Estudo para uma série de lições no curso de História de Portugal. Coimbra, 1928; and *Basto, A. M.* Estudos: Cronistas e crónicas antigas. Fernão Lopes e a 'Crónica de 1419'. Coimbra, 1959.

¹⁵ The document refers also to João, a son of Prince Pedro that should receive a county: «E dom Joham filho do dicto senhor iffante dom Pedro, aja o dicto condado com dez mil lybras en quantya, das quaes as çimquo mil lybras sejam pera mantymto seu e pera o al que lhy conprir e as outras çimquo mil lybras pera moordomo e alfarez e vassallos que sejam do livro do iffante quaes el reij scolher. E estes moordomo e alfarez e vassallos fazerem prometymento, juramento e menagem ao dicto senhor reij que o servham bem e lealmente e lhy sejam obedyentes en aquelo que lhys el mandar, aca que o dicto dom Joham seja d'hydade de quatorze annos. E depoijs que esse dom Joham for da dicta hydade servham esses vassallos a el reij pela guisa que devem» (A.N.T.T. Gaveta 13. Maço 9. No 26).

¹⁶ Some of them lost their properties, such as the Jew Rabbi Guedelha Negro: «D. Juda, rabi mor, era filho de Guedelha, rabi mor, e estes pertenciam à família dos Negro (Ibn Yahia). Guedelha Negro, filho daquele, seria rabi mor no tempo de D. Afonso IV e cairia em desgraça junto de D. Pedro I, pois teria apoiado o assassinato de Inês de Castro. Prova desta queda era a doação da sua quinta em Frielas a mestre Vivas, judeu, médico do infante D. João, filho da Castro e de D. Pedro e, mais tarde, uma quinta do rabi mor Guedelha Negro seria doada a Inês Afonso, criada do rei» (*Tavares, M. J. F.* Judeus de Castela em Portugal no final da Idade Média: Onomástica familiar e mobilidade, in: *Sefarad*. 2014. Vol. 74:1. P. 100). The documents are published in: *Marques, A. H. O.* Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Pedro I, 1357–1367. Lisboa, 1984. P. 157 (doc. 398), and P. 486–487 (doc. 1027).

¹⁷ «E como seia nosso proposito e entengom de nos mandar hi deitar e dona Jnes de castro nossa molher e nosso [sic] filhos ao tempo de nosso saymento deste mundo» (Leiria, 8 of September 1358, in: *A. H. O.* Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Pedro I. P. 125–

the remains of the king's father lay in Lisbon, and the remains of Constanza Manuel in Santarem. Yet, choosing Alcobça as burial place was not as peculiar as naming Inês de Castro «his wife», because it was not until June 1360 that the king declared he had married her in life¹⁸. For that purpose, the monarch convened in Coimbra some of the principal men of the kingdom to listen to the testimonies of the two witnesses of the marriage, and to examine the papal bull allowing him to marry a relative. In that meeting it was established that, approximately seven years before, in Bragança, Pedro and Inês had become husband and wife in a secret ceremony, after which they had lived together until she died¹⁹. It was also declared that, due to the prince not having his father's permission to marry at the time, the matrimony had not been published²⁰.

In the literature on the subject, it is usually pointed out that the delay in making the marriage public and the inaccuracies in the testimonies demonstrate the king was lying²¹. That is possible, but it should be kept in mind at all times that sources are scarce and can lead to misinterpretation. Even though now only one document survives where Pedro refers to Inês as «his wife», it is possible he commonly did that even before

127 (doc. 324)). Also in «Carta de confirmação pela qual o rei D. Pedro I revalidou a Alcobça os coutos e jurisdições, e restituiu as que seu pai, D. Afonso IV, tinha tirado ao mosteiro» (A.N.T.T., Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobça, 1.^a incorporação, Documentos régios. Maço 4. No 15).

¹⁸ «Juramento de D. Pedro I do matrimónio celebrado com D. Inês de Castro» (Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo. Gaveta 15. Maço 20. No 10). Published in: *Sousa, A. C. S. Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*. Lisboa, 1749. Vol. 1. P. 275–279.

¹⁹ «O dito Senhor rrey dom / Pedro seendo enton Iffant passa dhūs sete annos estando na villa de Bragança e viuiendo enton El rrey dom Affonso seu padre a quem deus perdoe rreçebeu por sua molher lydima por palavras de presente assi commo manda a sancta Eglesia donna / Enes de Crasto filha que foi de dom Pero fernandes de Crasto e essa donna Enes er rreçebeu por seu marido lydimo [...] o dito Senhor rrey que ora he tenera a dita donna Enes por sua molher lydima por hũu dous tres anos e mais ata o tempo da morte dessa donna Enes viuiendo ambos de consũu e fayendosse maridança pela guisa que deuiam» (A.N.T.T. Gaveta 15. Maço 20. No 10).

²⁰ «Por que os ditos rreçebimentos e casamento non foram eisemprados nem claramente sabudos comunalmente a todos os do Senhorio de Portugal em uida do dito Senhor rrey dom Affonso por rreço e temor que o dito seu filho del auia casando assi sem seu mandado e consentimento» (A.N.T.T. Gaveta 15. Maço 20. No 10).

²¹ See *Costa, A. P. M. Inês de Castro*. P. 424–428.

officially declaring they had been married²². Indeed, that was probably the reason leading the monarch to legitimize that union three years after his ascension to the throne: to silence the doubts²³. That same year, a few months later, the king paid for masses to be sung for Inês' soul²⁴; and it is quite likely that by that time the monumental tomb of Inês in Alcobaça had already been finished. Shortly afterwards, between 1361 and 1363, the lady's mortal remains were transferred to the monastery²⁵.

The funeral services were officiated by the archbishop of Braga, Jean de Cardaillac, who had previously been an official speaker at the pontifical court in Avignon²⁶. His sermon has been preserved and offers some information on Inês²⁷. Drawing a parallel with the biblical story of Abraham and Sara, it begins with a reference to the «magnifica sepultura»²⁸:

²² Inês' sons are entitled «infantes' in other documents before 1360. For instance, in the will of their grandmother, Beatriz. See *Sousa, A. C. S. Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*. Vol. 1. P. 228–238.

²³ «Poren o dito Senhor rrey dom Pedro para desencarregar sua consciẽncia e dizer uerdade e non seer duuida a alguũs que dos ditos casamento e reçoimentos duuidauan se foram assi ou non tomara juramento sobre os sanctos euangelhos sobre as cousas suso dictas e cada hũa delas» (A.N.T.T. Gaveta 15. Maço 20. No 10).

²⁴ «Em cada hũu dias duas mjsas de sobre altar e digam as oras canonjcas no dicto moesteiro de sancta marinha e hũa por honrra e stado meu em mjnha ujda E depois do meu saymento deste mundo por a mjnha alma E a outra polla alma de dona jnes de crasto mjnha molher» (*Marques, A. H. O. Chancelarias Portuguesas*: D. Pedro I. P. 183–185 (doc. 469)). The document was written in Porto on 18 of October 1360, and addressed to the monastery of Santa Marinha of Guimarães.

²⁵ *Coelho, M. H. C. D. Pedro e D. Inês. Diálogos entre o amor e a morte*. P. 10. *Arnaut, S. D. A crise nacional de finais do século XIV*. P. 90–93.

²⁶ *Rebelo, A. M. R. Estudo filológico*, in: *Coelho, M. H. C., Rebelo, A. M. R. D Pedro e D. Inês. Diálogos entre o amor e a morte*. P. 75–76.

²⁷ *Rebelo, A. M. R. Sermão nas exéquias de D. Inês de Castro. Edição crítica, tradução e comentário filológico*, in: *Coelho, M. H. C., Rebelo, A. M. R. D. Pedro e D. Inês. Diálogos entre o amor e a morte*. P. 75–76.

²⁸ «Iste Abraam, princeps magnus et excelsus, licet aliquando — iram et motum Dominis Regis Alfonci, patris sui, dubitando — Dominam Agnetem de Castro Infantissam, cuius exequias in presenti celebramus, uxorem suam esse celauit, tanem quantum ad dilectionis et cure ipsius dum uiueret scinceritatem et potissime nunc deffuncte sepulture ipsius excellentem nobilitatem, suam fuisse coniugem cunctis regni sui subditis hodie intimaui». *Rebelo, A. M. R. Sermão nas exéquias de D. Inês de Castro*. P. 52.

This Abraham, great and illustrious prince, in spite of having hidden — fearing the ire and wrath of his father King Afonso — that the Princess Inês de Castro, whose funerals we are celebrating, was his wife, with regard to the sincerity of the love and esteem he gave her in life, and specially now, after her death, with the remarkable grandeur of her sepulture, made clear today to all the subjects of his kingdom that she had been his consort.

In the praise, the posthumous portrait describes a generous, kindly, humble, and — above all — discreet woman, who was able to hide her marriage with Pedro²⁹. Yet, the most remarkable is that the sermon seems to indicate Inês managed to confessed before she died³⁰. If «confiteor» can be interpreted as «confess»³¹, this is indeed an important information because it suggests her death was not as sudden as is usually believed.

In his will, dated 1367 — the year he would pass away — Pedro remarked he and Inês had been married. Therein, the king styled Inês «princess» — «infante» — and made reference to her own will, now lost³².

²⁹ «O Deus, si concideres statum et conditionem Domine Agnetis, quondam Infantisse, certe reperies quod quamuis esset mulier uirtuosa quamuis esset mulier generosa, quamuis esset mulier cunctis gentibus gratiosa, quamuis esset tanto principi desponsata, quamuis esset tot et talibus filiis fecundata, semper tamen fuit per humilitatem sepulta et quantum ad opera sua bona absconsa se ipsam terram et mortalem considerando, mundi gloriam declinando, ymmo se uxorem tanti principis quod est contra genus mulierum abscondendo et ancillam confitendo, ut de ipsa dicamus quod «sepulta fuit Delbora ad radices montis Betel' (Gen. XXX^o quinto)» (*Rebello, A. M. R. Sermão nas exéquias de D. Inês de Castro. P. 64*).

³⁰ «Certe in ista sepultura pie credendum est — et ita uelit Deus — quod sit sepulta ista Domina Infantissa, cum bene et pie et iuste ipsam in hoc mundo uixisse nobis per dignos fide fuerit informatio facta et ultra hoc, si in aliquo Deum in hoc mundo offendit, bene egerit penitentiam in hoc mundo mortem temporalem sustinendo et sic cum finem dierum suorum preuideret pie opinandum est ipsam talen ac tantam habuisse contricionem quod eius anima — et ita placeat Deo — sit sepulta in paradiso ut de ipsa concludendo dicere ualeamus illud Iudit XV^o scriptum: Iudit, que dicitur confitens, defuncta este t sepulta in Betulia, que dicitur «domus sublimis', na mista domina Agnes, uidens mortem suam et sic Domino confitens et condolens reatus suos, mortua est et sepulta, nostra pia opinione, in Betulia, hoc est, domo sublimi Paradisi, in qua nos et ipsam sepeliti eternaliter faciat ipse Dei filius per cuncta secula benedictus» (*Rebello, A. M. R. Sermão nas exéquias de D. Inês de Castro. P. 70*).

³¹ See: *Rebello, A. M. R. Sermão nas exéquias de D. Inês de Castro. P. 73*.

³² «Item mandamos que entreguem aos filhos da Infante Donna Ignez que outro

This is the last source preserved for that period, i.e., the twelve years between the demise of Inês and the death of the king. All the documents made during this period give Pedro's version of their relationship, each and every one written after his lover had died. Except in the «covenant and agreement» signed with his father when Pedro was still a prince, Inês is named «princess» — not «queen» — in every text. It may be considered the main intention of the king was to legitimize the sons and daughter — João, Dinis, and Beatriz — he had had with Inês; but, undoubtedly, in doing so he gave way to a story. That story was probably well-known by his contemporaries, and was almost certainly transmitted orally³³. Nevertheless, the most complete narrative of that period, and the one considered the king's main testimony, is not verbal but iconographic: it is believed that in the bas-reliefs of the tombs of Pedro and Inês, which have given rise to varied interpretations, the story of Inês has been written in stone³⁴.

In parallel or in addition to the sculpted tombs and to the documents examined above, four historiographical texts were preserved that could also be considered primary sources for the study of Inês de Castro, as they were written by authors who were probably alive before her death, and apparently were not directly involved in the events that took place thirty years later — which led to the rewriting of Inês' story³⁵.

si foi nossa mulher a quintaa de Cansdelo que era sua e todo aquello que della ouemos como no deviamos pera o darem por sa alma como ella mandou em seu testamento» (*Sousa, A. C. S. Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*. Vol. 1. P. 279–282). The original document is in A.N.T.T. Gaveta 16. Maço 2. No 9.

³³ David bem Yom Tov Ibn Bilia, a Jewish author that lived in Coimbra in the 14th century, lamenting his love's misfortune wrote there had been only one worse: the misfortune of Pedro and Inês. See: *Sousa, M. L. M. Inês de Castro: Um tema português na Europa*. P. 39.

³⁴ On these interpretations see, among others, *Coelho, M. H. C. D. Pedro e D. Inês. Diálogos entre o amor e a morte*. P. 22–39; *Afonso, L. U. O ser e o tempo. As idades do homem no gótico português*. Lisboa, 2003; *Silva, J. C. V. O panteão régio do mosteiro de Alcobaça*. Lisboa, 2003; *Moralejo, S. El «texto» alcobacense sobre los amores de D. Pedro y D^a Inês*, in: Nascimento, A., Ribeiro, C. A. *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*. Lisboa. P. 71–89; *Almeida, C. A. F. A Roda da Fortuna / Roda da Vida do túmulo de D. Pedro em Alcobaça*, in: *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*. 1991. 2^a Série, Vol. 8. P. 255–263; *Santos, R. A iconografia dos túmulos de Alcobaça*, in: *Lusitânia*. 1923. Vol. 1. P. 83–90.

³⁵ For the medieval historiographical texts that narrate the story of Inês, see *Oliveira, A. R. As vidas de D. Pedro e de D. Inês de Castro na historiografia medieval portuguesa*, in: *Seminário Medieval 2007–2008* / Ed. Ferreira, M. R., Laranjinha, A. S., Miranda, J. C.

Two of them are concise historical records that merely — and very briefly — recount her death. In the *Livro da Noa* or *Livro das Eras de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* it is written that on 7 January 1355, Inês was beheaded by order of King Afonso IV — «Era milesima. ccc. nonagesima. iii. vii. dies januarii de colato fuit dona enes per mandatum domini regis alfonsi iiii.»³⁶. The *Breve Chronicon Alcobacense* states that on that same day King Afonso killed Inês in Coimbra — «Era m. ccc. lxxxx. iii. vii. dies Januarii occidit rex alfonsus domnam aguetem colimbrie»³⁷. These records are apparently similar, but the first one indicates the manner in which she died — «beheaded», which seems equivalent to «executed», by order of the king — while the second says that the king killed her in Coimbra — what should be interpreted as «he had her killed». The third historiographical source for the story of Inês de Castro is a version of the *Livro de linhagens do Conde Dom Pedro* written before 1383. Inês' father is mentioned in this text, and also the marriage with Pedro, as well as the names of their sons and daughter³⁸. Furthermore, there is an explicit reference to one of the men considered responsible for Inês' death, and to his own execution³⁹. As for the fourth text, we need some context to analyze it properly.

R. Porto, 2009. P. 113–125.

³⁶ *Livro da Noa*, A.N.T.T., Cón. Reg. Sto. Agostinho, M. Sta. Cruz Coimbra, liv. 99. Fol 19r. Published in *Cruz, A. Livro da Noa ou Livro das Eras de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, in: *Anais, Crónicas e Memórias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*. Porto, 1968. P. 69–88.

³⁷ *Herculano, A. Breve chronicon alcobacense*, in: *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Scriptores*. Lisboa, 1856. P. 20–22.

³⁸ «Casou outra vez este rei dom Pedro com a ifante dona Enês, filha de dom Pedro de Castro, e fez en ela o ifante dom Joham e o ifante dom Dinis e a ifante dona Beatriz». (*LL*, 21B17). Quoted in: *Oliveira, A. R. As vidas de D. Pedro e de D. Inês de Castro*. P. 115. From *Mattoso, J. Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro (LL)*. Lisboa, 1980. See also *Ferreira, M. R. A estratégia genealógica de D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos, e as refundições do Livro de Linhagens*, in: *e-Spania*, 2011. Vol. 11.

³⁹ «E este Pero Coelho matou-o el rei dom Pedro porque o culpou na morte de dona Ines de Crasto, que matou el rei dom Afonso, seu padre. Este Pero Coelho mostrou grande contriçom a sa morte, dizendo que ele perdoava a todos aqueles que o sentençaram e derom i conselho e ajudoiro, que Deos perdoasse a el». (*LL*, 32H7). Quoted in: *Oliveira, A. R. As vidas de D. Pedro e de D. Inês de Castro*. P. 115. From: *Mattoso, J. Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro (LL)*.

3 – The rewritings of Inês' story

Gathering all the information we already have, that is, the data collected from the sources written in Portugal before 1385, it can be asserted that Inês de Castro, daughter of Pedro de Castro, had a relationship with Pedro while he was still a prince; that King Afonso had her killed, probably beheaded; and that the prince commanded a revolt against his father to avenge her death. Some years later, Pedro declared they had been married, planned monumental tombs for both, and transferred the mortal remains of Inês to Alcobaça. He swore they had lived together, referred to her as princess, and declared legitimate the at least two sons and a daughter they had had together. Some documents explain why the prince did not make the marriage public during his father's lifetime, but none — so far — clarify why King Afonso ordered the lady's execution. This information is provided by a Castilian source.

As has been previously noted, the story of Inês de Castro is characterized by intersections: between Literature and History, between fiction and fact, between legitimate and illegitimate wives and sons, and between Portugal and Castile. This is the reason why one of the most important sources for the study of Inês' historical episode is not Portuguese, but Castilian. This is the chronicle written by Pero López de Ayala, who, although writing several years later, was twenty three years old at the time of Inês' demise. As a nobleman close to the Castilian kings who took part in several diplomatic missions, Ayala must have had very good knowledge of what was going on in Portugal. Furthermore, he was directly implicated in the war between Portugal and Castile that led to the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385, where he was taken prisoner, being detained in the castle of Óbidos for several months. He was thus sure to be aware of the story of Inês, and certainly had a political opinion about it.

Two similar but different versions of Ayala's chronicle have been preserved, both of them written by the author. In the first, Inês de Castro is mentioned twice: the first time to explain why her brother Álvaro went to Portugal⁴⁰, and the second in regard to her children⁴¹.

⁴⁰ «E don aluar perez de castro fue para el infante don pedro de portogal que tenia a donna ynes de castro su hermana la qual ouo despues por rreyna & ouo della el dicho infante don pedro al infante don Juan & al infante don donis & a la infante donna beatriz que caso conel conde don sancho hermano del dicho conde don enrique de castilla & el dicho infante don pedro de portogal rreçibio lo muy bien al dicho aluar

Additionally, she is likely implicated in a third episode, although her name is not mentioned in Ayala's record of it. For a better understanding of this episode, a summary of its political circumstances is necessary. They involve the nephew of King Pedro, who bore the same name and was king of Castile since 1350. In 1353 he had married Blanche of Bourbon, but had subsequently abandoned her. In 1354 he arranged a new alliance for himself, this time with a Castilian noblewoman, Juana de Castro, half-sister of Inês. Pedro of Castile had been facing almost continuous revolt since he inherited the crown, but the rebellion he had to face that year nearly made him lose the throne. Apparently, the aforementioned Álvaro Pérez de Castro, brother to Inês and Juana, offered the crown of Castile to Pedro of Portugal, by then still a prince⁴². Even though the Portuguese «infante» did not accept the proposal of the Castilian nobleman, the episode symbolizes the influence Inês' relatives had on the prince.

It is in the second version of his chronicle where Ayala included a whole chapter to tell the story of Inês. The narrative is quite extensive and detailed, and gives a clear reason why Inês de Castro was executed: according to Ayala, King Afonso wanted to find another wife for his heir, and had been displeased when informed the prince was already married to her⁴³. This is indeed a remarkable narrative, probably written in the last

perez de castro & fizo le mucho bien» (*Moure, J. L.* La llamada versión Abreviada de la Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla de Pero López de Ayala. PhD thesis. Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1991. P. 40).

⁴¹ «El conde don sancho hermano del rrey don enrique que casase con la infante donna beatriz hermana del rrey de portogal de padre & hermana de madre delos infantes don Juan & don donis ca era fija del rrey don pedro de portogal & de donna ynes de castro» (*Moure, J. L.* La llamada versión Abreviada. P. 295).

⁴² «Estando ally llego don aluar perez de castro que venia ver a don juan alfonso por debdo que auia conel E el conde & el maestre & don juan alfonso fablaron conel que fablase conel infante don pedro de portogal que pues era nieto de don sancho de castilla que sy el quisyese que ellos tornarian boz con el por que fue-se rrey de castilla & don aluar perez fablo conel infante don pedro & a el plogo le dello & sopo lo el rrey don alfonso de portogal su padre & pesole dello E enbio luego para gelo destoruar a el por sus mensajeros a fernand gonçalez coge vino & a maestre juan dela lez que era del su consejo» (*Moure, J. L.* La llamada versión Abreviada. P. 46).

⁴³ «E assi el dicho infante don Pedro de Portugal amaua tanto a la dicha doña Ynes de Castro que dizian algunos sus priuados que era casado com ella. E por esto el rrey don Alfonso de Portugal fizo matar a la dicha doña Ynes en Santa Clara de Coynbra, do ella posaua»

years of the 14th century, and almost certainly not based in a previous record. In addition to this, two things must be highlighted in Ayala's texts. On the one hand, Inês is styled «queen» and not «princess»⁴⁴. On the other, the first version of the chronicle mentioned three sons and one daughter of Pedro and Inês de Castro. The first, and probably the oldest, named Pedro as his father, disappeared in the second version of the text⁴⁵. In both versions they are called «infantes» — «princes». This is consistent with the Castilian position at the time the chronicle was written, because the sons of Inês were considered legitimate in Castile. In Portugal, by contrast, from 1385 Inês' story was narrated in a different way.

Besides the idea of intersection, another characteristic of the story of Inês de Castro is the notion of projection. As already pointed out, to secure the throne João de Avis had to show the other descendants of King Pedro were not more legitimate than he himself was⁴⁶. For this purpose, a number of people were questioned in the context of an assembly celebrated in Coimbra in 1385. The most interesting testimony within this inquiry is that given by Diogo Lopes Pacheco, who had been directly implicated in Inês' execution⁴⁷. The inquiry was intended to demonstrate that Pedro had been married to Blanca de Castilla, making all subsequent marriages null. It was also meant to prove the king had lied about his marriage to Inês de Castro. Consequently, the assembly acclaimed João de Avis and rejected all other possible heirs. The sons of Inês de Castro remained in Castile, where they were considered legitimate descents of the Portuguese monarch, Dinis ending up being crowned king of Portugal there

(*López de Ayala, P. Crónica del rey don Pedro y del rey don Enrique, su hermano, hijos del rey don Alfonso Onceno*. Buenos Aires, 1994–1997. Año XI, capítulo 14).

⁴⁴ In the first versión, «la qual ouo despues por rreyna» (see note 40); and in the second, «la qual el rrey con Pedro de Portugal dixo que era casado con ella, e llamaronla rreyna doña Ynes, e yaze enterrada con el dicho rrey don Pedro de Portugal en el monesterio d'Alcobaça» (*López de Ayala, P. Crónica del rey don Pedro*. Año V. Cap. 26).

⁴⁵ «El conde don sancho hermano del rrey don Enrique, que casasse con la infanta doña Beatriz hermana del rrey de Portugal, que era fija del rrey don Pedro de Portugal & de doña Ynes de Castro» (*López de Ayala, P. Crónica del rey don Pedro*. Año VII (DE). Cap. 6). Compare with the text quoted in the note 41.

⁴⁶ See note 12.

⁴⁷ «Carta de inquirição a respeito da ilegitimidade dos filhos de D. Pedro e de D. Inês de Castro», A.N.T.T. Gaveta 13. Maço 3. No 8. See: *Costa, A. P. M.* Inês de Castro. P. 428–435.

in 1397. Although he died shortly after, he remained in the Castilian public memory as a king without a kingdom.

As for the new Portuguese kings, the so-called Avis dynasty, they had to rewrite the story. As the relationship between Pedro and Inês was undeniable and well-known, instead of hiding the episode they lauded it. The story was transmitted but modified. The Portuguese chroniclers of the 15th century emphasized the strong feelings of the monarch, his anger when he learned of Inês' death, and his desire for revenge⁴⁸. However, these texts were based on the testimonies of the inquiry and the arguments defended in the 1385 assembly, and so underscored, above all, the improbability of the marriage. Transformed into a drama from an apparently remote past, immortalized in stone in the monastery of Alcobaça, by the end of the 14th century the episode already had the elements of myth. In the course of the 15th century the story was written and rewritten, developed and amplified; and, over time, became a legend.

Information on the article

Valdaliso-Casanova, C. *Ipsa Domina Agnes. On the historical basis of the myth of Inês de Castro*, in: *Proslogion: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Social History and Culture*, 2017. Vol. 3 (1). P. 90–117.

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⁴⁸ Especially Fernão Lopes, and others after him. The episode of the death of Inês as told in the so-called *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* has not been preserved, but the narrative about this subject in the version of the *Crónica de Espanha de 1344* housed in the French National Library (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Portugais 9, fol. 207r) probably summarizes it (see: *Moreira, F. A. A Crónica de Portugal de 1419: Fontes, estratégia e posteridade*. Lisboa, 2013. P. 329–341, and also: *Moreira, F. A., Askins, A. L. F. A Crónica de 1344 para além de Pedro de Barcelos: perspetivas recentes e novidades*, in: *eHumanista*. 2015. Vol. 31. P. 64–79): «O iffante don pero, morta sua moller, ouue dona ines de castro e fez en ela dos filhos a hun chamauan don joham e outro don denis. Siendo el rrey mal contente de teer seu filho dona ines, dizem que por maaos conselho de diogo lopez pacheco e de pero coelho e de aluaro gonzaluez, a matou nos paaços de santa clara de coymbra. Desta obra crua e feita com sanha foy el rrey dinamente rrespondido. E o iffante dele muy quixoso». This text was published in *Cintra, L. F. L. Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*. Lisboa, 1951–1990. It can be noticed that there are no references to the marriage, Inês is not styled «princess» nor «queen», and her sons are not entitled «infantes».

Although the myth or legend of Inês de Castro is based on historical facts, it has for centuries been a story where fiction and reality were blended. The life of the main character, Inês the Castro, is not documented. The narratives about her death, and the monumental tomb to where her mortal remains were transferred, are the main sources for researchers. There are also various testimonies about her marriage to Pedro, as well as about her sons and daughter. In parallel, still in the Middle Ages several narratives related to her were written, some of them in historiographical texts. This paper aims to singularize and analyze the historical elements of Inês' story. In doing so, it studies the sources that created the basis for the legend, thus revealing its origins. The story itself is observed as an object of study characterized by the intersections of different contexts, disciplines, narratives, and by the projections of diverse perspectives, objectives, periods.

Keywords: Portugal, 14th century, Inês de Castro, Pedro of Portugal, myth, legend, History, Literature, medieval chronicles

Информация о статье

Valdalisio-Casanova, C. Ipsa Domina Agnes. On the historical basis of the myth of Inês de Castro, В кн.: *Proslogion: Проблемы социальной истории и культуры Средних веков и раннего Нового времени*. 2017. Вып. 3 (1). С. 90–117.

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УДК 94(469).027

В статье рассмотрен основанный на исторических фактах миф или легенда об Инес де Кастро, в котором реальность смешивается с вымыслом. Жизнь главного героя, Инес де Кастро, не задокументирована. Источниками для исследователей являются рассказы о ее смерти и гробнице, куда были перенесены останки. Имеются также различные свидетельства о ее браке с Педро, а также о ее сыновьях и дочери. Параллельно, еще в Средние века было написано несколько повествований, связанных с ней, некоторые из них в историографических сочинениях. Настоящая статья направлена на то, чтобы разобрать и проанализировать исторические элементы истории Инес де Кастро. При этом автор исследует источники, которые создают основу для легенды, тем самым раскрывая ее истоки. Сама легенда об Инес де Кастро рассматривается как объект исследования, характеризующийся

пересечениями различных контекстов, дисциплин, описаний проекций различного происхождения.

Ключевые слова: Португалия, XIV век, Инес де Кастро, Педро Португалии, миф, легенда, история, литература, средневековые хроники

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