

# THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL c. 1950-2010

**JOSÉ MATTOSO, dir.**

Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds.













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HISTORIOGRAPHY  
OF MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL  
(c. 1950-2010)

IEM – Instituto de Estudos Medievais

Coleção ESTUDOS 2





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IEM – Instituto de Estudos Medievais

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CEC – Centro de Estudos Clássicos, Faculdade de Letras – Universidade de Lisboa

CEHR – Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa / Universidade Católica Portuguesa

CESEM – Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa

CHSC – Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, Faculdade de Letras – Universidade de Coimbra

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CL-UL – Centro de Linguística / Universidade de Lisboa

CPS – Center for Portuguese Studies / University of California-Santa Barbara

IF-UP – Instituto de Filosofia / Universidade do Porto

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## Editors' Note

This book originated within the work of the Research Group “Constuir a História medieval: temas, problemas, materiais”, of the Instituto de Estudos Medievais (IEM), corresponding to one of its basic objectives – to investigate and reflect on the historiography on the Middle Ages, both essential components in the construction of rigorous, critical and creative scientific knowledge. It aims at providing a service to the community of medievalist historians interested in Portugal, drawing from a vast amount of work which was available, although scattered in the multiple “states of the art” compiled over recent decades on the most diverse of subjects. This type of approach – an update by experts brought together in a single volume – acquires an added value and utility by filling the gap felt by the lack of such a book in Portuguese historiography, unlike medieval studies in most of Europe and the Americas. Here it is the final result of that effort, available to all scholars of the Middle Ages, for their work, for their criticism and as a stimulus to go beyond what is presented here.

The book was made possible only by reaching out beyond the members of the Research Group and the Instituto de Estudos Medievais, and securing the collaboration of a wide range of medievalists from all Portuguese universities. It is they we must first thank. The coordination of the volume was the responsibility of the three signatories of this text, under the Direction of Professor José Mattoso, to whom the project is deeply indebted.

Its pursuit was seriously compromised when, in mid-2011, IEM was affected by widespread cuts in science funding. At this difficult moment, the situation was restored only through the prompt and generous response of a significant number of research units, strengthening the links already forged through the collaboration of their researchers. For its symbolism, we wish to start by thanking the institution

that responded first to our invitation, namely the Center for Portuguese Studies, University of California-Santa Barbara (CPS), for its commitment and enthusiasm. We are also pleased to acknowledge the support we received from a considerable number of research units in Portugal, to whom we express our gratitude, namely: Centro de Estudos Clássicos, Faculdade de Letras / Universidade de Lisboa (CEC), Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, Universidade Católica Portuguesa (CEHR), Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas / Universidade Nova de Lisboa (CESEM), Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, Faculdade de Letras / Universidade de Coimbra (CHSC), Centro de História / Universidade de Lisboa (CH-UL), Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedades / Universidade de Évora (CIDEHUS), Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar «Cultura, Espaço e Memória» / Universidade do Porto e Universidade do Minho (CITCEM), Centro de Linguística / Universidade de Lisboa (CL-UL), Instituto de Filosofia / Universidade do Porto (IF-UP). Finally we must thank the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, through its “Fundo de apoio à comunidade científica”, and the invaluable contribution of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, without which this project would not have been possible. A word of gratitude is due to Landeg White, for his careful review of translations and the dedication with which he did so. The editorial preparation and administrative work were provided by the Secretariat of the IEM, Ricardo Naito deserving special mention.

At the end of a difficult but rewarding exercise, which above all we offer as a service to the scientific community, we invoke here the sentence on the cover illustration of this book – “nomina si nescis, perit et cognitio rerum” – hoping to have contributed to maintaining the name of things, but in a manner open to innovation, thus allowing for the progress of knowledge.

Lisbon, November 2011

*Maria de Lurdes Rosa* (coordinator of the Research Group “Construir a História Medieval”)

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NB: notwithstanding the review of texts by an English expert, the final versions are the responsibility of the authors.

## Medieval Studies in Portugal: An Overview

*José Mattoso*

The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed an extraordinary development of historical production in Portugal. Although in quantitative terms, the works devoted to modern and, especially, contemporary times, have certainly been more numerous, the movement also included the medieval period. Master's dissertations and doctoral theses multiplied, numerous conferences were organised, dozens upon dozens of magazine articles and books appeared, many documental collections were edited. Portuguese medievalists often participated in international meetings, Portuguese themes attracted researchers from other countries, international project teams began to include Portuguese members, works published in Portugal appeared more frequently in foreign bibliographies.

At present, however, the conditions of production and research have changed. There are new rules concerning institutional support and project evaluation. We seek new methods, we apply new concepts, we revise some of the conclusions previously accepted, we look for new ways forward. The institutional conditions on which scientific research depends have changed, both for the University and for the financing agent. All this requires a certain redefinition of objectives and of their selection of priorities.

This being the case, it seems appropriate to take stock of recent scientific production in the area that concerns us – the Portuguese Middle Ages – and to

become aware of what has been accomplished and what to be improved and developed. This is not to lay down a scientific policy (which depends on the place assigned to medievalism in the human sciences, and of those in the sphere of science generally), but it will be an undeniably useful exercise, both so we can make informed choices about the paths currently before us, and can better evaluate the results of specialised research in the next stage of its development.

The plan is, therefore, to bring together a significant number of texts that present, or contribute to defining, the “state of the art” achieved to date by recent historical production in the subject areas considered. These texts have two objectives: first, to summarise briefly, and from a critical perspective, the progress made by recent research, the problems outstanding, including possible shortcomings in the investigation, and, secondly, to demonstrate perspectives for the future, either in line with what has been achieved, or with any changes in methodology or in the bases of interpretation.

## I.

The story of the historiographical shift in Portuguese medieval studies since the 1980s has been told enough times and by various authors. It has become too well known to need further description. It is not necessary to recall the weakness of what existed before – in truth of little relevance in their number or in the information offered, though with a few productions of quality – nor the gaps in basic, essential scholarship, nor the absence of a guiding theory, whether of research or of interpretation (factors essential for the construction of any historical discourse), nor the ideological obstacle that, as a matter of principle, overlooked economic and social history and the study of the *longue durée*, ignoring, therefore, the relationship between material phenomena and those of a political, social and cultural nature.

The background to the changing historiography to which I refer are well known. Its manifestations, progress, and achievements are less familiar, though it can already count by the dozen retrospective syntheses of medieval Portuguese production between the 1980s and the present. They have been the work of several authors adopting different points of view. What we are attempting here tries to be more detailed. It also seeks, where possible, to propose guidelines for the immediate future. We do not wish, however, to ignore the information provided by the retrospective syntheses to which we refer. They are, in fact, the subject of a special chapter of this book, written by Judite de Freitas, which the reader should consult.

The work we are now publishing not go stray far from these syntheses, but aims to be more comprehensive and, above all, more critical. In the first place, more



critical. Not in the sense of targeting errors, omissions or dubious arguments, but with the object of making detailed assessments of the “state of the art” in sectors and specialties. In fact, we avoid the kind of criticism liable to become controversial. Not because we consider this as an operation separable from the process of scientific investigation, but because, whilst recognising its contribution as an essential part of the progress of historiography, such an exercise is also in the Portuguese world, a task dismaying close to polemics. Portuguese researchers, therefore, avoid it, despite being a major scientific exercise. This aggravates one of the most deep-rooted defects in Portuguese historiography, that chooses to ignore rational, correct, one might almost say sportive, debate in confronting potential difficulties in integrating with the scientific community. The clearest manifestation of this addiction is the absence of history journals with sustained and wide-ranging reviews of the literature, where the scientific community evaluates the most relevant publications, underlining the historiographical interest of the works published, and discussing the new perspectives in relation to previous productions. It is a legacy of the Portuguese intellectual life of the nineteenth century that valued polemics as a rhetorical exercise and as a spectacle, confusing the appreciation of the scientific advances with the reporting of deficiencies, true or false, in the research produced, without realising that controversy often resulted from a poor information about the foreign production. Hopefully the international contacts, widely cultivated in Portugal for thirty years now, have taught us to practice discussion with greater knowledge of the facts and a more rigorous sense of the factors that determine scientific progress.

One of the strategies employed to practice criticism without falling into controversy, was to ask researchers with more experience in certain historiographical sectors to present a “state of the art” in their respective areas, to cover in some detail all Portuguese medievalist production in recent years. The public authority they already possess, as established names in the sphere of Portuguese medievalism, led us to invite them to indicate, in their respective fields, the qualities or defects of what has been published, distinguishing what is relevant from what is secondary, what is new from what has already been said and sufficiently assimilated, thus strengthening the authority of the assessment. The degree of success of this strategy has not always been identical, but the editors of this collection consider the results achieved, on the whole, as extremely positive. In some cases, we ask several authors to collaborate, seeking through the multiplication of specialisations to cover in systematic form all the topics here treated. Being experts on the same themes, they have studied them from different aspects, often complementary, which helped to minimise fragmentation and possible differences in the evaluation of the books and articles discussed. Note also that the choice of those responsible for the various

chapters of this work does not represent any attempt at exclusion. In addition, the Instituto de Estudos Medievais is not intended in any way to constitute a “school” or to define a type of “critical orthodoxy”. Respect the opinions and judgments of the authors who were asked to collaborate.

We arrive at a figure of forty-six contributors, corresponding perhaps to more than half of the professional historians who currently study the history of the Portuguese middle ages. The bibliographical references in the work as a whole, despite being selective, embraces a universe of approximately 2,500 titles, which in itself gives an order of magnitude to the work done over a few years in the field of Medieval History of Portugal. Though quantity is not an infallible sign of quality, this figure alone shows a position clearly revived. Since the objective was to present the “state of the art”, the contributions of foreign authors who have worked in the same sectors are not excluded. Their number is not very large, but some of their works are very important. On the other hand, the collaboration of the Portuguese in international projects – a clear indication of the renovation of Portuguese historiographical – constitutes beyond all doubt a strong stimulus to improve quality and innovation in scientific research.

## II.

Having explained the definition and application of the criteria that governed the distribution of materials and the choice of contributors, let us see how Portuguese medievalist production is presented as a whole. The twenty-seven chapters of this book explain in detail and with rigour the progress made in many diverse areas of research. The vast majority demonstrate high levels of excellence. It is not necessary, therefore, to repeat here their conclusions. But I would like, however, to mark out, firstly, some themes that were first broached among us, and secondly, certain areas whose investigation seems to require fresh advances. These pointers underline aspects that stand out for originality; they may reveal the need for deeper knowledge of matters that could or should have, theoretically, been investigated, ignorance of which obstructs full understanding of the past.

Following roughly the sequence of areas considered in the list of chapters into which this book is divided, we may enumerate, as themes that before the 1980s had not attracted any significant scientific study, but that now include notable works, among which it appears to me should be cited as exemplary, the following: onomastics (particularly cultivated by Iria Gonçalves and more recently by Judite de Freitas), epigraphy (thanks to an excellent inventory by Mário Barroca), codicology (developed by Aires do Nascimento), a new conception of palaeography and

diplomats (by Ribeiro Guerra, Saul Gomes and Rosário Morujão, among others), sigillography (by the Marquês de Abrantes, and more recently, by Saul Gomes), everyday life (by Oliveira Marques, Iria Gonçalves, Silvio Conde, and others), representations of the past (investigated by Luís Krus), religious practices and beliefs (studied by José Mattoso for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and by Maria de Lourdes Rosa for the fifteenth century), women's history and gender (by Ana Maria Rodrigues and Manuela Santos Silva), frontier studies (by Rita Costa Gomes, Rui Cunha Martins and Hermenegildo Fernandes), marginality (by Luís Miguel Duarte, who revived previous studies by Maria José Ferro Tavares on the religious minorities of Jews and Muslims), medieval archaeology (as practiced by various teams including those led by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, Cláudio Torres and Mário Barroca), urban development, (by Jorge Alarcão, Silvio Conde and above all Luisa Trindade), military tactics and weaponry (by João Gouveia Monteiro and Miguel Martins), and biographical history (represented by the royal biographies in the collection published by Círculo de Leitores). We may add, under this heading, the history of the military orders which, despite being a very traditional theme, only began to be the object of studies adequate to the special nature of the questions they pose in the work of Adão da Fonseca and Luís Filipe Oliveira.

From another scientific perspective, the use of information based on the application of methods proper to experimental science but making possible innovative expertise of another kind. Despite their very analytical character, they at times promise far-reaching results. The examples we indicate demonstrate in themselves that analogous investigations in Portugal are still in their infancy: the cautious attempts we can point to have as yet had little impact on the new Portuguese medievalism. So it is with the data of genetics and physical anthropology, as interpreted by historians of populations and their movements; or with the analysis of pigments used in paints and the radiographic examination of several layers of paintings of the fifteenth century, to which some art historians have had recourse; or with the chemical analysis of ceramics in order to date them and establish their production, dissemination and destination – a technique that uses the archaeology of the ancient world, beginning to be applied to the Middle Ages; or with the stratigraphic analysis of pollen to determine variations of the dominant vegetation cover (attempted by Nicole Devy-Vareta some twenty years ago but without followers); or with the use of methods inspired by geophysics and remote archaeological prospecting to determine the physical conditions that have limited the population of places and regions over several centuries (as it is currently practiced by Cristina Corsi and Frank Vermeulen to the Roman city of Ammaia).

In other instances, to conclude, we see the use of concepts from the humanities to permit fresh interpretations of data more or less familiar but now appearing in new light. This is the case with the use of religious, cultural and political anthropology, giving rise to fresh ideas on the ideological interpretation of texts and of religious practices or of cultural expressions; or with the new narrativist conception of history that seeks to understand the past through the thread of individual human action in conjunction with the conditions of time and space with which it intervenes; or with consideration of demographic, sociological and economic factors (as already proposed by the *Annales* historians and by Marxists, though in a non-deterministic form).

### III.

However, as should be expected, the progress of research in history can not be content with the proclamation of novelties. It also depends on overcoming obstacles of various kinds, whether of a structural or conjunctural order. The most important, and the one that serves me as a conduit to introduce the fundamental ideas of the text that follows is closely related to the last of the points mentioned in the previous paragraph, that is, the consideration of historical phenomena as resulting from the simultaneous interaction of demographic, sociological and economic factors. It is, in fact, my opinion that certain obstacles may be encountered, or at least some “dark areas” still awaiting their investigators, and without comprehending them one scarcely knows medieval Portuguese history. Let us enumerate just a few of the most important problems in the widest sense, leaving to the authors of several chapters their expert listing of more specific issues that also need revision or a fresh approach. Those to which I refer are found in crossroad zones, that is, where the historical reality can only be understood by taking into account the relationships between various factual levels: economic, social, political, cultural. The need for deeper conclusions, to be exact, has generally until now been met with treatments from one perspective alone, or at one determined level, without taking into account the interference of factors of another kind, or without taking into account the need to adopt points of view different from those that dominate the rational culture of our own age. It is necessary to bear in mind the following: poor coordination of analytical information with its significance in the contexts of time and place; structural relationships linking the feudal regime, royal power and ecclesiastical power; the relation between rural and urban areas; the inclusion of cultural history in social history; the interference of conceptual errors in the interpretation of the phenomena proper to the Middle Ages.

Before proceeding, take the relationship between analysis and synthesis. The problem follows from the pre-dominantly fragmented nature of recent medievalist production. To substantiate this observation, it is enough to count the number of monographs devoted to a male or female religious house in one location over a limited period, or to a single historical figure, or to a specific document. It takes the form of pure description, usually without inquiring into the causes or significance of the facts recorded, and without correlation to the religious, economic, social, cultural or political contexts. In making this criticism, we do not intend to question the utility of this kind of academic work (we can even accept their pedagogical interest in the conditions imposed by the 'Bologna Masters' that reduce the dissertation to a mere experimental exercise). You can not, however, take the number of monographs of this kind as evidence of scientific progress. It is true that they are not to be ignored. Yet there is a need to systematise their findings (if they are properly established, that is, located, dated and quantified) in order to be able to formulate wide-reaching conclusions. Until then, the whole remains as raw material, difficult to use due to a lack of uniformity in the criteria for data selection.

What is said about monographs on ecclesiastical themes, or devoted to a locality or a historical figure, needs also to be said of monographs dedicated to a municipality or a village. There have been numerous projects investigating urban history along with municipal life and organisation. It even appears we have attained fairly complete knowledge about the mechanics of municipal and institutions. But the absence of earlier syntheses, still unfinished, make it difficult to determine which the other factors of a different order explain changes and give them a truly historic significance. Latter, we shall return to this question in the context of the relationship between the various types of government – royal, *seigneurial* (ecclesiastical and civil), and municipal.

The coordination and ordering of data provided by monographs of this kind is also hindered by the lack of working tools that allow them to be located firmly in the junctures of time and place, in the history of their respective institutions, and in relation to the performance or personal trajectories of historical actors (which emphasizes the usefulness of prosopographic databases). In effect, the lack of syntheses, available and up to date, plotting accurately the structural and conjunctural aspects, and of adequate and trust-worthy working tools, prevents or makes difficult the use of empirical data to the formulation of more accurate syntheses of a wider scope. These difficulties are especially acute in the case of the centralised structures of religious orders such the Franciscans, Dominicans and other mendicants founded in the thirteenth century, and in the case of the religious reforms of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In addition, although there are some studies that have taken diocesan history as their theme, there are few that transcend the purely descriptive, considering these districts from political, social, economic or strictly religious perspectives. There is also a lack of studies exploring the operation of ecclesiastical institutions in their fiscal (canonical tithes and other benefits), judicial (ecclesiastical courts and their jurisdiction), economic (domains and landlords) and bureaucratic roles (management control systems). As is known, all this was regulated by canon law. The legal texts are accessible and there are excellent schools in Spain, Italy or other countries that have produced syntheses for understanding the relationship of Portuguese phenomena in this area, as long as they can transcend considering these matters from a purely institutional point of view, namely, without taking into account diachronic changes and regional variations. However, studies on these themes, though equally important to in understanding a society in which the Church exercised a very different role than that which currently prevails in Portugal, are virtually nonexistent.

#### IV.

In the second place, the relationship between the three types of medieval government: the king, the lords (lay and ecclesiastical), and municipalities. Feudal power, considered by Liberal, Republican and Salazarist historians as a phenomenon alien to Portuguese territory, began to be studied properly only in our own times. The prevalence of legal and juridical concepts led it to be considered it as an abuse and a usurpation. For this reason, it was so difficult to accept the idea that Portuguese society was as feudal as other European countries (taking into account that there are several models of feudalism). But without understanding its implications is also impossible to understand, too, rural history and the particular evolution in the exercise of royal power. To clarify the operation of public authority, and sharing of different types of authorities, have to take into account their lack of uniformity. What occurs in one locale or region may be very different from what happens in another locale or region. Nothing is more uncertain than how far we can rely on the general laws of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, or even of later centuries, to know how they were applied outside the royal domains. We are ignorant about almost everything concerning law enforcement and coordination of the various types of power.

The clarification of some key problems, beginning with their origins, relies on the meticulous collection of details and the gathering of terminology variables, whose results only make sense with the hard work and collaboration of research assistants

dedicated to time-consuming and monotonous date collection. Investigations into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have provided excellent material, but little has been done by way of analysis, after the exploratory essays of Luís Krus, which unfortunately were not followed up. Rare, too, have been the attempts at the rural history of a particular region, deploying the French model, as Maria Helena Coelho has done for the Lower Mondego. Unfortunately the conditions of scientific production in the area of history have today become even more unfavorable to such work than they already were in 1990. Then, the institution of masters degrees encouraged the drafting of small-scale monographs; the creation of new universities and the expansion of its staff paved the way for investigations on a broader scale; the granting of scholarships and financial support to research centres by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia created in theory favorable conditions for projects of this kind. But the reduction in funding from the Universities together with the Bologna system has lowered the standard of the master's dissertation and, thus, also lowered the quality of candidates for research assistants in collective projects. Thus, the actual conditions that exist, instead of fostering basic research have come to make it more difficult, with little prospect of obtaining good results. Institutional difficulties, however, should not be made an excuse, as witnessed by José Augusto de Oliveira's recent doctoral thesis on the Setúbal peninsula, a truly exemplary model of rural history, on a par with the work of Maria Helena Coelho already cited.

The scarcity of the type of research just mentioned has had the effect, among others, of raising a certain barrier to the clear understanding of the relations between rural and urban history. If, in effect, it attained a remarkable level thanks to the precocious efforts of Oliveira Marques from the end of the 1970s, the great proliferation of detailed studies that followed (more from a social and institutional perspective than that of economics) does not seem to have sufficiently illuminate the relationship to rural life, nor to the feudal world. We now know a little better the mechanical functioning of the district council and its relationship with royal power, but there is little clarity about its relationship to the civil and religious *segneurial* powers with their regional variations. It can and should also be questioned what were the effects on the rural and urban existence of their disturbances (certainly large) resulting from the contraction of the population caused by pests, food crises, armed conflicts and the brutal deregulation of prices of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century. The chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Zurara, the literature of the princes of Avis, the military victories over Castile, the sharp recovery of the monarchy, the victory in Africa and the beginning of overseas expansion so dominate national historiography that it seems to have been forgotten all this came at a time of great turmoil and conflict. It appears we are still far

from possessing a truly integrated and complete interpretation of the crisis of the fourteenth century, or rather of the restructuring of the medieval world in the last phase of its existence.

The relationship between royal power and feudal power takes on a special character in the case of ecclesiastical institutions. In fact, if the bishops and abbots can be considered as feudal lords in their exercise of *seigneurial* rights over their respective estates and domains, it is not for the same reason, nor with the same rights, that the bishops exercised their authority over all the faithful of the kingdom. The faithful are organised in parishes, subject to heavy canonical obligations, and dependent upon ecclesiastical courts. But the faithful are all men and women of the kingdom, including the king himself. The power of conscience, the sacredness of obligations and duties, the nature of spiritual sanctions and the recourse to papal authority in cases of conflict, give this aspect of medieval life a very special character. The proceedings of royal authority can not therefore be sufficiently known without clarifying further its relations to the role and authority of the Church. In my opinion, it will be necessary to revise from beginning to end what has been considered as the struggle between the king and the bishops from the end of the twelfth century, not only up to the concordat with King Dinis in 1289 (considered an expression of the final agreement between two powers), but also throughout the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century. The anti-clerical views of Herculano, with the projection on to the medieval past of the peculiar regal notions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century liberalism constitutes a completely inadequate framework for understanding the facts. I once suggested that one should study the problem in relation to the process of the reception and application of Canon Law, particularly the establishment of ecclesiastical taxation and the implantation of the parish network. To do this it would be necessary to we examine diocesan documentation and its progressive bureaucratisation. The events can and should be studied on the basis of papal bulls. Herculano and his disciples knew only a small part of the papal dossier, but it is necessary to study it systematically and in its entirety. At present, not even the systematic identification of documents has been done. The complete collection of original papal documents preserved in Portugal, promised by Peter Linehan, has been announced for the end of 2011. We understand very poorly the systems for the collection of ecclesiastical contributions by bishops in their dioceses and by apostolic collectors throughout the kingdom. We also poorly understand, or rather completely overlook, the role in these struggles of the mendicant orders, whose introduction, as we know, was from the beginning violently opposed by most bishops. This ignores completely the forms of resistance by district magistrates and by the general population to the impositions of ecclesiastical taxation that were



multiplying since the end of the twelfth century. There is therefore still much to study about the relationship between ecclesiastical power and other public and private powers in the medieval period.

Another aspect of relations between the church and royalty is the so-called “*beneplácito régio*” (royal permission). Some research has been done in this area, but the results have not been sufficiently assimilated by medievalists. It is said that this was merely a diplomatic problem or one of international law. It is not hard to imagine the reasons for the papal resistance. But what motives inspired the monarchs? What was the position taken by bishops, religious orders, and canons? One would have to better understand the repercussions of the conflict, the evolution of the various positions, not only in the spheres of supreme power, but also at the lower level. You can not separate the problem of the *beneplácito régio* from the implantation and proliferation of new religious orders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, along with the resistance supported by some of the old orders and even by a section of the secular clergy, still poorly identified. It is clear it will also be necessary to see better what was happening, under this heading, in other countries of Christendom, especially Spain and Italy.

## V.

Let us examine what appear to me the problems involved in studying the relations between cultural history and social history, taking the example of Portuguese medieval art. Commencing in the 40s and 50s from the perspective of style, with no documentary support, it began to be linked either to the history of institutions that promoted or commissioned it – monasteries and dioceses – or to the socio-economic conditions of its production. Becoming, in the second phase, the subject of various syntheses, whose authors (among whom Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida deserves special mention) defined more strictly the criteria of dating and commissioning, it came to become one of the most significant manifestations of medieval religious life. Studies focussed initially on architecture, but were followed by a thorough survey of carvings, whether or integrated into their architectural frameworks (as was done by Manuel Real). More recently, illumination begun to be studied, not just aesthetically, but also as an expression of intellectual discourse, through which were discovered cultural aspects previously overlooked (consult the works of Adelaide Miranda). The major aid of this expansion of meaning was iconography. The increasingly complete listings of carved pieces and of painted or drawn images made it possible to establish previously unsuspected relationships between image and text, between representation and content.

In this sense, we may also mention, although the methodology is different, the first modern studies of the history of music, which also revealed the capacities of artistic production of which nothing was known before the 80s, and which may be linked to the histories of the liturgy and of the religious orders, whether the most ancient, such as the Benedictines and Cistercians, or the most recent, such as the Lóios and Hieronymites, as demonstrated in the exemplary studies by Manuel Pedro Ferreira. Evidently, however, deeper knowledge of the history of art by means of church history, and vice versa, is possible only through the exchange of data differing in nature, and requires high degrees of specialisation (especially in the music). Through the slow accumulation of this information, we now have far complete and more accurate idea of fifteenth-century Portuguese intellectual life, hitherto visible almost only through the literary production of the court of Avis and some writings of a spiritual and doctrinal nature, not always properly integrated in the intellectual currents of Christianity (an area pioneered by Mário Martins, but with few followers). These themes can be developed by exploring more fully the relationship between Portugal and Burgundy, Flanders and Italy through a systematic exploitation of their archives, consulted so far only by the Portuguese researchers. The internationalisation of scientific research will undoubtedly create more favorable conditions for its development.

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The problems mentioned above were identified from a historiographical perspective that may be considered “classic” or “traditional”. We cannot ignore, however, the theoretical discussions that challenge their results, in the name of an epistemological review based primarily on considerations of a linguistic nature. Thus, the label “linguistic turn” has been applied to the shift in perspectives it proposes, or in a more general and more programmatic manner, “cultural turn”. Its influence is still limited among us, and any assessment would be premature.

The volume currently on offer represents a complete cycle of Portuguese historiography. Given the scientific level attained, one must hope the reception of other perspectives, the discovery of new themes and teaching of new methods, will not be made in an uncritical or precipitate manner. With the publication of the book now before you, the Instituto de Estudos Medievais takes on added responsibility: after making known the results of one of the most fruitful phases of Portuguese medievalism, we hope our contribution to further progress will not betray the scientific level achieved so far.

It remains to add that this collection does not represent any “school”. The bibliographical selections and the opinions expressed by the authors of its chapters are their sole responsibility. The same applies to the overview I have contributed by way of introduction. Things could not be otherwise: in history there are no absolute truths nor official narratives. Historical discourse is necessarily the discourse of an author. It represents his or her views. But the bibliographical surveys that constitute the work are intended above all to be informative. In this sense, the selections of the works cited may be more or less complete. To expand and correct my thoughts, I was privileged to have the suggestions of Bernardo de Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco and Maria de Lourdes Rosa, whom I thank with sincere friendship.

Carvoeiro do Vouga, June 2011.



# The Editions of Archival Sources and Documents

Saul António Gomes

Our knowledge of the past is intermediated by historical documents. The etymon of the word document, *docere*, meaning to teach, is associated to *mens*, the mind, in the sense of all that surrounds memory. Documents *teach* the memory<sup>1</sup>. Whether we consider the methodical historiography of Leopold Van Ranke (1795-1886), seeking to show the past as it was (“*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*”) based on the testimony of “primary sources”; or that of Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889), for whom history was understood as a “pure science”; not to mention its elevation within the framework of positivist history, dictated by such authors as Charles-Victor Langlois (1863-1929) and Charles Seignobos (1854-1942) – “*L’histoire a pour but de décrire, au moyen de documents, les sociétés passées*”: or of the literary writing, romantic in spirit and committed to the cause of citizenship, of such authors as Jules Michelet (1798-1874), Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) and, in Portugal, Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) and Oliveira Martins (1845-1894); documentary sources have always been regarded as definitive and determinant elements in historical science.

The evolution of western historiography through the twentieth century, progressively widened the field of what could be understood as the source of making history: everything, today, is a historical source and all the elements susceptible of constituting vestiges of the past, be they material or intangible, thus form part of the

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<sup>1</sup> LE GOFF, Jacques, “Documento/monumento”, in ROMANO, Ruggiero (dir.), *Enciclopédia Einaudi*, vol. 1: *Memória-História*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1984, pp. 95-106; GUYOTJEANNIN, Olivier, *Les sources de l’histoire médiévale*, Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 1998; VAN CAENEGEM, Raoul C., *Introduction aux sources de l’Histoire Médiévale: typologie, histoire de l’érudition médiévale*, with the collaboration of Ferdinand-Louis Ganshof, (new updated edition by Luc Jocqueé), Turnhout: Brepols, 1997; MATTOSO, José, “Prefácio”, in VENTURA, Leontina, and MATOS, João da Cunha (eds.), *Diplomatário da Sé de Viseu (1078-1278)*, Lisbon, IEM / CHSC / IUC, 2010, pp. 11-14.

wide range of sources. In addition, the epistemological evolution of historiography, stressing the importance of economic, demographic, social, cultural and mental factors, imposed the recognition of the interest of new typologies of sources generally little used by historians devoted to approaches of a predominantly political and institutional nature. Meanwhile, the sources themselves, particularly the written ones, have come to deserve redoubled attention from historians seeking to analyse their generally complex processes of production, validation, consumption and safeguarding<sup>2</sup>.

But whether in the widened multiplicity of the sources, today the target of the gaze of historians, or in the recognition that every source is the construction and vehicle of the dimensions and pulsations of the ideological or cultural diligence of the men who produced it<sup>3</sup>, despite this, the historian cannot dispense with the criticism we call diplomatics, standing out from the essence of all historical sources as a manifest act in an external material form combined with a pertinent inscribed or coined internal formula<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> As may be shown in the Portuguese case, by the emergence of works dedicated to the history of script (SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Da visigótica à carolina. A escrita em Portugal de 882 a 1172. Aspectos técnicos e culturais*, Lisbon, INIC / FCG, 1994), to its production in notarial circles (SÁ-NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de, *Tabelionato e instrumento público em Portugal. Gênese e implementação (1212-1279)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2008) or even in the ambit of royal and ecclesiastical chanceries (SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Ler e compreender a escrita na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / FL-UC, 2000; CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e, *A chancelaria arquiépiscopal de Braga (1071-1244)*, Corunna, Editorial Toxosoutos, 2005; GOMES, Saul António, *In limine conscriptionis. Documentos, chancelaria e cultura no Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Séculos XII a XIV)*, Coimbra, Palimage, 2007; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *A Sé de Coimbra. A instituição e a chancelaria (1080-1318)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2005; SILVA, Maria João, *Scriptores et notatores. A produção documental da Sé do Porto (1123-1247)*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> MATTOSO, José, *A escrita da História. Teoria e métodos*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1988; CATROGA, Fernando, "O valor epistemológico da História da História", in RIBEIRO, Maria Manuela Tavares (coord.), *Outros Combates pela História*, Coimbra, IUC, 2010, pp. 21-68; See ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Problemáticas históricas e arquivísticas actuais para o estudo dos arquivos de família portugueses (Épocas Medieval e Moderna)", *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 9 (2009), Coimbra, pp. 9-42; BOSCHI, Carlo, "O Historiador, os Arquivos e as Novas Tecnologias. Notas para debate", *ibid.*, pp. 59-72.

<sup>4</sup> On the evolution of diplomatics in Portugal, consult: COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "A Diplomática em Portugal. Caminhos mais antigos e mais recentes", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Colibri / FL-UC, 2001, pp. 13-40; as well as, for a general and more complete vision of the range of studies and treatment of medieval Portuguese documental sources, up until the 1980s, MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1988. We should note, on this point, that the observations we henceforth make on this text, mainly on the subject of bibliographical editorial references, are merely indicative and contextualising. It would be impossible, moreover, in the present context, to exhaust the whole framework of available Portuguese references on the subject of the edition of sources or of their archival description.

In the seventeenth century, as is known, the rationale was perfected of the questioning to which sources were to be subjected prior to their acceptance as authorised elements of demonstration and proof. It was then that diplomatics was founded, being particularly visible in the treatises of the Benedictine Jean Mabillon, which came to be exalted to the level of historical science devoted to the criticism of authenticity, that is, to the rational demonstration of the truth of the document – initially of the written documents, because they have always been the most valuable, but also, as has been mentioned, of archaeological, epigraphical and iconographic materials. Also dating from that century is the appearance of the *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, by Du Cange (1678), which introduced a tradition of etymological and lexicographical analysis that would, from that moment, scour the Latin literary evidence in the most intimate details of its vocabulary.

The Portuguese case is a fine testament to this statement. Without omitting to mention the relevance, in the history of the editing of Portuguese sources, of the contributions of André de Resende, and his *Antiguidades da Lusitânia*<sup>5</sup>, and of Manuel Severim de Faria, with his essays, among others, on the national medieval currency<sup>6</sup>, we will remember, among ourselves, the extensive *monuments* that are the volumes of the *Monarquia Lusitana*, produced by the copious Cistercian monks of Alcobaça, as of the end of the sixteenth century; the action of the Real Academia da História Portuguesa (1720) in promoting the compilation and publication of the 15 tomes of the *Colecção dos documentos, estatutos e mais memorias...*, composed between 1721 and 1736, useful to the national history; the four thick volumes of the *Memorias para a Historia de Portugal que comprehendem o governo del Rey D. João o I*, by José Soares da Silva (1730-1734); the notable *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* and the volumes of the *Provas*, of that same History (1735-1748) – a very appropriate title, in fact, given the preoccupation of the author António Caetano de Sousa, in documenting what he wrote; the three documented volumes of the *Historia Ecclesiae Lusitanae* (1762), by Tomás da Encarnação; the editing of the sources of the legislation of Portugal and some literary chronicles by medieval authors, namely in the *Inéditos da Historia Portugueza* (1790-1793), of the Academia Real das Ciências, under the direction of the abbot Correia da Serra; or, even, the no less considerable *Ordenações Afonsinas* (1792).

To the Modern Era also belongs the massive copying of Vatican ecclesiastical sources for Portuguese history compiled under the direction of Manuel Pereira de

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<sup>5</sup> *Libri Quatuor de Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*, Évora, 1593. Recently re-edited with an introduction, translation and commentary by Raul Raul M. Rosado Fernandes, 2nd edition, Lisbon, FCG, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> In his “Discurso Quarto – Moedas de Portugal”, valuing money as a historical source, inserted in his *Notícias de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1655. Recently re-published with an introduction, updating and notes by Francisco A. Lourenço Vaz, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Escola Secundária Severim de Faria, 2003, pp. 135-180.

Sampaio, in the 222 manuscript volumes of the *Rerum Lusitanicarum* or *Symmicta Lusitanica* (Biblioteca da Ajuda). It was a period that saw, particularly on the part of the religious orders, the elaboration of reasonably systematic documentary indexes and summaries, copying documentation from the archives of institutions such as the *Index da Fazenda do Mosteiro de Celas* of Coimbra (1650), the *Index dos titulos do Cartorio do Mosteiro de S. Marcos de Coimbra* (1766) or those of other monasteries and various religious bodies, today available in the documentary funds of different archives<sup>7</sup>.

One should also mention the voluminous editions of chronicles, and historiographic chronicles and memoirs, dealing with religious institutions such as the *Alcobaça Ilustrada* (1710), by Manuel dos Santos, or the untiring labour of the Benedictine António da Assunção Meireles, responsible for a set of books of documental “memoirs” relating to the monasteries of his order<sup>8</sup>. Along this historiographic-diplomatic line is positioned the *Historia da Militar Ordem de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo* (1771), by Bernardo da Costa, with a significant documental appendix; the most highly documented *Nova Historia da Ordem Militar de Malta* (1800), by José Anastácio de Figueiredo; the *Index Historico e Diplomatico do Cartorio de Leça*<sup>9</sup> (1814), by Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos; and the *Livros dos Forais, Escripturas, Doações, Privilegios e Inquirições*, originating in this same archive<sup>10</sup>.

We should not overlook that other monument of the eighteenth century, the *Elucidário das palavras, termos e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usavam...* by Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo (1798-99), in which one visits Old Portuguese vocabulary, particularly of the medieval period, and in which parcels of diverse documentation are edited, as well as the labour of José Anastácio de Figueiredo on medieval Portuguese legislation<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See MATTOSO, José, “Os cartórios dos mosteiros beneditinos na diocese do Porto”, “Inventário dos fundos de antigos mosteiros beneditinos existentes no Arquivo Distrital de Braga” and “Documentos beneditinos da Torre do Tombo”, *Religião e cultura na Idade Média portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983, pp. 558-591, 591-652, 653-752, respectively; LACERDA, Silvestre de Almeida, *Nota para o estudo da documentação do Mosteiro de São Salvador de Paço de Sousa*, Penafiel, Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1992; SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (dir.), PINA, Isabel Castro, et al., *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das origens a Trento. Guia Histórico*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Namely the *Memorias do Mosteiro de Ganfei* (1796), the *Memorias do Mosteiro de Pombeiro* (1797), the *Memorias do Mosteiro de Paço de Sousa* and the *Index dos Documentos do Arquivo* e as *Provas das Memorias do Mosteiro do Salvador de Paço de Sousa copiadas dos documentos do Arquivo* (1799) and, finally, the *Memorias do Mosteiro de Bustelo* (1801).

<sup>9</sup> SARAIVA, José Mendes da Cunha (ed.), *Index Historico e Diplomatico do Cartorio de Leça*, Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Finanças, 1944.

<sup>10</sup> IDEM (ed.), *Livros dos Forais, Escripturas, Doações, Privilegios e Inquirições*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Finanças, 1946-1948.

<sup>11</sup> FIGUEIREDO, José Anastácio de, *Synopsis Chronologica de Subsídios, ainda os mais raros, para a Historia e Estudo Critico da Legislação Portuguesa*. vol. 1.: *Desde 1143 até 1549*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências, 1790.



One should highlight, too, the labour of the historian João Pedro Ribeiro, justly considered the father of Portuguese diplomatics, and the author of significant tomes for the history and criticism of documental production in Portugal, mainly in the medieval periods, such as the *Observações Historicar e Criticas para servirem de memorias ao systema de Diplomatica portugueza* (1798), the *Memorias para a Historia das Inquiriçoes dos primeiros reinados de Portugal* (1815), the *Reflexões Historicar* (1835) and, especially, the *Dissertações Cronologicas e Críticas para servirem à Historia da Jurisprudencia em Portugal* (1810-1836).

The systematic editing of the sources of Portuguese medieval history, particularly during the second half of the 1800s and throughout the twentieth-century<sup>12</sup>, was for positivist historiography, an effective, albeit not very systematic exercise. We can bear witness to this by consulting the works coordinated by the Viscount of Santarém, such as the *Quadro Elementar das Relações Políticas e Diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo* (1842-1854), his *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* (1846-1910), and the *Coleção de documentos inéditos para a história das conquistas portuguesas na África, Ásia e América* (1858-1915); we may also particularly observe the irreplaceable *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, directed by Alexandre Herculano, with his four series of *Leges et consuetudines* (1856-1868), *Diplomata et chartae* (1867-1973), *Inquisitiones* (1888-1897) and *Scriptores* (1856). Also belonging to the 1800s are the *Descrição Geral e Histórica das Moedas Cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal*, by Teixeira de Aragão, an important *corpus* of Portuguese numismatics and a testament to the process of the enlargement of the subject from historical sources worthy of appreciation and attention<sup>13</sup>.

To the above may be added some serial publications, such as the prolific *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* (1903-1921), directed by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, together with other periodic numerous publications of this period, paralleled during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, by the vast and mosaicked historiographical-documentalist production, of such eminent historiographers as Francisco de São Luís (Cardinal Saraiva), Luís Augusto Rebelo da Silva, Ernesto Canto, Teixeira de Aragão, Pedro de Azevedo, José Ramos Coelho, Costa Lobo, Henrique da Gama Barros, Francisco de Sousa Viterbo, Bulhão Pato, Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, Alberto Sampaio, Gabriel Pereira, Luciano Cordeiro, José Leite

<sup>12</sup> AMARAL, Luís Carlos, "La edición de fuentes documentales en Portugal en el siglo XIX", in GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Ángel, ANTONIO MUNINA, José, and JAVIER FORTÚN, Luis (dirs.), *Codiphis. Catálogo de colecciones diplomáticas hispano-lusas de época medieval*, Santander, Fundación Marcelino Botin, 1999, pp. 47-58.

<sup>13</sup> ARAGÃO, Teixeira de, *Descrição Geral e Histórica das Moedas Cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1874-1880.

de Vasconcelos, Cordeiro de Sousa, José Cunha Saraiva, Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, Gastão de Melo de Matos, Conde de Tovar, Laranjo Coelho, António Baião and David Lopes<sup>14</sup>. With these authors we must associate, for their fresh contributions, foreign historians such as Carl Erdmann, author of the first *diplomatarium* and *bullarium* relating to Portugal (1927)<sup>15</sup> and Elisabeth Abiah Reuter, responsible for the first systematisation of the documents of the chancery of King Afonso Henriques (1938)<sup>16</sup>.

The task of editing older medieval Portuguese documents was resumed in 1936 by the *Portugaliae Monumenta Histórica* with its series of the *Documentos Medievais Portugueses*, royal and private, sponsored by the restored Academia Portuguesa da História, followed by the appearance of large collections of cartographic sources, such as the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (1960), directed by Armando Cortesão, and documental sources of no less graphic magnificence, such as the *Monumenta Henricina* (1960-74), directed by António Dias Dinis; the *Descobrimientos Portugueses* (1944-1971), by João Francisco da Silva Marques; the two dense tomes of the *Documentos das Chancelarias Reais anteriores a 1531 relativos a Marrocos* (1915-1934), edited by Pedro de Azevedo, followed by the edition, entrusted to António Baião, of the *Documentos do Corpo Cronológico relativos a Marrocos (1488-1514)* (1925), and by the *Documentos Inéditos de Marrocos – Chancelaria de D. João II* (1943), by Possidónio Mateus Laranjo Coelho. To this series we should add the volumes relating to the *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* (1963), the thick tomes of the *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* (1966) and, finally, the edition, by António Domingues Sousa Costa, of the *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana* (1968).

The decade of the 1980s saw very substantial progress in the editing of sources for local Portuguese history. In addition to documental compilations relating to Guimarães<sup>17</sup>, Oporto<sup>18</sup> and Évora<sup>19</sup>, originally published as early as the nineteenth

<sup>14</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A publicação de fontes documentais e o progresso da ciência Histórica em Portugal”, in MATTOSO, José, *A Escrita da História. Teoria e Métodos*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1988, pp. 101-114.

<sup>15</sup> ERDMANN, Carl, *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927.

<sup>16</sup> REUTER, E. Abiah, *Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas. I. Documentos da Chancelaria de D. Afonso Henriques*, Coimbra, 1938.

<sup>17</sup> VIMARANIS *Monumenta Historica a saeculo nono post Christum usque ad vicesimum*, compiled by João Gomes de Oliveira Guimarães, pt. 1-3, Vimarane, Vimaransenis Senatus, 1929-1931.

<sup>18</sup> *Corpus Codicum Latinorum et Portugalensium eorum qui in Archivo Municipali Portucalensi asservantur antiquissimorum – Diplomata, Chartae et Inquisitiones*, 6 vols., Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1891, and the following; *Livro Antigo de Cartas e Provisões dos Senhores Reis D. Afonso V, D. João II e D. Manuel I do Arquivo Municipal do Porto*, preface and notes by Artur de Magalhães Basto, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, s. d. See MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval...*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>19</sup> PEREIRA, Gabriel, *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1998 (anastatic publication of 1885-1891).

century, there were diplomatic compilations undertaken for Arcos de Valdevez<sup>20</sup>, Aveiro<sup>21</sup>, Coimbra<sup>22</sup>, Leiria<sup>23</sup>, Pombal<sup>24</sup>, Porto de Mós<sup>25</sup> and Lisbon<sup>26</sup> and, in printed but also in digital format, for Santa Maria da Feira<sup>27</sup>. One should also specify in this field the publication of the acts of municipal councils such as those of Oporto<sup>28</sup>, Torre de Moncorvo<sup>29</sup>, Vila do Conde<sup>30</sup>, Coimbra<sup>31</sup>, Montemor-o-Novo<sup>32</sup>, Loulé<sup>33</sup>, Alcochete<sup>34</sup> and Funchal<sup>35</sup>, or council depositions and ordinances, as occurs with

<sup>20</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and KRUS, Luís (orgs.), *Valdevez Medieval – Documentos*. vol. 1: 950-1299; vol. 2: 1300-1479, Arcos de Valdevez, Câmara Municipal de Arcos de Valdevez, 2000-2001.

<sup>21</sup> MADAHIL, A. G. Rocha, *Milenário de Aveiro, Colectânea de Documentos Históricos*, 2 vols., Aveiro, Câmara Municipal de Aveiro, 1959.

<sup>22</sup> CAMPOS, João Correa Ayres de, *Índice Chronologico dos pergaminhos e foraes existentes no Archivo da Camara Municipal de Coimbra*, Coimbra, Imprensa Litteraria, 1875; PEREIRA, Gabriel, *Catalogo dos Pergaminhos do Cartorio da Universidade de Coimbra*, Coimbra, IUC, 1881; MADAHIL, A. G. da Rocha, “Documentos para o estudo da cidade de Coimbra na Idade Média”, offprint of *Biblos*, vol. 9 (1933) to 11 (1935).

<sup>23</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *Introdução à História do Castelo de Leiria*, 2nd ed., Leiria, Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 2004; IDEM, *Golpilheira Medieval. Documentos Históricos*, Batalha, Edição Jornal da Golpilheira / Câmara Municipal da Batalha, 2009; IDEM, *A Comuna Judaica de Leiria das Origens à Expulsão. Introdução ao seu estudo histórico e documental*, Lisbon, Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas Alberto Benveniste da Universidade de Lisboa / Editora Campo da Comunicação, 2010.

<sup>24</sup> IDEM, *Pombal Medieval e Quinhentista. Documentos da sua história*, Batalha, CEPAE – Centro do Património da Estremadura, 2010.

<sup>25</sup> IDEM (ed.), *Porto de Mós. Colectânea Histórica e Documental. Séculos XII a XIX*, Porto de Mós, Câmara Municipal de Porto de Mós, 2005.

<sup>26</sup> OLIVEIRA, Eduardo Freire de, *Elementos para a historia do município de Lisboa*, 17 vols., Lisbon, Tipografia Universal, 1882-1911; BASTO, Artur de Magalhães, *Alguns Documentos do Arquivo Municipal do Porto que fornecem subsídios para a História da Cidade de Lisboa*, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, s. d.; PRADALIÉ, Gérard, *Lisboa da Reconquista ao fim do século XIII*, Lisbon, Palas Editores, 1975; See MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval...*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>27</sup> MATTOSO, José, ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and KRUS, Luís, *O Castelo e a Feira: a Terra de Santa Maria nos Séculos XI a XIII*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1989. The electronic database may be consulted at [www.castelodafeira.pt/jetspeed](http://www.castelodafeira.pt/jetspeed) (accessed 22 December 2010).

<sup>28</sup> *Vereações. Anos de 1390-1395. O mais antigo dos Livros de Vereações do Município do Porto existente no seu Arquivo*, edited by Artur de Magalhães Basto, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto. Gabinete Histórico da Cidade, 1937; “Vereações”. Anos de 1401-1449. O segundo Livro de Vereações do Município do Porto existente no seu Arquivo, with a previous note by J. A. Pinto Ferreira, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto. Gabinete Histórico da Cidade, 1980; “Vereações”. 1431-1432. Livro 1, reading, indexes and notes by João Alberto Machado and Luís Miguel Duarte, Oporto, Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1985.

<sup>29</sup> MARQUES, José, *A administração municipal de Mós de Moncorvo, em 1439*, offprint of *Brigantia*, vol. 5 (1985).

<sup>30</sup> IDEM, *A administração municipal de Vila do Conde em 1466*, Braga, s. n., 1983.

<sup>31</sup> CARVALHO, José Branquinho de, “O mais antigo Livro de Vereações”, *Arquivo Coimbrão*, vol. 12 (1954), pp. 53-68.

<sup>32</sup> FONSECA, Jorge, *Montemor-o-Novo no Século XV*, Montemor-o-Novo, Câmara Municipal de Montemor-o-Novo, 1998.

<sup>33</sup> SERRA, Pedro (coord.), DUARTE, Luís Miguel (introduction and palaeographic reading), MACHADO, João Alberto, and CUNHA, Maria Cristina (palaeographic reading), “Actas das Vereações de Loulé. Séculos XIV-XV”, *Al’-Ulya: Revista do Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé*, no. 7 (1999); DUARTE, Luís Miguel palaeographic reading, revision, transcription and definitive establishment of the text, *Al’-Ulya: Revista do Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé*, no. 10 (2004).

<sup>34</sup> VARGAS, José Manuel (introduction, transcription and notes), *Livro da Vereação de Alcochete e Aldeia Galega (1421-1422)*, Alcochete, Câmara Municipal de Alcochete, 2005.

<sup>35</sup> COSTA, José Pereira da, *Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal. Século XV*, Funchal, Secretaria Regional de Turismo e Cultura / Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1995-2002.

Lisbon<sup>36</sup> and with Ourém<sup>37</sup>. This is an area in which there has been a growing emergence, too, of compilations of responses to the representatives of municipalities in parliament, namely for the region of Guarda<sup>38</sup> and the Algarve<sup>39</sup>, or, more specifically, Oporto<sup>40</sup>, Santarém<sup>41</sup> and Montemor-o-Velho<sup>42</sup>. Local charters have also warranted successive re-visitations and re-publications<sup>43</sup>.

In relation to some of these ancient urban areas, we encounter the records of conveyancers and notaries. It is a field in which we witness significant advances such as the compilation of the *Instrumenta Tabellionum Portugaliae*, by Bernardo de Sá-Nogueira<sup>44</sup>, or the study and transcription of books of records, such as those of Afonso Guterres, a notary in fifteenth century Lisbon<sup>45</sup>.

In addition to municipal sources, sources of ecclesiastical origin assume a special significance for their sheer abundance. Compared to the royal powers, even more to the nobility, it was the grand religious rulers, both secular or regular who, during the Portuguese Middle Ages, produced vast amounts of written documents and efficiently preserved the resulting records in their centuries-old archives.

It is certain that in the universe of the Portuguese nobility chancery courts of greater or lesser complexity were at work, a fact demonstrated, for example, in the survival of an archive as relevant and significant as that of João Peres de Aboim, from the last third of the 1200s<sup>46</sup>. The same can be said in relation to the university established, as is known, among us Portuguese since 1290<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> *Posturas do Concelho de Lisboa (Século XIV)*, presentation by Francisco José Veloso, paleographic reading, vocabulary and short note by José Pedro Machado, Lisbon, Sociedade de Língua Portuguesa, 1974.

<sup>37</sup> CHORÃO, Maria José Mexia, *As ordenanças da vila de Ourém*, Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and RÉPAS, Luís Miguel, *Um cruzamento de fronteiras. O discurso dos concelhos da Guarda em Cortes*, Guarda, Centro de Estudos Ibéricos / Câmara Municipal da Guarda, 2009.

<sup>39</sup> IRIA, Alberto, *O Algarve nas cortes medievais portuguesas do século XIV. (Subsídio para a sua história)*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1982.

<sup>40</sup> ROCHA, Filomena Raquel dos Reis Teles da, *O Porto e o poder central na segunda metade do século XV. (Estudo e publicação dos capítulos especiais da Cidade)*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1996.

<sup>41</sup> GONÇALVES, Maria Antonieta Flores, "Capítulos especiais de Santarém nas Cortes de 1436", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 8 (1959), pp. 310-326.

<sup>42</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Montemor-o-Velho a caminho da Corte e das Cortes*, Montemor-o-Velho, Câmara Municipal de Montemor-o-Velho, 2010.

<sup>43</sup> EADEM, *Forais de Montemor-o-Velho*, Montemor-o-Velho, Câmara Municipal de Montemor-o-Velho, 2002; EADEM, *Memórias Municipais. Os Forais de Vila de Rei*, Vila de Rei, Câmara Municipal de Vila de Rei / Roma Editora, 2010.

<sup>44</sup> *Portugaliae Tabellionum Instrumenta. Documentação notarial portuguesa. I. 1214-1234*, transcription, introduction, notes and indexes by Bernardo de Sá-Nogueira, Lisbon, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2005.

<sup>45</sup> FRESCO, João Paulo Oliveira, *O tabelião lisboeta Afonso Guterres: reconstituição e análise diplomática da sua actividade de escrituração (1400-1441)*, 2 vols., Lisbon, FL-UL, 2007.

<sup>46</sup> *Livro dos Bens de D. João de Portel. Cartulário do Seculo XIII*, published by Pedro de Azevedo, with a historical note by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, Lisbon, Archivo Historico Portuguez, 1906-1910 [new facsimile print with a preface by Hermenegildo Fernandes, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2003].

<sup>47</sup> *Livro Verde da Universidade de Coimbra (Cartulário do Seculo XV)*, edited by António Gomes da Rocha Madahil, Coimbra, Arquivo e Museu de Arte da Universidade, 1940. There is a new edition as *Livro*

But it is in the ecclesiastical field that we encounter the most precocious, sustained and elaborate testaments to the capacity to generate written documentation, either in original or copy form, as can be proved by the existence, without entering into the codicological domain, of the copying, that abounded in Portugal<sup>48</sup>, of literary, legal or scientific manuscripts, belonging to ancient libraries, and of customary<sup>49</sup> and of monastic<sup>50</sup> or cathedral<sup>51</sup> archives, with books of anniversaries and obituaries<sup>52</sup>, of weighty collections of title deeds<sup>53</sup>,

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*Verde da Universidade de Coimbra*, presentation by Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, and transcription by Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, Coimbra, Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1992.

<sup>48</sup> PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, "Manuscritos de Direito Canónico existentes em Portugal", *Arquivo Histórico da Madeira*, t. 11 (1959), pp. 196-242; IDEM, "Livros de Direito na Idade Média", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 7 (1964-66), pp. 31-64.

<sup>49</sup> LENCART, Joana, *O Costumeiro de Pombeiro. Uma comunidade beneditina no séc. XIII*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1987; FRIAS, Agostinho Figueiredo, *Fontes de Cultura Portuguesa Medieval. O Liber Ordinis Sanctae Crucis Colimbriensis*, unpublished doctoral thesis in Philosophy, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001.

<sup>50</sup> *Inventário de Compras do Real Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora (Cartulário do séc. XIII)*, editing by Maria Teresa Barbosa Acabado, offprint of the *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, yr. 14, Coimbra, 1969; TAROUCA, Carlos da Silva, "O Cartulário do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde", *Arqueologia e História*, 8th ser., vol. 4 (1974); *Livro dos Testamentos de Paço de Sousa*, editing by Maria Teresa Monteiro and João Rigaud de Sousa, offprint of *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 24/1, 1970; *Livro de Mumadona. Cartulário medieval existente no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, editing by J. A. Pinto Ferreira, vol. 1, facsimile reproduction, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1973; *Le cartulaire Baio-Ferrado du Monastère de Grijó (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, introduction and notes by Robert Durand, Paris, FCG / Centro Cultural Português, 1971; *O Cartulário do Mosteiro de S. Paulo de Almaziva*, Critical editing by Maria José Azevedo Santos, offprint of *Arquivo Coimbra*, vol. 29, Coimbra, 1987; *Livro Santo de Santa Cruz. Cartulário do Séc. XII*, edited by Leontina Ventura and Ana Santiago Faria, Coimbra, INIC / CHSC 1990; *Taraucae Monumenta Historica. I. Livro das Doações de Tarouca. I/1. Documenta*, reading, summary and notes by A. de Almeida Fernandes, Braga, 1991; *Tombo de Fiães*, transcription by Xesús Ferro Couso, introduction, edition and indexes by Aser Angel Fernández Rey, offprint of *Boletín Avriense*, Anexo 20, Ourense, 1995; *Cartulário de D. Maior Martins: Século XIII. Estudo introdutório, edição diplomática e índices*, by Filomeno Amaro Soares da Silva, Arouca, Associação da Defesa do Património Arouquense, 2001; *Liber Testamentorum Coenobii Laurbanensis*, organised by Aires A. Nascimento, León, Archivo Historico Diocesano, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracarensis Ecclesiae*, editing by Avelino de Jesus da Costa, offprint of *O Distrito de Braga*, 3 tomes, Braga, Junta Distrital de Braga, 1965-1990; *Livro Preto Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra*, critical editing, integral text by Manuel Augusto Rodrigues and Avelino de Jesus da Costa, Coimbra, Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1999.

<sup>52</sup> *Liber Anniversariorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbriensis. (Livro das Kalendas)*, critical edition by Pierre David and Torquato de Sousa Soares, 2 vols., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1947; PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, *Livros de aniversários de Santa Maria da Alcôçova de Santarém e de Santiago de Coimbra*, offprint of *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 34, Coimbra, 1978; GOMES, Saul António, "Fragmentos Codicológicos de um Obituário Primitivo do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra", *Humanitas*, vol. 56 (2004), pp. 383-399; SANTOS, Maria José de Azevedo (ed.), *Um Obituário do Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora. A comemoração dos que passaram deste mundo*, Documentos Medievais Portugueses, 2nd ser., Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2008.

<sup>53</sup> Among others already collected in early sixteenth century chronologies, but pertaining to medieval landscapes, collections such as those published by: MENDONÇA, Manuela, *The Archive of the Church of the Salvador of Santarém*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 1997; AFONSO, Ana Maria, and RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *O Tombo do Mosteiro de São Salvador de Castro de Avelãs. 1500-1538*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2002; *Tombo de Santa Maria de Abade de Neiva e São Vicente de Fragoso (Concelho de Barcelos)*, organisation and general revision by Iria Gonçalves and Maria da Conceição Falcão Ferreira, transcription by Joana Balsa de Pinho, analytical index by Manuel Sílvio Alves Conde, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2003; the series of collections of the Order of Cristo, under the direction of Iria Gonçalves, by the same publishing institution, with five published volumes (vol. 1: *Comendas a Sul do Tejo (1505-1509)*, Lisbon,

compilations of normative acts such as those arising from the episcopal<sup>54</sup> synods, of censurs<sup>55</sup> and from the diocesan *diplomataria* for Lamego<sup>56</sup> or Viseu<sup>57</sup>, from urban colleges<sup>58</sup> or, once again, from monastic *diplomataria* such as those of devoted to the monasteries of Salzeda<sup>59</sup>, of Arouca<sup>60</sup>, of São Simão da Junqueira<sup>61</sup>, of Lorvão<sup>62</sup>, of Santa Clara<sup>63</sup> and of Celas de Coimbra<sup>64</sup> or of Santa Maria da Vitória da Batalha<sup>65</sup>.

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2002; vol. 2: *Comendas do Médio Tejo (1504-1510)*, Lisbon, 2005; vol. 3: *Comendas do Vale do Mondego (1508)*, Lisbon, 2006; vol. 4: *Comendas do Noroeste (1504-a.1510)*, Lisbon, 2008; vol. 5: *Comendas da Beira Interior Sul (1505)*, Lisbon, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> *Synodicon Hispanum. II. Portugal*, critical editing by Antonio García y García, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982.

<sup>55</sup> *Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto. Códice membranáceo existente na Biblioteca do Porto*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1924; MARQUES, José, *O Censual do Cabido de Tuy para o arceidiagado da terra da Vinha, 1321*, offprint of *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 34, facs. 78 (91), July-Dec. (1980), Braga; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *O Bispo D. Pedro e a organização da Arquidiocese de Braga*, vol. 2: *Censuais e documentos*, 2nd recast and expanded edition, Braga, Irmandade de São Bento da Porta Aberta, 1990; *Livro das Campainhas (códice da segunda metade do século XIV). Mosteiro de São Salvador de Grijó*, reading and transcription by Jorge de Alarcão, revision, indexes and notes by Luís Carlos Amaral, Vila Nova de Gaia, Câmara Municipal de Vila Nova de Gaia, 1986; MARQUES, José, “O censual do Cabido de Tui para o arceidiagado da terra da Vinha – 1321”, in *Relações entre Portugal e Castela nos finais da Idade Média*. Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 1994, pp. 65-104; SOALHEIRO, João, “Censual da diocese de Coimbra – século XIV (ANTT: MCO, Ordem de Cristo/Convento de Tomar, liv. 264)”, *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 6 (2006), pp. 51-90; MARTIN MARTIN, Luis, “El poblamiento de Portugal según ‘Collectoriae’ vaticanas del siglo XIV: diócesis de Lisboa y Coimbra”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., 13, (1996), pp. 123-148.

<sup>56</sup> SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa, *A Sé de Lamego na primeira metade do século XIV (1296-1349)*, Leiria, Edições Magno, 2003.

<sup>57</sup> *Diplomatário da Sé de Viseu (1078-1278)*, editing by Leontina Ventura and João da Cunha Matos, Lisbon, IEM / CHSC / IUC, 2010.

<sup>58</sup> Although existing only in a multi-copied version, we cite the following works that proceed with the transcription of documental sources: RAMOS, Cláudia silva, *O Mosteiro e a Colegiada de Guimarães (ca. 950-1250)*, 2 vols., Oporto, FL-UP, 1991; VARANDAS, Carla Patrícia Rana, *A Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra das origens ao final do século XIV: estudo económico e social*, 2 vols., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1999; GUARDADO, Maria Cristina Gonçalves, *A Colegiada de S. Bartolomeu de Coimbra em tempos medievais. Das origens ao início do século XV*, 2 vols., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1999; MATOS, João da Cunha, *A Colegiada de São Cristóvão de Coimbra (Sécs. XII e XIII)*, Tomar, s. n., 1999.

<sup>59</sup> FERNANDES, António de Almeida, “O Livro das Doações da Salzeda”, *Beira Alta*, vols. 38-39 (1979-1980).

<sup>60</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Mosteiro de Arouca. Do século X ao século XIII*, 2nd ed., Arouca, Câmara Municipal de Arouca / Real Irmandade da Rainha Santa Mafalda, 1988, pp. 183 ff.; RÊPAS, Luís Miguel, *Quando a nobreza traja de branco: a comunidade cisterciense de Arouca durante o abadessado de D. Luca Rodrigues (1286-1299)*, Leiria, Magno Edições, 2003, pp. 78-81.

<sup>61</sup> LIRA, Sérgio, *O Mosteiro de S. Simão da Junqueira dos primórdios a 1300*, 2 vols., Vila do Conde, Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2001-2002.

<sup>62</sup> AZEVEDO, Ruy de, *O Mosteiro de Lorvão na Reconquista Cristã*, offprint of the *Arquivo Histórico de Portugal* (1933).

<sup>63</sup> SANTOS, Ana Paula Figueira, *A fundação do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Coimbra. Da instituição por D. Mor Dias à intervenção da Rainha Santa Isabel*, 2 vols., Coimbra, FL-UC, 2000.

<sup>64</sup> MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *Um Mosteiro Cisterciense Feminino. Santa Maria de Celas (Séculos XIII a XV)*, Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>65</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *Fontes históricas e artísticas do Mosteiro e da vila da Batalha. (Séculos XIV a XVII)*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2000-2002.

More recently, the first diplomatic corpus relating to a religious-military order present in Portugal, that of the Templars<sup>66</sup>, has been established, not to mention the collection in foreign archives of documentation pertaining to Portugal<sup>67</sup>. To the sources of ecclesiastical provenance, one should add the emergence of editions of monastic visitations<sup>68</sup>.

Relevant, too, are the publications of private documents<sup>69</sup> or those originating in old archives of confraternal institutions<sup>70</sup>, of the wills of clergymen<sup>71</sup>, and especially, the editions of the medieval Papal bulls relating to Portugal<sup>72</sup>.

With regard to royal Portuguese sources, it should be noted there were themselves subject to shifting processes change in archival intentionality, common in the ancient chanceries and in the royal archives as early as the medieval periods – as occurred for example during the reigns of King Dinis, in relation to the documentation of his predecessors, or during the reign of King Afonso V, with Gomes Eanes de Zurara directing a renewal of the deeds in the archive of the Torre do Tombo, later amplified by the Manueline cycle of the *Leitura Nova*. Of these,

<sup>66</sup> FERNANDES, Maria Cristina Ribeiro de Sousa, *A Ordem do Templo em Portugal (das origens à extinção)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 2009.

<sup>67</sup> SÁEZ, Emilio, and SÁEZ, Carlos, *Colección Diplomática del Monasterio de Celanova (842-1230). I (842-942)*, Alcalá de Henares, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1996; PALACIOS MARTIN, Bonifacio (dir.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Orden de Alcántara (1157?-1494)*, t. 1: *De los origenes a 1454*; t. 2: *De 1454 a 1494*, Madrid, Fundación San Benito de Alcantara / Editorial Complutense, 2000.

<sup>68</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses em Portugal. Séculos XV e XVI*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 1998.

<sup>69</sup> AZEVEDO, Rui de (org.), *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos particulares*, vol. 3: *A. D. 1101-1115*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1940; AZEVEDO, Rui de, and COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos particulares*, vol. 4, t. 1: *A. D. 1116-1123*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1980.

<sup>70</sup> MARQUES, José, “Os pergaminhos da Confraria de S. João do Souto da cidade de Braga (1186-1545)”, *Braga Medieval*, vol. 36, nos. 81-82 (1983), pp. 119-247; MIGUÉIS, Maria Isabel N., *O Tombo do Hospital e Gafaria do Santo Espírito de Sintra*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1997; MATA, Luís António Santos Nunes, *Ser, ter e poder: o Hospital do Espírito Santo de Santarém nos finais da Idade Média*, Leiria, Edições Magno, 2000; TRINDADE, Maria Teodoro (introduction), LOPES, Leonor Damas (palaeographic transcription), *Confrarias medievais da região de Torres Novas. Os bens e os compromissos*, Torres Novas, Câmara Municipal de Torres Novas, 2001; GOMES, Saul António, *O Livro do Compromisso da Confraria e Hospital de Santa Maria da Vitória da Batalha (1427-1544). Estudo histórico e transcrição documental*, Leiria, Magno, 2002; RAMOS, Maria Odete Neto, *O património da Gafaria de São Gião de Monção: séculos XV-XVI*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2002; PAIVA, José Pedro (dir.), *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, vol. 2: *Antes da Fundação das Misericórdias*, Lisbon, União das Misericórdias Portuguesas / CEHR-UCP, 2003; MELO, Arnaldo de Sousa, DIAS, Henrique, and SILVA, Maria João Oliveira e, *Palmeiros e sapateiros. A Confraria de S. Crispim e S. Crispiniano do Porto (séculos XIV a XVI)*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa (coord.), *Testamenti Ecclesiae Portugaliae (1071-1325)*, Lisbon, CEHR-UCP, 2010.

<sup>72</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, and MARQUES, Maria Alegria, *Bulário Português. Inocência III (1198-1216)*, Coimbra, INIC / CHSC, 1989; GOMES, Saul António, “Um Bulário Medieval da Ordem dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 4 (1992), pp. 371-380; SANTOS, Carlos Fernando Russo, *A Ordem de Santiago e o Papado no tempo de D. Jorge: de Inocência VIII a Paulo III*, unpublished master's dissertation, [Águeda], FL-UP, 2007. The research undertaken by Avelino de Jesus da Costa in his attempt to establish the medieval bullarium with respect to Portugal remains valid and useful. See, by this author, *Bulário Português do Século XIII (1198-1303). Subsídios para o Inventário*, Coimbra, 1962 (typewritten).

following the publication of the documents of the Portuguese Counts, of King Afonso Henriques<sup>73</sup> and of the documents of King Sancho I<sup>74</sup>, one should highlight the printing of the *Livro de Recebimentos de 1470 da Chancelaria da Câmara Real*<sup>75</sup>; the establishment of the *diplomatarium* of King Sancho II<sup>76</sup>; the edition of the fifth book of the Chancery of King Dinis or the *Livro das Lezírias*<sup>77</sup>; the appearance of the three first books of the *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*<sup>78</sup>; the study of the original acts of the Chancery of King Fernando I<sup>79</sup>; and, over a longer period, beginning under the editorship of A. H. de Oliveira Marques and continued by João José Alves Dias, that of the series of the *Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas*<sup>80</sup> and of the *Cortes Medievais Portuguesas*<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> AZEVEDO, Rui Pinto de (org.), *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos régios. Vol. 1 – Documentos dos condes portugalenses e de D. Afonso Henriques, A. D. 1095-1185*, 2 tomes, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1958-1962.

<sup>74</sup> AZEVEDO, Rui de, COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, and PEREIRA, Marcelino, *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174-1211)*, vol. 1, Coimbra, Centro de História da Universidade de Coimbra, 1979.

<sup>75</sup> PERES, Damião, *O Livro de recebimentos de 1470 da Chancelaria da Câmara*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1974.

<sup>76</sup> BERNARDINO, Sandra V. Pereira Gonçalves, *Sancius Secundus Rex Portugalensis. A chancelaria de D. Sancho II (1223-1248)*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2003 (unpublished).

<sup>77</sup> *Livro das Lezírias d'El-Rei Dom Dinis*, transcription, introductory study and notes by Bernardo de Sá-Nogueira, Lisbon, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003.

<sup>78</sup> *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III. Livro I*, 2 vols., editing by Leontina Ventura, and António Resende de Oliveira, Coimbra, IUC, 2006; *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III, Livros II e III*, editing by Leontina Ventura and António Resende de Oliveira, Coimbra, IUC, 2011.

<sup>79</sup> NEVES, João António Mendes, *A 'Formosa' chancelaria. Estudos dos originais da chancelaria de D. Fernando (1367-1383)*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2005.

<sup>80</sup> The following volumes are published: *D. Pedro I (1357-1367)*, Lisbon, INIC / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1984; *D. Afonso IV*, vol. 1: (1325-1336), vol. 2 (1336-1340), vol. 3 (1340-1344), Lisbon, JNICT / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990-1992; *D. João I*, vol. 1, t. 1: (1384-1385), t. 2: (1385), t. 3: (1384-1388); vol. 2, t. 1: (1385-1392), t. 2: (1387-1402), t. 3: (1391-1407); vol. 3, t. 1: (1385-1410), t. 2: (1394-1427), t. 3: (1402-1418); vol. 4, t. 1: (1410-1425), Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004-2006; *D. Duarte*, vol. 1, t. 1: (1433-1435), t. 2: (1435-1438); vol. 2: *Livro da Casa dos Contos*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998-1999.

<sup>81</sup> *Reinado de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)*, Lisbon, JNICT / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1982; *Reinado de D. Pedro I (1357-1367)*, Lisbon, JNICT / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1986; *Reinado de D. Fernando I*, vol. 1: (1367-1380), vol. 2: (1383), Lisbon, JNICT / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990-1993; *Reinado de D. Duarte (Cortes de 1436 e 1438)*, CEH/UNL, Lisbon, 2004; *Reinado de D. Manuel (Cortes de 1498)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002; *Reinado de D. Manuel I (Cortes de 1499)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2001; *Reinado de D. Manuel I (Cortes de 1502)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2001.



More recently, we have seen the publication of the royal inquiries of King Dinis<sup>82</sup> and those of the 1300s<sup>83</sup>, a new systematisation and editing of the documentation produced in relation to Prince Henrique<sup>84</sup>, of the fifteenth century royal diplomas relating to Africa<sup>85</sup>, together with documentation relating to the national history of forests and hunting<sup>86</sup>, while there has also been the publication of a thematic documental corpus, such as that devoted by Luís Miguel Duarte to the royal letters of pardon<sup>87</sup>, or the editing of central public accounting records<sup>88</sup> or pertaining to the intersection between royal and ecclesiastical powers<sup>89</sup>, and, finally, of regional public organisms<sup>90</sup>.

In a realm that connects the (auto)biographical with the institutional and the biographical records of men of “state”, within the royal Portuguese court, we should mention the editing of such works as the *Livro dos Conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte*<sup>91</sup> and, also, the *Livro de Apontamentos (1438-1489)*, of the royal secretary Álvaro Lopes

<sup>82</sup> *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, n. s., vol. 3: *Inquisitiones. Inquirições Gerais de D. Dinis. 1284*, introduction, reading and indexes by José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro, Lisbon, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 2007.

<sup>83</sup> *Inquirição sobre os bens régios nos concelhos de Castro Verde, Almodôvar e Padrões (1375-1376)*, introduction, editing of texts and notes by Valentino Viegas, Lisbon, Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais-Torre do Tombo, 1998.

<sup>84</sup> *Documentação Henriquina*, introduction and organisation by José Manuel Garcia, Maia, Castoliva Editora, 1995.

<sup>85</sup> ESTEVES, Maria Luísa Oliveira (coord.), *Portugaliae Monumenta Africana*, vol. 1 and 2, Lisbon, CNCDP / IN-CM, 1993-1995.

<sup>86</sup> NEVES, Carlos Manuel Baeta, *História florestal, aquíloca e cinegética. Coleção de documentos existentes no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Chancelarias Reais*, 6 vols., Lisbon, Direção Geral de Florestas, 1980-1993.

<sup>87</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, *Justiça e Criminalidade no Portugal Medieval (1459-1481)*, Coimbra, FCG / FCT, 1999, pp. 567-743.

<sup>88</sup> FARO, Jorge, *Receitas e Despesas da Fazenda Real de 1384 a 1481 (Subsídios Documentais)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Económicos, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1956; *Lei de Almotaxaria. 26 de Dezembro de 1253*, introduction, translation and notes by Aristides Pinheiro and Abílio Rita, Damaia, Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor, 1983; GONÇALVES, Iria, *Pedidos e empréstimos públicos em Portugal durante a Idade Média*, offprint of the *Boletim da Direção-Geral das Contribuições e Impostos*, Lisbon, 1964; EADEM, *O Empréstimo concedido a D. Afonso V nos anos de 1475 e 1476 pelo Almojarifado de Évora*, offprint of the *Boletim da Direção-Geral das Contribuições e Impostos*, Lisbon, 1964.

<sup>89</sup> BOISSELLIER, Stephane, *Registres fiscaux et administratifs de benefices ecclésiastiques du royaume portugais, XIII-XIVe siècles (édition et présentation). Contribution a l'étude du phénomène administratif*, [2009], (at press); IDEM, “Les rapport entre prélèvement fiscal et mécanismes économiques: leurs représentations dans les Cortes au Portugal dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle”, in CAVACIOCCHI, Simonetta (ed.), *La fiscalità nell'economia europea. Secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti XXXIX Settimana di Studi*, Florence, Firenze University Press, 2008, pp. 1083-1103; NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá, “A organização do padroado régio durante o reinado de D. Dinis. Lista das apresentações (1279-1321)”, *Arqueologia do Estado. 1ªs Jornadas sobre formas de organização e exercício dos poderes na Europa do Sul. Séculos XIII-XVIII. Comunicações*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 421-445.

<sup>90</sup> *Livro do Almojarifado de Silves (Século XV)*, preface by Humberto Baquero Moreno, identification and transcription by Maria José da Silva Leal, notes, observations and commentaries by José D. Garcia Domingues, Silves, Câmara Municipal de Silves, 1984.

<sup>91</sup> *Livro dos Conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte (Livro da Cartuxa). Edição Diplomática*, transcription by João José Alves Dias, introduction and revision by António Henrique de Oliveira Marques and João José Alves Dias, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1982.

de Chaves<sup>92</sup>. A specific place should be reserved, finally, to those sources linking the literary and the documental, in the re-editing of the lineage books<sup>93</sup>.

The evolution of archival theory and practice in Portugal, from medieval times to the present<sup>94</sup>, assimilating the benefits of information technology and its capacity for data storage, has naturally not dispensed with the need for documents to be published or made available for consultation by researchers whether in the traditional format of printed guides, indexes or schedules, or as information available on digital platforms<sup>95</sup>.

We have for our use digital databases, such as that mentioned earlier for Santa Maria da Feira, but also those made available by *FUNDIS – Fundos Documentais de Instituições do Sul*<sup>96</sup>, Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedades –

<sup>92</sup> *Livro de Apontamentos (1438-1489). Códice 443 da Coleção Pombalina da BNL*, introduction and transcription by Anastácia Mestrinho Salgado and José Abílio Salgado, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1990.

<sup>93</sup> PIEL, Joseph, and MATTOSO, José, *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*, Lisbon, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1980; MATTOSO, José, *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1980.

<sup>94</sup> AZEVEDO, Pedro de, and BAIÃO, António, *O Archivo da Torre do Tombo. Sua historia, corpos que o compõem e organização*, Lisbon, Annaes da Academia de Estudos Livres, 1905 [new edition, Lisbon, 1990]; FIGUEIREDO, António Mesquita de, *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo: roteiro prático*, Lisbon, Livraria Universal, 1922; FEIO, Alberto, “O Arquivo Distrital de Braga: notas histórico-descritivas”, *Boletim da Biblioteca Pública e do Arquivo Distrital de Braga*, 1 (1920), pp. 77-116; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, “As condições de conservação dos documentos e dos livros em Portugal (Séc. XII-XV)”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa...*, pp. 233-256. May we be allowed, in this matter, to refer to our pages inserted in GOMES, Saul António, *In limine conscriptionis. Documentos, Chancelaria e Cultura no Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Séculos XII a XIV)*, Viseu, Palimage, 2007, p. 241, and those following; IDEM, “O ‘Inventário das Escrituras’ do Convento de S. Francisco de Santarém de [1411]. Observações breves acerca da praxis arquivística medieval portuguesa”, *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 3 (2003), pp. 263-292; IDEM, “‘DONATIONES CVSTODIANTVR: DONATIONES SERVENTVR’ Da memória e praxis arquivística do Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça em tempos medievais”, *Humanitas*, no. 57 (2005), pp. 245-269; RIBEIRO, Fernanda, *O Acesso à informação nos arquivos*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2003 (doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UP, in 1998, which may be consulted at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/site/default.aspx?qry=id06id131&sum=sim>).

<sup>95</sup> See, among others, such descriptive instruments as: ARAÚJO, António de Sousa, and SILVA, Armando B. Malheiro da, *Inventário do fundo monástico-conventual*, Braga, Arquivo Distrital de Braga / Universidade do Minho, 1985; ARQUIVO DISTRITAL DO PORTO, *Guia do Arquivo Distrital do Porto: uma experiência de tratamento documental*, 1990/92, Oporto, Arquivo Distrital do Porto, 1993; ARQUIVO DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA, “Guia do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra”, *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra*, 1 (1973), pp. 83-175; BIBLIOTECA PÚBLICA E ARQUIVO DISTRITAL DE BRAGANÇA, [Guia], Bragança, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Bragança, 1987; INSTITUTO DA BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL E DO LIVRO, *Guia preliminar dos fundos de arquivo da Biblioteca Nacional*, introduction and organisation by Lígia de Azevedo Martins, Lisbon, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1994; INSTITUTO PORTUGUÊS DO PATRIMÓNIO CULTURAL, *Roteiro das bibliotecas e arquivos dependentes administrativamente do Instituto Português do Património Cultural*, organised by Maria Teresa de Andrade Cardoso, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Cultural, Departamento de Bibliotecas, Arquivos e Serviços de Documentação, 1987 (1st ed., 1984); CORREIA, Francisco, “Compilação de fontes manuscritas da BN para a História Económica Portuguesa. Séculos XII a XVI”, *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, 2nd ser., tomes 9/1 (1994), pp. 67-138; GOMES, Saul António, *Documentos Medievais de Santa Cruz de Coimbra. I. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, offprint of *Estudos Medievais*, no. 8 (1988).

<sup>96</sup> One may consult: <http://fundis.cidelus.uevora.pt/index.php?/fundos/Apresentacao/Os-Pergaminhos-Avulsos-da-Biblioteca-Publica-de-Evora-uma-abordagem-recente>

University of Évora project, which will be associated with the database of medieval fragments of the *Fragmed – Corpus Fragmentorum Portugaliae* project (Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura – University of Coimbra)<sup>97</sup>, to which we must add the consultation portals of the *TT online* digitalised documentation<sup>98</sup>, together with the *Portal Português de Arquivos*<sup>99</sup> and/or *DigitArq*<sup>100</sup> and *BND*<sup>101</sup>, as well as the guides describing the funds and collections of the National Archive of Torre do Tombo<sup>102</sup>.

By consulting of these auxiliary research resources, the historian has privileged access to the extensive universe of medieval written sources deposited in Portuguese archives, libraries and museums. Also of importance are archives of old noble families with medieval documentation.

Portuguese medievalists finds themselves primarily in contact with written documents – in Latin, but more predominantly, especially from the last third of the thirteenth century, those utilising the romance language that was to supplant it – introduced into parchments, either separate, or aggregated in artificial codices, or as collected folios, censuses, or chancery registers. Less abundant are documents of the Portuguese Middle Ages passed down to us on paper though, mainly from the end of the 1300s, these writing materials become more abundant multiplying significantly throughout the fifteenth century.

Royal documents, ecclesiastical documents and private documents constitute a frequent trilogy in the national archives. In truth, the sorting is in truth more pragmatic than the classification would be following a more strictly diplomatic and bipolarised division between public acts and private acts. The first would affirm the issuing public legal authority, whilst the second would pertain to the private legislation regulating trade by individuals outside that general legal capacity.

Various nomenclatures have been proposed for Portuguese medieval documental acts<sup>103</sup>. In essence, however, the documents are mainly distributed, in

<sup>97</sup> May be consulted at: <http://www.fragmed.net>

<sup>98</sup> At the website: <http://ttonline.dgarq.gov.pt>

<sup>99</sup> See: <http://portal.arquivos.pt>

<sup>100</sup> Vd.: <http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt>

<sup>101</sup> May be consulted at: <http://purl.pt/index/geral/PT/index.html>

<sup>102</sup> Among others, and purely as an example, one may cite: *Instrumento de descrição documental. De acordo coma classificação adoptada no Guia Geral de Fontes*, s. l., Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo Direcção de Serviços de Arquivística (July) 2002 (available at: <http://antt.dgarq.gov.pt/files/2008/10/idds.pdf>), or *Guia sumário de Fundos e Coleções do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo: II Parte. Instituições Eclesiásticas. De acordo com a classificação adoptada no Guia Geral de Fundos*, s. l., Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo Direcção de Serviços de Arquivística, (October) 2002 (available at: [http://antt.dgarq.gov.pt/files/2010/08/Guia\\_sumario\\_com\\_IDD2.pdf](http://antt.dgarq.gov.pt/files/2010/08/Guia_sumario_com_IDD2.pdf))

<sup>103</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Os tabeliães em Portugal. Perfil profissional e sócio-económico (sécs XIV-XV)”, offprint of *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, 23 (1996); GOMES, Saul António, “Anotações

terms of their typology, in an extremely common tetralogy of (a) donations and wills, (b) sales and/or purchases, (c) exchanges, (d) rents or concessions and/or leaseholds. But this range of vocabulary widens, significantly, when one considers, for example, *litterae*, missives, news, letters, privileges, inventories, mandates, inquiries, arguments, sentences, refusals, pacts, compromises, contracts, agreements and conventions, recognitions, mortgages, powers of attorney, introductions, pleas, discharges, authenticated copies, transcripts, validations, among others.

All of this documentation ranges between originals or even medieval copies, given that the historian has, frequently, to rely on much later textual documental readings, as they are only ones that preserve the content or the reporting of written acts whose originals have been lost. The documents, being genuine, lend proof and a guarantee of authenticity to the acts they disseminate. The drafting of a medieval document normally respects established formulae pertaining to each chancery or production office. Having passed the phase of *actio*, the officers of a chancery, resorting or not to a draft and a minute of the document, produce the original or multiple originals of a given decision. The emission of an original document generally presupposes the registration of that same diploma, either as a whole or in abbreviated form, as well as its subjection to validation on the part of the particular entities, whether the author of the legal act, or the agents of confirmation and/or witness, or the officers responsible for the formal application of the elements of confirmation and validation, using signs, signatures or seals.

Multiple originals reinforce the guarantee of authenticity of the written act. In the notarial systems, the originals correspond to the minutes opened in the note books, in which are placed the signatures and autographic signs of the contracting and witnessing parties present, as well as the extracts copying those texts so that, once authenticated by the official public seal and the signatures of the public notaries, they can be handed to the applicants. One can thus distinguish from these minutes the drafts or preparatory versions of the business acts. How does one distinguish from these minutes, at the level of the public chanceries, the registered documents or those placed in books of records? The verifications and (re)validations of original documents, generally through the introduction of *vidimus* or of lists of confirmation and seals, maintains the original character.

But the acts published in authenticated copies, that is to say, the copies or transcripts, although authentic, of original diplomas, do not enter the realm of originals. In this case we are dealing with copies authenticated by the will of the authors, the beneficiaries and the recipients of the acts or, even, of some other intervening person

with an interest in this authenticated transcript. Documents considered to be copies include those entered into record books, into the chanceries issuing the acts, or in archives in the institutions receiving the same. They are copies that, being authentic, maintain a high degree of reliability from the point of view of fidelity to the original. All the documental acts constitute copies when inserted into other acts of a probative legal value. Finally, we should mention the numbered copies and the informal copies, generally produced by erudite persons and established with the purpose of reproducing for study or safeguard, unless through criteria of transliteration of greater or minor palaeographic exhaustiveness, preferring the original documents to the integral, partial or summary copy, for publication<sup>104</sup>.

One should underline that, beyond the documental variants between original(s) and copy(ies), a distinction between real acts and false acts is also necessary. Real acts are all those written acts that are diplomatically authentic in the entire process of their elaboration ranging from their genesis to their validation and expedition. The Middle Ages as much as the Modern Era have been fertile in the fabrication of false documents. In Portugal, there exist the famous falsifications produced by the Cistercian Bernardo de Brito, inventing acts of some supposed *Cortes* of Lamego of 1440 or drafting statutes attributed to a non-existent, in medieval times, Order of São Miguel de Ala.

All documents are false that do not present the external and internal characteristics of diplomatic authenticity pertaining to the chanceries and offices of production and expedition they claim to belong to. False acts are those written documents whose content has been subjected to spurious and illicit alterations. In the same manner, those diplomas from a chancery may be classified as false if, whilst respecting the external models of that office, they are elaborated or validated in a fraudulent manner. Acts with formally correct and valid documental contents, in their turn, if obtained surreptitiously or illicitly are also false. But it should be recognised that observation, as much of a diplomatic as of a historical nature, may arouse doubts or suspicions about certain documents, without one being able to prove, definitively, the falseness of these written acts.

Old traditions in the editing of medieval documents in Portugal varied, as we have seen, with regard to doctrinal substance and the norms of transcription, fixation and publication of the texts. In Portugal, arbitrary national criteria dominated and it was only in the 1970s that principles of scientific editing were incorporated,

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<sup>104</sup> GUYOTJEANNIN, Olivier, *Conseils pour l'édition des textes médiévaux. Fascicule II: Actes et documents d'archives*, Paris, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques / École nationale des chartes, 2009, pp. 13 ff.; GUYOTJEANNIN, Olivier, PYCKE, Jacques, and TOCK, Benoît-Michel, *Diplomatique Médiévale*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1993, pp. 397 ff.

approaching the international ones<sup>105</sup>. In 1984, the Commission internationale de diplomatique specified the recommended criteria for diplomatic editions<sup>106</sup>. Despite efforts to establish an international normative editorial framework, especially for Medieval Latin texts and documents, there has always remained the need, in each country, to adapt the recommended criteria to the national linguistic and cultural realities.

In Portugal we should mention the name of Avelino de Jesus da Costa and of his *Normas gerais de transcrição e publicação de documentos e textos medievais e modernos*, published in 1977 and re-edited in 1982 and, in a much-improved edition, in 1993<sup>107</sup>. Notwithstanding this proposal for the establishment of editorial norms, the truth is that Portuguese researchers have tended always to establish individualised criteria, *ad casum*, most especially in the domain of historical linguistics. As Clarinda de Azevedo Maia has written, there is a demand for transcription and fixation criteria that correlate and agree; we cite, “a systematic analysis of the orthography in its relationships to pronunciation and with the phonological structure of the language of the period” it becoming “necessary for there to be an extreme delicateness in the treatment of the texts and a loyalty to certain aspects that, for studies of a different quality, might not be taken into account”<sup>108</sup>. Linguistic studies have indeed contributed, significantly, to the emergence of new and relevant corpuses of medieval documents<sup>109</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> Namely the criteria and norms proposed of this in the 1960s, summarised in BAUTIER, Robert-Henri (ed.), “Normalisation internationale des méthodes de publication des documents latins du Moyen Âge”, *Bulletin philologique et historique* [du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques] (1976), pp. 9-54.

<sup>106</sup> “Normes internationales pour l’édition des documents médiévaux”, in *Diplomatica et Sigillographica*, ‘Folia Caesaraugustana’, 1 [Saragossa], 1984, pp. 21-93. GUYOTJEANNIN, Olivier, *Conseils pour l’édition des textes médiévaux...*, pp. 7-11.

<sup>107</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *Normas gerais de transcrição e publicação de documentos e textos medievais e modernos*, Coimbra, FL-UC / Instituto de Paleografia e Diplomática, 1993 (1st ed., 1977).

<sup>108</sup> “[U]ma análise sistemática das grafias nas suas relações com a pronúncia e com a estrutura fonológica da língua da época” *tornando-se* “necessária uma extrema delicadeza no tratamento dos textos e uma fidelidade a certos aspectos que, para estudos doutra índole, poderiam não ser tidos em conta”: MAIA, Clarinda de Azevedo, *História do Galego-Português. Estado linguístico da Galiza e do Noroeste de Portugal desde o século XIII ao século XVI*, Coimbra, INIC, 1986, p. 19. On this subject, one may also consult MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, DIAS, João José Alves, and RODRIGUES, Teresa F., *Álbum de Paleografia*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1987, pp. VII-XIII; EMILIANO, António, “Problemas de transliteração na edição de textos medievais”, *Revista Galega de Filologia*, no. 3 (2002), pp. 29-64.

<sup>109</sup> In addition to the documentation published by Clarinda Azevedo Maia, mentioned above, we cite, also, the works of MARTINS, Ana Maria, *Documentos Portugueses do Noroeste e da Região de Lisboa. Da produção primitiva ao século XVI*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2001; PEDRO, Susana Tavares, “O Género Diplomático ‘Notícia’ na Documentação Medieval Portuguesa (Séculos X-XIII)”, unpublished doctoral thesis in History – Palaeography and Diplomatics, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2008. One also recalls of EMILIANO, António, and PEDRO, Susana Tavares, *Inventário de diplomas conservados no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo contendo documentos notariais dos séculos IX-X*, documentation from the project “Origens do Português: digitalização, edição e estudo linguístico de documentos dos séculos IX-X” (POCI/LIN/58815/2004), March 1, 2006, available at: [www.fcsh.unl.pt/philologia/ODP\\_inventario\\_mss.pdf](http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/philologia/ODP_inventario_mss.pdf)

If in recent times, Portuguese historiography, when dealing with social and economic, political and institutional, cultural and intellectual history, or in the field of the auxiliary historical sciences, has gained the capacity for innovation, *pari e passu* with those practiced in other countries and territories, we should also recognise, in all that has been expounded, that historiography, especially of the medieval period, has never ceased to value the sources whether, in their broadest typological diversity, written or oral, material or intangible sources. The medievalist is, metaphorically, an avid devourer of sources even when, as we say frequently between ourselves, Portugal is a country particularly affected by historical processes of destruction and loss of those documental sources without which it continues to be impossible to gain knowledge of the past.





# *Working with Medieval Manuscripts and Records: Palaeography, Diplomatics, Codicology and Sigillography*

*Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão*

In the balance of medieval French historiography sent to press in 1991, emphasis is placed on the profound advances over recent decades in sciences traditionally considered as auxiliary to history, based as much on the broadening of their fields and ambitions as on the renovation of their methods, to the extent that their objects of study have become sources in themselves, these disciplines becoming repositories of an autonomous science<sup>1</sup>.

It is with this same sense of maturity that such sciences have progressed in Portugal, especially during the 1980s, which witnessed, as is well known, significant developments in medieval history. We pay attention, in this chapter, to those that have made the greatest contribution to better knowledge of the Portuguese medieval period: palaeography, diplomatics, codicology and sigillography, listing them in order that corresponds, approximately, to the chronology of their development among us.

## **Palaeography<sup>2</sup>**

Until the mid-twentieth century, palaeography continued to be viewed merely as a technique at the service of historians that allowed them to decipher the writings of other eras, and as such took its place in university curricula, as much for history

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<sup>1</sup> GUYOTJEANNIN, Olivier, et al., "Sciences auxiliares de l'histoire médiévale", in BALARD, Michel (ed.), *L'Histoire Médiévale en France. Bilan et perspectives*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1991, pp. 471-472.

<sup>2</sup> On the evolution of Palaeography in Portugal, *vd.*, especially, the synthesis presented by SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Uma ciência em Portugal e na Europa: a Paleografia (séculos XIX-XX)*, offprint of *Theologica*, 2nd ser., vol. 28, fasc. 2 (1993), pp. 549-567.

degrees as for librarian-archivist courses, generally in association with diplomatics<sup>3</sup>. It was as a merely auxiliary science that it appeared defined in an article of A. H. de Oliveira Marques published in the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, a work that went to press between 1963 and 1971<sup>4</sup>. And in 1973, Avelino de Jesus da Costa still described it as “a science auxiliary to diplomatics and to the disciplines that utilise ancient sources”<sup>5</sup>.

In the same decade of the 1970s, however, an article by Eduardo Borges Nunes, of the University of Lisbon, announced new directions for palaeography<sup>6</sup>. Echoing transformations affecting this discipline, especially in France, the author identified various levels of what he termed “civilização paleográfica” (palaeographic civilization): He distinguished between the simple technique of the reading of documents, the palaeography that studied the evolution of types of letter, the writing centres and the works produced, but that was still “predominantemente classificadora e não explicadora” (predominantly classifying and not explicative), from an (autonomous and fully scientific) “autónoma e plenamente científica” palaeography<sup>7</sup>, that should be explicative and answer questions relating to the reasons for the evolution and diffusion of writings, of their conjugation with other historical factors and the processes through which this occurs. This new palaeography that he commends is, basically, the same history of writing promoted by researchers such as Jean Mallon, whose renovating vision influenced all subsequent evolution in this area of studies<sup>8</sup>.

To this same professor of the University of Lisbon may be attributed the first structured reflection on modern palaeographic concepts concerning the graphic forms used in Portuguese territory over the centuries<sup>9</sup>. However, the typologies he

<sup>3</sup> See the different curricular plans in RIBEIRO, Fernanda, “O ensino da Paleografia e da Diplomática no curso de Bibliotecário-Arquivista”, in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (orgs.), *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, vol. 2, Oporto, FL-UP, 2006, pp. 47-63, and SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, “O ensino da Paleografia e da Diplomática na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra”, in SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Ler e compreender a escrita na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Colibri / FL-UC, 2000, pp. 59-131.

<sup>4</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Paleografia”, in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. 4, Oporto, Livr. Figueirinhas, s.d., pp. 528-534. On the importance of this discipline, as well as of Diplomatics, in the work of Oliveira Marques, vd. GOMES, Saul António, “Paleografia e Diplomática na Obra de A. H. de Oliveira Marques”, in HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, and COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (coords.), *Na Jubilação Universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, Minerva, 2003, pp. 45-56.

<sup>5</sup> “[C]iência auxiliar da Diplomática e das disciplinas que utilizam fontes antigas”. COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, “Paleografia”, in *Verbo. Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura*, Lisbon, Ed. Verbo, 1973, t. 14, cols. 1120-1126.

<sup>6</sup> NUNES, Eduardo Borges, “O conceito novo de Paleografia”, *Portugaliae Historica*, vol. 1 (1973), pp. 223-232.

<sup>7</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> MALLON, Jean, *Paléographie romaine*, Madrid, Instituto Antonio de Nevrija de Filologia, 1952; IDEM, *De l'écriture: recueil d'études publiées de 1937 a 1981*, Paris, CNRS, 1982.

<sup>9</sup> This reflection is part of the introduction to NUNES, Eduardo Borges, *Álbum de Paleografia*

created did not enjoy a significant support from scholars of other schools, being employed in a systematic manner only by his immediate disciples, principally those preparing master's degrees in Palaeography and Diplomatics that, through his initiative, were created in 1985 in Lisbon's Faculdade de Letras. One should also refer to another most important contribution by Borges Nunes to the development of Portuguese palaeographic science, being his dictionary of abbreviations that, although incomplete, constitutes a tool of the greatest utility to researchers<sup>10</sup>.

Meanwhile, in Coimbra in 1974, the Instituto de Paleografia e de Diplomática was created, the sole organic entity of a Portuguese university specifically devoted to these disciplines, which clearly denoted the growing importance they already assumed in the research undertaken in that faculty. Its creation was due to Avelino de Jesus da Costa, who, despite viewing palaeography essentially as an auxiliary science, as mentioned above, did not cease to be one of its greatest paladins, from the 1950s, when he joined the teaching staff of that university, until the end of his long life in 2000<sup>11</sup>. Through his *Album*<sup>12</sup>, many generations of students have taken their first steps in the deciphering of medieval and modern scripts. With his rules of transcription<sup>13</sup>, they learned to follow rigorous criteria for their transcription and editing, based on the principles recommended by the Commission Internationale de Diplomatique, of which Avelino de Jesus da Costa was a member.

The Nova University of Lisbon, created in the 1970s, strove diligently to develop palaeography leading, through the initiative of Oliveira Marques and João Alves Dias, to the birth of another *Album* for the teaching of the discipline<sup>14</sup>, together with an intensive and systematic project for publishing sources, following criteria of transcription that were also rigorous, though different to those commended by Avelino Costa<sup>15</sup>.

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*Portuguesa*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura / Centro de Estudos Históricos, 1969.

<sup>10</sup> IDEM, *Abreviaturas Paleográficas Portuguesas*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, author's edition, 1981. This dictionary is presently being completed by Susana Pedro, in a post-doctoral project; see at: [www.fcsh.unl.pt/philologia/Pedro\\_CV.html](http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/philologia/Pedro_CV.html) [consult. 15 Dec. 2010].

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the path followed by Avelino de Jesus da Costa, see the various studies included in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Vida e obra do Prof. Doutor Cónego Avelino de Jesus da Costa. Catálogo da Exposição*, Coimbra, Reitoria da Universidade, 2001 (on his specific activity in the field of Palaeography, cf. SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, "O Professor Doutor Cónego Avelino de Jesus da Costa. Da Paleografia à Diplomática", *ibid.*, pp. 47-71), as well as MARQUES, José, *Elogio do Prof. Doutor Cónego Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1098-2000)*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2007.

<sup>12</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *Álbum de Paleografia e Diplomática Portuguesas. Estampas*, 6th ed., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1997; the 1st ed., of 1966, had the title of *Álbum de Paleografia e Diplomática (Coleção Provisória)*.

<sup>13</sup> IDEM, *Normas gerais de transcrição e publicação de documentos e textos medievais e modernos*, 3rd ed., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1993.

<sup>14</sup> DIAS, João José Alves, MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira; RODRIGUES, Teresa F., *Álbum de Paleografia*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1987.

<sup>15</sup> These criteria are indicated in the introduction to the aforementioned album, accompanied by a comparison between the various rules of transcription followed in Portugal.

With the launch of these important bases, the 1980s constituted a key moment in the process of emancipation of palaeography, with the publication of the first academic works devoted to this discipline. In Coimbra in 1989, Maria José Azevedo Santos defended her doctoral thesis on writing in Portugal from the eighth to the twelfth century, studying how Visigothic script was gradually substituted by the Carolingian in Portugal and the context in which this occurred<sup>16</sup>. In Lisbon, in the previous year, the first dissertations for the master's degree courses in Palaeography and Diplomatics were concluded. In the field of palaeography, on which we shall now focus, the work of António Joaquim Ribeiro Guerra deserves special attention. His pioneering work was an analysis of the handwritings of certain twelfth century documents from Alcobaça<sup>17</sup>. Five years later, he concluded a doctorate in Palaeography, on the routine practices of scribes writing private Portuguese diplomas between the ninth and twelfth centuries<sup>18</sup>, bringing to the field of documents many of the queries raised, in general, in relation to manuscript books.

From that period until today, palaeography has continued to assert itself as an autonomous science, though always in close connection to diplomatics. One of the areas most studied has been the history of writing, especially of documents. The scripts practiced in the Portuguese territory between the eighth and twelfth centuries were already established (by Maria José Azevedo Santos), together with the circumstances in which their evolution occurred, from the Visigothic to the Carolingian, and beyond to Gothic scripts<sup>19</sup>. The wide range of the latter still requires in-depth studies, but the surveys that have been undertaken, including the identification of handwritings used in royal, monastic and episcopal chanceries<sup>20</sup>, help to acquaint us better with the diffusion of the documental scripts during the thirteenth century. Analysis has also begun into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>21</sup>, as well as the utilisation of the *bastarda* script in documentation of the royal chancery<sup>22</sup>, and the cursive types used by some scribes of the court during the reigns of João II, Manuel I and João III<sup>23</sup>, giving equal attention to the origins

<sup>16</sup> SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Da visigótica à carolina. A escrita em Portugal de 882 a 1172 (aspectos técnicos e culturais)*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1994.

<sup>17</sup> GUERRA, António Joaquim Ribeiro, *Os escribas dos documentos particulares do Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça 1155-1200: exercícios de análise de grafias*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1988.

<sup>18</sup> IDEM, *Os diplomas privados em Portugal dos séculos IX a XII: gestos e atitudes de rotina dos seus autores materiais*, Lisbon, Centro de História, 2003.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Da visigótica à carolina...*

<sup>20</sup> The works in which these analyses are done will be dealt with in the next section, devoted to diplomatics, to which we refer so as to not repeat citations.

<sup>21</sup> MARQUES, José, "Práticas paleográficas em Portugal no século XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Ciências e Técnicas do Património*, vol. 1 (2002), pp. 73-96.

<sup>22</sup> *Estudo Paleográfico de uma escrita de chancelaria régia: a letra joanina (1370-1420)* is the theme of the master's dissertation that Ana Ferreira was, in 2009, preparing to present at Lisbon University.

<sup>23</sup> COELHO, Maria Teresa Pereira, *Existiu uma escrita manuelina? Estudo paleográfico da produção*

of humanistic script in Portugal<sup>24</sup>. In respect of numeration, there have been some works on the sign denoting the number 40<sup>25</sup>, the introduction of Arab numerals<sup>26</sup>, and the symbol that gave origin to the currency symbol known as “*cifrão*”<sup>27</sup>. As for punctuation, there have also been studies devoted solely to the signs marking the ends of texts<sup>28</sup>.

With regard to scribes and their workplaces, hands have been identified<sup>29</sup> together with *scriptoria* previously unknown<sup>30</sup>, through studies on practices followed in the production of documents and of books<sup>31</sup>. Supports and inks have been analysed, as well as the materiality of the practice of writing in general<sup>32</sup>. There have also been studies on the cleric-notaries who drew up diplomas before the appearance of public notaries<sup>33</sup> and analyses of the scripts of some of these writing professionals, leading to multiple works belonging more closely, however, to the field of diplomatics, for which reason we shall mention them in connection with that subject.

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*gráfica de escritvões da corte régia portuguesa (1490-1530)*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2006.

<sup>24</sup> MARQUES, José, “L’écriture de Francesco Cavalcanti, une nouveauté au Portugal – 1482”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, vol. 12 (1995), pp. 151-182; PAULO, Jorge Luís Ferreira Marques, *A escrita humanística na documentação régia portuguesa de Quinhentos*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2007.

<sup>25</sup> PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa, “Les signes exprimant le nombre 40 dans les manuscrits portugais”, *Signo. Revista de Historia de la Cultura Escrita*, no. 3 (1996), pp. 9-10.

<sup>26</sup> CARVALHO, Joaquim Barradas de, “Sur l’introduction et la diffusion des chiffres arabes au Portugal”, *Bulletin des Études Portugaises et de l’Institut Français au Portugal*, t. 20 (1958), pp. 110-151; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “L’introduction des chiffres arabes dans les documents médiévaux portugais”, in RÜCK, Peter (publ.), *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden. Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*, Sigmaringen, 1996, pp. 503-508.

<sup>27</sup> NUNES, Eduardo Borges, “História portuguesa do *cifrão*”, *Portugaliae Historica*, vol. 1 (1973), pp. 233-243.

<sup>28</sup> MARTINS, Maria Rosa Heitor de Matos, *Os sinais de fim de texto nos documentos portugueses dos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1996.

<sup>29</sup> GUERRA, António Joaquim Ribeiro, *Os escribas dos documentos particulares do Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaca...*; and IDEM, *Os diplomas privados em Portugal...*; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, “La collaboration dans le scriptorium de la cathédrale de Coimbra”, in SPILLING, Herrad (ed.), *La collaboration dans la production de l’écrit médiéval. Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> Colloque du Comité International de Paléographie Latine (Weingarten, 22-25 septembre 2000)*, Paris, École des Chartes, 2003, pp. 131-149. Also see the script identification exercises undertaken in the works devoted to episcopal and monastic chanceries, referred to in the next section.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, the work of MARQUES, José, “Desconhecidas instituições culturais portuguesas. Alguns *scriptoria* cistercienses”, *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 39 (1985), pp. 5-24.

<sup>31</sup> SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Da visigótica à carolina...*; EADEM, “As condições técnicas e materiais da cópia de manuscritos na Idade Média”, in COSTA, Jorge (coord.), *Catálogo da Exposição Santa Cruz de Coimbra: A cultura portuguesa aberta à Europa na Idade Média*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 2001, pp. 29-45.

<sup>32</sup> EADEM, *Da visigótica à carolina...*; GUERRA, António Joaquim Ribeiro, *Os diplomas privados em Portugal...*; BANDEIRA, Ana Maria Leitão, *Pergaminho e papel em Portugal – tradição e conservação*, Lisbon, Celpa, 1995.

<sup>33</sup> SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, “Os ‘clérigos-notários’ em Portugal (séculos XI-XII)”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2001, pp. 75-91.

The first steps have been taken to examine archival practices in the Middle Ages, analysing how documents were preserved in medieval times<sup>34</sup>. What is very important is that new paths of research were opened into the promising field of social diffusion and the importance of script in Portuguese society<sup>35</sup>.

There remains, nevertheless, much to study. With regard to the history of the documental writing, we lack of in-depth studies of Gothic scripts<sup>36</sup>, of their evolution during the fifteenth century and of the adoption among us of scripts traditionally designated as *cortesã* and *processada*. Little progress has been made, too, in the field of notarial handwritings, knowledge of which could become a fundamental element in clarifying aspects relating to the training of Portuguese public notaries<sup>37</sup>, contributing, in turn, to a better understanding of the learning of writing in medieval Portugal, a subject on which we continue to possess little information<sup>38</sup>. We lack, also, duly illustrated syntheses with specific examples of the scripts in question<sup>39</sup>, as well as of manuals<sup>40</sup>.

If in the field of documental scripts there already exist sufficient elements to permit syntheses to be attempted, the case is different for librarian scripts, of which

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<sup>34</sup> PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, and GUERRA, António Joaquim Ribeiro, "La conservation des chartes dans les archives privées du Portugal (X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)", *Scriptorium*, t. 50, no. 2 (1996), pp. 390-396; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, "Remarques sur les conditions de conservation des actes et des livres au Portugal (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)", *ibid.*, pp. 397-406; EADEM, "As condições de conservação dos documentos e dos livros em Portugal (séculos XII-XV)", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa...*, pp. 233-256; GOMES, Saul António, "O 'Inventário das Escrituras' do Convento de S. Francisco de Santarém de [1411]. Observações breves acerca da praxis arquivística medieval portuguesa", *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, vol. 3 (2003), pp. 263-292; IDEM, "'Donationes custodiantur: donationes serventur'. Da memória e praxis arquivística do Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobça em tempos medievais", *Humanitas*, no. 57 (2005), pp. 245-269.

<sup>35</sup> In this particular respect, the works deserving special mention are of SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Assina quem sabe e lê quem pode. Leitura, transcrição e estudo de um rol de moradias da Casa de D. Catarina de Áustria (1526)*, Coimbra, IUC, 2004, and EADEM, *O valor da escrita em tempos de Inês de Castro*, Montemor-o-Velho, Câmara Municipal Montemor-o-Velho, 2005.

<sup>36</sup> The most complete work in this field deals with the chancery of Oporto's cathedral, in SILVA, Maria João Oliveira e, *A escrita na catedral: a chancelaria episcopal do Porto na Idade Média (Estudo diplomático e paleográfico)*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2010.

<sup>37</sup> On the notarial scripts, see the works indicated in the next item that deal with the documental production of some public notaries.

<sup>38</sup> In this respect, please allow me to refer to the state of the art I recently sought to establish in MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, "Apprendre à écrire dans le Portugal médiéval. Bilan des connaissances", in ROBINSON, P. R. (ed.), *Teaching writing, learning to write. Proceedings of the XVth Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, London, King's College, pp. 223-230. An updated bibliography on medieval teaching in Portugal can be seen in COSTA, Marisa, "Ensino em Portugal na Idade Média: bibliografia", in DE LA IGLESIA DUARTE, José Ignacio (coord.), *La enseñanza en la Edad Media. X Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera 1999*, Nájera, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2000, pp. 507-520.

<sup>39</sup> One first brief synthesis has been brought by SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, "A evolução da língua e da escrita", in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em definição de fronteiras. Do Condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV (1096-1325)*, Lisbon, Presença, 1996, pp. 604-634.

<sup>40</sup> We still only have the single essay, undertaken by CRUZ, António, *Paleografia Portuguesa: ensaio de manual*, Oporto, Universidade Portucalense, 1987.

few studies have been undertaken. It is true that the palaeographic study of various codices has been carried out<sup>41</sup>; but it represents a tiny fraction of what needs to be done. One fundamental problem to be overcome is that the nomenclatures employed by librarians and art historians do not always correspond to those followed by palaeographers. There is a need for a standardised vocabulary, concordant with that used internationally in studies in the sphere of the creation of manuscript catalogues<sup>42</sup>. In this area, practically everything still needs to be done, as we lack the work instruments equivalent to those of the catalogues of dated manuscripts being developed in other countries, as part of a project sponsored by the International Committee on Latin Palaeography, which follows precise and updated rules<sup>43</sup>. In Portugal, we only have at our disposal one catalogue obeying these criteria, namely, the manuscripts of the Santa Cruz monastery of Coimbra<sup>44</sup>, as we shall see when speaking of codicology.

The written culture of various social groups, from the clergy to the nobility, and from the latter to the popular classes, constitutes today a fertile field of research at the European level that should be matched in Portugal. Finally, we lack studies establishing a link between the scripts studied by the palaeography (traditionally, those traced onto malleable supports) and those engraved on other materials, so as to permit a global vision of the graphic phenomenon, within the spirit of a total history of script, as commended by Jean Mallon.

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<sup>41</sup> This is the case of master's dissertations such as those by SILVA, Isabel Maria Cid da, *O livro das plantas de jodas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1992, and by COSTA, Mário Fernando da Silva, *Estudo paleográfico de um manuscrito quinhentista da Crónica de D. Fernando, de Fernão Lopes*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2007; other works, namely dealing with chartularies, will be pointed out in the item relating to codicology, into which they are also inserted.

<sup>42</sup> One only has to see, for example, the designations of the types of scripts shown in CEPEDA, Isabel Vilares, and FERREIRA, Teresa A. S. Duarte (coords.), *Inventário dos códices iluminados até 1500*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1994, and compare them with those proposed in BISCHOFF, Bernhard, LIEFTINCK, Gerard Isaac, and BATTELLI, Giulio (eds.), *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IX<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: premier colloque international de Paléographie Latine, Paris, 28-30 avril 1953*, Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954.

<sup>43</sup> Concerning this project and the catalogues that have already gone to print, see the website of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine and the synthesis therein presented by Albert Derolez, available at: [www.palaeographia.org/cipl/derolez.htm#cmd](http://www.palaeographia.org/cipl/derolez.htm#cmd) (accessed 15 Dec. 2010).

<sup>44</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and MEIRINHOS, José F., *Catálogo dos Códices da Livraria de Mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1997.

## Diplomatics<sup>45</sup>

What we have said above in regard to palaeography in the mid-twentieth century is equally valid for diplomatics. This discipline was also considered necessary to understand written sources. In the first place, it permitted the *discrimen veri ac falsi* that was its principal function for centuries; but it also enabled the researcher to classify documents into originals and copies, to evaluate the degree of confidence they inspired and to publish them.

For the mid-twentieth century, one should mention the invaluable work in this field of Rui de Azevedo<sup>46</sup>, who is frequently compared to João Pedro Ribeiro for the importance of his labour as a diplomatist. To him is owed the edition of the *Documentos Medievais Portugueses*<sup>47</sup> and of the *Documentos de D. Sancho I*<sup>48</sup>, and the patient labour that permitted the reconstitution of the different funds that had lost their identity when they were integrated into the Special Collection of the National Archive of Torre do Tombo<sup>49</sup>. In addition, he pioneered approaches to the counts' and royal chancery<sup>50</sup>, the false documents of Santa Cruz of Coimbra<sup>51</sup> or the documentation of the monastery of Lorvão<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> Recent syntheses on the situation of the studies of diplomatics in Portugal were elaborated by COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "A Diplomática em Portugal. Caminhos mais antigos e mais recentes", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática...*, pp. 13-40 (there exists a more updated version of this study, in German: "Die Diplomatie in Portugal. Rückblick, Bilanz und aktuelle Fragen", *Archiv für Diplomatik*, vols. 47-48 (2002), pp. 379-410), and MARQUES, José, "Rapport sur la situation de la Diplomatie au Portugal. Bilan du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle et son état en 2005", *Archiv für Diplomatik*, vol. 52 (2006), pp. 663-673.

<sup>46</sup> On this eminent investigator, see COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *Elogio do Prof. Doutor Rui de Azevedo*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1981.

<sup>47</sup> Sponsored by the Academia Portuguesa da História, this monumental and systematic edition of the diplomas of the counts of Portugal and of Afonso Henriques and of the private Portuguese documents up until 1123 had its first volume published in 1940 and the last in 1980, now having Avelino de Jesus da Costa in charge of the project, since the death of Rui de Azevedo in 1976.

<sup>48</sup> *Documentos de D. Sancho I*, edited by Rui de Azevedo, Avelino de Jesus da Costa and Marcelino Rodrigues Pereira, Coimbra, Centro de História, 1979.

<sup>49</sup> AZEVEDO, Rui de, "A Coleção Especial do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 3 (1947), pp. 5-25.

<sup>50</sup> IDEM, *A chancelaria régia portuguesa nos séculos XII e XIII: linhas gerais da sua evolução*, offprint of *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, t. 14 (1938); IDEM, "Primórdios da chancelaria de D. Afonso Henriques", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 1 (1941), pp. 161-166; IDEM, "O livro de Registo da Chancelaria de Afonso II de Portugal (1217-1221)", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 4 (1967), pp. 35-62.

<sup>51</sup> IDEM, *Documentos falsos de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: séculos XII e XIII*, Lisbon, José Fernandes Júnior, 1932.

<sup>52</sup> IDEM, *O mosteiro de Lorvão na Reconquista cristã*, offprint of *Arquivo Histórico de Portugal*, vol. 1 (1932).



Another great name in Portuguese diplomatics of the second half of the twentieth century is that of Avelino de Jesus da Costa, who not only collaborated with Rui de Azevedo on the last published volumes of the *Documentos Medievais Portugueses*, but continued his work of editing documents<sup>53</sup> and compiling studies concerning the royal chancery, not only in his role as author<sup>54</sup>, but also as advisor to numerous theses based on the analysis of the record books of the same chancery<sup>55</sup>. Another interest of this tireless researcher was papal documentation, as he undertook systematic searches of the bulls in Portuguese archives<sup>56</sup> and took to press the *Bulário Português de Inocência III*<sup>57</sup>. He also prepared numerous studies within the sphere of diplomatics, including his rules of transcription and the *Album* he created that contains a series of elements of diplomatics, especially royal and pontifical<sup>58</sup>.

Researchers have more often treaded the path of diplomatics rather than that of palaeography, several working in close collaboration with institutional and political history. This has especially been the case in the field of royal diplomatics, which has continued to be one of the preferred areas of exploration. Diplomats lays claim, for example, to Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, who studied royal officialdom between 1320 and 1433 and created a typology of royal documentation<sup>59</sup>, in addition to launching a whole series of studies into the officials linked to the production of the documents emanating from the chancery of the Portuguese monarchs<sup>60</sup>. In the

<sup>53</sup> This occurred both with the last volume of the *Documentos Medievais Portugueses*, published following the death of Rui de Azevedo, and with the edition of the *Documentos de D. Sancho I* (vide *supra*, notes 47 and 48, respectively).

<sup>54</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, "La chancellerie royale portugaise jusqu'au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", in COSTA, Avelino Jesus da, *Estudos de Cronologia, Diplomática, Paleografia e Histórico-Linguísticos*, Oporto, SPEM, 1992, pp. 135-166; IDEM, "A chancelaria real portuguesa e os seus registos de 1217 a 1348", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 13 (1996), pp. 71-101.

<sup>55</sup> Those theses, whose list would be too long to present, may be consulted at Biblioteca Central of Faculdade de Letras of Coimbra University and at Instituto de Paleografia e Diplomática.

<sup>56</sup> The result of these researches (that gave continuity to the labour of Carl Erdmann, substantiated in the work EDMANN, Carl, *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927) gave origin to the report COSTA, Avelino Jesus da, *Bulário português do século XIII (1198-1303) – Subsídios para o seu inventário*. Braga, s.n., 1962 (unpublished) and to the article IDEM, "Bulário português do século XIII: 1198-1303", *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 39, nos. 87-88 (1985), pp. 1-38.

<sup>57</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, and MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes, *Bulário Português. Inocência III (1198-1216)*, Coimbra, INIC, 1989.

<sup>58</sup> These two works were cited *supra*, footnotes 12 and 13. For the remaining works, see MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, "Bibliografia", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Vida e obra do Prof. Doutor Cônego Avelino de Jesus da Costa...*, pp. 111-128.

<sup>59</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1322)*, Oporto, INIC, 1990.

<sup>60</sup> Among the principal works resulting from his guidance, one should mention those of MOTA, Eugénia Pereira da, *Do "Africano" ao "Príncipe Perfeito" (1481-1483). Caminhos da burocracia régia*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1989; FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *A burocracia do "Eloquente" (1433-1438). Os textos, as normas, as gentes*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996, and EADEM, "Teemos por bem e mandamos". *A burocracia régia e os seus oficiais em meados de Quatrocentos (1439-1460)*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia, 2001; VAZ, Vasco Rodrigo dos Santos Machado, *A Boa Memória do monarca: os escrivães da chancelaria de*

field of royal diplomatics, we also have the study of the chanceries of various kings, of their respective record books and of the clauses followed in their diplomas<sup>61</sup>.

Other instances of script have warranted the attention of researchers, especially the episcopal, three doctoral theses and one master's dissertation having already been devoted to the episcopal chanceries of the cathedrals of Braga, Coimbra and Oporto<sup>62</sup>. There also exist, for the cathedrals of Lamego and Viseu, preliminary investigations into the respective practices of documental production<sup>63</sup>.

On monastic chanceries, the main work is Saul Gomes's doctoral thesis on Santa Cruz de Coimbra<sup>64</sup>. Other studies, however, have provided an insight into

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*D. João I (1385-1433)*, unpublished master's dissertation, 2 vols., Oporto, FL-UP, 1995.

<sup>61</sup> In addition to the works cited *supra* on the chancery of the Portuguese counts and of King Afonso Henriques, see AZEVEDO, Rui de, "Diplomática de Afonso Henriques (1128-1185)", in AZEVEDO, Rui de, *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos Régios*, vol. 1, t. 1, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1958, pp. LXI-CVI; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, "A chancelaria de D. Afonso II (1211-1223)", in SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Ler e compreender a escrita...*, pp. 11-57; BERNARDINO, Sandra Virgínia Pereira Gonçalves, *Sancius Secundus Rex Portugalensis. A chancelaria de D. Sancho II: 1223-1248*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2003; PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa, et al., "Diplomatique royale portugaise: Alphonse IV (1325-1357)", in MARQUES, José (ed.), *Diplomatique royale du Moyen Âge: XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Actes du colloque*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1996, pp. 133-161; NEVES, João António Mendes, *A "Formosa" chancelaria: estudo dos originais da chancelaria de D. Fernando (1367-1383)*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2005. In regard, more specifically, to the records of the royal chancery, not only should one cite the work of Avelino de Jesus da Costa, already pointed out, but also COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Origines et évolution du registre de la chancellerie royale portugaise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 12 (1996), pp. 47-74. In relation to the clauses of the royal documentation, see SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *O teor diplomático em documentos régios do séc. XII*, offprint of *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, vol. 4, Oporto, 1990; GOMES, Saul António, "Fida memoriae custos est scriptura". As 'arengas de memória' na documentação régia portuguesa nos séculos XII e XIII", *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 22 (2001), pp. 9-49.

<sup>62</sup> CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e, *A chancelaria arquiépiscopal de Braga (1071-1244)*, Noia, Toxosouto, 2005; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *A Sé de Coimbra: a instituição e a chancelaria (1080-1318)*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2010; SILVA, Maria João Oliveira e, *Scriptores et notatores: a produção documental da Sé do Porto (1113-1247)*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2008 and SILVA, Maria João Oliveira e, *A escrita na catedral...* One should also refer, in relation to Braga, we also have to the studies undertaken by MARQUES, José, "O regimento da chancelaria arquiépiscopal de Braga no século XV: tipologia documental e taxas", *Estudis Castellonencs*, no. 6 (1994-95), pp. 799-814; IDEM, "La chancellerie et la diplomatie archiépiscopales de Braga à la fin du Moyen Âge", in HAIDACHER, Christoph, and KÖFLER, Werner (eds.), *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250. La Diplomatie épiscopale avant 1250*, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, 1995, pp. 511-527.

<sup>63</sup> PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa, GUERRA, António Joaquim Ribeiro, "La chancellerie de l'évêque de Lamego au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *ibid.*, pp. 483-501; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, and SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa, "Frontières documentaires. Les chartes des chancelleries épiscopales portugaises avant et après le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Coimbra et Lamego)", in MERISALO, Outi (ed.), *Frontiers in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10-14 June 2003)*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Brepols, 2006, pp. 441-466; CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e, SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa, and MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, "Traditionalisme, régionalisme et innovation dans les chancelleries épiscopales portugaises au Moyen Âge", in KRESTEN, Otto, and LACKNER, Franz (eds.), *Régionalisme et internationalisme: Problèmes de paléographie et de codicologie du Moyen Âge. Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Colloque du Comité International de Paléographie Latine (Vienne, 13-17 septembre 2005)*, Vienna, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, pp. 299-316.

<sup>64</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *In limine conscriptionis. Documentos, chancelaria e cultura no mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: séculos XII a XIV*, Viseu, Palimage, 2007.

the characteristics of documents produced in such monasteries as São Vicente de Fora<sup>65</sup> and Lorvão<sup>66</sup>, as well as of various ecclesiastical chanceries, among which one should mention the collegiate church of Guimarães<sup>67</sup> and various military orders<sup>68</sup>, in addition to instances of script in the service of individuals<sup>69</sup>.

Another important development has been in notarial diplomatics. The implanting of notary offices in Portugal before 1279, and their characteristics, were studied in the only doctoral thesis hitherto undertaken on this subject<sup>70</sup>, but many other studies exist of a more general order<sup>71</sup>, or dealing with the reconstitution of public notary offices<sup>72</sup> and the notaries of various towns and cities<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> IDEM, "A chancelaria do mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora de Lisboa nos séculos XII e XIII: subsídio para o seu conhecimento", in ACADEMIA PORTUGUESA DA HISTÓRIA, *Summus Philologus necnon Verborum Imperator. Colectânea de estudos em homenagem ao académico de mérito, Professor Dr. José Pedro Machado no seu 90º aniversário*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2004, pp. 163-213.

<sup>66</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Análise diplomática da produção documental do *scriptorium* de Lorvão (séculos X-XII)", in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (orgs.), *Estudos em homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Marques...*, vol. 3, pp. 387-405.

<sup>67</sup> CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e, "Fórmulas e formulários: os documentos da colegiada de Guimarães (1128-1211)", in CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE GUIMARÃES, and UNIVERSIDADE DO MINHO (orgs.), *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época. Actas do Congresso*, vol. 4: *Sociedade, administração, cultura e Igreja em Portugal no século XII*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1997, pp. 173-182.

<sup>68</sup> EADEM, "Chancelarias Particulares, escritvães e documentos: algumas notas a propósito da Ordem de Avis no séc. XIII", in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal. Actas do 1º Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 1991, pp. 181-189; GOMES, Saul António, "Observações em torno das chancelarias das Ordens Militares em Portugal na Idade Média", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental. Actas do IV Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2005, pp. 111-167; IDEM, "Observações em torno da chancelaria da Ordem do Templo em Portugal", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente. Actas do V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal, 2009, pp. 121-139.

<sup>69</sup> SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, "As chancelarias das rainhas de Portugal na Idade Média (breves notas de investigação)", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 1105-1109; GOMES, Saul António, "A chancelaria de um incluído Infante português de Quatrocentos: D. Fernando (1443)", *Estudos. Revista do Centro Académico de Democracia Cristã*, nos. 8-9 (2007), pp. 249-291.

<sup>70</sup> Authored by NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá, *Tabelionato e instrumento público em Portugal. Gênese e implantação (1212-1279)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> Among them, one should mention those of PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, "O tabelionato em Portugal", offprint of *Notariado público y documento privado: de los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática*, Valencia, Generalitat Valenciana, 1989; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Os tabeliães em Portugal. Perfil profissional e sócio-económico", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática...*, pp. 93-137; GOMES, Saul António, "O notariado medieval português: algumas notas de investigação", *Humanitas*, no. 52 (2000), pp. 241-286; IDEM, "Percepções em torno da história do tabelionato medieval português", *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 5 (2005), pp. 81-100.

<sup>72</sup> NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá, *Lourenço Eanes, tabelião de Lisboa: 1301-1332. Reconstituição e análise do seu cartório*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1988; FRESCO, João Paulo dos Santos Rego Oliveira, *O tabelião lisboeta Afonso Guterres: reconstituição e análise diplomática da sua actividade de escrituração (1400-1441)*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2007.

<sup>73</sup> CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida, "Alguns tabeliães do Algarve durante a Idade Média", *Revista de História*, vol. 7 (1987), pp. 151-157; EADEM, "Tabeliães bracarense no século XIII", in *Actas do Congresso*

Other special diplomatics have also already taken their preliminary steps, as in the cases of parliamentary<sup>74</sup>, municipal<sup>75</sup> and judicial diplomatics<sup>76</sup>, each revealed as fields meriting further in-depth research.

The diplomatic content of documents has also, on various occasions, been an adopted theme, namely concerning comminatory clauses or preambles<sup>77</sup>. The influence of the papal bulls on the practice of various Portuguese chanceries is a theme that has also been studied<sup>78</sup>. Formularies, in their turn, are beginning to

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*Internacional sobre o IX Centenário da Dedicção de Sé de Braga*, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa / Cabido Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990, vol. 2 pp. 249-265; EADEM, "Tabeliães de Bragança no século XIV: da legislação à praxis", in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (orgs.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques...*, vol. 3, pp. 313-324; MATA, Luís António, "Alguns profissionais da escrita no Santarém de Quatrocentos. A fama e o proveito", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 32 (1997-98), pp. 149-182; NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá, "Tabelionado e elites urbanas no Portugal ducentista (1212-1279)", in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média: problemas metodológicos*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2001, pp. 211-220; NUNES, Eduardo Borges, "Martim Martins, primeiro tabelião de Guimarães", in *Actas do Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e sua Colegiada*, Guimarães, Comissão Organizadora do Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e sua Colegiada, 1981, vol. 4, pp. 25-29; RÊPAS, Luís Miguel M. J., "O mosteiro de Arouca. Os documentos escritos como fonte de conhecimento (1286-1299)", *Humanitas*, vol. 50, t. 1 (1998), pp. 539-586; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Alguns aspectos do tabelionado em Coimbra (séculos XIV-XV)*, offprint of *Arquivo Coimbrão*, vols. 33-34 (1993); SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa, "Tabeliães e notários de Lamego na primeira metade do século XIV", *Humanitas*, vol. 50, t. 1 (1998), pp. 578-624.

<sup>74</sup> It was begun with the doctoral thesis of SOUSA, Armindo de, *As Cortes medievais portuguesas (1385-1490)*, Oporto, INIC, 1990.

<sup>75</sup> This was the theme of the master's dissertation of ROLDÃO, Ana Filipa Firmino Sequeira Pinto, *Escrita e poderes urbanos nos concelhos de Coimbra, Santarém e Lisboa (1179-1325)*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2006. Other works on the theme are due to COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "La Diplomatie municipale portugaise: XIII-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles", in PREVENIER, W., and DE HEMPTINNE, Th. (eds.), *La Diplomatie Urbaine en Europe au Moyen Âge. Actes du Congrès de la Commission Internationale de Diplomatie*, Louvain-Apeldoorn, Garant, 2000, pp. 281-305; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Considerações em torno das chancelarias municipais", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2009, pp. 165-172; GOMES, Saul António, "Ideologia e representação nas práticas das chancelarias concelhias medievais portuguesas", in FONSECA, Fernando Taveira da (coord.), *O poder local em tempo de globalização. Uma história e um futuro. Comunicações*, Viseu, Palimage, 2005, pp. 435-496.

<sup>76</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Les actes judiciaires de Pierre Ier du Portugal (1357-1366)", in NICOLAJ, Giovanna (ed.), *La Diplomatica dei documenti giudiziari (dai placiti agli acta - secc. XII-XV)*, Vatican City, Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2004, pp. 281-293; MARQUES, José, and CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e, "Conflit de juridictions et documents judiciaires. Le cas de Braga", *ibid.*, pp. 243-280.

<sup>77</sup> In addition to the works concerning specific chanceries, mentioned above, and that make an in-depth study of the document's clauses, also see on this respect MATTOSO, José, "Sanctio (875-1100)", in MATTOSO, José, *Religião e cultura na Idade Média portuguesa. Obras Completas*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, vol. 9, 2002, pp. 232-259; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, "O 'ornamento' literário em documentos medievais: o preâmbulo ou arenga (773?-1123)", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática...*, pp. 167-190; GOMES, Saul António, "As metáforas da 'sapiência': em torno das arengas diplomáticas medievais do *Studium Generale* português", *Biblos*, 2nd ser., vol. 5 (2007), pp. 89-107.

<sup>78</sup> CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e, "Traces de la documentation pontificale dans les documents épiscopaux de Braga (1071-1244)", in HERDE, Peter, and JAKOBS, Hermann (eds.), *Papsturkunden und europäischen Urkundenwesen. Studien zu ihrer formalen und rechtlichen Kohärenz vom 11. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Cologne / Weimar / Vienna, Böhlau, 1999, pp. 259-269; MARQUES, José, "A influência das bulas papais na documentação medieval portuguesa", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 13 (1996), pp. 25-62 (published in a French version in "L'influence des bulles papales sur les actes portugais au Moyen Âge",

be investigated, with research into monastic funds showing itself fruitful, as with Alcobaça<sup>79</sup>.

Forms of validation have deserved analyses, namely chirography<sup>80</sup> and autographic subscriptions<sup>81</sup>. Seals, especially, have become objects of study, but we will deal with them in the section devoted to sigillography.

Finally, one should also mention a doctoral thesis devoted to the study of a specific diplomatic genre, the *notitia* in medieval Portuguese documentation<sup>82</sup>.

As may be seen, advances, compared with the situation prior to the 1980s, are numerous, demonstrating the growing interest diplomatics has merited. Rather than embarking on new areas of research, it appears that it will be necessary to consolidate those already initiated, studying them in greater depth while, on the other hand, developing, as we suggested in relation to palaeography, syntheses and manuals as essential working instruments, despite the low esteem they enjoy among us. This would result in both researchers and students not having to resort constantly to the foreign bibliography that reflects a reality not always identical to the Portuguese; and that would in addition give access to a more thorough awareness of knowledge already attained.

## Codicology<sup>83</sup>

Another discipline that, in recent decades, has been raised in Portugal to the status of a science in its own right is codicology. In the development of this discipline, so

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in HERDE, Peter, and JAKOBS, Hermann (eds.), *Papsturkunden und europäischen Urkundenwesen...*, pp. 271-305).

<sup>79</sup> GOMES, Saul António, "Um formulário monástico português medieval: o manuscrito alcobacense 47 da BNL", *Humanitas*, vol. 51 (1999), pp. 141-184; IDEM, "Observações sobre dois formulários eclesiásticos medievais portugueses", *Humanitas*, vol. 53 (2001), pp. 249-274; IDEM, "Um formulário cisterciense de 1714: o manuscrito alcobacense da BNL CCCXLI/230", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 35 (2001-2002), pp. 517-591.

<sup>80</sup> SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, "Partir cartas ou o combate à fraude na Idade Média", in ALBUQUERQUE, Amélia, VAZ, João L. Inês, FERREIRA, Virgílio (orgs.), *Tarouca e Cister: homenagem a Leite de Vasconcelos. Actas*, Tarouca, Câmara Municipal de Tarouca, 2006, pp. 323-339.

<sup>81</sup> EADEM, "Formas de escrever: subscrições autógrafas num documento do século XIII", in DOMÍNGUEZ GARCÍA, Manuela (coord.), *Sub luce florentis calami. Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidad, 2002, pp. 278-288.

<sup>82</sup> PEDRO, Susana Tavares, "O género diplomático 'notícia' na documentação medieval portuguesa (séculos IX-XIV)", unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2008; as the theme of her master's degree, the author had already studied one of the most famous *notitiae* in our documentation: EADEM, *Da notícia de torto*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1994.

<sup>83</sup> On the history of the codicology in general, and specifically in Portugal, see GOMES, Saul António, "A Codicologia em Portugal: balanço e perspectivas no fim do século XX", in ENCARNÇÃO, José d' (coord.), *As Oficinas da História*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2002, pp. 151-174. We refer those interested in studying such matters in greater depth to this work and its bibliography.

often described as an “arqueologia do livro” (archaeology of the book)<sup>84</sup>, one must highlight the pioneering research of such figures as Avelino de Jesus da Costa<sup>85</sup>, António Cruz<sup>86</sup>, Isaiás da Rosa Pereira<sup>87</sup>, Joaquim Oliveira Bragança<sup>88</sup> and Aires Augusto do Nascimento<sup>89</sup>, to whom we owe works on manuscripts and fragments,

<sup>84</sup> See, for example, and to cite a Portuguese author, PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa, *Codicologia: arqueologia do livro*, offprint of *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira*, vol. 35 (1979).

<sup>85</sup> One should refer, above all, to his work of cataloguing the medieval fragments existing in the Portuguese libraries and archives, of which unfortunately only a summary has been published: COSTA, Avelino Jesus da, “Fragmentos preciosos de códices medievais”, in COSTA, Avelino Jesus da, *Estudos de Cronologia, Diplomática...*, pp. 53-108; and his studies IDEM, *A biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Coimbra nos séculos XI a XVI*, offprint of *Boletim Bibliográfico da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 38 (1983); IDEM, *A biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Braga nos séculos XV a XVIII*, Braga, Emp. Diário do Minho, 1985; IDEM, “Coimbra: centro de atracção e de irradiação de códices e de documentos, dentro da Península, nos séculos XI e XII”, in CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO (ed.), *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Oporto, INIC, 1990, vol. 4, pp. 1309-1334.

<sup>86</sup> CRUZ, António, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na cultura portuguesa medieval*, vol. 1: *Introdução ao catálogo dos códices medievais de Santa Cruz existentes na Biblioteca Pública Municipal*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1963; IDEM, *O ‘Livro das Aves’: um códice ignorado idêntico ao de Lorvão*, offprint of *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, vol. 1 (1986).

<sup>87</sup> PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa, “Manuscritos de Direito Canónico existentes em Portugal”, *Arquivo Histórico da Madeira*, vol. 11 (1959), pp. 196-242; IDEM, “Livros de Direito na Idade Média”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 7 (1964-66), pp. 7-60; IDEM, “Livros de Direito na Idade Média II”, *Lusitania Sacra*, vol. 8 (1970), pp. 81-96; IDEM, “Dos livros e dos seus nomes: bibliotecas litúrgicas medievais”, *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, nos. 63-70 (1971-73), pp. 7-96; IDEM, *A ‘pecia’ em manuscritos universitários. Estudo de três códices alcobacenses dos séculos XIII e XIV*, offprint of *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, vol. 22 (1973); IDEM, “Notes sur le scriptorium du monastère d’Alcobaça”, in *Miscellanea Codicologica F. Masai dicata*, t. 2, Ghent, E. Story-Scientia, 1979, pp. 497-500; IDEM, “Dois evangeliários dos séculos XII e XIII existentes na Biblioteca Nacional”, *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 1, no. 1, Jan.-June (1981), pp. 26-40; IDEM, *Achegas para a história da cultura jurídica em Portugal*, offprint of *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito*, no. 58, t.2 (1982); IDEM, “Quelques manuscrits datés du fonds Alcobaça: Lisbonne”, in LEMAIRE, Jacques, and BALBERGHE, Emile van (dirs.), *Calames et Cahiers: Mélanges de Codicologie offerts à Léon Gilissen*, Brussels, Centre d’Étude des Manuscrits, 1985, pp. 133-137; IDEM, “L’écriture et la décoration de quelques manuscrits du XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle provenant du monastère de Santa Cruz de Coimbra”, in DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Manuel C. (ed.), *Actas del 8<sup>o</sup> Coloquio de Comité Internacional de Paleografía Latina*, Madrid, 1990, pp. 203-210; IDEM, *Documentos para a história do papel em Portugal*, Lisbon, author’s edition, 1990; IDEM, “Escolas e livros na Idade Média em Portugal”, in *Universidade(s). História. Memória. Perspectivas. Actas*, Coimbra, Comissão Organizadora do Congresso ‘História da Universidade’, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 55-69.

<sup>88</sup> Relating to the production of this researcher, who devoted himself primarily to the study of liturgical manuscripts, we refer to the recent compendium of his articles in BRAGANÇA, Joaquim Oliveira, *Liturgia e espiritualidade na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica, 2008. One should also mention his works: IDEM, *Missal de Mateus. Manuscrito 1000 da Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Braga*, introduction, reading and notes by Joaquim Oliveira Bragança, Lisbon, FCG, 1975; IDEM, *Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, Lisbon, author’s edition, 1976; IDEM, *Ritual bracarense: manuscrito do século XV*, Lisbon, Didaskalia, 1984.

<sup>89</sup> Especially, one should mention the NASCIMENTO, Aires A., *Livro de Aarautos (De ministerio armorum): estudo codicológico, histórico, literário, linguístico*, Lisbon, s. n., 1977; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and DIOGO, António Dias, *Encadernação portuguesa medieval. Alcobaça*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1984; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Les reliures médiévales du fonds Alcobaça de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne”, in LEMAIRE, Jacques, and BALBERGHE, Emile van (dirs.), *Calames et Cahiers...*, pp. 107-117; IDEM, “Livros e claustro no séc. XIII em Portugal: o inventário da Livraria de S. Vicente de Fora, em Lisboa”, *Didaskalia*, vol. 15 (1985), pp. 229-242; IDEM, “Concentração, dispersão e dependências na circulação de manuscritos em Portugal, nos séculos XII e XIII”, in *Coloquio sobre Circulación de Códices y Escritos entre Europa y la Peninsula en los Siglos VIII-XIII. Actas*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1988, pp. 61-86; IDEM, “A experiência do livro no primitivo meio alcobacense” and “Livro e leitura em ambiente alcobacense”, in *IX Centenário do nascimento de S. Bernardo. Encontros*

libraries and *scriptoria* of monasteries and cathedrals, the circulation of books, the manufacture of paper, as well as the publishing of several codices, frequently accompanied by invaluable translations providing the wider public with access to their contents<sup>90</sup>. One should also mention Solange Corbin's work on Portuguese religious music of the Middle Ages<sup>91</sup>, based on musical codices and fragments existing in the country's libraries; together with the many works of Mário Martins<sup>92</sup>, who, though not strictly a codicologist, has brought many manuscripts to light, namely those originating in Alcobaça.

With respect to codicology, the 1980s constituted an essential period of a development that has extended until today, with the continuation of works by various of the aforementioned authors, but also with highly important contributions by other researchers, such as, in the field of illumination, Sylvie Deswarte<sup>93</sup>, Adelaide

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*de Alcobaça e Simpósio de Lisboa. Actas*, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa / Câmara Municipal de Alcobaça, 1991, pp. 121-145, 147-167; IDEM, "O livro de teologia: génese de uma estrutura e estruturação de uma ciência", *Didaskalia*, vol. 25, vols. 1-2 (1995), pp. 233-255; IDEM, "Monges, livros e leituras: modos de espiritualidade e preservação de textos", in *Os Beneditinos na Europa. 1º Congresso Internacional*, Santo Tirso, Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 1998, pp. 203-219; IDEM, "Manuscritos e textos dos príncipes de Avis: o Leal Conselheiro e outros manuscritos – problemas de deriva filológica e tentativa de reintegração", in SCHAFFER, Martha E., CORTIJO OCAÑA, António (ed.), *Medieval and Renaissance Spain and Portugal – Studies in honor of Arthur L.-F. Askins*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2006, pp. 269-288; IDEM, "A cultura bracarense no século VI: uma revisitação necessária", in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (orgs.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Marques...*, vol. 1, pp. 87-104; IDEM, "A Imagem no texto: esplendor do livro e marcação de leitura no manuscrito medieval", in BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes (coord.), *Arte, História e Arqueologia: Pretérito (sempre) presente – Homenagem a J. Pais da Silva*, Lisbon, Êsquilo, 2006, pp. 79-113. One should also highlight the editions that he has undertaken of medieval texts, accompanied by translations, such as *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1998, or *Navegação de S. Brandão nas fontes portuguesas medievais*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1999. One should also refer to his participation in exhibitions and the elaboration of the respective catalogues, as is the case of MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide (coord.), *A iluminura em Portugal: identidade e influências (do séc. X ao XVI). Catálogo da exposição*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1999; PEREIRA, João Castel Branco (coord.), *A imagem do tempo: livros manuscritos ocidentais*, general, Lisbon, FCG, 2000; and his work as a co-editor: NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN, José M., León (eds.), *Liber testamentorum coenobii Laurbanensis (estudios)*, León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2008.

<sup>90</sup> These works follow on from precursors, attributed essentially to António de Vasconcelos, António Rocha Madahil and Pierre David; it would be unjust not to mention their names here, and especially the last author on the list, for the essential contribution he made to the upgrading of the study of medieval manuscripts in Portugal, namely those of a liturgical nature.

<sup>91</sup> CORBIN, Solange, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Âge (1100-1385)*, Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, 1952.

<sup>92</sup> One should essentially see the works MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de literatura medieval*, Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1956; IDEM, *O riso, o sorriso e a paródia na literatura portuguesa de Quatrocentos*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978; IDEM, *Estudos de cultura medieval*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Verbo, 1969; vols. 2 and 3, Lisbon, Brotéria, 1980-1983.

<sup>93</sup> One should cite, mainly, her works DESWARTE-ROSA, Sylvie, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova, 1504-1552. Étude sur la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l'Humanisme*, Paris, FCG / Centro Cultural Português, 1977; EADEM, *As imagens das idades do mundo de Francisco de Holanda*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1987.

Miranda<sup>94</sup> and Horácio Peixeiro<sup>95</sup>. In their turn, José Mattoso<sup>96</sup>, José Marques<sup>97</sup>, Isabel Cepeda<sup>98</sup>, Saul Gomes<sup>99</sup>, Maria José Azevedo Santos<sup>100</sup>, António Ribeiro

<sup>94</sup> Among her studies, one should mention the following: MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide, *A inicial ornada românica nos manuscritos alcobacenses*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1984; EADEM, "A iluminura e o códice nos manuscritos românicos de Santa Maria de Alcoçaba e Santa Cruz de Coimbra", *Estudos Medievais*, no. 10 (1993), pp. 97-117; EADEM, *Imagens do mundo nos manuscritos alcobacenses: o bestiário*, offprint from *Actas do Congresso Internacional sobre San Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal*, vol. 2, Ourense, Congresso Internacional sobre San Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal, 1992; EADEM, *Do esplendor do ornamento à simplicidade da imagem: a iluminura românica dos manuscritos do mosteiro de S. Pedro de Arouca*, Arouca, Real Irmandade da Rainha Santa Mafalda, 1995; EADEM, *A iluminura românica em Santa Cruz de Coimbra e Santa Maria de Alcoçaba*, 2 vols., Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1996; EADEM, *A iluminura em Santa Cruz de Coimbra no tempo de Santo António*, Lisbon, Inapa, 1996; EADEM (coord.), *A iluminura em Portugal. Identidade e influências...*; EADEM, "A iluminura de Santa Cruz no contexto da iluminura europeia medieval", *Bibliotheca Portucalensis*, nos. 15-16 (2000-2001), pp. 67-97; EADEM, "Iluminura românica em Portugal", in YARZA LUACES, Joaquín (coord.), *La miniatura medieval en la Península Ibérica*, Murcia, Nausicaá, 2007, pp. 375-418.

<sup>95</sup> PEIXEIRO, Horácio, *Missais iluminados dos séculos XIV e XV: contribuição para o estudo da iluminura em Portugal*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1986; IDEM, "Livros litúrgicos cistercienses de Arouca", *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1994), pp. 61-73; IDEM, "Algumas reflexões sobre a iluminura em Portugal", *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 10, nos. 1-2 (1995), pp. 169-194; IDEM, *Um olhar sobre a iluminura do Apocalipse de Lorvão*, Tomar, s.n., 1998; IDEM, *A iluminura portuguesa nos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1999.

<sup>96</sup> MATTOSO, José, "Condições económicas e sociais da circulação de códices na Península Ibérica", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações. Obras Completas*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2002, vol. 8, pp. 255-267; IDEM, "A cultura monástica em Portugal (875-1200)" and "Leituras cistercienses do século XV", in MATTOSO, José, *Religião e cultura...*, pp. 209-232, 276-301.

<sup>97</sup> MARQUES, José, "Desconhecidas instituições culturais portuguesas. Alguns scriptoria cistercienses", *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 39 (1985), pp. 5-25; IDEM, "Livrarias de mão no Portugal medieval", *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 47 (1997), pp. 269-282.

<sup>98</sup> CEPEDA, Isabel Vilares, *Dois manuscritos litúrgicos medievais da Biblioteca Nacional: IL. 218 e IL. 143: sua identificação e descrição*, Lisbon, s.n., 1985; EADEM, "Dois manuscritos litúrgicos de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa", *Didaskalia*, vol. 15 (1990), pp. 161-228; EADEM, "O manuscrito medieval", in MENDES, Maria Valentina Sul (coord.), *Tesouros da Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon, Inapa, 1992, pp. 28-73; EADEM, "A propósito de um evangeliário (ms. il. 235) recentemente adquirido pela Biblioteca Nacional", *Leituras: Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, no. 11 (2002), pp. 401-410. She is also one of the authors of the already cited CEPEDA, Isabel Vilares, and FERREIRA, Teresa A. S. Duarte (coords.), *Inventário dos Códices Iluminados até 1500...*

<sup>99</sup> GOMES, Saul António, "Um bulário medieval da Ordem dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 4 (1992) pp. 371-380; IDEM, "Uma regra de Santa Clara de Assis de inícios do séc. XVI", *Leiria-Fátima*, no. 5 (1994), pp. 139-159; IDEM, "Livros e alfaias litúrgicas do tesouro da Sé de Viseu em 1188", *Humanitas*, vol. 54 (2002), pp. 269-281; IDEM, "Fragmentos codicológicos de um obituário primitivo do mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra", *Humanitas*, vol. 56 (2004), pp. 383-399; IDEM, "Livros medievais portugueses: novos elementos para o seu conhecimento", *Biblos*, vol. 3 (2005), pp. 69-84; IDEM, "Manuscritos iluminados quinhentistas da Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de 2007", *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 7 (2007), pp. 69-110; IDEM, *In limine conscriptionis...*, pp. 297-393 (codicological analysis of the medieval chartularies of the Santa Cruz monastery in Coimbra).

<sup>100</sup> SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Da visigótica à carolina...*; EADEM, "Manuscrits non datés au Portugal: contribution à l'étude du problème", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 26 (1991), pp. 157-173; EADEM, "As condições técnicas e materiais da cópia de manuscritos na Idade Média", in *Catálogo da Exposição Santa Cruz de Coimbra: A cultura portuguesa aberta à Europa na Idade Média*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 2001, pp. 29-45.



Guerra<sup>101</sup> and Maria do Rosário Morujão<sup>102</sup> have also contributed to the science of manuscript books, analysing readings undertaken in the monasteries, lesser known *scriptoria* and various codices, namely chartularies, while one should record that studies made of this very specific type of manuscript include, increasingly, its codicological analysis. Within the field of musical manuscripts, in addition to the contributions of Joaquim Oliveira Bragança, as mentioned, and of Pedro Romano Rocha<sup>103</sup>, the main researcher is, beyond doubt, Manuel Pedro Ferreira, who, in his studies on ancient music, has brought to light and analysed a multitude of medieval codices<sup>104</sup>.

In recent decades, there has also been a multiplication of the facsimiled publications of manuscripts, particularly the Manueline charters of *foral*<sup>105</sup>, not to mention the edition of the illuminated frontispieces of the books of the *Leitura Nova*<sup>106</sup>. There has been the creation of the *Dicionário do Livro*<sup>107</sup> that, not only dealing with the manuscript book, includes much precious information about it. Finally, one should highlight research projects in the field of codicology that have already been undertaken, one on fragments preserved in Portugal, giving continuity

<sup>101</sup> GUERRA, António Ribeiro, *Os escribas dos documentos particulares...*; IDEM, *Os diplomas privados em Portugal...*; IDEM, “O escriba ‘Frater Gunsaluus et Uisensis dictus Episcopus’, Alcobaça, ano de 1176”, in *Actas do Congresso Internacional sobre San Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal*, Ourense, s. n., 1992, vol. 1, pp. 477-485; IDEM, “Contributos para a análise material e paleográfica do Fragmento Sharrer”, in NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and RIBEIRO, Cristina Almeida (eds.), *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1991, pp. 31-33

<sup>102</sup> MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, “La collaboration dans le scriptorium de la cathédrale de Coimbra”, in SPILLING, Herrad (ed.), *La collaboration...*, pp. 131-149; EADEM, “O Livro Preto da Sé de Coimbra. Estudo do cartulário”, *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 8 (2008), pp. 7-43; EADEM, “Um outro cartulário da Sé de Coimbra: o Manuscrito Iluminado 98 da Biblioteca Nacional”, *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 10, t. 1 (2010), pp. 73-96.

<sup>103</sup> Among his works, special mention should be made to ROCHA, Pedro Romano, *L'office divin au Moyen Âge dans l'Église de Braga: originalité et dépendances d'une liturgie particulière au Moyen Âge*, Paris, FCG / Centro Cultural Português, 1980.

<sup>104</sup> Of the works produced by this researcher, one should mention FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Cantus coronatus: Sete cantigas d'amor d'El-Rei Dom Dinis*, Kassel, Reichenberger, 2005; IDEM, *Antologia de Música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Arte das Musas, 2008; IDEM (coord.), *Medieval Sacred Chant: from Japan to Portugal*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2008; FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, and RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A. (coords.), *A Catedral de Braga. Arte, Liturgia e Música, do final do século XI à época tridentina*, Lisbon, Arte das Musas / CESEM, 2009; FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Aspectos da Música Medieval no Ocidente Peninsular*, 2 vols., Lisbon, IN-CM, 2009-2010.

<sup>105</sup> In relation to the charters of *foral* of King Manuel, it is impossible to include a full list of publications; I shall mention only the study in relation to the work of reforming these charters during the reign of Manuel I by Maria José Mexia Bigotte Chorão, *Os forais de D. Manuel 1496-1520*, Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 1990.

<sup>106</sup> *Leitura Nova de Dom Manuel I*, preface by Martim de Albuquerque, introduction by Maria José Mexia Bigotte Chorão and Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, 2 vols., Lisbon, Inapa, 1997.

<sup>107</sup> FARIA, Maria Isabel, and PERICÃO, Maria da Graça, *Dicionário do livro: da escrita ao livro electrónico*, new ed., Coimbra, Edições Almedina, 2008.

to the survey begun by Avelino de Jesus da Costa<sup>108</sup>, and two others on illumination, more precisely, on the images of the codices and the colour they present<sup>109</sup>.

Despite these contributions, Portugal continues to experience great shortfalls in the study of its manuscripts. One of the most glaring, already mentioned in respect of palaeography, is the almost complete absence of catalogues of the complete manuscripts, developed in accordance with the demands of present day research<sup>110</sup>. Even those inventories that do exist<sup>111</sup>, useful without a shred of doubt, cannot substitute for the more detailed and precise information that a good catalogue can supply the researcher. It is urgent we invest in the training of librarians specialised in medieval manuscripts, which has not constituted a priority in the specialised courses in documental sciences or in the new bachelor and master's degree courses in the area of information science.

In addition to cataloguing, there continues to be a need for monographic works on manuscripts. These are time-consuming investigations, undertaken book by book, applying to each the minutia and the patience required of an archaeological dig. Only in this way will it be possible to obtain a body of knowledge that could serve as a basis for future syntheses on medieval manuscripts existing in Portugal. A whole world of work thus waits to be undertaken.

## Sigillography

Sigillography is also one of the historical disciplines that has been fighting for its scientific certificate of freedom. Long linked to numismatics and to exonomia, Portuguese sigillography was invested with an important work in the second half

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<sup>108</sup> This project, designated FRAGMED, was developed in the Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, of the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Coimbra; in relation to it, one can see the presentation done by two of the researchers in charge: GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro, "Do fragmento ao saber: o projecto FRAGMED – Corpus Portugaliae Fragmentorum", *Forma Breve*, no. 4 (2006), pp. 65-79; GOMES, Saul António, "O projecto Fraged Corpus Portugaliae Fragmentorum", *Biblos*, vol. 4 (2006), pp. 355-357, and the website of the project, available at: <http://fragmed.net> (accessed 9 Sept. 2011).

<sup>109</sup> Both are based at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of Nova University of Lisbon and among their main researchers is Adelaide Miranda. From the first, "Imago", the objective has been the creation of a *corpus* and a database of medieval Portuguese iconography, based on images of illuminations and of funerary sculpture; the created database may already be consulted online, at <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt> (accessed 15 Dec. 2010); the second, "A cor da iluminura medieval portuguesa no contexto europeu: partilha e singularidade", deals with the significance of colour in the Portuguese illuminations of the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth century produced in the *scriptoria* of Alcobaça, Lorvão and Santa Cruz.

<sup>110</sup> As stated above, the great exception is in respect of the collection of manuscripts of the Santa Cruz monastery of Coimbra preserved in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal of Oporto, whose catalogue was cited above, footnote 44.

<sup>111</sup> Of the inventories, one should principally mention the *Inventário dos códices iluminados até 1500* (cited above, footnote 42) and the one elaborated by CORREIA, Francisco, *Inventário da Coleção dos Manuscritos Iluminados da Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon, [Ministério da Educação e Cultura], 1986.

of the twentieth century, whose author was Luís Gonzaga de Lancastre e Távora, Marquis of Abrantes<sup>112</sup>. This constituted a synthesis of the state of knowledge of this subject at the time and it launched the basis for the first attempt to organise a national sigillographic *corpus*. With all its defects and limitations, this work will always be of the highest importance in the panorama of Lusitanian historiography on this theme.

Following decades when it had not featured autonomously in university curricula, having been previously linked with palaeography and diplomatics, sigillography has recently received a new impetus with the creation by Saul António Gomes of a course entitled “Introdução à Sigilografia” (Introduction to Sigillography) as an option for students at the Faculdade de Letras of Coimbra University<sup>113</sup>.

The latter author has also been responsible for a series of studies in the sigillographic field, and the first in-depth research on sigillographic practices followed in monastic institutions during the medieval period, more exactly in Santa Cruz of Coimbra, as studied in his doctoral thesis<sup>114</sup>, and in Alcobaça, the subject of his aggregate exams<sup>115</sup>. From his hands have also come several other works devoted to the study of seals, as much of the religious orders (including the military) as of the kings, and also relating to sigillographic matrixes<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> TÁVORA, Luís Gonzaga de Lancastre e, *O estudo da Sigilografia Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1983.

<sup>113</sup> On the existence of this discipline in previous course curricula, as much in the History as the Documental Sciences course, see GOMES, Saul António, *Introdução à Sigilografia Portuguesa. Guia de estudo*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2008, in which is presented its history as well as the programme proposed for it. See also the teaching of the discipline by António de Vasconcelos, in Coimbra, between 1921 and 1929, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “A Coleção Esfragística da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra – notas preliminares”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al. (coords.), *Coleção Esfragística da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra. Catálogo da Exposição*, Coimbra, Reitoria da Universidade, 2003, pp. 7-29. In this catalogue, other works are presented that deserve to be cited here: GOMES, Saul António “Percurso antigos e recentes da Sigilografia em Portugal”, *ibid.*, pp. 39-59; and MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, “Imagens de selos. Anotações de sigilografia pontificia e episcopal”, *ibid.*, pp. 61-70. One should also refer to the synthesis on Sigillography presented by COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, “Sigilografia”, in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal...*, vol. 5, pp. 562-568.

<sup>114</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *In limine conscriptionis...*, pp. 832-921.

<sup>115</sup> IDEM, *Imago & Auctoritas. Selos medievais da chancelaria de Santa Maria de Alcobaça*, Coimbra, Palimage, 2008.

<sup>116</sup> See, essentially, IDEM, “Sinete. Sécs. XII-XIII”, in ALARCÃO, Adília (coord.), *Inventário do Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro. Coleção de Ourivesaria Medieval. Séculos XII-XV*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Museus, 2003, p. 10; IDEM, “Observações em torno das chancelarias das Ordens Militares em Portugal na Idade Média”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental. Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 111-167; IDEM, “Uma matriz sigilar tardo-medieval no Mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha de Coimbra”, *Património Estudos*, no. 10 (2006), pp. 110-112; IDEM, “Sigillis abbatis et conventus muniantur. A sigilografia cisterciense medieval em Portugal”, *Signum. Revista da ABREM*, no. 9 (2007), pp. 9-52; IDEM, *Introdução à sigilografia portuguesa...*, pp. 88-102; IDEM, “Observações em torno da chancelaria da Ordem do Templo em Portugal”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente. Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 121-139.

With regard to the seals of the secular clergy, despite the previously mentioned studies of the episcopal chanceries of Braga, Oporto and Coimbra in the Middle Ages<sup>117</sup>, it is only in relation to the latter that sigillographic practices have been systematically analysed, in what remains the sole work on the legal seals of the bishops, the chapter, and the bishops' *curia* of a Portuguese diocese<sup>118</sup>.

Basically, what has been done in the field of sigillography in Portugal has represented only the first steps necessary for this discipline to establish itself within the sphere of the historiographic sciences. To continue on this path, two tasks appear essential. First of all, to make a systematic survey and inventory of the existing Portuguese seals, or of those of which there only remains reports or vestiges, as well as of the matrixes that have been preserved, continuing, correcting and completing that which was begun by the Marquis of Abrantes<sup>119</sup>. Following on from this fundamental work, a diagnosis will have to be made of the state of conservation of these seals, to make it possible to save many that are preserved in a poor condition<sup>120</sup>. This also implies the creation of a restoration workshop for seals, so as to not lose what remain of these fragile but extremely rich historical sources.

In this field of conservation and restoration, it should be mentioned that one pioneering project, relating to lead seals, has already been undertaken, utilising the most modern technologies and a work method that progressively perfected in the Chemistry Department of the Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia of Coimbra University, which permitted the treatment of dozens of specimens kept

<sup>117</sup> Cf. the works quoted above in the part concerning diplomatics.

<sup>118</sup> MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *A Sé de Coimbra...*, pp. 609-699. Some more restricted approaches have already been undertaken, and therefore deserve to be cited: CUNHA, Maria Cristina de Almeida, SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa, and MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, "Traditionalisme, régionalisme..."; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, and SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa, "Frontières documentaires..."; SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa (coord.), *Catálogo Digital do Arquivo do Museu de Grão Vasco [I]*, Viseu, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, 2007; IDEM, *Monumentos de Escrita. 400 anos da História da Sé e da Cidade de Viseu (1230-1639)*, Viseu, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação / Museu de Grão Vasco, 2008. One should also refer, as a synthetic approach to ecclesiastic sigillography in general, the article by SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo "Sigilografia eclesiástica (séculos XII-XV)", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Rio de Mouro, Circulo de Leitores, 2001, vol. 4, pp. 236-237.

<sup>119</sup> In this work, an important aspect to bear in mind is the recourse to a normalised terminology, following the norms proposed by the Sigillography Committee, a body integrated into the International Council on Archives, in its COMITE INTERNATIONAL DES ARCHIVES, *Vocabulaire International de la Sigillographie*, Rome, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1990. One should note that this work enjoyed the participation, resulting in the translation of the vocabulary into Portuguese, of Maria José Bigotte Chorão, of the National Archive of Torre do Tombo.

<sup>120</sup> Some steps have already been taken in this direction in identifying the main problems raised in regard to the survival of the seals, such as those of the Marquis of Abrantes and fontes, TÁVORA, Luís Gonzaga de Lencastre e, *O estudo da Sigilografia Medieval Portuguesa...*, pp. 63-71, and in beginning to elaborate diagnoses of the different lots: GOMES, Saul António, *In limine conscriptionis...*, pp. 1003-1030; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, "The seals from the fund of the Coimbra See Chapter at the Torre do Tombo National Archive", in *Preserving documents. Science and Restoration. International Seminar*, Coimbra, Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 2011 (presently to be published online).

in the Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra in a state of deterioration<sup>121</sup>. We still lack, however, restoration workshops for wax seals, the most common and most degraded, just as for sheet-metal seals, of which there are even fewer examples in good condition, and whose importance is often forgotten given the wide prevalence of pendant seals.

To these urgent tasks, directly linked not solely to sigillography, but to the preservation of the medieval Portuguese graphic and artistic heritage, it is imperative to add research in the proper sense. As may be seen by the aforesaid, there exist at present, practically speaking, only works on royal and ecclesiastical sigillography<sup>122</sup>. Municipal sigillography has also begun to be examined<sup>123</sup>, but the seals of individuals and institutions of the lay world remain to be studied. It is also necessary to look at seals beyond their authenticating function, inserting them into the study of medieval imagery and of the symbols and representations of power, and also as a product of the metal engraving techniques that could contribute considerably to a better understanding of the work of the jeweller. The seals also reveal other craft techniques, such as the wax preparation and the manufacture of the textile ribbons; and they present us with representations of objects of the most varied typologies, that constitute extremely important testimonies for the history of medieval cultural material. Finally, sigillography joins itself to palaeography and to epigraphy, supplying examples of script that must inevitably be taken into account in order to construct a comprehensive history of script, such as that commended above.

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<sup>121</sup> On this Project, financed by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, see the brief presentation on the website of the Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, at: <http://www.uc.pt/auc/projectos> (accessed 15 Dec. 2010). One can find its main results in the master's dissertation of SANTOS, Catarina Isabel Aguiar dos, *Estudo de selos de chumbo dos séculos XII-XVIII por técnicas de espectrometria de raios X*, Lisbon, Faculdade de Ciências of the University of Lisbon, 2008.

<sup>122</sup> To the works already cited, we may add one other on the origins of the seal as a form of documental validation in the Portuguese territory, by MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, "A sigilografia portuguesa em tempos de Afonso Henriques", in *Medievalista* [online], no. 12 (2012) (to be published).

<sup>123</sup> One may also see the research undertaken by COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Concelhos", in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em definição de fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV*, Lisbon, Presença 1996, pp. 562-565; and GOMES, Saul António, "Ideologia e representação nas práticas das chancelarias concelhias medievais portuguesas", in FONSECA, Fernando Taveira da (coord.), *O poder local em tempo de globalização...*, 2005, pp. 435-496.



# *Latin and Portuguese in the Middle Ages*<sup>\*</sup>

*Paulo Farmhouse Alberto, Rodrigo Furtado,  
Ana Maria Martins*

## **Studies on Latin during the Portuguese medieval period over the last forty years**

In Portugal, the study of the Latin of medieval texts and documents has not warranted the intense and continued attention we might suppose. Over the last fifty years, interest in the Latin language has frequently been subordinated to research on the origins of Portuguese, along the lines of emblematic studies by such erudite scholars as José Leite de Vasconcelos<sup>1</sup>, José Joaquim Nunes<sup>2</sup> and Joseph-Maria Piel<sup>3</sup>. One may find brief references to the Latin of the late and medieval periods in syntheses of the history of the Portuguese language, by Ivo Castro and Clarinda de Azevedo Maia, or in surveys such as those of Rita Marquilhas (from a linguistic point of view) and of Maria José Azevedo Santos (from a historical and cultural perspective)<sup>4</sup>, incorporated into collective works on the history of Portugal.

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\* Paulo Farmhouse Alberto and Rodrigo Furtado are the authors of “Studies on Latin during the Portuguese medieval period over the last forty years”; Ana Maria Martins is the author of “History of the Portuguese language: from the earliest Portuguese texts to the end of the fifteenth century”.

<sup>1</sup> VASCONCELOS, José Leite de, *Lições de filologia portuguesa*, 1911 (4th ed., Rio de Janeiro, Livros de Portugal, 1966); IDEM, “História da Língua Portuguesa – origem e vida externa”, *Revista Lusitana*, vol. 25 (1923), pp. 5-28 (reprinted in *Estudos de filologia portuguesa*, selection and organisation by Serafim da Silva Neto, Rio de Janeiro, Livros de Portugal, 1961, pp. 131-151).

<sup>2</sup> NUNES, José Joaquim, *Evolução da língua portuguesa, exemplificada em duas lições principalmente da mesma versão da Regra de S. Bento*, Coimbra, IUC, 1926; IDEM, *Chrestomathia archaica*, Lisbon, Ferreira & Oliveira, 1906 (2nd ed., 1921); *Compêndio de gramática histórica portuguesa*, Lisbon, Livraria Clássica Editora de A. M. Teixeira, 1919 (8th ed., 1975).

<sup>3</sup> PIEL, Joseph-Maria, “Uma antiga latinidade vulgar galaica reflectida no léxico comum e toponimico de Entre-Douro-e-Minho e Galiza”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia*, vol. 17 (1975) (repr. *Estudos de Linguística Galego-Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1989, pp. 55-60).

<sup>4</sup> CASTRO, Ivo, *Curso de História da Língua Portuguesa*, with the collaboration of Rita Marquilhas and J. León Acosta, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1991, and IDEM, *Introdução à História do Português. Geografia*

The evolution of Latin to Portuguese is the subject of a study (1982), by José Geraldes Freire, revealing a traditional approach and rather conservative methodological criteria. From ten of the earliest documents relating to Guimarães, dating between 870 and 1209, the author seeks to identify elements that reveal the influence of the vernacular oral language. As the author warns, the findings should be used prudently. In fact, an analysis based solely on orthographic elements can be erroneous, or at least distorted, for if some of the documents are autographic, others are twelfth- and thirteenth-century copies. Uncertainty about the accuracy of the transcription of the original texts leaves us unsure about contaminations and anachronisms in the graphic phenomena. On the other hand, some of the data (betacism, *tio/cio*, *quo/co*, *gi/i*) are common traces in all manuscripts in Visigothic script of a much earlier period. Whether they prove the influence of Portuguese in the original analysed documents (or through an intermediary later-made copy) is most uncertain<sup>5</sup>.

The fact is that relatively recent work on editing medieval Portuguese texts, based at times on irreprehensible philological and ecdotic criteria, has not generally been accompanied by sufficient interest in linguistic study, nor by the elaboration of rigorous syntheses, such as in the brilliant surveys of Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz of medieval Latin<sup>6</sup>.

A synopsis of the question some fifty years ago (already including the contributions to the *Enciclopedia Lingüística Hispánica* of 1960), is the article on “Latim na Península” by the Romanist and Arabist José Pedro Machado. It had the merit of broadening the perspective of analysis and of sidestepping the evolution

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*da Língua. Português Antigo*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2004; MAIA, Clarinda Azevedo, *História do Galego-Português – Estudo Linguístico da Galiza e do Noroeste de Portugal desde o século XIII ao século XVI (com referência à situação do galego moderno)*, Coimbra, INIC, 1986; MARQUILHAS, Rita, “A Formação da Língua Portuguesa”, in Medina, João (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Dos tempos pré-históricos aos nossos dias*, Lisboa, Ediclube, 1994, pp. 349-358; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, “A evolução da língua e da escrita” in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em definição de fronteiras (1096-1325). Do condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV*, 1996, pp. 607-610.

<sup>5</sup> FREIRE, José Geraldes, “O latim medieval e o português proto-histórico em dez documentos de Guimarães do séc. IX ao séc. XIII”, in *Actas do Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e sua Colegiada. 850º aniversário da batalha de S. Mamede (1128-1978)*, Guimarães, 1982, vol. 5, pp. 21-48.

<sup>6</sup> DIAZ Y DIAZ, Manuel C., “Le latin du Haut Moyen Âge espagnol”, in LEFÈVRE, Yves (org.), *Le lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque international, Paris 18-21 octobre 1978*, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981, pp. 105-114. See also by the same author, IDEM, “El latín de la Península Ibérica: rasgos lingüísticos”, *Enciclopedia Lingüística Hispánica* (=ELH), t. 1, Madrid, CSIC, 1960, pp. 153-197, and, more recently IDEM, “La transición del latín al romance en perspectiva hispana”, in *La transizione dal latino alle lingue romanze. Atti della Tavola Rotonda di Lingüística Storica*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1998, pp. 155-172. It would also be important to consult MARINER BIGORRA, Sebastián, “El latín de la Península Ibérica: léxico”, in *ELH*, I, Madrid, CSIC, 1960, pp. 199-236; BASTARDAS PARERA, Juan, “El latín de la península ibérica: el latín medieval”, *ELH...*, pp. 251-290, or of the already dated MENENDEZ PIDAL, Ramón, *Orígenes del Español. estudio lingüístico de la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo XI*, 10th ed., Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1986.



of Latin to Portuguese<sup>7</sup>. Twenty-five years on, in a text of very distinctive reach and purpose, seeking to present and appraise new perspectives for the medieval Latin philology in Portugal, Aires A. Nascimento still had to confront the gloomy assessment of Hans-Georg Koll who had, two decades earlier, declared that in Portugal “everything will have to start from scratch”<sup>8</sup>. Nascimento proposed a whole philological, critical and editing programme that even today may be revisited and followed in many of its particular aspects<sup>9</sup>.

One should recognise the central, but often isolated role of Aires Nascimento, undertaking over more than thirty years a coherent and committed project that greatly surpassed the merely linguistic or philological, and even the traditional chronological parameters of the Portuguese Middle Ages. In his edition of the *De Ministerio Armorum* (1416), Nascimento incorporated a linguistic analysis based on frequency, thus producing an exhaustive grammatical characterization of the text<sup>10</sup>. In his edition of the *Descobrimento Primeiro da Guiné* by Diogo Gomes de Sintra, he included elements of linguistic analysis to prove the authorship of the work<sup>11</sup>. A detailed analysis in 1980 dealt with the term *corepiscopus* as it appears in the *Vida de São Telo*, which he had published previously<sup>12</sup>. One should also refer to his study of the use of the verbal first person in hagiographic texts from Braga<sup>13</sup>.

António M. Ribeiro Rebelo devoted a large part of his doctoral thesis, on the *Martyrium et gesta Infantis Domini Fernandi*, to the philological study of the text: in the first part he developed a linguistic analysis, from phonetics to semantics, including morphology and syntax. We should perhaps question the relevance of some of his conclusions, especially in the fields of phonetics or of morphology, taking into account the imprecise and frequently non-normative character assumed

<sup>7</sup> MACHADO, José Pedro, “Latim na Península”, in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Livraria Figueirinhas, 1992, vol. 3, pp. 436-437.

<sup>8</sup> KOLL, Hans-Georg, “Die mittellateinische Philologie in den ländern der iberischen”, *Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch*, 1 (1964), pp. 162-195.

<sup>9</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Filologia médio-latina em Portugal: situação e perspectivas”, *Euphrosyne*, vol. 13 (1985), pp. 111-138.

<sup>10</sup> IDEM, *Livro de Arautos (De Ministerio Armorum – Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms 28) – edição crítica, tradução e estudo codicológico e literário*, Lisbon, 1977, pp. 88-124. The linguistic study, based on a statistical treatment, has as its basis the extensive experience of the author in textual analysis using information technology: IDEM *Vita S. Fructuosi – estudo informático: índices, concordâncias, levantamentos estatísticos*, Lisbon, 1977; IDEM, *Vita S. Martini Sauriensis – estudo informático: índices, concordâncias, levantamentos estatísticos*, Lisbon, 1977; IDEM, *Latim Medieval – Estudo estatístico comparativo de Vita S. Fructuosi e Vita S. Martini Sauriensis*, Lisbon, 1977. All these texts have been the object of critical editing by the same author.

<sup>11</sup> SINTRA, Diogo Gomes de, *Descobrimento primeiro da Guiné – De prima inuentione Guineae (Manuscrito de Valentim Fernandes)*, critical editing, translation, commentary notes by Aires Augusto do Nascimento, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2002, pp. 19-20.

<sup>12</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Corepiscopus, um arcaísmo não compreendido na Vita Tellois”, *Didaskalia*, vol. 10 (1980), pp. 381-390.

<sup>13</sup> IDEM, “Um traço singular em textos hagiográficos bracarense medievais: a 1ª pessoa verbal”, *Theologica*, 2nd ser., vol. 35 (2000), pp. 589-598 (appearing in May of 2001).

by contemporary writing processes and orthography. Even so, the study allowed the author to characterise the “linguistic register of the work as medieval Latin in a phase of transition to Renaissance Latin”, as well as venture the possibility that the copyist was of Francophone origin, which would fit well the context of the canonization process of Prince Fernando, pursued mainly by his sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, Princess Isabel<sup>14</sup>.

The Latin of medieval documentation held in Portugal has merited some attention. This is true of the works of Marcelino Rodrigues Pereira. As early as 1955, he devoted himself to the analysis of the Latin of a set of eleventh-century documents from the cathedral of Coimbra, whose “perfection of some writings”, he concluded, was a sign of the “renovation of classical and humanist studies, in this city [...], contemporary to the European renovation”. Almost twenty years later, he examined the Latin produced by the chancery of King Sancho I, to continue to verify its quality, without errors or deviations from the linguistic norm, which “clearly separates it from the Latin of other *scriptoria* of the country”<sup>15</sup>.

It is fair to recognise that the use of Latin was considerably diverse outside of the city of the Mondego (Coimbra). This is precisely what José Mattoso had concluded in his doctoral thesis. He studied the *scriptoria* of the monasteries of the diocese of Oporto in the eleventh- to twelfth-centuries, analysing, in addition to the forms of the script, literary and linguistic features of the documents, at the level of the stylistics, lexicon and syntax<sup>16</sup>. Further linguistic considerations (again placing emphasis on lexicon, stylistics and syntax) can be found in articles by the same author, among which one should highlight his study of the evolution of the *sanctio* in documentation relating to Portuguese territory prior to the twelfth century, with notes on the use of Latin in the final formulae of the diplomatic texts<sup>17</sup>. One may also take account of Joana Serafim and Filipa Roldão’s study of the Latin of Portuguese notaries of the thirteenth century<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro, *Martyrum et gesta infantis domini Fernandi. A biografia latina de D. Fernando, o Infante Santo*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2007, pp. 145-349; 805-806.

<sup>15</sup> PEREIRA, Marcelino, “O latim de alguns documentos da Sé de Coimbra (1086-1210)”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 6 (1955), pp. 349-383; IDEM, “O latim da Chancelaria de D. Sancho I”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 14 (1974), pp. 399-414.

<sup>16</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Le scriptorium”, in MATTOSO, José, *Le monachisme ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l’an mille à 1200*, Louvain, 1968, pp. 299-315.

<sup>17</sup> IDEM, “Sanctio (875-1100)”, in MATTOSO, José, *Religião e Cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982, pp. 394-440.

<sup>18</sup> SERAFIM, Joana, and ROLDÃO, Filipa, “Le latin des premiers notaires portugais: la formation individuelle et la praxis documentaire (1214-1223)”, in FAGGION, Lucien, MAILLOUX, Anne, and VERDON, Laure (orgs.), *Le notaire: entre métier et espace public en Europe - VIIIe-XVIIIe siècle*, Aix-en-Provence, Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2008, pp. 43-51.

With regard to strategies of meaning in diplomatic texts, one should take into account the 1977 study by Aires Nascimento, analysing the document referring to the foundation of the church of Lordosa, in 882<sup>19</sup>. The author emphasises functional elements in the significance of the text (declarative, evaluative, enunciative, deictic), and shows the recourse to repetition as a basic element in the meaning of the enunciative act.

Documentation held at the Lorvão Chartulary recently merited an analysis by Aires Nascimento and Paulo Farmhouse Alberto, in the volume accompanying the facsimiled edition of the manuscript. It focuses on the linguistic expressions describing space<sup>20</sup>. In the same volume we find a study, by António Capão and Aires Nascimento, of toponyms mentioned in the same documents<sup>21</sup>. One other work by Aires Nascimento, published in 2006, deals with the problematisation and adjustment lexical creation in medieval Latin, incorporating examples from Portuguese texts<sup>22</sup>. Of the lexicon of Portuguese charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there is a brief study by Filipa Roldão and Joana Serafim<sup>23</sup>.

Special consideration should be given to the many works of António Emiliano on the relationship between written Latin medieval Portuguese documents and the vernacular. The author adopts a perspective, that has yet to win the consensus of specialists, based on the thesis of Roger Wright<sup>24</sup>, who postulates that until the first half of the twelfth century (which Emiliano, in regard to Portuguese documents, extends until the end of the century), there was no real distinction between the vernacular and written Latin, both being aspects of the same language. Any conceptual rupture between Latin and romance would consequently be unknown. When dealing with medieval documentation, this means that the coexistence of traditional graphic forms with forms resulting from vernacularisation should be understood as phenomena of variation, and that the polymorphism of notarial practices is not the result of

<sup>19</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Sémantique de la répétition dans le document le plus ancien du territoire portugais (882)”, *Euphrosyne*, vol. 8 (1977), pp. 183-193.

<sup>20</sup> ALBERTO, Paulo A., and NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Aspectos lexicais de expressão do espaço (delimitação e localização) no Cartulário do Lorvão”, in *Liber Testamentorum Coenobii Laurdanensis* (Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, 125), Leon, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro / Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 2008, pp. 397-416.

<sup>21</sup> CAPÃO, António Tavares Simões, NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Onomástica do cartulário do mosteiro de Lorvão: índice de topónimos, antropónimos e hagiopónimos”, *ibid.*, pp. 343-396.

<sup>22</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “O latim medieval entre a escola e a vida: níveis de escrita e de leitura”, in NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and ALBERTO, Paulo F. (coords.), *Actas do IV Congresso Internacional do Latim Medieval Hispânico (Lisboa, 12-15 de Outubro de 2005)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Clássicos, 2006, pp. 3-20.

<sup>23</sup> ROLDÃO, Filipa, and SERAFIM, Joana, “Modelo e variantes: o léxico dos forais portugueses do modelo Ávila-Évora (séculos XII e XIII)”, *ibid.*, pp. 823-831.

<sup>24</sup> WRIGHT, Roger, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*, Liverpool (ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 8), 1982; IDEM, *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, London, Routledge, 1991.

the ineptitude or low cultural level of the scribes, but an intrinsic property of the written language of the period.

Here we can refer, among Emiliano's abundant studies dealing with Portugal<sup>25</sup>, to his *Latim e Romance na segunda metade do século XI. Análise scripto-linguística de documentos notariais do Liber Fidei de Braga de 1050 a 1100*<sup>26</sup>. Aiming to verify the existence of patterns or tendencies of change in the notarial language of the documentation of the second half of the eleventh century, the author studies the scripto-linguistic variation and change in the notarial documentation of the *Liber Fidei*, analysing a small set of categories that permit, in his views, opposing Latin to Romance: demonstratives, possessives and modal verbs. The conclusion he arrives at is that "the language of the notarial documents of Braga of the eleventh century

<sup>25</sup> EMILIANO, António, "Latin or Romance? Graphemic variation and scripto-linguistic change in medieval Spain", in WRIGHT, Roger (ed.), *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, 1991, London, Routledge, pp. 233-248; IDEM, "Considerações sobre o estudo da documentação notarial anterior ao séc. XIII", in *Actas do IX Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística* (Coimbra, 1993), Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, 1994, pp. 195-210; IDEM, "A língua notarial latino-bracarense e a reforma gregoriana", in CASTRO, Ivo (ed.), *Actas do XII Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística (Braga-Guimarães, 30 de Setembro a 2 de Outubro de 1996)*, vol. 2: *Linguística Histórica, História da Linguística*, Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, 1997, pp. 91-110; IDEM, "Significado lingüístico de erros de copista en la lengua notarial del siglo XI. Análisis de ejemplos del 'Liber Fidei' de Braga", in PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ, M. (coord.), *Actas del II Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval (León, 11-14 noviembre 1997)*, vol. 1, Leon, University of Leon, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1998, pp. 407-420; IDEM, "O mais antigo documento latino-português (882 a.D.) – edição e estudo grafémico", *Verba. Anuario Galego de Filoloxía*, vol. 26 (1999), pp. 7-42; IDEM, "O estudos dos documentos notariais latino-portugueses e a história da língua portuguesa", *Signo. Revista de Historia de la Cultura Escrita*, no. 11 (2003), pp. 75-122; IDEM, "Observações sobre a 'produção primitiva portuguesa' a propósito dos dois testemunhos do Testamento de Pedro Fafes de 1210", *Verba. Anuario Galego de Filoloxía*, vol. 30 (2003), pp. 203-236; IDEM, "The textualization of Portuguese in the late 12th and early 13th centuries", *Medievo Romanzo*, vol. 27 (2003), pp. 275-310; IDEM, "Sobre a questão d' 'os mais antigos textos escritos em português'", in CASTRO, Ivo, and DUARTE, Inês, *Miscelânea de estudos oferecida a Maria Helena Mira Mateus pela sua jubilação*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 261-278; IDEM, "A documentação latino-portuguesa dos séculos IX-X e as origens da escrita portuguesa medieval: considerações gerais e preliminares", in FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN, José María (ed.), *Orígenes de las Lenguas Romances en el Reino de León. Siglos IX-XII*, Leon, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro / Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 589-616; IDEM, "A edição e interpretação da documentação antiga de Portugal: problemas e perspectivas da Filologia Portuguesa face ao estudo das origens da escrita em Português", *Aemilianense. Revista Internacional sobre la génesis y los orígenes históricos de las lenguas romances*, vol. 1 (2004), pp. 33-63; Proceedings of the "I Congreso Internacional sobre Las Lenguas Romances en su Origen", Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla (Logroño, Spain), Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla, 16 - 20 de Dec. 2003); IDEM, "Representational models vs. operational models of literacy in Latin-Romance legal documents (with special reference to Latin-Portuguese texts)", in WRIGHT, Roger, and RICKETTS, P. (eds.), *Studies in Romance Languages Dedicated to Ralph Penny*, Newark, Juan de la Cuesta Monographs (Hispanic Monographs, Estudios Lingüísticos, no. 7, Homenajes, no. 24), 2005, pp. 17-58; BROCARD, Maria Teresa, and EMILIANO, António, "Considerações sobre a edição de fontes para a história da língua portuguesa", *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, vol. 6 (2006), pp. 272-286; EMILIANO, António, "O conceito de Latim bárbaro na tradição filológica portuguesa: algumas observações gerais sobre pressupostos e factos (scripto-)linguísticos", in ELVIRA, Javier, et al. (eds.), *Reinos, lenguas y dialectos en la Edad Media ibérica. La construcción de la identidad - Homenaje a Juan Ramón Lodares*, Madrid, Iberoamerica / Frankfurt, Vervuert, 2008, pp. 191-231.

<sup>26</sup> EMILIANO, António, *Latim e Romance na segunda metade do século XI. Análise scripto-linguística de documentos notariais do Liber Fidei de Braga de 1050 a 1100*. Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2003.

and first decades of the twelfth century may be classified as Latin-Romance, or in other words, a written language structurally similar to the Romance, in this case the Galician-Portuguese<sup>27</sup>. His conclusions continue to divide Romanists and specialists in medieval Latin<sup>28</sup>.

Recently we have begun to have access to some guiding texts for the lexicological study of the medieval Latin in Portugal. In Aires Nascimento's "*Lexicalização e dicionarização, dois momentos do trabalho filológico: reflexões a partir da documentação portuguesa medieval*", published in 2004<sup>29</sup>, the author tackles questions of treatment of the lexicon, analysing documentation from the monastery of Lorvão. Emphasising the problems that often emerge in lexical identification and the problems of ambiguity resulting from the segmentation of words and from the development of abbreviations, he presents methodological proposals, as much for the tasks of lemmatisation as for dictionarisation. He also postulates principles that should guide lexicographical work in medieval Latin. In a paper presented in Lisbon in 2005, referring particularly to the Lorvão Chartulary, the same author indicated methodologies for the study of Latin in medieval documentation from Portugal<sup>30</sup>.

One should also mention some minor studies of grammatical and didactic texts normally used to teach Latin during the period. The important dictionary of Latin verbs that may be found in *Alc. 286*<sup>31</sup>, warranted the special attention of Telmo Verdelho in his doctoral thesis<sup>32</sup>. In the 1980s, Manuel Saraiva Barreto edited some grammatical *Notabilia* from Alcobaça (*Alc. 79*), copied in 1427 and, following the example of João de Soncino, presented them as attesting to the close relations between Portugal and the North of Italy in the fifteenth century<sup>33</sup>. The same author has also presented a synthesis of the use of Latin grammatical

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<sup>27</sup> "A língua dos documentos notariais bracarense do século XI e primeiras décadas do século XII pode ser classificada como latino-romance, ou seja, uma língua escrita estruturalmente semelhante ao romance, neste caso o galego-português": IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 374-375.

<sup>28</sup> On the lines of Emiliano, one may see the work of CARDOSO, Adriana, "A Língua Latino-Portuguesa de Notários do Século XI: Análise de Aspectos Morfosintáticos de Documentos do Mosteiro da Pendorada", unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2002.

<sup>29</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., "Lexicalização e dicionarização, dois momentos do trabalho filológico: reflexões a partir da documentação portuguesa medieval", in FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN, José María (ed.), *Orígenes de las lenguas romances en el reino de León...*, vol. 2, pp. 297-314.

<sup>30</sup> IDEM, "O corpus documental do latim medieval do reino de Portugal", in NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and ALBERTO, Paulo F. (coords.), *Actas do IV Congresso Internacional do Latim Medieval Hispânico...*, pp. 982-990.

<sup>31</sup> CARTER, H. H., "A fourteenth-century Latin-Old Portuguese verb dictionary", *Romance Philology*, vol. 6 (1952-1953), pp. 71-103.

<sup>32</sup> VERDELHO, Telmo, *As origens da gramaticografia e da lexicografia latino-portuguesa*, Lisbon, INIC, 1995, pp. 196-213.

<sup>33</sup> BARRETO, Manuel Saraiva, "Uns Notabilia gramaticais alcobacenses", *Euphrosyne*, vol. 13 (1985), pp. 79-94.

texts during the medieval period in Portugal<sup>34</sup>. Aires Nascimento has directed his attention to the learning of Latin in the Middle Ages: first, by introducing and editing a short text from *Alc. 426*, fo. 258v (fourteenth century), on the pronunciation of the letter “X” in Latin<sup>35</sup>; then by editing with a commentary the *Ars accentualis penes metra componenda*, of Martinho de Alcobaça, found in *Alc. 419* (beginning of the fifteenth century), showing its relationship specifically with chapter ten of the *Doctrinale* of Villedieu<sup>36</sup>. The same author has also edited the *ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 26*, a fourteenth-century codex of Portuguese origin, which contains a set of didactic material including Latin reading texts, the *Donatus Minor abbreviatus* and fragments of a *Doctrinale glossatum*, together with relevant *reglas pêra enformarmos os menynos en latin* (rules for the training of the boys in Latin)<sup>37</sup>.

In conclusion, despite the persistent work of researchers in the course of the last decades, there is still much to do in the field of linguistic studies of Latin in the Middle Ages in Portugal, both in texts of a literary nature, and in its documents.

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<sup>34</sup> IDEM, “Antecedentes medievais da gramática renascentista”, in *O Humanismo Português, 1500-1600 (Primeiro simpósio nacional: 21-25 de Outubro de 1985)*, Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1988, pp. 163-175.

<sup>35</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Para a pronúncia do latim – Um texto gramatical dos códices alcobacenses”, *Classica*, no. 2 (1977), pp. 51-56.

<sup>36</sup> IDEM, “A ‘Ars acentualis’ de Martinho de Alcobaça (Lisboa, B.N. Alc. 149). Especulação e uso do *Doctrinale*”, *Euphrosyne*, vol. 14 (1986), pp. 113-125,

<sup>37</sup> IDEM, “Pueris laica lingua reserabit: As ‘Reglas pera enformarmos os menynos en latin’”, *Euphrosyne*, vol. 17 (1989), pp. 209-232.

## History of the Portuguese language: From the earliest Portuguese texts to the end of the fifteenth century

The present sub-chapter covers the period between the end of the twelfth century, when Portuguese became a written language, and the end of the fifteenth century, just before Old Portuguese disappears and Modern Portuguese emerges<sup>38</sup>. It is divided into four main sections, namely, the earliest texts written in Portuguese, editions of texts and of electronic corpora, Portuguese and linguistic change, and syntheses of research on Portuguese language history, concluding with appraisal. We will attempt not to omit significant bibliographical references, but the research on the area of the history of the Portuguese language over recent decades has been too extensive to allow an exhaustive list here. The selection gives primacy to more recent productions (though there will certainly be omissions) and allows for the fact

<sup>38</sup> The terms *Português Antigo* (or *Arcaico*), i.e. “Old Portuguese”, and *Português Moderno*, i.e. “Modern Portuguese”, are due to José Leite de Vasconcelos, Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos and Manuel Said Ali, who divided the history of the Portuguese Language into two main periods. Each one of these periods can be further divided as illustrated in table 1.

Table 1: Periodization of the Portuguese Language History (1911-1991)

José Leite de Vasconcelos (1911)	Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1911-1913)	Pilar Vázquez Cuesta (1971)	Luis Filipe Lindley Cintra [Cfr. Castro 1999]	Evanildo Bechara (1991)
P O R T.  A N T. I G O.	P O R T.  A N T. I G O.	P O R T.	P O R T.	P O R T.
<i>Galego-Português</i> (Galician-Portuguese) or <i>Português-Galego</i> (Portuguese-Galician)	<i>Galego-Português</i> (Galician-Portuguese) or <i>Trovadoresco</i> (Troubadour Poetry) (until 1350)	<i>Galego-Português</i> (Galician-Portuguese)  (until 1385)	<i>Português Antigo</i> (Old Portuguese)  (until 1420)	<i>Português Arcaico</i> (Early Archaic Portuguese)  (until the end of the fourteenth century)
O L D.  P O R T.	O L D.  P O R T.	P O R T.	P O R T.	P O R T.
(until the mid-sixteenth century)	<i>Da prosa histórica</i> (Historiographical Prose) (until 1500 or later)	<i>Português Pré-Clássico</i> (Pre-Classical Portuguese) (until 1536)	<i>Português Médio</i> (Middle Portuguese) (until the mid-sixteenth century)	<i>Arcaico Médio</i> (Middle Archaic Portuguese) (until the first half of the sixteenth century)
M O D E R N O.  M O D E R N O.	M O D E R N O.  M O D E R N O.	M O D E R N O.	M O D E R N O.	M O D E R N O.
		<i>Português Clássico</i> (Classical Portuguese)  (until the mid-eighteenth century)	<i>Português Clássico</i> (Classical Portuguese)  (until the eighteenth century)	<i>Português Moderno</i> (Modern Portuguese)  (until the end of the seventeenth century)
		<i>Português Moderno</i> (Modern Portuguese)	<i>Português Moderno</i> (Modern Portuguese)	<i>Português Hodierno</i> (Contemporary Portuguese)

Sources of table 1: VASCONCELLOS, José Leite de (1911), *Lições de Filologia Portuguesa*, Rio de Janeiro, Livros de Portugal, 1966 (4th ed.); VASCONCELOS, Carolina Michaëlis (1946), *Lições de Filologia Portuguesa (segundo as preleções feitas aos cursos de 1911-1912 e de 1912-1913), seguidas das Lições Práticas de Português Arcaico*, Lisbon, Dinalivro., s.d.; ALI, Manuel Said (1931), *Gramática Histórica da Língua Portuguesa*, Rio de Janeiro / São Paulo, Melhoramentos, 1971 (7th ed.); VÁZQUEZ CUESTA, Pilar, and LUZ, Maria Albertina Mendes da, *Gramática Portuguesa*, vol. 1, Madrid, Gredos, 1971 [3rd edition, reviewed and much enlarged]; CASTRO, Ivo, “O português médio segundo Cintra (nuga bibliográfica)”, in FARIA, Isabel Hub, *Lindley Cintra: Homenagem ao Homem, ao Mestre e ao Cidadão*, Lisbon, Cosmos / FL-UL, 1999, pp. 367-370; BECHARA, Evanildo, “As fases da língua portuguesa escrita”, in KREMER, Dieter, *Actes du XVIII Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, vol. 3, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991, pp. 68-76.

that some works relevant to the history of Portuguese will be described in other chapters of the present volume.

### 1. *The earliest texts written in Portuguese*

Leite de Vasconcelos has described the period before the end of the twelfth century as the proto-historical phase of Portuguese<sup>39</sup>. The years 1192-93 were taken to be the dates of the legal documents known as *Auto de Partilhas* and *Testamento de Elvira Sanches*, which were then considered the earliest original texts written in Portuguese. Investigations into the Portuguese texts of the late twelfth and thirteenth century, undertaken by Lindley Cintra and by Avelino de Jesus da Costa, in the mid-twentieth century significantly changed matters by showing that the *Auto de Partilhas* (T.T., Mosteiro do Vairão, m. 2, no. 26) and the *Testamento de Elvira Sanches* (T.T., Mosteiro do Vairão, m. 2, no. 28) are not original documents, but copies (and possibly translations) of lost originals, presumably made at the end of the thirteenth century<sup>40</sup>. For most of the second half of the twentieth century, two other documents, known as *Notícia de Torto* (T.T., Mosteiro do Vairão, m. 2, no. 40) and *Testamento de D. Afonso II, 1214*, (T.T., Mitra de Braga, cx. 1, no. 48; Catedral de Toledo, Arquivo, Z. 4 B. 6), both texts from the beginning of the thirteenth century, were taken to be the earliest known texts written in Portuguese<sup>41</sup>. At the end of the twentieth century, however, research in the national archives brought to light further documents that confirmed and even predated the chronology of Leite de Vasconcelos with respect to the beginning of the Old Portuguese period, showing that there had existed written texts in Portuguese since the time of King Afonso Henriques<sup>42</sup>. One cannot call this a surprise, for two reasons. On the one hand, it

<sup>39</sup> On the Latin-Portuguese texts produced between the nineteenth and twelfth centuries, see the first part of the present chapter.

<sup>40</sup> Cf.: CINTRA, Luís Filipe Lindley, "Les anciens textes portugais non littéraires: Classement et bibliographie", *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, vol. 27 (1963), pp. 40-58; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, "Os mais antigos documentos escritos em português: revisão de um problema histórico-linguístico", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 17 (1979), pp. 263-341, re-published in *Estudos de Cronologia, Diplomática, Paleografia e Histórico-Linguísticos*, Oporto, SPEM, 1992, pp. 169-256.

<sup>41</sup> In addition to the works of Lindley Cintra and Avelino de Jesus da Costa mentioned in the previous note, see: CASTRO, Ivo, *Curso de História da Língua Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 1991.

<sup>42</sup> MARTINS, Ana Maria, "Os mais antigos textos escritos em português: Documentos de 1175 a 1252", in FARIA, Isabel Hub, *Lindley Cintra: Homenagem...*, pp. 491-534; EADEM, "Emergência e generalização do português escrito: De D. Afonso Henriques a D. Dinis", in MATEUS, Maria Helena M., *Caminhos do Português: Exposição Comemorativa do Ano Europeu das Línguas, Catálogo*, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, 2001, pp. 23-71; EADEM, "O primeiro século do português escrito", in BOULLÓN AGRELO, Ana Isabel, *Na Nosa Lyngoage Galega: A Emergência do Galego como Língua Escrita na Idade Média*, Santiago de Compostela, Instituto da Língua Galega / Consello da Cultura Galega, 2007, pp. 161-184; SOUTO CABO, José António, "Usos romances na documentação galego-portuguesa do séc. XIII", in HEAD, Brian F., et al., *História da Língua e História da Gramática. Actas do Encontro*, Braga: Universidade do Minho / Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 2002, pp. 435-448; IDEM, "Nas origens da expressão escrita galego-portuguesa. Documentos do século XII",



was known that much material remained unexplored in the national archives<sup>43</sup>. On the other hand, as Ivo Castro observed, in 1991, while comparing the two surviving manuscripts of the Will of King Afonso II, dated 1214 (*Testamento de D. Afonso II, 1214*) “the data displayed by the documents available are enough to persuade that they were not the only ones, nor certainly the first, to use Portuguese, instead of Latin, as the written language”<sup>44</sup>. That the earliest known texts written in Portuguese date from the end of the twelfth century is today widely accepted and this chronology has been deployed in reference books and other publications in the domain of Portuguese language studies<sup>45</sup>.

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*Diacrítica*, vol. 17 (2003), pp. 329-385; IDEM, “Dinâmicas da escrita romance na primeira metade do século XIII”, in MENDES, Amália, and FREITAS, Tiago (eds.), *Actas do XVIII Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*, Lisboa, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, 2003, pp. 795-814; IDEM, “Novas perspectivas sobre a génese da scripta romance na área galego-portuguesa: Textos e contextos”, *A Emilianense*, vol. 1 (2004), pp. 569-599; IDEM, “A transição scriptográfica na produção documental portuguesa de 1257 a 1269”, in BRITO, Ana Maria, FIGUEIREDO, Olívia, and BARROS, Clara, *Linguística Histórica e História da Língua Portuguesa: Actas do Encontro de Homenagem a Maria Helena Paiva*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2004, pp. 361-383; IDEM, “Inventário dos mais antigos documentos galego-portugueses”, *Agália*, vols. 85-86 (2006), pp. 9-88; IDEM, “Documentos Galego-Portugueses dos Séculos XII e XIII”, *Monografia 5, Revista Galega de Filoloxía* (2008). A. M. Martins takes the earliest text written in Portuguese to be *Notícia de Fiadores de Paio Soares Romeu* (T.T., Mosteiro de S. Cristóvão de Rio Tinto, m. 2, no. 10), dated 1175; J. A. Souto Cabo points instead to *Pacto entre Gomes Pais e Ramiro Pais* (T.T., Mitra de Braga, m. 1, no. 26), undated document, to which he attributes the hypothetical date of circa 1173. For a synthesis of the state of the art on this matter, see: CASTRO, Ivo, “A primitiva produção escrita em português”, in *Orígenes de las Lenguas Romances en el Reino de León: Siglos IX-XII*, Leon, Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 69-97.

<sup>43</sup> Lindley Cintra called attention to this fact at the beginning of the 1960s: “Dans Les archives portugais, il y a un nombre extraordinaire de documents extrêmement intéressants du point de vue linguistique qui n’ont éttait ni publiés ni étudiés”. CINTRA, Luís Filipe Lindley, “Les anciens textes portugais non littéraires: Classement et bibliographie”..., p. 45.

<sup>44</sup> “[B]astam os dados internos dos documentos que possuímos para nos persuadirem de que eles não foram os únicos, nem certamente os primeiros, a usar o português, em vez do latim, como língua de escrita”: CASTRO, Ivo, *Curso de História da Língua Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1991, p. 183.

<sup>45</sup> Cf.: MATEUS, Maria Helena, and ANDRADE, Ernesto de, *The Phonology of Portuguese*, Oxford / New York, Oxford University Press, 2000; MATEUS, Maria Helena, et al., *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Caminho, 2003; CASTRO, Ivo, ALBINO, Cristina and MARQUILHAS, Rita, *Tempo da Língua: Imagens da História da Língua Portuguesa*, catalogue of the exhibition, Lisbon, Instituto Camões, 2001, accessible online at: <http://cvc.instituto-camoes.pt/tempolingua/index.html>; MATEUS, Maria Helena, *Caminhos do Português: Exposição Comemorativa do Ano Europeu das Línguas, Catálogo*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 2001. António Emiliano, however, has manifested his disagreement with respect to this dating, as he does not consider any of the texts predating the *Notícia de Torto* identified by A. M. Martins and J. A. Souto Cabo to be “written in Portuguese”. Cf. EMILIANO, António, “Sobre a questão d’os mais antigos textos em português”..., 2003, pp. 261-278; MARTINS, Ana Maria, “A emergência do português escrito na segunda metade do século XII”, in ÁLVAREZ BLANCO, Rosario, and SANTAMARINA, Antón, (*Dis*)*cursos da Escrita: Estudos de filoloxía galega oferecidos en memoria de Fernando tato Plaza*, Coruña, Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2004, pp. 491-526; also one may see the works of António Emiliano mentioned in the first part of the present chapter (footnote 25). The perspective of António Emiliano is shared by Henrique Monteagudo (MONTEAGUDO, Henrique, *Letras Primarias: O foral do Burgo de Caldelas, os primórdios da lírica trobadoresca e a emerxencia do galego escrito*, Coruña, Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2008) and, to a certain extent, by Ramón Lorenzo (LORENZO, Ramón, “El gallego en los documentos medievales escritos en latín”, in PERDIGUERO VILLAREAL, Hermógenes, *Lengua Romance en Textos Latinos de la Edad Media: Sobre los orígenes del castellano escrito*, Burgos, Universidad de Burgos, Instituto de la Lengua Castellano y Leonés, 2003, pp. 161-192). But the position of Ramón Lorenzo is more coherent, as he includes the *Notícia de Torto* among what he considers *Latin-Portuguese* “hybrid texts”, “com domínio de la lengua romance en un estado incipiente” (p. 161).

The identification of the point at which Portuguese emerges as a written language is historically relevant in its own terms (for the reflections it allows on the circumstances behind its genesis), independently of other attributes of the texts that attest to the novelty. Actually, as sources of linguistic knowledge, the Portuguese texts that precede the *Notícia de Torto* and the *Testamento de D. Afonso II, 1214*, being short, are far from possessing the same linguistic wealth<sup>46</sup>. One can therefore say that, having by the end of the twentieth century lost the status of the “earliest texts written in Portuguese”, the documents known as *Notícia de Torto* and *Testamento de D. Afonso II, 1214*, did not cease to be the most meaningful texts for the study of the grammatical features of Old Portuguese before the mid-thirteenth century<sup>47</sup>.

## 2. Editions of texts and of electronic corpora

The editing of medieval texts has always been a main concern of those who initiated a scientific approach to the history of the Portuguese language. Leite de Vasconcelos, Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, José Joaquim Nunes, and others, did not limit themselves to editing medieval texts but scoured the archives for new manuscripts of medieval texts (literary or non-literary), and minutely evaluated them at the philological and linguistic levels. In the ensuing generation that bridged the first and the second halves of the twentieth century, it was above all Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra

<sup>46</sup> They nevertheless shed light on the importance of the textual type in the emergence of written production in Portuguese (cf. the works of Martins and Souto Cabo referred to in footnote 42). The genre *Notícia* acquired particular relevance in this context. See PEDRO, Susana Tavares, *O género diplomático 'notícia' na documentação portuguesa medieval (sécs. X-XIII): Caracterização tipológica e estudo paleográfico*, unpublished doctoral thesis, FL-UL, Lisbon, 2008. Differently from what is observed in the Portuguese territory, the emergence of written Galician does not appear to be associated to the production of particular textual genres – in addition to the aforementioned works of J. A. Souto Cabo, see also: BOULLÓN AGRELO, Ana Isabel (ed.), *Na Nosa Lyngoage Galega: A Emerxencia do Galego como Lingua Escrita na Idade Media*, Santiago de Compostela, Instituto da Lingua Galega / Consello da Cultura Galega, 2007; BOULLÓN AGRELO, Ana Isabel, and MONTEAGUDO, Henrique, *De verbo a verbo: Documentos en galego anteriores a 1260*, Annexe 65 of *Verba*, 2009.

<sup>47</sup> Although the two texts have been studied, there is much linguistic work to be done on them. Both texts show some grammatical features that did not survive beyond the thirteenth century (or, even, beyond the first half of that century). On the *Notícia de Torto*, see CINTRA, Luís Filipe Lindley, “Observations sur le plus ancien texte portugais non littéraire: la ‘Notícia de Torto’ (lecture, date et lieu de rédaction”, *Actele celui de-al XII-lea Congres International de Lingvistica si Filologie Romanica*, Bucharest, 1971, vol. 2, pp. 161-174; IDEM, “Sobre o mais antigo texto não-literário português: a Notícia de Torto (Leitura crítica, data, lugar de redacção e comentário linguístico)”, *Boletim de Filologia*, vol. 31 (1990), pp. 5-20; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, 1979 (vd. footnote 39); CASTRO, Ivo, 1991, (cf. footnote 41); PEDRO, Susana Tavares, *De Notícia de Torto*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1994; EMILIANO, António, and PEDRO, Susana Tavares, “De Notícia de Torto. Aspectos paleográficos e scriptográficos e edição do mais antigo documento particular português conhecido”, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. 120.1, (2004), pp. 1-81. On the *Testamento de D. Afonso II, year 1214*, see COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, 1979 (cf. footnote 40); CASTRO, Ivo, 1991 (cf. footnote 41); MARTINS, Ana Maria, *Elementos para um comentário linguístico do Testamento de D. Afonso II (1214)*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1985.

who continued to this labour, retaining and enhancing the objectives and skills and, most importantly, planning beyond his own individual activity. He not only edited texts<sup>48</sup>, but transmitted the taste for editing and prepared the way for team-based programmes in this domain<sup>49</sup>. If the great vitality that today characterises the editing of medieval texts in Portugal is due in the first place to those currently driving the work forward, one must recognise that the ground was well prepared by those who came before them. The dynamism of the field is evident at various levels. In all the main Portuguese universities, not only individuals, but teams with institutional support devote themselves to the philological editing of texts and, most relevantly, they attract young researchers and students to their sphere. The teams come from various disciplines, demonstrating that philological text editing unites those whose first interests are in philology, linguistics, literature, history or palaeography and diplomatics<sup>50</sup>. The atmosphere of collaboration and the relatively informal but effective articulation between all the participants (in large part due to the congregating role of Ivo Castro) has guaranteed the global quality of the results. The language historians whose research is focussed on the grammatical description of medieval Portuguese have today at their disposal a plethora of written sources, both

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<sup>48</sup> See in particular: CINTRA, Luís Filipe Lindley, *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344: Edição crítica do texto português*, 3 vols, Lisboa, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1951-1961, re-edited by the IN-CM in 1983-1984, including a 4th volume not published previously; IDEM, *A Linguagem dos Foros de Castelo Rodrigo: Seu confronto com a dos foros de Alfaiates, Castelo Bom, Castelo Melhor, Coria, Cáceres e Usagre, Contribuição para o estudo do leonês e do galego-português do séc. XIII*, Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Filológicos (CEF), 1959.

<sup>49</sup> Thus was born the “Grupo dos textos medievais” in the then Centro de Estudos Filológicos (CEF). But the influence of Luís Filipe Lindley reached outside the CEF and the University of Lisbon through figures such as Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva, in Brazil, and Clarinda de Azevedo Maia, in Coimbra (cf. section 4).

<sup>50</sup> The fruitful collaboration between palaeographers and historians of the language began at the University of Lisbon in the time of Eduardo Borges Nunes, L. F. Lindley Cintra and Ivo Castro, and has been maintained until today. From it have resulted master’s dissertations of great relevance to both areas (for example: PEDRO, Susana Tavares, “De Notícia de Torto”...; RIBEIRO, Maria José F. Homem, “Edição dos documentos medievais do mosteiro de Santa Eufémia de Ferreira de Aves”, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1994). It may have contributed (even though indirectly) to the appearance of doctoral theses in palaeography and diplomatics that have revealed themselves to be of enormous importance to historians of the language interested in archival research and the edition of non-literary medieval texts, such as: GUERRA, António J. Ribeiro, “Os Diplomas Privados em Portugal dos Séculos IX a XII: Gestos e atitudes de rotina dos seus autores materiais”, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1996; NOGUEIRA, Bernardo Sá, “Tabelionato e Instrumento Público em Portugal – Génese e Implantação (1212-1279)”, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1996.

literary<sup>51</sup> and non-literary<sup>52</sup>, on which to exercise their critical judgements when establishing a corpus of work for the study of particular linguistic questions.

<sup>51</sup> By way of illustration: BROCARD, Teresa, *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro: Edição do fragmento manuscrito da Biblioteca da Ajuda (século XIV)*, Lisboa, IN-CM, 2006; EADEM, *Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses de Gomes Eanes de Zurara: Edição e estudo*, Lisboa, FCG / JNICIT, 1997; CASTRO, Ivo, et al., *Vidas de Santos de um Manuscrito Alcobacense (Coleção Mística de Fr. Hilário da Lourinhã, Cod. Alc. CCLXVI/ANTT 2274)*, offprint of *Revista Lusitana*, n. s., vols. 4-5 (1985); CEPEDA, Isabel, *Vidas e Paixões dos Apóstolos: Edição crítica e estudo*, 2 vols., Lisbon, INIC / Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa, 1982-1989; EADEM, *A Linguagem da Imitação de Cristo: Versão portuguesa de Fr. João Alvares*, Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Filológicos, 1962; CORREIA, Ângela, *As Cantigas de amor de D. Joam Soares Coelho e o "Ciclo da 'Ama'"*: Edição e estudo, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2001; CRISPIM, Lurdes, *O Livro das três Vertudes ou O Espelho de Cristina, de Christine de Pizan: Edição crítica da tradução quatrocentista de Le Livre des Trois Vertus*, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1995; CUNHA, Celso, *Cancioneiros dos Trovadores do Mar*, edition prepared by Elsa Gonçalves, Lisboa, IN-CM, 1999; DIONÍSIO, João, *As Cantigas de Fernan Soarez de Quinhones: edição crítica com introdução, notas e glossário*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1994; KING, Larry D., *Crónica do Conde Dom Duarte de Meneses: A diplomatic edition*, Indiana, Indiana University, 1976, [re-published in 1978, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL]; MACCHI, Giuliano, *Fernão Lopes, Crónica de D. Fernando: Edição crítica*, Lisboa, IN-CM, 1975; MATEUS, Maria Helena, *Vida e Feitos de Júlio César: Edição crítica da tradução portuguesa de "Li Fet des Romans"*, 3 vols, Lisboa, FCG, 2010, [2nd ed.; vol. 3, corresponding to the glossary, was not part of the 1970 edition]; MENDES, Joaquim, *Chronica da tomada desta cidade de Lixboa aos mouros e da fundação deste Mosteiro de Sam Vicente: Estudo e edição*, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1991; PIEL, Joseph M., and NUNES, Irene, *A Demanda do Santo Graal*, Lisboa, IN-CM, 1988; PIEL, Joseph M., and MATTOSO, José, "Livros Velhos de Linhagens", *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, n. s., vol. 1, Lisboa, 1980; ROSSI, Nelson, et al., *Livro das Aves: Reprodução fac-similar do manuscrito do século XIV, introdução, leitura crítica, notas e glossário*, Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1965; SILVA, Rosa Virgínia Mattos e, *A mais antiga versão Portuguesa dos Quatro Livros dos Diálogos de São Gregório: Edição crítica, com introdução e índice geral das palavras lexicais*, doctoral thesis, São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo, 1971; SOBRAL, Cristina, *Santa Maria Egípcíaca em Alcobaca: Edição crítica das versões medievais portuguesas da Lenda de Maria Egípcíaca*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1991; DIONÍSIO, João, *Leal Conselheiro, de D. Duarte*, digital edition in progress, subsequent to IDEM, *Dom Duarte, leitor de Cassiano*, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2001. The doctoral thesis by RAMOS, Maria Ana, *O Cancioneiro da Ajuda: Confeção e Escrita*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2009, constitutes the essential background and support for any future edition of this medieval manuscript. Vd. footnote 47.

<sup>52</sup> By way of illustration: FERREIRA, José de Azevedo, *Primeyra Partida, Alphonse X: Édition et étude*, Braga, INIC, 1980; IDEM, *Foro Real de Afonso X: Edição, estudo linguístico e glossário*, 2 vols, Lisboa, INIC, 1987; MAIA, Clarinda de Azevedo, *História do Galego-Português: Estado Linguístico da Galiza e do Noroeste de Portugal desde o Século XIII ao Século XVI*, Coimbra, INIC, 1996; MARTINS, Ana Maria, *Documentos Portugueses do Noroeste e da Região de Lisboa: Da produção primitiva ao século XVI*, Lisboa, IN-CM, 2001; CARVALHO, Maria José S. Pereira de, *Documentação Medieval do Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaca (sécs. XIII-XVI): Edição e Estudo Linguístico*, doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2006; NOGUEIRA, Bernardo Sá, *O Livro das Lezirias d'El Rei Dom Dinis*, Lisboa, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa / FCT, 2003; PEREIRA, Jorge Augusto Paulo, *Edição e Estudo Linguístico de um Corpus de Cartas do Séc. XV*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2003; DUARTE, Luiz Fagundes, *Os documentos em português da Chancelaria de D. Afonso III (Edição)*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1986; BANZA, Ana Paula F., *A Linguagem dos Documentos em Português da Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1993; FERREIRA, Valentina, *O Livro da Repartição da Fruiça: Edição diplomática e estudo linguístico*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1985; GARVÃO, Maria Helena, *Foros de Garvão: Edição e Estudo Linguístico*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1992; RODRIGUES, Maria Celeste, *Dos Costumes de Santarém*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1993; SOARES, Lina Maria Marques, *Foral de Santarém: Edição e Estudo*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1996; SANTANA, Maria Olinda Rodrigues, "Edição e estudo estatístico-lexical da documentação foraleira transmontana: um projecto em curso", in BRITO, Ana Maria, FIGUEIREDO, Olívia, and BARROS, Clara, *Linguística Histórica e História da Língua Portuguesa...*, pp. 329-360. Cf. footnote 42.

The growth of the philological field of editing allied to the rapid development of new information technologies has led to the appearance of electronic linguistic corpora<sup>53</sup>. The benefits of digitalised corpora in terms of the agility and sophistication of the research involving masses of data are well known. Much still has to be done in the field of annotation<sup>54</sup>, as is generally recognised. But there is also still much to do in the often overlooked domain of the retention and visibility of philological expertise relative to each text, which the editors usually synthesize in introductions that have no place in the architecture of the corpora<sup>55</sup>. As the existence of electronic historical corpora favours the emergence of historical linguists without direct knowledge of medieval written sources and the complex philological problems surrounding them, it is necessary to be aware that the misuse of a good tool can lead to less reliable results and, further, to discuss what can be done to create a greater continuity between the work of those who edit medieval texts and those who design and develop the electronic corpora that include them<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Two electronic corpora covering the Middle Ages are at present available: the CIPM – Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval (<http://cipm.fcsh.unl.pt>), a project under development since 1993 at the Nova University of Lisbon, directed by Maria Francisca Xavier, and the TMILG – Tesouro Medieval Informatizado da Língua Galega (<http://ilg.usc.es/tmilg>), a project under development since 1993 at the University of Santiago de Compostela, directed by Xavier Varela Barreiro. Although the TMILG has Galician as its object of investigation, it includes all the Galician-Portuguese poetic production and a rich collection of prose texts that are also of relevance to the historian of the Portuguese language. The information technologies are also at the basis of digital text editions, a field that still has little visibility in Portugal (cf. footnote 51 on the digital edition of *Leal Conselheiro*). See on this subject the works of A. Emiliano and S. Parkinson: EMILIANO, António, and PARKINSON, Stephen, “Encoding medieval abbreviations for computer analysis (from Medieval Latin-Portuguese and Portuguese non-literary sources)”, *Literary and Linguistic Computing (Journal of the Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing)*, vol. 17 (2002), pp. 345-360. EMILIANO, António, “Tipo medieval para computador: uma ferramenta informática para linguistas, historiadores da língua e paleógrafos”, *Signo: Revista de Historia de la Cultura Escrita (Universidad de Alcalá de Henares)*, vol. 15 (2005), pp. 139-176.

<sup>54</sup> I refer mainly to the syntactic annotation (or “parsing”), without which the electronic corpora are of little use for the study of grammatical aspects of clause structure. Cf. [www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora](http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora)

<sup>55</sup> On the centrality of philology in the matter of the sources for the history of the Portuguese language, see: BROCARDO, Maria Teresa, and EMILIANO, António, “Considerações sobre a edição de fontes para a história da língua portuguesa”..., pp. 272-286.

<sup>56</sup> The question of the relationship between original and copy is central when dealing with medieval literary texts and requires a very considered evaluation of each manuscript as a source of linguistic analysis. One may take, for example, the case of the *Demanda do Santo Graal*. Various works have shown that the surviving fifteenth century manuscript offers, in many aspects, good evidence of what would be the grammar of Portuguese in the thirteenth century (the date of the original), not in the fifteenth century (the date of the copy). Nevertheless, the *Demanda do Santo Graal* appears in the electronic corpus CIPM (cf. footnote 53), placed with the fifteenth century texts, which might constitute a trap to the unwary user. On the language of the fifteenth century manuscript of the *Demanda*, one may see: LAPA, Manuel Rodrigues, *Miscelânea de Língua e Cultura Portuguesa Medieval*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1982; MEGALE, Heitor, *A Demanda do Santo Graal: Das Origens ao Códice Português*, São Paulo, FAPESP / Ateliê Editorial, 2001; FILIPE, Laura M. Martins, *O Caso de ‘ar/er’: Um ponto mal esclarecido da História da Língua Portuguesa*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2007; CASTRO, Ivo, “Fallar e a tradição peninsular da Demanda”, *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, vol. 6 (2002), pp. 262-271.

### 3. Portuguese and linguistic change

At the end of the 1960s, investigation into the “history of the Portuguese language” had already produced a rich bibliography that included, in addition to the work of earlier philologists<sup>57</sup>, several reference books: the *História da Língua Portuguesa* by Serafim da Silva Neto, the historical grammars of Joseph Huber, Manuel Said Ali, José Joaquim Nunes and Edwin Williams<sup>58</sup>, the etymological dictionaries of Antenor Nascentes and José Pedro Machado<sup>59</sup>, and an important body of other works, among which those of Joseph Maria Piel, Manuel de Paiva Boléo, José Gonçalo Herculano de Carvalho and Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra deserve particular mention<sup>60</sup>.

Building on this (and leaving works of synthesis for the next section), the subsequent principal innovations have been Clarinda de Azevedo Maia’s doctoral thesis (published in 1986) and the Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva’s *Estruturas Trecentistas* (1989), also based on her doctoral thesis, but advancing beyond it<sup>61</sup>. Both studies include editions of medieval manuscripts. Clarinda de Azevedo Maia presents a collection of notarial documents from Galicia and the North of Portugal (in which the Galician texts have greater weight) closely following the model established by Lindley Cintra’s *A Linguagem dos Foros de Castelo Rodrigo* (1959). The recourse to original legal texts permits the author to present fresh data, reconsider previous questions and predate particular cases of linguistic change, especially in the domain of phonology. Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva’s study is based on her edition of a large fourteenth century literary text, the *Diálogos de São Gregório*. Its principal novelty, beyond the wealth of linguistic material presented and the finesse of the description, is the change of the main focus from the “phonology and morphology” (the grammatical components traditionally of interest of the historians of the language) to “morphology and syntax”<sup>62</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. PRISTA, Luís, *Filólogos Portugueses entre 1868 e 1943*, Lisboa, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística / Colibri, 1996; IDEM, “De filólogos a linguistas”, in MATEUS, Maria Helena M., *Caminhos do Português: Exposição Comemorativa do Ano Europeu das Línguas, Catálogo*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 2001, pp. 157-218.

<sup>58</sup> The *Gramática Portuguesa* of Pilar Vázquez Cuesta and Maria Albertina Mendes da Luz would appear in a broadened version including a part on historical grammar in 1971.

<sup>59</sup> The etymological dictionary of António Geraldo da Cunha would be published in 1982: CUNHA, António G., *Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa*, Rio de Janeiro, Nova Fronteira, 1982.

<sup>60</sup> These authors are important for the centrality of their works in the discipline and also for having given continuity to two areas favoured by Leite de Vasconcelos, namely onomastics and dialectology, both handled in connection with the history of the language.

<sup>61</sup> MAIA, Clarinda de Azevedo, 1986 (cf. footnote 52); SILVA, Rosa Virgínia Mattos e, *Estruturas Trecentistas do Português: Elementos para uma Gramática do Português Arcaico*, Lisboa, IN-CM, 1989.

<sup>62</sup> There are naturally exceptions, among whom one recalls Júlio Moreira, Joseph Huber, Epifânio da Silva Dias and, especially, Manuel Said Ali, all preceding Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva and interested in historical syntax.

Following these two substantial works, research devoted to Old Portuguese and its evolution has gained impetus (as much for the medieval as for later periods), with the result that a significant number of doctoral theses and master's dissertations have been completed<sup>63</sup> and numerous articles published<sup>64</sup>. The two main lines of investigation appear to be, on the one hand, the study of syntax (showing how little was known about many aspects of phrase structure in medieval Portuguese)<sup>65</sup> and,

<sup>63</sup> By way of illustration: BARROS, Clara, "Entre lei e 'ensinamento': o discurso legislativo na Primeyra Partida", in BRITO, Ana Maria, Olívia FIGUEIREDO and Clara BARROS, *Linguística Histórica e História da Língua Portuguesa...*, pp. 51-72; BROCARDO, Teresa, "Haver e ter em português medieval: dados de textos dos séculos XIV e XV", *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, vol. 70 (2006), pp. 95-122; CARDEIRA, Esperança, and FERNANDES, Maria Alice, "As terminações nasais nas Actas das Vereações de Loulé, séculos XIV-XV", in LOPES, Ana Cristina Macário, and MARTINS, Cristina, *Actas do XIV Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*, Braga, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 251-263; CARDOSO, Adriana, "Relativização de predicados nominais na história do português", *Linguística - Revista de Estudos Linguísticos da Universidade do Porto*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2008), pp. 95-117; CARDOSO, Adriana, and PEREIRA, Susana, "Contributos para o estudo da emergência do tempo composto em português", *Revista da ABRALIN - Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2003), pp. 159-181; FERREIRA, Valentina, "Seven Surnames of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula", *Names - A Journal of Onomastics*, vol. 55, no. 4 (2007), pp. 473-480; FIÉIS, Alexandra, and LOBO, Maria, "Para uma diacronia das orações causais e explicativas do português", in Alexandra FIÉIS, and COUTINHO, Maria Antónia, *Actas do XXIV Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*, Lisboa, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, 2009, pp. 265-280; LIMA, José Pinto, "Sobre a génese e a evolução do futuro com 'ir' em português", in SILVA, Augusto Soares da, *Linguagem e Cognição: A perspectiva da Linguística Cognitiva*, Braga, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística / Universidade Católica Portuguesa / Faculdade de Filosofia, 2001, pp. 119-145; MARQUILHAS, Rita, "Mudança analógica e elevação das vogais pretónicas", in CASTRO, Ivo, and DUARTE, Inês, *Razões e Emoção: Miscelânea...*, vol. 2, pp. 7-18; MARTINS, Ana Maria, "Metafonia verbal no português: Uma abordagem histórica", in KREMER, Dieter, *Homenagem ao Prof. Joseph M. Piel por ocasião do seu 85º aniversário*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988, pp. 349-366; EADEM, "Mudança sintáctica e História da Língua Portuguesa", in HEAD, Brian F., et al., *História da Língua e História da Gramática...*, pp. 251-297; MORAES, Maria. Aparecida Torres, "Aspectos da história das palavras negativas no português", in SILVA, Rosa Virgínia Mattos e, *Para a História do Português Brasileiro*, São Paulo, Humanitas, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 149-203; PARKINSON, Stephen, "The Portuguese final nasals: documenting a chronology", *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, vol. 6 (2002), pp. 287-306; PINTO, Adelina Angélica, "A africada ç em português: Estudo sincrónico e diacrónico", *Boletim de Filologia*, vol. 26 (1980-81), pp. 139-192; PRISTA, Luís, "Tentativa de cenário para t̃ > s̃", in *Variação no Tempo, no Espaço e na Sociedade*, Lisboa, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística / Colibri, 1994, pp. 183-226; RIBEIRO, Ilza, "A formação dos tempos compostos: a evolução histórica das formas ter, haver e ser", in ROBERTS, Ian, and KATO, Mary A., *Português Brasileiro: Uma viagem diacrónica*, Campinas (São Paulo), Editora da UNICAMP, 1996, pp. 343-386; RINKE, Esther, "A combinação do artigo definido e pronome possessivo na história do português", *Estudos de Linguística Galega*, vol. 2 (2010), pp. 121-139; SILVA, Rosa Virgínia Mattos e (org.), *A Carta de Caminha Testemunho Lingüístico de 1500*, Salvador Bahia, Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana / Empresa Gráfica da Bahia / EDUFBA, 1996; XAVIER, Maria Francisca, FIÉIS, Maria Alexandra, and SILVA, Maria Cristina Vieira da, "Word order alternation in Medieval Portuguese", *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, vol. 6 (2002), pp. 307-325.

<sup>64</sup> Thus, for example, Paul Teyssier considers in his *História da Língua Portuguesa* that the SOV (subject-object-verb) word order would have appeared in the literary prose of the fifteenth century in imitation of Latin syntax. Later works, however, clearly show that the SOV word order is uninterruptedly attested in different types of medieval texts since the beginning of written production in Portuguese and is to be considered a syntactic feature of Old Portuguese. Cf. MARTINS, Ana Maria, "Mudança sintáctica e história da língua Portuguesa"...

<sup>65</sup> On the question of the periodisation of the History of the Portuguese Language, see: SILVA, Rosa Virgínia Mattos e, "Para uma caracterização do período arcaico do português", *D.E.L.T.A. - Documentação de Estudos em Linguística Teórica e Aplicada*, vol. 10, pp. 247-276; MAIA, Clarinda de Azevedo, "Sociolinguística histórica e periodização linguística: algumas reflexões sobre a diferença entre português arcaico e português moderno", *Diacrítica*, vol. 10 (1995), pp. 3-30; CARVALHO, Maria José S. Pereira de, *Do Português Arcaico ao*

on the other, the rethinking of the periodisation of Portuguese language history, taking a more global account of linguistic content or refining our understanding of particular periods (including the frontiers that delimit them). An example is the work of Esperança Cardeira on “Middle Portuguese” see (cf. footnotes 38 and 65). From an overall perspective of what is currently known about Old Portuguese grammar and diachronic change, we may observe that, within the limits of the Middle Ages, consolidated linguistic change arises to a greater extent in the domains of phonology and morphology than in that of syntax<sup>66</sup>.

#### 4. *Syntheses of research on Portuguese language history*

The appearance in 1980-82 of Paul Teyssier’s *História da Língua Portuguesa*<sup>67</sup> marked an important moment in the development of the discipline. Although brief, this study distinguishes itself from that published by Serafim da Silva Neto in 1952-1957 through by its cohesion, the balance between its different sections, and its solid grounding on diversified sources, overcoming the excessive dependence on literary sources displayed by earlier works. As a work of synthesis (appearing in a phase of increasing maturity of the discipline), it is exemplary for basing itself on preceding research while also constituting a personal appraisal of the state of the art, reflecting the author’s convictions, individual research and proposals.

Ivo Castro’s recent *Introdução à História do Português* (2006)<sup>68</sup>, shares important features with Paul Teyssier work but has its own particular traits. Both works derive from interpretative approaches to the history of Portuguese, but while their perspectives overlap, they also show large areas of healthy difference. Published more than twenty years after Teyssier, the Ivo Castro’s study naturally

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*Português Moderno: Contributos para uma nova proposta de periodização*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1996; BROCARD, Maria Teresa, “Sobre periodização da história do português europeu: Contributo para uma discussão”, *Iberoromania*, vol. 62 (2005), pp. 97-117; MARTINS, Ana Maria, *Relatório da cadeira de História da Língua Portuguesa, apresentado a concurso para Professor Associado do 2º Grupo A (Linguística Geral e Românica)*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2003.

<sup>66</sup> The French version dates from 1980 and the Portuguese from 1982. The Portuguese translation is by Celso Cunha, who collaborated in the revision and enlargement of the text. In the words of Paul Teyssier, Celso Cunha “suggested not a few modifications and additions, as much in the content of the text as in the bibliography, thus contributing in making this version of the *História da Língua Portuguesa*, to a certain extent, a new book” (“sugeriu não poucas modificações e acrescentamos, tanto no conteúdo do texto como na bibliografia, contribuindo assim para fazer desta versão da História da Língua Portuguesa, até certo ponto, um livro novo”). Cf.: TEYSSIER, Paul, *Histoire de la Langue Portugaise*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1980; IDEM, *História da Língua Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1982.

<sup>67</sup> The CASTRO, Ivo, *Curso de História da Língua Portuguesa...* (cf. footnote 41) and IDEM, *Introdução à História da Língua Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2004 are, largely, preparatory essays of the work, IDEM, *Introdução à História do Português*, 2nd edition, revised and much enlarged, Lisbon, Colibri, 2006. This was translated into Italian, cf. *Storia della Lingua Portoghese*, presentation by Giuseppe Tavani and translation by Federico Bertolazzi, Rome, Bulzoni, 2006.

<sup>68</sup> SILVA, Rosa Virginia Mattos e, *O Português Arcaico: Uma Aproximação*, 2 vols. Lisboa, IN-CM, 2008.



updates knowledge on many matters. The term “introduction” in the title reveals the author’s awareness that the field is evolving rapidly, which makes more ambitious titles (such as those to which preceding generations habituated us) seem imprudent.

The same strategy of choosing a cautious title signalling a work of synthesis as “a work in progress” is adopted by Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva, who names her two extensive volumes on grammatical description of Old Portuguese *O Português Arcaico: Uma Aproximação* (2008). This may be considered an expanded updated version of two earlier works, *Estruturas Trecentistas* (1989), already mentioned in the previous section, and the two-volume textbook *O Português Arcaico* (1991)<sup>69</sup>. Whilst *Estruturas Trecentistas* is a detailed (and methodologically original) study of an extensive medieval text, *O Português Arcaico: Uma Aproximação* expands this nucleus to synthesise research since 1989 into the history of the Portuguese language. It provides the most updated and extensive description of Old Portuguese grammar, covering the fields of lexicon, morphology, phonology and syntax. The modesty of the title reminds us that this editorial domain continues open to the appearance of other “grammars” of Old Portuguese.

## 5. Conclusion

The vitality of current research on the history of Portuguese indicates that the rhythm of publications within the sphere of Old Portuguese will continue to be rapid, providing scientific works of synthesis and appraisal, for the present and the future, though of an essentially transitory character (now that the long cycles of “stability” characterising earlier periods have been abandoned). Research into this area will continue to develop “on its own”, it being easy to identify open questions, working topics and urgent tasks in the conception and elaboration of electronic resources. In the domain of the lexicon the step has yet to be taken that will allow us to have, alongside etymological dictionaries of the Portuguese language, a dictionary of Old Portuguese<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> EADEM, *O Português Arcaico: Fonologia*, São Paulo, Contexto, 1991; EADEM, *O Português Arcaico: Morfologia e Sintaxe*, São Paulo, Contexto, 1994.

<sup>70</sup> The LORENZO, Ramón, *Glosario de la Traducción Gallega de la Crónica General y de la Crónica de Castilla*, Ourense, Instituto de Estudios Orensanos ‘Padre Feijoo’, 1997, is the closest we have to a dictionary of Old Portuguese (even though its point of departure is a medieval Galician text). The extension of the base text and the wealth of the treatment and presentation of the entries in the glossary, combining a systematic comparative perspective with a thorough review of earlier works (lexicographic or not), make the work of Ramón Lorenzo an indispensable source of information. There is also much information dispersed in other glossaries of medieval texts, of unequal quality and importance.

On the *Dicionário de Verbos do Português Medieval*, constituted as of the “CIPM – Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval”, one may see the webpage of the CIPM: <http://cipm.fcsh.unl.pt>. Cf.: XAVIER, Maria Francisca, VICENTE, Graça, and CRISPIM, Maria De Lurdes, *Dicionário de Verbos Portugueses do Século 12 e 13/14*, Lisboa, Centro de Linguística da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2003.



# *The Study of Literary Texts*<sup>\*</sup>

*Teresa Amado (coord.),  
Ângela Correia, Cristina Sobral, Graça Videira Lopes*

## **Prose: historiography, Arthurian matter, doctrinal literature**

In the period to which this book is dedicated, there are two phases of interest in literary texts, as may be verified by editions, studies published in reviews, volumes of proceedings, and individually-written or collective books. The first covers the 50s and 60s and is marked by the publication of major summaries and one dictionary<sup>1</sup>. Their purpose is clearly educational and intended to disseminate solid research-based information. Considerable space is given over to medieval literature. The chapters on texts of a historic nature in the works of A. J. Saraiva are worth particular attention. The second, after the near-sterile 1970s in this field, begins in the 80s and, for the purpose of this review, continues to the present day.

The first of these periods saw the publication of Lindley Cintra's monumental work on the Hispanic sources of the chronicle written in 1344 by Pedro, Count of Barcelos, including a description of the Portuguese historiographical texts that preceded it, along with the first two volumes that contained the text of the

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<sup>\*</sup> Teresa Amado coordinated the chapter, and wrote "Prose: historiography, Arthurian matter, doctrinal literature" and "Prose: hagiography" (a summary of the article by Cristina Sobral referred in footnote 44); Ângela Correia wrote "Poetry: *cantiga de amor and cantiga de amigo*" and Graça Videira Lopes wrote "Poetry: *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*".

<sup>1</sup> SARAIVA, António José and LOPES, Óscar, *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, Oporto, Porto Editora, [1954]; IDEM, *História da Cultura em Portugal*, Lisbon, Jornal do Foro, 1950-1962; PIMPÃO, Álvaro J. Costa, *História da Literatura Portuguesa: Idade Média*, 2nd ed., Coimbra, Atlântida, 1959 (1st ed.1947); COELHO, J. Prado (dir.), *Dicionário das Literaturas Portuguesa, Galega e Brasileira*, Oporto, Liv. Figueirinhas, 1960. Decades later, A. J. Saraiva released a summary of his essential reflections on fourteenth and fifteenth century literature in *O crepúsculo da Idade Média em Portugal*, Lisbon, Gradiva, 1988.

chronicle, the final volume following later<sup>2</sup>. However, it did not bear immediate fruit in Portugal, the first sizeable repercussions being felt in Spain, where there appeared studies by Diego Catalán Menéndez Pidal<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, its value as a model of methodological research and philological rigour, and the fact that it demonstrated the existence of Portuguese prose with great narrative fluidity and expressive ability at a time when mastery of the written language was believed to be the privilege of poets, had the effect of inspiring many later works of literature scholars. In this same period, or earlier, there had been the rare first studies of the Portuguese translations of Arthurian matter (M. Martins, Rodrigues Lapa), both first published outside Portugal<sup>4</sup>. An exception for his time, Mário Martins regularly published works on all genres of medieval prose<sup>5</sup> during this period.

When interest in medieval culture and literature emerged, taking flight from the beginning of the 80s, there were some figures, albeit few but with great authority, whose writing were the cornerstone for subsequent work, raising issues still relevant today and demonstrating good reading practices. However, it was in the books of José Mattoso that new ways of thinking and of doing history began to emerge, influencing both university curricula and spoken and written discourse. This innovative shift in studying medieval history intensified the desire to learn more about the Middle Ages, expressed in the ambition to discover not only the history but also the texts and non-literary arts. This dovetailed with what was happening in the rest of Europe, reinforcing it, and gradually prompting international meetings and joint projects with the resulting incentive to research and publish. A typical effect of this trend was the creation of the Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval (AHLM) in 1985. Among other results, it has enabled people to see the obvious truth, which most were slow to recognise, that Portugal and the rest of the Peninsula have a medieval past that is in many respects shared, with implications from which both sides gain, given that listening to other viewpoints is always beneficial in evaluating and interpreting the facts. Yet the AHLM also helped foster contacts

<sup>2</sup> *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, critical edition by Luís Lindley Cintra, 4 vols., Lisbon, IN-CM, 1951-1990 (vol. 1 (Introd.): 1951, vol. 2: 1954, vol. 3: 1961, vol.4: 1990).

<sup>3</sup> MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Diego Catalán, *De Alfonso X al conde de Barcelos: quatro estudos sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal*, Madrid, Gredos, 1962.

<sup>4</sup> *A Demanda do Santo Graal*, facsimile reproduction an critical transcription by Augusto Magne, 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1955-1970; *The Portuguese Book of Joseph of Arimathea*, paleographical edition (...) by Hare Carter, Chale Hill, The University of North Caroline Press, 1967. Three editions of *A Demanda do Santo Graal* followed: two Portuguese, one by J.-M. Piel completed by Irene F. Nunes, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1988, and the one by Irene F. Nunes, same publisher, in 1995; and one Brazilian by Heitor Megale, São Paulo, T.A. Queiroz, 1988. In Ivo Castro's doctoral thesis, *Livro de José de Arimateia (estudo e edição do Cod. ANTT 643)*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1984 (unpublished), a part of the text was edited.

<sup>5</sup> Main collections in which Mário Martins grouped his articles: *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1956; *Estudos de Cultura Medieval*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Edições Brotéria, 1969-1983; *Alegorias, símbolos e exemplos morais da literatura medieval portuguesa*, Lisbon, Edições Brotéria, 1975.

with Italian, French, British, American and Latin-American scholars insofar as it has drawn everyone together around the subject of medieval Hispanic literatures. The initiative of two of its members, Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani, leading to fruitful international collaboration, has produced the most important manual currently available for the entirety of our medieval literature<sup>6</sup>.

As demand for medieval texts soared, so did awareness of the paucity of texts in accessible editions, often even in libraries. Today, the situation is far from acceptable, but the scene has undeniably changed and changed substantially over these past three decades. As is only natural, the publication of editions – of text previous unpublished, or poorly edited, or long out of print – was basic to developing the study of many texts and their respective themes.

Let us begin with history. One of the first events to mark the decade was the publication, edited by José Mattoso, of *Livros de Linhagens* with an entirely new edition of the narratives they contain<sup>7</sup>. Genealogy attracted limited interest at the time, and recognition of its relevance to topics common to literature would only come only at a later date. But the importance of the narratives to literary studies was immediately evident. Some years before the re-edited version, A. J. Saraiva had instigated a topic that generated interest, namely a discussion of who precisely had authored the different narratives in the Book of the Count Pedro, especially that concerning the Battle of Salado<sup>8</sup>, which, he suggested from textual analysis, had been written on the initiative of Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira himself, who is portrayed as the hero of the encounter. His thoughts were generally well received and contributed, when the books were later made accessible, to encouraging research on the Pereira family's role, along with their genealogical antecedents in the nobility, and on the power structures of the time. This is to say that when reading the *Livros*, a strict relationship needed to be established not only between the genealogical matter and political life, and not only between the events depicted and the biographical journeys of the characters, but also between the modes of discourse and the meaning they intend to convey. It was the historian Luís Krus who did this principle the most justice in his comprehensive study of the three books, from the perspective of the distribution of the noble families across the Peninsula, as asserted

<sup>6</sup> TAVANI, Giuseppe and LANCIANI, Giulia (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da literatura medieval galega e portuguesa*, Lisbon, Caminho, 1993.

<sup>7</sup> *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*, Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, n. s., Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1980; *Livro de Linhagens do conde D. Pedro*, "Portugaliae Monumenta Historica", 2 vols., n. s., Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1980; *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983. A more recent, and more conservative, edition has appeared of the "fragmento manuscrito da Biblioteca da Ajuda (século XIV) of the *Livro de Linhagens do conde D. Pedro*, by Teresa Brocardo (Lisbon, IN-CM, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> SARAIVA, António José, "O autor da narrativa da batalha do Salado e a refundição do Livro do conde D. Pedro", *Boletim de Filologia*, no. 22 (1971), pp. 1-16.

by the genealogical discourse and with greater freedom in the narrative<sup>9</sup>. Especially acute is the way in which he conveys the subliminal expression of socially-valued emotions and intentions in the text: in addition to providing a good example of analysis, many of his interpretations have proved useful in better understanding the chronicles from the same periods.

Various other narratives have been the subject of literary or historical-literary analysis and comment. Primacy has been given to those with mythical or fantastical content, such as stories of the *Dama do pé-de-cabra* and *Dona Marinha*, and the most novelistic of all, the one commonly known as the “*lenda de Gaia*”<sup>10</sup>. Interpretations vary from the more *genealogical* to the more *fictional*. In *Dona Marinha*, Isabel Cardigos sees not a Melusine-like figure, but a character from a traditional Arab tale, which shows how useful it is to keep open the possibility of more or less distant origins in semi-oral traditions. Including the stories in the general scheme of the *Livros* presupposes, moreover, that they can be attributed internal ideological cohesion, but this needs to be proved. What is absent is any sense of how traditional motifs are being employed for political intention, and employed all the more ably the more unorthodox their use, or, reciprocally, how the pragmatic context of a text affects the construction of the discourse. This would undoubtedly effectively take us a step closer to medieval literary reality. Isabel Sabido Ferreira’s master’s dissertation<sup>11</sup> embarked on another avenue for exploring genealogical matter and analysing what it has to reveal about behaviour of women and the circumstances in which they lived, showing how the *Livros* may be analysed in such a way as to connect the worlds of the sexes in a more complete and organic fashion than has previously been the case. What is absent in this context are well-founded descriptions of disputes and of the sharing of power, of relationships wracked by hostility or sustained by solidarity, the influence of feelings on personal and social life, and on all these matters the *Livros de Linhagens* are precious documents.

Chronicles have been the prose-based genre to benefit most from first or new editions in recent decades. In terms of the well-known chronicles, the only serious absentee at the moment – besides the endemic problem of editions that sell out and

<sup>9</sup> KRUS, Luís, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico (1280-1380)*, [Lisbon], FCG / JNICT, 1994. The lack of remissive indexes makes it hard to use this book, which otherwise would definitely have been used more widely for multiple objectives.

<sup>10</sup> CARDIGOS, Isabel, “Dona Marinha: uma figura melusínica?”, in BRANCO, António (coord.), *Figuras: Actas do II Colóquio da Secção portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Faro, Universidade do Algarve, 2001, pp. 209-218; KRUS, Luís, “A morte das fadas: a lenda genealógica da Dama do Pé-de-Cabra”, *Ler História*, no. 6 (1985), pp. 3-34; MIRANDA, José Carlos, “A Lenda de Gaia dos Livros de Linhagens: uma questão de literatura?”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Línguas e Literaturas*, 2nd ser., vol. 5 (1988), pp. 483-515.

<sup>11</sup> FERREIRA, Isabel Sabido, *No silêncio das palavras (Mulheres nos Livros de Linhagens)*, unpublished, master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1995.

are not reproduced – is the *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* by Zurara, which needs a new edition (at the very least, Esteves Pereira's 1915 version needs to be re-edited). Less urgent is the *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques* by Duarte Galvão, which also deserves a good edition, taking account of all the existing manuscripts; the most recent, by Tomás da Fonseca in 1930-1934, was transcribed from a manuscript from the Biblioteca Geral of the University of Coimbra<sup>12</sup>. The re-editions of the historiography of Santa Cruz<sup>13</sup>, the narratives on the conquest of Lisbon, including the *Crónica da fundação do mosteiro de S. Vicente*<sup>14</sup>, the *Crónica da conquista do Algarve*<sup>15</sup>, the *Crónica do Condestável*<sup>16</sup>, the other chronicles by Zurara and those of Rui de Pina<sup>17</sup>, and the *Crónica de 1419*<sup>18</sup> made them accessible to the authors of various dissertations and studies. Of note among these are the works of Filipe Moreira, Isabel Dias and António Branco<sup>19</sup>. The same is true of with the *Crónica Geral de Espanha*, research on which has benefitted from the work of Spanish scholars of Afonsine historiography, namely Diego Catalán and Inés Fernández-Ordoñez. It is hoped that it will be evaluated in more detail as regards Portuguese culture, political life and the written production of the period. Similar issues remain poorly understood in respect of Galvão, Zurara and Pina, who are little studied, it being also unfortunate that the authors of several of the chronicles that predate Fernão Lopes remain unknown.

The case of Fernão Lopes is unparalleled case in this context: in the period under analysis and even earlier, his chronicles had been studied in some depth by

<sup>12</sup> *Crónica de El-Rei D. Afonso Henriques* de Duarte Galvão, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1995 (reprint of the 1986 edition).

<sup>13</sup> *Anais, Crónicas e Memórias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, edition by António Cruz, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1968.

<sup>14</sup> *A conquista de Lisboa aos mouros. Relato de um Cruzado*, edited and translated by Aires Nascimento, introduction by Maria João Branco, Lisbon, Vega, 2001; MENDES, Joaquim, *Chronica da tomada desta cidade de Lixboa aos mouros e da fundaçam deste moesteiro de Sam Vicente. Estudo e edição*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1991.

<sup>15</sup> *Crónica da conquista do Algarve (Texto de 1792)*, edition by J.P. Machado, *Anais do Município de Faro*, no. 8 (1978), pp. 239-274.

<sup>16</sup> *Estoria de Dom Nuno Alvrez Pereira – edição crítica da "Coronica do Condestabre"*, by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, Por Ordem da Universidade, 1991.

<sup>17</sup> *Crónica dos feitos notáveis que se passaram na conquista da Guiné por mandado do infante D. Henrique*, diplomatic edition by T. S. Soares, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1978; *Crónica do conde D. Pedro de Meneses*, critical edition by M. Teresa Brocardo, 1997; *Crónica do conde D. Duarte de Meneses*, diplomatic edition by Larry King, Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1978; *Crónicas de Rui de Pina*, edition by M. Lopes de Almeida, Oporto, Lello, 1977.

<sup>18</sup> *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, critical edition by Adelino Almeida Calado, Aveiro, Universidade de Aveiro, 1998.

<sup>19</sup> MOREIRA, Filipe, *Afonso Henriques e a primeira crónica portuguesa*, s. l., *Estratégias Criativas*, 2008, and IDEM, A "Crónica de Portugal de 1419". *Fontes, Estratégias e Posteridade*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 2010; DIAS, Isabel, *Culto e memória textual de S. Vicente*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Faro, FCHS-UALG, 2003, and later works on the topic; BRANCO, António M., *Emergência de um herói (Estudo da Crónica do Condestável)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Faro, FCHS-UALG, 1998.

both Portuguese and foreign authors, including some of the best known<sup>20</sup>. In the first half of the twentieth century good transcriptions of all the chronicles were published (based on well-selected manuscripts for each) and these have remained in print. Critical editions have given us a better understanding of enabled of the texts of the first two the only qualification being that future editions should include textual and contextual reading aids more complete than those supplied hitherto; it is hoped this will happen when the *Crónica de D. João I* is critically edited. Studies have been done on the use of doctrinal and narrative sources, the concept of history and of chronicling as implied in the text, as well as on the discursive forms that representation of our past has assumed<sup>21</sup>. However, most historians have alternated between using the chronicler as an unquestioned source and rejecting his version, as he is not deemed credible. When these attitudes are abandoned and, without ceasing to maintain the distance required, first by time and secondly by rhetoric, he is read as someone who recounted the past as he believed to be true, and according to how he understood it, then the knowledge everyone seeks will more rapidly be advanced. It is fair to recall here the exemplary method employed by Damião Peres in his introduction to his 1932 edition of the *Crónica de D. Pedro* where, with the same faultless rigour he had applied to transcribing the text, he inserted a list of documentary sources, making it easier to gain a sure view of how the narrative was constructed. When studying Fernão Lopes, it is indispensable to investigate his use of documental sources and the extent to which his version tallies with other historical sources, as Peres and Russell did, their example being the best to follow.

Moving on to Portuguese Arthurian materials, first, some evidence: the 1988 edition of *A Demanda do Santo Graal* proclaimed the text a discovery, though the interest it rapidly unleashed had most definitely been fostered by earlier curiosity about the “story of King Arthur”. By pure coincidence or otherwise, a good modern edition was released the same year in Brazil by one of the few people learned in the matter at the time, Heitor Megale<sup>22</sup>. Irene Freire Nunes, who played a part in both Portuguese editions, had presented a dissertation at a Parisian university

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<sup>20</sup> W. Entwistle launched the first call for a “national Fernão Lopes edition” (1935) and is the author of the transcription of the 2nd part of the *Crónica de D. João I* later published by the IN-CM in 1968; P. Russell was the first to study sources (1941) and published the fundamental study *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955 (trans., IN-CM, 2000); Giuliano Macchi produced the critical editions of the *Crónica de D. Pedro*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2007 (Rome, 1966) and the *Crónica de D. Fernando*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2004 (1975).

<sup>21</sup> REBELO, Luís Sousa, *A concepção do poder em Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1983; VENTURA, Margarida G., “Heresias e dissidências: regalismo e anti-regalismo no século XV”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 10 (1998), pp. 303-333; AMADO, Teresa, *Fernão Lopes, contador de História*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1991, and EADEM, *O passado e o presente. Ler Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Presença, 2007.

<sup>22</sup> For both versions, see footnote 4.



with a comparative study of the text and its French sources. However, this was not published and she did not revisit the topic. The romance became a part of degree programmes and gave rise to successive theses; Studies of characters, mystical, magical and chivalric motifs, peculiarities of its overlapping Christian doctrine and Celtic ideology, along with techniques of discourse construction, have not resulted in any books, but have been stock items in collections of proceedings and, more sporadically, in journals. Shortly before his doctorate (see footnote 4), Ivo Castro, the pioneer of modern critical orientation applied to Arthurian studies, wrote an important article on the origin of the Portuguese texts, outlining a theory that has proved compelling<sup>23</sup>. Unfortunately, though he has on occasion renewed his promise to revisit the text, he did not follow up on this auspicious start after 1984 and the “Livro de José de Arimateia” remains to be edited in its entirety.

The volume *Matéria de Bretanha em Portugal*<sup>24</sup> was published in 2002, containing the proceedings of a colloquium of the same title held the year before at the University of Lisbon’s Faculdade de Letras. This was the first time a series of papers on the genre had been brought together in Portugal, and it was also an absolute first (apart from the thesis mentioned above) as regards the publication of studies on the aforementioned *Livro*. None of these initiatives has been followed up on, but some of the papers on *A Demanda*, hinted at research avenues that could be well worth pursuing. Over and above Ivo Castro’s communication “Sobre a edição do ‘Livro de José de Arimateia’” (promising he had resumed his edition, now supported by the critical edition of *L’Etoile del Saint Graal* by Jean-Paul Ponceau, 1997), M. do Rosário Ferreira established links between *A Demanda* and *trovador* poetry, a chronicle and a narrative from the *Livros de Linhagens*; Isabel Barros Dias drew parallels with the same 1344 chronicle; Margarida Madureira, slightly bending the title of the colloquium, did something similar with *La Queste del Saint Graal* and the *Horto do Esposo*; and Graça L. Pacheco compares the space given to dreams in *A Demanda* and in two fourteenth-century and one fifteenth-century chronicle. Each of these authors therefore included the study of Arthurian romance in a discussion of themes present in other, more representative, works of Portuguese medieval literature. Given the paucity of the Portuguese Arthurian *corpus* (including even the evidence – just one version for each romance) and the relative sterility of the analysis of its themes and motifs, in which the bibliography on French romances is very rich; and given the evident popularity the Arthurian characters and their stories enjoy in this country, it would be interesting to explore these phenomena where the different

<sup>23</sup> CASTRO, Ivo, “Sobre a data da introdução na Península Ibérica do ciclo arturiano da Post-Vulgata”, *Boletim de Filologia*, t. 28 (1983), pp. 81-98.

<sup>24</sup> NEVES, Leonor Curado, MADUREIRA, Margarida, and AMADO, Teresa (coords.), *Matéria de Bretanha em Portugal*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2002.

genres interact, while at the same time expanding our perceptions of cultural and social aspects of Portuguese medieval reality, matters never easy to capture. José Carlos Miranda's contribution to the collection should also be highlighted. He traces the journey of one character in *A Demanda* (and similar French texts), taking lineage-oriented approach, a perspective he has dwelled on for some time, as well as the still controversial issue of the relations between the translations and original texts<sup>25</sup>.

As regards didactic (or doctrinal) literature, namely, the body of works written, in whole or in part, by the Lords of Avis to fulfil their programme of educating the court, the first point to note that worth making is that in addition to being collected in the *Obras dos Príncipes de Avis*<sup>26</sup>, all of them have been distinguished in recent decades with editions<sup>27</sup> and important studies. Most of the readers of King João I's *Livro da Montaria*, recently reedited by Manuela Mendonça, have point to the book's undoubted importance to our knowledge of hunting practices. However, Mário Martins has shown it by any means ends there, emphasising questions of morality and spirituality. Another aspect fundamental to literary and cultural history is that of its classical sources, as researched by Helena Prieto<sup>28</sup>. There is a Spanish translation<sup>29</sup> that deserves special mention as it facilitates comparison with Afonso XI's homonymous book, which will be of benefit to nationals of both languages. King Duarte's *Livro da Enseñança de bem cavalgar toda sela* was re-edited in 1986, by Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. This was a reprint of the 1944 J.-M-Piel edition, which has stood the test of time due to its excellent quality. The text has attracted interest as raised an early example of a treatise on horsemanship and the novelty required of this mode of discourse in parallel with its inherent character, to which the author gives equal importance, as a moral treatise. By means of a painstakingly detailed description of the book's structure, though adopting an angle not especially interpretative, Isabel Dias has shown<sup>30</sup> how these two lines

<sup>25</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos, *Galaaz e a ideologia das linhagens*, Oporto, Granito, 1998 and IDEM, *A Demanda do Santo Graal e o ciclo da Post-Vulgata*, Oporto, Granito, 1998.

<sup>26</sup> *Obras dos Príncipes de Avis*, introduced and revised by M. Lopes de Almeida (reproducing an edition from 1918), Oporto, Lello, 1981.

<sup>27</sup> *Livro de Montaria*, edition by Manuela Mendonça, Ericeira, Mar de Letras, 2003; *Leal Conselheiro*, critical edition by Maria Helena Lopes de Castro, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1998; *Livro da Vertuosa Benfeytoria*, critical edition by Adelino A. Calado, Coimbra, Por Ordem da Universidade, 1994. In 1942, Joseph M. Piel produced an edition of the *Leal Conselheiro o qual fez Dom Eduarte*, and in 1944 another of the *Livro da ensinança de bem cavalgar toda sela que fez El-Rey Dom Eduarte*, both in Lisbon, Livraria Bertrand.

<sup>28</sup> PRIETO, Maria Helena, "Bibliografia clássica do *Livro da Montaria* de D. João I", in *Actas do III Congresso da Associação Portuguesa de Lusitanistas*, Coimbra, Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas, 1992, pp. 77-94.

<sup>29</sup> *Libro de montería del rey Juan de Portugal*, introduced by Manuel Terron Albarran, translated by Gonzalo de Macedo Sherman, 2 vols., Madrid, Circulo de Bibliofilia Venatoria, 1990.

<sup>30</sup> DIAS, Isabel, *A arte de ser bom cavaleiro*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1997.

converge and co-exist in the book's layout. The treatise's pragmatic component was emphasised by Rogério Fernandes, who considered an ideological hallmark of its time<sup>31</sup>. Another translation<sup>32</sup> should be mentioned here, accessible to a more general readership. The *Leal Conselheiro* is indubitably the best read, best loved and most discussed among King Duarte's books. Of a vast bibliography, the prime place goes to João Dionísio's doctoral thesis, a very complete study on the process of production of the work and of the catalogue and use of sources, including those in translation. In many smaller studies of the treatise by the same author, the topic of memory take centre stage, that is, how King Duarte explains his dealings as a writer with memory<sup>33</sup>. Reference must also be made to studies by Márcio Muniz who has sought to incorporate the treatise in the canonic genre of Princes' treatises<sup>34</sup>, presupposing an internal coherence which tallies with more recent readings, chiefly those of Dionísio. The 1942 Piel edition<sup>35</sup> was followed by that of M. Helena Lopes de Castro's, which is more accessible being less conservative, but does not offer the support of explanatory notes.

The *Livro da Virtuosa Benfeitória* has only recently been given its first critical edition, by Adelino de Almeida Calado<sup>36</sup>. The complex and arid nature of the text has not drawn in many readers, but the best studies that refer to it are unanimous in their recognition of its importance as a document on the political thinking of royalty and the likelihood of its influence on how royal power was exercised. Several of these studies were published in the proceedings of the 1992 congress on the Prince Pedro<sup>37</sup>. Standing out from the rest of the treatise, the final allegory of the six damsels has given rise to specific commentaries, the most recent by João Dionísio<sup>38</sup>.

Here follows a succinct overview of some works that have dealt with these works or related topics. Mário Martins devoted several studies to them, gathered

<sup>31</sup> FERNANDES, Rogério, "D. Duarte e a educação senhorial", *Vértice*, nos. 396-397 (1977), pp. 347-388.

<sup>32</sup> *The Royal Book of Jousting, Horesmanship and Knightly Combat: A Translation into English of King Dom Duarte's 1438 Treatise 'Livro Da Ensinança De Bem Cavalgar Toda Sela'*, translated by Antonio F. Preto, et al., Highland Village, Texas, The Chivalry Bookshelf, 2005.

<sup>33</sup> DIONÍSIO, João, *D. Duarte leitor de Cassiano*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2001; IDEM, "Lembranças rebeldes, combates mnésicos e remédios vinícolas: sobre a arte do esquecimento no *Leal Conselheiro* de D. Duarte", *COLÓQUIO/Letras*, no. 142 (1996), pp. 147-58.

<sup>34</sup> MUNIZ, Márcio R. C., "O *Leal Conselheiro* e a tradição do espelho de príncipe: considerações sobre o gênero", in PARRILLA GARCÍA, Carmen, and PAMPÍN BARRAL, Mercedes (eds.), *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Noia, Toxosoutos, 2005, vol. 2, pp. 89-104.

<sup>35</sup> See footnote 27.

<sup>36</sup> *Livro da Virtuosa Benfeitória*, critical edition by Adelino A. Calado...

<sup>37</sup> *Biblos*, Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Actas do congresso comemorativo do 6º centenário do infante D. Pedro, vol. 69, Universidade de Coimbra, 1993.

<sup>38</sup> DIONÍSIO, João, "Deo Gracias", in *Modelo, Actas do V Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Oporto, Faculdade de Letras, 2005, pp. 153-165.

in collections<sup>39</sup>; *A Literatura Doutrinária na Corte de Avis*<sup>40</sup> brings together, on the works of the court of Avis, the *Corte enperial* and the *Orto do Esposo*, well-informed studies with good bibliographies and suggestions for new readings; Aires Nascimento has weighed in with ideas for mapping the political, cultural and social context in which the books are written, uniting within the same time frame the different translations made or commissioned by the same princes, and since 1993 has published works on the court libraries<sup>41</sup>. Following the line taken by some authors, it would be interesting if the progress that has already been made in reading the texts were to lead to research on what they can tell us about the men who wrote them and the culture they represent or sought to influence. New local and foreign literary and historical data could be brought into play here, to make better known a period only apparently known.

A very brief reference to the *Horto do Esposo* is due, given that the long-awaited new edition<sup>42</sup>, recently released, is much less conservative and therefore much more accessible, though with some shortcomings in the editorial work. While no other is available, the text can now be discovered by a greater number of readers and scholars. It had, however, already received attention from certain researchers, among whom Margarida Madureira (discourse, rhetoric, the clash of genres) and Ana Maria Machado (relations to hagiography)<sup>43</sup> stand out. The only Portuguese text that is truly privileged, its broader study will most definitely contribute towards a better understanding of other medieval Portuguese discourse.

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<sup>39</sup> As well as those indicated in footnote 5, MARTINS, Mário, *A Bíblia na literatura medieval portuguesa*, Biblioteca Breve, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1979; IDEM, *O riso, o sorriso e a paródia na literatura de Quatrocentos*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1978), Biblioteca Breve, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1987.

<sup>40</sup> *A Literatura Doutrinária na Corte de Avis*, coordinated by Lênia M. Mongelli, São Paulo, Martins Fontes, 2001.

<sup>41</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Nova idade, nova linguagem: entre afecto e alto desempenho de funções, a palavra no séc. XV português”, in NASCIMENTO, Aires A. (ed.), *Humanismo para o nosso tempo. Estudos de Homenagem a Luís de Sousa Rebelo*, Lisbon, s.n., 2004, pp. 33-57; IDEM, “As livrarias dos príncipes de Avis”, *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993), pp. 265-287.

<sup>42</sup> *Horto do Esposo*, critical edition by Irene Freire Nunes, Obras Clássicas da Literatura Portuguesa, Lisbon, Colibri, 2007. The previous edition, by Bertil Maler, 1956-1964, is very thorough, yet difficult to read and sold out long ago. Its use was restricted to a very limited circle. *Orto do Esposo*, critical edition, introduction, annotations and glossary by Bertil Maler, Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Nacional do Livro (I. Texto crítico, II. Comentário); Stockholm, Almqvist e Wiksell, 1964 (III. Glossário).

<sup>43</sup> MADUREIRA, Margarida, “O *exemplum* e a edificação romanésca: género e reescrita”, *Românica*, no. 14 (2005), pp. 129-145; MACHADO, Ana Maria, “A *Legenda aurea* nos *exempla* hagiográficos do *Orto do Esposo*”, *COLÓQUIO/Letras*, no. 142 (1996), pp. 121-136.

## Prose: hagiography<sup>44</sup>

The first overall view of the work carried out in Portugal in the area of hagiography was by Maria de Lurdes Rosa in 2000<sup>45</sup>, showing how the attention given to hagiographic narratives and the phenomenon of sanctity has evolved since the end of the nineteenth century. This included revised diocesan hagiologies and a critical survey of the hagiographical *corpus* from the 1940s on (Miguel de Oliveira, Mário Martins, Avelino de Jesus da Costa), to the more recent interpretative summaries by Aires do Nascimento and José Mattoso<sup>46</sup>. It is clear today that the body of texts we call hagiography allows for myriad analytical perspectives and in turn contains elements of interest for the histories of ecclesiastical institutions, mentalities, spirituality, literature and culture.

At a time where we are mapping paths for in the future, two important issues arise: that of knowledge of the *corpus* and its contextualisation. Both raise specific questions and suggest necessary tasks. In Portugal, there is a lack of fundamental research instruments, such as account inventories, specialised bibliographical collections or critical dictionaries of saints.

The *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*<sup>47</sup> presents the then state of the art as regards hagiographical texts, but its diluted coverage of the entire medieval literary *corpus* means that to find particular items one has to pre-select the pertinent texts. The Dictionary has entries for texts that can be broken down into four groups: that of the Fundo Alcobacense, which relates nine lives in Portuguese (Pelágia, Aleixo, Tarsis, Cativo the confessor monk, Duque Antíoco, Maria Egipcíaca, Eufrosina, Barlaão and Bernardo); that of the three major legend compilations in Portuguese, *Autos dos Apóstolos*, *Livro dos Mártires* of 1513 and *Flos Sanctorum* of 1513, with particular focus on the three lives in the latter (Iria, Gonçalo de Amarante and Onofre); that of regal hagiography, also in Portuguese (Queen Saint Isabel, Prince Fernando and Princess Joana); and the group of Latin texts on Portuguese figures (Rosendo, Senhorinha, Frutuoso, Geraldo, Telo and Teotónio) or Portuguese cults (Martyrs of Morocco). They are joined by the so-called visionary literature *corpus* (Brandão, Amaro, Trezenzónio, *Vida de uma monja*) and

<sup>44</sup> This section is a summary of SOBRAL, Cristina, "Hagiografia em Portugal: balanço e perspectivas", *Medievalista*, 3rd yr., no. 3 (2007), available at: [www.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA3/PDF3/hagiografia-PDF.pdf](http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA3/PDF3/hagiografia-PDF.pdf)

<sup>45</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Hagiografia e santidade", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de história religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores / CEHR-UCP, 2000, vol. C-I, pp. 326-335.

<sup>46</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., "Hagiografia", in TAVANI, Giuseppe, and LANCIANI, Giulia (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da literatura medieval galega e portuguesa...*; MATTOSO, José, "Le Portugal de 950 à 1550", in PHILIPPART, Guy (dir.), *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, I, Turnhout, Brepols, 1994, pp. 83-102. For the bibliography of the remaining authors, see the quoted article by Maria de Lurdes Rosa.

<sup>47</sup> TAVANI, Giuseppe, and LANCIANI, Giulia (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da literatura medieval...*

the literature of miracles, which make up sub-corpora of hagiography. The selection process thus prioritised texts in Portuguese, be they originals or translations, and texts in Latin on Portuguese historical figures. This was a legitimate criterion in terms of demarcating the Portuguese literary patrimony and initiating attempts to reconstruct Portuguese sanctity<sup>48</sup>. Nevertheless, the same criteria should have dictated the inclusion of several texts that are not featured. Also, many of the texts mentioned only in the “Hagiography” article are not given their own entry, including most of those added by the Portuguese translator of the 1513 *Flos Sanctorum*. It should be noted that awareness of this compilation of legends, which was marginal then, resulted almost entirely from Mário Martins’ exploratory work, which has been much consulted by those taking to the field later. For texts in Portuguese, we also have Isabel Cepeda’s *Bibliografia da Prosa Medieval em Língua Portuguesa*, and the *Bibliografia de Textos Antigos Galegos e Portugueses (BITAGAP)*<sup>49</sup> database, whose team has done a noteworthy job of recording and describing as well as of discovering new texts. Alas, it does not include Latin texts, nor does it allow you to search by saint, which is so useful to the hagiographer. These observations illustrate well how hagiographic studies need specific work instruments, which cover all the narratives whose discursive form enables us to include them in the *corpus* in accordance with appropriate criteria.

The study of hagiography in Portugal has focussed particularly on original texts. What is absent is a study of their reception. The Latin legend compilations, such as those in the *Fundo Alcobacense* or from Santa Cruz de Coimbra, contain important material for a sense of how medieval hagiography was read. Understanding the way hagiography influenced vocations, fed spirituality trends, motivated behaviour and brought about inter-textual connections, requires this kind of information, which should also be collected in inventories of long-defunct libraries and in narrative or other sources.

Medieval chroniclers assembled, incorporated and redrafted hagiographic narratives, acting as privileged vehicles for knowledge about saints<sup>50</sup>. For this reason, an exhaustive survey of the hagiographic *corpus* should not overlook the narratives

<sup>48</sup> The most complete diacronic overall view of Portuguese sanctity is by ROSA, Maria de Lurdes: “A santidade no Portugal medieval: narrativas e trajectos de vida”, *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 14, (2001-2003), pp. 369-450. See also, using a historical-literary perspective, SOBRAL, Cristina, “Notas para uma história da hagiografia em português: os séculos XIII e XIV”, in *Encontros de Literatura Medieval*, Coimbra, in the press.

<sup>49</sup> CEPEDA, Isabel V., *Bibliografia da prosa medieval em língua portuguesa*, Lisbon, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1995. ASKINS Arthur L-F, et al., *Bibliografia de textos antigos galegos e portugueses* [online]. Available at: <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Philobiblon/BITAGAP>. These are two valuable work tools for all the areas covered in this chapter.

<sup>50</sup> In this regard, see SOBRAL, Cristina, “O modelo discursivo hagiográfico”, in *Modelo, Actas do V Colóquio...*, pp. 97-107, where she defends the inexistence of differences between the epistemological status of hagiography and that of historiography.

from the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* on Queen Saint Isabel, St. Vincent, the Martyrs of Morocco and the Knight Henrique, or the one Rui de Pina dedicates to Queen Saint Isabel in the *Crónica de D. Dinis* (chaps. 2, 24) and in the *Crónica de D. Afonso V* (chap. 23). The study of collections of sermons, namely those that are Portuguese in origin, such as those of Paio de Coimbra, OP, reveals how independent texts were used and subsequently disseminated through preaching. The same could be said with regard to the prayer books, whose hagiographic sources are only partially known, or works like *Horto do Esposo*, whose hagiographic sources were imperfectly recorded by Bertil Maler<sup>51</sup>.

The chronological period to be considered for information on this *corpus* should be broadened to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, not only because many sixteenth-century accounts transmit earlier texts, but also because some are written by authors who owe their training and reading to the fifteenth century. This is the case with the female author of the *Crónica da Fundação do Mosteiro de Jesus* and the *Memorial da Infanta Santa Joana*, with the translator who translated *Vida de Santo Agostinho* into Portuguese, coming from the same monastery, and with that of *Vida de Santa Clara* in Portuguese<sup>52</sup>. The knowledge we are acquiring stems, at times, from the discovery or rediscovery of texts that, kept in archives, have remained unnoticed for various reasons and see the light of day by chance, or also, having once been recorded, were considered to have disappeared. We owe the rediscovery of the fragment of *Vida de S. Nicolau*, which Pedro de Azevedo published in 1905, but which was then lost again, to the coordinators of BITAGAP. It may now be studied and edited again. Another fragment in Portuguese, despite having been discovered in 1949 by Avelino de Jesus da Costa, had to wait forty-four years until Isabel Cepeda identified it as belonging to the *passio* of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste by Bernardo de Brihuega, thus proving a Portuguese translation existed before the 1513 printing<sup>53</sup>. An account of the *Passionário Hispânico* has always been kept at the National Archive of Torre do Tombo. It was only recently that we heard about this, thanks to the intelligent scrutiny of Aires Nascimento: it is a manuscript from the first half of the twelfth century, from Lorvão, and is the only known account in Portugal of the book of the Passion studied by Fábrega Grau.

<sup>51</sup> *Orto do Esposo*, critical edition by Bertil Meler... I: Texto crítico, p. 28; III: Glossário, pp. 22-23. Cristina Sobral, *Adições portuguesas no Flos Sanctorum de 1513*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2000, p. 331.

<sup>52</sup> This *Vida de S. Agostinho*, which remains unedited, was studied in SOBRAL, Cristina "Santo Agostinho em Aveiro: estudo de fontes", *eHumanista*. Journal of Iberian Studies [on line], no. 8, 2007, pp. 171-196. Available at: [www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/volume\\_08/articles/9%20Cristina%20Sobral%20Article.pdf](http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/volume_08/articles/9%20Cristina%20Sobral%20Article.pdf); on the Life of S. Clara, see SOUSA, Ivo Carneiro de, *A Rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525). Poder, misericórdia, religiosidade e espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento*, Lisbon, FCG, 2002, pp. 541-559, and SOBRAL, Cristina, *Adições Portuguesas...*, pp. 409-411.

<sup>53</sup> CEPEDA, Isabel V., "Os quarenta mártires de Sebaste". Um testemunho manuscrito do século XV em português", *Theologica*, 2nd ser., vol. 28, fasc.2 (1993), pp. 507-514.

What we need now is “a textual study enabling us to incorporate our manuscript in the tradition of the *Passionarium Hispanicum* and understand where it comes from and if it stands alone. The only example so far found in Portuguese *fundos* as an account of the *Passionarium Hispanicum*”, as Aires Nascimento points out, the hope is that by studying it, information can be gleaned about the place of Portugal in the Peninsular cultural scene, of which we know little<sup>54</sup>. Other texts are still await study to shed light on tricky problems of textual transmission, such as those in the *Vita Sancti Geraldi*, whose restitution could make use of a manuscript reported to be in the Arquivo Distrital de Braga. This is the oldest known version and may explain the origin of the other Latin versions and the Portuguese version.

The most wide-ranging case of the recovery of a lost hagiographic work is that of Paulo de Portalegre. Book collectors from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries give account of this fifteenth-century author, yet nothing was known of his work. In 1997 Cristina Sobral drew attention to two texts (a Letter and a Treatise) on the death of the Duke of Bragança, whose confessor he was, showing how the discourse clearly follows the model of a *passio*, and to the survival of his translation of the *Vida de S. António* with original additions on the cult in the 1513 *Flos Sanctorum*<sup>55</sup>.

Shortly after, Harvey Sharrer, one of the members of the BITAGAP team, unearthed a sixteenth-century copy of the *Novo Memorial do Estado Apostolico* in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo (MS. da Livraria 796, IAN/TT). This is a memoir of the *Congregação dos Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista* (or *Lóios*), which contains at least five hagiographic narratives: the lives of the Bishop João Vicente, Father Baptista, Father João de Nazaré, the hermit João “o Pobre” and the *Abade Santo*. The critical edition of the text<sup>56</sup> now offers historians and literary critics material for study on the spiritual customs and conceptions of sanctity from the second half of the fifteenth century. Locating new accounts of the Letter and Treatise<sup>57</sup> may well lead to better understanding of the political role played by its author.

<sup>54</sup> “[U]m estudo textual que nos permita filiar o nosso manuscrito na tradição do *Passionarium Hispanicum* e perceber a derivação ou isolamento que ele possa reflectir”. “Único caso registado até agora em fundos portugueses como testemunho do *Passionarium Hispanicum*”: NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Um novo testemunho do Passionário Hispânico: um códice lorvanense da primeira metade do séc.XII (Lisboa, ANTT, Lorvão, C. F. Livr. 16)”, *Sub luce florentis calami. Homenaje a Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz*, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2002, p. 464, and IDEM “Um traço singular em textos hagiográficos bracarenses medievais: a 1ª pessoa verbal”, *Theologica*, 2nd ser., vol. 35, fasc. 2 (2000), pp. 589-598.

<sup>55</sup> SOBRAL, Cristina, “Um autor ignorado e a recepção da hagiografia no século XV”, in RIBEIRO, Cristina Almeida, and MADUREIRA, Margarida (coords.), *O género do texto medieval*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1997, pp. 271-281.

<sup>56</sup> PORTALEGRE, Paulo, *Novo Memorial do Estado Apostólico. Primeira Crónica dos Lóios*, critical edition, introduction and notes by Cristina Sobral, Lisbon, Roma Editora, 2007.

<sup>57</sup> See Textid 9568 e 9571 at <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/PhiloBiblon/phsea.html>



The same team also found in the Torre do Tombo a new account of the *Diálogos de S. Gregório*, which critics were unaware of, and which are of interest as their provenance is the Serra de Ossa. The manuscript's connection to the hermits of the Serra de Ossa (South of Portugal) must be a factor in the detailed study of the text, which will undoubtedly help shed light on one of the most interesting monastic orders of the fifteenth century.

In our opinion, the second task required to understand the whole *corpus* better is clear: we need a critical edition, with a faithful and readable text, with established editorial principles, with an inventory sources, and with significant historical-cultural information. The number of texts lacking these features is large<sup>58</sup>, although it has to be said that the situation of the Latin *corpus* is better than that of the Portuguese, thanks to the editions by Díaz y Díaz, Aires do Nascimento and António Manuel Ribeiro Rebelo.

After surveying critically editing the *corpus*, and the next stage will be to study the contexts to ascertain the sociological and cultural functions of the texts, together with their historical-literary status. One of the most interesting questions emerging from the study of fifteenth century hagiography could be worded as follows: at a time of crisis in traditional monastic activity, along with profound social unrest, how far did hagiographic texts function as inspiring sources of solutions for life and, at the same time, calming repositories of experience and interpretation? When you read in the Letter and Treatise on the death of the Duke of Bragança, by Paulo de Portalegre, how the imprisonment and punishment of a lofty, proud lord accused of treason are progressively transformed into a martyrdom patiently endured, perhaps we should read this interpretation, which shifts the blame from King João II to bad counsellors, as a contribution toward national reconciliation.

Interpreting political deaths as martyrdoms is not rare. In the case of the Duke of Bragança, no cult was developed, nor was he put forward for canonisation, in contrast to the Prince Fernando. Historical sources show what the Treatise of João Álvares tells us: the martyr-like attitude of the subject cannot be deduced from the words he spoke but only from the interpretation of his intentions by the biographer, who validates the hagiographic portrayal as eyewitness and through his status as a trusted confidant. Yet little of João Álvares' literary talent would have had social

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<sup>58</sup> The only modern critical editions of Portuguese texts: OLSEN, Munk, "La vida de Santa Pelágia, une traduction portugaise et son modèle latin", in *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1984, pp. 243-277; SOBRAL, Cristina, *Santa Maria Egipcíaca em Alcobaça: estudo e edição crítica*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1991; *Vidas e paixões dos Apóstolos*, I-II, critical edition and study by Isabel V. Cepeda, Lisbon, INIC / Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa, 1982; EADEM, *Adições portuguesas...*, p. 324; ÁLVARES, João, *Obras* [Life of the Prince Fernando], critical edition with introduction and notes by Adelino Almeida Calado, Coimbra, *Acta Universitatis Conimbricensis*, 1960-1959; PORTALEGRE, Paulo, *Novo Memorial...*

consequences, had not the Prince Henrique, his new protector, commissioned the writing of the work after having explicitly promoted his dead brother's cult, whose imprisonment caused a serious political crisis, leading to the threat of social breakdown and to collective mourning for the suffering of the young prince. The functional contextualisation of hagiography thus depends on cross-referencing texts that are not exclusively hagiographic, reconstituting the history of cults and also the measured use of theoretical instruments for analysing the texts.

In Portugal, theoretical production in this area has been practically non-existent, in contrast what has been done abroad over the last thirty years, in studies inspired by the Bolandists in the twentieth century especially. Discussion has to a large extent revolved around the relative proportions of historical or literature perspectives in the texts. I feel that the theoretical approach to hagiography and hagiological analysis should now go beyond reductive antitheses and dichotomies, giving hagiologists more training in literary or historical matters, accepting the diversity of texts, and bearing in mind, as Claudio Leonardi notes in a lucid summary<sup>59</sup>, that a model of sanctity always reveals a historical condition sublimated into a desire, as the hagiographical model is the one through which man imagines his relationship with divinity and of divinity with himself, and finds the words to describe this relation<sup>60</sup>.

### Poetry: *cantiga de amor* and *cantiga de amigo*

In the period under scrutiny, the most vibrant moment in the history of the *cantiga de amor* was the discovery of the Sharrer parchment in 1990. Containing seven *cantigas de amor* by King Dinis with the respective musical notation, not even the rather damaged state of the parchment could lessen the enthusiasm generated by the find of the only evidence of *cantigas de amor* set to music. Among the other options that this opened up, a comparison could finally be made between music of the *cantiga de amor* and that of *cantiga de amigo* music (the six from the Vindel parchment, discovered in 1914), the music of a king and the music of a *jogral*, the music of one generation and that of another. Preliminary work on this parchment was presented at the IV Congress of the Hispanic Medieval Literature Association, which was held in Lisbon in 1991<sup>61</sup>, with the tale of its discovery, a description

<sup>59</sup> LEONARDI, Claudio, "Agiografia", *Lo Spazio letterario del medioevo*. I. Il medioevo latino, a cura di C. Leonardi, E. Menestò, I. La produzione del testo, t. 2, Roma, Salerno, 1993, pp. 421-462.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 428-429.

<sup>61</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and RIBEIRO, Cristina Almeida (eds.), *Literatura Medieval; Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, I, Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1993.

of the parchment and the palaeographic transcription of the text by H. Sharrer, material and palaeographic analysis by António Guerra, an initial appraisal of the musical content by Manuel Pedro Ferreira and the first critical edition using the freshly-discovered parchment by Elsa Gonçalves<sup>62</sup>. It was announced that H. Sharrer would subsequently publish a more wide-ranging study on the parchment and critical edition, but this has not yet appeared, leaving us in doubt about various aspects, namely the relationship between this piece of evidence and the rest of the manuscript tradition to which it belongs. A musical study of the songs by Manuel Pedro Ferreira was projected, and was actually published in 2005<sup>63</sup>. Among the conclusions from the musical studies, what stands out are the differences between the *cantigas de amigo* in the Vindel parchment (edited and studied by Manuel Pedro Ferreira in 1986<sup>64</sup>) and the *cantigas de amor* in the Sharrer parchment which could be differences of genre.

As regards critical editions of the songs in the period under review, the pre-1950 editions of the *cancioneiros* or genres led to the belief that closer studies would need to be made of the songs of individual authors to provide a broader base for critical choices. This trend meant that critical editions of groups set by genres were abandoned while those previously done were systematically revised. The exception was the critical edition of all the *cantigas de amigo* by Rip Cohen<sup>65</sup>, which, despite correcting many of the readings of the earlier edition of *cantigas de amigo* prepared by J. J. Nunes in the 1920s, did not prompt any parallel effort for the *cantigas de amor*. In other words, it did not reverse the fashion, which still prevails, for critical editions of individual *cancioneiros* comprising texts of various genres.

Studies of genre have benefitted from several steps taken in the direction of synthesis. Earlier, a discovery made in 1948, not published until 1953<sup>66</sup>, activated an already lengthy debate, placing the *cantigas de amigo* at its centre, about the origins of Romance lyric poetry. Here I refer to the discovery of the *carjas*, which supported the thesis in favour of the Mozarab origin of the *cantiga de amigo*, to join with the folklore origin thesis and the Latino-Medieval origin thesis. In 1955, M. R. Lapa<sup>67</sup> summarised and evaluated the earlier discussion and also expounded the reasons that led him to discard the Arab thesis. As the century wore on and one

<sup>62</sup> GONÇALVES, Elsa, "Tradição manuscrita e isometria (Notas problemáticas acerca da cantiga *Non sei como me salv' a mia senhor*)", in *Poesia de Rei: Três Notas Dionisinas*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1991, pp. 17-34.

<sup>63</sup> FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Cantus Coronatus. 7 Cantigas d'El-Rei Dom Dinis*, Kassel, Edition Reichenberger, 2005.

<sup>64</sup> IDEM, *O Som de Martin Codax*, Lisbon, Unisys, IN-CM, 1986.

<sup>65</sup> COHEN, Rip, *500 Cantigas D'Amigo*, Oporto, Campo das Letras, 2003.

<sup>66</sup> STERN, S. M., *Les Chansons Mozarabes*, Palermo, U. Manfredi Editore, 1953.

<sup>67</sup> LAPA, Manuel Rodrigues, "O problema das origens líricas", *Anhebi*, São Paulo, nos. 58-59 (1955), pp. 21-31; re-published in *Miscelânea de Língua e Literatura Portuguesa Medieval*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1982, pp. 248-262.

generation of philologists was replaced by another, this question, which had never really been settled, gradually lost momentum and was progressively abandoned. All that remained was some elementary discussion on the forebears of the *cantiga de amor*, pointing to Provençal song, and to the antecedents of the *cantiga de amigo*, indicating three possibilities (corresponding to the three theses of origin) with the common factor that all three had peninsular roots. To this we may add, in the case of the *cantiga de amigo*, a distinction between the texts influenced by the *cantiga de amor* and those more influenced by parallelism<sup>68</sup>, believed to be native in origin. Meanwhile, what is irrefutable is that throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the *cantiga de amigo*, especially the *cantiga de amigo* with their parallelisms, have roused greater enthusiasm with readers in general (helped by schoolbooks and the choices of secondary school teachers teaching this subject) and with scholars in particular. The *cantiga de amor* was considered, in the period under review, the product of servile and uninspired imitation of Provençal song, and hence tedious though, curiously, this had been the reason the *trovadores* reckoned it the very opposite – the highest of the genres. Efforts to isolate the unique and individual character of the Galician-Portuguese *cantiga de amor*, namely, the traits marking its independence of Provençal influence, were downplayed in the period under review as it was not even considered certain the genre existed.

In 1980, Giuseppe Tavani<sup>69</sup> published a synthesis of the problems in Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry that, along with Elsa Gonçalves and Maria Ana Ramos' anthology<sup>70</sup>, influenced university teaching in Portugal. In the former, discourse on the genres related to love sought the common denominators: the semantic fields developed and their hierarchy, the lexical series, that is, the portrayal of the traditional against which a number of texts are marked by their evident deviation. In the anthology, Elsa Gonçalves, who introduces the texts and avoids dividing them into genres (the chapter is called "Temas"), focuses primarily on the texts, which for one reason or another, stand out from the tradition to which they belong. Whereas the Tavani study was successively updated until 2002, progressively taking on board the results of research leading to better interpretations of individual songs, the anthology has not been updated and in many examples reflects the state of knowledge of the 1980s. In both cases, references to Provençal lyric poetry as the matrix are constant and inform the thinking, which is based on comparison and

<sup>68</sup> On parallelism, it is worth mentioning the study that E. Asensio published in 1970 (ASENSIO, E., *Poética y Realidade en el Cancionero Peninsular de la Edad Media*, Gredos, Madrid, 1970), where a typology for Galician-Portuguese parallelism is defined.

<sup>69</sup> TAVANI, Giuseppe, "La Poesia Lírica Galego-Portoghese", in *Grundriss der Romatischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, t. 1, fasc. 6, Heidelberg, Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag, 1980.

<sup>70</sup> GONÇALVES, Elsa, and RAMOS, Maria Ana, *A Lírica Galego-Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Comunicação, 1983.

on the appraisal of similarities. In Galicia, where studies of Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry and the production of study instruments intensified from the 90s (in contrast to Italy, which had been more productive in the earlier period), two genre studies were published in the second half of the 90s: *A Cantiga de Amor*, by Vicenç Beltrán<sup>71</sup> and *A Cantiga de Amigo* by Mercedes Brea and Pilar Lorenzo Gradín<sup>72</sup>. The approach of the second, despite not having a specific chapter on origins, is noteworthy for its efforts to establish ties to medieval Latin poetic theory, to Middle Latin texts, and to liturgy, although the authors concede the influences from Northern France (directly) and Southern France (more indirectly). The description of the genre is based on more or less established categories (themes and motifs, figurative use of words, formal metric aspects and genre). Less conventional is the chapter entitled “narrative structures”, where the authors attempt to describe the options for positioning the lyrical or the narrative voice(s). Vicenç Beltrán’s study of *cantigas de amor* is further removed from the traditional approaches of genre studies for two essential reasons: it respects the need to look into modes of reception to assess both traditional aspects and deviations; and it is largely dedicated to what might well be the most individual creative terrain in the *cantiga de amor* (and in the *cantigas de amigo* that are less influenced by parallelism): that of *dispositio*. The influence, too, of Latin and medieval poetic theories is discussed and accepted.

Despite some partial contributions<sup>73</sup>, we are almost completely in the dark as regards the criteria for literary appreciation and disparagement the *trovadores* used to evaluate each other’s work; probably the same as those the rest of the audience would also use to applaud more or less. There is no disputing the fact that in the closing years of the last century, enough descriptive genre summaries were produced, both in terms of what, due to repetition by most *trovadores*, is classed as traditional genre terrain, and as regards the occasional peculiarities that single out some texts. In other words, we possess organised descriptions of the most repeated and most singular elements, as follows from analytical efforts as a matter of course. The very nature of this, however, implies stepping back from the text as something composed of elements (themes, versification, *dispositio*, *ornatus*...) turning on axis of tradition. Surveying the *trovadores*’ aesthetic values, in accordance with the *trovadores*’ code,

<sup>71</sup> BELTRAN, Vicenç, *A Cantiga de Amor*, Vigo, Edicións Xerais de Galicia, 1995.

<sup>72</sup> BREA, Mercedes, and LORENZO GRADÍN, Pilar, *A Cantiga de Amigo*, Vigo, Edicións de Galicia, 1998.

<sup>73</sup> In her doctoral thesis (*As Cantigas de Amor de D. Joam Soares Coelho e o Ciclo da “Ama”*. *Edição e Estudo*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2001, unpublished), Ângela Correia interprets the discussion between several *trovadores* on Joam Soares Coelho’s *cantigas* to the “*ama*” as a literary discussion using appreciation criteria. In 2004, at a colloquium commemorating 100 years of the critical edition of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, the same author gave a presentation in which she surveyed some of the principles for assessing the songs. The proceedings of this colloquium are still awaiting publication.

will help guide the interpretive summary that follows the analysis. Furthermore, it may capture what distinguishes the Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry school from the literary traditions that influenced but did not necessarily diminish it. It is therefore important to invest more in deciphering the aesthetic code behind *trovador* composition and use it in the commentary on the texts (in critical monographs, for instance), which should provide more refined conclusions on the code. It will then be possible to begin to produce syntheses on how, more specifically in each genre, the *trovadores* responded to the challenge of literary creation. It is probable that, as a consequence, similarities based on social class will become evident, as will what, less anachronistically, we may term the better or worse songs. We will understand, for instance, whether the *trovadores*' attacks on the *jograis*' compositions were due merely to a need to highlight their own social standing or whether there was a difference in the quality of the compositions, as perceived by the *trovadores* and their audience. The related question of the *trovadores*' training also remains unsolved. Despite the fact that philologists sometimes look for explanations of the *cantigas* in ancient and medieval poetic theory, the truth is that the erudite training of the nobility and, more specifically, the *trovadores*, still needs clarifying in documented fashion. Even the extent of the nobility's mastery of Latin remains unsure.

Attempts to find points of contact, clarifying mutual influences between the *cantigas de amor* and *cantigas de amigo* and other literary traditions<sup>74</sup>, Provençal in particular, have no parallel in other literary and non-literary texts that share the same language with the songs. The work that has been done in this area has been restricted to the sporadic need to identify unusual vocabulary in the songs. However, as restricted vocabulary is one of the characteristics of love genres, especially the *cantigas de amor*, identifying common contexts in the use of vocabulary, expressions and even linguistic structures may turn out to be a goldmine of semantic information. The confluence of results from these lines of research may lead to the identification of generational or individual poetic theories but, given the uniform view of the two love genres, from which we have yet to free ourselves, this is for the time being nothing more than a bold hypothesis.

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<sup>74</sup> On this subject specifically, see FERRARI, Anna, "Linguaggi lirici in contatto: trovadors e trovadores", *Boletim de Filologia*, vol. 39 (1984), pp. 35-58.

## Poetry: *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*

Medieval satirical poetry has long been known and studied since the mid-nineteenth century, when the sixteenth-century copies of transcripts that transmitted it were discovered in Italy. Despite this and the fact that critics and philologists published piecemeal editions of the texts, together with some important research work (of which it is only just to highlight the still-relevant work of Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, particularly the extended study that accompanied her edition of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*), it was only in 1965 that Manuel Rodrigues Lapa published the first general critical edition of medieval satirical Galician-Portuguese song<sup>75</sup>. In the second edition, Lapa took account of critical comment on his work and of other studies of medieval texts and authors published in the meantime by an important group of Italian Romance specialists (Silvio Pellegrini, Luciana Stegagno-Picchio, Giuseppe Tavani, Valeria Bertolucci, among others), along with textual material from the various monographic editions of the *trovadores* and *jograis'* work that began to be published simultaneously both by the former group and by other chiefly Galician and Spanish scholars. More recently some important anthologies stand out, which provide new critical readings of the satirical songs. This is the case with the anthologies compiled by Carlos Alvar and Vicenç Beltran and by Xosé Beeito Arias Freixedo<sup>76</sup>, and the publication of a new general edition, under the coordination of Graça Videira Lopes<sup>77</sup>, adding some new texts to the *corpus* previously defined by Rodrigues Lapa.

Since the mid-1970s, as the texts became publicly available, studies on medieval satirical poetry have seen a notable upsurge. As regards generic works, Kenneth Sholberg's study<sup>78</sup> from 1971 is conspicuous; in Portugal, Mário Martins briefly summarised the data available at the time in a study of satire which broadly deals with the *trovador cantigas*<sup>79</sup>; from the 1990s, the equally comprehensive works of Giuseppe Tavani and Giulia Lanciani and of Graça Videira Lopes stand out, although their analysis of texts is more specific; recently, the work of the American Benjamin Liu<sup>80</sup> is notable. Certain historians have also focussed in greater or lesser

<sup>75</sup> LAPA, Manuel Rodrigues, *Cantigas de Escárnio e Maldizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, Vigo, Editorial Galaxia, 1965; 2nd ed. 1972; illustrated reprint, Lisbon, João Sá da Costa, 1998.

<sup>76</sup> ALVAR, Carlos, and BELTRAN, Vicenç, *Antologia de la poesía gallego-portuguesa*, Alhambra, 1985. FREIXEDO, Xosé Beeito Arias, *Antoloxía da lírica galego-portuguesa*, Vigo, Edicións Xerais, 2003.

<sup>77</sup> LOPES, Graça Videira (ed. and notes), *Cantigas de escárnio e maldizer dos trovadores e jograis galego-portugueses*, Obras clásicas da Literatura Portuguesa, Lisbon, Estampa, 2002.

<sup>78</sup> SHOLBERG, Kenneth, *Sátira y invectiva en la España medieval*, Madrid, Ed. Gredos, 1971.

<sup>79</sup> MARTINS, Mário, *A sátira na literatura medieval portuguesa, séculos XIII e XIV*, Biblioteca Breve, Lisbon, ICALP, 1977.

<sup>80</sup> TAVANI, Giuseppe, and LANCIANI, Giulia, *As cantigas de escarnio*, Vigo, Xerais, 1995. LOPES, Graça Videira, *A sátira nos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1995 (2nd edition

detail on this *corpus*, as is the case with José Mattoso, from whom we cite, among others, a short but interesting article in which satirical *trovador* songs are the evidence for reflections on sexuality<sup>81</sup>.

Anchored firmly in daily life, both in cultural, political or social terms and linguistic terms, the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, even more than the *cantigas de amor* and the *cantigas de amigo*, raise numerous problems of textual criticism and, in particular, of contextualisation. They have been examined in turn by many researchers, whose work presents us with a vast array of monographic studies on the most varied of aspects, which have helped not only resolve many textual issues, but to clarify the meaning of many of the songs that have reached us. As it would be impossible to mention all or even a fraction of these studies in this brief summary, being dispersed as they are between journals, congress proceedings and other collective volumes, it is worth highlighting, by way of example and in addition to the aforementioned names, the considerable research conducted in Galicia by Mercedes Brea, Pilar Lorenzo Gradín, Elvira Fidalgo or José Luiz Rodríguez; also the highly informed series of research on the *trovadores* and their political and social contexts that Vicenç Beltran has included under the title *Tipos y temas trovadorescos* in the similar publications since the 80s; likewise the studies by Elsa Gonçalves on the satirical *cantigas* of King Dinis<sup>82</sup>; the studies on Afonso III and the Briteiros family, by Leontina Ventura<sup>83</sup>, the historiographical perspective also developed by Resende de Oliveira<sup>84</sup>; and more recently, the findings of José Carlos Miranda on different aspects of the satirical songbook, namely the initial phase of the *trovador* movement and its historical and political context<sup>85</sup>. Although they do not definitively solve the numerous problems that the satirical *cantigas* still pose, these studies have greatly contributed to the progress of research in this area.

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corrected and extended, 1998). LIU, Benjamin, *Medieval Joke Poetry, the Cantigas d'escarnho e de Maldizer*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2004.

<sup>81</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A sexualidade na Idade Média portuguesa”, in MATTOSO, José, *Naquele tempo. Ensaios de história medieval*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, pp. 15-44; re-published in ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da (coords.), *Estudos Medievais – O quotidiano medieval: imaginário, representação e práticas*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2004, pp. 13-42.

<sup>82</sup> GONÇALVES, Elsa, *Poesia de rei: três notas dionisinas*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1991.

<sup>83</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, “Os Briteiros (Séculos XII-XIV). Trajectória social e política”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 30 (1995), pp. 71-102 and, VENTURA, Leontina, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende, “Os Briteiros (séculos XII-XIV) – Estratégias familiares e património”, in *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 31, vol. 2, (1996), pp. 65-102.

<sup>84</sup> OLIVEIRA, António Resende, *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco. A estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1994 and IDEM, *O trovador galego-português e o seu mundo*, Lisbon, Ed. Notícias, 2001.

<sup>85</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos, *Aurs mezclatz ab argen. Sobre a primeira geração de trovadores galego-portugueses*, Oporto, Guarecer, 2004.



One cannot fail to make one final mention of the new tools that technological developments have made available to researchers and the public in recent years, especially the online textual databases now available. These enable the user to carry out wide-ranging searches and to cross-reference texts, thus providing a new outlook on these texts. This is the case of the Galician *Lírica Profana Galego-Portuguesa* (MedDB) database, which is based at the Centro Ramón Piñeiro and coordinated by Mercedes Brea<sup>86</sup>, and the Portuguese *Cantigas Medievais Galego-portuguesas* database, based at Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Nova University of Lisbon (FCSH-UNL) and coordinated by Graça Videira Lopes (which includes manuscripts and Music)<sup>87</sup>.

The Medieval Seminar of the University of Oporto's Faculdade de Letras and the colloquia of the Portuguese Section of the AHLM are today, in their own spheres, important forums for presenting and discussing works, methods and ideas on medieval literature. The Instituto de Estudos Medievais at FCSH-UNL, in turn, has championed the invaluable collaboration between history and literature scholars, which has produced, for instance, the collection *O Corpo e o Gesto na Civilização Medieval*<sup>88</sup>, and which, it is hoped, will continue to bear fruit.

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<sup>86</sup> Available at: [www.cirp.es/pls/bdo2/f?p=MEDDB2](http://www.cirp.es/pls/bdo2/f?p=MEDDB2)

<sup>87</sup> Available at: [www.cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt](http://www.cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt)

<sup>88</sup> BUESCU, Ana Isabel, SOUSA, J. Silva de, and MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide (coords.), *O Corpo e o Gesto na Civilização Medieval*, Lisbon, Colibri / IEM / FCSH-UNL, 2006.



# *Medieval Music in Portugal Within its Interdisciplinary Context (1940-2010)*

*Manuel Pedro Ferreira*

## **Summary**

Introduction. Part I – The Anglès and Corbin period (1940-1960). A detailed look at the contribution of Corbin. The immediate reception of the *Essai* by Corbin. Part II – A new musicological orthodoxy, and its Iberian consequences (1960-1985). Other musicological, philological and historical currents. Research into medieval *cantigas* (1985-2010). Part III – Gregorian studies (1960-1985). The contribution of liturgical studies. Research into ecclesiastical chant (1985-2010).

## **Introduction**

The study of music in the Portuguese Middle Ages was initially determined by the history of literature and by that of the Church. The former called one's attention to poetry sung in the Galician-Portuguese language in the period 1200-1350, the latter the daily practice, down through the centuries, of the liturgical chant in Latin. The possibility of an informed and coherent narrative concerning medieval music was, however, only slowly established among us. Given the absence, until the 1980s, of any appropriate framework (institutional, ecclesiastical or academic) for the development of musicology as an independent discipline, it was external academic models that guided the exercise of specific competencies in this area. The contributions of history, philology, liturgical studies, and even psychology assumed a fundamental importance for the emergence in Portugal after 1985 of fully updated musicological thinking concerning the Middle Ages.

## I.

**The Anglès and Corbin (1940-1960) period**

From the mid-twentieth century Portuguese musicology, which until then had known only a handful of researchers, was confronted with the work of two towering figures from European musicology: Higinio Anglès (1888-1969) and Solange Corbin (1903-1973). In 1943, the year in which Anglès was nominated Director of the Instituto Español de Musicología (established in September of that year), he published in Barcelona the full transcription of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of King Afonso X of Castile and León, written in Galician-Portuguese<sup>1</sup>. In the same year, Corbin's first study was published. She had just spent a year in Coimbra, collecting the historical and liturgical teaching of Pierre David (1882-1955), while preparing a thesis on medieval religious music in Portugal. This was presented the following year in Paris and published in 1952, having been revised in 1946 during a fresh stay (of only two months) in the country<sup>2</sup>.

The professionalism and concern for comprehensiveness evident in these works revealed the unpreparedness of Portuguese musicographers, who, in general, had difficulty in assimilating them. In 1951 the doctor and amateur composer Francisco Fernandes Lopes (1884-1969), who had been studying the musical notation of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* since 1926 (having published some results between 1945 and 1948), expressed his disagreement with the transcripts of Anglès, but was unable to pursue the subject<sup>3</sup>. Corbin's thesis was generally respected, though its readers showed a weak understanding both of its contents and of their implications

<sup>1</sup> ANGLÉS PAMIES, Higinio, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa Maria del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, vol. 2, Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> CORBIN, Solange, *Les livres liturgiques d'Aveiro*, s.l. [Coimbra], s.n., 1943; EADEM, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age (1100-1385)*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1952. Michel Huglo gave the *Essai* a glowing review in *Revue grégorienne*, vol. 31 (1952), pp. 246-48. Pierre David, who arrived in Portugal in 1941, made a decisive contribution to the renewal of Portuguese historical and liturgical studies: cf. DAVID, Pierre, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Históricos / Institut Français, 1947. In addition to his 1943 opusculum, Corbin published a number of articles related to her *Essai*, which are cited here in chronological order: "Fêtes portugaises: commémoration de la victoire chrétienne de 1340", *Bulletin hispanique*, vol. 49 (1947), pp. 205-18; "L'Office portugais de la Sepultura Christi", *Revue de musicologie*, vol. 29 (1947), pp. 63-71; "Les offices de la Sainte Face", *Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises*, vol. 11 (1947), pp. 1-65; "L'Office de la Conception de la Vierge", *Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises*, vol. 13 (1949), pp. 105-166; "L'Office en vers *Gaude Mater Ecclesia* pour la Conception de la Vierge", in ANGLÉS PAMIES, Higinio (ed.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra (Roma, 25-30 Maggio 1950)*, Tournai, Desclée & Cie, 1952, pp. 284-286. Cf. "Nécrologie" in *Revue de Musicologie*, vol. 59 (1973), pp. 312-316; and FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, "Corbin de Mangoux, Solange", in CASTELO-BRANCO, Salwa (dir.), *Enciclopédia de Música em Portugal no Século XX*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores / Temas e Debates, 2010, vol. 2, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> Four articles reprinted in LOPES, Francisco Fernandes, *A música das Cantigas de Santa Maria e outros ensaios*, Olhão, Câmara Municipal de Olhão, 1985.

for the discipline. It is therefore important to focus primarily on such issues before analysing its reception.

### **Corbin's contribution in detail**

The volume that Solange Corbin devoted to Portuguese religious music between 1100 and 1385 is composed, in the medieval style, of two "books". The first is a historical overview in four chapters, concerning the political and religious context, with particular emphasis given to French influences and the question of liturgical rites (Mozarabic and Franco-Roman). Having provided a general reading framework, the actual musical themes are investigated in the second book, entitled "text studies". The author begins with a survey and concise examination of the musical sources conserved in Lisbon and Viana do Castelo between 1000 and 1500, with reference to later relevant specimens, especially from Coimbra, Braga and Aveiro; this survey was conducted between February 1942 and January 1943. It was the first attempt to catalogue manuscript evidence of medieval religious music on a national scale, which led to a notable widening of knowledge on the matter; extending beyond single references to rare fragments or to the existence of certain book collections, the author supplied a general panorama of more than a hundred manuscripts, including sixteenth century sources mentioned in passing.

After a chapter collecting the written evidence on musical activity, cantors and ecclesiastical books within Portugal, the next section consists of a palaeographic classification, illustrated with facsimiles, of all the musical sources inventoried. Highlighted in this classification was the proposed identification of a "Portuguese notation", developed by nationals from Aquitanian notation, which had been imported during the adoption of the Franco-Roman rite. This "Portuguese notation" would have been used mainly in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, with hypothetical antecedents in the last quarter of the twelfth century and continuing into the fifteenth century. The last two chapters focus, respectively, on the musical pieces worth highlighting in Portuguese sources either due to their relative particularities, or fallen into disuse in the European context; and the presence of compositions in verse in these sources, especially the so-called "rhythmical offices" developed in the centre of Europe from the tenth century onwards. Cases such as the *Canto da Sibila* (Song of the Sybil) are analysed in detail.

In the absence of a concluding chapter, the book emphasizes a historical and liturgical perspective which firmly places Portuguese religious music within the Hispanic and European context. In an era dominated in Portugal by nationalistic

propaganda, Corbin notes that in the rare cases where there was some literary creativity in the Portuguese liturgy (Office commemorating the victory of Salado, Office *Exultet plebs* for the Conception of the Virgin) the respective music was based on pre-existing melodies. In the wake of Pierre David, the author contradicts the thesis of a Suebian origin to the Braga custom, while departing from the then current idea that its singing would have echoed that used in Rome before the seventh century.

The book offers itself up to criticism by ignoring Braga missals prior to the 1558 edition (which differs in various ways from the previous local custom) and by overestimating the Cistercian influence on the Portuguese musical tradition<sup>4</sup>. Finally, if Corbin identified some characteristic traits in these national sources, she refrained from interpreting them in the light of the historical narrative offered at the beginning of the work, which complicates the reader's corresponding assessment.

Some years after the publication of this volume, the French musicologist would put her name to another, this time on only one of the characteristic traits observed in the Portuguese documents: the presence and importance given to the Burial of the Lord on Holy Friday<sup>5</sup>. In a large-scale work, which includes liturgical practices from the Middle East to Latin America, Corbin manages to explain the formation of this ceremony from various sources and geographical influences, using the Portuguese sources to inspire and develop internationally relevant research on a key moment in the collective expression of the Christian faith.

### **The immediate reception of the *Essai* by Corbin.**

Meanwhile, Corbin's research in the Portuguese archives in search of parchment fragments had been systematically continued by Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1908-2000), who reported the results to Corbin, and also by Manuel Joaquim (1894-1986), whose paper *Da origem do canto cristão e sua antiga prática em Portugal*, produced in 1950, represented the best, for the time, of Portuguese musicology as applied to the Middle Ages<sup>6</sup>. Once Corbin's *Essai* was published, Manuel Joaquim was an

<sup>4</sup> Solange Corbin could have read a description of the Romanising character of the 1558 Missal (and also certain particularities of the Braga Office) in SILVA, M. Abúndio da, *O rito bracarense: apontamentos para a sua história e apologia*, Oporto, Livraria Figueirinhas, 1907, pp. 141-52. The exaggeration in assessing the Cistercian influence seems to have been noted only by KING, Archdale Arthur, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, London-New York-Toronto, Longmans, 1957, p. 257, n.3.

<sup>5</sup> CORBIN, Solange, *La déposition liturgique du Christ au Vendredi Saint – Sa place dans l'histoire des rites et du théâtre religieux (Analyse de documents portugais)*, Paris / Lisbon, Les Belles Lettres / Bertrand, 1960.

<sup>6</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, "Fragmentos preciosos de códices medievais", *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 1 (1949), pp. 421-34; vol. 2 (1950), pp. 44-63. JOAQUIM, Manuel, *Da origem do canto cristão e sua antiga prática em Portugal*, Oporto, Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 1953.

attentive reader, rushing to visit Arouca to determine whether, as was suggested on page 165, the thirteenth century collectary-ritual preserved in the monastery contained a polyphonic piece: it did not, but despite this the visit resulted in an exhaustive study of the Cistercian manuscript in question<sup>7</sup>.

It was also in the 1950s that the first histories of Portuguese music appeared in book form. The first, written by Maria Antonieta de Lima Cruz (1901-1957), devoted more than fifty pages to the Middle Ages, particularly of note being the section on the troubadour period<sup>8</sup>. It includes three reproductions from the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and mention is made, in turn, of this codex, Martin Codax, the jongleur profession, King Dinis and, finally, minstrels. The content, however, can be summarised as general information, without any proper musicological discussion. The remaining medieval material is rather confusing and out-dated even by the standards of the time<sup>9</sup>. In this context, it is no wonder that there was a limited and faulty assimilation of Corbin, whose characterization of a “Portuguese notation” is ignored; the author does however give prominence to the Pontifical of the first third of the thirteenth century preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, MS. Alcobaça 162 (of which one page is reproduced)<sup>10</sup>.

João de Freitas Branco (1922-1989), in his *História da Música Portuguesa* – which would not be rivalled for more than thirty years – is more judicious in its choice of secondary sources, but it ignores the national particularities of medieval musical notation and takes insufficient account of the work of the French researcher<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> JOAQUIM, Manuel, *O Colectário de Arouca e os seus textos musicais*, Oporto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1957.

<sup>8</sup> CRUZ, Maria Antonieta de Lima, *História da Música Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Editorial Dois Continentes, 1955, pp. 45-64.

<sup>9</sup> Certain statements seem strange today, such as that Ambrosian chant, in the seventh century, was heard in Portuguese churches (p. 22). This supposition is however related to the thesis argued by José Augusto Alegria in the same decade, according to which Ambrosian chant (that is, from Milan) would have been, like Mozarabic, a regionally acclimatised survivor of Roman chant before the latter's musical reform, attributed to Pope Gregory I: cf. ALEGRIA, José Augusto, “A música litúrgica e as interferências populares (Aplicação ao caso português)”, *Revista Lumen*, [Lisbon] (1958), pp. 42-44. This position, which has since been discredited, was perhaps supported by the fact that the last copyists of Beneventan chant, which was practised to the south of Rome, entitled it “Ambrosian”, thus recalling the Duchy of Benevento's link to the former Lombard power of Milan.

<sup>10</sup> Corbin's work is referred to on pp. 29-31. The esteem Alcobacense 162 is held in stems from the recovery of a newspaper chronicle published many years previously by the author: CRUZ, Maria Antonieta de Lima, “Alleluia – música religiosa”, *Eva*, nº 308, 4 April (1931), p. 22 (with a reproduction of a different page of the codex).

<sup>11</sup> BRANCO, João de Freitas, *História da Música Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Europa-América, 1959. Outside the musicological world the reception to Corbin was no less unsuccessful: a historian such as Oliveira Marques, in his book on Portuguese medieval society, made extremely limited use of her work, and in fact placed ecclesiastical music in his chapter on “diversions”, which shows a complete misunderstanding of its social importance and function. Cf. MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *A sociedade medieval portuguesa*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1964, pp. 214-215, 257-258.

It reproduces one of the transcriptions by Anglès, but has difficulty in describing his approach.

In fact, in the full version of the Marian collection published in 1943 (musical transcriptions) and 1958 (critical commentary and appendices, including a new edition of the *cantigas* by Martin Codax)<sup>12</sup>, the Catalan Jesuit had broken with the practice common until then of attributing to secular songs, composed in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, a rhythm based on “modal” patterns (adaptations of the Graeco-Latin rhythmic feet to the ternary metre) found in French polyphony of c. 1240-1290. He took this stance based on palaeographic grounds, for he attributed a clear mensural intent and a self-sufficient vocabulary to the musical notation of the Iberian copyists; this allowed him to arrive at precise rhythmical transcriptions, uncommon in their acceptance of binary metre and popular asymmetric rhythms, along with ternary rhythmic solutions more in conformity with French models.

## II.

### **A new musicological orthodoxy, and its Iberian consequences (1960-1985)**

In the field of secular monody, the idea that the troubadours would have exclusively used ‘modal’ rhythmic patterns in their melodies, as known from thirteenth century French polyphony, finally entered into crisis in the 1960s. The critique of the sociological anachronism and inadequacy of this “modal hypothesis”, which had dominated the 1920s and 1930s, became consensual. With the popularisation of recordings, it was no longer necessary for modern musical transcriptions to provide the rhythmic figures necessary for the performance of melodies. As such, international musicology came to prefer transcriptions that left open the problem of performing the notes in time. The old “equalist” (notes of equal duration) and “isosyllabic” (syllables of equal duration, regardless of the number of notes to sing on every syllable) hypotheses were then joined in by a less rigid historical imagination, drifting between “declamatory” intention and “re-improvisational” impulse, for which rhythmic neutrality was a *sine qua non* condition for exercising interpretative freedom. Such freedom was given a new aura in the light of the experiences of avant-garde music and individual aspirations as symbolised by May 1968, and was regarded as a central feature in the oral transmission of medieval songs. This

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<sup>12</sup> ANGLÉS PAMIES, Higinio, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, vol. 3 / 1st pt., Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1958.



intellectual approach, supported by its easy fit to notations stripped of rhythmic signs (which is what happens in most of the European troubadour sources), became fashionable in the 1970s. Once transformed into academic orthodoxy, it would not take too long before it was applied to Iberian *cantigas*, despite their melodies having been transmitted by rhythmically significant notations.

It was in the early eighties that the new musicological trends made themselves felt in the Ibero-American world. In 1982, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta (1939 –) published a rhythmically neutral edition of the *cantigas* by Martin Codax as written in the “*Vindel Parchment*”<sup>13</sup>. The influence of quantitative analytical methods, popularised in the post-war period, is evident in the systematic studies on the interval structure of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, developed by the same author<sup>14</sup>. More traditional, since it is based on categories from medieval treatise writers, is the structural analysis of the melodies proposed by the Argentine musicologist Victor Gerardo Huseby (1943-2003)<sup>15</sup>. He also produced an important article on the relationship between the poetic form and the musical form in this repertoire<sup>16</sup>. Given the intuitive comments by Anglès, Huseby’s work in the field of melodic modality reflected a greater demand for academic objectivity. He did not take into account, however, the analytical paradigm shift implied by Jean Claire (1920-2006) in his research published from the 1960s onwards.

## Other musicological, philological and historical influences

The works of Jean Claire assume an evolutionary dynamism that animates and transforms the melodic modality throughout the centuries, leaving traces in different strata of the liturgical repertoire<sup>17</sup>. His scepticism concerning the static

<sup>13</sup> FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA, Ismael, “Les *cantigas de amigo* de Martín Codax”, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, vol. 25 (1982), pp. 179-185 and four plates. His distrust of the rhythmic meaning of the notation in Iberian medieval sources was matched during the same period in an article by VAN DER WERF, Hendrik, “Accentuation and Duration in the Music of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*”, in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, proceedings of the International Symposium on the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year – 1981, Madison, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987, pp. 223-234.

<sup>14</sup> CUESTA, Ismael Fernández de la, “Los elementos melódicos en las *Cantigas de Santa María*”, *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 7 (1984), pp. 1-44.

<sup>15</sup> HUSEBY, Gerardo V., *The Cantigas de Santa Maria and the Medieval Theory of Mode*, doctoral thesis, Stanford University, 1982.

<sup>16</sup> HUSEBY, Gerardo V., “Musical Analysis and Poetic Structure in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*”, in GEARY, John S. (ed.), *Florilegium Hispanicum. Medieval and Golden Age Studies Presented to Dorothy Clotelle Clarke*, Madison, The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1983, pp. 81-101.

<sup>17</sup> Some studies: CLAIRE, Jean, “L’évolution modale dans les répertoires liturgiques occidentaux”, *Revue grégorienne*, vol. 40 (1962), pp. 196-211, 229-45; “La psalmodie responsoriale antique”, *Revue grégorienne*, vol. 41 (1963), pp. 8-27; “Évolution modale des antiennes...”, *ibid.*, pp. 49-62, 77-102; “L’évolution modale

classifications of medieval theorists, which he proposed be supplanted by the search for inherent musical orders, provided the space for approaches to the religious repertoire that were directly inspired by ethnomusicology and indirectly gave credence to research into the underlying formulas and structures (not necessarily coincident with the categories recognised in the treatises) in the secular monodic repertoire<sup>18</sup>.

With regard to the poetic texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, between 1960 and 1985 Romance philology expressed increased interest in the manuscript tradition and the critique of sources. Having sought to get closer to the mentality of the authors of the period, the formal rhythmic organisation of the poems was re-valued in the light of medieval rhetoric<sup>19</sup>. In the influential work of Paul Zumthor, a static concept of the text (connected to a closed concept of “work” to be transmitted) gave way to the concept of “textual *mouvance*” (mobility of textual states through appropriation procedures, allowing for different kinds of transformation); the complex relations between oral culture and written culture in the Middle Ages was rethought, putting into evidence the “vocality” of the lyrical work (from which results the need to interrogate it through its singing)<sup>20</sup>. Following the formalist analysis proposed by Roman Jakobson in “*Carta a Haroldo de Campos sobre a textura poética de Martin Codax*”, first published in 1970, a discussion arose concerning the implications of formal parallelism and its authorial manipulation, found in the “*cantigas d’amigo*”; this also enlivened the debate on the role of accentuation in traditional versification and the socio-linguistic aspect of textual variants was dealt with historically<sup>21</sup>.

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dans les récitatifs liturgiques”, *ibid.*, pp. 127-51; “L’Office férial Romano-Franc”, *Études grégoriennes*, vol. 15 (1975), pp. 7-192. The teaching of Jean Claire is to be found throughout in JEANNETEAU, Jean, *Los modos gregorianos. Historia-Análisis-Estética*, Santo Domingo de Silos, Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos, 1985.

<sup>18</sup> BESCOND, Albert-Jacques, *Le chant grégorien*, Paris, Buchet-Chastel, 1972. VAN DER WERF, Hendrik, *The chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: a Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems*, Utrecht, Oosthoek, 1972.

<sup>19</sup> DRAGONETTI, Roger, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: contribution à l’étude de la rhétorique médiévale*, Bruges, De Tempel, 1960; Genève-Paris-Gex, Slatkine, 1979. The contribution of the Italian philological school, of which the work of Elsa Gonçalves is a Portuguese example, was fundamental in its application of rhetorical strategy analysis to the Galician-Portuguese case: cf. GONÇALVES, Elsa, and Maria Ana Ramos, *A lírica galego-portuguesa*, Lisbon, Comunicação, 1983, pp. 71-76.

<sup>20</sup> ZUMTHOR, Paul, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paris, Seuil, 1972; IDEM, *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1984. During the same period, the Anglo-Saxon world contributed significantly to the debate on orality in literature: cf. ONG, Walter J., *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word*, London-New York, Methuen, 1982.

<sup>21</sup> JAKOBSON, Roman, “A textura poética de Martin Codax” [revised version of the “Carta a Haroldo de Campos”], in RECKERT, Stephen and Helder Macedo, *Do Cancioneiro de Amigo*, Lisbon, Assírio & Alvim, 1976, pp. 35-48; TAVANI, Giuseppe, *Poesia e ritmo: proposta para uma leitura do texto poético*, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1983. CUNHA, Celso, *Significância e movência na poesia trovadoresca. Questões de crítica textual*, Rio de Janeiro, Tempo Brasileiro, 1985.

Interest in the question of mentality and the processes of acculturation led José Mattoso to rewrite, from his attentive study of the monastic movement, the landscape of medieval culture in Portugal. This historian also joined forces with the efforts initiated by António Borges Coelho, to positively reintegrate the al-Andalus into Portuguese historical narrative, which the Salazarist mentality had undervalued<sup>22</sup>. In parallel, the development of Islamic studies, the discovery of new Arabic and Hebrew texts relating to Andalusian poetry (which showed the syncretic nature, not purely Arabic, both of the texts and music of these songs) combined with a reinterpretation of the musical treatises of the classical period to enable a rethinking of the panorama of musical culture of the south of the Peninsula at the end of the Middle Ages<sup>23</sup>.

### Research into medieval *cantigas* (1985-2010)

In publishing the work *O Som de Martin Codax* in 1986, Manuel Pedro Ferreira (1959- ) reacted creatively to a series of current issues (at the time) in the fields of musicology and Romance philology<sup>24</sup>. A direct re-examination of the Vindel parchment resulted in the reevaluation of its status and the identification of two musical copyists. Considering its contents as a literary and musical whole subordinated to a rhetorical programme covering six *cantigas*, two stages of performative *mouvance* were distinguished, leading to the substitution of the seventh *cantiga* for the sixth. Inherent melodic formulas and structures were analysed and the relationship between orality, memory and rhythmical steadiness was theorised in the light of experimental psychology. This resulted in the identification of musical patterns of a mnemonic nature and a rhapsodic rhythmical style. The author also explored the structural relationship between the singing and the poems, with attention given to the correspondences between verbal accent and musical accent. His study ended with a rhythmical transcription that sought to interpret the rhythmic measuring

<sup>22</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Le monachisme ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse du Porto de l'an mille à 1200*, Louvain, Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1968; IDEM, *Religião e Cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982; IDEM, *O essencial sobre a cultura medieval portuguesa (séculos XI a XIV)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1985. COELHO, António Borges (organisation, preface and notes), *Portugal na Espanha árabe*, vols. 1-4, Lisbon, Seara Nova, 1972-1975.

<sup>23</sup> MONROE, James T., "The Tune or the Words? (Singing Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry)", *Al-Qantara*, vol. 8 (1987), pp. 265–317. LIU, Benjamin M. e James T. Monroe, *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition – Music and Texts*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989. SAWA, George Dimitri, *Music Performance Practice in the Early Abbasid Era 132-320 AH / 750-932 AD*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989, p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *O Som de Martin Codax: Sobre a dimensão musical da lírica galego-portuguesa (séculos XII-XIV)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1986.

codes used by each of the copyists (“rhapsodic” rhythm / “modal” rhythm) and to distinguish between the different sections or nature of the verses (“base” / “coda”, stanza / refrain).

With the discovery by Harvey Sharrer in 1990 of a fragment containing music for seven *cantigas d’amor* by King Dinis, Manuel P. Ferreira investigated its relationship both with European troubadour music (as a possible example of *cantus coronatus*), and the construction of the Dinisian poetic texts, with which the melody is subtly in dialogue<sup>25</sup>. In an extensive commentary on the presence of musical instruments in Galician-Portuguese lyricism, which includes new proposed interpretations of the miniatures in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and poetic references to the “*citolão*”, the idea was tested whether Christopher Page’s thesis (according to which troubadour music is firstly, and mainly, an unaccompanied vocal art) could be applied to the Galician-Portuguese case<sup>26</sup>.

Further Portuguese musicological research was centred on the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Regarding the latter, Ferreira’s work led to important changes of perspective in relation to the positions of Anglès, with regard to the manuscript tradition (the historical position of the Toledo codex), to musical notation (empirical verification of the degrees and limits of measurability) and the influence of Andalusian culture on the formal models and the rhythmic profiles of the melodies collected by Alfonso the Learned. This latter reinterpretation became possible thanks to the modern rereading of al-Farabi and the contributions of ethnomusicology<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, “Relatório preliminar sobre o conteúdo musical do Fragmento Sharrer”, in *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1991, pp. 35-42; IDEM, *Cantus Coronatus – Sete cantigas d’amor d’El-Rei Dom Dinis*, Kassel, Reichenberger, 2005. See the review of this book by João Pedro d’Alvarenga in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, nos. 14-15 (2004-2005), pp. 243-48.

<sup>26</sup> PAGE, Christopher, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300*, London, Dent, 1987. See also CABRAL, Pedro Caldeira, *A guitarra portuguesa*, Madrid, SAPE / Ediclube, 1999, pp. 17-35: this summarises the results of organological research into the cittern, from an opposite point of view, by a talented multi-instrumentalist who has made a great contribution to the dissemination of secular medieval music in Portugal.

<sup>27</sup> FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Aspectos da Música Medieval no Ocidente Peninsular*, Lisbon, IN-CM / FCG, vol. 1: *Música palaciana*, 2009; vol. 2: *Música eclesiástica*, 2010 [with an addendum to vol. 1 on p. 255]. Most of the studies included here were originally published in English.

### III.

#### Gregorian studies (1960-1985)

The research field of ecclesiastical music, after Corbin, was marked by the discovery of hundreds of new primary sources, by the international development of the subject and the radical transformation of its conceptual horizon. Let us focus on the latter two aspects.

Solange Corbin was fully aware that the Gregorian liturgical musical repertoire consists of layers with different origins and chronologies, and that, starting from a common background, there was room in the post-Carolingian era for particular preferences to be shown in manuscripts, choices then consolidated in monastic or regional customs. But, besides the preferences concerning the cult of the saints, the comparative treatment of those liturgical variations in the mid-twentieth century was still taking its first steps. A systematic repertoire of pieces for the Divine Office was still not available: the inescapable *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, gradually organised by René-Jean Hesbert<sup>28</sup>.

Although Corbin published some comparative musical transcriptions, she did not carry out any analysis of melodic variants. In fact, at the beginning of the 1940s the preparatory work for the critical edition of the Gradual had not been carried out at the Solesmes Abbey, which showed the regional identity of many of these variations and, therefore, the possibility of establishing the probabilities of relationships between manuscripts with common variations. The study of particular repertoires of the Ordinary of the Mass, which revealed the regional variety of the melodic tradition, would be developed only in the 1950s within the German university system. The comparative examination of the melodies of the Proper of the Mass is more recent still.

The prominent place given to poetic compositions by Corbin reflects the existence of textual editions and a directory organised alphabetically, but the study and editing of the melodies of the hymns was primarily a post-war effort that remains incomplete. Furthermore, research on post-Carolingian extensions of Gregorian chant, in particular sequences and tropes (whose rarity in Portugal, in fact, was observed by Corbin), developed from the 1960s onwards<sup>29</sup>.

Finally, the conceptual framework of the historiographical work also changed significantly. The work in Solesmes in the mid-twentieth century involved the search

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<sup>28</sup> HESBERT, René-Jean, *Corpus antiphonarium officii* [Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 7-12], Roma, Herder, vols. 1-6, 1963-1979.

<sup>29</sup> For an overview of the development of Gregorian studies since the 1950s, see HILEY, David, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993.

for an archetype of Gregorian melodies in the Mass and the antiphony used in the Divine Office, in the belief that it was scientifically possible to restore the primitive canticles of Rome, even though this could be only done through manuscripts resulting from their later European dissemination. In the 1950s, the realisation that there was another melodic style practised in Rome in the eleventh-twelfth centuries which was older than Gregorian chant, challenged the old belief that Gregorian chant would have had a purely Roman origin or a very early development: perhaps it was a phenomenon involving synthesis, a recreation stabilised in the Carolingian period, or a phenomenon representative of only one aspect of the musical tradition of Rome<sup>30</sup>.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the argument that a fixed melodic archetype for the Proper of the Mass would have been spread throughout the Carolingian Empire, leading to the development of pneumatic writing, lost ground in the face of new historical approaches that valued oral transmission and the improvisational attitude which it allegedly espoused; Gregorian chant would not be fixed, but rather a repertoire undergoing permanent “re-improvisation”. This line of thought was represented by Leo Treitler and Helmut Hucke, and was opposed, in defence of the traditional view, by David Hughes and Kenneth Levy; a more in-depth critique of the “re-improvisational” hypothesis was developed by Peter Jeffery and Theodore Karp<sup>31</sup>.

The “semiological” research of Eugène Cardine and his followers, which began in the 1960s, remained outside this debate, being faithful to the idea that the study of ancient neumes would enable a primitive rhythmic profile to be retrieved; such research did, however, manage to overcome the traditional opposing views as to whether Gregorian chant has a rhythm of equal values per note or has musical metre, and it became an obligatory reference to those who remained faithful to its practice within Mass<sup>32</sup>. Gregorian semiology and the new modalism of Jean Claire,

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<sup>30</sup> APEL, Willi, “The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 9 (1956), pp. 118-127; BERNARD, Philippe, “Bilan historiographique de la question des rapports entre les chants ‘vieux-roman’ et ‘gregorien’”, *Ecclesia Orans*, vol. 11 (1994), pp. 323-53. The juncture of the historical questioning of Gregorian chant with the shock waves stemming from the Second Vatican Council led to the postponement *sine die* of the critical edition of the Roman Gradual, of which only three preparatory volumes were published between 1957 and 1962.

<sup>31</sup> JEFFERY, Peter, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992. KARP, Theodore, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant*, Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1998. Kenneth Levy, in successive articles, reformulated the musicological narrative on the emergence of Gregorian chant and its musical notation in important areas, bringing together palaeographic, analytical and historical data into a single coherent explanation, attributing a key role in the fixing and dissemination of the new repertoire to Charlemagne’s circle: cf. LEVY, Kenneth, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. GUILMARD, Jacques-Marie, “L’oeuvre sémiologique de Dom Eugène Cardine (1905-1988): Présentation et bibliographie”, *Studi gregoriani*, vol. 20 (2004), pp. 43-62. On the impact and the ideological limitations of the semiological movement, see FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, “Bases for Transcription: Gregorian

mentioned above, were the most influential legacies of the post-war research carried out in the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes, leading to the emergence of a choral “school” centred on Italian and German networks.

The hypothesis of a universal archetype for the antiphony of the Office, which René-Jean Hesbert tried to defend statistically, was in the 1980s faced with widespread scepticism within the academic community, which pointed to the arbitrariness of his method and the geographical bias of his results<sup>33</sup>. This resulted, firstly, in a devaluation of the central norm and the “restored” melodic versions, and, secondly, in the historical and aesthetic promotion of local and regional diversity, both in terms of melodic content and interpretative practice. The downgrading of Rome as the centre of Gregorian composition was followed by the decentralisation of Carolingian chant into regional varieties with equal claim to authenticity.

### The contribution of liturgical studies

Apart from the excellent essay by José de Oliveira Falcão, canon of the cathedral of Lisbon, on the Liturgy of martyr Saint Vincent of Saragossa in European medieval manuscripts<sup>34</sup>, research involving Portuguese liturgists would centre on the cathedral of Braga, through the efforts of the priests Joaquim Oliveira Bragança (1925), from the 1960s onwards, and Pedro Romano Rocha (1926-2005), from the following decade onwards. Both had been disciples of Pierre-Marie Gy (1922-2004) in Paris, the former between 1958 and 1962, the latter between 1963 and 1965. This was the period preparing for, and holding, the Second Vatican Council, in which the Dominican clergyman was actively involved as an expert. The liturgical reform of the Church, agreed at the council, then stimulated the comparative study of older sources, enhancing both their common historical background, and their local differences, showing creativity and selectivity with regard to a specific religious community. In the variety and liturgical dynamism of the Middle Ages, Pierre-

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Chant and the Notation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria”, in LÓPEZ-CALO, José (coord.), *Los instrumentos del Pórtico de la Gloria: Su reconstrucción y la música de su tiempo*, La Coruña, Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 595-621. On Cardine’s relationship with the editorial team at the Solesmes Monastery after the Council, see JEFFERY, Peter, “The New Chantbooks from Solesmes”, *Notes*, 2nd Ser., vol. 47, no. 4, June (1991), pp. 1039-1063.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. ROCHA, Pedro Romano, “Pour l’histoire de l’Office divin: le Corpus Antiphonarium Officii”, *Gregorianum*, vol. 60, no. 1 (1979), pp. 147-55; MÖLLER, Hartmut, “Research on the Antiphoner – Problems and Perspectives”, *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Society*, vol. 10 (1987), pp. 1-14.

<sup>34</sup> FALCÃO, José, *O mártir S. Vicente e a sua liturgia*, Lisbon, 1957 (2nd ed. updated: Lisbon, 1974). It took until 2010 for a fragment of an antiphoner with the Office for the Translation of São Vicente, from the Lisbon Cathedral (unpublished and under study at the time of writing), to be identified by Aires Augusto Nascimento.

-Marie Gy wanted to recognise the vitality of the processes of acculturation, through which spiritual life found ritual forms adapted to the conditions and desires of each social environment and the corresponding historical circumstance<sup>35</sup>.

In this context, elucidating the formation, content and the distinctive features of the Braga liturgical practice from sources further back in time was an important project not only from an academic point of view, as a foundation for understanding a particular historical experience of the Christian faith, but also from the practical point of view, as a step towards a possible revitalisation of the local cult based on tradition, involving the revision of its respective books so as to be liturgically updated within the spirit of the Council.

In the following we will refer only to the results obtained from the study and evaluation of Portuguese medieval sources. Joaquim Oliveira Bragança, who taught at the Catholic University of Portugal, in Lisbon, between 1968 and 1995, centred his work on the Missals, Pontificals and Rituals which mirror practice in Braga, establishing their genetic relations with the other liturgical traditions, above all in the Aquitaine area, and commenting on the origin and theological meaning of the less common prayers or blessings<sup>36</sup>. He has, in addition, provided us with several annotated editions of the text of manuscripts relating to the liturgies of Braga and Santa Cruz de Coimbra, including the famous *Missal de Mateus*, which is affiliated to the traditions of southwest France (as opposed to Pierre David's hypothesis that it originated in Tours, as accepted by Solange Corbin and Archdale King)<sup>37</sup>. He also enthusiastically promoted the facsimile publication of Portuguese liturgical sources

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<sup>35</sup> A selection of his most important articles were collected together in GY, Pierre-Marie, *La Liturgie dans l'histoire*, Paris, Editions du Cerf / Editions Saint-Paul, 1990. Bibliography: *Rituels – Mélanges offerts au Père Gy op*, Paris, Editions du Cerf, 1990, pp. 29-37; bibliographic supplement in PRÉTOT, Patrick, "Pierre-Marie Gy, historien et théologien au service de l'Église et de la liturgie", *La Maison-Dieu*, no. 246 (2006), pp. 89-137 [115-137].

<sup>36</sup> His oldest summary of the Braga practice was the article "A Liturgia de Braga", in *Miscelanea en memoria de Dom Mario Férotin, 1914-1964*, Madrid-Barcelona, CSIC, s.d. [1965], pp. 259-81. The compilation of thirty nine articles recently published in BRAGANÇA, Joaquim Oliveira, *Liturgia e espiritualidade na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Editora, 2008, includes the most important papers of the author regarding the liturgy of Braga. There is a biographical presentation and a bibliography, up to 1994, in a special issue of the journal *Didaskalia*, vol. 25 (1995), pp. 7-13.

<sup>37</sup> BRAGANÇA, Joaquim Oliveira, *Missal de Mateus: Manuscrito 1000 da Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Braga*, Lisbon, FCG, 1975; IDEM, *Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Porto, Bibl. Municipal, ms. 858*, Lisbon, author's edition, 1976 [reproduced almost entirely in "A música do Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra do séc. XIII", *Modus*, no. 1 (1987), pp. 37-190]; IDEM, *Pontifical de Braga do século XII: Porto, Bibl. Mun. ms. 1134, fol. 1-42*, Lisbon, Edições Didaskalia, 1978 [offprint from *Didaskalia*, vol. 7 (1977), pp. 309-397]; IDEM, *Ritual bracarense – Manuscrito do séc. XV: Porto, Bibl. Mun. Fundo Azevedo, ms. 81*, Lisbon, Edições Didaskalia, 1984.



with musical notation<sup>38</sup>. In addition, he wrote several articles on medieval themes, focused on liturgical manuscripts of non-Portuguese origin<sup>39</sup>.

Pedro Romano Rocha became professor of Liturgy at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome in 1975, where he was awarded the post of ordinary professor (full professor) in 1986; he returned to Portugal only when he had already retired, ten years later. He dedicated the historical side of his research to work on the Divine Office, studying the oldest Braga breviaries, and his edition in book form of the *Breviário de Soeiro* is, in this regard, exemplary<sup>40</sup>. His comparative study of the selection and ordering of parts of the Office for certain periods of the year, using sources from Braga, was fundamental to the study of the musical repertoire.

Moreover, one of the sources that Romano Rocha investigated most thoroughly is nowadays an antiphony at the cathedral of Toledo, codex 44.2, and his work made a decisive contribution to showing its relationship with these Portuguese manuscripts. His work also made it possible to delimit more precisely the proximity between Braga and Cluny, mediated by Aquitanian monasteries such as Moissac, and clearly locate the liturgy of Santa Cruz de Coimbra within the orbit of Saint Rufus of Avignon. Finally, it is of interest to emphasise the author's preference for historically rich issues, with use of extensive surveys based on a wide range of sources, which

<sup>38</sup> BRAGANÇA, Joaquim Oliveira, *Processional Tropário de Alcobça: Manuscrito 6207 da B. N. de Lisboa*, Lisbon, Instituto Gregoriano de Lisboa, 1984; IDEM, "A música do Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra do séc. XIII", *Modus*, no. 1 (1987), pp. 37-115 and facsimiles [pp. 117-190]. Pages 39-115 provide almost the complete contents of the *Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, cit.; IDEM, "A música do Pontifical de Braga do século XV", *Modus*, no. 2 (1988), pp. 57-230 [facsimile from MS. 870 of the Braga Public Library: pp. 70-229].

<sup>39</sup> Various articles collected together in BRAGANÇA, Joaquim Oliveira, *Liturgia e espiritualidade na Idade Média...*, and also: IDEM, "O *Ordo missae* de Reichenau", *Didaskalia*, no. 1 (1971), pp. 137-162; IDEM, "Um ritual inédito de baptism", *Didaskalia*, vol. 4 (1973), pp. 367-382; IDEM, "La Vierge Marie dans l'*ordo missae* medieval", in PONTIFICIA ACADEMIA MARIANA INTERNACIONALIS, *De cultu mariano saeculis XII-XV. Acta congressus mariologici-mariani internationalis Romae anno 1975 celebrati*. Roma, Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1981, vol. 2, pp. 121-133; IDEM, "O códice 3.985 da B. N. de Lisboa e sua problemática", *Modus*, no. 4 (1993-1997), pp. 5-10.

<sup>40</sup> ROCHA, Pedro Romano. "Um breviário bracarense na biblioteca do Escorial", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 9 (1970/71), pp. 41-54 [there is also a separately printed offprint, dated 1972]; IDEM, "As Vésperas Pascais na liturgia bracarense", *Theologica*, vol. 11 (1976), pp. 61-79; IDEM, *L'Office Divin au Moyen Age dans l'Eglise de Braga: Originalité et dépendances d'une liturgie particulière au Moyen Age*, Paris, FCG, 1980; IDEM, "Les sources languedociennes du Bréviaire de Braga", in *Liturgie et musique (IX<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, no. 17, Toulouse, Privat, 1982, pp. 185-207; IDEM, "Il sangue di Cristo nell' ambito delle tradizioni liturgiche portoghesi", in VATTIONI, Francesco (org.), *Sangue e antropologia nella Liturgia, Atti della IV. Settimana (Roma, 21-26 novembre 1983)*, Roma, Pia Unione Preziosissimo Sangue, 1984, vol. 3, pp. 1435-1450; IDEM, *Breviário Bracarense de 1494. Reprodução em fac-símile do exemplar da Biblioteca Nacional com introdução de Pedro Romano Rocha*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1987, pp. 7-30 [text written in 1972]; IDEM, "O Ofício Divino na tradição bracarense", in *IX Centenário da dedicação da Sé de Braga - Actas do Congresso internacional*, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 81-102; IDEM, "Semana Santa em Braga", in FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, and RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A. (orgs.), *A Catedral de Braga: Arte, Liturgia e Música dos fins do século XI à época tridentina*, Lisbon, Arte das Musas / CESEM, 2009, pp. 82-91; IDEM, "Os responsáveis do Ofício de Defuntos na Liturgia Bracarense", *ibid.*, pp. 148-51.

have allowed him to exercise a penetrating gaze and construct panoramic narratives about various subjects, within a peninsular or pan-European framework<sup>41</sup>.

### Research into ecclesiastical chant (1985-2010)

In an overview of Portuguese musicology written in 1984, Manuel Carlos de Brito lamented that Solange Corbin's scholarly *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age* (Paris 1952) has in a way "pre-empted" the field of liturgical music, especially since no true medievalist has as yet appeared in the country to carry on her research<sup>42</sup>. The situation, however, was about to change. After having trained in the field of secular monody, Manuel P. Ferreira carried out further studies in the United States, widening his competencies to medieval religious monody under the supervision of Kenneth Levy.

The paradigm shift in the approach to Gregorian chant, combined with the emergence of comprehensive inventories and easier access to original sources, enabled the emergence, from the 1990s onwards, of a series of comparative studies on the musical sources of the Braga practice. The contributions of Joaquim O. Bragança and Pedro R. Rocha, mentioned above, were ably extended musicologically through the publications of various scholars<sup>43</sup>. Using Portuguese sources, Manuel P. Ferreira was also able to contribute to the international study of the Visigothic (Mozarabic)

<sup>41</sup> IDEM, "Les 'tropes' ou versets de l'ancien Office des Ténèbres", in *Mens concordet voci* [Mélanges Martimort], Paris, Desclée, 1983, pp. 691-702; IDEM, "Le rayonnement de l'Ordre de Saint-Ruf dans la péninsule ibérique, d'après sa liturgie", in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe s.)*, Toulouse, Privat, 1989, pp. 193-208; IDEM, "Influjo de los antifonarios aquitanos en el Oficio Divino de las iglesias del noroeste de la Península", in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo – Actas del Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes: Toledo, 20-25 Mayo 1985*, Toledo, Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1990, vol. 4, pp. 27-45; IDEM, "La liturgia de Compostela a fines del siglo XII", in *Actas do Simposio internacional "O Pórtico da Glória e a Arte do seu tempo"*, A Coruña, Xunta de Galicia, 1991, pp. 397-410; "Liturgia della Cappella papale, liturgia dei Frati Minori e liturgia dei Frati Predicatori", in BOYLE, Leonard E. and GY, Pierre-Marie (eds.), *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, Paris-Rome, CNRS Éditions / École française de Rome, 2004 [Documents, études et répertoires (IRHT), 67 ; Collection de l'École française de Rome, 327], pp. 115-25.

<sup>42</sup> BRITO, Manuel Carlos de, "Musicology in Portugal since 1960", *Acta musicologica*, vol. 56 (1984), pp. 29-47 [36].

<sup>43</sup> FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Aspectos da música medieval...*, vol. 2, chaps. 3-8. ALVARENGA, João Pedro d', "Fragmento de um Breviário notado bracarense do século XIII", in *Estudos de Musicologia*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2002, pp. 11-33 (this article also contains, from the perspective of comparative studies, methodological suggestions worthy of attention). FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, and RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A. (orgs.), *A Sé de Braga. Arte, Liturgia e Música, do final do século XI à época tridentina...* See also the analysis of medieval sources by CARDOSO, José Maria Pedrosa, *O canto da Paixão nos séculos XVI e XVII: A singularidade portuguesa*, Coimbra, IUC, 2006, pp. 115-130, 163-169, 425-428, and the liturgical study of a fragment of a noted Missal by CARVALHO, Joaquim Félix de, "Fragmentos litúrgicos de Braga", in *Didaskalia*, vol. 40, no. 2 (2010), pp. 93-111 [105-8].

and Gallican rites, the Benedictine movement and Cistercian polyphony<sup>44</sup>. Certain repertoires beyond the Pyrenees were also the subject of direct historical research<sup>45</sup>.

In recent years, dozens of codices and hundreds of fragments with musical notation have been identified in the national archives, some of which have led to the modification or abandonment of former interpretative hypotheses. The discovery in Lamego of evidence of the Visigothic rite with Leonese notation, for example, countered Corbin's argument according to which the Toledan notation found in a fragment from Coimbra would indicate this notation was used throughout the Western Peninsula. In fact, there is a high probability that there was no notational tradition of its own in Portuguese territory in the tenth and eleventh centuries; this latter fragment may have come from a codex imported directly from Toledo<sup>46</sup>.

The late medieval "Portuguese notation" originally described by Corbin also underwent significant conceptual adjustments. Once Marie-Noël Colette, her most eminent disciple, had discovered the origin of the system popularised in Portugal in some Aquitanian sources, it became necessary to revise both the narrative of its development, and the dates proposed for its use<sup>47</sup>. Contrary to what was initially thought, there was no reason to suppose either an experimental period or a decadent period within the Portuguese sources, although there was some evolution and simplification of the notational forms, linked to the gradual emergence and affirmation of the Gothic script. Colette suggested that the Portuguese copyists assimilated the special (sub-semitonal) point – used in the regions of Limoges and Moissac towards the end of the eleventh century – through musical additions to the *Missal de Mateus*. Written in Aquitaine between 1130 and 1150, this codex was provided in Portugal before 1176, with a Braga liturgical calendar; the notational assimilation could therefore have occurred in the third quarter of the twelfth century (if the Missal had already by then shown some of its musical notation), contrary to Corbin's hypothesis, which had proposed a local development of the system at the end of that century.

<sup>44</sup> FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Aspectos da música medieval...*, vol. 2, chaps. 1, 2-4, 9.

<sup>45</sup> Some examples: FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, "Mesure et temporalité: vers l'Ars Nova", in *La rationalisation du temps au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle – Musiques et mentalités (Actes du colloque de Royaumont, 1991)*, Royaumont, Créaphis, 1998, pp. 65-120; *Porto 714: Um manuscrito precioso* (Facsimile of manuscript 714 of the Biblioteca Pública Municipal of Oporto, with an introductory study by Manuel Pedro Ferreira), Oporto, Campo das Letras, 2001; "Liturgie et musique à Cluny", *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie*, no. 269 (Dec. 2001-Jan. 2002), pp. 40-47; "Is it polyphony?" [The *Versus de Sancto Marziale* by Adémar of Chabannes], *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, no. 12 (2002), pp. 9-34.

<sup>46</sup> CORBIN, Solange, *Essai...*, p. 248; FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Aspectos da música medieval...*, vol. 2, chap. 3 (preliminary English version: *Revista de Musicologia*, vol. 16 (1993), pp. 457-76).

<sup>47</sup> CORBIN, Solange, *Essai...*, pp. 247-61; COLETTE, Marie-Noël, "La notation du demi-ton dans le manuscrit Paris, B. N. Lat. 1139 et dans quelques manuscrits du Sud de la France", in LEONARDI, Claudio, and MENESTO, Enrico (eds.), *La Tradizione dei tropi liturgici. Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici, Parigi (15-19 ottobre 1983), Perugia (2-5 settembre 1987)*, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990, pp. 297-311.

However, it is in fact unnecessary to suppose any influence from the *Missal de Mateus*: the special point had already appeared in a fragment written by an Iberian copyist, probably in Braga, on a date close to 1100<sup>48</sup>.

Given that this was a variety of Aquitaine notation without any characteristics of its own, the suitability of the phrase “notação portuguesa” (Portuguese notation) was also called into question, with detailed argumentation, by João Pedro d’Alvarenga<sup>49</sup>. However, it is indisputable that the system was largely followed in Portugal until the fifteenth century, in the manuscripts recorded south of the river Lima by the secular, regular and Benedictine clergy, and this differed from the sources from the region of Valença (Diocese of Tui) and, in general, from Spanish sources, so the palaeographic unsuitability of the term may be partially compensated for by its relevance as a geographical marker.

In 2000, the Department of Musical Sciences at Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Nova University of Lisbon added a medievalist to its academic staff. Since the study of medieval chant in Portugal presupposes a wider European scene – and can in turn contribute significantly to knowledge about the latter – an international colloquium on medieval monody was organised for the first time in Portugal in 2005, and dedicated to the memory of Solange Corbin<sup>50</sup>. Since then, galvanised by projects funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT), research has taken on a collective dimension, with the participation of invited foreign musicologists and master or doctoral students. The first historical overview of medieval music in Portugal appeared in 2008, based on direct knowledge of sources and the collection of a wide range of evidence<sup>51</sup>.

This overview benefited from the results of a project supported by FCT, the “Digital survey of pre-1600 musical sources” (POCTI/EAT/46895/2002), which produced a tentative, summarised inventory and full digitalisation of 162 codices and 1420 fragments with musical notation, datable from the tenth until the beginning of the seventeenth century, and preserved in Tui and in thirty-five national libraries and archives (located outside Lisbon and Oporto). At the same time, preliminary studies have been carried out so as to identify “Cultural confluences in the music of Alfonso X” (POCTI/EAT/38623/2001). A full diplomatic transcription of the

<sup>48</sup> FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, *Aspectos da música medieval...*, vol. 2, p. 196 and Plates XIII-XVI (the fragment contains part of the proper Offices for Saint Gerald of Aurillac and for Saint Brice).

<sup>49</sup> ALVARENGA, João Pedro de, “Breves notas sobre a representação do meio-tom nos manuscritos litúrgicos medievais portugueses, ou o mito da ‘notação portuguesa’”, in FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro (ed.), *Medieval Sacred Chant: from Japan to Portugal/Canto sacro medieval: do Japão a Portugal* [communications to de colloquium *Monodia Sacra Medieval*], Lisbon, Colibri / CESEM, 2008, pp. 203-19.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro (ed.), *Medieval Sacred Chant...*

<sup>51</sup> IDEM, *Antologia de Música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento*, 2 vols. and 2 CD-ROMs, Lisbon: Arte das Musas / CESEM, 2008 [vol. 1, pp. 9-62]. There is a review of this book by José Mattoso in the journal *Medievalista* [online], no. 7 (2009).

musical notation in the medieval sources of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* examined *in loco*, has resulted from these preparations, and also a database which, on the basis of these transcriptions, will enable automatic searches of melodic or notational passages throughout the repertoire; the set of transcriptions should shortly be made available on the Internet. Among the expected fruits of the ongoing project “Musical exchanges, 1100-1650: The circulation of early music in Europe and overseas in Iberian and Iberian-related sources” (PTDC/EAT-MMU/105624/2008), will be an expansion of the documental base of sources with musical notation in Portuguese archives and the setting up of a database (*Portuguese Early Music database*)<sup>52</sup> to allow online access to these sources and the systematic indexing of its contents, enabling partial integration into international databases and facilitating their comparative study<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> To be available at: <http://pem.fcsch.unl.pt>

<sup>53</sup> The pace of research established since 2005 at FCSH-UNL, benefitting from the framework offered by CESEM (Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical), can be exemplified by the following studies: FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro (in partnership with HUGLO, Michel), “O processional português de Chicago”, *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, nos. 14-15 (2004-2005), pp. 55-78; FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro, “Cluny at Fynystere: One Use, Three Fragments”, in BAILEY, Terence, and DOBSZAY, László (eds.), *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, Ottawa – Budapest: The Institute of Mediaeval Music / Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2007, pp. 179-228; IDEM (with FORTU, Mara), “A música antiga nos manuscritos de Arouca: contribuição para um catálogo”, in MELO, Ângela (coord.), *O órgão do Mosteiro de Arouca: conservação e restauro do património musical*, Vila Real / Arouca, Direcção Regional de Cultura do Norte / Câmara Municipal de Arouca, 2009, pp. 40-53. ARAÚJO, Rui, “A problemática das fontes da lírica musical medieval galego-portuguesa” in *I Congresso Galego Mocidade Investigadora*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2007, pp. 265-70. VEIGA, Diogo Alte da, “O Aleluia na monodia litúrgica em Portugal até 1600: comparações melódicas”, master’s dissertation, FCSH-UNL, 2009. POLIAKOVA, Svetlana Y., “Sin 319 and Voskr 27 and the Triodion cycle in the liturgical praxis in Russia during the Studite period”, doctoral thesis, FCSH-UNL, 2009. In 2009 the Portuguese participation at the biannual group of studies *Cantus planus*, of the International Musicology Society, included papers from four different researchers from CESEM.



# *The Study of Medieval Art*

*Maria Leonor Botelho\**

In recent decades, historiographical work on Portuguese medieval art has resulted in large part from master's dissertations and doctoral theses submitted to the *Faculdades de Letras* of Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto and the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Nova University of Lisbon (FCSH-UNL). On a lesser scale, given the size of the departments or institutes and the courses of study they offer, the Universities of Minho and of Algarve have also contributed to the work on the subject.

Research undertaken within the research centres of the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia has boosted the development of projects, sometimes involving larger diatopical and diachronic dimensions, in-depth considerations of issues, or even at times an appropriate methodological plurality.

Since the 1990s, catalogues have been prepared for a series of national and international exhibitions, leading to fresh ways of analysing medieval art collection in Portugal. In this sense, the advancement of art history has consisted mainly of placing these pieces within a European context and of the deepening of iconological and formal analyses.

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\* Including the contributions/bibliographic surveys, in the order in which they appear in the text, of Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas (DCTP/FL-UP) concerning the introduction/state of the art, of Luís Urbano Afonso (IHA/FL-UL) concerning mural painting and of Maria Adelaide Miranda (IEM/FCSH-UNL) concerning aspects regarding the study of medieval illumination. I should like to thank everyone for their contributions, which were fundamental to the enrichment of this study.

The historiography of medieval Portugal, in particular that which has addressed issues of urban history and the founding of funeral chapels, on which many documents have been published, enables us to reconsider certain ideas on contemporary building and entombment practices and the history of this phenomenon, among other topics.

Research in recent decades has raised certain key questions for progress in the area, one of which is the notion of *style*.

The concept of *style* and the chronology of its beginning, progress and decline, from which a linear mechanism can be deduced to explain its influences and the modes of transition of forms is an issue that excessively rooted in the historiography of art. As Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida has noted, between a work of “good style” of the thirteenth century and another of the same type of the late fifteenth century, there are such differences in the rules that it is only by tradition and inertia, or in terms of a much more wide-ranging concept of *style*, that the two are included within the same classification<sup>1</sup>.

In referring to new avenues of historical and artistic research, Vítor Serrão, evoking Carlo Ginsburg, appeals to the operative notion of “high” and “low,” a concept that applies to all creative behaviour within a certain time and space, whether that of *periferismo*, characterised by a timelessness, a rural context, and by the freedom of local models (the “low”). As opposed to so-called “high culture” generated at the *centres* by a world fertilised by artists steeped in learning and culture (the “high”)<sup>2</sup>.

This working model has been very useful for studying Portuguese medieval art, especially in its *peripheral* and/or *late* expressions which are usually designated as epi-Romanesque, late-Romanesque, proto-Gothic or rural-Gothic, which, taken together, constitute a considerable proportion of Portuguese medieval art.

Taking into account the focus of this overview, I begin my account of the history of medieval art in 1942, when Portucalense Editora published the first volume of the *História da Arte em Portugal*, by Aarão de Lacerda (1890-1947)<sup>3</sup>. The Preface of this volume verifies at the outset the absence of any earlier publication devoted to Portuguese art<sup>4</sup>. It should be emphasised, however, that this history of art is by no means considered definitive, given so many historiographical problems remained

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<sup>1</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *História da Arte em Portugal. O Gótico*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2002, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> SERRÃO, Vítor, *A Cripto-História da Arte. Análise de obras de Arte Inexistentes*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2001, pp. 220-221.

<sup>3</sup> LACERDA, Aarão, *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 1, Oporto, Portucalense Editora, SARL, 1942.

<sup>4</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 5.



to be resolved. In this work, the approach is cultural and we must highlight its character as a synthesis and its vision of Portuguese medieval art as a whole.

In the nationalist art environment firmly in place in the mid-twentieth century, the name of Reinaldo dos Santos (1880-1970) should be highlighted, in connection with several key publications such as *O Românico em Portugal*<sup>5</sup>, *A Escultura em Portugal*<sup>6</sup> and *Oito Séculos de Arte Portuguesa. História e Espírito*<sup>7</sup>. The ambition of this Portuguese urologist devoted to art was to pinpoint an element constantly present in the evolution of Portuguese Art, something clearly manifest in *O Espírito e a Essência da Arte em Portugal*<sup>8</sup>.

Questioning whether Portugal possessed a spirit of her own, and recognising in architecture the deepest expression of collective feeling, Reinaldo dos Santos detected Romanesque features in the various styles that succeeded it, thus identifying national architecture as the expression of a common feeling<sup>9</sup>.

In his analysis of the evolution of Gothic sculpture, Reinaldo dos Santos drew our attention to the dominance of Coimbra in producing sculpture, a theme that would later be taken up again by Pedro Dias, and further discussed by Carla Varela Fernandes. The latter author studied the Coimbra area during its *Gothic years*, but at the level of the human figures produced in its workshops between 1300 and 1520<sup>10</sup>. Until then Gothic sculpture had been discussed only in a generic way in the history of art. Years later, this writer dedicated a fresh study to the theme of medieval sculpture, specifically the *Iconologia da Família Real Portuguesa* during the *Primeira Dinastia (Séculos XII a XIV)*<sup>11</sup>, this time analysing the intrinsic content of images made for members of the royal family, and giving special emphasis to the figuration of the royal tomb in the Gothic period.

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<sup>5</sup> SANTOS, Reynaldo dos, *O Românico em Portugal*, Lisbon, Editorial Sul, 1955 (photography's of Mário Novais).

<sup>6</sup> IDEM, *A Escultura em Portugal*, vol. 1: *Séculos XII a XV*, Lisbon, Oficinas Gráficas de Bertrand (Irmãos), Lda., 1948.

<sup>7</sup> IDEM, *Oito Séculos de Arte Portuguesa. História e Espírito*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade / Editorial Notícias, 1964-1970.

<sup>8</sup> IDEM, "O Espírito e a Essência da Arte em Portugal", *Conferências de Arte*, 2nd ser., Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1943, pp. 7-36. For a more detailed analysis of this matter, see what I have written in BOTELHO, Maria Leonor, *A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal (1870-2010)*, unpublished doctoral thesis in History of Portuguese Art, carried out under the supervision of Professor Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas, Oporto, FL-UP, 2010, vol. 1, pp. 237-244.

<sup>9</sup> SANTOS, Reynaldo dos, "O Espírito e a Essência da Arte em Portugal"... , p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> FERNANDES, Carla Varela, *Imaginária Coimbrã nos Anos do Gótico*, unpublished master's dissertation in the History of Art, carried out under the supervision of Professor Manuel Nuñez Rodríguez, 2 vols., Lisbon, FL-UL, 1997.

<sup>11</sup> EADEM, *Poder e Representação. Iconologia da Família Real Portuguesa. Primeira Dinastia. Séculos XII a XIV*, unpublished doctoral thesis in the History of Portuguese Art under the supervision of Professor Vítor Serrão, 2 vols., Lisbon, FL-UL, 2004.

While considering the mid-century, mention should also be made of the *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*<sup>12</sup>, carried out by the Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes, of which Reinaldo dos Santos was director between 1937 and 1967, and which provided information, through field work by various well-known writers, of medieval artistic patrimony from the most varied of periods, suitably accompanied by the corresponding artistic and historical details.

One aspect, however, should be emphasised. These works of dissemination and of a monumental character in the study of medieval Portuguese art, would not have had the same impact if there had not occurred earlier major historiographical developments, the fruit of the assimilation of extremely varied concepts, as well as the proliferation of studies devoted to the pre-Romanesque, Romanesque and Gothic periods, at very different levels and based on many different aspects. The historiographical achievements of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, both in Portugal and abroad, were fundamental to a project of this size being published in Portugal, despite the propagandist and self-publicising air associated with it<sup>13</sup>.

The period between 1955 and 1966 saw the appearance of two new writers devoted to medieval art, Artur Nobre de Gusmão (1920-2001) and António Coelho de Sousa Oliveira Júnior (1910-1972). Their publications on the Romanesque, despite being small in number, showed innovative, if somewhat formalist and interpretative approaches. They were mainly focused on sculpture, showing the influence of works by the Swiss Heinrich Wölfflin<sup>14</sup> (1864-1945), the French Henri Focillon (1881-1943) and the Lithuanian Jurgis Baltrusaitis<sup>15</sup> (1873-1944)<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, Lisbon, Academia Nacional de Belas Artes / IPPAR, 2000, CD-ROM.

<sup>13</sup> Space here does not allow for a discussion of the historiographical progress achieved by this work. For further considerations on this matter, see what I have written in *A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal...*

<sup>14</sup> WÖLFFLIN, Heinrich, *Conceitos fundamentais da História da Arte. O Problema da evolução dos estilos na Arte mais recente*, São Paulo, Martins Fontes, 1984.

<sup>15</sup> BALTRUSAITIS, Jurgis, *Art Sumérien. Art Roman*, Paris, Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1943 and IDEM, *Formations. Déformations. La Stylistique Ornementale dans la Sculpture Romane*, Idées et Recherches, Paris, Flammarion, 1986.

<sup>16</sup> For a more in-depth analysis of the extent of these influences in the work of these two Portuguese writers, see what I have written on the subject in *A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 246-248.

Considered “one of the greatest Portuguese art historians from the middle period and the second half of the twentieth century,”<sup>17</sup> Artur Nobre de Gusmão stands out for his study of medieval art, particularly in of work related to the Cistercian order<sup>18</sup> and the geometrical motifs that characterised the decorative Romanesque sculpture of the Portuguese Northwest<sup>19</sup>.

The theme of Cistercian architecture and construction was later taken up by Manuel Luís Real<sup>20</sup>, on the occasion of the bilateral exhibition held in La Coruña and Lisbon on the Cistercian art of Galicia and Portugal. In an extensive study, the writer discusses, in addition to the history of this particular form of medieval art, various aspects relating to its emergence and expansion into the territory that would become Portugal. The *space* of the Cistercian monastery is thus addressed at various levels, from its establishment to aspects of the construction itself, and finally, by analysing the similarities between the buildings constructed by this monastic order and by others, such as the Benedictines, enabling us to draw up a regional matrix.

Original, too, was his suggested reading of the spatial organisation of Benedictine churches<sup>21</sup>, and Augustine churches<sup>22</sup>, a theme always dear to this archaeologist<sup>23</sup>. The author’s purpose was to address typological issues through their cultural implications, and not as an end in themselves. His development of a methodology for the archaeology of architecture that Manuel Real led him to

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<sup>17</sup> “[U]n dos máis grandes historiadores da Arte Portuguesa dos anos centrais e da segunda metade do século XX. VALLE PÉREZ, Xosé Carlos, “O Professor Artur Nobre de Gusmão e os estudos sobre a arte da idade media en Portugal”, in FERNANDES, Maria Luísa Garcia, José Carlos Rodrigues, and José Manuel Tedim (coords.), *II Congresso Internacional de História da Arte 2001: Portugal, Encruzilhada de Culturas, das Artes e das Sensibilidades*, Coimbra, Livraria Almedina, 2004, p. 515.

<sup>18</sup> GUSMÃO, Artur Nobre de, *A Real Abadia de Alcobaça. Estudo Histórico-Arqueológico*, Lisbon, Editora Ulisseia, 1948 and IDEM, *A Expansão da Arquitectura Borgonhesa e os Mosteiros de Cister em Portugal (Ensaio de Arqueologia da Idade Média)*, Lisbon, s.n., 1956.

<sup>19</sup> IDEM, *Românico Português do Noroeste. Alguns motivos geométricos na escultura decorativa*, Lisbon, Sociedade Industrial Gráfica, 1961, dissertation for the post of Professor of the 8th Group of the Escola Superior de Belas Artes of Lisbon.

<sup>20</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, “A construção cisterciense em Portugal durante a Idade Média”, in RODRIGUES, Jorge and Xosé Carlos Valle Pérez (coords.), *Arte de Cister em Portugal e Galiza*, (trilingual edition in Portuguese, Spanish and French) Lisbon / La Coruña, FCG / Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1998, pp. 42-97.

<sup>21</sup> The issue of the characteristic art of the Benedictine Order in Portugal had been previously raised by Manuel Monteiro, despite it not having had a major impact on his work concerning Portuguese Romanesque work. Cf. MONTEIRO, Manuel, “A arquitectura dos beneditinos no século XII em Coimbra”, *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 6 December (1947), pp. 1-2. José Mattoso also published a considered paper on this topic seven years later, which it is thought would have greatly influenced the thinking of Manuel Luís Real in this regard. Cf. ESCOLÁSTICA, Fr. José de Santa, “O Românico Beneditino em Portugal”, in SOUSA, Dom Abade Gabriel de, *Ora & Labora, Revista Litúrgica Beneditina*, 1st yr., Negrelos, Mosteiro de Singeverga, 1954 [Frei José de Santa Escolástica was the ecclesiastical name of José Mattoso].

<sup>22</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, “A organização do espaço arquitectónico entre Beneditinos e Agostinhos, no séc. XII”, *Arqueologia*, no. 6 (December, 1982), pp. 118-132.

<sup>23</sup> For a more in-depth analysis of this matter, see what I have written in *A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 280-284.

significant field work, in particular on the Romanesque churches of São Pedro de Rates<sup>24</sup>, São Pedro de Ferreira<sup>25</sup> and São Pedro de Roriz<sup>26</sup>.

More recently, he has focused the evidence bequeathed by the early Middle Ages, both in terms of the Suebi-Visigoth<sup>27</sup>, and of the Arab (and their various levels of penetration)<sup>28</sup>, and at times both simultaneously<sup>29</sup>, always basing his findings on a detailed analysis of the archaeologically exhumed remains. This author is acutely aware of the large time frame of the so-called *pre-Romanesque*<sup>30</sup>, lasting almost half a millennium, in which he has been studying the union between the various influences from outside the Iberian Peninsula with local elements<sup>31</sup>, in a diversified series of studies published in national and foreign journals.

Stepping a little further back in time. António Coelho de Sousa Oliveira was a doctor from Oporto who, working with Pedro Vitorino (1882-1944) and Armando de Mattos (1899-1953), began his studies on the Portuguese Romanesque era<sup>32</sup>. He has long been regarded internationally as one of its most outstanding experts, but his work is scattered through many periodicals, so that much of his contribution remains to be studied<sup>33</sup>.

Sousa Oliveira studied Romanesque sculpture in great depth<sup>34</sup>. But one of his greatest contributions was his proposal to establish a “Centre for the Study of

<sup>24</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, *O românico condal em S. Pedro de Rates e as transformações beneditinas do séc. XII*, Póvoa de Varzim, offprint of *Boletim Cultural ‘Póvoa de Varzim’*, vol. 21, no.1 (1982).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. IDEM, *A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência estilística*, offprint of *Paços de Ferreira - Estudos Monográficos*, Paços de Ferreira, [Câmara Municipal de Paços de Ferreira], 1986, pp. 247-294.

<sup>26</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, and SÁ, Pedro, *O Mosteiro de Roriz na Arte Românica do Douro Litoral*, Santo Tirso, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1982.

<sup>27</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, “A escultura decorativa em Portugal: o grupo “Portucalense”, in *Escultura decorativa tardorromana e altomedieval en la Península Ibérica, Anejos de ‘Archivo Español de Arqueología’*, Madrid, CSIC, 2007, pp. 133-170, and REAL, Manuel Luís and BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “As Caixas-Relicário de São Torcato. Guimarães (séculos X-XIII)”, in TORRES, Cláudio (dir.), *Arqueologia Medieval*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1992, pp. 135-168.

<sup>28</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, “Os Moçárabes do Gharb português”, in *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998, pp. 35-86.

<sup>29</sup> IDEM, “Portugal: cultura visigoda e cultura moçárabe”, in *Visigodos y Omeyas: un debate entre la Tardo Antigüedad y la Alta Edad Media*, Anejos de *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, Madrid, CSIC, 2000, pp. 21-75.

<sup>30</sup> IDEM, “A Arquitectura Pré-Românica do Norte de Portugal”, in HIDALGO CUÑARRO, José Manuel, and PULGAR SABÍN, Carlos de (dirs.), *Arte e Cultura da Galiza e Norte de Portugal. Arquitectura*, Vigo, Nova Galicia Edições, 2006, pp. 94-113.

<sup>31</sup> IDEM, “Inovação e Resistência: dados recentes sobre a antiguidade cristã no ocidente peninsular”, in *IV Reunión D’Arqueologia Cristiana Hispánica (Lisboa 1892)*, Barcelona, 1995, pp. 17-68.

<sup>32</sup> OLIVEIRA JÚNIOR, António Coelho de Sousa, in *Enciclopédia Verbo Luso-Brasileira de Cultura: Edição Século XXI*, Lisbon / São Paulo, Editorial Verbo, 1999, vol. 21, p. 731.

<sup>33</sup> The work of this writer is still today very little studied by specialists of the period. See what I have written about this in *A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 252-258.

<sup>34</sup> OLIVEIRA, António de Sousa, “Santa Maria de Águas Santas. Igreja de duas naves”, *Boletim dos ‘Amigos do Porto’*, [Oporto, Associação Cultural dos ‘Amigos do Porto’], vol. 2, no. 4 (1957), p. 21.

the Portuguese Romanesque” in Oporto – arguing his case in a typically thorough manner in the magazine *O Tripeiro*<sup>35</sup>.

It was at this time that the American Arthur Kingsley Porter (1885-1933), a professor at Yale and Harvard, devoted himself to Romanesque, particularly Iberian, sculpture<sup>36</sup>, discussing the evidence for a specifically Portuguese Romanesque style, as exemplified by São Pedro de Rates, Vilar de Frades, Rio Mau and Paço de Sousa.

Regarding Gothic architecture, it was in this same period that Mário Tavares Chicó (1905-1966) came to prominence. Until 1956, when the first edition of *A Arquitectura Gótica em Portugal* was published<sup>37</sup>, artistic activity in Portugal of the so-called Gothic period remained poorly understood. In a powerful overview of national architecture of the period, Chicó placed it in the context of contemporary European architecture, while recognising the original and uniform way this style developed in Portugal. Influenced by the formalist analysis of Henri Focillon, Chicó outlined as its *founding father* a complete panorama of Portuguese Gothic from the twelfth-thirteenth to the fourteenth century.

There was a gradual, often timid, attempt to understand the environment that generated medieval art in Portugal, but until the mid-1960s this was usually given very narrow focus, linking its evidence to specific historical moments. Writing about art was governed for too long by the *historical values* associated with the terms *antiquity* and *patriotism*. Medieval architecture was approached as the reflection of a given historical moment, taking its form in consonance with the “environment” in which it appeared. Only later was it possible for Portuguese historiography to consider a more global perspective, mainly shown in works published in Portuguese and foreign academic circles.

At the same time, there occurred an extremely significant increase in multidisciplinary approaches, involving the contribution of such historical sciences as epigraphy, palaeography and diplomatics, and numismatics, as well as social sciences such as anthropology and ethnography. These materials converged to achieve a common end – a greater and more acute approximation to the life and work of our ancestors who have bequeathed not only monuments, archaeological objects and documents, but also a landscape, customs, and languages, in short, everything that constitutes our culture<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> IDEM, “Um Centro de ‘Estudos do Românico Português’ na sua capital – o Porto”, *O Tripeiro*, [Oporto], 6th ser., yr. 5 (1965), pp. 104-106.

<sup>36</sup> PORTER, A. Kingsley, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 2 vols, New York, Hacker Art Books, 1969.

<sup>37</sup> CHICÓ, Mário T., “Nota à 2ª Edição”, in *A Arquitectura Gótica em Portugal*, 4th ed., Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2005, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> NUÑO GONZÁLEZ, Jaime, “Aportación de la Historia, de la Arqueología y de las ciencias auxiliares al conocimiento del estilo románico”, in *Iniciación al Arte Románico*, 3rd ed. Aguilar del Campo, Fundación Santa María la Real – CER, 2005, pp. 81-82.

In the late 1960s, José Mattoso inaugurated a new way of looking at the Portuguese Romanesque period, through his doctoral thesis on the monastic history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, submitted to the Catholic University of Louvain<sup>39</sup>.

It was through monastic history that José Mattoso made his contributions to the history of medieval art, in particular, the Romanesque period<sup>40</sup>. An example to be noted at the outset is his *Românico Beneditino em Portugal*<sup>41</sup>. He was well aware that Romanesque architecture was a complex phenomenon requiring expertise and systematic study. Having proposed to interpret in the light of economic and social history<sup>42</sup> – as he had done over many years with regard to monastic, religious, cultural and liturgical history<sup>43</sup> – the Romanesque became more than an artistic style, but a complex historic moment, involving mental, religious, liturgical, social and economic dimensions. The Romanesque in short, became a period.

Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1934-1996) introduced an ethnographic and anthropological dimension to the study of the Romanesque, providing a fresh look at the architecture, and taking the art history as his pretext for an anthropological and cultural approach to the period. Whether dealing with the art of the early Middle Ages or the Romanesque or Gothic periods, he could always be relied on to provide a comprehensive analysis that has not always been understood in its entirety. His contribution is so significant he remains is one of the main references in medieval art, given the scope and timeliness of his studies. Completely innovative in his own day, he showed knowledge of the international literature, citing well-known authors, not only art history of but also the history of religion and spirituality, the history of technique, etc. His grasp in-depth of the work of geographers like Alberto Sampaio (1841-1908) and Orlando Ribeiro (1911-1997) was a key element in marking out his particular path, especially with regard to spatial

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<sup>39</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Le Monachisme Ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mil à 1200*, 2 vols., 1966, master's dissertation presented at the Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres of University of Louvain for the degree of docteur en sciences historiques (typewritten manuscript), and IDEM, *Le Monachisme Ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mil à 1200*, Louvain, Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1968.

<sup>40</sup> See what I have written in *A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 260-265.

<sup>41</sup> ESCOLÁSTICA, Fr. José de Santa, "O Românico Beneditino em Portugal"..., pp. 25-34, 78-89, 144-151, 203-213, 270-277 and 215-230.

<sup>42</sup> MATTOSO, José, *O Românico português. Interpretação económica e social*, paper given on 25 October 1980 in the Medieval Room of the University of Minho, as part of the activities to commemorate the 1st century of the birth of Manuel Monteiro organised by ASPA in *Minia*, Braga, 2nd ser., yr4, no. 5 (1981), pp. 5-24, IDEM, *ibid*, pp. 62-86.

<sup>43</sup> IDEM, *Panorâmica da história beneditina portuguesa durante a Idade Média*, Paper given at the Academia Portuguesa da História, on 14 October 1981, in *Portugal Medieval. Novas Interpretações*, Obras Completas, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002, vol. 8, pp. 193-202.

detail at the spatial level in his various integrated perspectives<sup>44</sup>. This is the sense in which the title of the first chapter of volume I of his doctoral thesis should be understood: *Quadro Geográfico, Ecologia e Economia*<sup>45</sup>.

Two works of synthesis on the Portuguese Romanesque period, forming part of two collections on the *História da Arte em Portugal* were published, respectively, in 1986<sup>46</sup> and 2001<sup>47</sup>. It is curious that this author used the Romanesque as the basis for his synthesis of the Gothic period<sup>48</sup>, considered by Mário Jorge Barroca as “one of the most stimulating texts summarising the architecture and period ever produced in Portugal”, despite his sudden death leaving unfinished<sup>49</sup>. Interpreting the Gothic as the fruit of the will to transform and transcend the Romanesque, he discarded the theory that the one rejected the other<sup>50</sup>. While discourse on the Romanesque period was organised around watersheds, following a line of thought advocated by Manuel Monteiro, when it came to the Gothic period discourse was rather organised in terms of architectural typologies (Cistercian, mendicant orders, military orders, etc.), with only a few examples from each being considered. The important caveat is that throughout this approach he established constant parallels and comparisons with the previous era.

His *Arte da Alta Idade Média*<sup>51</sup> bears witness to his mature thinking, with its overall vision of the period, and its constant comparisons between Portuguese and other European examples. Each chapter is introduced by a contextualising paragraph after which the author expresses his more general, but also relevant, ideas, on the specific artistic period under consideration. Mário Barroca considered

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<sup>44</sup> See, for example, ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *Vias Medievais. Entre Douro e Minho*, 2 vols., undergraduate dissertation in History, Oporto, FL-UP, 1968, (typewritten manuscript); IDEM, “Território Paroquial de Entre-Douro-e-Minho. Sua Sacralização”, *Nova Renascença*, Oporto, Associação Cultural ‘Nova Renascença’, vol. I, no. 2 (1981), pp. 202-212, and IDEM, *Importância do regadio no Entre-Douro-e-Minho, nos séculos XII e XIII*, offprint from the *Livro de Homenagem a Orlando Ribeiro*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 65-70. For a more in-depth consideration of the thinking of this author, See what I have written in *A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 265-280.

<sup>45</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *Arquitectura Românica de Entre Douro e Minho*, doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 1978, vol. 1, pp. 7-174.

<sup>46</sup> IDEM, *O Românico*, *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 3, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 1986.

<sup>47</sup> IDEM, *História da Arte em Portugal - O Românico*, Biblioteca da Arte, vol. 1, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2001.

<sup>48</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, and BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *História da Arte em Portugal - O Gótico*, Biblioteca da Arte, vol. 2, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2002.

<sup>49</sup> “[U]m dos mais estimulantes textos de síntese que, sobre esta arquitectura e época, alguma vez se produziu em Portugal”: BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Nota Prévia”, in ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *História da Arte em Portugal - O Românico...*, p. 9.

<sup>50</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, and BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *História da Arte em Portugal - O Gótico...*, p. 21.

<sup>51</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *Arte da Alta Idade Média*, *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 2, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 1986.

this work such a turning point that he claimed “we can even distinguish studies before and after 1986.”<sup>52</sup>

Medieval castles<sup>53</sup> had been the subject of Ferreira de Almeida’s supplementary doctoral thesis, and they continued to occupy a central place in his concerns, such that even today he is required reading for anyone wishing to understand the evolution of Portuguese military architecture<sup>54</sup>. His approach to this architectural typology became the pretext for his shift towards the anthropology of land. Mário Jorge Barroca has also carried out important research in this field, drawing on archaeological procedures to better understand military architecture, its relationship with the land and the environment of the Reconquest<sup>55</sup>. His study of medieval weaponry<sup>56</sup>, in the context of Portuguese historiography, contains elements that are absolutely original. The evolution of military tactics and of weaponry dictated changes in medieval castle design (and vice versa). Mário Barroca has also studied the military orders, both the Templar<sup>57</sup> and orders Santiago<sup>58</sup>, considering their military, economic and political role during the Reconquest.

However, this author’s greatest contribution has been his study of epigraphs<sup>59</sup>, in terms of the dates and information that his work in this auxiliary science has provided. His published corpus, containing 759 entries, from the years 862 (?) to 1422, is an indispensable scientific tool for any historian studying Portuguese medieval architecture. When documents are scarce, epigraphic sources are essential.

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<sup>52</sup> “[P]odemos mesmo distinguir os estudos anteriores e posteriores a 1986”: BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Nota Prévia”, in ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *História da Arte em Portugal - O Românico...*, p. 10.

<sup>53</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *Castelologia Medieval de Entre-Douro-e-Minho. Desde as origens a 1220*, supplementary work presented for doctoral studies in the History of Art, Oporto, FL-UP, 1978..

<sup>54</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Nota Prévia”, in ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *História da Arte em Portugal - O Românico...*, p. 10.

<sup>55</sup> For a more in-depth consideration of the historiographical thinking of this author, see what I have written in “A Historiografia da Arquitectura da Época Românica em Portugal”..., vol. 1, pp. 284-291.

<sup>56</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Armamento Medieval Português. Notas sobre a evolução do equipamento militar das forças cristãs”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and MONTEIRO, João Gouveia (coord. Científica), *Pera Guerrejar. Armamento Medieval no Espaço Português*, catalogue for the exhibition held at the Santiago de Palmela church (28 July-17 Dec.) and the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (4 April-16 July), Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela / FCG, (Julho) 2000.

<sup>57</sup> IDEM, *A Ordem do Templo e a Arquitectura Militar Portuguesa do Século XII*, offprint from the *Journal Portugália*, n. s., vols. 17-18, (1996/1997), Oporto, FL-UP / Instituto de Arqueologia, 1997, pp. 171-209.

<sup>58</sup> IDEM, “A Arquitectura Militar da Ordem de Santiago. Breves notas sobre alguns dos seus castelos”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and PAVÃO, Luís, *Castelos da Ordem de Santiago*, Palmela, Divisão de Património Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2002, pp. 9-36.

<sup>59</sup> IDEM, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa: 862-1422*, 4 vols., doctoral thesis Oporto, FL-UP, 1995, and IDEM, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)*, 4 vols, Textos Universitários de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Lisbon, FCG, 2000.



Fortified manor houses<sup>60</sup> in their various forms – *torres*, *casas-torres* and *casas-fortes*<sup>61</sup> – a product of the gradual settlement of peninsular society<sup>62</sup> – have been another interest of this medieval archaeologist. Meanwhile, noble houses, medieval palaces<sup>63</sup> and *domus fortis*<sup>64</sup>, have been important research concerns of José Custódio Vieira da Silva. Given that the housing context of the nobility reflects the living conditions of the time, this tackles issues close to the social environment, such as large estates, honours, family trees and even coats of arms.

It should be recalled that Vieira da Silva's research related mainly to the end of the Middle Ages<sup>65</sup>, more specifically, to the Gothic Period. He placed the late-Gothic architecture of the Alentejo<sup>66</sup> of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century in the European context with its nationalisms and regionalisms, by recognising Mediterranean architectural influences, but taking note of the German *Hallenkirchen*, moulded by Portuguese and Mudéjar features. This "international" character of late-Gothic architecture in the district of Évora is even more evident when this author demonstrates affinities with contemporary Catalan architecture<sup>67</sup>.

More recently, he has been studying Portuguese tombs from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, focusing especially on *memory and image*<sup>68</sup> in the effigies, regardless of social position. Joana Ramôa Melo has collaborated with him, extending the scope of the research to the specific field of Portuguese Gothic sculpture<sup>69</sup>, in particular, to fourteenth and fifteenth century female effigies<sup>70</sup>. She approached this

<sup>60</sup> IDEM, *Em torno da Residência Senhorial Fortificada. Quatro Torres Medievais na região de Amares*, offprint from the *Revista de História*, vol. 9, Oporto, Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1989, pp. 9-61.

<sup>61</sup> IDEM, "Torres, Casas-Torres ou Casas-Fortes. A concepção do espaço de habitação da Pequena e Média Nobreza na Baixa Idade Média (Sécs. XII-XV)", *Revista de História das Ideias* [Coimbra], vol. 19 (1998), pp. 39-103.

<sup>62</sup> IDEM, *Em torno da Residência Senhorial Fortificada...*, p. 16.

<sup>63</sup> SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da, *Paços Medievais Portuguesas. Caracterização e Evolução da Habitação Nobre (Séculos XII a XVI)*, 2 vols., doctoral thesis in the History of Art, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1993.

<sup>64</sup> IDEM, *A Torre ou "Casa Forte" Medieval*, offprint from *El Museo de Pontevedra*, t. 53, Pontevedra, Museo de Pontevedra, 1999, pp. 99-115.

<sup>65</sup> IDEM, *O Fascínio do Fim. Viagens pelo final da Idade Média*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1997.

<sup>66</sup> IDEM, *A Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Pópulo das Caldas da Rainha*, Caldas da Rainha, 1985, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da, *O Tardo-Gótico em Portugal. A Arquitectura no Alentejo*, Estudos de Arte, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1989.

<sup>67</sup> IDEM, *A Arquitectura Gótica Catalã e a Arquitectura do Tardo-Gótico Alentejano: Estudo de Influências*, Oporto, s. n., 1989.

<sup>68</sup> IDEM, "Memória e Imagem. Reflexões sobre a Escultura Tumular Portuguesa (séculos XIII e XIV)", *Revista de História da Arte*, [Lisbon], no. 1 (2005), pp. 47-81.

<sup>69</sup> Cf., among other examples, SILVA, José Custódio, MELO, Joana Ramôa, and ROSSI VAIRO, Giulia, "Escultura Tumular Medieval do Museu Arqueológico do Carmo: algumas reflexões e propostas de identificação", in *Chiado. Efervescência Urbana, Artística e Literária de um lugar*, Lisbon, CIEBA, Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade de Lisboa, pp. 127-207.

<sup>70</sup> IDEM, "Retratos da nobreza portuguesa – jacentes dos sécs. XIV e XV", session given during the doctoral seminar *Imagem Medieval. Investigação e reflexão interdisciplinar*, 2010-2011 (1st semester), IEM / FCSH-UNL, 4 November 2010.

theme through master's dissertation on iconography associated with thirteenth and fourteenth century Portuguese tombs<sup>71</sup>, subsequently published as *Christus Patiens. Representações do Calvário na Escultura Tumular Medieval Portuguesa (século XIV)*<sup>72</sup>. Her conclusions stress the primacy of the aesthetic in the ordering of the specimens studied, dictated by the evolution of iconography of the Calvary that in Portugal took on certain original features when compared to the rest of Europe.

In the context of medieval tombs mention should also be made of Luís Urbano Afonso's interpretation of images of the ages of Man in the Gothic period, especially in the tombs of King Pedro and Inês de Castro<sup>73</sup>, attesting to the relevance of the so-called iconological method demonstrated by Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968).

In collaboration with Maria Adelaide Miranda, who has devoted herself to the study of medieval illuminated manuscripts, Vieira da Silva has additionally provided a university manual of the *História da Arte Medieval*<sup>74</sup>, aiming to be "a useful tool for students, for whom this work is primarily intended, to provide a minimum base to understand the artistic phenomenon". The artistic periods covered are *The Art of the Early Middle Ages*, *Romanesque Art* and *Gothic Art*, and each is given similar treatment. First, the historical and cultural contexts are clarified in detail, before and then the different artistic forms, such as architecture, sculpture and painting, are carefully analysed, along with *other arts* that testify to the spirit of that period.

Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas took a fresh look at Romanesque architecture and particularly at the sculpture<sup>75</sup>, having also paid attention to the work of goldsmiths of this period<sup>76</sup>. But her greatest contribution has been her work on nineteenth-century<sup>77</sup> and twentieth century<sup>78</sup> restorations, through her deep knowledge of the trials and alterations that the medieval monuments underwent and that give rise to their present appearance. Maria João Baptista Neto should also be mentioned here for her study of restoration during the time of the Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e

<sup>71</sup> MELO, Joana Ramôa, *A iconografia do Calvário na Escultura Tumular Medieval Portuguesa (séculos XIII a XIV)*, 2 vols., unpublished master's dissertation in the History of Art, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2007.

<sup>72</sup> EADEM, *Christus Patiens. Representações do Calvário na Escultura Tumular Medieval Portuguesa (século XIV)*, Lisbon, Instituto de História – FCSH-UNL, 2008.

<sup>73</sup> AFONSO, Luís Urbano, *O ser e o tempo. As idades do homem no gótico português*, Coimbra, Caleidoscópio, 2003.

<sup>74</sup> MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da, *História da Arte Portuguesa. Época medieval*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1995, p. 15.

<sup>75</sup> ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso, *A Escultura Românica das Igrejas da Margem Esquerda do Rio Minho*, 2 vols., Oporto, FL-UP, 1987, tests of Pedagogic Aptitude and Academic Ability – summarised work (typewritten text).

<sup>76</sup> EADEM, "Escultura e Ourivesaria" in *Nos Confins da Idade Média. Arte Portuguesa. Séculos XII-XV*, catalogue of the exhibition held at the Museu Nacional Soars dos Reis (13 March to 26 April 1992), Oporto, Instituto Português de Museus / Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, 1992, pp. 79-84.

<sup>77</sup> EADEM, *Monumentos Pátrios – A Arquitectura Religiosa Medieval – Património e Restauro (1835-1928)*, doctoral thesis in the History of Art in Portugal, 2 vols., Oporto, FL-UL, 1995.

<sup>78</sup> EADEM, *A Colegiada de S. Marino de Cedofeita do Porto*, Oporto, s.n., 1988, pp. 33-52.

Monumentos Nacionais (DGEMN)<sup>79</sup>. The work of these two authors on the history and theory of restoration of architectural heritage, has proved fundamental, both for the unpublished data that have supplied us with and for important findings that advance our understanding of Portuguese medieval architecture.

In the field of synthesis, mention should be made of Jorge Rodrigues, to whom is due the account of the Romanesque period in the *História da Arte Portuguesa* organised by Paulo Pereira<sup>80</sup>, who himself focussed on Gothic architecture<sup>81</sup>, while Francisco Pato Macedo dealt with Gothic tombs<sup>82</sup>. Paulo Pereira contributed a chronological and typological reading of Portuguese Gothic architecture, not omitting to provide forgetting a brief history or to place the architecture in an international context.

Jorge Rodrigues's synthesis (which owes a debt to Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida's work) places Romanesque architecture in its historical, mental and cultural contexts, and following a brief typological consideration, makes a tour of its regional variations. Sculpture is approached through its content, starting the decorative motifs in a geometrical design followed by the iconography of the *Programas Sagrados*. It should be noted, moreover, that this author had previously devoted special attention to the "ornamentation and representation of Romanesque sculpture in Portugal."<sup>83</sup>

Having, jointly with Xosé Carlos Valle Pérez commissioned the exhibition held in memory of José Figueira Valverde and Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, that emphasised the relationship between Portuguese and Galician Romanesque<sup>84</sup>, Jorge Rodrigues contributed to the exhibition catalogue an essay on Portuguese religious art of the Romanesque period that reflects the link with Galicia<sup>85</sup>. Exploring power and spirituality, the author paid special attention to the Romanesque remains on the left bank of the River Minho, venturing further to the Sousa basin and even as

<sup>79</sup> NETO, Maria João Baptista, *A Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais e a intervenção no património arquitectónico em Portugal (1929-1960)*, 3 vols., doctoral thesis in the History of Art, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1995, and IDEM, *Memória, Propaganda e Poder. O Restauro dos Monumentos Nacionais*, Oporto, Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 2001.

<sup>80</sup> RODRIGUES, Jorge, "A Arquitectura Românica" and "A Escultura Românica", in PEREIRA, Paulo (dir.), *História da Arte Portuguesa...*, pp. 183-331.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. PEREIRA, Paulo, "A Arquitectura (1250-1450)"..., pp. 335-433.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. MACEDO, Francisco Pato, "O descanso eterno. A tumularia", in PEREIRA, Paulo (dir.), *História da Arte Portuguesa...*, pp. 435-471.

<sup>83</sup> "[O]rname[n]tação e representação na escultura do românico em Portugal". RODRIGUES, Jorge, *Aspectos da orname[n]tação e representação na escultura do românico em Portugal*, 2 vols., master's dissertation in the History of Art Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1987.

<sup>84</sup> VALLE PÉREZ, Xosé Carlos, and RODRIGUES, Jorge, "Românico en Galicia y Portugal/Românico em Portugal e Galiza", in *A Arte Românica em Portugal*, exhibition catalogue, (trilingual edition in Spanish, Portuguese and English), Lisbon, FCG / Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2001.

<sup>85</sup> RODRIGUES, Jorge, "A arte religiosa no românico português e as suas relações com a Galiza: poder e espiritualidade", *Ibid.*, pp. 132-155.

far as Coimbra and Tomar. Describing the principal buildings, he emphasises the structural and decorative elements bearing witness to the influence he has identified. Throughout his essay, he makes constant reference to the restoration work carried out under the DGEMN, a topic that he has addressed more specifically elsewhere publication<sup>86</sup>.

Note should be taken of the internationalisation of Portuguese studies of the Romanesque, with the publication in 1986 of two volumes devoted to *Portugal Roman* by the French publishing house Zodiaque. This formed part of the *La Nuit des Temps*<sup>87</sup> collection, and involved the collaboration of various Portuguese authors including José Mattoso<sup>88</sup>, Manuel Luís Real<sup>89</sup> and Artur Nobre de Gusmão<sup>90</sup>. Mention should also be made of the small but significant study by Georges Gaillard (1900-1967), dealing with some *Aspects de l'Art Roman Portugais*<sup>91</sup>. This French author considered certain features of this art from the character of the actual monuments, rather than by looking for influences<sup>92</sup>.

At the Lisbon World Exposition 1998, Pedro Dias presented a Romanesque study of the Douro<sup>93</sup>. He well knew that today we can only appreciate a small fraction of what existed during the Romanesque period, given as the destruction of most medieval buildings and their replacement by others, more or less everywhere, throughout the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries<sup>94</sup>. Even so, he takes us on a geographical-chronological tour of churches to capture the different currents of the Romanesque in Portugal, moving on to the remains in the Douro countryside and, finally, those closer to the mouth of the river. His preferred area of research, however, was the Gothic, and the first systematic account of the Gothic age in Portugal was his work, published with fresh documentary data as part of the *Publicações Alfa* series on the *História da Arte em Portugal*<sup>95</sup>. Commencing with the earliest forms of Gothic, and proceeding with a detailed study of the Batalha cycle,

<sup>86</sup> IDEM, "A Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais e o Restauro dos Monumentos Medievais durante o Estado Novo", in *Caminhos do Património*, Lisbon, DGEMN / Livros Horizonte, 1999, pp. 69-82.

<sup>87</sup> GRAF, Gerhard N., *Portugal Roman. Le Nord du Portugal*, La Nuit des Temps, Paris, Zodiaque, 1987, and IDEM, *Portugal Roman. Le Sud du Portugal*. La Nuit des Temps, Paris, Zodiaque, 1986.

<sup>88</sup> MATTOSO, José, "Le Cadre Historique", *ibid.*, pp. 15-24.

<sup>89</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, "La sculpture figurative dans l'Art Roman du Portugal", *ibid.*, pp. 33-75.

<sup>90</sup> GUSMÃO, Artur Nobre de, "Introduction", *ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

<sup>91</sup> GAILLARD, Georges, "Aspects de l'Art Roman Portugais" [in *Bracara Augusta*, 1964], in GRAF, Gerhard N., *Études d'Art Roman*, Publications de La Sorbonne, ser. "Études", t. 3, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1972, pp. 349-353.

<sup>92</sup> IDEM, "Aspects de l'Art Roman Portugais"..., p. 349.

<sup>93</sup> DIAS, Pedro, *O Românico Durisense*, offprint of *O românico e o Douro. El románico y el Douro*, Exposição Mundial de Lisboa 1998 (bilingual edition), Lisbon, s.n., 1998, pp. 93-108.

<sup>94</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>95</sup> IDEM, *O Gótico. História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 4, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 1986.

this Coimbra professor also studied the sculpture, painting and decorative arts of the period in an observant and contextualised manner.

Years later, Pedro Dias published a new synthesis of the Portuguese Gothic period<sup>96</sup>, considered by Paulo Pereira as “absolutely necessary and urgent”<sup>97</sup>. In a book not intended as an inventory of Gothic buildings, the author presents us with a systematic review of archaeological evidence collected during frequent field trips throughout the country<sup>98</sup>. Relegating formal analysis of buildings to the background, Pedro Dias focuses on an interpretive evaluation of their context. In several studies devoted to the sculpture of human figures and to Portuguese medieval tombs<sup>99</sup>, he draws our attention to the characteristics of the Coimbra district – to which he devoted a thorough study of the architecture between 1490 and 1540<sup>100</sup> – which led to its becoming an important centre for sculpture with the establishment of ateliers by well-known sculptors.

Also in the Coimbra region, Francisco Macedo Pato conducted a study of the architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Mondego basin<sup>101</sup>. Recognizing that the crystallisation of Gothic forms was a slow process in Portugal, given the long duration (and acceptance) of the Romanesque, he has tried to account for the preference for the Gothic over the Romanesque in the geological space and time delimited by his work.

The study of thirteenth and fourteenth century architecture of monasteries and female convents gained fresh impetus with studies by Francisco Manuel de Almeida Correia Teixeira<sup>102</sup>. Both through his specific investigation of the monastery of Santa Maria de Almofter and through closer study of buildings to accommodate Cistercian monks and nuns of the mendicant orders in Portugal, he provided us with a new way of looking at this architecture, arising from due to ideas concerning the enclosure of female communities.

<sup>96</sup> IDEM, *A Arquitectura Gótica Portuguesa*, Teoria da Arte, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1994.

<sup>97</sup> “Absolutamente necessária e urgente”. PEREIRA, Paulo, “A Arquitectura (1250-1450)”..., p. 339.

<sup>98</sup> IDEM, *A Arquitectura Gótica Portuguesa...*, p. 9.

<sup>99</sup> Cf, as an example, IDEM, “Notas para o estudo da condição social dos artistas medievais de Coimbra”, in *Actas das I Jornadas do Grupo de Arqueologia e Arte do Centro*, Coimbra, 1979, and IDEM, “A Escultura Gótica. Primeiras manifestações em Portugal”, in DIAS, Pedro, *O Gótico. História da Arte em Portugal...*, pp. 111-137.

<sup>100</sup> IDEM, *A Arquitectura de Coimbra na transição do Gótico para a Renascença (1490-1540)*, Coimbra, Edições Portuguesas de Arte e Turismo, 1982 (doctoral thesis in the History of Art submitted to the FL-UC).

<sup>101</sup> MACEDO, Francisco Pato, *Arquitectura Gótica na Bacia do Mondego nos Séc. XIII e XIV*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1988 (summary work in the History of Art, submitted for the tests in Pedagogic Aptitude and Academic Ability).

<sup>102</sup> TEIXEIRA, Francisco Manuel de Almeida Correia, *O Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Almofter*, master’s dissertation in the History of Art, 2 vols. Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1990, and IDEM, *A Arquitectura Monástica e Conventual Feminina em Portugal, nos séculos XIII e XIV*, doctoral thesis in the History of Art, specialised area of History of Islamic and Medieval Art, Faro, FCHS-UALG, 2007.

Recently, Catarina Fernandes Barreira<sup>103</sup> submitted to the University of Lisbon's Faculdade de Belas-Artes, her doctoral thesis on "Gárgulas: representações do feio e do grotesco no contexto português. Séculos XIII a XIV"<sup>104</sup>, an important analysis of Portuguese medieval and late-medieval gargoyles. Taking into account their catechising and pedagogical functions, the author locates the gargoyles in the religious fabric and the social fabric of Portugal of that time.

In this brief account of recent contributions to the historiography of medieval art, mention should also be made of Maria Filomena Borja de Melo who, in her master's dissertation<sup>105</sup>, has dealt with late medieval art by prospecting its sources. Studying published version of Portuguese texts written in and concerning the fifteenth century, she has come up with a theory of medieval art, reflecting on questions of art and taste, showing how the authors inclines on the matter.

Two areas remain involving research on medieval painting, which have seen an increasing number of detailed studies, providing us with fresh and deeper understanding.

The study of Portuguese medieval mural painting can be divided into four main phases. The first stage was an effect of the controversy surrounding the famous panels attributed to Nuno Gonçalves, "discovered" in 1883. Given that there were almost no easel paintings prior to those attributed to this painter, a search was made in mural painting for the material lacking in the easel works to account for his origins and how he had arrived at sixteenth Hispanic-Flemish painting. During that phase, rather than the limited and episodic studies of easel art, it is important to note the emphasis on Portuguese mural painting (both that already known and, more important, that expected to be discovered) to sanction particular lines of reasoning concerning that specific type of painting in Portugal<sup>106</sup>.

The second stage started in the 1920s and consisted essentially of carrying out an inventory of fifteenth and sixteenth century mural painting. Mural painting began to be studied for its own sake, with its virtues and defects, and not as a crutch for other issues and problems. The outstanding figure was Vergílio Correia, who compiled an inventory and studied a significant part of the most ancient Portuguese murals<sup>107</sup>. Under the *Estado Novo*, the DGEMN also devoted particular attention

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<sup>103</sup> I should like to thank this author for her important contribution in facilitating the inventory of publications on the Gothic period mentioned in this study.

<sup>104</sup> BARREIRA, Catarina Fernandes, *Gárgulas: representações do feio e do grotesco no contexto português. Séculos XIII a XIV*, doctoral thesis in Fine Arts, specialised area of Art Sciences, Lisbon, Faculdade de Belas Artes of the University of Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>105</sup> MELO, Maria Filomena Borja de, *Imagens da Arte. Contributos para a historiografia da Arte em Portugal no século XV*, master's dissertation in the History of Art, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1994.

<sup>106</sup> FIGUEIREDO, José de, *Arte Portuguesa Primitiva. O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves, 1459-1471 (Actividade Artística Conhecida)*, Lisbon, s.n., 1910.

<sup>107</sup> CORREIA, Vergílio, *A Pintura a Fresco em Portugal nos Séculos XV e XVI (Ensaio)*, Lisbon, Imprensa

to the oldest Portuguese murals, publishing two editions of its famous “*Boletins*” dedicated specifically to this genre<sup>108</sup>.

The third stage, coinciding with the founding of the Instituto José de Figueiredo in the 1970s was characterised by widening the geographical scope of inventory work, by initiating technical studies of the material components of the paint, and making the first major efforts to conserve and preserve the remaining murals. The major figures in this area were Abel Moura and Teresa Sarsfield Cabral, who created an extremely important archive of images and reports on Portuguese mural painting from Roman times to the present. The first master’s dissertation on this topic was written by Teresa Cabrita Fernandes (1984)<sup>109</sup>.

The fourth stage, one in which we find ourselves, began with Dalila Rodrigues’s pioneering study (1996)<sup>110</sup>, a ground-breaking synthesis of the Portuguese mural painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that opened the way for further monographs and richer conceptual approaches to this pictorial inheritance. This stage also benefited from the quantity and quality of conservation and restoration work carried out on numerous frescoes, as well as the “discovery” of some unknown murals, such as the paintings in the Sacristy of the monastery of Batalha<sup>111</sup>, or those of the church of São Francisco de Leiria<sup>112</sup>. More recently, the first doctoral thesis devoted to this subject, carried out by Luís U. Afonso in 2006, has been published<sup>113</sup>. It involved an exhaustive inventory of this patrimony, describing it in formal, iconographic and functional terms, and showing the lack of existing work produced prior to 1500.

Paula Bessa also submitted to the University of Minho a doctoral thesis, beginning with the remaining murals of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in order to review the literature “on the published issue until the start of my [her] own research project”<sup>114</sup>. This concern with historiography, linked to the mural

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Libanio da Silva, 1921, and IDEM, *Pintores Portugueses dos Séculos XV e XVI*, Coimbra, IUC, 1928.

<sup>108</sup> IDEM (atr.), *Boletim da Direcção Geral de Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, no. 10, *Frescos*, Lisbon, Ministério das Obras Públicas e Comunicações, 1937, and MOURA, Abel, *Boletim da Direcção Geral de Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, no. 106, *Conservação de Frescos*, s. l., Ministério das Obras Públicas, 1961.

<sup>109</sup> FERNANDES, Maria Teresa Cabrita, *Pintura Mural em Portugal nos Finais da Idade Média, Princípios do Renascimento*, 2 vols., master’s dissertation in the History of Art, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1984.

<sup>110</sup> RODRIGUES, Dalila, “A pintura mural portuguesa na região Norte. Exemplares dos séculos XV e XVI”, in *A Coleção de Pintura do Museu de Alberto Sampaio. Séculos XVI-XVIII*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Museus, 1996, pp. 41-68.

<sup>111</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *Vésperas Batalhinas. Estudos de História e Arte*, Leiria, Magno, 1997.

<sup>112</sup> AFONSO, Luís Urbano, *Convento de S. Francisco de Leiria. Estudo monográfico*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2003.

<sup>113</sup> IDEM, *A Pintura Mural Portuguesa entre o Gótico Internacional e o Fim do Renascimento: Formas, Significados, Funções*, 2 vols., Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2009.

<sup>114</sup> “[S]obre o tema publicado até ao início do nosso [o seu] próprio projecto de investigação”: BESSA, Paula Virgínia de Azevedo: *Pintura Mural do Fim da Idade Média e do início da Idade Moderna no Norte de Portugal*, doctoral thesis in History, area of knowledge in History of Art, Braga, Instituto de Ciências Sociais

painting of the late Middle Ages, and even the Renaissance, is extremely significant, and enriches the historiography of medieval art in general.

The study of illuminated manuscripts in Portugal, as in other European countries, emerged late. One major work to give it some attention was the History coordinated by Aarão de Lacerda<sup>115</sup>. If the first volume mentioned very superficially some emblematic manuscripts such as the *Apocalipse do Lorrão*, *Livro das Aves* or the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, the second volume contained a short chapter called “*Illuminura*” (Illumination) in which the author developed, especially from the fifteenth century onwards, references to illuminated manuscripts such as the *Livros de Horas*. Of note is that this analysis established a distinction between religious and secular illuminated manuscripts. It also showed an awareness of the importance of imported illuminated manuscripts in raising questions of authorship.

Adriano Gusmão<sup>116</sup> also published an overview of illumination in Portugal, focusing on the last years of the Middle Ages. However, these works do not take into account the large movements of illuminated manuscripts, while the role of monasteries and the establishment of their libraries is also not discussed. The relevant international relations are rarely indicated.

It was the work of Sylvie Deswarte on the *Leitura Nova* published in 1977 that marked the beginning of more rigorous work on illumination in Portugal<sup>117</sup>. She linked the study of illumination in the reign of King Manuel I to the international context by searching for formal attributions and establishing the basis for the study of illumination in the late Gothic period. This line of research was followed in 1983 when Dagoberto Mark wrote the first monograph on a book of hours in Portugal<sup>118</sup>.

Romanesque illuminated manuscripts in the monastic context was the topic of Maria Adelaide Miranda’s master’s dissertation<sup>119</sup>, marking the study of monastic illuminated manuscripts in the Department of the History of Art at FCSH-UNL, though in a board manner, drawing attention to this artistic format and the nature of its relationship with the text. Relationships with studies on the codicology and publication of medieval texts taught at the University of Lisbon, led by Professor Aires Augusto de Nascimento, facilitated this development.

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da Universidade do Minho, 2007, vol. 1, p. 9.

<sup>115</sup> LACERDA, Aarão, *História da Arte em Portugal...*, vol. 1, and CHICÓ, Mário Tavares, et al., *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 2, Oporto, Portucalense Editora, SARL, 1948.

<sup>116</sup> GUSMÃO, Adriano de, “Os Primitivos e a Renascença”, in BARREIRA, João (dir.), *Arte Portuguesa. Pintura*, Lisbon, Edições Excelsior, s.d.

<sup>117</sup> DESWARTE, Sylvie, *Les Enluminures de la Leitura Nova 1504-1552*, Études sur la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l’Humanisme, Paris, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1997.

<sup>118</sup> MARK, Dagoberto, *Livro de Horas de D. Manuel*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983.

<sup>119</sup> MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide, *Inicial iluminada românica nos manuscritos alcobacenses*, master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1984.



Two years later, Horácio Peixeiro, connected to the same department, studied missal's from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>120</sup>. He continued to work on this period, writing an important monograph on the so-called *Apocalypse of Lorrvão*. This manuscript had already been the subject of a monograph written by Anne Egrý in 1972<sup>121</sup>, and more recently of a broader, deeper wider study by Peter Klein in connection with a facsimile published by Patrimonia, *Beatus of Liébana. The Illustration of the Beatus Manuscripts and the Apocalypse of Lorrvão*<sup>122</sup>.

In 1994, the publication of the first volume of the *Inventário dos códices Iluminados até 1500*, coordinated by Isabel Duarte Ferreira and Teresa Cepeda<sup>123</sup>, marked a significant shift in the inventories of illuminated manuscripts in Portugal, where the image has taken a leading role. Simultaneously, it provided an essential tool for scholars of medieval illuminated manuscripts.

Two years later, the magazine *Oceanos*, underlined the importance of studies in illumination in Portugal by devoting an issue to sixteenth century illumination, combining excellent research on a significant set of manuscripts with excellent images<sup>124</sup>.

The exhibition, conference and catalogue<sup>125</sup> *A Iluminura em Portugal: Identidade e Influências* (1999), demonstrated for the first time the state of studies in illumination in Portugal, opening up new avenues involving established international and national experts, as well as young researchers.

Illuminated manuscripts from the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian were the starting point for an exhibition with the catalogue *A Imagem do Tempo*, under the scientific coordination of Aires A. do Nascimento<sup>126</sup>, enabling the superb collection preserved in that Institution to be displayed, and linked to national and international manuscripts.

<sup>120</sup> PEIXEIRO, Horácio, *Missais iluminados dos séculos XIV e XV, Contribuição para o estudo da iluminura em Portugal*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1996.

<sup>121</sup> EGRY, Anne de, *Um Estudo de O Apocalipse do Lorrvão e a sua relação com as ilustrações medievais do Apocalipse*, Lisbon, FCG, 1972

<sup>122</sup> KLEIN, Peter, *Beato de Liébana. La ilustración de los manuscritos de Beato y el apocalipsis de Lorrvão*, Valência, Patrimonia ediciones, 2004.

<sup>123</sup> CEPEDA, Isabel, and FERREIRA, Teresa Duarte (coord.), *Inventário dos Códices Iluminados até 1500, Distrito de Lisboa*, Lisbon, 1994. The second volume was published in 2001. CEPEDA, Isabel, and FERREIRA, Teresa Duarte (coords.), *Inventário dos Códices Iluminados até 1500. Distritos de Aveiro, Beja, Bragança, Coimbra, Évora, Leiria, Portalegre, Porto, Setúbal, Viana do Castelo e Viseu*, Lisbon, 2001.

<sup>124</sup> FERREIRA, António Mega (coord.), *Oceanos*, no. 26 (April-June): *A luz do Mundo. Iluminura Portuguesa de Quinhentos*, Lisbon, CNCDP, 1996.

<sup>125</sup> MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide (coord.), *A Iluminura em Portugal: Identidade e Influências*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1999.

<sup>126</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A. (coord.), *A Imagem do Tempo*, exhibition catalogue, Lisbon, FCG, 2000.

Illumination studies have taken new directions with the creation of a research group at the Instituto de Estudos Medievais (IEM) involving Ana Lemos<sup>127</sup>, Delmira Espada<sup>128</sup>, Luís Sousa<sup>129</sup>, Maria Coutinho and Rita Carvalho<sup>130</sup> in studies of books of hours, musical iconography, theory of art and the relationships between illumination and contemporary design. In 2008 the IEM compiled a database of iconography, available online<sup>131</sup>, with images of illuminated manuscripts studied by some of the members of this team.

The uses of colour in Romanesque illumination in Portugal have brought together the FCSH's Department of the History of Art and the Department of Chemistry of the Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia of the Nova University of Lisbon (Conservation and Restoration) to form an interdisciplinary team, directed by Maria João Melo, which since 2006 has done pioneering work in this area, which is disseminated in meetings and national and international journals.

Despite this lengthy analysis of contributions at various levels, and from the most varied of perspectives, in advancing knowledge of Portuguese medieval art, mention should also be made of some very recent work, namely, Rui Andrade Alves Trindade's master's dissertation on Gothic ceramic coatings as applied to architecture<sup>132</sup>, Paula Monteiro and João Soalheiro's studies on Gothic textiles, and *The Islamic legacy in Portugal* was by Claudio Torres and Santiago Macias<sup>133</sup>, which considers the Muslim era here at the level of cities and the art of construction, together with everyday objects, even mappings their geographical distribution within what is now Portugal. Of note in the analysis of Islamic art still existing in Portugal, is the catalogue of Islamic Art produced by the Museu de Mértola, written by the same authors<sup>134</sup>.

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<sup>127</sup> LEMOS, Ana, *Um novo olhar sobre o Livro de Horas de D. Duarte*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, master's dissertation, FCSH-UNL, 2009.

<sup>128</sup> ESPADA, Delmira, *A luz da Grisalha. Arte, Liturgia e História no Livro de Horas dito de D. Leonor*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2011.

<sup>129</sup> SOUSA, Luís Manuel Correia de, *Speculum Musica e Iconografia Musical na arte do final da Idade Média em Portugal*, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2011, and IDEM, *Iconografia Musical na Arte da Idade Média em Portugal*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2003.

<sup>130</sup> CARVALHO, Rita, *Marginalia como imagem transgressiva: Ligações entre a página medieval e o grafitti contemporâneo*, master's dissertation, Évora, University of Évora, 2009.

<sup>131</sup> Available at: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>

<sup>132</sup> TRINDADE, André Alves, *Revestimentos Cerâmicos Portugueses. Meados do século XIV à primeira metade do século XVI*, master's dissertation in the History of Art, 2 vols., Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2000.

<sup>133</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, and MACIAS, Santiago, *O legado islâmico em Portugal*, s. l., Fundação Círculo de Leitores e Autores, 1998.

<sup>134</sup> IDEM (coords.), *Arte Islâmica*, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola museum catalog, Mértola, Câmara Municipal de Mértola, 2001.

To summarise, it is hoped that this rapid coverage of the historiography of Portuguese medieval art, carried out at different levels, has demonstrated an increase in the number of authors and of the studies undertaken. These have focused on a variety of themes, carried out in recent years in the academic world research related to masters and doctoral programmes, as well as projects incorporated into working groups from various research centres active all over Portugal. Much has been done and much remains to be done.



# Islamic and Christian Medieval Archaeology\*

Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes,  
Santiago Macias

## Medieval Christian archaeology in Portugal

### *Introduction*

The importance attached to Roman archaeology in Portugal from the dawn of the twentieth century extended its boundary to be to what is commonly known as *Late Antiquity*, which some prefer to refer to as the Visigoth period. But the chronology of this framework rarely ventured past the fourth to fifth centuries, a gap remaining in references and effective knowledge for the following centuries up to the Islamic presence. In the inventories of Leite de Vasconcelos, Estácio da Veiga, Abel Viana and others, the material labelled Visigothic, predominantly from necropolises, is examined alongside the Roman<sup>1</sup>. Study of the Suevi-Visigoth period progressed timidly and in archaeological terms, was sustained by collecting pieces, some of which went to museums, others to private collections<sup>2</sup>: decorated stones, capitals,

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\* Isabel Cristina Fernandes is the author of "Medieval Christian archaeology in Portugal"; Santiago Macias is the author of "Islamic archaeology in Portugal".

<sup>1</sup> Refers to VIANA, Abel, "Suevos e Visigodos no Baixo Alentejo", *Bracara Augusta*, 1959; ALMEIDA, Fernando de, *Arte Visigótica em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1962, as well as other articles by Afonso do Paço and Vergílio Correia.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the various works edited at the time on this topic, several international scientific meetings held in Braga between 1950 and 1965 should be highlighted. The proceedings were published in the journal *Bracara Augusta*, an edition by the Câmara Municipal de Braga, FONTES, Luís O., "Arqueologia Medieval Portuguesa", *Arqueologia & História*, vol. 54: *Arqueologia 2000. Balanço de um Século de Investigação Arqueológica em Portugal* (2002), (pp. 221-238), p. 223.

steles, tombstones, coins and some pottery<sup>3</sup>. Fernando de Almeida<sup>4</sup> was the main player in the first medieval archaeological investigation into the Paleochristian / Visigoth periods with the study of “Visigoth” stones (from Vera Cruz de Marmelar, Lisbon, Abiul and Soure) and excavations in Odrinhas, São Cucufate, São Gião da Nazaré (1965-66) and Idanha-a-Velha (from 1956)<sup>5</sup>. According to Paulo Almeida Fernandes<sup>6</sup>, it was also Fernando de Almeida who designed the interpretive model for classifying the finds of this period (in three stylistic focuses: Suevi, Lusitanian and Olissipo), based on the current historiography at peninsular levels in Visigoth studies.

Archaeologically, interest in the high medieval period and in the late Middle Ages traces its roots to the restoration processes from the first decades of the twentieth century, following the championing of the Middle Ages by Camilo Boito and Viollet-le-Duc principles. The archaeological trend prevailing then, as with studies of history and art, linked as they were to the actions of the Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais, served as a foundation for the application of criteria related to the *unit of style*. Furthermore, research into all things medieval fitted nicely with the nationalist stance of the *Estado Novo* in the projects associated with the centenary commemorations<sup>7</sup>. The renovation of dozens of castles, churches, chapels and monasteries, which were seen as the hallmarks of a past replete with glories and values identified with the Portuguese people, had a significant impact on the image of monuments, almost always medieval. Despite the unprofessionalism of the archaeological procedures, in terms of method and being limited to gathering architectural and sculptural artefacts and pieces, we can say archaeological research on the high medieval period began here, in the legitimate shadow of the work of reconstruction. However, it was beginning in the 70s, accentuating in democratic Portugal, that a line of archaeological research based on innovation and scientific thoroughness began to emerge, approximating to European practices. Contributing to this was the enormous investment in university training, pioneered by the Universities of Oporto and Lisbon.

<sup>3</sup> The journals *O Arqueólogo Português* (began in 1895), *Arquivo de Beja*, *Bracara Augusta*, *Arqueologia e História* (Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses), *Revista de Guimarães* and the proceedings of the 23<sup>o</sup> Congresso Luso Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências (Coimbra, 1956) were the main channels for disseminating news, finds and the first medieval archaeology studies until the 70s.

<sup>4</sup> On his accomplishments, see: MATOS, José Luís de, “D. Fernando de Almeida na encruzilhada da arqueologia portuguesa”, *Arqueologia e História* [Lisbon], no. 55 (2003), pp. 201-204, and FERNANDES, Paulo A., “O contributo de D. Fernando de Almeida para o estudo da Alta Idade Média em Portugal”, *ibid.*, pp. 205-213.

<sup>5</sup> In the 70s Fernando de Almeida was already carrying out work in the same research area on Sines (1970), Troia (1970 and 1978), Torre de Palma (1974), São João de Azinhais – Alcácer do Sal (1978).

<sup>6</sup> FERNANDES, Paulo A., “O contributo de D. Fernando de Almeida...”

<sup>7</sup> Commemorating in 1941 the Foundation of the Portuguese Nation (1140) and Restoration of Independence (1640) from Spain.

Today, policies for land development and the regeneration of historic centres, together with the creation of binding legislation for monitoring works and the preservation of sites, have become increasingly crucial to the improvement of fieldwork and of subsequent archaeological studies of medieval Christianity, especially in urban areas.

Mention should also be made of the development of an “archaeology of the overseas expansion”, centred on underwater research along the Portuguese coast and the forts and cities on the north western coast of Africa and the Atlantic islands, among others<sup>8</sup>.

### *Religious spaces*

The studies of Carlos A. Ferreira de Almeida on the high Middle Ages began by focussing on road networks (1968) and on medieval architecture, intersecting artistic and archaeological approaches to castles and mounds in central and northern Portugal (1978 and 1986). For religious spaces, the excavations of Manuel Real in the church of Santa Marinha da Costa (Guimarães 1980, 1981, 1985) unveiled the first stratigraphic records of this period in the north west of Portugal, revealing a succession of temples from Suevi-Visigoth to Roman. The excavation of the S. M. da Costa church, exemplary in terms of the cooperation between archaeologist and restorer, served Real to demonstrate the urgency of archaeological research on medieval buildings in understanding their construction and use<sup>9</sup>. In Sabariz, he identified the first known cave hermitage in Portugal and continued research into hermits caves in the Amarante and Resende region<sup>10</sup>. In 1987, Mário Jorge Barroca completed a study on necropolises and medieval graves in Entre-Douro-e-Minho (fifth to fifteenth centuries) and went on to research architectural decorative features from the pre-Roman period (1990) and the first castles of the Reconquest (1991). For his part, Luís Fontes started digs at the Suevi-Visigoth basilica in Dume (1987, 1988). The journal *Arqueologia*, with twenty-three volumes published by the Grupo de Estudos Arqueológicos do Porto (GEAP)<sup>11</sup> between 1980 and 1993, expressed the dynamism that characterised archaeological research in the northern region.

<sup>8</sup> By way of example, the research in the Ria de Aveiro stands out, with excellent results as regards studying vessels and ceramics from the fifteenth century (Centro Nacional de Arqueologia Náutica e Subaquática – CNANS); as do the excavations in the Arade estuary (Museu de Portimão and CNANS); likewise research by the Centro de História de Além-Mar, Nova University of Lisbon and University of Açores, in Faial, Angra do Heroísmo, Azamor (from the fifteenth century to modern times); and excavations in the Sé of Cidade Velha, in Cape Verde and in Macau (Clementino Amaro).

<sup>9</sup> REAL, Manuel Luis, “Convento da Costa (Guimarães), História e Arqueologia”, *Arqueologia* [Oporto], no. 1 (1980), pp. 35-37.

<sup>10</sup> The results have not been published.

<sup>11</sup> Vítor Oliveira Jorge was the director of the journal and C. A. Ferreira de Almeida was part of the

The 90s were fertile years in the development of applied archaeological research on churches of the high Middle Ages. Notable examples include the excavations of Barroca and Real at the church of São Torcato, Guimarães (1992), Gonçalves Guimarães at the church Bom Jesus de Gaia (1988-1992), Torres and Macias at Mértola basilica (1993), Justino Maciel at the church of Montinho das Laranjeiras, Alcoutim (1996), Inês Vaz at Viseu basilica (2000) and Luís Fontes in São Gião da Nazaré (2000-2005), among others. Their investigations led to the identification of different architectural models of Christian churches in Portugal within the same chronological frame. L. Fontes<sup>12</sup> judged that this differentiation was based on the diversity of geo-political organisation between the fifth and eighth centuries, with the northern region coming under the influence of Ravenna, Milan and Tours and the south of Byzantium and North Africa. With the *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica* (1992)<sup>13</sup>, discussions related to Mozarabism became more heated and exposed the crucial nature of field work on the high Middle Ages, for instance in São Cucufate and Monte da Cegonha – Vidigueira, in Dume, in Torre de Palma – Monforte, at Sítio dos Mosteiros – Portel, Mértola and in Viseu. Championing the influence of Islamic art in Hispano-Gothic productions and their appropriation of earlier models gained a new vigour and was extended at the Mérida debates (2000)<sup>14</sup>. Real's works on the monastery of Fráguas<sup>15</sup> and on the group labelled *portugalense* of decorative sculpture in Portugal<sup>16</sup> highlighted the importance of Coimbra and the Oporto region in the ninth and tenth centuries as regional centres of artistic production with a return to the classical as an insistent and supra-regional recourse, and recognised the increasing caution necessary in discussing Mozarabism for the northern region, as well as the need to relativise certain rigid concepts and recognise the complexity of the creative process in the Mediterranean area. Paulo A. Fernandes contributed considerably in this area through his study of Lourosa church, a descendant of the regal architecture of

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Academic Board for the Medieval Archaeology section. A further three editions of the journal were released between 1999 and 2001.

<sup>12</sup> FONTES, Luís O., "Arqueologia Medieval Portuguesa"... , pp. 227-228.

<sup>13</sup> Held in Lisbon in 1992, proceedings published in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica*, Lisbon, Universidade de Barcelona / Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Barcelona, 1995.

<sup>14</sup> Here I refer to the seminars held periodically in Mérida, chiefly the 1999 version: *Visigodos y Omeyas. Un debate entre la antigüedad tardía y la alta Edad Media* (proceedings published in CABALLERO, Luís, and MATEOS, P. (coords.), *Visigodos y Omeyas. Un debate entre la antigüedad tardía y la alta Edad Media*, Madrid, Consorcio Monumental de la Ciudad de Mérida / CSIC, 2000) and the 2005 edition on decorative sculpture.

<sup>15</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís "Mosteiro de Fráguas no contexto do pré-românico da Beira Interior (Portugal)", in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coords.), *Muçulmanos e Cristãos entre o Tejo e o Douro (Sécs. VIII a XIII)*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela / FL-UP, pp. 275-292.

<sup>16</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, "A escultura decorativa em Portugal: o grupo *Portugalense*", in CABALLERO ZOREDA, L., and MATEOS CRUZ, P. (eds.), *Escultura decorativa tardorromana y altomedieval en la Península Ibérica*, (annexes of *Aespa*, 41), Madrid, CSIC, 2007.



Oviedo from the ninth century, which forced a rethink of the extent of Asturian influence. Deconstructing the Visigoth model and putting forward approaches that favour longer chronological sets, this researcher has also worked on the Mozarab presence in the South, using finds from Lisbon, Sines and Beja. Evidence of the high Middle Ages is also widespread in Milreu (Faro)<sup>17</sup> and Tróia (Grândola)<sup>18</sup>, where enhancement programmes are underway, and it is also important to record the latest finds from Mértola<sup>19</sup> and Vila Verde de Ficalho<sup>20</sup>.

As regards high medieval Christianity, archaeological excavations in churches, abbeys and monasteries<sup>21</sup> also deserve mention, as part of large-scale study investigations and restoration work on monuments at the initiative of state bodies<sup>22</sup>. We highlight the following: the monastery of Alcobaça, the monastery of São Pedro de Tibães, the monastery of São João de Tarouca<sup>23</sup> and the convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra. The latter is a good example of an integrated project, bringing together geology, botany, anthropology and virtual modelling, enabling architectural structures in the church and cloisters linked with burials to be recovered, as well as a wide range of finds that illustrates the daily lives of the Clares' community<sup>24</sup>. The convent of São Francisco in Santarém<sup>25</sup> is an example of excavation in churches and necropolises where the contribution of anthropology was key to fuller complete knowledge of the populations who lived there. Today, it is possible to extend this knowledge by recovering and analysing genetic material<sup>26</sup>. Paleoecological studies<sup>27</sup> have also added valuable information in terms of understanding the quotidian – dietary practices, farming and livestock-rearing practices<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Let us remember the archaeological work of Theodor Hauschild.

<sup>18</sup> Recovery and regeneration programme of the site coordinated by the archaeologist Inês Vaz Pinto.

<sup>19</sup> LOPES, Virgílio, "Mértola cristã: novos dados para a leitura da cidade", in *Colóquio Leituras do Sul Cristão*, Mértola, [Dec. of] 2010 (in press). The recent colloquium "Leituras do Sul Cristão", held in Mértola in 2010 disseminated the debate on the most recent studies of the Portuguese high Middle Ages.

<sup>20</sup> WOLFRAM, Mélanie, and SOARES, António Monge, "Baptistérios na Lusitania: o exemplo da Igreja de São Jorge (Vila Verde de Ficalho)", *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> In addition to those mentioned, there have been archaeological excavations in other churches and monasteries: Rendufe, Pombeiro, Flor da Rosa, Rates, Gaia, Numão, Pitões das Júnias.

<sup>22</sup> Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico (IPPAR), now Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico (IGESPAR).

<sup>23</sup> Archaeological excavation by Miguel Rodrigues, Ana Castro and Luís Sebastian.

<sup>24</sup> The excavation was coordinated by Artur Côrte-Real and carried out between 1995 and 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Coordinated by Maria Ramalho.

<sup>26</sup> CUNHA, Eugénia, "Antropologia física e paleoantropologia em Portugal: um balance", *Arqueologia e História*, vol. 54: *Arqueologia 2000...*, p. 265.

<sup>27</sup> Carried out in Portugal by the Centro de Investigação em Paleoecologia Humana e Arqueociências of the Instituto Português de Arqueologia, now defunct.

<sup>28</sup> A recent thesis gives a view on death in the Middle Ages based upon archaeological data from Lisbon and of its region: NUNES, Maria Margarida Ataíde, *A Morte em Lisboa na Idade Média. Contributo Arqueológico (Séculos XII a XV)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2011.

As regards the military orders, work has focused on castles (Palmela, Alcácer do Sal, and Mértola)<sup>29</sup> although work has also been undertaken in churches and monasteries, such as in Évora, Flor da Rosa, Crato and Tomar<sup>30</sup>. At Palmela, a twelfth to thirteenth century necropolis for priests of the Order of Santiago (the Portuguese version of St. James) was excavated, along with archaeological domestic and military contexts from the same period of legendary clashes between Almohads and Portuguese<sup>31</sup>.

### *Archaeology of architecture*

Applied essentially to the medieval religious heritage, excavations in the *archaeology of architecture* occur most frequently as part of integrated recuperation, restoration and regeneration programmes for monuments. This method allows for a scientific reading of the construction, complementing artistic and archaeological approaches and resolving questions of development and attribution. However, it is not easily done, problems arising frequently over the thoroughness of the graphic surveying, on which it is based, and which is its most onerous aspect. The church of São Gião da Nazaré, Rendufe monastery, Idanha-a-Velha cathedral and Lourosa church have been some of the monuments that have benefitted from complex stratigraphical analysis of the construction<sup>32</sup>. Currently, archaeology companies enjoy primacy of initiative when it comes to these studies and even training<sup>33</sup>, though subject to restrictions to minimise disturbance laid down by the responsible authorities. This is the case with excavations in downtown Coimbra<sup>34</sup>, in the Carmo church in Lagos<sup>35</sup>, in the Cunhas house, Santar, Nelas<sup>36</sup> and in the episcopal house of the Viseu diocese<sup>37</sup>. The Unidade de Arqueologia of the University of Minho has also

<sup>29</sup> Under Isabel Cristina Fernandes (Palmela), A. Cavaleiro Paixão (Alcácer do Sal) and Campo Arqueológico de Mértola (Mértola).

<sup>30</sup> Under Ana Gonçalves (Évora), Maria Pilar Reis (Flor da Rosa) and Salette da Ponte (Tomar).

<sup>31</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *O Castelo de Palmela: do islâmico ao cristão*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2004.

<sup>32</sup> The first two were carried out by IPPAR in cooperation with the team from the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) from Madrid, headed by Luis Caballero Zoreda and with the participation of the archaeologists Maria Ramalho (IPPAR) and Luís Fontes (Unidade de Arqueologia of the University of Minho); the third, in the scope of the project "Arqueologia da Arquitectura Altomedieval nas Astúrias, Extremadura e Portugal", under the "Programa Nacional de Investigação Científica, Desenvolvimento e Inovação Tecnológica de Espanha", with Caballero, Maria Ramalho and Paulo Fernandes, just like the latter.

<sup>33</sup> A Dryas Arqueologia organised a course entitled "Introdução à Arqueologia do Edificado", at Coimbra (Nov. 2009).

<sup>34</sup> BASÍLIO, Lília, and ALMEIDA, Miguel (DRYAS Arqueologia), "O projecto de arqueologia do edificado na Baixinha de Coimbra (Coimbra, Portugal)", *Arqueologia de la Arquitectura*, no. 7 (2010), pp. 129-146.

<sup>35</sup> Under the responsibility of Lúcia Miguel, Rita Gaspar, Carlos Pinto de Oliveira (ARKHAIOS).

<sup>36</sup> Under the responsibility of Maria de Fátima Beja e Costa (ARQUEOHOJE).

<sup>37</sup> Under the responsibility of Nádía Figueira (ARQUEOHOJE)

developed a programme in the archaeology of architecture in the Braga urban area, the best example of which is the building numbers forty-three to forty-nine in Rua dos Biscainhos<sup>38</sup>. Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico (IGESPAR) is currently conducting work of this kind, in the sphere of renovating and adapting the former convent of the Santíssimo Sacramento (Lisbon)<sup>39</sup> and the convent of Cristo – Cloister of Necessidades<sup>40</sup>. The Spanish *Arqueología de la Arquitectura* journal disseminates and promotes scientific investment in this area, including on that is undertaken in Portugal.

### *Urban spaces*

Another huge boost to Christian archaeology of the high and late Middle Ages has been provided by research into urban areas. Braga, Oporto, Coimbra, Santarém, Lisbon, Almada, Palmela, Évora, Mértola, Tavira and Silves have been some of the main centres with systematic digs and the dissemination of results. The first steps in urban archaeology were taken with the urban rescue project in Braga (University of Minho)<sup>41</sup> in 1976 (which afterwards led to the *Encontro de Arqueologia Urbana* being held in the same city in 1994). What characterised this project was the multidisciplinary nature of the team and its sizeable institutional component. Another notable project was the Casa do Infante in Oporto<sup>42</sup>. Starting in 1991, a huge team was put together which, working in an integrated and methodologically innovative fashion, took records and conducted studies of major interest for levels between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, focussing on ceramic production in particular.

The major excavations in Lisbon started in the 1980s on the Casa dos Bicos<sup>43</sup> and in the 90s on the Sé cathedral where strata from late Antiquity were identified. From 1995, São Jorge castle was stage to considerable archaeological work, coordinated by Ana Gomes and Alexandra Gaspar (Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico – IPPAR), revealing Islamic and post-Reconquest Christian strata,

<sup>38</sup> FONTES, Luís, CATALÃO, Sofia, and ALVES, Mafalda, “Arqueologia da Arquitectura em Contexto Urbano: reflexões a partir de 3 exemplos da cidade de Braga, Portugal”, *Arqueologia da Arquitectura*, no. 7 (2010), pp. 105-128.

<sup>39</sup> Under the responsibility of Luís Fontes, Sofia Catalão, José Sendas and Mário Pimenta – Unidade de Arqueologia of the University of Minho with the collaboration of Maria Ramalho.

<sup>40</sup> Under the responsibility of Ana Carvalho Dias.

<sup>41</sup> Under the responsibility of the archaeologist Francisco Sande Lemos.

<sup>42</sup> Project coordinated by Manuel Real. Also worth mentioning are the author's studies on the Portuguese Roman art, where artistic and archaeological analysis meet: São Pedro de Rates (1982), São Pedro de Roriz (1982), Abadia Velha de Salzedas (1983), São Pedro de Ferreira (1986), Sé de Braga (1989), São Cristovão de Coimbra (1994), São Vicente de Fora (1995), Sé do Porto (1984), among others.

<sup>43</sup> Directed by Clementino Amaro.

in addition to the occupations of the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries in the palace of the Bispos e dos Condes de Santiago. Other excavations, especially those resulting from urban reorganisation and works of note, have taken place over the last decade in various parts of the city of Lisbon. They have been carried out by the City Council / Museu da Cidade, Ministry of Culture bodies and by archaeology companies<sup>44</sup>. Of the excavations of the Museu da Cidade (preventative, emergency and monitoring work), those showing vestiges of the medieval period include the work in Rua dos Douradores, Praça Martim Moniz, Travessa Gaspar Trigo and the Calçada da Graça.

### *Fortifications, terrestrial planning and landscape*

Despite the fact that interest in regenerating and renovating castles dates back to the *Estado Novo*, it is since the 1990s that they have been analysed in an integrated manner, with particular emphasis on the archaeological. Adriaan De Man's studies of pre-Islamic urban defences<sup>45</sup> stand out among the scarce research into fortifications of the late Antiquity period. In a consideration of the walls of Conímbriga, Coimbra and Faro, he surmised that there was continuity, in terms of the equipment used, between the fortifications of the late Roman Empire and the first Islamic fortifications and that a defensive architectural tradition persisted right up until the Reconquest<sup>46</sup>. Mário Barroca's studies have pioneered the historical-archaeological analysis of medieval Portuguese castles. His extensive article *Do castelo da reconquista ao castelo românico*<sup>47</sup> opens new paths for research on perspectives for reading medieval military architecture and open new paths of research on armaments, epigraphy and architectural decoration. The architecture of the castle of the Reconquest is associated with the early days of the military orders.

In the north of the country there are various projects related to medieval castles, some with interpretations of the villages they were part of, and defining conservation and regeneration guidelines for monuments and associated buildings. There are countless examples: Montalegre castle (António Amaral), Marialva castle (Paulo Dordio Gomes), Miranda do Douro, Algosó, Penas Róias, Mogadouro

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<sup>44</sup> Of these excavations, those carried out downtown are worth mentioning – Banco Comercial Português (BCP) and Mandarin Chinês, at the Fundação Ricardo Espírito Santo, at Praça das Alcaçarias and in São João da Praça.

<sup>45</sup> DE MAN, Adriaan, *Defesas Urbanas Tardias da Lusitânia*, doctoral thesis in Archaeology, Oporto, FL-UP, 2008,.

<sup>46</sup> IDEM, "Três muralhas urbanas e alguns dos seus problemas", *Al-Madan*, 2nd ser., no.15, (2007), p. 74.

<sup>47</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Do Castelo da Reconquista ao Castelo Românico (Séc. IX a XII)*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1994.

(Direcção Regional de Cultura do Norte) castles<sup>48</sup> and Ansiães castle (A. Luís Pereira and Isabel Alexandra Lopes). The Ansiães castle research project<sup>49</sup> is a prime example of an interdisciplinary approach and is one that marries extensive archaeology, both panoramic and monographic, to archival research. The idea was to understand the processes behind its construction and the changes to the economic, demographic, social and cultural realities underlying the structural layout of the walled village, with particular emphasis on the late medieval contexts (ninth to sixteenth centuries)<sup>50</sup>. Also worth mentioning are the surveying and archaeological excavation works on the rock castles in the municipality of Arouca, seen as a first millennium tradition linking the most striking contours of the area with the status of power and spatial control (coordination by António M. Silva)<sup>51</sup>. Various archaeological excavations have been carried out on medieval walls and castles in the centre region with important results in terms of understanding how urban defensive systems evolved: Viseu<sup>52</sup>, Trancoso<sup>53</sup>, Castelo Rodrigo<sup>54</sup>, Guarda<sup>55</sup>, Celorico da Beira<sup>56</sup> and Torres Vedras<sup>57</sup>, among others.

The use of archaeology to characterise settlements in the medieval period has also made good headway, especially in the Mondego region and the North. Catarina Tente has worked since 2002 on settlement strategies in this region between the fifth and twelfth centuries. Her work involves prospecting and surveying graves dug into

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<sup>48</sup> Regeneration project recently presented by AMARAL, Paulo, “Os castelos da raia do leste transmontano. Projectos de Valorização”, in *Fortificações e Território na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (Sécs. VI a XVI)*, *Actas do II Simpósio Internacional sobre Castelos*, Óbidos, 2010 (in press).

<sup>49</sup> The archaeological research project, *Estudo das Continuidades e Rupturas da organização e desenvolvimento urbano da vila medieval de Ansiães*, started out as part of an interdisciplinary team on research into medieval history that has run since 1995 in the scope of the Grupo de Estudos de História da Viticultura Duriense e do Vinho do Porto (GEHVID), operating out of the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Oporto.

<sup>50</sup> PEREIRA, A. Luís, and LOPES, Isabel A. J., *Património Arqueológico do Concelho de Carrazeda de Ansiães*, Carrazeda de Ansiães, Câmara Municipal de Carrazeda de Ansiães, 2005, pp. 79-128. The work involved specialists in paleobiology, archaeometallurgy, paleocarpology, archaeozoology, chemistry, photogrammetry and history of art.

<sup>51</sup> SILVA, António M. (coord.), *Memórias da Terra. Património Arqueológico do Concelho de Arouca*, Arouca, Câmara Municipal de Arouca, 2004, and SILVA, António M., and RIBEIRO, Manuela, “Castelos roqueiros da região de Arouca – Contexto histórico e elementos arqueológicos”, in *Fortificações e Território na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (Sécs. VI a XVI)*...

<sup>52</sup> SARAIVA, Anísio, CARVALHO, Pedro Sobral and CHÉNEY, António, “As muralhas de Viseu, ruptura e continuidade: da Antiguidade Tardia ao final da Idade Média”, *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> FERREIRA, Maria do Céu and LOBÃO, João Carlos, “Arqueologia no Castelo de Trancoso: novos dados para o estudo da fortificação”, *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> FRADE, Helena and ALBUQUERQUE, Elisa, “O Castelo de Castelo Rodrigo: história e arqueologia”, *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> PEREIRA, Vitor and CAMEIJO, Alcina, “Os sistemas defensivos da Guarda Medieval. Contributos para o seu conhecimento”, *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> MARQUES, António Carlos, “O castelo de Celorico da Beira”, *ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> LUNA, Isabel and CARDOSO, Guilherme, “A urbe de Torres Vedras e a sua cerca medieva”, *ibid.*

the rock along with the excavations at Penedo dos Mouros, a tenth century site<sup>58</sup>. More recently, new projects<sup>59</sup> have enabled her to characterise the ninth and tenth century occupation of the Upper Mondego, which take the form of peasant-type villages / hamlets endowed with defensive structures. In addition to the data on the economy and the daily lives of these populations, archaeology has also allowed new questions to be raised about the social structure of these communities and the ways in which they dealt with the authorities<sup>60</sup>. The Capinha parish project (M. Constança G. dos Santos)<sup>61</sup> and also the project under Carlos Banha's direction at Cova da Beira<sup>62</sup> focus analysis of the settlement on the identification and inventory of the graves dug into the rock, a huge field study that Mário Barroca developed in the eighties for Entre-Douro-e-Minho, which influenced the Alto Paiva<sup>63</sup> studies in the Évora<sup>64</sup> region, and various other studies scattered around the country as well as the one currently taking shape in the Beiras.

Still in the northern region, archaeological projects related to studies of the landscape and structure of medieval settlement in the Alto Paiva, Vouga, Dão and Alva, Viseu and Riba Côa<sup>65</sup> areas are ongoing. The "Cister no Vale do Douro" project, coordinated by Ricardo Teixeira, gave monastic archaeology an interpretive dimension in terms of the landscape and layout of the area. Generally, these projects run together research on written documents with archaeological prospection and excavation with a view to obtaining geo-spatial readings in understanding settlement strategy in these regions. For the mid-Douro valley, António Lima wrote

<sup>58</sup> TENTE, Catarina, *A Ocupação Alto-Medieval da Encosta Noroeste da Serra da Estrela*, Trabalhos de Arqueologia 47, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, 2007.

<sup>59</sup> Project *Estratégias de povoamento no Alto Mondego – Séculos VII a XII*, presented to the IPA in 2006; Project *Alto Mondego: terra de fronteira entre Cristãos e Muçulmanos*, approved by the FCT, 2006. TENTE, Catarina, *Arqueologia Medieval Cristã no Alto Mondego, Ocupação e exploração nos séculos V a XI*, unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2010.

<sup>60</sup> EADEM, "Viver em autarcia. O Alto Mondego entre os séculos V e XI", in MARTÍN VISO, I., *¿Tiempos oscuros? Territorio y sociedad en el centro de la Península Ibérica (siglos VI-X)*, Salamanca, pp. 137-157; EADEM, "Dos Bárbaros ao Reino de Portugal. O território de Celorico da Beira nos séculos V a XII", in *Celorico através da História*, Celorico da Beira, pp. 50-66; EADEM, *Arqueologia Medieval Cristã no Alto Mondego, Ocupação e exploração nos séculos V a XI*, Doctoral Thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2010.

<sup>61</sup> Designation of projects: Catarina Tente – *A Ocupação Alto-Medieval da Encosta Noroeste da Serra da Estrela*; Maria Constança G. dos Santos – *Antiguidade Tardia e Alta Idade Média na Freguesia de Capinha: as sepulturas escavadas na rocha e a organização do povoamento*.

<sup>62</sup> Designation of the project: *Necrópoles e sepulturas escavadas na rocha na Cova da Beira*.

<sup>63</sup> VIEIRA, Marina A., *Alto Paiva. Povoamento nas épocas romana e alto-medieval*, Trabalhos de Arqueologia 36, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, 2004.

<sup>64</sup> TENTE, Catarina and LOURENÇO, Sandra, "Sepulturas medievais do distrito de Évora", *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, vol. 5, no.1 (2002), pp. 239-258.

<sup>65</sup> We refer to the following projects: *Da Serra da Nave ao Vouga: Paisagens humanas durante a Antiguidade Tardia e a Alta Idade Média*, directed by Marina Afonso Vieira; *O Alto Paiva – Sociedade e Estratégias de Povoamento desde a Pré-História à Idade Média*, under the responsibility of Domingos da Cruz; *O Povoamento Alto Medieval entre os rios Dão e Alva*, directed by Sandra Lourenço. For Viseu, see the work of Jorge Adolfo Meneses Marques and for Riba Côa, the work of Iñaki Martín Viso.

how the phenomenon of *incastelamento* can be understood through the relationship between castles and communications<sup>66</sup>.

In the South, archaeological analyses of settlement have focussed more on the Islamic period<sup>67</sup>, providing a reading of the area that remains valid for the Reconquest<sup>68</sup>, complemented by historical approaches such as those of Hermenegildo Fernandes<sup>69</sup> for the frontier society of the southwest region, or those of Boisselier<sup>70</sup>. The excavation of the mound Alferce castle for the high Middle Ages has allowed an initial reading of settlement of the Monchique<sup>71</sup> region to be tested. The central government's interest, and that of local authorities, in preserving and regenerating castles has also prompted a wide range of archaeological excavation in the southern region. Many of these excavations are ongoing, and the survey work has followed major public or private undertakings, as is the case with Alqueva dam. They allow inventories to be updated and emergency excavations to take place. The following castles and urban areas / historic centres are of note here: Lisbon, Palmela, Setúbal, Sesimbra, Alcácer do Sal, Moura, Mértola, Alcoutim, Tavira, Cacela, Silves and Aljezur. For the greater part, the Islamic period is the main focus, yet stratigraphical levels from and after the Reconquest are of great interest and provide a wealth of information for studying daily lives and the backdrop of war.

The international symposia on castles, the first of which was entitled "Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb, 500-1500" and was organised in Palmela in 2000, and the second, "Fortificações e Território na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (Sécs. VI a XVI)", which was held in Óbidos in 2010<sup>72</sup>, have become important occasions for discussing and sharing information about the most recent archaeological research results for this area and period<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> LIMA, António M. de Carvalho, "Povoamento e Organização do Território do Baixo Douro na Época da Monarquia Asturiana", in FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, F. J., and CASTRO VALDÉS, C. G. (ed.), *Actas do Symposium Internacional Poder y Simbologia en Europa. Siglos VIII-X, Territorio, Sociedad y Poder. Revista de Estudios Medievales*, Anexo no. 2, Oviedo, pp. 227-260; LIMA, António M. de Carvalho, "Fortificações e Vias de Comunicação no Médio Vale do Douro (Séculos IX-XI)", in *Fortificações e Território na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (Sécs. VI a XVI)*...

<sup>67</sup> Chiefly that of MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola, o Último Porto do Mediterrâneo*, 3 vols., Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006.

<sup>68</sup> I refer to the studies of Santiago Macias and Helena Catarino (see below, the part on Medieval Islamic Archaeology).

<sup>69</sup> FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, *Entre Mouros e Cristãos. A sociedade de fronteira no sudoeste peninsular interior (séculos XII-XIII)*, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2000.

<sup>70</sup> BOISSELIER, Stéphane, *Naissance d'une Identité Portugaise. La vie rurale entre Tage et Guadiana de l'Islam à la Reconquête (Xe-XVIe Siècles)*, IN-CM, Lisbon, 1999; IDEM, *Le Peuplement Médiéval dans le Sud du Portugal*, Paris, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003.

<sup>71</sup> MEULEMEESTER, Johnny, GRANGÉ, Mathieu, and DEWULF, Joke, "Novos dados sobre o povoamento altomedieval na Serra de Monchique (séc. VI-IX): Intervenção arqueológica no Cerro do Castelo de Alferce, Monchique, Faro (2004)", *XELB*, no. 6 (2006), pp. 261-280.

<sup>72</sup> The first was organised by the Municipality of Palmela and the second by the Municipality of Óbidos.

<sup>73</sup> The proceedings from the 1st Symposium were edited in: FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.),

More than a hundred archaeological excavations<sup>74</sup> were carried out between 1980 and 2005 on castles, walls, towers and lookout posts from the medieval period, some of which are ongoing projects. Twenty-nine contributions and illustrations of medieval Portuguese fortifications were presented at the 2010 Óbidos symposium, which shows how historical and archaeological research continues to revolve around castles, despite the meagre or inexistent financial support from the authorities in recent years.

### *Ceramics*

The “IV Encontro sobre Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo Ocidental”, organised by the Campo Arqueológico de Mértola in 1987 and the “I Jornadas de Cerâmica Medieval e Pós-Medieval”, held in Tondela in 1992 marked the beginning of a new era in Portugal for the study of medieval ceramic production and in the subsequent perception of its contribution to knowledge of handicrafts, diet, the circulation of goods, merchants and artisans, for understanding rural landscapes and the texture of the medieval city. The four Tondela conferences were international events that extended the scope of research to encompass ethno-archaeological and laboratory aspects. The highlight of the first *jornadas* was the presentation of the ceramic collection from the Casa do Infante, from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries<sup>75</sup> and the first appraisal of the study of medieval ceramics in the south of Portugal, made by Rosa Varela Gomes<sup>76</sup>, which included an overview of the study of Portuguese ceramics from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Other collections were recorded for the high and late Middle Ages, although they were not always studied, namely those from Cascais<sup>77</sup>, Sintra, Barreiro (the Mata da Machada kiln)<sup>78</sup>, Setúbal, Tavira<sup>79</sup>,

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*Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500-1500)*, *Actas do Simpósio Internacional sobre Castelos* [Palmela, 3-8 Apr. 2000], Palmela, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2002.

<sup>74</sup> EADEM, “Arqueologia medieval em Portugal: duas décadas de investigação”, *Portugália* [Oporto], n. s., vol. 26 (2005), pp. 149-173. Archaeological excavations means: excavation, imaging, prospection, surveying, monitoring.

<sup>75</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, et al., “Conjuntos cerâmicos da intervenção arqueológica da Casa do Infante – Porto: Elementos para uma sequência longa – séculos IV a XIX”, in *Actas das 1<sup>as</sup> Jornadas de Cerâmica Medieval e Pós-Medieval* [Tondela 1992], Tondela, Câmara Municipal de Tondela, 1995, pp. 171-186.

<sup>76</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, “Cerâmicas medievais do Sul de Portugal – Qual o estado da questão?”, *ibid.*, pp. 293-302.

<sup>77</sup> CARDOSO, Guilherme, and RODRIGUES, Severino, “Alguns tipos de Cerâmica dos sécs. XI a XVI encontrados em Cascais”, in *A Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo Ocidental*, proceedings of the International Congress [Lisbon, 16-22 Nov. 1978], Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, Mértola, 1991, pp. 575-586.

<sup>78</sup> The latter was excavated under the direction of Cláudio Torres.

<sup>79</sup> LOPES, Gonçalo, COVANEIRO, Jaquelina, and CAVACO, Sandra, “Claustro do Convento da Graça, Análise dos materiais cerâmicos e faunísticos provenientes de dois contextos fechados”, *XELB*, no. 6..., pp. 311-326.



Évora and Madeira. A fifteenth-century<sup>80</sup> pottery was identified and excavated in Évora, at the former Sepúlvedas palace, and in Madeira, Élvio Sousa carried out a study of daily life in the city of Machico (fifteenth to seventeenth century) using archaeological contexts where ceramics take on a key role<sup>81</sup>.

Collections from the Reconquest period have been exhumed and examined in the Tagus and Sado river basins – Palmela, Alcácer do Sal, Almada and Lisbon<sup>82</sup> – with clear formal affinities, which we can pinpoint as being from between the second half of the twelfth century and the thirteenth century. As regards similar periods in the north, a recent study of ceramics from Arouca castle, from the ninth-century to the twelfth century, has made an important contribution in terms of defining northern ceramic collections<sup>83</sup>. From underwater finds (for instance, the shipwrecks of Aveiro), we have late medieval and modern ceramic collections, some of them intact, from *in situ* cargoes<sup>84</sup>.

The characterisation of production, the identification of clay pits and the circulation of ceramic products have all registered great progress in recent years through the use of mineralogical, chemical and neutron activation analyses<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> ALMEIDA, Sara, et al., “A olaria quatrocentista da porta da Alagoa: resultados das intervenções arqueológicas no antigo palácio dos Sepúlvedas (Évora)”, *Arqueologia Medieval* [Mértola], no. 10 (2008), pp. 201-214; TEICHNER, Félix, and SCHIERL, Tomas, “A olaria da Porta da Lagoa em Évora (Alto Alentejo, Portugal)”, in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo*, t. 2, Ciudad-Real / Almagro, AEAM, 2009, pp. 975-986.

<sup>81</sup> SOUSA, Élvio D. M., *Arqueologia da Cidade de Machico. A construção do Quotidiano nos Séculos XV, XVI e XVII*, Machico, CEAM / Câmara Municipal de Machico, 2006.

<sup>82</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *O Castelo de Palmela...*, and EADEM, “Arqueologia medieval em Portugal: duas décadas de investigação”, *Portugália...*, pp. 311-325; PAIXÃO, António C., et al., “O castelo de Alcácer do Sal: um projecto de arqueologia urbana”, *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 45: *Actas do III Encontro de Arqueologia Urbana*, no. 97, 110 (1994), pp. 242-243, 261; SABROSA, Armando, and ESPÍRITO SANTO, Paulo, “Almada medieval-moderna. Um projecto de investigação”, *Al-Madan*, 2nd ser., no. 1 (1992), p. 11; GASPAR, Alexandra, and AMARO, Clementino, “Cerâmicas dos sécs. XIII-XV da cidade de Lisboa”, in *Actes du Ve Congrès La Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée* [Nov. of 1995], Aix-en-Provence, 1997, pp. 343-344; GOMES, Ana, et al., “Cerâmicas medievais de Lisboa – continuidades e rupturas”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Muçulmanos e Cristãos...* pp. 221-236.

<sup>83</sup> SILVA, António M., and RIBEIRO, Manuela, “Cerâmica medieval das escavações no Castelo de Arouca. Ensaio de análise morfotipológica”, *Portugália* [Oporto], n. s., vol. 27 (2007), pp. 69-88.

<sup>84</sup> Research by the CNANS (Centro Nacional de Arqueologia Náutica e Subaquática), led by Francisco Alves. See articles on ceramics from the Ria de Aveiro A, BETTENCOURT, José António, and CARVALHO, Patrícia, “A carga do navio da Ria de Aveiro (Ílhavo – Portugal): uma aproximação preliminar ao seu significado histórico-cultural”, *Cuadernos de Estudos Borjanos*, nos. 50-51: *Actas dela XVIII Reunión Internacional de História de la Nautica y de la Hidrografia* (2007-2008), pp. 257-287, and BETTENCOURT, José António, “A carga cerâmica do navio Ria de Aveiro A (Ílhavo-Portugal)”, in *Actas do VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval no Mediterráneo*, Ciudad Real, Asociación Española de Arqueologia Medieval, 2009, pp. 947-955.

<sup>85</sup> Neutron activation analyses are carried out in Portugal at the Instituto de Tecnologia Nuclear.

### *Final considerations*

Portuguese archaeology has increasingly imposed on itself new methodological approaches where interplay with other disciplines and sciences is crucial. Integrated studies of monuments and sites have functioned as a means of appreciating the value of medieval archaeology and recognising the importance of material culture to a large-scale *reconstruction* of history. Portuguese historiographical production has gradually begun to incorporate archaeological data and archaeology-based studies, with clear-cut mutually beneficial advantages. The *História de Portugal*, directed by José Mattoso (1992), dared give it this value, with undeniable positive impacts, recognised and followed by others.

Portuguese medieval archaeology has grown and has been bolstered thanks to the different vehicles of dissemination, which deserve mention here: the journals *Arqueologia Medieval* (Campo Arqueológico de Mértola), *Al-Madan* (Centro de Arqueologia de Almada), *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* and the *Trabalhos de Arqueologia* (defunct Instituto Português de Arqueologia), *Estudos do Património* (IPPAR – IGESPAR), *Portugália* (Faculdade de Letras – University of Oporto); *Arqueologia e História* (Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses), the proceedings from various Meetings, some of which have already been mentioned, to which we can add those of Silves (published in the *XELB*) and the “Congressos de Arqueologia Peninsular”, the “VIII Congresso Internacional de Estelas Funerárias” (2005), among others; and the temporary exhibition catalogues, such as *Pera Guerrejar, Armamento Medieval no Espaço Português* (City Council of Palmela) or *Tavira, Território e Poder* (City Council of Tavira).

This brief summary would remain incomplete without two references to medieval epigraphy studies: the *corpus* of *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa*, authored by Mário Barroca, published in 2000 and the *Catálogo das inscrições paleocristãs do território português*, by Maria Manuela Alves Dias and Catarina Isabel Sousa Gaspar, published in 2006. M. Barroca’s work systemises our country’s medieval Christian epigraphs, with some references to Paleochristian, Islamic and Judaic inscriptions. Taking an archaeological and historical approach, the author uses a classification and cataloguing system that is not limited to reading the pieces but establishes a complete historiographical overview for each one. We are indebted to the same archaeologist for studies on armaments and medieval Portuguese numismatics<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Armamento medieval português. Notas sobre a evolução do equipamento militar das forças cristãs”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, and FERNANDES, Isabel, Cristina F. (coords.), *Pera Guerrejar – Armamento Medieval no Espaço Português*, catalogue of the exhibition (Lisbon and Palmela, Apr. to Jul. 2000), Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2000, pp. 37-76. In the same catalogue, see the entries for pieces 8, 9 and 12.

## Islamic Archaeology in Portugal

### *Introduction*

One of the most unusual aspects of the archaeological approach to medieval Portugal lies in the virtual “denial” with which the Islamic period was long viewed. It was seen as a minor period, between a glorious Rome and a Portugal that had yet to exist. The few pages accorded it essentially amounted to showing some tombstones<sup>87</sup>, one ceramic piece or another and the few coins that professionals and curious observers unearthed sporadically. Against this virtual desert, David Lopes (1867-1942) set himself, with his essay *Os árabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano*<sup>88</sup>, with the first summary, though far from perfect in *História de Portugal*, or of Barcelos<sup>89</sup>, and with articles he published over the decades in *O arqueólogo português*. For its part, nationalist historiographical discourse had other priorities and others areas of interest. The Islamic period stood as an exotic aside undeserving of major attention, especially as it contradicted the idea of a fatherland founded on, and only on, Christian values. When David Lopes died, no one stepped in to fill the breach between history and archaeology. Several decades elapsed before Islamic archaeology emerged on the scientific research stage. In particular, we had to wait for changes to be made in the way archaeology was viewed and for a new generation of researchers to take on a decisive and innovative role in this area. The *Arqueólogo Português* itself lost its driving force, leaving a vacuum, and there was no Portuguese publication to rival *al-Andalus*, which was edited in Spain from 1933 and became a key repository of data on for the Islamic period in the Iberian Peninsula.

This absence of archaeology on the ground explains in large part why when the work *Subsídios para a história do Museu Etnológico do Dr. Leite de Vasconcelos* was published in 1964, only a few references to Islamic pieces were included, one of which was not even from this period<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> The first syntheses on Islamic epigraphy in the Gharb date from the 1940s – Nykl, 1940 and 1946; a revision of the topic was published by LABARTA, Ana, and BARCELÓ, Carmen, “Inscripciones árabes de Portugal: situación actual”, *Al-Qantara*, 8 (1987), pp. 395-420; See, especially, for the most complete approach on this topic, BORGES, Artur Goulart de Melo, *Epigrafia Islâmica. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Museus, 1998, pp. 227-255, 264-266.

<sup>88</sup> LOPES, David, “Os árabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano”, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1911, offprint of *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, vols. 3-4 (1909-1910).

<sup>89</sup> IDEM, “O domínio árabe”, in PERES, Damião (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Barcelos, Portucalense, 1928, vol. 1, pp. 391-431.

<sup>90</sup> MACHADO, João L. Saavedra, *Subsídios para a história do Museu Etnológico do Dr. Leite de Vasconcelos*, Lisbon, Ministério da Educação Nacional / Direcção-Geral do Ensino Superior e das Belas Artes, 1964, pp. 334-335.

It was only at the beginning of that decade, and as archaeological work at Castro da Cola advanced, that Islamic times were given attention and recorded. Unfortunately, with the death of Abel Viana (1896-1964), and the subsequent loss of information on the work carried out, much of the information became almost impossible to use<sup>91</sup>.

The outlook began to change the following decade. Firstly, with the archaeological work led by Fernando de Almeida and later by José Luís de Matos at Cerro da Vila (Vilamoura / Loulé), a Roman site that saw occupation up to the Caliphate period<sup>92</sup>. Then, decisively, publication began of the collection *Portugal na Espanha Árabe*, coordinated by António Borges Coelho<sup>93</sup>. With this edition, the public could now read texts from the Islamic period (primarily translated from Spanish and French editions), which had hitherto only been available to a handful of researchers.

When municipalities were granted administrative autonomy after the 1974 revolution, many places in the South set to discovering their past, especially the Islamic period, which was a great unknown. Mértola and Silves, former capitals of taifa kingdoms, were the first sites where from 1978 work reached significant dimension. This was due both to ongoing excavations and subsequent heritage enhancement programmes, as well as to the potential each site possessed. At the present moment, the widespread nature of Islamic archaeology does not enable us to single out any particular excavations. Yet what we may add is that this new dynamism paved the way for the “IV Congresso de Cerâmica Medieval do Mediterrâneo Ocidental”<sup>94</sup>, which was held in Lisbon, and the appearance of a specialist medieval archaeology journal in 1992<sup>95</sup>. This boost in the area of Islamic studies also made possible the overview of research in this area, realised in the exhibition “Portugal Islâmico: os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo”, which was open to the public at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in 1998 and 1999<sup>96</sup>. As it is not possible to refer to

<sup>91</sup> VIANA, Abel, *Nossa Senhora da Cola – notas históricas, arqueológicas e etnográficas do Baixo Alentejo*, Beja, 1961, where one can find a generic approach; partial publication on ceramics in MESTRE, Joaquim Figueira, *Cerâmica muçulmana do Castro de Nossa Senhora da Cola*, Beja, Câmara Municipal de Ourique, 1992.

<sup>92</sup> MATOS, José Luís de, “Cerro da Vila. Escavações em 1971”, *O Arqueólogo Português*, 3rd ser., vol. 5 (1971), pp. 201-214; IDEM, “Cerâmica muçulmana do Cerro da Vila”, in SILVA, Luís, and MATEUS, Rui (coords.), *Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo Ocidental*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1991, pp. 429-456.

<sup>93</sup> COELHO, António Borges, *Portugal na Espanha Árabe*, Lisbon, Seara Nova, 1972-1975, with successive re-editions.

<sup>94</sup> SILVA, Luís, and MATEUS, Rui (coords.), *A cerâmica medieval no Mediterrâneo Ocidental...*

<sup>95</sup> *Arqueologia Medieval*, published with scientific coordination by the Campo Arqueológico de Mértola: eleven editions edited up to the end of 2010.

<sup>96</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, and TORRES, Cláudio (coords.), *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998.

all the meetings and colloquia that have taken place in Portugal, we can highlight, due to their regularity and relevance, the “Encontros de Arqueologia do Algarve”<sup>97</sup> and the “Encontros de Arqueologia do Sudoeste Peninsular”<sup>98</sup>. Islamic archaeology has been given an important focus at both.

Investigations already completed and those in progress have yielded an appreciable number of master’s dissertations and doctoral theses, impossible to enumerate here<sup>99</sup>. However, the work of synthesis done by Christophe Picard on the Gharb stands out, being the most comprehensive and rigorous in its approach<sup>100</sup>.

### *Territory, agrarian areas and road studies*

Studies on the former territories of the Gharb al-Andalus, which have been carried out from what are conventionally classified geo-historical spaces, have barely scratched the surface. If we add the urban trend of Islamic archaeology in Portugal to the inadequacy of surveying in many rural areas, we largely find the explanation for this shortcoming.

For administrative reasons, studies end up being on a municipal level. The archaeological maps that have been drawn up over recent years in unsystematic fashion do not, taken together, approach the regional level. Studies on territories that focus on their settlement dynamic are few and far between. The time that such work requires, the money involved in prospection and, increasingly, the pressure of university work, have made it ever more difficult to carry out such holistic overviews. The most complete and consequential study was that undertaken by Helena Catarino on the leeward side of the Algarve<sup>101</sup>. The author connected the data from different archaeological digs – and the respective interpretations – to an exhaustive survey of sites, to produce a study of major importance to knowledge of one of the most remote areas of the country. We may add to this work other investigations, more piecemeal in approach, such as that of Rosa Varela Gomes in the Silves region<sup>102</sup>, or

<sup>97</sup> Eight editions up to 2010 – proceedings published by the Câmara Municipal de Silves via *Xelb*.

<sup>98</sup> Five editions up to 2010 – proceedings from the third and fourth meetings published digitally.

<sup>99</sup> The list of these doctoral theses is available at: [www.gpeari.mctes.pt/index.php?idc=35&pos=615](http://www.gpeari.mctes.pt/index.php?idc=35&pos=615). The master’s dissertations are available in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional, but without specification of themes.

<sup>100</sup> PICARD, Christophe, *Le Portugal Musulman (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle). L’Occident d’al-Andalus sous domination islamique*, Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose, 2000.

<sup>101</sup> CATARINO, Helena, “O Algarve Oriental durante a ocupação islâmica – povoamento rural e recintos fortificados”, *Al-Ulya*, no. 6, 3 vols. (1997-1998).

<sup>102</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, “Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: território e cultura”, in *Trabalhos de Arqueologia*, no. 23, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, 2002; EADEM, “Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: a alcáçova”, in *Trabalhos de Arqueologia*, no. 35, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, 2003; EADEM, “Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: o núcleo urbano”, in *Trabalhos de Arqueologia*, no. 44, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, 2006.

my own work, focussing on the Mértola area<sup>103</sup>. Maria da Conceição Lopes' work on the Beja region, though centred on the Roman period, has provided elements of the utmost importance in terms of knowledge of Islamic occupation in the area surrounding the city<sup>104</sup>. More recently, and with the objective of studying mining, a land analysis project was launched in the Mira valley<sup>105</sup>.

Following models tested in the east of the Peninsula, Luís Filipe Oliveira analysed the outer fortifications of Castelo Belinho, an essay of major importance unfortunately not continued<sup>106</sup>, nor followed by other archaeologists.

The different forms of occupation in rural areas largely remain unknown. The sites so far identified and excavated do however permit us to organise settlement of the southern lands into two major groups:

1. That of the former *villæ*, which were not abandoned, though the way they functioned until the Islamic period was completely different to the large farms of the late Empire. Frequently, in late Antiquity, a sector of the *pars urbana* was adapted for a Christian church. In the Islamic period, the way spaces were re-divided allows us to see that life was frugal, though in general this ceased in the eleventh century, a matter on which we lack detailed information. This is the "model" that has been observed in sites such as Cerro da Vila<sup>107</sup>, Montinho das Laranjeiras<sup>108</sup>, in Milreu<sup>109</sup>, Monte da Cegonha<sup>110</sup>, etc. The data provided by archaeology are insufficient to apply this pattern generally.

2. That of rural settlements in mountainous zones, located especially in the areas of transit between the Alentejo and the Algarve. Archaeological work,

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<sup>103</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola, le dernier port de la Méditerranée*, 3 vols., Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006.

<sup>104</sup> LOPES, Maria da Conceição, *A cidade romana de Beja. Percursos e debates acerca da civitas de Pax Ivlia*, Coimbra, Instituto de Arqueologia da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra, 2003.

<sup>105</sup> VILHENA, Jorge, and GRANGÉ, Mathieu, "Premières données archéologiques sur le Baixo Mira durant le haut Moyen Âge (VIIe-XIe siècle)", *Vipasca*, 2nd ser., no. 2 (2006), pp. 542-558.

<sup>106</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "Uma fortificação islâmica do termo de Silves: o Castelo Belinho", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 6 (1999), pp. 39-46.

<sup>107</sup> TEICHNER, Félix, "Cerro da Vila (Algarve Portugal) – aldeia do mar na época islâmica", in *Al-Andalus. Espaço de mudança. Balanço de 25 anos de história e arqueologia medievais*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006, pp. 123-139.

<sup>108</sup> COUTINHO, Hélder, "Cerâmica muçulmana do Montinho das Laranjeiras", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 2 (1993), pp. 39-5; IDEM, "Os buyut do Montinho das Laranjeiras (Alcoutim) – escavações de 2000", *Xelb*, no. 4 (2003), pp. 265-278.

<sup>109</sup> TEICHNER, Félix, "Acerca da villa romana de Milreu/Estói. Continuidade da ocupação na época árabe", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 3 (1994), pp. 89-100; SIDARUS, Adel, and TEICHNER, Félix, "Termas romanas no Gharb al-Andalus", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 5 (1997), pp. 177-189.

<sup>110</sup> LOPES, Maria da Conceição, *A cidade romana de Beja...: site 457*.

especially the excavations Alcaria Longa<sup>111</sup>, Portela<sup>112</sup> and Odeleite<sup>113</sup>, have shown how close housing models were to those today in the Atlas and Rif areas – namely in terms of the size of the houses and their lay out around an open patio. To some extent, the archaeology would bear out the ethno-historical approaches of Cláudio Torres<sup>114</sup>, but the incipient nature of the fieldwork does not allow us to do any more than indicate the usefulness and interest of the suggestion. James Boone’s studies confirm the occupation of these rural sites over several centuries<sup>115</sup>.

Also in rural areas, one can see how Iron Age sites were reoccupied in the Islamic period. In these small hamlets, the structures of new habitations frequently repeat previous designs (cf. the Fernão Vaz site)<sup>116</sup>.

### *Fortifications and urban areas*

The study of fortifications has increased somewhat over the last two decades. This has largely been due to the efforts of Isabel Cristina F. Fernandes in organising colloquia on fortifications in the Western Mediterranean<sup>117</sup> and through her archaeological work at Palmela castle, which underlined the site’s archaeological importance and its uninterrupted occupation over the course of time<sup>118</sup>.

Much archaeological work on the occupation of urban sites in the Islamic period is carried out inside the fortifications, without direct relation to how to read the walls or their development. This group includes the digs in progress at Moura castle, those underway in Juromenha<sup>119</sup> or those at Lisbon castle<sup>120</sup>. Archaeological

<sup>111</sup> BOONE, James, “The third season of excavations at Alcaria Longa”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 2 (1993), pp. 111-152.

<sup>112</sup> PIRES, Alexandra, and FERREIRA, Mulize, “Povoado islâmico de Portela3: resultados preliminares”, *Xelb*, no. 4 (2003), pp. 279-306.

<sup>113</sup> SANTOS, Filipe João Carvalho dos, “O povoado islâmico dos Alcariaais de Odeleite. Uma qarya no Algarve Oriental. Primeiros resultados arqueológicos”, *Promontoria*, 4th yr., no. 4 (2006), pp. 161-265; IDEM, “O povoado rural (qarya) dos Alcariaais de Odeleite”, *Vipasca*, 2nd ser., no. 2 (2008), pp. 571-589.

<sup>114</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, “Uma velha cultura serrenha”, in LUZIA, Ângela, *Mantas tradicionais do Baixo Alentejo*, Mértola, Câmara Municipal de Mértola, 1984, pp. 45-62.

<sup>115</sup> BOONE, James, “Tribalism, ethnicity, and islamization in the Baixo Alentejo of Portugal: preliminary results of investigations into transitional period (AD 550-850) rural settlements”, *Era Arqueológica*, 4 (2002), pp. 152-176; IDEM, *Lost Civilization: Spain and Portugal’s Contested Islamic Past*, London, Duckworth, 2009.

<sup>116</sup> CORREIA, Virgílio Hipólito, *Cola – circuito arqueológico*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2002, p. 41. Similar trend in Alto da Queimada, in Palmela – FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *O Castelo de Palmela...*, 2004, pp. 279-286. Occupations of the same kind are known of in sites like Cabeço de Vaiamonte.

<sup>117</sup> Two international symposia have taken place on castles: in Palmela in 2000, and in Óbidos, in 2010. there are published proceedings from the former: Fernandes, 2002

<sup>118</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *O Castelo de Palmela...*

<sup>119</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, and PICARD, Christophe, “Intervenção arqueológica no castelo de Juromenha: primeiros resultados”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 1 (1992), pp. 71-89.

<sup>120</sup> GASPAR, Alexandra, and GOMES, Ana, “O Castelo de S. Jorge – da fortaleza islâmica à alcáçova

work on Beja castle has defined the city limits but, for reasons beyond the control of the archaeologist responsible, cannot be continued<sup>121</sup>. The most relevant work, for having allowed us to re-read the upper part of the City and enabled us to note the existence of an oriental-inspired structure, was most definitely Helena Catarino's excavation at the Patio of the University, in Coimbra<sup>122</sup>. At the fortress of Mértola, occupation of the byzantine-type defensive structures was observed to have continued up to the mid-ninth century<sup>123</sup>, while part of a neighbourhood, unearthed inside the fortress, showed signs of occupation the eleventh century<sup>124</sup>. Excavations at Silves yielded important results on areas of habitation in the upper part of the city, yet added little to existing knowledge of the city walls. In this respect, the recent work of Maria José Gonçalves on the outer wall of the settlement wall, whose evolution she has managed to define thoroughly, should be mentioned<sup>125</sup>. Particularly interesting is the interpretation of Santarém fortress, whose occupation is related to its role in levying taxes<sup>126</sup>.

The most consistent results have come from works in rural areas. The highlights include the excavation in Mesas do Castelinho, an Iron Age site re-occupied in the Islamic period where there was a human presence up to the Caliphate period<sup>127</sup>, and the dig at Castelo Velho in Alcoutim, which was an important look-out on the lower Guadiana, with various walled perimeters and areas of habitation<sup>128</sup>. More recently, Mathieu Grangé has undertaken work on Alferce castle in the Serra de Monchique, which was populated in the fifth / sixth centuries and became a *hisn* that was later abandoned in the early tenth century<sup>129</sup>. Mário and Rosa Varela Gomes have excavated Belinho castle, another rural fortification, although the results are so far inconclusive.

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cristã. Contribuição para o seu estudo", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, pp. 397-404; SERRAS, Susana, *Castelo de São Jorge – núcleo museológico*, Lisbon, EGEAC, 2008.

<sup>121</sup> LOPES, Maria da Conceição, *A cidade romana de Beja...*, pp. 157-163.

<sup>122</sup> PIMENTEL, António Filipe, *A morada da sabedoria – I. O Paço Real de Coimbra das origens ao estabelecimento da Universidade*, s. l., Almedina, 2005, pp. 118-216, largely from the data from the excavations led by Helena Catarino. Also see CATARINO, Helena, "Vestígios do urbanismo islâmico no Castelo de Paderne: uma primeira abordagem", *Xelb*, no. 6 (2006), pp. 281-298.

<sup>123</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola, le dernier port de la Méditerranée...*, pp. 359-360.

<sup>124</sup> CANDÓN MORALES, Alicia, et al., "Mértola en torno al año 1000", in *Actas del V Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, vol. 2, s. l., Junta de Castilla y León, 2000, pp. 559-567.

<sup>125</sup> GONÇALVES, Maria José, *Silves islâmica – a muralha do arrabalde oriental e a dinâmica de ocupação do espaço adjacente*, unpublished master's dissertation in Theory and Methods of Archaeology, Faro, FCHS-UALG, 2009.

<sup>126</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, p. 55.

<sup>127</sup> FABIÃO, Carlos, and GUERRA, Amílcar, "Uma fortificação omíada no sítio arqueológico de Mesas do Castelinho, Almodôvar", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 2 (1993), pp. 85-102; GUERRA, Amílcar, and FABIÃO, Carlos, "Mesas do Castelinho, Almodôvar: Uma fortificação rural islâmica do Baixo Alentejo", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, pp. 171-176.

<sup>128</sup> CATARINO, Helena, "O Algarve Oriental durante a ocupação islâmica...", pp. 303-403.

<sup>129</sup> MEULEMEESTER, Jhony de, GRANGÉ, Mathieu, and DEWULG, Joke, "Novos dados sobre o



What we know of fortifications refers largely to the walls of the Almohad period, particularly the better-preserved complexes such as those of Paderne<sup>130</sup> and Silves<sup>131</sup>. In two places, Elvas and Faro, Almohad-era gates coexist with earlier ones (tenth- to eleventh centuries), which would seem to bear out the hypothesis that urban spaces were revitalised during this period<sup>132</sup>. We also have analyses of sites like Albufeira<sup>133</sup>, Aljezur<sup>134</sup>, Cacela<sup>135</sup> or Tavira<sup>136</sup>, with suggestions about the layout of the walls and a chronology of occupation. Of particular interest are Jacinta Bugalhão's studies on Lisbon as they include in their research different components of urban reality in a patchwork of data that has provided increasingly robust conclusions<sup>137</sup>.

In a city like Elvas, and without carrying out archaeological work, we now have fairly complete information on how the fortifications in Elvas developed, thanks to the study of Fernando Branco Correia<sup>138</sup>, who has now widened his investigations to take in other walled areas.

In general terms, and as far as urban areas are concerned, we seem to discern different rhythms and dynamics that correspond directly with the times at which each of the cities was most flourishing.

### *Structures of habitation*

Initially (between the late 1970s and the early 1990s), archaeological work unearthed appreciable ceramic finds, tentatively dated, yet revealing nothing of substance about the structures of habitation of the Islamic period. We had to wait for the number of

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povoamento alto-medieval na Serra de Monchique..., pp. 261-280.

<sup>130</sup> CATARINO, Helena, "O castelo de Paderne (Albufeira): resultados da primeira intervenção arqueológica", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 3 (1994), pp. 73-87; CATARINO, Helena, and INÁCIO, Isabel, "Vestígios do urbanismo islâmico no Castelo de Paderne: uma primeira abordagem", *Xelb*, no. 6 (2006), pp. 281-298.

<sup>131</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, "Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: a alcáçova...; EADEM, "Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: o núcleo urbano..."

<sup>132</sup> PICARD, Christophe, *Le Portugal Musulman (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle)*..., pp. 78-81; for Faro see the work of GAMITO, Teresa Júdice, *O Algarve e o Magreb (711-1249)*, Faro, Universidade do Algarve, 2007, which has been continued in different parts of the city.

<sup>133</sup> GOMES, Mário Varela, "Castelo de Albufeira: novos contributos para o seu conhecimento", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, pp. 337-346.

<sup>134</sup> SILVA, Carlos Tavares da, GOMES, Rosa Varela, "Primeiros resultados das escavações arqueológicas no Castelo de Aljezur", *ibid.*, pp. 347-356.

<sup>135</sup> VALINHO, Alexandre, and MARQUES, João Nuno, "Contributo ao estudo da ocupação islâmica de Cacela Velha", *Xelb*, no. 9 (2009), pp. 569-578.

<sup>136</sup> MAIA, Manuel, "Muralhas islâmicas de Tavira", in *Tavira - território e poder*, Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Tavira / Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 2003, pp. 155-162.

<sup>137</sup> BUGALHÃO, Jacinta, "Lisboa Islâmica: uma realidade em construção", *Xelb*, no. 9 (2009), pp. 377-391.

<sup>138</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, *Elvas na Idade Média*, master's dissertation in Medieval History, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1999.

archaeological excavations to multiply and for the areas of excavation at the main sites to expand to begin to have reasonably safe readings.

The most distinctive results came first from Mértola and Silves. In the former, it was possible to excavate a neighbourhood built in the second half of the twelfth century, from which was obtained an interpretation of the road network along with the measurements of one and a half dozen dwellings. These followed the model of urban houses from al-Andalus (houses laid out around a central patio, with relatively-specialised divisions of rooms according to their function), yet the quality of construction and simplicity of the applied solutions were not those of a particularly high social class<sup>139</sup>. The same could be said of the houses in the fishing neighbourhood<sup>140</sup>. In Silves, the excavation concentrated initially on the fortress, where an important palace complex was identified<sup>141</sup>, after which a sizeable part of the suburbs was excavated<sup>142</sup>.

The layout observed in these houses, one with a long history in Andalucian archaeology, would later be repeated with nuances and variations (chiefly as regards the total area) in different urban excavations. The ones that stand out due to their importance and for having been published are those in Salir<sup>143</sup>, Paderne<sup>144</sup>, Tavira<sup>145</sup> and Lisbon<sup>146</sup>. The construction systems do not vary much among themselves. Tiled or mortared floors (rammed earth in humbler dwellings), masonry or adobe walls and semi-cylindrical tiled roofs are the most common features. Decorative architectural stucco and painted wainscoting only occur rarely, for which reason those at Silves<sup>147</sup> and Lisbon<sup>148</sup> deserve special mention.

Virtually all the dwellings identified date back to the Almohad period, which makes the last hundred years of Muslim domination more visible than any other period. The enigma of the Emirate and Caliphate houses remains to be solved – we have their contents, but generally without legible structures corresponding to them and without defined chronologies.

<sup>139</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola, le dernier port de la Méditerranée...*, pp. 379-390.

<sup>140</sup> LOPES, Virgílio, and GOMES MARTINEZ, Susana, "O arrabalde ribeirão de Mértola e a evolução do espaço periurbano da cidade entre a Antiguidade Tardia e o período islâmico", *Vipasca*, 2nd ser., no. 2 (2008), pp. 690-697.

<sup>141</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, "Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: a alcáçova...", pp. 41-112, 148-155.

<sup>142</sup> SANTOS, José da Costa dos, ABRANCHES, Paula, "O arrabalde da Silves Islâmica. A intervenção arqueológica do empreendimento do castelo", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 11 (2010), pp. 89-102.

<sup>143</sup> CATARINO, Helena, "O Algarve Oriental durante a ocupação islâmica...", pp. 468-474, and est. XCV.

<sup>144</sup> EADEM, "Vestígios do urbanismo islâmico no Castelo de Paderne...", pp. 281-298.

<sup>145</sup> COVANEIRO, Jaqueline, and CAVACO, Sandra, "Casas islâmicas da Cerca do Convento da Graça – Tavira. Notícia preliminar", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 9 (2005), pp. 77-82.

<sup>146</sup> GASPAR, Alexandra, and GOMES, Ana, "O castelo de S. Jorge – da fortaleza islâmica à alcáçova cristã...", pp. 397-404.

<sup>147</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, "Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: a alcáçova...", pp. 82-83.

<sup>148</sup> SERRA, Susana, *Castelo de São Jorge – núcleo museológico*, Lisbon, EGEAC, 2008, p. 30.

## Ceramics

The raw material *par excellence* in Islamic archaeology, ceramics were practically absent from the specialised bibliography until around thirty years ago. In disjointed fashion, some ceramic fragments had been published, with no reference to stratigraphy or suggestions about dates. It took José Luís de Matos' publications on the first items from Cerro da Vila to begin to have a notion on how ceramic forms evolved.

Archaeological digs undertaken towards the end of 1970s benefitted directly from the publication in 1978 of *Ensayo de sistematización de la cerámica árabe de Mallorca*. This book created the first major organisation of the materials. Chronologies were sketched out and pieces grouped according to their function (kitchen crockery, tableware, storage containers, fireboxes etc.). The operational nature of this scheme proved very useful and has been used systematically ever since.

The first state of the art was defined in 1987 when the "IV Congresso de Cerâmica Medieval do Mediterrâneo Ocidental" took place in Lisbon<sup>149</sup>. The state of research in this area, albeit incipient, rapidly grew the following decade. The number of excavations multiplied and knowledge of forms and their evolution increased, resulting in the publication of articles, books and catalogues. The experiments that have been carried out, nearly always based on study cases, permit us to offer an overview of the local production and circulation of materials, both regionally and in terms of imports from much more distant places. Prominent in this respect are Susana Gómez's dissertation on the ceramics of Mértola<sup>150</sup> and Rosa Varela Gomes's study of materials from Silves<sup>151</sup>. The dates indicated by the latter researcher as regards materials from the Emirate period continue to raise controversy as they point to a chronology not backed as yet by any other archaeologist.

Defining the areas of influence and circulation of products regionally has proved particularly important, as has the identification of production sites (and how these dovetail with local traditions). Imported pieces, for their part, allow us to trace trade routes that generally are restricted to the Western Mediterranean.

Also worth mentioning is the considerable interest in the project carried out by the collective Cerâmicas Islâmicas do Gharb al-Andalus (CIGA), which, despite

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<sup>149</sup> Proceedings published in 1991: SILVA, Luís, and MATEUS, Rui (coord.), *A cerâmica medieval no Mediterrâneo...*

<sup>150</sup> GÓMEZ MARTÍNEZ, Susana, *La cerâmica islâmica de Mértola produção y comercio*, 2006, available online at: <http://eprints.ucm.es/tesis/ghi/ucm-t27826.pdf>.

<sup>151</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, "Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: território e cultura..."; EADEM, "Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: a alcáçova..."; EADEM, "Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: o núcleo urbano..."

having yielded only one publication<sup>152</sup>, is pursuing studies that will aim to harmonise criteria along with proposals for a chronology.

### *Religious and burial areas*

In terms of the archaeology of religious areas, little progress has been made in recent years, despite the spectacular results from Ribat of Arrifana.

Most of the studies conducted are based on re-reading buildings or correcting suggestions made some years ago. The first instance includes the hypothesis raised by Cláudio Torres regarding Idanha cathedral, the construction of which he places in the golden era of the Banu Marwan (ninth century)<sup>153</sup>. The elements relate especially to the dimensions and orientation of the church itself<sup>154</sup>. In Mértola, publication of archival documents has prompted new proposals regarding the layout of the internal space of Mértola's former mosque, which corrects the already dated study by Christian Ewert<sup>155</sup>.

The most relevant discovery of recent years was, however, the identification of a ribat in Arrifana. This complex, a place for meditation and fighting, with cells and religious spaces, is unique in the Gharb. It remains to be proved, however, whether it belongs to the Almohad period and, especially, as regards its connection with Ibn Qasi<sup>156</sup>. Sites like this, such as with Rabita of Guardamar, date from much earlier periods. This fact has been underscored in different studies, which also highlight changes to the function of the *ribats*<sup>157</sup>.

To these elements we can add the small rural oratory from the Umayyad period in Alto da Queimada<sup>158</sup>. The brief account given of it so far is more than enough to generate excitement over the final outcome of the research.

<sup>152</sup> BUGALHÃO, Jacinta, et al., "CIGA: projecto de sistematização para a cerâmica islâmica do Gharb al-Andalus", *Xelb*, no. 10 (2010), pp. 455-476.

<sup>153</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, "A Sé-Catedral da Idanha", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 1 (1992), pp. 169-178.

<sup>154</sup> See comments and criticism in CABALLERO ZOREDA, "Aportaciones de la lectura de paramentos a la polémica sobre la Sé da Idanha-a-Velha", *Al-Andalus, Espaço de mudança. Balanço...*, pp. 266-273, and in FERNANDES, Paulo Almeida, "Antes e depois da arqueologia da arquitectura: um novo ciclo na investigação da mesquita-catedral de Idanha-a-Velha", *Artis*, no. 5 (2006), pp. 49-72.

<sup>155</sup> EWERT, Christian, "La mezquita de Mértola", offprint of *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, no. 9 (1973); MACIAS, Santiago, et al., *Mértola: mesquita/igreja matriz*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2002.

<sup>156</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, and GOMES, Mário Varela, "O ribat de Arrifana (Alzejur, Algarve). Resultados da campanha de escavações arqueológicas de 2002", *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2004), pp. 483-573.

<sup>157</sup> PICARD, Christophe, "Les ribats au Portugal à l'époque musulmane: sources et définitions", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, pp. 203-212; AZUAR RUIZ, Rafael, "Piratería y ríbitas en la formación del Sharq al-Andalus", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 9 (2005), pp. 147-159.

<sup>158</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., "Palmela - um castelo e um território no período islâmico: estado da investigação e perspectivas", *Xelb*, no. 9..., pp. 400-401

Important steps have been taken in the study of burial sites. Finding inscribed tombstones has always happened by chance or as the result of public works. Of the six dozen or so that exist in Portuguese museums, only one was the result of archaeological work. Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that the *maqabir* excavations are new to Portuguese science. One of the first sites to contain burials from the Islamic period was the small rural site of Vale do Boto<sup>159</sup>. It is interesting to note that the burial rite practised in this site was not wholly canonical – something that was also observed at the burial sites at Mértola<sup>160</sup> and Loulé<sup>161</sup>. The burial sites of Tejo do Praio and Portela may date back to an earlier period. They have been mentioned<sup>162</sup>, but a comprehensive publication has not been released.

More recently, the extensive Islamic burial site in Santarém has been excavated<sup>163</sup>. Urban renewal work in Beja<sup>164</sup> and in Silves<sup>165</sup> has unearthed burials from this period, but the work has been piecemeal in nature and has not permitted more than a topographical survey of the burial areas in these cities.

The excavations that have been conducted to date have not helped solve two primordial questions: firstly, the date of the burial sites excavated thus far – a question that has never been answered due to insufficient / inexistent C14 dating; secondly, as to what type of Islamic funeral rite was introduced, given that the anomalies detected in the necropolises of Vale do Boto and Loulé and, to a lesser extent, Mértola, would appear to indicate transition phenomena, which remain poorly understood.

<sup>159</sup> CATARINO, Helena, et al., “Vale do Boto: escavações de 1981 no complexo árabe-medieval”, *Clio*, vol. 3 (1981), pp. 9-27.

<sup>160</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola, le dernier port de la Méditerranée...*, pp. 247-248.

<sup>161</sup> LUZIA, Isabel, “A escavação arqueológica de emergência do cemitério muçulmano da ‘Quinta da Boavista’, Loulé”, *Al-Ulya*, no. 7 (1999-2000), pp. 129-185; CUNHA, Eugénia, MARQUES, Carina, and SILVA, Ana Maria, “O Passado em al-Ulya. Estudo antropológico de uma população muçulmana”, in *Património islâmico dos centros urbanos do Algarve: contributos para o Futuro*, Faro, CCDRA, 2002, pp. 143-150; see comments in OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “Nota de leitura a ‘A.A.VV. Património islâmico dos centros urbanos do Algarve: contributos para o futuro. Communications presented at the Seminars in Faro, Tavira and Loulé’”, Faro, CCRA, 2002”, *Promontoria*, yr. 1, no. 1 (2003), pp. 147-151.

<sup>162</sup> ARRUDA, Ana Margarida, ALMEIDA, Rui Roberto de, and FREITAS, Vera Teixeira de, “O sítio islâmico do Tejo do Praio, Quinta do Lago, Loulé: uma primeira análise e caracterização”, *Xelb*, no. 4 (2003), pp. 247-264; PIRES, Alexandra, and FERREIRA, Mulize, *Povoado islâmico de Portela* 3..., pp. 279-306.

<sup>163</sup> MATIAS, António José, “Anatomia de um complexo funerário medieval. Perspectiva bioantropológica do Largo Cândido dos Reis em Santarém”, *Xelb*, no. 9..., pp. 655-676.

<sup>164</sup> SERRAS, Miguel, “Necrópole islâmica de Beja – notícia preliminar da sua identificação”, *ibid.*, pp. 677-684.

<sup>165</sup> GONÇALVES, Maria José, “Silves Islâmica: deambulando pelo arrabalde oriental”, *ibid.*, pp. 493 and 495.



# *Central Power: Institutional and Political History in the Thirteenth – Fifteenth Centuries*

*Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem*

IN MEMORIAM:

ROBERT-HENRI BAUTIER (1922-2010)

BERNARD GUENÉE (1927-2010)

JOSÉ SEBASTIÃO DA SILVA DIAS (1916-1994)

LUÍS FERRAND DE ALMEIDA (1922-2006)

A. H. DE OLIVEIRA MARQUES (1933-2007)

RUY DE ALBUQUERQUE (1933-2007)

IN HONOREM:

FRANÇOISE AUTRAND

ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA

MARTIM DE ALBUQUERQUE

## **1. The 1950s: the “ground zero” of Portuguese historiography, and after...**

The depressed state of Portuguese historiography in the mid-twentieth century has already been emphasised<sup>1</sup>. It had been a scientific pursuit from the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, and part of a process of combining so far as possible the effects of Pombaline reformism, the memorials of the Real Academia das Sciencias, the works of João Pedro Ribeiro (1758-1839) and the *oeuvre* of Herculano (1810-1877)<sup>2</sup>. However, the Lusitanian *Clio* then experienced a succession

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<sup>1</sup> See the diagnoses of MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero, “De Victorini Magalhães Godinho vita, scriptis et in adversis animi fortitudine”, in VV. AA., *Estudos e Ensaios em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1988, pp. 1-41, *maxime* 6; and IDEM, “Oração de Sapiência proferida na abertura solene do ano lectivo: 16 de Setembro de 2009”, offprint of *Notas Económicas. Revista da Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra*, no. 30 Dec. (2009), pp. 1-16.

<sup>2</sup> For a synthesis of the problems that is still useful today, see the work of BARREIRA, Aníbal José de Barros, *Aspectos do pensamento histórico em Portugal no século XIX*, undergraduate dissertation presented at the FL-UP, Oporto, s. n., 1970, typewritten.

of *missed opportunities*<sup>3</sup>, leading up to the dawn of the Republic, which, with the odd exception, confined *History* and its teaching in higher education to a repetitive encyclopaedic and sometimes *documental* approach for the long duration.

Nonetheless, 1911 saw the creation of the first two *Faculdades de Letras* (University of Coimbra and University of Lisbon). History made up the *Quatro Grupo Disciplinar* (Fourth Subject Group), but as regards the muse of history, these schools were for decades far from constituting the centres for scientific research that the 1911 legislator had perhaps intended<sup>4</sup>...

One thing is certain, however, that the noticeable advances of that the second half of the 50s did not lack precursors:

Let us consider, at the *Lisbon School* and more specifically during the Second World War, for students trying to access and practice the preaching of Bloch / Febvre among us, help was at hand from the teaching staff from José António Ferreira de Almeida (1913-1981) and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, an ephemeral professor hired by the School between 1942 and 1944<sup>5</sup>. Let us consider, too, the *Coimbra School* and the work of Torquato de Sousa Soares (1903-1988) in equipping the then *Instituto de Estudos Históricos Doutor António de Vasconcelos* with an ample collection of photographic and microfilm reproductions of documentation from Portuguese and Spanish archives. This allowed undergraduates to produce their undergraduate dissertations *in loco*. The same professor managed to bring to Coimbra the Belgian Charles Verlinden (1907-1996) and the Frenchman Yves Renouard (?-1965) to give specialised courses at a time when interest in *Medieval and Modern Economic History* was just beginning. Let us turn to Lisbon once more where the career of Virgínia Rau (1907-1973) reached its peak (1952) and undergraduate dissertations started to be written systematically using

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<sup>3</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Do Liberalismo à República ou um tempo de oportunidades perdidas: para um perfol do 'historiador português' de Oitocentos", presentation delivered in 19 Nov. 2010 at the Colloquium 'Revisitando Herculano [No Bicentenário do seu Nascimento]', Oporto, FL-UP, pending publication. Among the "missed opportunities" are the loss of the initial head of steam by the Academia das Sciencias, the relative failure of the *Aula de Diplomática* in the post-João Pedro Ribeiro phase (c. 1825 onwards) and the start of the Curso Superior de Letras (1859) virtually always with *speakers* and *abridgers* in the *História Geral e Pátria* chair.

<sup>4</sup> Let us not forget, however, in the early days of the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Coimbra (FL-UC), the teaching of the theologian António Garcia Ribeiro de Vasconcelos (1860-1940) and training of followers such as Joaquim de Carvalho (1892-1958) or the ephemeral lecturer Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (1888-1977), ulterior cardinal-archbishop of Lisbon (since 1929).

<sup>5</sup> Of the then-young undergraduate students in *Ciências Histórico-Filosóficas*, let us remember Joel Serrão (1919-2008), Jorge de Macedo (1921-1996), Julião Soares de Azevedo (?-1953), José-Gentil da Silva, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (1920-1980), Artur Nobre de Gusmão (1920-2001), Fernando Piteira Santos (1919-1993), Mário Soares and others.



archive sources as their basis. The first to receive such guidance was António Henrique de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007)<sup>6</sup>.

Yet, regardless of such *proto-beginnings*, the real detonation came in 1957: in October of that year the eagerly awaited curricular reform of the *Faculdades de Letras* (one at the University of Coimbra, the other at the University of Lisbon) was promulgated<sup>7</sup>. For the first time in the history of these Schools, the Fourth Groups (*History*) became independent in terms of the structure of their curricula, having previously been tied to *Geography* (1911-1926) and *Philosophy* (1929-1957). *History* then took on a five-year curricular structure concluding with an *act of graduation* that no longer included the traditional questions on topics set some time in advance, but was took the sole form of an original dissertation, explicitly prepared from a *Seminar* attended in the fifth year of the course. The upshot of these changes, building on previous ones, enshrined the existence of a minimum level of scientific research in the final phase of degree courses.

An analysis of *History* degree dissertation topics in the two – and afterwards three<sup>8</sup> – *Faculdades de Letras*<sup>9</sup> carried out some twenty-two years ago yielded the following conclusions, which I transcribe:

Analysis of topics from 432 undergraduate dissertations – 70 of which were in *Medieval History*<sup>10</sup> – in the last 10 years of this system for the degree in *History* (1965-1975) led the authors to the “idea of the practical inexistence of medievalism in Oporto; but of its continuing at an average level in Coimbra and Lisbon, albeit with much higher totals and percentages in Coimbra. A further contrast is of note between the two older *Faculdades de Letras*: the strength of a scholarly approach focussing on transcribing *Chancery* books or Cortes chapters and studying the chroniclers’ sources was particularly clear in Coimbra, thanks to the supervision of Salvador Dias Arnaut, Avelino de

<sup>6</sup> Read his account in FERRO, João Pedro (coord.), A. H. de Oliveira Marques: o Homem e o Historiador. Balanço de seis décadas. Diálogos com João Pedro Ferro, Lisbon, Presença, 1994, maxime pp. 31-34.

<sup>7</sup> Decreto 41,342, 30 Oct. 1957 (Diário do Governo, 1st ser. of the same date), Education Minister Francisco de Paula Leite Pinto (1902-2000), Undersecretary of State for Education Baltazar Rebelo de Sousa (1921-2002), Director General of Higher Education João Alexandre Ferreira de Almeida (?-1997). For commentary on this reform, see HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “A Idade Média nas Universidades Portuguesas (1911-1987): Legislação, ensino, investigação”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 10 (1993), pp. 351-61; also in the *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa. História*, vol. 1 (1994), pp. 331-338; and IDEM, “Saber positivo e teorização nos primitivos currículos da licenciatura em História (1957 e 1968)”, to be published in *História: Revista da FLUP*, 4th ser., vol. 1 (2011) [in preparation].

<sup>8</sup> University of Oporto, since 1962-63.

<sup>9</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and AMARAL, Luís Carlos, “Por onde vem o medievismo em Portugal?”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 22 Jan.-Apr. (1988), pp. 115-138.

<sup>10</sup> 220 at FL-UC; 156 at FL-UL; and 56 at FL-UP, in this case 1968-1975. *Medieval History* accounted for 22.27 % of dissertations from Coimbra (49), 12.17 % from Lisbon (19) and 3.57 % from Porto (2).

Jesus da Costa, or more sporadically, Torquato de Sousa Soares. Previously-unexplored areas in the domain of Social History were tackled in Lisbon, due also to the influence of Virgínia Rau and Oliveira Marques: works such as those of Baquero Moreno (on morality and habits), Iria Gonçalves (on public loans and requests), Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues (on fifteenth-century Lisbon), Maria José Lagos Trindade (on grazing), Vítor Pavão dos Santos (on the home) or Maria José Ferro Tavares (on Jews in the fourteenth century) remain landmarks that may have been decisive in the renovation of medieval historiography<sup>11</sup>.

I shall deliberately couch the question *in black and white*: Was it the case that in the emergence of a *new history* of the Portuguese Middle Ages, Lisbon focussed on the socio-economic side, whereas Coimbra without doubt took the first steps towards neo-politics where diplomatics applied to the editing and critiquing of sources played a predominant role<sup>12</sup>? I shall return to this question.

For the record, this great leap forwards in medievalism was to a great extent promoted by young final-year undergraduates and was not definitive *per se*, as I also co-wrote:

“(…) in the last years of the 1960s, the annual number of theses started to fall in a process that began in Lisbon in 1969 and in Oporto and Coimbra from 1971, although the latter school held out best against this break. The break itself was directly related to the creation of the Bachelor’s degrees in 1968<sup>13</sup>, which speeded up the process for people wanting to work in secondary and

<sup>11</sup> “[I]deia da prática inexistência de medievismo no Porto; e da sua manutenção em termos médios em Coimbra e em Lisboa, embora com valores totais e percentuais bem mais altos em Coimbra. Entre as duas Faculdades de Letras mais antigas ainda uma diferença: em Coimbra era sobretudo nítida a pujança de uma erudição que passava pela transcrição de livros de *Chancelaria* ou de capítulos de Cortes e pelo estudo das fontes dos cronistas, isto graças à orientação de Salvador Dias Arnaut, Avelino de Jesus da Costa ou, mais pontualmente, Torquato de Sousa Soares. Em Lisboa, e por influência de Virgínia Rau e Oliveira Marques, haviam-se desenvolvido áreas até então inexploradas no domínio da História Social: trabalhos como os de Baquero Moreno (sobre moralidade e costumes), Iria Gonçalves (sobre pedidos e empréstimos públicos), Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues (sobre Lisboa quatrocentista), Maria José Lagos Trindade (sobre o pastoreio), Vítor Pavão dos Santos (sobre a casa) ou Maria José Ferro Tavares (sobre os judeus no século XIV) permanecem como momentos marcantes do que poderia ter sido o decisivo pontapé de saída da renovação da historiografia medievística”: cf. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar and AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, and as if attenuating the contrast, interest in the itinerance of the king and court was common to both Schools (see for all MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Itinerários régios medievais”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Ensaio de Historiografia Portuguesa”, Lisbon, Palas, 1988, pp. 79-88) and the thesis of RODRIGUES, Maria Teresa Campos, “Aspectos da Administração Municipal de Lisboa no século XV”, offprint of *Revista Municipal*, Lisbon, s. n., 1968, pp. 101-108, is a classic institutional study of municipal government, in the tradition of Marcello Caetano, who in fact prefaced the printed edition (1968).

<sup>13</sup> Dealing with the curricular reform given shape by the Decreto 48,627, of 12 Oct. 1968 (*Diário do Governo*, I ser., of the same date), Minister of Education José Hermano Saraiva, and Undersecretary of State for School Administration Justino Mendes de Almeida.

(particularly) preparatory schools (begun at that time): the consequence was the devastation of the fourth and fifth year classes and a steep decline in the level of research still being undertaken”<sup>14</sup>.

Interest in the Middle Ages waned during these latter days. For the record, the only medievalist of standing to emerge during these years was Humberto Baquero Moreno, who was teaching at the time (1964-1974) at the University of Lourenço Marques, where he took his doctorate<sup>15</sup>.

## 2. A new way of looking at *the political*: antecedents and presuppositions<sup>16</sup>

Leaving aside the acritical shared positions that still exist on the nature of *historicism* and *positivism* in historiography<sup>17</sup>, the truth is that our country barely underwent, if in fact it did at all, the equivalent of what Charles-Olivier Carbonell<sup>18</sup> deems the “methodical school”. The sporadic examples of Fortunato de Almeida (1869-1933), José Maria Queirós Vêloso (1860-1952), Damião Peres (1889-1976) [and, to a lesser extent, the many who worked on the “Barcelos” *História de Portugal*], together with, *mutatis mutandis*, Mário Brandão (1900-1995), Salvador Dias Arnaut (1913-1995) or somewhat *après le temps*, Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão (b. 1925), cannot dispute this basic statement and owe more to personal talent and idiosyncrasies – and occasional input from abroad – than to the virtues of the *School*<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> “(...) nos anos finais da década de 60 o número anual de teses começa a baixar, num processo que em Lisboa se inicia logo em 1969, no Porto a partir de 1971 e em Coimbra a partir do mesmo ano, embora seja esta a Escola que no fundo melhor resistiu a tal quebra; quebra esta que tinha directamente a ver com a criação dos bacharelatos, em 1968, dando acesso a uma mais rápida profissionalização nos ensinos secundário e (sobretudo) preparatório (então iniciado): consequentemente, o “ermamento” das aulas dos 4.º e 5.º anos e a baixa acentuada na investigação que ainda se ia fazendo”: cf. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and AMARAL, Luís Carlos, “Por onde vem o medievalismo em Portugal?”..., p. 117, footnote 8.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>16</sup> On this issue, see, first and foremost, HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “Diplomática e História do Direito, raízes da “nova” História política”, in CUNHA, Paulo Ferreira da (ed.), *Direito Natural, Justiça e Política. II Colóquio Internacional do Instituto Jurídico Interdisciplinar / Faculdade de Direito da Universidade do Porto*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, vol. 1, pp. 87-101.

<sup>17</sup> This use still occurs at unbelievable levels. Read my critical appraisal in “Luís Ferrand de Almeida (1922-2006): desaparece um Grande Mestre da Escola de Coimbra”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* [Oporto], 3rd ser., vol. 8 (2007), pp. 499-515, *maxime* 503, footnote 16. However, see also the well-balanced position of NUNES, João Paulo Avelãs, *A História Económica e Social na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra. O historicismo neo-metódico: ascensão e queda de um paradigma historiográfico (1911-1974)*, Lisbon, Instituto de Inovação Educacional, 1995.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. CARBONELL, Charles-Olivier, *Histoire et historiens: une mutation idéologique des historiens français, 1865-1885*, Toulouse, Privat, 1976, *passim*; cf. also NOIRIEL, Gérard, *Sur la ‘crise’ de l’histoire*, Paris, Belin, 1996, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>19</sup> This is why I think it is going too far to speak of “methodical history” or even of a “methodical school”

Although we do not have, perhaps, a *good old political history* (that is, *events-based*)<sup>20</sup>, the fundamentals for a compilation of facts about Portugal's past were drawn up, somewhat remotely, in the twentieth century from materials in old fashioned chronicle form entitled *Monarquia Lusitana*<sup>21</sup>. As there was no (or almost no) *old political history*, the problem – though it took little time – was to construct a new one: the secret lay in using inputs from some of the most solid and scholarly areas of our limited *cliological* tradition, namely, what were then called the “auxiliary sciences” (particularly diplomatics) and the history of law. Hence, as I have already pointed out<sup>22</sup>, the renewal of the *political* in Portugal has been achieved more based on *tradition* than on the *historiographical revolution*. The key players have never forgotten the teachings of their masters (in the scholarly sense of the word), although the latter may sometimes not feature *on the menu* when people talk of the renovators of Portuguese historiography – a matter we shall return to in subsequent paragraphs.

## 2.1. Diplomatics

For all that has been said, it is obvious that the *History* groups at the different *Faculdades de Letras* were caught by surprise by the curricular reform of 1957: the truth is that since the early years of the decade some steps had already been taken towards undergraduate dissertations having to contain a minimum of original research, including if possible archival research<sup>23</sup>; it is also true that in the two oldest schools, papers that were minimally credible, in terms of subsequent citation, were presented some years before the curricular reform that made *History* autonomous. It is also the case that an interest in the areas of regal diplomatics had emerged in both schools. Let us examine the facts:

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[cf. MAURÍCIO, Carlos, *A Invenção de Oliveira Martins. Política, Historiografia e Identidade Nacional no Portugal Contemporâneo (1867-1960)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2005, pp. 137-138] as regards authors such as Fortunato de Almeida, Queirós Veloso or even Alfredo Pimenta.

<sup>20</sup> GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães, *Ensaio, III. Sobre Teoria da História e Historiografia*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1971, p. 232 et *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na Historiografia Medieval Portuguesa (1128-1383)”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 9, Jan.-Jun (1982), pp. 145-162, *maxime* 146-147.

<sup>22</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “O Estado Moderno na recente Historiografia Portuguesa: historiadores do Direito e historiadores tout court, 2. Uma “nova História política” da Idade Média portuguesa”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (coords.), *A Gênese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-Medieval (séculos XIII-XV)*, Lisbon, Universidade Autónoma, 1999, pp. 63-76, *maxime* 64-69.

<sup>23</sup> See the piece by A. H. de Oliveira Marques in FERRO, João Pedro (coord.), A. H. de Oliveira Marques: *o Homem e o Historiador...*, pp. 36-37; the author does not separate the pre and post-1957 phases, but one clearly retains the idea that undergraduate dissertations with archive research were already being done before the curricular reform that took place in the last year mentioned.

A dissertation on the history of medieval government<sup>24</sup> was defended in Lisbon in 1955, where for the first time an essay on the itinerary of King Dinis was presented. The issue of royal itinerancy was of interest to Virgínia Rau who, as first Head of the Centro de Estudos Históricos (a satellite of Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon) assembled a team of young associates devoted to gathering source material for such works (and others). In 1962, the definitive volume on the itinerary of King Dinis<sup>25</sup> was published under her coordination. Shortly after, the Lisbon school also played a key role in launching studies of *notarial diplomatics* through the work of Eduardo Alexandre Borges Nunes (1924-2008). However, the plan for monographs on notary public offices was only implemented in the 1980s in the institutional framework of a master's course<sup>26</sup>.

In Coimbra, the first dissertations centred on royal *chanceries* date back to 1959<sup>27</sup>. Studies were also conducted on the itineraries of Portuguese monarchs until the mid-1970s – a dissertation sketched out King Pedro I's itinerary, three others were written on King Fernando and a further three on King João I to 1412. Analyses of the typology of documents, public acts etc. were published, together with monographs on the *Cortes* (e.g. Santarém / 1331; Elvas / 1361; Leiria / 1372) or on the sources of our fifteenth-century chroniclers. Given all the known constraints, these works are of indisputable merit in the School where *medieval history* was most present in undergraduate dissertations and which held out the best against the fall in the annual number of dissertations from 1969. These works were supervised by Salvador Dias Arnaut, Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1908-2000) and, more occasionally, Torquato de Sousa Soares.

As 1974 approached, this type of rigorous dissertations had seen better days, but Coimbra kept the flame alight and Lisbon outlines ideas for *notarial diplomatics* (albeit only realised considerably later). Various names of note in Portuguese historiography were involved in supervising the work of final-year students (Virgínia

<sup>24</sup> FRANCO, Maria das Neves Poupinha Pissarra Ferraz, *Aspectos da Administração e da Justiça durante a primeira dinastia em Portugal*, unpublished, undergraduate dissertation submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 1955.

<sup>25</sup> RAU, Virgínia (coord.), *Itinerários Régios Medievais: elementos para o estudo da Administração Portuguesa, I. Itinerário del-Rei D. Dinis: 1279-1325*, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura / Centro de Estudos Históricos, anexo à Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1962. For a complete account of the royal itinerancies published up to the 90s, cf. COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Origines et évolution du registre de la chancellerie royale portugaise (XIIIe-XVe siècles)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 12 (1995), pp. 47-76, *maxime* 59.

<sup>26</sup> Vd. infra, point 4.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the clear bibliographical references in HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Da Diplomática Régia à História do Estado dos Fins da Idade Média: um rumo de investigação", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 8, Jul.-Dec. (1981), pp. 11-25, *maxime* 11, nn. 5 and 12, no. 1; re-published with changes in IDEM, *Portugal nos Finais da Idade Média: Estado, Instituições, Sociedade Política*, Lisbon, Horizonte, 1990, pp. 15-31, *maxime* 15-16.

Rau, Oliveira Marques, Avelino de Jesus da Costa). Yet, alongside the former were other, less obtrusive names (Torquato de Sousa Soares, Salvador Dias Arnaut, Eduardo Borges Nunes, joined in the 60s by Oporto's António Cruz [1911-1989]), who equally deserve to be remembered.

## 2.2. *History of law*

An area taken as little-loved within legal studies, the fact is – discounting both the ephemeral reforms of Minister Veiga Simão, who moved *History of Law* and *Roman Law* to the final undergraduate year<sup>28</sup>, and the critical period in the mid-70s – the *History of Portuguese Law*, and more occasionally *Institutional History*, have been virtually permanent features in the respective undergraduate degrees. As for the textbooks that the subject has attracted, the 50s were not exactly a flourishing period: in Coimbra, Paulo Merêa (1889-1977) was already being missed<sup>29</sup>, while Luís Cabral de Moncada (1888-1974) spent his last teaching years lecturing only on *Philosophy of Law*. In terms of textbook production, innovation came in the following decade:

A practitioner and Master of Public Law, Marcello Caetano (1906-1980) made his first foray into teaching the *History of Portuguese Law* in the early 40s, as well as his first textbook essay<sup>30</sup>. However, his decisive incursion into this area of legal knowledge only occurred at the onset of the 1960s, when he was, incidentally, Dean of his university<sup>31</sup>. His historical *oeuvre* dates to the 1920s, although his output intensified from 1951. He was active in this field until 1968<sup>32</sup>, exile in Brazil (1974 onwards) providing him with the opportunity to undertake out a broader synthesis of our medieval historical legal past, which was published posthumously<sup>33</sup>, with re-editions, the last of which included what would be the first chapter of the subsequent volume<sup>34</sup>. With a career

<sup>28</sup> NOGUEIRA, José Artur Anes Duarte, *Direito Romano. Relatório sobre o Programa, o Conteúdo e os Métodos de Ensino*, Lisbon, Faculdade de Direito / Universidade de Lisboa, 2000 (offprint of *Revista da Faculdade de Direito* [1999]), pp. 81-83.

<sup>29</sup> He retired in 1948 at barely 60. He would remain intellectually active until the late 60s.

<sup>30</sup> The arrival of Marcello Caetano in legal history sciences was due to the “desertification” suffered by this area the previous decade, with Paulo Merêa’s return to Coimbra (on secondment) – after lecturing at the Faculdade de Direito of the University of Lisbon (FD-UL) from 1923 to 1931 – and the subsequent retirements and death, respectively, of Artur de Miranda Montenegro (1871-1941) and Joaquim Pedro Martins (1875-1939); the vacancies of the former and the third-mentioned professors as full professors were only filled in 1979 by Ruy de Albuquerque and Martim de Albuquerque, respectively.

<sup>31</sup> Cf., at the time, CAETANO, Marcello, *Lições de História do Direito Português*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1962.

<sup>32</sup> His last work before assuming power as head of Government was the prior study of the book by RODRIGUES, Maria Teresa Campos, *Aspectos da Administração Municipal de Lisboa no século XV...*

<sup>33</sup> CAETANO, Marcello, *História do Direito Português (1140-1495), I Fontes. Direito Público*, Lisbon / São Paulo, Verbo, 1981.

<sup>34</sup> IDEM, Marcello, *História do Direito Português*, 4th ed. followed by “Subsídios para a História das

going back to 1958, Nuno José Espinosa Gomes da Silva gave us the first versions of a multi-copied textbook in the 60s, with successive printed editions from 1985 to the present day<sup>35</sup>, teaching at the Faculdade de Direito of Lisbon University (FD-UL) and at the Portuguese Catholic University – Lisbon. The end of the 70s saw successive versions of textbooks by Ruy de Albuquerque (1933-2007) and Martim de Albuquerque<sup>36</sup> in use at the FD-UL. Sometime later, the beginnings of a series of textbooks by their followers, chiefly António Pedro Barbas-Homem<sup>37</sup>, emerged. The 1970s also witnessed the coming to prominence of António Manuel Hespanha, first at the Faculdade de Direito of Coimbra University, then at the FD-UL and later at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas and Faculdade de Direito of the Nova University of Lisbon<sup>38</sup>. He also taught at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais of the Lisbon University, at the Aberta University (Lisbon)<sup>39</sup>, at the Autónoma University of Lisbon (History and Law departments and the Caldas da Rainha *campus*) and at the Macau International University. Of note is the fact that this author taught both history and legal history students and that his 1982 book<sup>40</sup>, which has unfortunately never been re-published<sup>41</sup>, had this *double focus from the*

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Fontes de Direito em Portugal no século XVI<sup>o</sup>, introductory texts and notes by Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da Silva, Lisbon / São Paulo, Verbo, 2000.

<sup>35</sup> SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, *História do Direito Português. Lições*, 4th ed., Lisbon, Associação Académica da Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa (AAFDL), 1980, multi-copied; 1st printed ed.: *História do Direito Português. I. Fontes de Direito*, Lisbon, FCG, 1985; 2nd, 3rd and 4th eds. updated in 1991, 2000 and 2006.

<sup>36</sup> Multi-copied eds.: ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de, *História das Instituições. Lições*, Lisbon, 1978; ALBUQUERQUE, Rui de, and ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de, *História das Instituições do Direito Português. Lições*, vols. 1-2, Lisbon, 1981-1983; 8th printed ed.: IDEM, *História do Direito Português*, 1, Lisbon, Pedro Ferreira, 1993; and also: IDEM, *História do Direito Português. Elementos auxiliares*, 1, Lisbon, Pedro Ferreira, 1992. Of note is the fact that the second author left for the History of Political Ideas (namely with ALBUQUERQUE, Martin de, *O Poder Político no Renascimento Português*, Lisbon, ISCSPU, 1968) and taught for seven years (1966-1973) at the then Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina / Universidade Técnica de Lisboa.

<sup>37</sup> BARBAS-HOMEM, António Pedro, *A Lei da Liberdade. I. Introdução Histórica ao Pensamento Jurídico. Épocas Medieval e Moderna*, Cascais, Principia, 2001; IDEM, *História do Pensamento Jurídico. Guia de Estudo*, Lisbon, Associação Académica da Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa, 2004; IDEM, *O Espírito das Instituições. Um Estudo de História do Estado*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2006; and IDEM, *História das Relações Internacionais. O Direito e as Concepções Políticas na Idade Moderna*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> The author began publishing as an assistant at the Faculdade de Direito of the University of Coimbra (FD-UC): cf. HESPANHA, António M., *O Direito e a História. Os caminhos de uma história renovada das realidades jurídicas*, offprint of *Revista de Direito e Estudos Sociais*, Coimbra, 1971; IDEM, *A História do Direito na História Social*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1978. His last teaching at FD-UL bore fruit in the form of multi-copied lessons – IDEM, *Curso de História das Instituições*, multi-copied, Lisbon, 1978 –, the printed edition coming four years later: IDEM, *História das Instituições. Épocas Medieval e Moderna*, Coimbra, Almedina, 1982.

<sup>39</sup> See the textbook IDEM, *História de Portugal Moderno: político e institucional*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1995. The author took part in the Aberta's University television broadcasts for a number of years as support for the curricular units (broadcast by RTP-2 on Saturday mornings).

<sup>40</sup> See. note 38, in fine.

<sup>41</sup> Other educational works focussed on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later in particular: cf. IDEM, *História de Portugal Moderno: político e institucional*, and also: IDEM, *Poder e Instituições no Antigo*

outset. The *Coimbra School* had been silent in this field since the onset of the 1960s<sup>42</sup> and would only reappear in the 80s with the teachings of Mário Júlio Almeida Costa<sup>43</sup>.

What influence did this legal history textbook-writing tradition have on historians as such?

Obviously it all depends on the authors and the schools.

For the most part, the Coimbra School's textbooks dealt essentially with the history of private law<sup>44</sup> and have had little impact outside the *Faculdades de Direito*.

The opposite can be said of the Lisbon School: heir to a possibly *Rabelaisian* phase<sup>45</sup> (signifying, critical rationalism married to a bent for synthesis that later evaporated) with Paulo Merêa, profiting in the 1930s from the final years of Joaquim Pedro Martins as a teacher<sup>46</sup>, with Marcello Caetano's *Jus-Publicismo*, in addition to the forerunners of the School, which dovetailed nicely with the path the future rector of the Lisbon university had been carving out since the competition to be a professor at his *Alma Mater*. Hence, he was received well by historians, both in terms of his textbooks and the rest of his bibliography<sup>47</sup>. The multiple editions of his *História do Direito* give support to this claim.

For reasons mostly given already, António Manuel Botelho Hespanha attained a unique *status* in Portuguese historiography: his idiosyncratic path between *Clio* and *Themis*, his teaching at both law and history schools and departments, his unusual ability to attract followers, his undeniable standing as an influential *opinion maker*, all of this has meant that his 1982 textbook remains a benchmark for medievalists.

The teachings of Nuno Espinosa Gomes da Silva and those of Ruy de Albuquerque / Martim de Albuquerque excited, without doubt, a smaller audience, but a loyal one, as they encouraged more detailed examination of certain topics,

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*Regime. Guia de estudo*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1992; IDEM, *Panorama Histórico da Cultura Jurídica Europeia*, Mem Martins, Europa-América, 1997.

<sup>42</sup> I am referring to a small addition / update (org. Daniel GONÇALVES, 1962) to CRUZ, Guilherme Braga da [1916-1977], *História do Direito Português*, the latest version multi-copied and typed, A. Barbosa de MELO (org.), Coimbra, 1955.

<sup>43</sup> COSTA, Mário Júlio Almeida, *História do Direito Português*, Coimbra, Almedina, 1984 (2nd ed., 1992).

<sup>44</sup> Which determined Paulo Merêa's maturity and old age as a matter of preference, as is known. The same private law featured in the doctoral and examination theses of Braga da Cruz and Almeida Costa, who, significantly, later became professors of civil law.

<sup>45</sup> This expression ("my Rabelaisian friend") refers back to the esoteric gatherings of friends in Coimbra at the start of the twentieth century, MONCADA, Luís Cabral de, *Memórias: ao longo de uma vida* (Pessoas, factos, ideias). 1888-1974, s. l., Verbo, 1992, p. 127 et *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> See *supra*, footnote 30.

<sup>47</sup> And I speak from personal experience as a history student at the FL-UP between 1968 and 1973.



such as the origins of law in the Portuguese Middle Ages, the legislation of our monarchs, notarial law and the links between the legal system and political ideas.

In general, this permits the conclusion enables us to conclude that the dialogue between *historians* and *legal historians*, though far from attaining the desired intensity and assiduity, is continuing on a scale that would have been unimaginable a few decades ago.

### 3. Royal power<sup>48</sup>

#### 3.1. *Institutional practices: historiographical references*

This first section welcomes a “new political history” as a social history of institutions and power, a large component taking a biographical approach – possibly prosopographical – to the main players in the former areas. As I have repeatedly noted<sup>49</sup>, the pioneering studies conducted by myself and by Armindo de Sousa (1942-1998), or by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho in the sphere of municipal power, comprise the *possible reception* at the level of Portuguese historiography of an approach based on *the political* whose origins lie in the 1950s, and fully ready for public configuration from the beginning of the 70s, bearing the institutional and intellectual hallmarks of *Sorbonne / École des Chartes* medievalism<sup>50</sup> (Raymond Cazelles [1917-1985], Robert-Henri Bautier (1922-2010), Bernard Guenée [1927-2010] and followers<sup>51</sup>, Jean Favier, Philippe Contamine; and somewhat further

<sup>48</sup> Like previous historiographical summaries cf.: GOMES, Rita Costa, “L’Émergence du politique dans le Portugal du Bas Moyen Âge: perspectives récentes”, *La recherche en Histoire du Portugal*, t. 1 (1989), pp. 25-32; HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “O Medievalismo em liberdade: Portugal, anos 70 / anos 90”, *Signum. Revista da ABREM*, no. 3 (2001), pp. 173-197; HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, and FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “A Prosopografia dos burocratas régios (séculos XIII-XV): da elaboração à exposição dos dados”, in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e Redes Clientelares na Idade Média. Problemas metodológicos. Actas do colóquio*, Lisbon / Évora, Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2001, pp. 171-210; FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “Les Chemins de l’histoire du pouvoir dans le médiévisme portugais (ca. 1970-ca. 2000)”, in MAGNANI, Eliana, and PALLUET, Chantal (coords.), *Études & Travaux, Bulletin du Centre d’études médiévales*, no. 8 (2003-2004), pp. 81-98 (also in the *Anais: Série História* [Autónoma University of Lisbon], vols. 9-10 (2005), pp. 231-266); EADEM, “The Royal Chancellery at the end of the Portuguese Middle Ages: diplomatics and political society (1970–2005)”, *E-journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 7, no. 2, winter (2009), pp. 1-39; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Historiographie et état actuel de la recherche sur le Portugal au Moyen Âge”, *Memini.Travaux et Documents*, 9-10 (2005-2006), pp. 9-60; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “Os Estudos medievais em Portugal (1975-2000): organização dos estudos e principais linhas de orientação”, *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, no. 106/2 (2004), pp. 248-271; and DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “Prosopografia e elites urbanas: a investigação portuguesa”, in VV. AA., *La Prosopografia como método de investigación sobre la Edad Media*, Zaragoza, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006, pp. 105-118.

<sup>49</sup> Especially in the aforementioned work, footnote 22.

<sup>50</sup> To which we can further add the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* (EPHE), sections IV and V (historical and philological sciences and religious sciences respectively), and the *École Normale Supérieure* (ENS).

<sup>51</sup> Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard, Jean-Philippe Genet, Hélène Millet, Colette Beaune, Jean-Marie

removed, the teachings of Marc Bloch [1886-1944]), the Oxford school (Kenneth Bruce McFarlane [1903-1966], Peter S. Lewis) or the Princeton school (Joseph Reese Strayer [1904-1987], Franklin J. Pegues [1924-2004])<sup>52</sup>. It has not always been easy to *get across* this simple statement of fact in Portugal, where historiographical circles – in the capital particularly – have their own *opinion makers*, who tend to put *all their eggs in the same basket* of the “nouvelle histoire” *stricto sensu* (i.e. institutionally: the history *that is practised* at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)...). The root of the *new political* lies in a 1971 article by Jacques Le Goff and the zenith of a *neo-biographism* in the volume the same author dedicated to Louis IX of France<sup>53</sup>... In other words, *representations*, always *representations* (and nothing more...?)<sup>54</sup>...

Let us move on...

### 3.1.1. *The Chancery: Diplomats and political society*

The idea of a study on royal diplomatics combined with a prosopography of the key players in the preparation, drafting, writing, issuing and recording of laws over a lengthy interval (a century, as a rule of thumb) in the period between the times

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Moeglin, Alain Demurger, Élisabeth Mornet and Olivier Mattéoni, to whom we should also add the legal historians like Albert Rigaudière and Jacques Krynen.

<sup>52</sup> One could ask: and what of the historiography of the Christian kingdoms of the late Middle Ages on the Peninsula? The limited referencing role of historiography on medieval Castile can be briefly explained by the non-existent royal chancery records with the profusion (“in spite of everything”) that we have for the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. Even though, the importance of Salvador de Moxó (1921-1980) stands out (cf., at the time, MOXÓ, Salvador de, “De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva. La transformación nobiliaria castellana en la Baja Edad Media”, reedited in IDEM, *Feudalismo, señorío y nobleza en la Castilla medieval*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 311-370; and IDEM, “La Sociedad política castellana en la época de Alfonso XI”, in IDEM (dir.), *Cuadernos de Historia anexas de la Revista HISPANIA*, 6: *Estudios sobre la sociedad hispánica en la Edad Média*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 197-326), José António Maravall (1911-1986) (cf., MARAVALL, José António, *Estado Moderno y mentalidad social*, 2 vols., Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1972) or Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada (cf., at the time, LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel, *El Siglo XV en Castilla. Fuentes de renta y política fiscal*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1981); for Aragon, see SEVILLANO COLOM, Francisco, “Apuntes para el estudio de la Cancillería de Pedro IV em Ceremonioso”, *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, no. 20 (1950), pp. 137-241; and, for Navarre, ZABALO ZABALEGUI, Javier, *La Administración del Reino de Navarra en el siglo XIV*, Pamplona, EUNSA, 1973.

<sup>53</sup> For some reason, the legoffiano concept of political history has already been deemed “charicature-like”: cf. GENET, Jean-Philippe, “Conclusion”, in GENET, Jean-Philippe (ed.), *L'État Moderne. Genèse. Bilan et perspectives*, Paris, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1990, p. 281.

<sup>54</sup> It is evident that the (bad) example sometimes comes from the very fatherland of Cardinal Richelieu: see the highly debatable landscape of recent French medievalism, clear in the contribution of IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique, “La Sortie du gué? Retour sur l’histoire du Moyen Âge en France (1998-2008)”, in the somewhat unbalanced volumen MAGNANI, Eliana (ed.), *Le Moyen Âge vu d’ailleurs. Voix croisées d’Amérique latine e d’Europe*, Dijon, Éditions Universitaires de Dijon, 2010, pp. 175-186. And lest we forget, there is what a followed of Braudel, Albert Silbert (1915-1996) raised slightly over twenty years ago on archaism and modernity in history and the (excessive) role of anthropology in history: SILBERT, Albert, “Modernité et archaïsme en Histoire: quelques réflexions”, in *Estudos e Ensaios em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1988, pp. 61-78, *maxime* 76.

of King Dinis and King João I originated at the Faculdade de Letras of Oporto University (FL-UP) in January 1977, this being a continuance of work on the royal acts and the officials of King Pedro I (1367-1377) that I myself carried out at the end of my degree<sup>55</sup>. The result became as a doctoral thesis, which was presented in 1985 and published in 1990<sup>56</sup>. Based on a “corpus” of 7,693 *Chancery* acts, this thesis defined a typology of twenty-two forms of *cartas* (letters), and occasionally *alvarás* (orders), based on their respective content, within the core areas of *Grace, Justice, Finance, General Administration* and *chancery*; and biographies were also written on 240 writers of letters in total, in reports organised traditionally, i.e., *text-reports* of a narrative nature.

*Desembargo Régio* was not received particularly well, which may seem paradoxical given the department from which it emerged: the author’s *alma mater*. However, the truth of the matter is that there was no shortage of questions over the following years on the interest of such research within a history department and on such issues as the concepts of “political society” and “modern state.” The same is true of the prosopographical method, with disbelief at the concrete solutions that the empirical research reached – e.g. the distinction between *chanceler* (chancellor) and *vedor da chancelaria* (keeper of the seals) or Álvaro Pais’ “*cursus honorum*” (1366-1371) – or the allegations that the author was “*essentially a law historian*”<sup>57</sup>... The works that from 1989 onwards embodied the “doing school” were subject to changes / methodological enrichments as a matter of course, due, for instance, to international reflection on the prosopographical method<sup>58</sup>, advances in royal diplomatics<sup>59</sup>, the sheer number of sources – and, therefore, the generally shorter

<sup>55</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *Aspectos da Administração Portuguesa no Reinado de D. Pedro I*, typed, Oporto, s. n., 1974; partially publ. in IDEM, “Subsídios para o estudo da Administração Central no Reinado de D. Pedro I”, *Revista de História* [Centro de História da Universidade do Porto], vol. 1 (1978), pp. 39-87; re-published in IDEM, *Portugal nos finais da Idade Média: Estado, Instituições, Sociedade Política*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990, pp. 63-107.

<sup>56</sup> IDEM, *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*, Oporto, INIC / Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1990; see in particular the observations in the “Postface” [1990], pp. 619-629.

<sup>57</sup> Which was, at the very best, crass nonsense; and, at worst, undisguised exclusion, albeit behind a veil of praise...

<sup>58</sup> See the Bibliography mentioned in the work IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 623, n. 5; and also GENET, Jean-Philippe, and LOTTES, Günther (eds.), *L’État Moderne et les Élités. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996.

<sup>59</sup> Cf., for example, GUALDO, Germano (dir.), *Cancilleria e cultura nel Medio Evo*, Vaticano, Archivio Segreto, 1990; CÁRCEL ORTÍ, Maria Milagros (ed.), *Vocabulaire international de la Diplomatie* [Commission Internationale de Diplomatie], Valencia, Generalitat Valenciana, 1994; EADEM, *La Enseñanza de la Paleografía y Diplomática. Centros y Cursos*, Valencia, s. n., 1996; GUYOTJEANNIN, Olivier, PYCKE, Jacques, and TOCK, Benoît-Michel, *Diplomatique Médiévale*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1994; MARQUES, José (ed.), *Diplomatique royale du Moyen Âge. XIII-XIV siècles*, FL-UP, 1996 (these are the proceedings from the Colloquium of the Commission Internationale de Diplomatie (CID), held in Portugal in September 1991, with sessions at Coimbra, Oporto and Minho universities); of note also is the article COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “Origines et évolution du registre de la chancellerie royale portugaise (XIIIe-XVe siècles)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 12 (1995),

length of time future academic work would devote on the subject<sup>60</sup> – or the improved cataloguing and classification of each royal act<sup>61</sup>.

In this way, Eugénia Pereira da Mota's 1989 master's dissertation followed a prosopographical approach with standardised notes along a model grid. It also features a complex reading of royal bureaucracy, with the *Chancery, Home / Council*, the *Desembargo itself* and the *high offices of Justice*<sup>62</sup>. This systematisation has also been used in later works, as we shall see.

While Eugénia Mota studied a transition in the monarchy, Judite A. Gonçalves de Freitas, two years later, studied a period of governance, such as that of King Duarte, that was not excessively long and, as such, one could be tackled in a master's dissertation still under the founding legislation from 1980<sup>63</sup>. There are various points to be mentioned from this dissertation spanning almost two decades:

The documental "corpus" consisted of 1,371 letters. Biographies were produced of a total thirty-eight drafting officials and one-hundred and one scribes following matrix grids of fourteen and seven items respectively. The documental typology was treated with particular care and does not decisively depart from the "matricial" typology set out in *O Desembargo Régio*: what we see is, in effect, an identical total number of roughly twenty-five types of letters. However, the author focuses her attention on one aspect that is clearly specific to the *reformed records* of King Duarte's chancery: the acts that are recorded in list form<sup>64</sup> – these records display the essential elements of the legal system (including the place of issuance, drafters and scribes) in contrast to what occurred with the lists from the chanceries of King Pedro I, King Fernando

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pp. 47-76, which was originally delivered at Colloquium of the CID on records and record systems, held in the scope of the "XVIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques" (Montréal, 27 Aug.-3 Sept, 1995) [no proceedings published]; and also NICOLA, Giovanna (ed.), *La Diplomatica dei documenti giudiziari* (dai placiti agli acta – secc. XII-XV), Roma, Dipartimento per i beni archivistici e librari, 2004; and EADEM, *Lezioni di Diplomatica Generale, I. Istituzioni*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2007.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the reflections on this issue in HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Prosopographie et Histoire de l'État: La bureaucratie des rois portugais aux XIVe et XVe siècles – recherches faites, recherches à faire", in GENET, Jean-Philippe, and LOTTES, Günther (eds.), *L'État Moderne et les Élités...*, pp. 29-37; Portuguese version, with adaptations and additions and the title "Para uma abordagem da Burocracia Régia: Portugal, séculos XIII-XV", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 31, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 225-242

<sup>61</sup> More specifically: from 1988 I began recommending to those working with me to include the scrivener of the letter in the cataloguing and classification; hence the master's works quoted in HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *O Desembargo Régio...*, pp. 626 and 628, nn. 20 and 27, and also, exclusively and for the first time in a master's dissertation: VAZ, Vasco Rodrigo dos Santos Machado, "A Boa Memória" do monarca. *Os escrivães da Chancelaria de D. João I*, vols. 1-2, Oporto, 1995, unpublished.

<sup>62</sup> MOTA, Eugénia Pereira da, *Do "Africano" ao "Príncipe Perfeito" (1480-1483). Caminhos da Burocracia Régia*, vols. 1-2, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 1989. Unfortunately, this work was not published and its author did not continue with medieval research.

<sup>63</sup> Publ.: FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *A Burocracia do 'Eloquente' (1433-1438). Os textos, as normas, as gentes*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996.

<sup>64</sup> 941 letters = 68.63 % of the total.

and King João I. When constructing her database, Judite de Freitas bore the concept of *metasource* in mind, as raised by Jean-Philippe Genet not long before<sup>65</sup>. When broaching officialdom in the time of King Duarte, attention is successively given to the greater or lesser extent of the bureaucrats' *itinerancy*, *age* and *generations* and the *social class* they make up, as well as to the families that emerge as players.

In short, a work and indeed an author above average. It soon became apparent that a level of interrogation existed to be maintained for the future. This is because, in the year after her public defence, a new reform of academic degrees<sup>66</sup> substantially changed the scene: under the founding legislation of 1980, a master's course included two curricular years plus a twenty-one-month period to write a dissertation. From then on, the timeframe was cut to one curricular year plus a further twelve months – hence the need to plan shorter dissertations. With this in mind and guiding master's students towards the chancery records from the last twenty-odd years of King Afonso V<sup>67</sup>, I distributed the topics based on one calendar year / one volume of records<sup>68</sup>. And what were the results?

Between 1996 and 2003, nine master's dissertations were presented at the University of Oporto: nine in this field and in accordance with the adaptation criteria described earlier: one king, one calendar year, one volume of records<sup>69</sup>. The decades in question were 1460 and 1470; i.e. micro-approaches running

<sup>65</sup> GENET, Jean-Philippe, "Histoire, informatique, mesure", *Histoire & Mesure*, vol. 1 (1986), pp. 7-18.

<sup>66</sup> Decreto-Lei 216/92, 25 Sept. (*Diário da República*, ser. I-A, 1992/10/13: 4780-4784); this reform was one of the few good things from which we have to thank the *priceless* Education Minister of the XII Constitutional Government (1992-1993), António Fernando Couto dos Santos (b. 1949).

<sup>67</sup> As the previous periods were those of the doctoral theses of Luís Miguel Duarte and Judite Gonçalves de Freitas (see. *infra*, footnotes 74 and 76).

<sup>68</sup> For the basics on the organisation of the chancery records of Afonso V, cf. MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Cosmos, 1979, pp. 170-177.

<sup>69</sup> ALMEIDA, Ana Paula Pereira Godinho de, *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais em 1462*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1996; BOLLIDO, Armando Paulo Carvalho, *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais em 1463*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1996; BRITO, Isabel Carla Moreira de, *A Burocracia régia tardo-afonsina: a administração central e os seus oficiais em 1476*, 2 vols., unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001; CAPAS, Hugo Alexandre Ribeiro, *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais no ano de 1469*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001; CARVALHO, António Eduardo Teixeira de, *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais em 1468*, master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001 (published: Torre de Moncorvo, author's edition, 2003); DURÃO, Maria Manuela da Silva, *1471: um ano "africano" no desembargo de D. Afonso V*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2002; FERREIRA, Eliana Gonçalves Diogo, *1473: um ano no desembargo do Africano*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001; HENRIQUES, Isabel Bárbara de Castro, *Os Caminhos do desembargo: 1472, um ano na burocracia do "Africano"*, 2 vols., unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001; and MONTEIRO, Helena Maria Matos, *A Chancelaria régia e os seus oficiais: 1464-1465*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1997. After the fact, the idea emerged of bringing the data from these nine theses together in one book (which would round off the period 1462-1476) and work started in this regard. However, the authors were all in different locations which has prevented this project from being carried out to this day.

chronologically parallel to the studies by Luís Miguel Duarte (1459-1481) on letters of pardon and following the doctoral thesis of Judite de Freitas (1439-1460), which I referred to above<sup>70</sup>. On average, the work took in *corpora* of between 1,000 and 1,300 letters, with biographies of each of the twenty-odd official writers and the between thirty-five and forty scribes (with biographical notes presented in independent lists). Such a group of studies, given the natural limitations, opened up interesting avenues, with one attempt to relate the chancery acts and their (possible) writers to the places they were issued; and consequently the *places of power*<sup>71</sup>. An attempt was also made at exploring the Afonsine chancery records from a codicological point of view<sup>72</sup> and as regards the 1,471 records, a method of sampling was tested (examining one in three letters<sup>73</sup>, in accordance with the methodological model from Luís Miguel Duarte's 1994 doctoral thesis<sup>74</sup>). Further work also examined the organisational flow chart of bureaucratic officialdom from the second half of the fifteenth century<sup>75</sup>.

However, the virtual close of the twentieth century was marked by Judite Gonçalves de Freitas' doctoral work<sup>76</sup>. Assessed by an intellectual and academically diverse jury<sup>77</sup> and published two years later, the new work by this author was based on a "corpus" of 20,284 letters – processed in a form when information technology was beginning to prove its worth – and yielded biographies of ninety-two drafting officials and three hundred and fifteen scribes. At the same time, the standardisation of the biographical notes now corresponded to matrices of

<sup>70</sup> See. *infra*, footnotes 74 and 76.

<sup>71</sup> Dissertations by Ana Paula Godinho de Almeida, Armando Paulo Borlido, Eliana Diogo Ferreira and Isabel Carla de Brito, quoted in footnote 69.

<sup>72</sup> Dissertation by Isabel Bárbara de Castro Henriques, cit. *supra*, footnote 69.

<sup>73</sup> Dissertation by Maria Manuela da Silva Durão, cit. *supra*, footnote 69.

<sup>74</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, *Justiça e criminalidade no Portugal medievo (1459-1481)*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 1999.

<sup>75</sup> Dissertation by Helena Matos Monteiro, cit. *supra*, footnote 69. This subject has not been dealt with often recently; yet on *corregedores* (of the Court, of Lisbon, of the districts), see the very recent work of GRAES, Isabel, "Para uma reflexão sobre o estatuto dos *corregedores* no ordenamento jurídico português", in MIRANDA, Jorge (coord.), *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor Martim de Albuquerque*, Coimbra / Lisbon, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa / Coimbra Editora, 2010, vol. 1, pp. 745-811.

<sup>76</sup> Publ.: FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *'Teemos por bem e mandamos': A burocracia régia e os seus oficiais em meados de Quatrocentos (1439-1460)*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia, 2001. After this, the author produced an interesting study without precedent in this area as a study-summary for the post-doctoral exams at the FL-UP in 2007: EADEM, "A Antroponímia da oficialidade régia (1367-1481): identidade pessoal e diferenciação social", in MIRANDA, Jorge (coord.), *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor Martim de Albuquerque...*, vol. 2, pp. 83-133. The author has now been a professor at the Fernando Pessoa University (Oporto) for a long time.

<sup>77</sup> A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Humberto Baquero Moreno, Luís Adão da Fonseca, José Marques and Luís Miguel Duarte; thesis supervisor, as well as the author of these lines.

seventeen and seven items respectively. Another work of a size and complexity that are (virtually) never seen these days, “Teemos por bem e mandamos” also deserves to be distinguished in certain regards here:

The first concerns a new typological proposal for the sources, which maintains the tried and trusted core areas of *Grace, Justice, Finance, General Administration* and *Chancery*<sup>78</sup> but does not break down their original acts and confirmations. The outcome was a total thirty-eight types, with innovations when compared with the past, such as the *esmolero, estalajadeiro, feira, licença para ter manceba, tabelião, perfilhamento* and *segurança a mercador* letters. The central body of the volume is structured in a way that takes up or enriches some lines of questioning that were expressed to a certain extent in *A Burocracia do Eloquente*. In this way, explanations are given for the multitude of scribes that can be seen within the royal bureaucracy<sup>79</sup>. The many forms of solidarity between officials, social classes and the respective families are discussed (in particular the Almeidas, the Sem, the Azevedos, the Malafaias, the Silveiras and the Alvarengas)<sup>80</sup> and are put under an investigative spotlight that has decidedly contributed to initial clarification of this *nobility of service* and these dynasties of royal servants that we see becoming established in the fifteen hundreds. Lastly, it is worth underscoring the work’s relevance in terms of analysing successive situations and the attribution of roles. Whereas in *A Burocracia do “Eloquente”* the focus was on the political importance of King Duarte gradually growing from the 1510s, now the author highlights the initial years of Afonso V as a phase when *institutions worked*<sup>81</sup>, and less so in the regency of Pedro...; i.e., this is a contributory tome towards revising a *who’s who* that remained, until the late twentieth century, closely linked to the perspective Oliveira Martins left us in *Os Filhos de D. João I*. In this way, King Duarte was not just a *sad neurotic*, nor was Prince Pedro the *great statesman* of the time, nor was King Afonso V a *poor king*<sup>82</sup>, which are roles the traditional fans of the Regent Pedro and the *Príncipe Perfeito* (Perfect Prince – King João II) have long ascribed to them.

<sup>78</sup> V. supra, the comments on HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *O Desembargo Régio...*, and FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *A Burocracia do ‘Eloquente’...*

<sup>79</sup> FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, ‘*Teemos por bem e mandamos*’..., pp. 161 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. the genealogical reconstitutions: EADEM, *ibid.*, pp. 313-316.

<sup>81</sup> Agreeing here with the views of DUARTE, Luís Miguel, *Justiça e criminalidade no Portugal medievo...*, for the 1459-1481 period.

<sup>82</sup> Expression attributed to Louis XI of France when Afonso V journeyed to this country. Due to its importance, see the stand-out biographical approach of GOMES, Saul António, *D. Afonso V, o Africano*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2006.

Due to its bulk, this thesis to a certain extent also stands as a virtual *fin de temps* in its scope and the manner in which it anticipated by about half a decade the pause that studies on such themes would experience<sup>83</sup>. There are different reasons for this:

In the last twenty years of the twentieth century, master's and doctoral students joined the post-graduate ranks with a "quantum satis" knowledge of palaeography and of diplomacy (and even sometimes, some Latin) to assess the primitive records that abound from the mid-fifteenth century on without any trepidation. The lower entrance requirements for undergraduates in history studies have considerably changed this situation. Increasingly we have to content ourselves with handing out study projects to master's students, in particular, that use printed sources (and even then the students often have difficulty in understanding the Portuguese from our Middle Ages...). Just as serious are their poorer language skills in French or English (not to mention Spanish!...) which make it hard to steer them towards bibliographies in the said languages. In other words and exceptional cases apart, the increased difficulty in working with primary sources is compounding itself in a way in which it is impossible to access theoretical, methodological and historiographical manuals. Consequently, as regards the issue of the legally stipulated deadlines for post-graduate work, the 1992 reform of academic titles nevertheless allowed for fairly time-consuming works, as we have seen. However, the recent installation of the *Bologna model* in our higher education system (2007 onwards) represents a drastic shortening of these deadlines. At master's level, the prediction is for works that are shorter than the "old" degree dissertations from the 1960-1975 period. As regards doctoral theses, assessing the chanceries of King João II and King Manuel I, for which now would be an ideal time, do not seem feasible given the amount of existing documentation and the tight deadlines in force, e.g. three years for a doctorate... The choice we will decidedly have to plump for is that of selecting documents through sampling, in accordance with the quantitative methods first used at the FL-UP in the aforementioned doctoral thesis by Luís Miguel Duarte<sup>84</sup>. I would view this as being slightly excessive given the levels of prior preparation that abound today... Lastly, the historiographical framework for the questions whose diachronics we have been mapping was the *Origin of the Modern State*, on the terms developed by research programmes at the Centre National de

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<sup>83</sup> All we have is BORLIDO, Armando Paulo Carvalho, *A Chancelaria de D. Dinis (1279-1325). Diplomática e sociedade política*, doctoral thesis to be presented to the University of Oporto, in theory in 2012.

<sup>84</sup> See *supra*, footnotes 73 and 74.



la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) and the European Science Foundation (ESF) in the 1980s and 90s. However, might this not be somewhat out-dated nowadays, at a time when the Nation State and the Welfare State are being subjected to more rigorous probing and when there is more interest not so much as regards “political societies” but in “political mentalities”? Might it not be the case that in the future, master’s and doctoral students may be more interested in monarch-based chronicle discourse as a matter of preference, and not so much by the legal discourse stemming from the power of the monarchs themselves?

To round things off, the major component of source publication that this area has witnessed since 1984 is worth indicating:

The chancery records of Afonso III have been published by the Faculdade de Letras of the Coimbra University<sup>85</sup>, while the Centro de Estudos Históricos of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Nova University of Lisbon (FCSH-UNL) published the records from Afonso IV to King Duarte<sup>86</sup> in accordance with a plan initiated by A. H. de Oliveira Marques and continued by João José Alves Dias. Additionally, since the 80s, the same centre and the same publishers have carried through a plan of publishing Chapters from our *Cortes*, from the times of Afonso IV to the Manueline period<sup>87</sup>.

### 3.1.2. Legislation

At the beginning of the 90s, when I prescribed a study of royal legislation (1279-1357) as a lesson-summary for the postdoctoral exams (to be taken in February 1994), the topic still featured in legal history textbooks<sup>88</sup>, and it has recently been joined by two interesting contributions from the same *galaxy*: one by Maria Teresa da Silva Morais<sup>89</sup> and one by Martim de Albuquerque<sup>90</sup>. The former of these works

<sup>85</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende de (eds.), *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*. Livro I, vols. 1-2, Coimbra, IUC, 2006.

<sup>86</sup> See how the publications relate in FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “The Royal Chancellery...”, p. 15. Cf. also the chapter by Saul António Gomes in this volume.

<sup>87</sup> To see how the publications relate in part, consult EADEM, *ibid.*, p. 16. Cf. also the chapter by Saul António Gomes in this volume.

<sup>88</sup> See *supra*, 2.2.

<sup>89</sup> MORAIS, Maria Teresa da Silva, *Leis gerais desde o início da Monarquia até ao fim do reinado de Afonso III. Levantamento comparativo entre os Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, o Livro das Leis e Posturas e as Ordenações de D. Duarte*, unpublished, seminar report / master course in legal history (Ciências Histórico-Jurídicas) at the FD-UL, Lisbon, 1984-85, typewritten; re-edited in ALBUQUERQUE, Ruy de, and ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de (coords.) *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor Manuel Gomes da Silva*, Lisbon / Coimbra, FD-UL / Coimbra Editora, 2001, pp. 799-882.

<sup>90</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de, “O Infante D. Pedro e as Ordenações Afonsinas”, *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993),

established, by dint of hard graft and abundant proficiency, the sources for our earliest legislative history against a background of the scarcity of documentation from the period, or near it, and the increasing prevalence of versions of legal texts from the first attempts to gather and compile them (late fourteenth century onwards). The latter, set against the commemorations of the sixth centenary of Prince Pedro (1992) intelligently examined the (supposedly) close relationship between the author of the *Virtuosa Benfeitoria* and the *Código Afonsino*, completed in 1446 and presumably in force from 1448, namely, during the regency period. This work by Martim de Albuquerque stood out markedly as it clearly abandoned ideas dating back to J. P. Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) that in legal history had been supported by, for instance, Marcello Caetano. In addition to pointing to King Duarte as the foremost in the legal gathering initiative<sup>91</sup>, it suggests a whole program of future work on the first *Ordenações*, while emphasising the need for severe criticism of the sources.

My academic work was publicly presented in 1994 and published the following year<sup>92</sup>. It was based on a given *pre-understanding* of the question of constructing a “state apparatus” around the legislative acts from the first half of the fourteenth century: Afonso IV was a prolific legislator, and with his two successors, each in their own way, closed a legislative *cycle*, that in all likelihood dated from the thirteenth century<sup>93</sup>... This was the premise that led me to bring together the laws of King Dinis and Afonso IV, yielding a “corpus” of 249 (129 + 120, 1280-1355), which I endeavoured to analyse in terms of the terminology of the normative acts, their subject, their chronology, the relationship between *legislating* and *governing*<sup>94</sup> and the contraposition of *law / privilege*<sup>95</sup>. This text also led me to touch briefly on thoughts concerning medieval theories of power in legislative discourse, which is an interest I have maintained in later works.

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pp. 157-171; updated version re-published in IDEM, *Estudos de Cultura Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2002, vol. 3, pp. 41-63.

<sup>91</sup> Following NUNES, Eduardo Borges, “Nota prévia de codicologia e textologia”, preface to ALBUQUERQUE, M., and NUNES, E. B. (eds.), *Ordenações del-Rei D. Duarte*, Lisbon, FCG, 1988, pp. XXVII-XXXIII, *maxime* XXXI; Armindo de Sousa took a similar line as part of preparing a study on the *Cortes de Santarém* of 1418 (beginning of the initiative), which he has not published.

<sup>92</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “Dionisius et Alfonsus, Dei gratia reges et communis utilitatis gratia legiferi”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 11 (1994), pp. 11-110.

<sup>93</sup> And here we run into a whole host of problems concerning King Dinis, “The end or beginning of a period”, which I shall endeavour to explain later: cf. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “A Dinâmica dionisina”, in HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, and COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (coords.), *Portugal em definição de fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalense à Crise do Século XIV* (=SERRÃO, Joel, MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3), Lisbon, Presença, 1996, pp. 144-163.

<sup>94</sup> This legislate/govern binome was later revisited and studied in more detail by NIETO SORIA, José Manuel, *Legislar y gobernar en la Corona de Castilla: el Ordenamiento Real de Medina del Campo de 1433*, Madrid, Dykinson, 2000, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. the later comments of SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, *História do Direito Português. Lições...*, 3rd ed., pp. 512-519, and 4th ed., pp. 625-633.

Working subsequently in this area, in which I have supervised a doctoral thesis<sup>96</sup>, I began to take an interest in the drawn-out origins of the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, their chronology, protagonists, the internal organisation of the five books, etc<sup>97</sup>. Following on from Martim de Albuquerque's proposals in 1993<sup>98</sup>, I focussed on the question of King João I's undated laws, on the importance of King Duarte – and, a certain extent negative manner on Prince Pedro – on the enterprise itself (including the laws he produced as a prince linked to royal power and the initiative of gathering the so-called *Ordenações del-Rei D. Duarte*), on how it was launched, on its troubled succession (bisected by two changes of king and one regency), on the role and dating of the work of the *Corregedor de Corte* (Court Inspector) João Mendes and Rui Fernandes (and with him, the *desembargadores* (judges) Luís Martins and Fernão Rodrigues and the Lisbon *Corregedor* Lopo Vasques de Serpa)<sup>99</sup>, on the meaning of the juxtaposition of the *decretory* style of Book I to the *compilatory* style of the rest, on the intensity of the actual application of the *Ordenações Afonsinas*'s – bearing in mind the limited number of fifteenth-century manuscripts<sup>100</sup> –, and finally on the suggestions and essays concerning reform from well before Manueline times<sup>101</sup>, etc. Clearly, I have never laid claim to *the last word* on the subject. Hence my relative surprise almost two years ago, when I came upon a doctoral thesis presented in Santiago de Compostela<sup>102</sup>, where, despite robust documental and bibliographical scholarship, the *traditional* theses were defended, based on a *sui generis* argument due to “insufficient evidence” of the contrary positions<sup>103</sup>. My comment would be just

<sup>96</sup> PAES FILHO, Flávio Ferreira, *A Praxis político-administrativa nos textos legais dos monarcas portugueses (séculos XIII-XIV)*, unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2008. The author is currently a professor at the Federal University of Mato Grosso (Cuiabá, Brasil).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “Législation et compilation législative au Portugal du début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: la genèse des Ordonnances d'Alphonse V”, in AUTRAND, Françoise, GAUVARD, Claude, and MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie (eds.), *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée, Membre de l'Institut*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999, pp. 671-689; IDEM, “Estado Moderno e legislação régia: produção e compilação legislativa em Portugal (séculos XIII-XV)”, in HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, and COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (coords.), *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-Medieval (séculos XIII-XV)*, Lisbon, Universidade Autónoma, 1999, pp. 111-130; IDEM, “Poder e poderes no Portugal de finais da Idade Média”, in VENTURA, Leontina (coord.), *Economia, Sociedade e Poderes. Estudos em homenagem a Salvador Dias Arnaut*, Coimbra / Lisbon, FL-UC / Comissão Científica do Grupo de História / Editora Ausência, 2002-2004, pp. 703-752.

<sup>98</sup> See ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de, “O Infante D. Pedro e as Ordenações Afonsinas”....

<sup>99</sup> For the biographies of these officials, see HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *O Desembargo Régio...*, pp. 346, 380-382 *et passim*; and FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *A Burocracia do 'Eloquente'...*, pp. 190-192 and 210-212.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. in particular NUNES, Eduardo Borges, “Os Manuscritos das Ordenações Afonsinas e a edição de 1792”, in *Ordenações Afonsinas*, reprint of the 1792 edition, Lisbon, FCG, 1984, pp. 13-23, *maxime* 18-19.

<sup>101</sup> On one of these situations cf. SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, “Sobre o Abreviamento dos Cinco Livros das Ordenações ao Tempo de D. Afonso V”, offprint of *Boletim do Ministério da Justiça*, no. 309 (1981), Lisbon, 1980.

<sup>102</sup> DOMINGUES, José, *As Ordenações Afonsinas. Três Séculos de Direito Medieval [1211-1512]*, Sintra, Zéfirio, 2008. The author is currently professor at the Lusíada University (Oporto).

<sup>103</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 93-118.

this: our compiling of fifteenth-century laws is and shall remain a fully *open* matter, at least until such time as we have a critical edition<sup>104</sup>, although José Domingues does, in the said thesis, indicate substantial components to this effect.

At a later stage I took an interest in how the *Ordenações Manuelinas*<sup>105</sup> were drafted, taking into account how they fitted into the monarch's *reformism* (*Ordenações* and other legislation, *Leitura Nova*, municipal charts, royal ceremonies...). The structure of official communications observed there confirmed to my eyes an unexpected continuity in the *Ordenações Afonsinas* and led me to question how our history of institutions and powers is divided into periods. I concluded that this second compilation of laws is essentially the last medieval undertaking of this nature and that, in terms of the institutional bases of royal power, the Manueline period clearly constitutes the end of the late Middle Ages, with the real reforms coming with King João III<sup>106</sup>.

Let us proceed to a conclusion. As regards the history of our medieval legislation, legal historians have continually maintained their position<sup>107</sup>; the question of the initial version of the *Ordenações Manuelinas* has gained considerable weight among historians and legal historians<sup>108</sup>; and, however incredible it may appear that our first

<sup>104</sup> One highlight is the master's dissertation in Palaeography and Diplomatics submitted to the FD-UL, by FERNANDES, Ana Maria R. de Almeida, *Proposta de edição crítica das Ordenações Afonsinas*, Lisbon, 1995 (unpublished).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Ofício Régio e Serviço ao Rei em Finais do século XV: Norma Legal e Prática Institucional", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 14 (1997), pp. 123-137; IDEM, "Rei e "estado real" nos textos legislativos da Idade Média portuguesa", *En la España Medieval*, no. 22 (1999), pp. 177-185; IDEM, "Este Reino a que o Gama voltou...: em torno da "modernidade" do Portugal manuelino", in MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Antero, and FLORES, Jorge Manuel (coords.), *Vasco da Gama: Homens, Viagens e Culturas. Actas do Congresso Internacional* [Lisbon, Nov. 1998], Lisbon, CNCDP, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 495-512; and IDEM, "Quando acaba a Idade Média? A periodização da História institucional portuguesa dos séculos XV e XVI", in *Turres Veteras II. Actas de História Moderna*, Torres Vedras, Câmara Municipal de Torres Vedras, 2000, pp. 9-19.

<sup>106</sup> Which is nothing more than a (perhaps controversial) periodification proposal, which I have nevertheless used in my teaching of the subject *Medieval History of Portugal I* (FL-UP).

<sup>107</sup> Cf., for example, SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, "Ainda sobre a lei da Cúria de 1211, respeitante às relações entre as leis do Reino e o direito canónico", *Direito e Justiça. Revista da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade Católica Portuguesa*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1998), pp. 3-36; IDEM, "Algumas notas sobre a edição das Ordenações Manuelinas de 1512-1513", 1977, offprint of *Scientia Iuridica*, no. 16, vols. 148-149, Sep.-Dec. (1977); NOGUEIRA, José A. Duarte, *Lei e Poder Régio: as Leis de Afonso II*, Lisbon, AAFDL, 2006; OTERO, Paulo, "D. Afonso II e a edificação do Estado: a raiz do constitucionalismo português", in MIRANDA, Jorge (coord.), *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor Martim de Albuquerque...*, vol. 2, pp. 523-539; MORAIS, Teresa, "Contributo para a História da prova testemunhal", *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 985-1031; BARBAS-HOMEM, António Pedro, "A Ciência da Legislação: conceptualização de um modelo jurídico no final do Ancien Régime", *Legislação*, no. 16 (1996, Abr.-Jun.), pp. 15-66; IDEM, "As Ordenações Manuelinas: significado no processo de construção do Estado", in ASCENSAO, José de Oliveira (coord.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Raul Ventura*, Lisbon / Coimbra, Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa / Coimbra Editora, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 289-320; and FREITAS, Pedro Caridade, "O Estilo da corte (do século XIII à Lei da Boa Razão)", *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 741-805.

<sup>108</sup> See *infra*, footnotes 111 e 112.

two legal compilations were limited to facsimiles of eighteenth-century editions, as is common knowledge, some progress has been made over the last twenty years.

As far as the pre-*Ordenações Afonsinas* laws are concerned, while the *Livro das Leis e Posturas* has been published since 1971<sup>109</sup>, the *Ordenações del-Rei Dom Duarte* were published only in 1988<sup>110</sup>. Of note, however, is the work of editing, or critical treatment of sources, that the *Ordenações Manuelinas* have prompted in recent years: as regards master's works in Legal History Sciences (FD-UL), Madalena Marques dos Santos gave body a monumental database containing tables of correlation between the *Ordenações Manuelinas* and, on the one hand, the *Ordenações Afonsinas* and on the other, the *Ordenações Filipinas* and the *Leis Extravagantes*<sup>111</sup>. Lastly, João José Alves Dias was able to shed light on the question of the initial version of the *Código Manuelino* (1512-1513), and its publication (1512-1514), by publishing a facsimile of the Valentim Fernandes (1512-1513) edition, to which he ably contributed the preface<sup>112</sup>.

### 3.2. Representations: historiographical references and a brief overview of the portrayals<sup>113</sup>

It is time to move on from the *reality* to the *images* of power<sup>114</sup>. We find ourselves now in the territory of French "nouvelle histoire"<sup>115</sup>. The landmark works are those

<sup>109</sup> SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, and RODRIGUES, Maria Teresa Campos (eds.), *Livro das Leis e Posturas*, Lisbon, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa, 1971.

<sup>110</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de and NUNES, Eduardo Borges (ed.), *Ordenações del-Rei D. Duarte...* Also worth noting here due to its significance is the work referred to in *supra* footnote 104.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. SANTOS, Madalena Marques dos, "A Tábua de correspondência entre as ordenações Afonsinas, Manuelinas de 1521 e Filipinas: contribuição para uma edição crítica das ordenações do reino", unpublished master's report presented to the Chair of *Legal History* of the FD-UL, 3 vols., 6 tomes, Lisbon, 1993, typewritten; SANTOS, Madalena Marques dos, and ROMÃO, Miguel Lopes, "Diferenças encontradas na comparação entre os livros I e II das Ordenações Manuelinas. Edição de 1512-1513 – editor Valentim Fernandes. Edição de 1514 – editor João Pedro Bonhomini", *Revista da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa*, vol. 43, no. 1 (2002), pp. 349-375.

<sup>112</sup> DIAS, João José Alves (intro. and ed.), *Ordenações Manuelinas: Livros I a V. Reprodução em fac-símile da edição de Valentim Fernandes* (Lisboa, 1512-1513), 5 vols., Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos / Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002; cf. also IDEM, "A primeira impressão das Ordenações Manuelinas por Valentim Fernandes", in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, OPITZ, Alfredo, and CLARA, Fernando (coords.), *Portugal / Alemanha / África: do Colonialismo Imperial ao Colonialismo Político. Actas do IV Encontro Luso-Alemão*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1996, pp. 31-42.

<sup>113</sup> With the regard to the issue of the *cortes*, which would follow logically, the two authors have agreed that the subject shall be dealt with in its entirety in the chapter by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho.

<sup>114</sup> Paraphrasing the title of RUCQUOI, Adeline (coord.), *Realidad e imágenes del Poder. España e fines de la Edad Media*, Valladolid, Ambito, 1988.

<sup>115</sup> Obviously, in addition to important references from the historiography of the English-speaking world. Cf., in this regard, the volume MAGNANI, Eliana (ed.), *Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs...* (cit. *supra*, footnote 54); and also: LACHAUD, Frédérique, LESCENT-GILLES, Isabelle, and RUGGIU, François-Joseph (eds.), *Histoires d'outre-Manche. Tendances récentes de l'historiographie britannique*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001; and SCHMITT, Jean-Claude, and OEXLE, Otto Gerhard (dirs.), *Les Tendances*

of Jacques Le Goff, “mutatis mutandis” *the last* Georges Duby (1919-1996), Jean-Claude Schmitt, Michel Pastoureau, Alain Boureau, Dominique Iogna-Prat, Daniel Milo and others. The “location of Knowledge” is now truly the EHESS.

This section of this study will be shorter than the previous ones: this is not only because our historiographical production is quantitatively lower<sup>116</sup>, but also due to the fact that I feel I’m clearly treading on *foreign soil* here<sup>117</sup>: the landmark names are José Mattoso<sup>118</sup>, Luís Krus (1954-2005)<sup>119</sup>, Rita Costa Gomes, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa<sup>120</sup>, Maria de Lurdes Pereira Rosa<sup>121</sup> and others, such as João Luís Inglês Fontes<sup>122</sup>, Margarida Sérvulo Correia<sup>123</sup>, Pedro Picoito and yet others, including João Gouveia Monteiro from the end of the 80s<sup>124</sup>. The place of knowledge is clearly the FCSH-UNL *post*-Magalhães Godinho and *post*-Oliveira Marques...

Let us begin.

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*actuelles de l’histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003.

<sup>116</sup> One significant example: as a rule, our fifteenth-century royal chroniclers approaching work as historians is virtually non-existent.

<sup>117</sup> Hence the caution with which I previously broached the issue of the “cutting edge areas” in Portuguese medieval studies (cf. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, and FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “A Prosopografia dos burocratas régios (séculos XIII-XV): da elaboração à exposição dos dados”..., pp. 204-205): “mas em que consistiria tal coisa: na abordagem de temas de facto novos (v. g. família, casamento, marginalidade, feitiçaria) com métodos tradicionais? ou a renovação metodológica de temáticas já com alguma presença prévia na nossa Historiografia?” (but what would such a thing consist of: dealing with topics that are in fact new (e.g. family, marriage, marginality, witchcraft) with traditional methods? or the methodological renewal of topics that have to some extent been dealt with previously in our Historiography?); in this study from ten years ago, the conclusions I drew was that the most stabilised “cutting-edge area” in medieval studies was that of the history of Death, with particular bibliographical emphasis on the volume MATTOSO, José (dir.), *O Reino dos Mortos na Idade Média Peninsular*, Lisbon, Edições João Sá da Costa, 1995.

<sup>118</sup> See, for example, MATTOSO, José, *Naquele Tempo. Ensaios de História Medieval* (= Obras Completas de José Mattoso, vol. 1), Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, *maxime* section V (“O poder”), pp. 439 ff.

<sup>119</sup> See the collection of articles KRUS, Luís, *Passado, memória e poder na sociedade medieval portuguesa. Estudos*, Redondo, Patrimonia, 1994, *maxime* “O Rei herdeiro dos condes: D. Dinis e a herança dos Sosas”, pp. 59-99 (originally a supplementary doctoral work defended at the FCSH-UNL, 1990).

<sup>120</sup> See SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, “O Sangue, a Cruz e a Coroa: a Memória do Salado em Portugal”, *Penélope. Fazer e Desfazer a História*, no. 2, Feb. (1989), pp. 27-48; IDEM, “Vencer ou morrer. A Batalha do Salado (1340)”, in BETHENCOURT, Francisco, and CURTO, Diogo Ramada (eds.), *A Memória da Nação* [Colloquium, Lisbon, Oct., 1987], Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1991, pp. 505-514.

<sup>121</sup> See ROSA, Maria de Lurdes Pereira, *O Morgadio em Portugal: sécs. XIV-XV. Modelos e práticas de comportamento linhagístico*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1995 (originally master’s dissertation defended at FCSH-UNL, 1993); EADEM, “As Almas herdeiras. Fundação de capelas fúnebres e afirmação da alma como sujeito de direito (Portugal, 1490-1521)”, unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to the EHESS and FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2005; EADEM, *Santos e Demónios no Portugal Medieval*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2010; EADEM, *Longas guerras, longos sonhos africanos. Da tomada de Ceuta ao fim do Império*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2010.

<sup>122</sup> FONTES, João Luís Inglês, *Percurso e Memória: Do Infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000 (originally master’s dissertation defended at FCSH-UNL).

<sup>123</sup> CORREIA, Margarida Sérvulo, *As Viagens do Infante D. Pedro*, Lisbon, Gradiva, 2000 (originally master’s dissertation in Portuguese Studies, defended at the Aberta University, 1997).

<sup>124</sup> *Maxime* MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Fernão Lopes: texto e contexto*, Coimbra, Minerva, 1988 (originally study for pedagogic aptitude and academic ability exams, FL-UC, 1987).

Rita Costa Gomes<sup>125</sup> presented her doctoral work at the FCSH-UNL in June 1994. Supervised by José Mattoso, it takes in such historiographical heavyweights as Sérgio Bertelli or Werner Paravicini, or more remotely, Ernst H. Kantorowicz (1895-1963), Percy E. Schramm (1894-1970) or, naturally, Norbert Elias (1897-1990), together with the anthropology of Arthur Hocart (1883-1939), Clifford Geertz (1926-2006) and Luc de Heusch. There are a total five chapters, including the initial “enunciar o problema” (stating the problem) of the Court<sup>126</sup>, viewing it as a *social milieu* where individuals and groups developed distinct roles and functions and where *creation* and *service* took place – to the end of raising the problem of the court’s plurality<sup>127</sup>. The last two chapters deal with the “Corte e Espaço”<sup>128</sup> – which covers the issue of itinerancy and royal residences – and the “Os Tempos da Corte”<sup>129</sup> – where “usos e cerimoniais”, “grandes cerimónias”, “o quotidiano” and “ritos ocasionais” are dealt with. It is not a particularly scholarly work – the periodisation is somewhat fluid – namely as regards the “*terminus ante quo*” – and the claimed prosopography is too implicit. Yet it was undoubtedly one of the great theses of the 90s due to the array of references and the freshness of the topic. Were it not for the fact that it has unfortunately never been re-published, except for the English version<sup>130</sup>, it could well be having a different impact on our medievalism. This is not helped by the fact that its author later settled in the United States of America<sup>131</sup>, yet she reappears from time to time... as with the biography of King Fernando, which we shall refer to later.

Obviously the issue of *realities* vs. *images* features heavily in the *neo-biographism* that has affected medievalist historiography in our country and, in particular, the monographs dedicated to our monarchs: here I refer to the collection of biographies published by the Círculo de Leitores and by Temas & Debates. Despite the formatting requirements that the academic editors sought to impose on all the volumes, each has ended up being *a special case*... so what are the highlights, from the perspective of present, of the biographies of the monarchs from our late Middle Ages? Clearly, there are some volumes that provide a synthesis of questions in the life of a King and his epoch, while in others the author’s previous research is visibly

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<sup>125</sup> Publ.: GOMES, Rita Costa, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média*, Lisbon, Difel, 1995; English version: *The Making of a Court Society. Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003. See also GOMES, Rita Costa, and SABATIER, Gérard (coords.), *Lugares de poder. Europa, séculos XV a XX / Lieux de pouvoir. Europe, XVe-XXe siècles / Places of power. Europe, 15th to 20th centuries*, Lisbon, FCG / ACARTE, 1998.

<sup>126</sup> GOMES, Rita Costa, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média*..., pp. 7 ff.

<sup>127</sup> EADEM, *ibid.*, pp. 220 ff.

<sup>128</sup> EADEM, *ibid.*, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>129</sup> EADEM, *ibid.*, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>130</sup> See *supra*, footnote 117.

<sup>131</sup> She is currently a professor at Towson University, Maryland, USA.

on offer. In yet others, we see the predominance of the royal *memory*, as constructed by the chroniclers' discourse. Let us take a short stroll through the works of interest as seen from the perspective I have adopted in this section:

I have already had the opportunity to emphasise the “*sui generis*” *historiographical wealth* on King Dinis<sup>132</sup>. The volume that is dedicated to him here<sup>133</sup> almost deserves the happy alias of “Manueline”<sup>134</sup>: over four sections, divided into fourteen chapters in total, the author makes use of a restrained *narrativism* and broaches practically all the striking aspects of the history of power in the Portugal of King Dinis – e.g. the *Cúria Régia*<sup>135</sup>, legislation<sup>136</sup> or the aristocracy control policy<sup>137</sup>. In addition to all this, the level of attention given to the history of historiography<sup>138</sup> is far from the norm in the medieval volumes in the collection.

Next in line, the *Afonso IV* in this collection<sup>139</sup> is essentially built around the images his chronicler – of *Crónica de 1419*, *Crónica Geral de Espanha*, *Crónica dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal* and occasionally the *Monarquia Lusitana* fame – left us. Hence the entire first chapter, “História e estórias de D. Afonso IV”<sup>140</sup>; and thus the entire focus is on a series of events that have long been inculcated in my generation – which is not that far-removed from that of the author – from primary school days: the “infante rebelde”, the king who “chega ao trono e ajusta contas”, “Inês, a Castro”, “A Batalha do Salado” or the “O mar aqui tão perto...”<sup>141</sup>. Clearly, there is also a very worthwhile chapter on “Reforço do poder régio: justiça e administração”<sup>142</sup>, where aspects that are very relevant to the institutional realities of Afonsine power are described – very worthwhile therefore, but nevertheless still lacking in terms of *this* King Afonso IV, without failing to confirm the undisputed worth of the historian, showing us the *statesman*, the legislator, the creator and reformer of offices and services in the scope of superior justice and bureaucracy, which as such owed nothing to King Dinis or King Duarte; yet the author chose differently.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. the study cit. *supra*, footnote 93.

<sup>133</sup> SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, *D. Dinis*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2005.

<sup>134</sup> The author already has a wealth of previous experience of research on the nobility in the time of King Dinis.

<sup>135</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>136</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 90 ff., 134 ff., 175 ff. and 188 ff.

<sup>137</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 93 ff. and 139 ff.

<sup>138</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, more specifically the initial chapter (“D. Dinis na Historiografia”), pp. 11 ff.

<sup>139</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, *D. Afonso IV (1291-1357)*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2005.

<sup>140</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>141</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 32 ff., 63 ff., 159 ff., 210 ff. and 220 ff.

<sup>142</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, chap. 5, pp. 73 ff.



Fair enough, it is part of the unquestionable freedom of a historiographical creator...

Rita Costa Gomes' *D. Fernando*<sup>143</sup> virtually qualifies as a *special work* in this collection. She structures the work in two parts: "Vida de D. Fernando"<sup>144</sup> and "Anexo: materiais e bibliografia crítica". Whereas the eleven chapters as a whole and the epilogue that make up the expository part of the text boast a narrative structure, with titles that are, not unusually, period expressions ("um mundo novo muito contrário ao primeiro", "Ninguém tem ódio à sua própria carne", "Mancebo valente, ledo e namorado", "Ela era lavrador de Vénus..."...), in the sections comprising the annex, we see the "esboço de uma mitografia do personagem" and a section on "Leituras actuais sobre o rei e a época". In other words, as if there were any doubts, scholarship is present here, including knowledge of – and quotation from – an up-to-date bibliography. By way of conclusion, perhaps we could call this a wisely post-modern book.

The book on King João I<sup>145</sup> is one of the outstanding volumes in this collection. The author gives one of her greatest performances of recent times, although perhaps she is guilty of excess of narrative in the first two chapters ("Por entre conturbados tempos" and "Da legitimação à acção") and in part of the fourth ("Rumos da governança"). However, in compensation, the three sections dedicated to the court<sup>146</sup> in the third chapter ("Linhagem e corte") or the topic on representation of the past in chapter five ("Memória e propaganda") are equal to the best work the author has produced, sagely balancing her own thoughts against those of others – this is not always the case as regards the latter... She invariably draws on them and uses them with the greatest degree of thoroughness possible. On balance, this *D. João I* stands, in our current historiography, as the *complete* approach on a king and a period that they already deserved.

<sup>143</sup> GOMES, Rita Costa, *D. Fernando*, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2005.

<sup>144</sup> EADEM, *ibid.*, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>145</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *D. João I: o que re-colheu Boa Memória*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2005.

<sup>146</sup> In order, "um espaço de domesticidade", "entre o quotidiano e o festivo", and "um lugar e um órgão de governo".

The subtitle to the volume on King Duarte<sup>147</sup> is like a *study programme* and a list of the views taken by the author, who in chapter two dedicates around twenty pages to “D. Duarte na história: a sombra de Oliveira Martins”. This is exactly the point – nineteenth-century historiography casts a shadow, one that has persisted longer than the way history was *done* in the twentieth century and is still around even at the dawn of this century, by means of the “depressão” (chap. 7), the situation of a prince who also governs, yet for a long time “sem coroa” (chap. 6) or “Tânger, 1437” (chap. 16). In addition, the writing flows well and easily draws in lay readers, with titles whose effect is sometimes pleasing: e.g. “Agora e na hora da nossa morte” (chap. 17) and “Notas para um sermão nas exéquias de D. Duarte” (chap. 18). Perhaps this is – and it would be interesting to find out – one of the volumes with the greatest potential for success among the reading public. However, where are here the *Philosopher King*, the *Statesman King*, the legislator and reformer of legislation, the author of the *Livro da Cartuxa* and the author of the index of *Ordenações del-Rei Dom Duarte*?

Lastly, Saul António Gomes’ *D. Afonso V*<sup>148</sup> is a sensible and balanced book, albeit eclectic to a certain extent, without any clear connotations from the *schools*. It opens with a good chapter called “Configurações de um rei”<sup>149</sup>, takes in “projeções e composições histórico-artísticas de Afonso V”<sup>150</sup> and rounds off with twentieth-century historiography<sup>151</sup>. Halfway through it deals with “o labéu da memória historiográfica do quinto Afonso”<sup>152</sup>. There are two political-factual chapters<sup>153</sup> detailing “O Estado, a Corte e os súbditos”<sup>154</sup>, which deal with “Administração pública e fiscal”<sup>155</sup>, “A casa do rei”<sup>156</sup> and, successively, “o Rei e o clero, a nobreza e o povo”<sup>157</sup>. The volume ends with suggestive chapters

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<sup>147</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, *D. Duarte: requiem por um Rei triste*, 2nd ed., Rio de Mouro, Temas & Debates, 2007.

<sup>148</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *D. Afonso V, o Africano...*

<sup>149</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>150</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>151</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>152</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>153</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 32 ff. and 132 ff.

<sup>154</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>155</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>156</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 126 ff.

<sup>157</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 127 ff.

“Os dias do fim” and “Memória e imagens”<sup>158</sup>, where *inter alia*, the “Insignias de D. Afonso V” and the monarch’s “diversas tumulações”<sup>159</sup>. I believe this list itself speaks enough to justify the epithets of *sensible*, *balanced* and *eclectic*, my opening salvoes with which I labelled this piece of work by the author in a collection in which not all the volumes can boast such qualities.

As is patently clear, the “life histories” of the other monarchs from the period 1279-1521 are not covered in the survey I have undertaken here.

*Oporto, 21 December, 2010*

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<sup>158</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 242 ff. and 273 ff.

<sup>159</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 273 ff. and 280 ff.



# *Municipal Power*

*Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho*

In the 1980s, studies of political society and power unquestionably attained an important place in Portuguese historiography, and they have developed in an integrated, innovative and increasingly profound manner to the present day. Biographies of political agents, principally of the kings of Portugal<sup>1</sup>, studies of events and related topics such as those pertaining to military history<sup>2</sup>, or analyses of institutions such as municipalities<sup>3</sup>, have been produced, generally following chronological paths, but with improved and operative working methodologies and concepts.

## **1. Context**

This situation marked, in itself, a sea change in the historiography, occurring after the democratic regime implanted itself in Portugal in the mid-1970s.

With it came greater openness to the *New History* studies that were being developed in France, where the emphasis was firmly on economic and social history. With it, too, came a considerable expansion of university education, increasing the

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<sup>1</sup> We are referring to the biographies of all the kings of Portugal, published by Círculo de Leitores in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

<sup>2</sup> BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severiano (dirs.), *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, 5 vols., Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2003-2004.

<sup>3</sup> OLIVEIRA, César (dir.), *História dos Municípios e do Poder Local. Dos finais da Idade Média à União Europeia*, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 1996.

number of higher education institutions and students, and energising research. Old and new themes were galvanized by these forces, opening up the subject to comparative history and the cross-roads of interdisciplinary knowledge, importing methodologies and concepts from the social and political sciences to historians' field of analysis.

Research ideas first launched at the end of the 1960s were revisited, and Portuguese historiography initially advanced with studies of demography and of economic and social history. It was as this avenue was being developed that political history and the history of power were significantly reconfigured from the 80s.

In medieval history, the emergence of this modern approach to power began with studies of royal power and the power of political societies that supported it, both ideologically and in practice. Correspondingly, work on local authorities received a new lease of life at the point where this political history and social history converge, the latter having long been receptive to the methods and theories of anthropology and sociology.

More detailed knowledge of the dominant social forces, the nobility and the clergy, their lineages, relatives and families, lives and career paths also led to reflections on the reach of their power over land and men. Networks of *seigneurial* power were plotted, taking in spatial aspects and the mechanisms used to exert their control. Individual lineages and noble houses were identified, as was the structure of their family alliances and political career paths. Their retinues of vassals, clients and servants were detailed and evidence procured on the foundation of their economic might and power, based on their domains<sup>4</sup>.

In turn, reflection on the power of municipalities, communities of freemen and of the so-called collective domains<sup>5</sup> surpassed the restrictive legal and institutional field and extended to knowledge of the rulers and mechanisms of governance, and how they articulated vertically and horizontally with the other powers.

## 2. Municipal power elites

Focussing on the most recent historiography on municipalities, it becomes apparent that the last three decades have witnessed a significant amount of innovation. Social analysis of local power, as recommended in the essentially speculative and

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<sup>4</sup> A summary of the most recent work on the nobility and the clergy can be found in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Historiographie et état actuel de la recherche sur le Portugal au Moyen Âge", *Memini. Travaux et Documents*, nos. 9-10 (2005-2006), pp. 18-19, 22-25, 39-42, 47-54.

<sup>5</sup> HESPANHA, António M., *História das Instituições. Épocas Medieval e Moderna*, Coimbra, Almedina, 1982, p. 153.

forward-looking study that we put together in 1986, together with Joaquim Romero Magalhães<sup>6</sup>, and which we re-published in 2008, has proved a very fruitful working method, with results that have already been consolidated.

Advances in the history of royal power contributed, as we have said, to defining the composition and operability of the organisational structures and the competences, careers and strategies of its agents<sup>7</sup>. But the revitalisation of urban history equally contributed, first by broaching various facets of topology and the demographic, economic and administrative dynamics of city dwellers, and later by focussing more specifically on the social fabric, emphasising the study of urban elites<sup>8</sup>. Later still, the men of power, seen through the profile of their socioeconomic and professional roles and the balance of their actions, emerged and gave real meaning to the reshaping of the institutions.

Adelaide Millán da Costa<sup>9</sup> produced an innovative study, which applied to the governors of Oporto at the end of the fifteenth century the prosopographic method that had been tested on the men of the *Desembargo Régio*. She trawled through careers, mandates and the length these men remained in power and condensed a mass of relevant information for scholars of municipalities into prosopographic sheets.

This methodology has then met the research field on urban elites. These elites were composite and multiple, with differences between economic, social, religious and cultural elites. Fittingly, the Centro de Investigação em História of the University of Évora conducted a project based on “Elites and Client Networks in the Middle Ages. An Évora-centred observation”, which covered the various elites – the secular clergy, the merchants or those involved in agricultural production – in addition to the municipal governors, and organised two colloquia on the theme<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero, *O Poder Concelhio das origens às Cortes Constituintes. Notas da História Social*, Coimbra, Centro de Estudos e Formação Autárquica (CEFA), 1986 (revised 2nd edition, Coimbra, CEFA, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*, Oporto, INIC / Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1990. The work has been continued by his followers, the highlights being the master's dissertation and doctoral thesis by FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *A Burocracia do “Eloquente” (1433-1438). Os textos, as normas, as gentes*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996; and EADEM, “*Teemos por bem e mandamos*”. *A burocracia régia e os seus oficiais em meados de Quatrocentos (1439-1460)*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia, 2001.

<sup>8</sup> A summary of the most recent urban history works can be found in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Historiographie et état actuel de la recherche sur le Portugal au Moyen Âge”..., pp. 16-17, 36-39.

<sup>9</sup> COSTA, Adelaide Millán da, “Vereação” e “Vereadores”. *O governo do Porto em finais do século XV*, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto-Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto, 1993.

<sup>10</sup> The first gave rise to the volume BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares. Problemas metodológicos*, Lisbon, Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2001. It contains the outstanding study on oligarchs in the city by DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “Os Melhores da terra (um questionário para o caso português)”, in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares...*, pp. 91-106, against, for Castile, the work of VAL VALDIVIESO, Maria Isabel del, “Elites urbanas en la Castilla del siglo XV (Oligarquía y Común)”, in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares...*, pp. 71-89. Even before, there had been works on the topic like those

Within these restricted and outstanding bodies of illustrious people, we can actually define the elites of municipal power, that constitute a patriarchy, an aristocracy or an oligarchy, according to the specificity of urban government or the terminology of historians: they are an ever more restricted group though neither immutable nor completely closed. These power elites are made up of nobles or of the rich, yet their wealth differs, coming as it does from the agricultural sector or from commerce and capital. However, these elites were receptive to men who became prominent for their knowledge, even becoming officials of the royal bureaucracy. In the generational evolution of the players and the families of power, we see upward and downward cycles.

Studies have been undertaken that reveal these men, the families and lineages of local governors, and bring out their social composition, their strategies for seizing, retaining and exercising leadership, their model of *seigneurial* behaviour, and no less importantly, their inter-relation or even miscegenation with royal judicial, fiscal or military officialdom<sup>11</sup>.

Mário Farelo's doctoral thesis, presented in 2009, on the Lisbon council oligarchy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be seen as the point where these investigations converge<sup>12</sup>. It details the structure of Lisbon's municipal power, characterises the council oligarchy by individuals and as a whole, from its qualifications and ties to the urban centre, even to the sociology of the group. It shows how, in the court city *par excellence* that was Lisbon, this council elite was highly dependent on royal power<sup>13</sup>.

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of COSTA, Adelaide Milán da, "Traços da interacção conflitual na sociedade portuense de Quatrocentos"; SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Contribuição para o estudo das oligarquias urbanas medievais. A instituição de capelas funerárias em Óbidos na Baixa Idade Média", both included in the work *A Cidade. Actas das Jornadas inter e pluridisciplinares*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1993, respectively, vol. 1: pp. 155-164, vol. 2: pp. 113-137.

<sup>11</sup> Of note, amongst others, are MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "Os juizes, vereadores, funcionários e homens bons do município de Serpa em 1441" and "A vereação do concelho de Ponte de Lima em 1446", in MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *Os Municípios Portugueses nos Séculos XIII a XVI. Estudos de História*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1986, pp. 139-151; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Les Élités municipales", *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, Historia*, vol. 2 (1995), pp. 51-56; GOMES, Rita Costa, "As Elites urbanas no final da Idade Média: três pequenas cidades do interior", in VV. AA., *Estudos e ensaios em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1988, pp. 229-237; MARTINS, Miguel, "A Família Palhavã (1253-1357). Elementos para o estudo das elites dirigentes de Lisboa Medieval", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. 32 (1997-1998), pp. 35-93; IDEM, "Estêvão Cibrães e João Esteves: a Família Pão e Água em Lisboa (1269-1324)", *Arqueologia e História*, no. 53 (2001), pp. 67-74; IDEM, "Os Alvernazes. Um percurso familiar e institucional entre finais de Duzentos e inícios de Quatrocentos", *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa*, no. 6 (2002), pp. 10-43; DOMINGUES, Maria João Monteiro, *A Governação municipal no Alentejo: as elites de Montemor-o-Novo nos finais da Idade Média*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2008.

<sup>12</sup> FARELO, Mário, *A Oligarquia camarária de Lisboa (1325-1433)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2008.

<sup>13</sup> Without overlooking, for the city of Lisbon, the classic studies of Marcello Caetano and Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues, which we refer to later, or even the more recent ones by MARTINS, Miguel, "O Concelho de Lisboa durante a Idade Média. Homens e organização municipal (1179-1383)", *Cadernos do Arquivo*



The analysis of interweaving careers, actions or collusion between local royal officials and the elected local powers is a theme that, broadly-speaking, is still wide open, since we find significant personal and family connections between them, which point us in the direction of policies and objectives that have more in common than they are antagonistic<sup>14</sup>.

The intersection of central power and local power, as seen by the representation of the municipalities and their discourse at the *cortes*, has also been a very fertile field of analysis. In it we see mirrored the game of interests of the elite of urban societies, bodies from which the delegates to the *cortes* were recruited, and the discursive nuances that they evolved to present their complaints and requests and obtain royal concessions. In the same way, we realise that these elites, with their *seigneurial* interests and features, were attuned to the more controlling and centralist policy of the monarchs in the late medieval centuries, collaborating in the collection of taxes and the recruitment of men required by the crown<sup>15</sup>.

Humberto Baquero Moreno has authored many groundbreaking studies on the presence of the municipalities at the *cortes*<sup>16</sup>. Following in his wake from the same school in Oporto, Armindo de Sousa marked his presence with a doctoral thesis on the *cortes*, which reinterpreted the meaning of this assembly and emphasised the social forces jockeying for position, particularly those of the people

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*Municipal de Lisboa*, no. 7 (2004), pp. 64-110; IDEM, *A Alcaldaria e os alcaides de Lisboa durante a Idade Média (1147-1433)*, Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2006.

<sup>14</sup> See COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "O Poder na Idade Média: um relacionamento de poderes", in SILVEIRA, Luís Nuno Espinha da (Coord.), *Poder Central. Poder Regional. Poder Local. Uma perspectiva histórica*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1997, pp. 25-46; FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, *Gerir e Julgar na Idade Média, Subsídios para o estudo dos oficiais públicos*, Braga / Guimarães, Arquivo Municipal / Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1993; MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes, "O Poder concelhio em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, no. 32 (1997/1998), pp. 1-34; RODRIGUES, Miguel Jasmins, *Organização dos Poderes e Estrutura Social. A Madeira: 1460-1521*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996, which looks at the organisation and overlapping of royal, *seigneurial* and municipal power on Madeira.

<sup>15</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "O Estado e as Sociedades Urbanas", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (coord.), *A Gênese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-Medieval (séculos XIII-XV)*, Lisbon, Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 1999, pp. 269-292; IDEM, "Em prol do bom governo da cidade: a presença das elites urbanas nas Cortes medievais portuguesas", in ARÍZAGA BOLUMBURU, Beatriz, and SOLÓRZANO TELECHEA, Jesus Á. (eds.), *La gobernanza de la ciudad europea en la Edad Media*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2011, pp. 299-322.

<sup>16</sup> See the bibliography of this and other authors mentioned in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, RIBEIRO, Maria Manuela Tavares, and CARVALHO, Joaquim Ramos de (coords.), *Repertório Bibliográfico da Historiografia Portuguesa (1974-1994)*, Lisbon-Coimbra, Instituto Camões / FL-UC, 1995. As a sample, see MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "Capítulos especiais de Ponte de Lima apresentados nas Cortes de Coimbra de 1394", supplement to *Bracara Augusta*, no. 35 (79-80) (1981); IDEM, "As Cortes de Lisboa de 1448: capítulos especiais de Évora", supplement to *Bracara Augusta*, no. 36 (81-82) (1982); IDEM, "A representação do concelho de Guimarães nas Cortes de Lisboa de 1446", supplement to *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 1 (1984); IDEM, "O concelho de Beja nas Cortes de Santarém de 1451 após a sua clausura", *Memória*, no. 1 (1989), pp. 267-278; IDEM, "A representação do concelho de Caminha junto do poder central em meados do século XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser. 6 (1989), pp. 95-104. Also ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and GOMES, Rita Costa, "As Cortes de 1481-82. Uma abordagem preliminar", *Estudos Medievais*, nos. 3-4 (1983-1984), pp. 154-212.

in the general chapters, who required the municipalities' prior accreditation, where the dominance of the strongest and most prestigious was felt, in choosing which complaints to lodge<sup>17</sup>.

The dialogue between municipalities and royal power in the *cortes* was another topic we explored. As we have said, reading the special chapters of the *cortes* is like laying one's hands on the logbook charting the daily practical problems of a particular town or city at a given moment in time. But studying them, conveyed as they are by words that are charged with argumentation and rhetoric, you have to pay attention to the sense of the discourse, which sought to convince in order to obtain. You have to be familiar with the profiles of those who are speaking to be able to understand their strategies and objectives. Equally, you have to know how to read the reverse of the words and the silences to catch a glimpse of the voice of the voiceless in this areopagus of the *cortes*. We have already cross-referenced the diachronic method (the study of special chapters of a municipality or region in various *cortes*)<sup>18</sup> against the synchronous method (the study of all special chapters of municipalities in the same meeting of the *cortes*)<sup>19</sup> and against the analysis of different issues addressed in these meetings (boundary issues, social or religious aspects)<sup>20</sup>, but we believe we could venture even further, experimenting with new approach methods.

Fittingly, to mark the celebrations of 750 years of the *Cortes de Leiria* in 1254, the broad theme of the *cortes* and the participation of the Third Estate was revisited by studying parliamentary institutions since medieval times to the present over a long period and through the lens of comparative history<sup>21</sup>. Similarly, the meeting of

<sup>17</sup> SOUSA, Armindo de, *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas. 1385-1490*, 2 vols., Oporto, INIC / Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1990. Also, his studies "As Cortes de Leiria-Santarém de 1433", *Estudos Medievais*, no. 2 (1982), pp. 71-224; IDEM, "As Cortes de Évora de 1435", *Estudos Medievais*, nos. 3-4 (1983-1984), pp. 71-224; IDEM, "O discurso político dos concelhos nas Cortes de 1385", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser. 2, (1985), pp. 9-14. The issues in studies on these subjects are outlined by DUARTE, Luís Miguel, "The Portuguese medieval parliament: are we asking the right questions?", *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, no. 2 (2003), pp. 1-12.

<sup>18</sup> By way of example, see COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "O Discurso de Guimarães em Cortes", in *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, vol. 6: *História Local*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães / Universidade do Minho, 1997; IDEM, *Montemor-o-Velho a caminho da Corte e das Cortes*, Montemor-o-Velho, Câmara Municipal de Montemor-o-Velho, 2010; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and RÊPAS, Luís Miguel, *Um cruzamento de fronteiras. O discurso dos concelhos da Guarda em Cortes*, Oporto, Campo das Letras, 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Among others: "Relações de Domínio no Portugal Concelhio de meados de Quatrocentos", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 25 (1990), pp. 235-289.

<sup>20</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "As relações fronteiriças galaico-minhotas à luz das Cortes do século XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 1st ser., vol. 7 (1990), pp. 59-70; EADEM, "O Social: do vivido ao representado em Cortes", in *Actas dos 2ºs Cursos Internacionais de Verão de Cascais*, 2, Cascais, Câmara Municipal de Cascais, 1996, pp. 15-44; EADEM, "Le discours sur les minorités religieuses aux Cortes portugaises du Moyen Âge", *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, no. 31 (2011), pp. 1-16.

<sup>21</sup> In the work *As Cortes e o Parlamento em Portugal. 750 anos das Cortes de Leiria de 1254. Actas do Congresso Internacional*, Lisbon, Divisão de Edições da Assembleia da República, 2006, many of the studies presented there are published. For the medieval period, the highlights for where municipalities meet the

the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, which was held in Lisbon and Coimbra in 2009 to realise its sixtieth conference on “Parliaments: The Law. The Practice and The Representations”, presented an opportunity to analyse this institution using the same comparative and diachronic methodology<sup>22</sup>.

The speeches in the *cortes*, delivered by powerful elites, varying in a spectrum that ranges from middle-class and petty gentry to landowners, merchants and owners of capital or even a few men of learning, never opening to include agricultural workers or craftsmen, can raise issues about the relation between the governors and the commoners. Marcello Caetano examined the question of the importance of the artisans<sup>23</sup>, but we believe there is still ample room to weigh up the role and prominence of craftsmen, many of whom had economic means and were able to intervene socially, acting as a counter-power. We have already discussed this in a presentation to the “Poder local em tempos de globalização” congress<sup>24</sup>, as we have equally reflected on the non-official delegations present at the *cortes*, which brought into the political limelight the problems and needs of farmers of the municipality or of the craftsmen and the “simple people” of the urban seat<sup>25</sup>. Knowledge of these masses, provided by some master’s and doctoral studies, focussing on wages and the prices of artefacts produced<sup>26</sup> or underlining the economic, social, associative and political relevance of the artisans<sup>27</sup> will feature as solid and essential contributions to rethinking the analysis of power and counter-power in urban societies.

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Cortes, are those by COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “As Cortes de Leiria e Leiria em Cortes”, pp. 21-37; FARELO, Mário, “Lisboa nas Cortes da primeira dinastia”..., pp. 129-142; CUNHA, Cristina, and COSTA, Paula Pinto, “Bragança em Cortes no final do século XV”..., pp. 143-152.

<sup>22</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and RIBEIRO, Maria Manuela Tavares (coords.), *Parlamentos: A Lei. A Prática e As Representações. Da Idade Média à Actualidade. Parliaments: The Law, the Practice and the Representations. From Middle Ages to the Present Day*, Lisbon, Assembleia da República, 2010.

<sup>23</sup> CAETANO, Marcello, “O Concelho (de Lisboa na crise de 1383-1385)”, in *A Crise Nacional de 1383-1385. Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Lisbon, Verbo, s. d. [1985].

<sup>24</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “No palco e nos bastidores do poder local”, in FONSECA, Fernando Taveira da (Coord.), *O Poder Local em tempo de Globalização. Uma história e um futuro*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra / Centro de Estudos e Formação Autárquica, 2005, pp. 49-74.

<sup>25</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “O Poder Local em tempos medievais”, *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Classe Letras*, vol. 36 (2004/2005), pp. 7-26.

<sup>26</sup> FERREIRA, Sérgio Carlos, *Preços e salários em Portugal na Idade Média*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2007.

<sup>27</sup> MELO, Arnaldo Rui Azevedo de Sousa, *Trabalho e Produção em Portugal na Idade Média: o Porto, c. 1320-c.1415*, 2 vols. unpublished doctoral thesis, Braga, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho / École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2009.

### 3. Writing, memory and representation

The acts of governance of the men in local power have bequeathed a record, especially from the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century on, when the written word invaded daily life and bureaucracy. The cast of council characters included scribes and chancellors, many of whom were attached to certain offices, such as judges or treasurers. We thus came to know, among other writings, *posturas* (municipal ordinances), records of council meetings or income and expenditure books that have caught the attention of scholars.

Iria Gonçalves produced a paradigmatic study itemising all Oporto's income and expenditure in the fifteenth century, offering a comprehensive and at the same time detailed view of municipal finances<sup>28</sup>. Other studies will certainly address this topic<sup>29</sup>. In fact the question of royal taxation has re-focussed the attention of medievalists, for by studying and publishing the few still existing books on municipal revenues regarding Oporto and Loulé in the fifteenth century, we can gain a wealth of information about the economic, administrative and social life of the municipal institutions and their relational dynamics.

Many studies have examined the *posturas* to work out municipal rules on hygiene and health, urban planning, commercial warehouses and productive activities, revealing the socioeconomic and political-administrative complexity of urban life<sup>30</sup>.

The records of the city council's meetings, from which these same *posturas* are often gleaned, have equally made possible a wide range of studies turning on power, administration and the municipal economy and society on the mainland<sup>31</sup> and the islands<sup>32</sup>. The interest and richness of these sources are clearly demonstrated by

<sup>28</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, *As Finanças Municipais do Porto na segunda metade do século XV*, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto / Arquivo Histórico Municipal, 1987.

<sup>29</sup> Thus the study by BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima, "Um contributo para o estudo das finanças urbanas na Idade Média", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2009, pp. 113-119.

<sup>30</sup> Among others, GONÇALVES, Iria, "Posturas Municipais e Vida Urbana na Baixa Idade Média: o exemplo de Lisboa", *Estudos Medievais*, no. 7 (1986), pp. 155-172; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, "Relações entre o Homem e a Natureza nas mais antigas posturas da Câmara de Loulé: séculos XIV-XV", in *Actas das 1<sup>as</sup> Jornadas de História Medieval do Algarve e Andaluzia*, Loulé, Câmara Municipal de Loulé / Universidade do Algarve, 1987, pp. 231-242; TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, "A Política Municipal de Saúde Pública. Séculos XIV-XV", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 19 (1987), pp. 17-32. A systematisation of the thematic content of the *posturas* can be found in the study by HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, and HOMEM, Maria Isabel N. Miguéns de Carvalho, "Lei e poder concelhio: as posturas. O exemplo de Lisboa (sécs. XIV-XV) (primeira abordagem)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 3rd ser., vol. 7 (2006), pp. 35-50.

<sup>31</sup> Such as, for example, COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "A Mulher e o Trabalho nas Cidades Medievais Portuguesas", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Homens, Espaços e Poderes. Séculos XI-XVI*, 1: *Notas do Viver Social*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990, pp. 37-59.

<sup>32</sup> As a complementary thesis to his doctoral exams, Miguel Jasmins Rodrigues also presented the study *Sociedade e quotidiano no Funchal. Vereações de 1495-1496*.

the master's dissertations produced in Oporto under the supervision of Humberto Baquero Moreno, reaching even as far as the sixteenth century<sup>33</sup>.

But the local council records offer a great deal more information on the past. We can use them to work out the urban communications network<sup>34</sup> and they prove most enlightening. From this analytical perspective, we now know something about the bottom-up, top-down and horizontal communications of municipalities, which employed different routes, by land, river, and sea, along with different agents to convey their messages in peacetime or in wartime. These messages could be oral, but in most cases in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were supported by writing.

For their part, written municipal documents, together with their writing, have increasingly become the subjects of specialist studies. At the "International Conference on Urban Diplomats" held in Ghent in 1998, José Marques, Carvalho Homem and I presented a study on "Portuguese Municipal Diplomats," which, focussing on the production and written records of municipalities, indicated various issues and themes to be developed in this area<sup>35</sup>. Next, we tackled the question of municipal chanceries<sup>36</sup>, having in a further study shown the leading part played by the literate in the governing apparatus of Portuguese towns and cities, particularly the *tabeliães* (notaries), those likely precursors of the new legal culture in provincial areas, as has been noted<sup>37</sup>. We studied knowledge and power in the broad context of their articulation, but obviously where the municipal world was involved,

<sup>33</sup> FIGUEIREDO, Maria Amélia dos Santos, *A Administração Municipal do Porto entre 1468 e 1498 segundo o Livro 6 de Vereações*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1996 (unpublished); LOURO, Laura de Jesus do Paço, *O Porto entre 1485 e 1488, segundo as Actas das Vereações*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1997 (unpublished); RAMOS, Carla Susana Barbas dos, *A Administração Municipal e as Vereações do Porto de 1500 a 1504*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1997 (unpublished); FERREIRA, Cristina Isabel de Oliveira Gomes, *A Vereação da Cidade do Porto (1512-1514)*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1997 (unpublished); MACHADO, Maria de Fátima Pereira, *O Porto de D. Manuel a D. João III (1518-1530)*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1997 (unpublished). The following dissertations have been presented already in the 21st century: ARAÚJO, Jorge Filipe Pereira de, *A Administração Municipal do Porto (1508-1511)*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001 (unpublished); MATIAS, Ana Luísa Bellino Pereira Mendes, *O Porto em 1533. Actas de Vereação da Cidade*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2000 (unpublished); PINTO, Maria Helena Barbosa, *A Vereação Municipal do Porto em 1545*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001 (unpublished); VASCONCELOS, Emília Albertina Sá Pereira de, *Vereações na Câmara do Porto no ano de 1548*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001 (unpublished); SOARES, Edite Rute dos Santos Bento, *O Concelho Portucalense em 1551*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001 (unpublished); AFONSO, Maria Lúcia de Oliveira Lopes, *O Porto segundo o Livro de Vereações de 1559*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001 (unpublished), which includes transcription of Book 21 of the *vereações* for 1559; BALSEMÃO, Paula Manuela Mourão da Cunha, *Actas de Vereação da Cidade do Porto. Ano de 1537*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2002 (unpublished).

<sup>34</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "A Rede de comunicações concelhias nos séculos XIV e XV", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (coord.), *As Comunicações na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Fundação Portuguesa das Comunicações, 2000, pp. 64-101.

<sup>35</sup> MARQUES, José, COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Diplomatique municipale portugaise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)", in PREVENIER, W.; HEMPTINE, Th. de (eds.), *La Diplomatie urbaine en Europe au Moyen Âge. Actes du Congrès de la Commission Internationale de Diplomatie*, Gand, 25-29 août 1998, Louvain-Apeldoorn, Garant, 2000, pp. 281-305.

<sup>36</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Considerações em torno das Chancelarias Municipais", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História...*, pp. 165-172.

<sup>37</sup> HESPAÑA, António M., *História das Instituições...*, p. 433.

taking into consideration the importance of academic training in appointments to certain administrative positions and functions<sup>38</sup>. Although Marcello Caetano had drawn attention to the role of the literati and legal experts in this decisive period 1383-1385<sup>39</sup>, research into the career paths and the university qualifications of *corregedores*, judges and other officials will need to continue in considerably more detail. Yet we believe that this vast topic of written production and the holders of knowledge in the sphere of municipal circumscriptions is attracting researchers and will be better understood in the near future<sup>40</sup>.

Knowledge of the notaries is already considerable, especially after Bernardo de Sá Nogueira's doctoral thesis, which examined the rate at which they were established and consolidated<sup>41</sup>, and through many other individual studies on their lives and work<sup>42</sup>, although we look forward for other monographs.

For her part Filipa Roldão, exploring uncharted territory in her master's dissertation, looked at the origins of production, use and conservation of written documentation from the three most important municipalities in the Portuguese kingdom, namely Coimbra, Santarém and Lisbon, between 1179 and 1325<sup>43</sup>.

Starting from an institutional definition of the concept of "municipal documents", she endeavoured to identify the offices and agents of writing within the municipal administration, to reconstitute the circulation channels of written deeds, namely among local officials (elected by the *concilium* or named by royal appointment), and reveal the different stages of writing and conservation of one

<sup>38</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Les relations du Savoir et du Pouvoir dans le Portugal médiéval (XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)", in AVERKORN, Raphaela, EBERHARD, Winfried, HAAS, Raimund, and SCHMIES, Bernard (eds.), *Europa und die Welt in der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Dieter Berg*, Bochum, 2004, pp. 313-334.

<sup>39</sup> CAETANO, Marcello, "O concelho de Lisboa na crise de 1383-1385"... , pp. 129-134.

<sup>40</sup> In this regard, we highlight the published articles by GOMES, Saul António, "Ideologia e representação nas práticas das chancelarias concelhias medievais portuguesas", in FONSECA, Fernando Taveira da (coord.), *O poder local em tempo de globalização. Uma história e um futuro. Comunicações*, Viseu, Palimage, 2005, pp. 435- 501; ROLDÃO, Ana Filipa, "Preparando as Cortes nos concelhos em 1383: os agentes da escrita", in *As Cortes e o Parlamento em Portugal...*, pp. 229-243.

<sup>41</sup> NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá, *Tabelionato e Instrumento Público em Portugal. Gênese e Implantação (1211-1279)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2008 (this thesis was defended in 1997; some of the data is re-assessed in the article by the same author "Tabelionato e elites urbanas no Portugal Ducentista (1212-1279)", in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e Redes clientelares...*, pp. 211-220).

<sup>42</sup> By way of example, one older and one more recent: COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Os Tabeliães em Portugal. Perfil Profissional e Sócio-Económico (Sécs. XIV-XV)", *Historia, Instituciones. Documentos*, no. 23 (1996), pp. 173-211 (re-published, with an update, in *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / FL-UC, 2001, pp. 93-137); and FRESCO, João Paulo Oliveira, *O tabelião lisboeta Afonso Gutierrez: reconstituição e análise diplomática da sua actividade de escrituração (1400-1441)*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2006. We could not forget to mention that the following, among others, have written on the topic: Isaías da Rosa Pereira, José Marques, José Artur Duarte Nogueira, Cristina Cunha, Maria José A. Santos, Saul Gomes, Luís Rêpas, Anísio Saraiva and Luís Mata.

<sup>43</sup> ROLDÃO, Ana Filipa Firmino Sequeira Pinto, *Escrita e Poderes Urbanos nos concelhos de Coimbra, Santarém e Lisboa (1179-1325)*, unpublished master's dissertation Lisbon, FL-UL, 2006.

single document. Studying the existing network of communications in these three municipalities allowed her to understand how, for the existing powers in rural areas, writing instituted relationships of dependence and institutional hierarchy. This led her to conclude that the domination of royal writing procedures and scribes, plus the volume and importance of the tax-related documentation, had a significant influence on the development of writing at municipal level.

This author will continue and extend the scope of these studies to later periods, investigating writing and power in Évora between 1415 and 1536<sup>44</sup>. The city council's existing documental corpuses, which have been wholly or partially preserved, will enable her to map the objects written in the different scribes' offices in the municipality, to list the registrars and assess the functional dependence among those producing and those receiving and, no less important, to identify the criteria and reasons for conserving the documents in the city council's archive. By using an analytical approach to instances of documental reorganisation, which tried to promote a culture of the written object and writing and which were instituted by the local government (mainly under orders from the king), it is hoped that she may get to understand how urban memory and identity were constructed, both from the perspective of the vested powers and their residents and from that of their territory.

In practice, as is well known, the volume and variety of municipal documentation, especially from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is very significant. Remember, for example, that in 1443, the municipality of Montemor-o-Novo kept in a chest, as a minute of the city council meeting describes, a record of assets, a book of rents, a book of forfeits, an old book, fourteen income and expense books, thirteen books of minutes of the council meetings, two sealed letters with chapters of the *cortes*, sixty-seven documents with seals of wax and lead, a royal permit, two charters, two prosecutor's books and forty-six hospital books<sup>45</sup>.

Clearly, the documents produced and received by the municipalities and preserved, stored and kept in precious chests, were assets of great value of, as people were already aware of in medieval times. Their enemies did not hesitate about stealing or burning them in times of war<sup>46</sup>. They were considered *monumenta* underpinning municipal identity and memory, often adorned with richly symbolic seals that are increasingly being decoded by researchers on municipal sigillography.

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<sup>44</sup> This is the provisional title of the thesis being prepared by Filipa Roldão, under my supervision and with co-supervision, "A memória da cidade: escrita e poderes em Évora (1415-1536)".

<sup>45</sup> FONSECA, Jorge, *Montemor-o-Novo no século XV*, Montemor-o-Novo, Câmara Municipal de Montemor-o-Novo, 1988, pp. 109-110.

<sup>46</sup> As occurred in Penamacor, Monsanto and Alter do Chão in the wars with Castile (COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Relações de Domínio no Portugal Concelhio"... , p. 266).

The intimate relationship between sigillography and municipal documentation has mostly been captured from the work by the Marquis of Abrantes and Fontes, *O estudo da sigilografia medieval portuguesa*<sup>47</sup>, which reproduces and describes various municipal seals. Other small studies on municipal seals exist. More recently, this science has interested specialists<sup>48</sup>, who have directed their studies at the validating significance of seals, including their imagery<sup>49</sup>. For now, we have one guide to the study of Portuguese sigillography<sup>50</sup> and another more specialised study on seals and the documentation of municipal chanceries<sup>51</sup>, both by Saul António Gomes.

Symbols, rites, representations and ceremonies identify and propagate municipal power, as historians are increasingly revealing. The representation of power and the individuality of municipalities are thus stated through personalising and symbolic hallmarks, such as city halls, *pelourinhos* (stone pillars symbolising judicial power) and flags which, although they may be difficult to find, given how rare the latter are, dating from medieval times, and the inexistence of any municipal standard or even a description of one, are not overlooked in the studies<sup>52</sup>. As for those in charge, they express their dignity through the batons of power that they hold in their hands as well as through their place in public ceremonies and celebrations<sup>53</sup>.

Material traces and festive memories embody and personalise the pride and singularity of urban power and its rulers. Studies have revealed this new facet of the mentalities and behaviour of men and cities. Entries of kings, princes or illustrious persons in the city or town always stand as conspicuous examples of the

<sup>47</sup> TÁVORA, Luís Gonzaga de Lancastre e (Marquês de Abrantes e de Fontes), *O estudo da sigilografia medieval portuguesa*, Lisbon, Ministério da Educação, 1983.

<sup>48</sup> Thus studied by MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal. 1096-1325*, vol. 1: *Oposição*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1985, pp. 379-380; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Concelhos", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (coords.), *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras. Do Condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV* (SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3), Lisbon, Presença, 1996, pp. 583-585. A study, on the long run, on seals but also on municipal coats of arms is that by SAMEIRO, Pedro, "A Heráldica Autárquica em Portugal", *Almansor-Revista de Cultura*, no. 4 (1986), pp. 77-117.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also the work COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, and GOMES, Saul António (coords.), *Colecção esfragística da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra. Catálogo de Exposição*, Coimbra, Instituto de Paleografia e Diplomática / Reitoria da Universidade de Coimbra, 2003.

<sup>50</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *Introdução à Sigilografia Portuguesa. Guia de Estudo*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> IDEM, "Ideologia e representação nas práticas das chancelarias concelhias medievais portuguesas", in FONSECA, Fernando Taveira da (coord.), *O Poder local em tempo de globalização...*, pp. 466-475.

<sup>52</sup> As regards council palaces/courthouses, read TRINDADE, Luísa, *Urbanismo na composição de Portugal*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2009, pp. 743-802. Reproduction and description of the *pelourinhos* in Portugal can be found in the work by MALAFAIA, Eurico de Ataíde, *Pelourinhos Portugueses*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2005.

<sup>53</sup> In this way, in the municipality of Montemor-o-Novo, along with a linen flag with *quinas* (escutcheons with bezants) (in a poor condition as the council record book reports for 1443), there were three red staves, definitely those of its three councillors (FONSECA, Jorge, *Montemor-o-Novo no século XV...*, p. 111).



extraordinary festive days in municipal life<sup>54</sup>. Commemorations of royalty and of saints are seen as times to celebrate<sup>55</sup>. To these ones we can add pilgrimage and market days. All of them, however, are surpassed by that unique festivity of the municipal body, the Corpus Christi, iconography of power, rank and labour in Portuguese towns and cities, which has so greatly fascinated historians<sup>56</sup>.

#### 4. Charters and municipalities

These new fields in the study of municipality have proceeded together with methodological, theoretical and thematic developments in historiography, besides being supported by ancillary works on municipalities of a more institutional and legal bent.

In this way, Alexandre Herculano's original *oeuvre*, championing political decentralisation and municipal life, studied the origins of municipalities in the Middle Ages, seeking to read in them the "regenerative" values of his time – the defence of individual freedom, private property and the democratic spirit<sup>57</sup>. In his *História de Portugal* he dedicates the entire final book to analysing the origins of municipalities, types of charters and neighbourly rights and duties. His work is still an obligatory point of reference, although many of his ideas have already been revised, standing as an inexhaustible source of information in the approach to municipal history, from an institutional, legal and political history focus, which is, after all, the perspective informing his study.

Historians of the corporative state school of thought saw, for their part, the municipalities as key institutions in implementing the nation-state, as structural links in its centralising chain, whilst also not neglecting analysis of its historical stages. At the forefront of these studies, we should mention, as regards law, Marcello Caetano and, for history, Torquato de Sousa Soares. The former explored institutional

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<sup>54</sup> On this topic, see the classic study by ALVES, Ana Maria, *As Entradas régias portuguesas. Uma visão de conjunto*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, s. d.

<sup>55</sup> By way of example, read COSTA, Paula Pinto, "Das festas religiosas ao luto por D. Sebastião no âmbito da vereação de Braga (1578)", in *Estudos em Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Marques*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2006, vol. 4, pp. 217-232.

<sup>56</sup> See the studies by GONÇALVES, Iria, "As Festas do "Corpus Christi" do Porto na segunda metade do século XV, a participação do concelho", *Estudos Medievais*, nos. 5-6 (1984/1985), pp. 69-89; BRANCO, Maria João, "A Procissão na cidade: reflexões em torno da festa do Corpo de Deus na Idade Média Portuguesa", in TAVARES, Maria José Ferro (coord.), *A Cidade. Actas das Jornadas inter e pluridisciplinares*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1993, pp. 197-217.

<sup>57</sup> HERCULANO, Alexandre, *História de Portugal desde o começo da monarquia até o fim do reinado de Afonso III*, critical notes by José Mattoso, text revised by Ayala Monteiro, 4 vols., Lisbon, Bertrand, 1983; the entire fourth volume, corresponding to book 8 (following the division by Herculano) is dedicated to the municipal topic.

questions in relation to the municipalities, mapping the evolution of municipal functions and stressing the importance of royal officials in its administration, as well as examining the presence of municipalities at the *cortes*<sup>58</sup>. In a continuation of his study on the municipality of Lisbon in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, his follower Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues extended the period to the fifteenth century<sup>59</sup>. The second author focussed on the origins of municipalities in general and looked specifically at the administration of Oporto municipality in medieval times<sup>60</sup>.

After the April Revolution, efforts were made, as we have seen, to revive and rejuvenate local power, now acting as a political prop to the democratic state that was to be implanted, and in a civic spirit historians resumed its study<sup>61</sup>. This time, however, aware of the methods and conclusions of anthropology and sociology, sciences that dovetail with history, less emphasis was placed on legal theses, whether Roman or German, that saw in Roman municipalities or Visigothic institutions the templates for the origins of the municipality. Instead, they tried to find the deep-roots of municipal life in a sociological fashion, looking for them in the hillfort (*castro*) civilisations, in the solidarity of the family, or in manifestations of a community spirit that certain periods of the Reconquest reinforced. They also rethought the role of the Mozarabs in the survival of these centres, and the significance of Muslim influences on the municipal administrative scene.

Municipalities did their utmost to host various conferences, putting their history on display, and supported the publication of sources on their past, which in turn provided an impetus to historians<sup>62</sup>. Universities followed closely in organising

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<sup>58</sup> Of these studies, we highlight "A Administração Municipal de Lisboa durante a 1ª dinastia (1179-1383)", *Revista da Faculdade de Direito*, no. 7 (1951) (re-published in Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990); *As Cortes de 1385*, released in 1951, and *O Concelho de Lisboa na crise de 1383-1385*, released in 1953, both re-published in *A Crise Nacional de 1383-1385. Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Lisbon, Verbo, s.d. [1985]; and the textbook *História do Direito Português*, 4th ed. followed by "Subsídios para a História das Fontes de Direito em Portugal no século XVI", introductory text and notes by Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da Silva, Lisbon / São Paulo, Verbo, 2000.

<sup>59</sup> We refer to the work RODRIGUES, Maria Teresa Campos, *Aspectos da Administração Municipal de Lisboa, no século XV*, supplement to *Revista Municipal*, [Lisbon], nos. 101-109, (1968).

<sup>60</sup> With the works SOARES, Torquato de Sousa, *Apontamentos para o estudo da origem das instituições municipais portuguesas*, Lisbon, 1931; IDEM, *Subsídios para o estudo da organização municipal da cidade do Porto durante a Idade Média*, Barcelos, 1935 (re-publication, Oporto, SPEM, 1989).

<sup>61</sup> For a perspective on these, see the work *Repertório Bibliográfico da Historiografia Portuguesa. 1974-1994*.

<sup>62</sup> By way of example and taking my contribution as a reference point, I would cite the Meetings in Caminha, in 1984, on its Charter, in Santo Tirso, in 1985, on the Municipality, in Montemor-o-Velho, in 1996, on the twenty years of local power. More recently, let us recall those that took place in Guarda in 2000, in Idanha-a-Velha in 2005 or in Penamacor in 2009.

their own scientific colloquia<sup>63</sup> or in mounting master's courses in regional and local studies, or training municipal cultural staff<sup>64</sup>.

José Mattoso brought considerable innovation to the study of how the municipal network became established by his structural identification of Portugal as a country along the lines of an opposition between seignuerial and feudal society on the one hand, and municipal centres on the other, showing how in this dialectic of power and ways of living, one territory, one people and one sovereignty became consolidated<sup>65</sup>. Picking up on Orlando Ribeiro's geographical thesis, the rural and Christian municipalities of the Atlantic north stood in opposition to the urban, Islamicised municipalities of the Mediterranean south. He then analysed their social stratification into *cavaleiros-vilão* (non-noble knights), peons and dependents, the military and productive sectors that characterised them, and the institutional and religious solidarity that was their backbone. This approach takes a socio-political, cultural and economic stance, rather than an institutional and legal one. It takes off from how the internal human complexes articulated with the external spaces and powers.

Lest we forget, Borges Coelho as early as 1973 drew our attention to the Mozarab and Muslim influence in the spread of the municipal movement<sup>66</sup>.

No less important were the rural history studies that were conducted by Robert Durand<sup>67</sup> and, to a certain extent, by ourselves<sup>68</sup>, which focussed on the formation of

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<sup>63</sup> Thus the Summer Course, hosted by the Instituto de História Contemporânea of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of Nova University of Lisbon, whose proceedings have been released, SILVEIRA, Luís Nuno Espinha da (ed.), *Poder Central, Poder Regional, Poder Local...*; also the University of Minho organised a conference, whose proceedings were also published, *O Município Português na História, na Cultura e no Desenvolvimento Regional. Actas do Colóquio realizado na Universidade do Minho nos dias 4 e 5 de Junho de 1998 no âmbito do Projecto PRAXIS XXI*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1999; there is also the meeting hosted by the Instituto de História Económica e Social and the Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura at Faculdade de Letras of Coimbra that caused two volumes to be issued, *O Poder Local em tempos de Globalização. Uma história e um futuro*, Coimbra, IUC, 2005 and Viseu, Palimage, 2005; or the one organised by the Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, embodied in the work *História do Municipalismo. Poder Local e Poder Central no Mundo Ibérico*, Funchal, Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 2006. The municipal issue has already been debated by Portuguese and Brazilians at a Colloquium organised in 1993, in Belo Horizonte and in Rio de Janeiro, on "Municipality and urban life", also with a publication *Actas. I Colóquio de Estudos Históricos Brasil-Portugal*, Belo Horizonte, PUC-MG, 1984.

<sup>64</sup> We refer to the *Curso de Especialização em Assuntos Culturais no Âmbito das Autarquias*, which was taught at the FL-UC from 1989 to 2003. From 2007 on, adapting to the Bolonha system, it has operated as a 2nd Cycle in *Política Cultural Autárquica* and a master's in *Cultura e Formação Autárquica* at the FL-UL, which was set up in 1998.

<sup>65</sup> This structure is used in his work *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal. 1096-1325*, vol. 1: *Oposição*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1985. Also of relevance is his study "Da comunidade primitiva ao município – o exemplo de Alfaiates", *Estudos Medievais*, no. 8, (1987), pp. 29-44.

<sup>66</sup> COELHO, António Borges, *Comunas ou Concelhos*, 2nd ed. Lisbon, Caminho, 1986.

<sup>67</sup> DURAND, Robert, *Les campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tâge aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, FCG / Centro Cultural Português, 1982, pp. 131-168.

<sup>68</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego nos finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 41-69; EADEM, "Contestação e resistência dos que vivem da terra", in COELHO, Maria Helena da

rural communities based on collective agricultural contracts, which set up common rights and duties, and which established for their inhabitants perennial forms of agricultural, judicial, fiscal and religious support. The synthesis we developed for the third volume of the *Nova História de Portugal* showed how the municipal movement spread across space and time, revealing its importance to the emergence of the Portuguese kingdom<sup>69</sup>.

Yet, as regards these more distant times and insisting on an interdisciplinary methodology, there could still be a better explanation of the boundary between settlement *cartas de povoamento* (charters) and *forais* (municipal charters), the deeds that granted legal existence either to village communities or to municipalities of rudimentary structure. Similarly, there is still a large area to be studied as regards the interaction and interrelation of *seignuerial* and municipal power, in sketching out the social and political forces that governed men and land at the time the Portuguese kingdom was formed.

For its part, in the sphere of the analysis of diplomas that legally recognised the municipalities, the so called *forais* or *foros breves* (both terms standing for municipal charters), we believe that the master's dissertation by Matos Reis, though adopting a more institutional and legal methodology, provided reliable information on the families of charters, whose tax, economic and criminal law specificities are examined<sup>70</sup>. He continued with the same topic in his doctoral thesis<sup>71</sup>, in which he explored the articulation of municipal development, on the regional stage, with the economic impetus of the creation of charter fairs and with the colonisation and settlement movement.

However, one area remains open – the vast field involving many types of knowledge and specialists, from linguistics to sociology and from law to history – the analysis of the *foros* and customs, the *foros longos*. Jurists have already drawn our attention to the convergence in these *foros* of public and administrative legal norms, private legal norms, royal rights, family and succession law, criminal law and procedural law. They combine, as legal historians teach us<sup>72</sup>, customary precepts

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Cruz, *Homens, Espaços e Poderes. Séculos XI-XVI*, 1: *Notas do Viver Social*, Lisbon, Horizonte, 1990, pp. 23-36.

<sup>69</sup> EADEM, "Concelhos", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (coord.), *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras. Do Condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV* (SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3), Lisbon, Presença, 1996, pp. 554-584.

<sup>70</sup> REIS, António Matos, *Origens dos Municípios Portugueses*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1991.

<sup>71</sup> IDEM, *Os concelhos na primeira dinastia: à luz dos forais e de outros documentos da Chancelaria Régia*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007 (thesis defended in 2004).

<sup>72</sup> *Inter alia*, CAETANO, Marcello, *História do Direito Português...*, p. 233, COSTA, Mário Júlio de Almeida, *História do Direito Português*, 3rd edition, Coimbra, Almedina, 1996, p. 261; ALBUQUERQUE, Ruy de, and ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de, *História do Direito Português*, vol. 1: (1140-1415), 1st pt., 10th edition, Lisbon, Pedro Ferreira, 1999, p. 202; SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, *História do Direito Português. Fontes de Direito*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, FCG, 1991, pp. 148-151.

and municipal ordinances with decisions by arbitration judges or municipal judges, opinions of jurists and innovative rules of legislative scope. These convergences pose a challenge to the clarification and analysis of such documents, in terms of ascertaining which parts are condensed from municipal customs or instead from already-systematised legal codes, and in reflecting in depth on each of these aspects.

## 5. Sources

In studying municipal origins, a great deal of attention has been paid to the municipal charters, which led to a powerful movement for their publication.

Once again, the responsibility for this innovation lay with Alexandre Herculano. Following the German school's lead, we are indebted to him for the important edition of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* which, in the volume *Leges et Consuetudines*<sup>73</sup>, published the municipal charters granted since Fernando the Great of Leon and Castile until Afonso III, king of Portugal, and not merely the ducal and royal ones, but also the private charters of nobles and churchmen. To these we may add some *foros longos* or customs of certain border municipalities in Beira, Estremadura and the Alentejo. The later publication of the chanceries of Count Henrique and Countess Teresa and Afonso Henriques<sup>74</sup>, that of King Sancho I<sup>75</sup> and, more recently, that of King Afonso III<sup>76</sup> means that to analyse the charters granted by the central power we must use these updated editions.

We still do not have a full edition of all the charters signed by King Dinis, but we can resort to a master's dissertation that lists all these documents and indicates the works where many of them are separately published<sup>77</sup>. In practice, over recent decades and often at the behest of council institutions, which seek to commemorate the charter founding their municipality, medieval charters have increasingly been published or re-published and studied. In many cases they have been published alongside the *forais novos* (new charters)<sup>78</sup> resulting from the reforms carried out

<sup>73</sup> HERCULANO, Alexandre, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Leges et Consuetudines*, Olisipone, Typis Academicis, 1856.

<sup>74</sup> AZEVEDO, Rui de, *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos Régios*, vol. 1: *Documentos dos Condes Portugaleses e de D. Afonso Henriques A. D. 1095-1185*, 2 tomes, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1958, 1962.

<sup>75</sup> AZEVEDO, Rui de, COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, and PEREIRA, Marcelino Rodrigues, *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174-1211)*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Universidade de Coimbra, 1979.

<sup>76</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, book 1-vol. 1, book 1-vol. 2, books 2 and 3, Coimbra, IUC, 2006-2011.

<sup>77</sup> PINTO, Alexandre Manuel Monteiro, "O Lavrador" de *forais. Estudo dos forais outorgados por D. Dinis*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2007.

<sup>78</sup> Publication of these charters from royal chancery records is due to DIAS, Luiz Fernando de Carvalho, *Forais Manuelinos do Reino de Portugal e do Algarve, conforme o exemplar do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do*

by King Manuel I, who sought to bind general law to local, withdrawing from the text of charters those particular rights that contradicted this approach, and also to update the systems of weights, measures and coinage. His aim was to make sure that the crown's duties were levied correctly and fairly and that abuses against the people were eliminated, which represented an important fiscal reform. Some of these publications, and there are a good many, are graphically very meticulous and of high scientific value, combining transcriptions of the documents with their analysis and historical contextualisation, making these works very relevant in deepening our knowledge of examining municipal life<sup>79</sup>.

Another important source of knowledge – the council minute books – have interested scholars from the first half of the twentieth century. Magalhães Basto published a volume in the 1930s containing Oporto council minutes from 1391 to 1395, with valuable notes that shed a great deal of light on the city's municipal dynamics over this period<sup>80</sup>. In the same way, José Branquinho de Carvalho, in the 1950s, published the 1491 minute book for Coimbra, the only one we know for this town in the medieval period<sup>81</sup>.

In more recent decades, due to the renewed interest in the history of the holders of municipal power and their municipal policies, much progress has been made on publishing the main documental sets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As regards the *vereações* (council minute books), work has continued on the Oporto

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*Tombo*, 5 vol., Beja, author's edition, 1961-1969.

<sup>79</sup> Works are abundant and it would be impossible to list them all, as the main cities, towns and lands, in addition to those listed, have had their charters published, such as, among others, Arraiolos, Beja, Guimarães, Caminha, Colares, Coura, Lagos, Monção, Ovar, Pereira de Jusã, Porto de Mós, Samora Correia, Silves, Sintra, Vila Viçosa, Valença, Viana, Vila da Feira e Terra de Santa Maria, Vila Nova de Portimão, Vimeiro. By way of example, we list some of these works and, not to make the list longer, and as most are published by the respective councils, we identify only the author, title and date of the work. Thus, MARQUES, José, *Os Forais de Póvoa de Varzim e Rates*, 1991, IDEM, *Os Forais de Barcelos*, 1998, IDEM, *Os Forais de Melgaço*, 2003, IDEM, *Os Forais de Ponte de Lima*, 2005, IDEM, *Os Forais manuelinos de Torre de S. Martinho e de Souto de Rebordães*, 2006; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Forais de Montemor-o-Velho*, 2002, EADEM, *Foral de D. Manuel I a Santarém*, 2007, EADEM, *Memórias Municipais. Os Forais de Vila de Rei*, 2010; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *Forais e foros da Guarda*, 1999, EADEM, *Foral manuelino de Jarmelo*, 2010; MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes, *Foral da Terra e concelho de Penaguião*, 2003; EADEM, *Foral de Mira-1514*, EADEM, *Foral de Alijó-1514*, both of 2004, EADEM, *Os Forais de Torre de Moncorvo*, EADEM, *Foral de Favaios-1514*, EADEM, *Foral de Angeja-1514*, EADEM, *Foral de Baltar-1515*, all from 2005; EADEM, *Foral de Paus-1516*, EADEM, *Foral da Vacariça e Mealhada-1514*, both from 2006, EADEM, *Os Forais manuelinos de Vagos e Soza*, EADEM, *Os Forais de Penacova*, both from 2007, EADEM, *O Foral manuelino de Cantanhede*, 2008, EADEM, *A vila de Ançã e o seu foral manuelino*, 2009, EADEM, *Espaços e Poderes. Mogadouro*, 2010; MONTEIRO, José Rodrigues, *800 Anos de Bragança*, 2004; COSTA, Paula Pinto, *Os Forais de Pinhel*, 2010. Also, *Foral de Besteiros de 1515, 1992, Foral de Coimbra de 1516, 1998, Foral Manuelino de Lisboa, 2000, Foral Manuelino de Évora, 2001.*

<sup>80</sup> BASTO, Magalhães, *Documentos e Memórias para a História do Porto*, II, "Vereações". *Anos de 1390-1395*, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1937.

<sup>81</sup> CARVALHO, José Branquinho de, "Câmara de Coimbra. O mais antigo livro de Vereações – 1491", *Arquivo Coimbrão*, vol. 12 (1954): pp. 53-88.

ones<sup>82</sup>, and those of Loulé<sup>83</sup>, Montemor-o-Novo<sup>84</sup> and Funchal<sup>85</sup> have been published, in addition to some fragments from others, although much more can and must be done<sup>86</sup>. The income and expenditure books have been released for Montemor-o-Novo while, though they have already been studied from different angles, those of Oporto and Loulé remain unpublished. However, the compilations of municipal ordinances of which we only know those of Lisbon, have been published some time ago<sup>87</sup>.

In turn, studies of municipal representation at the *cortes*, and the requests and appeals filed there, which reveal the will and actions of local leaders, and the rhetorical discourse produced by municipal delegates or by the monarch, inflected with ideological and political formulations, have been much helped by publication of the *cortes*<sup>88</sup>. Of no

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<sup>82</sup> *Documentos e Memórias para a História do Porto*, XL: 'Vereações'. *Anos de 1401-1449*, with previous notes by J. A. Pinto Ferreira, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1980; *Documentos e Memórias para a História do Porto*, XLIV: 'Vereações'. *Anos de 1431-1432*, book 1, readings, indexes and notes by João Alberto Machado and Luís Miguel Duarte, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1985.

<sup>83</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, MACHADO, João Alberto, and CUNHA, Maria Cristina (eds.), *Actas de Vereação de Loulé. Séculos XIV-XV*, ofprint of *Al-Ulya. Revista do Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé*, no. 7 (1999-2000); DUARTE, Luís Miguel (ed.), *Actas de Vereação de Loulé no século XIV*, ofprint of *Al-Ulya. Revista do Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé*, no. 10 (2004).

<sup>84</sup> FONSECA, Jorge, *Montemor-o-Novo no século XV*, Montemor-o-Novo, Câmara Municipal de Montemor-o-Novo, 1998. The known income and expenditure books for the fifteenth century are also published in this work.

<sup>85</sup> COSTA, José Pereira da, *Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal, Século XV*, Funchal, Secretaria Regional do Turismo e Cultura / Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1996; IDEM, *Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal. Primeira metade do século XVI e apenas Vereações da Câmara Municipal de Santa Cruz. 1515-1516*, Funchal, Secretaria Regional do Turismo and Cultura / Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1998.

<sup>86</sup> Thus, for example, those of Vila do Conde and Mós de Moncorvo, revealed by the studies of MARQUES, José, *A Administração Municipal de Vila do Conde em 1466*, Oporto, author's edition, 1981; IDEM, "A Administração Municipal de Mós de Moncorvo em 1439", *Brigantia*, vol. 5 (2, 3, 4), (1985), pp. 515-560. Also the publication VIEGAS, José Manuel, *Livro de Vereações de Alcochete e Aldeia Galega (1421-1422)*, Alcochete, Câmara Municipal de Alcochete, 2005.

<sup>87</sup> The following have been published: VELOZO, Francisco José, and MACHADO, José Pedro (eds.), *Posturas do Concelho de Lisboa (Século XIV)*, Lisbon, Sociedade de Língua Portuguesa, 1974; and RODRIGUES, Maria Teresa Campos (ed.), *Livro das Posturas Antigas*, Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1974.

<sup>88</sup> The following *cortes* have been published: *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, et al., Lisbon, INIC, 1982; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Pedro I (1357-1367)*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, et al., Lisbon, INIC, 1986; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Fernando I*, vol. 1: (1367-1383), vol. 2: (1383) edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, et al., Lisbon, INIC / Centro de Estudos Históricos - Universidade Nova de Lisboa (CEH-UNL), 1990-1993; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Duarte (Cortes de 1436 e 1438)*, edited by João José Alves Dias, et al., Lisbon, CEH-UNL, 2004; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Manuel I (Cortes de 1498)*, edited by João José Alves Dias, et al., Lisbon, CEH-UNL, 2002; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Manuel I (Cortes de 1499)*, edited by João José Alves, et al., Lisbon, CEH-UNL, 2001; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Manuel I (Cortes de 1502)*, edited by João José ALVES, et al., Lisbon, CEH-UNL, 2001. Summaries of the general chapters of the municipalities presented to the *cortes* from 1385 to 1490 are collected in the second volume of the work by SOUSA, Armindo de, *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*. The Algarve special chapters were published by IRIA, Alberto, *O Algarve nas Cortes Medievais Portuguesas do Século XIV (Subsídios para a sua História)*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1982, and IDEM, *O Algarve nas Cortes Medievais Portuguesas do Século XV (Subsídios para a sua História). 1404-1449*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1990. Many other special chapters have been published in different articles on the topic, such as our study, as mentioned, on the municipalities of Guarda.

lesser importance is the publication of the royal chanceries<sup>89</sup>, which has enabled us to understand the dialogue, be it more harmonious or conflicting, between royal power and local power, from the seigneurial to the municipal. For its part, the publication of the corpus of royal legislation<sup>90</sup> has provided us with knowledge of the legal and normative framework within which the municipal bodies and officials existed and operated.

## 6. Historiography

It would be remiss not to point out that historians of municipal power have been reviewing existing studies in order to take stock of what has been done and to indicate new directions.

Without dwelling on the more comprehensive syntheses on medievalism as a whole, such as those of José Mattoso, Luís Adão da Fonseca, Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem or ourselves<sup>91</sup>, we shall name but a few that have focussed on municipal historiography more closely, taken in order of publication.

Firstly, we should remember the article by Armando Luís Carvalho Homem, Amélia Aguiar Andrade and Luís Carlos Amaral, *Por onde vem o medievismo em Portugal?*, dating from 1988<sup>92</sup>. In addition to general considerations on times and topics, the work offers a state of the art as regards medievalists' studies on three specific themes – the rural world, the urban world and social movements. Precisely

<sup>89</sup> The following have been published: *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Afonso IV*, vol. 1: (1325-1336), vol. 2: (1336-1340), vol. 3: (1340-1344), edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, et al., Lisbon, INIC / CEH-UNL, 1990, 1992; *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Pedro I (1345-1367)*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, et al., Lisbon, INIC, 1984; *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I*, vol. 1, t. 1: (1384-1385), vol. 1, t. 2: (1385), vol. 1, t. 3: (1384-1388), vol. 2, t. 1: (1385-1392), vol. 2, t. 2: (1387-1402), vol. 2, t. 3: (1391-1407), vol. 3, t. 1: (1385-1410), vol. 3, t. 2: (1394-1427), vol. 3, t. 3: (1402-1418), vol. 4, t. 1: (1410-1425), vol. 4, t. 2: (1393-1433), edited by João José Alves Dias, Lisbon, CEH-UNL, 2004-2006; *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte*, vol. 1, t. 1: (1433-1435), vol. 1, t. 2: (1435-1438), vol. 2: *Livro da Casa dos Contos*, vol. 3: (1433-1435), edited by João José Alves Dias, Lisbon, CEH-UNL, 1998, 1999, 2002.

<sup>90</sup> SILVA, Nuno Espinosa Gomes da, and RODRIGUES, Maria Teresa Campos (eds.), *Livro de Leis e Posturas*, Lisbon, Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa, 1971; *Ordenações Afonsinas*, 5 vols., "fac-simile" of the 1792 edition, Lisbon, FCG, 1984; ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de, and NUNES, Eduardo Borges, *Ordenações del-Rei D. Duarte*, Lisbon, FCG, 1988.

<sup>91</sup> We are referring to MATTOSO, José, "Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128-1383)", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 9 (1982), pp. 145-162; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, "La Historiografía medieval portuguesa (1940-1984)", in *III Conversaciones Internacionales de Historia. La historiografía en Occidente desde 1945*, Pamplona, EUNSA, 1985, pp. 51-67; HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "O Medievismo em liberdade: Portugal, anos 70 anos 90", *Signum. Revista da ABREM. Associação Brasileira de Estudos Medievais*, no. 3 (2001), pp. 173-206; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "A História Medieval Portuguesa – Caminhos Percorridos e a Percorrer", *Media Ætas. Boletim do Núcleo de História Medieval. Universidade dos Açores*, no. 1 (1990), pp. 1-17; and IDEM, "Historiographie et état actuel de la recherche sur le Portugal au Moyen Âge", *Memini. Travaux et Documents*, nos. 9-10 (2005-2006), pp. 9-60.

<sup>92</sup> Published in *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 22 (1988), pp. 115-138.



by following the development of urban history, the authors present some comments on the work on municipal institutions and the role of municipalities in structuring medieval Portugal<sup>93</sup>.

Soon after, Humberto Baquero Moreno, Luís Miguel Duarte and Luís Carlos Amaral produced, in 1991, a synthesis on the *História da Administração Portuguesa na Idade Média*<sup>94</sup>, opening a field specifically on municipalities, disseminating the most recent studies, which, at the time, covered different perspectives on the topic<sup>95</sup>. In 1998, at a colloquium at the University of Minho, we presented to the section on “History and Historiography” the communication *A História e a Historiografia Municipal Portuguesa. Problemas, fontes, métodos, realizações e contributos. Época Medieval*<sup>96</sup>, which diachronically completed those presented in the same section by Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, José Viriato Capela and Aurélio de Oliveira on municipality in the early modern and contemporary periods. We revisited and updated this synthesis on *O poder concelhio em tempos medievais – o “deve” e o “haver” historiográfico* (Municipal power in the Middle Ages – a historiographical loss-and-profit account balance), in 2002, at the “II Semana de Estudos Medievais sobre ‘Historiadores e Jus-Historiadores: a identidade e a diferença. (Estados, Instituições, Poderes, Saberes: Portugal, sécs. XII-XVII)’”, hosted by the Instituto de Documentação Histórica of the Faculdade de Letras of University of Oporto<sup>97</sup>.

Two more studies should be mentioned which, although not exactly historical, detail new aspects and doubts of the municipal program and provide bibliographical information. We are referring to the collective study mentioned earlier, namely, *A Diplomática Municipal Portuguesa*, published in 2000<sup>98</sup>, which opened up research avenues on municipal written production and memory.

The other, under the responsibility of Adelaide Costa and released in 2001, is entitled *Prosopografia das elites concelhias e análise relacional: a intersecção de duas*

<sup>93</sup> Especially pp. 131-132.

<sup>94</sup> Fittingly titled “História da Administração Portuguesa na Idade Média – um Balanço”, *Ler História*, no. 21 (1991), pp. 35-45.

<sup>95</sup> Specifically pp. 38-39.

<sup>96</sup> Published in *O Município Português na História, na Cultura e no Desenvolvimento Regional. Actas do Colóquio realizado na Universidade do Minho nos dias 4 e 5 de Junho de 1998 no âmbito do Projecto PRAXIS XXI*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1999, pp. 37-55.

<sup>97</sup> Published in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 3rd ser., vol. 7 (2006), pp. 19-34 and, translated into Spanish, “El Poder concejil en Portugal en la Edad Media. Un balance historiográfico”, *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, no. 34 (2007), pp. 77-94. Both syntheses are included in the 2nd ed. of *O Poder Concelhio...*, pp. 155-190.

<sup>98</sup> MARQUES, José Marques, COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “Diplomatique municipale portugaise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)”, in PREVENIER, W., HEMPTINE, Th. de (eds.), *La Diplomatie urbaine en Europe au Moyen Âge. Actes du Congrès de la Commission Internationale de Diplomatie, Gand, 25-29 août 1998*, Louvain-Apeldoorn, Garant, 2000, pp. 281-305.

*abordagens*<sup>99</sup>. It re-launches the discussion of the prosopographic method applied to the study of the human universe of leaders and the influential in municipalities.

In turn, Judite de Freitas published in 2005 a study on the most up-to-date bibliography of the theme of power and powers, their plurality and interrelatedness, from the central to the local, the urban and municipal to the seignuerial, lay or ecclesiastical<sup>100</sup>.

This history of the history of municipal power illustrates the up-to-date critical awareness of its scholars in the work that has been completed and yet to be conducted. It provides us with a guarantee of continuity of the research on the topic, in more consolidated or emerging areas, always taking on board new questions, methodologies and reflections that ensure its fields of interest and analytical perspectives will be rethought on a permanent basis.

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<sup>99</sup> Publ. in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares. Problemas metodológicos*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2001, pp. 63-70.

<sup>100</sup> FREITAS, Judite.A. Gonçalves de Freitas, "Les Chemins de l'histoire du pouvoir dans le médiévisme portugais (ca. 1970-ca. 2000)", *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa. História*, vols. 9-10 (2005), pp. 231-266. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my colleague Fernando Taveira da Fonseca for having helped me with the revision of this article.

# *Diplomatic Relations: Portugal and the Others*<sup>\*</sup>

*Maria João Branco,  
Mário Farelo*

## I.

### **The high Medieval Ages: Portugal and the others in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries**

#### *1.1. Looking back: difficulties, problems and antecedents*

How should we consider today the important issue of the external and diplomatic relations of a kingdom such as Portugal, which became independent in the mid-twelfth century? How can we assess their meaning and importance in the case of a new political entity which based its viability precisely on its ability to manage the relations it had established with Rome, from which it derived its legitimacy, with the neighbouring kingdoms, Christian and Muslim, from which it derived its power and territory, and with the remaining social actors of the conquered land, from which it derived its basis of support?

Is it acceptable to apply the label “foreign or international relations” to the complex process of inter-institutional relationship which united the men of power of that time in associations that involved tacit and explicit agreements of all kinds, without falling into the anachronism of trying to define them as something which in their time they never were? There is a total absence of appropriate terminology to describe how the men of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries conceived of this relationship and of its place in their thinking.

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<sup>\*</sup> Maria João Branco is the author of “I. The high Medieval Ages: Portugal and the others in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries”; Mário Farelo is the author of “II. The late medieval ages: from external relations to diplomatic practice”.

And yet, we know that they made strategic decisions concerning the best alliances at any given time, we know they assessed carefully the support and protection from and to their neighbouring kingdoms, we are aware that they consulted qualified legal experts before sending envoys in missions which today we would classify, unhesitatingly as diplomatic missions, and that there were formal meetings between kings, and between these and emperors, and between their representatives and those of the remaining powers, including the spiritual one. We know that such meetings were well prepared, though we know nothing on how they actually happened, or on what was going on in the backstage. We also have a very limited view of how formal these relations and meetings were, or of how formal it was considered that they should be, as well as of the means used in to influence and infiltrate the course of events, on the negotiations and their evolution.

These questions have worried most of the historians currently engaged in this type of study and that has been one of the strongest reasons for resorting to prosopographical and historical philological analysis, as well as to the study of the conditions of document production, increasingly reliable in the task of probing, in accurate form, the meanders and mechanisms of these negotiations and their agents.

Historians have not always been so prudent in their manner of dealing with the reality of eight hundred years ago. In the nineteenth century, very much in line with what French, Italian and German contemporaries were doing<sup>1</sup>, the Visconde de Santarém did not hesitate to entitle his work, *Quadro elementar das relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potências do mundo desde o princípio da monarquia até aos nossos dias*<sup>2</sup>. He drew his “elementary” scheme into eighteen volumes, for which it seemed as natural to him to use the term “political and diplomatic relations” for the “beginning of the monarchy” as for the time in which he was writing, and for which it seemed as appropriate to use the concept of “world powers” for the political reality of the twelfth century as for the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This work by the Visconde de Santarém did have certain virtues, nonetheless. It called attention to the existence of certain long-lasting currents in diplomatic relations, which had existed since the origins of Portugal, and it tried to place these relations within a political web which brought together what had happened to and in Portugal within a vast network on a “European” scale, including them in a broad

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<sup>1</sup> DELACROIX, Christian, DOSSE, François, and GARCIA, Patrick, *Les Courants Historiques en France 19<sup>e</sup>-20<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1999, pp. 15-41, trace the framework of these movements and trends of the nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> SANTARÉM, Visconde de, *Quadro elementar das relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potências do mundo desde o princípio da monarquia até aos nossos dias*, 18 vols., Lisbon, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, Paris, J. P. Aillaud, 1842-1876.

historical synthesis<sup>3</sup>. Awakening awareness to the role that Portugal had always played in the context of what was then called political and diplomatic relations, it alerted us to the fact that we had not existed in isolation, ever.

However disconnected from its particular medieval specificity this type of approach might have been, as indeed it was, it would perhaps have been useful to have maintained a similar perspective on the periods that followed. First, between the *Ultimatum* and the end of the monarchy, the diplomatic relations of the period so roused and concentrated spirits and attention that it was considered preferable to see Portugal as a construction derived from a single-handed heroic and separatist impetus than to accept or allow for any collaboration with those “foreign powers” that, by then, seemed perennially harmful to the national interest. Later on, the crisis of the monarchy, the First Republic and the *Estado Novo* ended up uniting, in a very specific manner, the preferences of the majority of those who devoted themselves to the study of the Middle Ages, moulding a political agenda in the official ideology in which the importance of diplomatic relations was dependent on the reality which needed to be proven: the originality of the political construct of an autonomous Nation, Portugal, whose DNA was considered totally independent from any political alliances from the beginnings of its existence<sup>4</sup>. The work of a considerable part of those generations of medievalists was thus centred on the study of events and facts which nurtured a mythography, particularly remarkable in its predilection for the study of the “formation of Portugal”, within a framework which, this time, sought to reveal within this founding moment the embryo of the *Pátria*<sup>5</sup>.

Just as in Spain, where an equally nationalistic regime also conditioned its historiographical production on an identical line<sup>6</sup>, the middle of the twentieth century was quite prolific in studies of medieval history, taken up by a generation of historians whose labour concentrated on themes of national exaltation, rather than on revising, questioning or renewing the model to which they were conforming.

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<sup>3</sup> In his continuation of the work of the Visconde de Santarém, SILVA, Luiz Augusto Rebello da, *Relações Políticas e Diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas Potências do Mundo*, Lisbon, Empresa da História de Portugal, 1910, vol. 1, pp. 7-26, called attention to how “international relations” placed “us” on a par with any of the great European nations of the period.

<sup>4</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128-1383)”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 9 (1982), pp. 142-152, called attention to the limitations of the works of these historians, which were marked by commemoralism and a liking for academic squabbles. More recently, TORRAL, Luís Reis, MENDES, José Amado, and CATROGA, Fernando, *História da História em Portugal. Séculos XIX – XX*, Lisbon, Temas e Debates, 1998, pp. 391-397.

<sup>5</sup> MATOS, Sérgio Campos, “História e identidade nacional. A formação de Portugal na historiografia contemporânea”, *Lusotopie*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2002), pp. 123-139.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for all LINEHAN, Peter, “The Court Historiographer of Francoism?: La leyenda oscura of Ramón Menéndez Pidal”, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 73, no. 4 (1996), pp. 437-450.

### 1.2. *From the 1950s to the 1980s: between Coimbra and Lisbon, the construction of a kingdom*

It was not exactly in the 1950s, but rather in the 1940s that Portugal witnessed a particular progress in the quantity and quality of historiographical work on the Middle Ages, especially in regard to questions of external policy.

The commemorations of centenaries of several very important moments in the process of constructing Portuguese identity and the state, as the current regime saw it, played an important role in these developments. These were usually signalled and commemorated with an assorted set of civic rituals, of which the holding of academic and pseudo-academic conferences was to become a major, almost compulsory feature, as well as the publication of ambitious collections of previously unpublished documental material. Fundamental for the period here under scrutiny was the eight-hundredth anniversary of the year 1140, when Afonso Henriques started to name himself king in his chancery documents, considered as the moment Portugal was born. There followed the commemoration of the eight-hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Lisbon, celebrated in 1947, and finally the commemorations of 1960, which focussed on Henrique the Navigator, but which were responsible for the emergence of monumental documentary collections in which the origins of Portugal played a major role<sup>7</sup>. In the project to promote “Portugal” and “national pride” which the Secretariado Nacional de Informação<sup>8</sup> proposed to carry out, the key message appeared to be that the golden age of Portugal had without doubt been the age of the Discoveries and the Overseas Empire, but that none of it would have been possible without the founding moment of the Middle Ages.

However, contrary to what might have been expected, this commemoration fever did not nurture any new histories of medieval Portugal, in the face of any new evidence in the documents that had been published, nor a normal willingness to renew historical studies. The medieval volumes of the *História de Portugal de Barcelos*<sup>9</sup> were reprinted over and over again, but nothing further happened in this field until the renewal that followed the 25 April 1974.

<sup>7</sup> *Documentos Medievais Portugueses* – vol 3: *Documentos particulares; Documentos Régios*, vol. 1: *Documentos dos Condes portugalenses e de D. Afonso Henriques, A.D. 1095-1185*, edited by Rui Pinto de Azevedo, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1940, 1958-62; MARQUES, João Martins da Silva, *Descobrimientos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, vol. 1, Lisbon, 1944; DINIS, António Joaquim Dias (dir.), *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. 1, Coimbra, 1960.

<sup>8</sup> Commonly known by its acronym, SNI, was the state department for the propaganda of Salazar's regime. Amongst other functions, it centralised and controlled the best part of cultural activities

<sup>9</sup> The so-called *História de Portugal de Barcelos* (PERES, Damião (dir. lit.); CERDEIRA, Eleutério (dir. art.), *História de Portugal*, 10 vols, Barcelos, Portucalense Editora, 1928-1981) was the first jointly compiled history of Portugal. The volumes referring to the Middle Ages were finished in 1931.

What it nurtured instead was a proliferation of articles by those individuals with the ability and scholarship for the making of history, written in the intellectual milieu connected to the recently re-established Academia de História<sup>10</sup>, to the *Faculdades de Letras* of Coimbra and Lisbon, and for the many conferences and commemorations of the 1940s and the 1960s, this resulted in a critical mass of articles on the origins of Portugal and its major moments, rigorous and positive, but limited in the extreme in terms of their historiographical ambitions, thus greatly limiting what could have been done by venturing beyond the frontiers of a vision too centred on Portugal<sup>11</sup>.

In this political context, it seems almost inevitable that the first works on what we might call external or diplomatic relations would appear, on the one hand, through the efforts of foreigners and, on the other, on the relations of the new kingship with Rome, focussing on relations between the peninsular dioceses in their contest with the papacy for the affirmation of their own spaces of power, both among themselves and with the emerging monarchies in Hispania in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. To study the mechanisms through which the various Hispanic kingdoms, in their own individual ways, supported and utilised the dynamics of a struggle that also affected the makeup of the powers and lands of the various peninsular dioceses, both over the long term processes and involving areas beyond the Pyrenees, in which religious and lay and individuals and their various and manifold orders of interests intermeshed, was probably the most fruitful of the interpretations and investigations of these two foreign authors. At first sight, it might seem that they were working on themes remote from the interests of Portuguese historians, but in fact they clarified such dynamics in an innovative manner, through adopting a much wider, profitable and holistic approach. We are, of course, speaking of the work of Carl Erdmann and Pierre David, who in the period around the Second

<sup>10</sup> Re-established in 1936, by legal decree, it would start functioning normally in January 1938.

<sup>11</sup> Some examples of these articles can be found in the works of Damião Peres, Paulo Mereia and Torquato Sousa Soares from the 1940s to the 1960s. See, *inter alia*, PERES, Damião, *Como nasceu Portugal*, Barcelos, Companhia Editora do Minho, 1938; IDEM, *Le Portugal dans L'histoire de la civilization*, Lisbonne, Secretariado Nacional de Informação, 1952; SOARES, Torquato Sousa, *Notas para o estudo das instituições municipais da Reconquista*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1940; IDEM, *Mãe-Pátria*, São Paulo, s.n., 1958; IDEM, *Vimara Peres restaurador da cidade de Portucale (Porto) e fundador da terra portugalense*, Oporto, s.n. [Tip. Emp. Ind. Gráfica], 1952; IDEM, *Linha de rumo da História de Portugal*, São Paulo, s.n., 1958; IDEM, *Reflexões sobre a origem e formação de Portugal*, Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Históricos, 1967; IDEM, *Algumas Reflexões sobre o sentido da História*, Luanda, Estudos Gerais, 1968; IDEM *Significado Nacional da Reconquista de Évora*, Évora, Gráfica Eborense, 1969; MERÊA, Paulo, *Algumas palavras sobre Portugal no século IX*, Lisbon, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1930; IDEM, *Algumas Palavras sobre Portugal no século onze*, Lisbon, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1931; IDEM, *Administração da terra portugalense no reinado de Fernando Magno*, Oporto, Emp. Ind. Gráfica, 1940; IDEM, *De 'Portucale' ciuitas ao Portugal de D. Henrique*, Oporto, Portucaleense, 1944.

World War studied themes central to Portuguese medieval history, in a manner that has yet to be exceeded.

Carl Erdman produced a thesis in 1928 on relations between Portugal and the Papacy, which would be translated into Portuguese in 1940<sup>12</sup>. The influence and rigour of his study, based on in-depth knowledge of the documentation exchanged between Portugal and the papal Curia, which he collected for his *Papsturkunden in Portugal*<sup>13</sup>, has not yet lost any of its pristine vigour, nor have any of his intuitions lost their pertinence. For this German author, Portugal was not so much an exemplary model of autonomy against the “Spaniards”, as it was another independent kingdom censitary of the Holy See, like so many other Christian kingdoms of the mid-twelfth century. In his analysis of relations between Portugal and Rome he took into account the context of the other Iberian kingdoms, the rivalries between the peninsular archiepiscopal being seen as expressions of political particularities along with the attempt to construct what are often anachronistically called, even today, “national churches”, with “borders” identical to those of the kingdom.

On another front, Pierre David published a series of studies later collected in a book called significantly *Études Historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal*<sup>14</sup>, a work whose title declared immediately a widened vision both of the sources and of the type of research that could be based on its analysis, along with a geographical breadth that could not conceal a renewed concept of political and ecclesiastical boundaries, always in the making, and witness to profound changes and permanent evolution. This was a kingdom crossed by cultural and religious currents common to all Christendom, as much as by their agents of dissemination, evolving in accordance with trends also affecting a considerable part of the remaining Western medieval kingdoms and their kingship. This way of seeing what was happening in the “Portuguese” territory without the limits imposed by a narrow concept of self-centred limits, which at the time circumscribed the work of most historians, brought many innovative seeds to a very conservative historiography<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> ERDMANN, Carl, *O Papado e Portugal no primeiro século da História Portuguesa*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1935. His article *A Ideia de Cruzada em Portugal*, Coimbra, Instituto Alemão da Universidade, 1940, would also have interesting consequences with regard to this topic.

<sup>13</sup> IDEM, “Papsturkunden in Portugal”, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Neue Folge 20/3, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927.

<sup>14</sup> DAVID, Pierre, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Históricos, 1947

<sup>15</sup> The works of Pierre David on the *Parochiale Suevicum* and on the *Annales Portucalenses Veteres* would only start to be questioned by the end of the century, and even then only as a consequence of the finding of new data, as viewed in the light of even sharper textual criticism. This was the case with Fernando López Alsina, on the manipulation which the *Parochiale* underwent in the eleventh century (still unpublished) as well as the works of Mattoso and Krus, summarised in MATTOSO, José, “Anais”, in LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (eds.), *Dicionário de Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Editorial Caminho, 1993, pp. 50-52. See, also, BAUTISTA, Francisco, “Breve historiografía. Listas Regias y Anales en la Península



David's way of looking at ecclesiastical careers enabled historians to discover an approach to reality that highlighted both the sources under scrutiny and the people behind them, as reflections of a society in motion where the transmission of cultural and intellectual currents, the circulation of manuscripts and religious reforms, human mobility and contacts between families and men of commerce, as well as extended, on-going conflicts seen as dynamic conflicts of progress, revealed an open and mobile society, in dialogue with the other "European" spaces and with other cultural traditions which in those days crossed the Pyrenees with great ease.

The work of Avelino de Jesus da Costa or Isaías da Rosa Pereira during the 1950s and up to the 1980s<sup>16</sup> could have benefitted from the pioneering studies of Pierre David, as too could Rui de Azevedo's<sup>17</sup> attempt to connect the study of the diplomatic characteristics of documents and religious movements with diplomatic relations and cultural contacts as supporters and agents of those contacts.

Instead all chose to devote more time to the editing of documents and to questions concerning the study of the Church as a religious institution, than to textual criticism, or the search for human relations.

Meanwhile, our more traditional historians preferred to continue working on such themes as the struggles between the Founder and his mother, or the status of Afonso Henriques with regard to Afonso VII, or on defining the precise moment when Portugal actually began, or the limits of depopulation (*ermamento*), or the supremacy of Afonso Henriques at Tui, Zamora or Valdevez<sup>18</sup>. In this process,

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Ibérica (siglos VII-XII)", *Talia Dixit*, no. 4 (2009), pp. 171- 181.

<sup>16</sup> Amongst others, COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *O bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*, 2 vols., Coimbra, 1959; IDEM, "La chancellerie royale portugaise jusqu'au milieu du XIIIe siècle", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, no. 15 (1975), pp. 143-169; IDEM, "D. João Peculiar, co-fundador do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, bispo do Oporto e arcebispo de Braga", in *Santa Cruz de Coimbra do século XI ao XX: Estudos*, Coimbra, Comissão Executiva do IX Centenário do Nascimento de S. Teotónio, 1984, pp. 59- 83 and COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, and MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes (eds.), *Bulário Português, Inocêncio III (1198-1216)*, Coimbra, INIC, 1989. Neither of these works altered the previously established conceptual framework. The works of Isaías da Rosa Pereira could be read in a more wide-ranging manner. Cf. PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, "O Canonista Petrus Hispanus Portucalensis", *Arquivo de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1968) pp. 3-18; IDEM, "Livros de Direito na Idade Média", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 7 (1964-66), pp. 7- 60, and *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 8 (1970), pp. 87-92; IDEM, "Silvestre Godinho, um canonista português", *Lumen*, no. 26 (1962), pp. 691- 698, amongst others.

<sup>17</sup> Rui de Azevedo has always had a very modern approach to his themes, opening up innovative possibilities. His works in the diplomatic field have showed in a much more effective manner than his peers the importance of inter-relationship networks which have opened the world of diplomatic relations. Cf. AZEVEDO, Rui Pinto de, *A chancelaria régia portuguesa nos séculos XII e XIII. Linhas gerais da sua evolução. Parte I- Documentos de Afonso Henriques*, Coimbra, s.n., 1938; IDEM, *Documentos falsos de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, (séculos XII e XIII)*, Lisbon, 1935; IDEM, "O Livro de Chancelaria de D. Afonso II de Portugal, (1217-1221)", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 4 (1967), pp. 35-62; IDEM, *O mosteiro de Lorvão na Reconquista Cristã*, offprint from the *Arquivo Histórico de Portugal*, vol. 1, Lisbon, 1933; IDEM, "Riba-Côa sob o domínio de Portugal no reinado de D. Afonso Henriques: o mosteiro de Santa Maria de Aguiar, de fundação portuguesa e não leonesa", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 12 (1962), pp. 231-298.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, MERÊA, Paulo, "Ainda a concessão da Terra Portuguesa", *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito*, no. 39 (1963), pp. 5-15; IDEM, "O Tratado de Tui do ponto de vista jurídico", *Revista Portuguesa*

institutional and political history became almost indistinguishable from the history of diplomatic and external relations, especially in the University of Coimbra, where, in the 1970s and 1980s, Torquato de Sousa Soares had been raised to the status of canonical reference for all matters relating to the kingdom and its infancy, without giving much attention to the surrounding context<sup>19</sup>.

Work on the presence of “foreigners” in Portugal, on the influence of jurists and canonists in the royal court, and on their importance to significant political events, or on the role of the Church in the Portuguese diplomatic context, were destined to be carried out by foreigners themselves, or to be of an exceptional and individual nature<sup>20</sup>. In this context, the work of António Domingues de Sousa Costa is a further example of work exceptionally relevant to the topic of concern here, particularly with regard to the diplomatic consequences<sup>21</sup>. But, once again, almost without followers.

In Lisbon, from the 1940s, Virgínia Rau and her pupils had carried out pioneering incursions into economic and social history, specialising on issues related to the late Middle Ages. At this level, and as would later be the case with the school of Oporto, the first attempts at studying the role of ambassadors and embassies would be undertaken with regard to dealings with Africa and with the Italian and Mediterranean world, combining external with commercial and cultural relations, but always sticking to a chronology within the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

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*de História*, t. 6 (1964), pp. 5-25; SOARES, Torquato de Sousa, *Despovoamento e repovoamento do norte de Portugal nos séculos VIII ao XI*, offprint from the *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 19 (1982); IDEM, *Contribuição para o estudo das origens do povo português*, Sá da Bandeira, Universidade de Luanda, 1970; IDEM, “Carácter e limites do Condado portugalense”, in ACADEMIA PORTUGUESA DA HISTÓRIA, *Papel das áreas regionais na formação de Portugal: actas*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1975, pp. 9-21.

<sup>19</sup> IDEM, “O governo do conde D. Henrique de Borgonha”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 14 (1975) pp. 365-397; and IDEM, “O governo de Portugal pela infanta-rainha D. Teresa (1112-1128)”, in ACADEMIA PORTUGUESA DA HISTÓRIA, *Colectânea de Estudos em Honra do Prof. Damião Peres*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1974, pp. 99-119, did not actually cover reality outside Portugal, and the obvious relationship with the Leonese monarchy. An exception is IDEM, “Reconhecimento “de Jure” da independência de Portugal”, offprint of *Portugal, um estado de direito com oitocentos anos – Bula “Manifestis Probatum” de 23 de Maio de 1179*, Braga, Barbosa & Xavier, 1981, pp. 13-21, and PEREIRA, Marcelino, “Um desconhecido tratado entre Sancho I de Portugal e Afonso IX de Leão (solução das arras da rainha D. Teresa)”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 17 (1977), pp. 105-131.

<sup>20</sup> Before this DEFOURNEAUX, Marcelin, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1949, and REUTER, Abiah Elisabeth, *Königtum und Episkopat in Portugal im 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Walther Rothschild, 1928. Cf. also MACHADO, L. “Os ingleses em Portugal”, *Biblos*, nos. 9-10 (1933-34), pp. 559-563. Later, PRADALIÉ, Gérard., “Les faux de la cathédrale et la crise à Coïmbre au début du XII siècle”, *Mélanges de la Casa Velasquez*, no. 10 (1974), pp. 77-98; GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio, “Canonistas portugueses medievales”, in *Estudios sobre la canonística portuguesa medieval*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976, pp. 95-153, IDEM, “La canonización de S. Rosendo de Dumio”, *ibid.*, pp. 157-172; IDEM, *Laurentius Hispanus. Datos biográficos y estudio crítico de sus obras*, Roma, Delegación de Roma; Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, 1956; FEIGE, Peter, “Die Anfänge des portugiesischen Königtums und seiner Landeskirsche”, *Spanische Forschungen der Gorresgesellschaft*, 29 (1978), pp. 85-436.

<sup>21</sup> Maxime COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, Juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs*, Braga, s.n., 1963.

It would be only in the 1960s and 1970s, marked first by the thesis by Oliveira Marques on *Hansa e Portugal Na Idade Média* in 1960<sup>22</sup>, and, secondly, by the work José Mattoso developed in Louvain on the *Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*, published in 1968<sup>23</sup>, that a real change in the historiographical paradigm would become apparent. Studies on contacts with the exterior would take off on an altogether different tack, even while revisiting the fruitful fields of commercial relations and cultural and religious currents, defining the subsequent circulation of people, together with the ideas and political and social networks of influence they necessarily established, and which were to be fundamental for the perception of what was going on.

The arrival of these two academics on the Portuguese University scene, as happened during the first half of the 1970s<sup>24</sup>, and the strength of the medieval studies undertaken during the 1980s, provided an impulse to medieval studies quite unknown until then. In very different ways, both Mattoso and Marques imposed a new vision of the history of Portugal, seeing it not just as a single, idealised reality, but rather as a political entity where the people and manners partook of the realities outside Portugal and the peninsula, and kept in contact with European counterparts.

The *História de Portugal* that Oliveira Marques published in January 1974 for the first time (in Portuguese), already reflected a concept of medieval Portugal that was very different from what had hitherto characterised the genre<sup>25</sup>, and foreshadowed the irreversible change that would be consummated in and after the 1980s.

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<sup>22</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, author's edition, 1959 (second edition corrected and enlarged, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1993), *maxime* in chap. 1.

<sup>23</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Le Monachisme Ibérique et Cluny: les monastères du diocèse de Oporto, de l'an mille à 1200*, Louvain, Université de Louvain, 1968.

<sup>24</sup> Oliveira Marques had briefly taught at the Faculdade de Letras of University of Lisbon, before his exile in the United States. He would only return to higher education after the 25 April 1974.

<sup>25</sup> This was clearly a work for dissemination, a "manual for the use of students and others curious about issues relating to the country's past" ("[m]anual para uso de estudantes e outros curiosos por assuntos do passado pátrio"), as was stated on the face of the fourth edition (MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *História de Portugal: desde os tempos mais antigos até ao governo do Sr. Pinheiro de Azevedo*, Lisbon, Pallas Editora, 1977) dedicated to António José Saraiva and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, it considered Portugal in the period of the Reconquest as a reality divided into North and South and was amongst the first to study the Islamic reality in its own right as well as to include the socioeconomic reality of the kingdom in the consideration of the general context.

### 1.3. *From the 1980s to the present day: new horizons for Portugal and the Others*

For the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the renovation began, above all, with the work of José Mattoso who established, during the 1980s, his “golden decade” of historiographical production, importing new standards and new lines along which relations between the peninsular kingdoms, and between them and the remaining “European” realms, might be seen and studied. In his own intellectual history, works on monasticism in the Entre Douro e Minho region revealed the proximity of that region to the universe of the nobility, and of that same nobility to the ones of Galicia and León, as well as their close collaboration with the other peninsular kings. Insensibly, his study of mentalities and religious movements would lead to his interest in the affirmation of the kingdom as a result of the influence of the religious orders and the penetration of their ideas in court. The study of the kingdom as an entity led to the study of its identity, or rather, of the construction of that identity and from there to the question of the ways in which this new political body came to be represented, seemed a natural next step to take. It had considerable repercussions in opening up new paths for future researchers, wishing to study the diplomacy of these initial centuries.

With his program of looking at the history of Portugal from a different perspective, Mattoso soon revisited the concept, shared and cherished by geographers and ethnographers, of a Portugal divided between North and South, with specific traditions and important particularities, in an attempt to explain how it had been possible to establish a unified, independent and autonomous political unit in such a bipolarised territory. In this context, questions about the political relations of Portugal with the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, and about cultural relations with the world beyond the Pyrenees, assumed an importance that they had hitherto not been assigned<sup>26</sup>. Nevertheless, the search was directed more towards understanding how cohesion had been possible at an internal level, than to understanding how that strength had been exercised at an external level, and how it had influenced political events and the affirmation of Portugal as a kingdom in its own right among its peers. Relations between the several different kingdoms, and their means of contact with each other, came about more as a by-product than as an objective in Mattoso’s work, until the moment when a concern with the role of Portugal in Europe began to be

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. MATTOSO, José, “A formação de Portugal e a Península Ibérica nos séculos XII e XIII”, in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1987, pp. 49-71, where the Iberian dimension is essential and IDEM, “Monges e Clérigos portadores da Cultura Francesa em Portugal (séculos XII e XIII)”, in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval. Novas interpretações*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1985, pp. 365-387, with this latter text still considered as being very relevant and contemporary, due to the dimension that the transmission of trends of thought had in the context of diplomatic relations.

part of his intellectual queries<sup>27</sup> and, consequently, shifted once again the vectors of his historical interests.

José Mattoso's interest in this theme, which perhaps began when he commented critically on Herculano's *História de Portugal* for the new Bertrand edition, continued in the chapters he wrote for the *História de Portugal* coordinated by José Hermano Saraiva, matured and expanded further in his *Identificação de um país*, and was most widely disseminated in his contribution to the *História de Portugal* published by the *Círculo de Leitores*, where he was able to return to many of the ideas put forward in earlier works, re-enacting them with a different amplitude and dimension<sup>28</sup>. The name he gave to his chapter on "Portugal" in the ninth to eleventh centuries was, significantly, "Portugal no reino Asturiano-leonês" (Portugal in the Asturian-Leonese kingdom)<sup>29</sup>, thus consummating his long term innovative line of approach to external relations that envisaged the diplomatic game as something vaster and more all-embracing than the earlier heroic vision of the founding impetus of a dynasty as the motor for Portugal's independence.

Such changes of perspective should have been sufficient to arouse fresh interest in the external dimensions of the political, commercial and cultural reality of the new Portuguese formation. It was not to be, however. Even the dealings with the Holy See, where the study of diplomatic relations shines so clearly, have been

<sup>27</sup> Selecting from a vast bibliography: IDEM, "Cluny, Crúzios e Cistercienses na formação de Portugal", *ibid.*, pp. 101-121; IDEM, "As relações de Portugal com Castela no reinado de Afonso X", in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval...*, pp. 73-94; IDEM, *Identificação de um País, ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325*, 5th ed. [1st edition, 1985], 2 vols., Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1995; IDEM, "A nobreza medieval galaico-portuguesa: a identidade e a diferença", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval...*, pp. 171-196; IDEM, *A nobreza medieval Portuguesa. A família e o poder*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1980; IDEM, *Portugal Medieval. Novas Interpretações...*; IDEM, "A realeza de Afonso Henriques", in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval...*, pp. 213-233; IDEM, "A região de Arganil: de fronteira a terra senhorial", in MATTOSO, José, *A nobreza medieval Portuguesa...*, pp. 313-327; IDEM, "As três faces de Afonso Henriques", *Penélope*, no. 8 (1992), pp. 25-42; IDEM, "Les origines de L'État portugais (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)", in HENRI, Bress, et al. (dirs.), *Genèse de L'État Moderne en Méditerranée. Approches Historiques et anthropologique des pratiques et des Représentations*, Rome, École Française de Rome, 1993; IDEM, "Para a revisão da história das relações entre Portugal e Espanha", *Encuentros-Encontros. Revista hispano-portuguesa de Investigadores en Ciencias Humanas y Sociales*, no. 2 (1993), pp. 75-89; IDEM, "Portugal e a Europa", in MATTOSO, José, *A Escrita da História, Teoria e Métodos*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1988, pp. 129-152.

<sup>28</sup> IDEM, preface and other notes to HERCULANO, Alexandre, *História de Portugal*, vols. 1-4, Lisbon, Bertrand, 1980; IDEM, "O condado portucalense", "D. Afonso Henriques", "Sancho I, O Povoador", "Afonso II, o Gordo", "Sancho II, o Capelo", in SARAIVA, José Hermano (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Alfa, 1984, pp. 3-155; IDEM, *Identificação de um País...*; IDEM, "Portugal no Reino Asturiano-leonês", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Antes de Portugal*, coordinated by José Mattoso, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1992, pp. 441-565; IDEM, "A Formação da Nacionalidade no Espaço Ibérico", "Dois séculos de vicissitudes políticas", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 2: *A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*, coordinated by José Mattoso, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1993, pp. 11-21 and 23-309.

<sup>29</sup> IDEM, "Portugal no Reino Asturiano-leonês", in MATTOSO, José (Dir.), *História de Portugal...* vol. 1, pp. 441-565; in a similar line, see BRANCO, Maria João, "Portugal no reino de Leon. Etapas de uma relação (866-1179)", in FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN, José Maria (dir.), *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*. vol. 4: *La Monarquía (1109-1230)*, León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1993, pp. 537-625.

relatively little developed, consisting mainly in a couple of doctoral theses about Portugal and the Holy See during the thirteenth century, and in several articles, smaller in scope<sup>30</sup>. Even with the positive indicators of the last decade, this area, where so much still remains to be done, and which can provide such clarification of mental processes and practical procedures, in particular in the fields of study of conflict between kings, popes and bishops and their respective international networks, and also for the study of the penetration of canonical and civil law, and the study of legal processes and their agents, is one which has not been developed as much as it deserves.

In truth, it seems that diplomatic relations are destined for treatment in a form that we can designate “indirect” rather than direct manner. This has been the case with doctoral theses and papers on the diplomatics, chanceries and culture of religious institutions, whose activities and influence are so close to the kings that they enable us to learn about obvious connections to central power and its extra-Portuguese relationship policies<sup>31</sup>, as well as to deepen our knowledge of ecclesiastical careers, along with the comings and goings of legal and religious experts who worked alongside kings as advisors on all matters of governance including relations with other powers<sup>32</sup>. These approaches have seen some progress, but less than expected. This also applies to studies of the nobility and their networks, and their multifaceted presence in the peninsular and extra-peninsular courts<sup>33</sup>, to studies of war and the construction of territory and its

<sup>30</sup> VELOSO, Maria Teresa, *D. Afonso II: Relações de Portugal com a Santa Sé durante o seu reinado*, Coimbra, Archivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 2000; MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes, *O Papado e Portugal no tempo de Afonso III (1245-1278)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1990.

<sup>31</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *In Limine Conscriptiois. Documentos, Chancelaria e Cultura no mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, séculos XII a XIV*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura; VISEU, Palimage, 2007; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *A Sé de Coimbra. A Instituição e a Chancelaria (1080-1318)*, Lisbon, FCG, 2010; CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e, *A chancelaria arquiépiscopal de Braga (1071-1244)*, Noia, Editorial Toxosoutos, 2005, are good examples of how these studies illuminate the relations between religious institutions and the central power and their neighbours.

<sup>32</sup> FLEISCH, Ingo, *Sacerdotium – Regnum – Studium: Der westiberische Raum und die europäische Universitätskultur im Hochmittelalter. Prosopographische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien*, Münster, LIT Verlag, 2006, and BRANCO, Maria João, *Poder Real e Eclesiásticos: a evolução do conceito de soberania régia e a sua relação com a praxis política de Sancho I e Afonso II*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1999, multicopied doctoral thesis; LINEHAN, Peter, “Spanish Litigants and their Agents at the 13th century Papal Curia”, in LINEHAN, Peter, *Past and Present in Medieval Spain*, Aldershot, Variorum-Ashgate, 1992, pp. 487-501; IDEM, “Patronage and indebtedness: Portugal, Castille and the Papal Court around the year 1300”, *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, no. 34 (2007), pp. 147-158.

<sup>33</sup> Above all in the works of Leontina Ventura, not just her thesis (VENTURA, Leontina, *A nobreza de corte de Afonso III*, 2 vols., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1992, multicopied doctoral thesis) but also what she had recently been publishing regarding the knights of Coimbra and their associations. More recently, work has been carried out by various Spanish researchers, such as CALDERÓN MEDINA, Inés, *Cum magnatibus regni mei. El poder regio y la nobleza leonesa durante los reinados de Fernando II y Alfonso IX de León (1157-1230)*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid (doctoral thesis, in press), and IDEM, “La nobleza portuguesa al servicio de los reyes de León, 1157-1187. Pero Pais de Maia y Vasco Fernandes de Soverosa”, in JIMÉNEZ ALCÁZAR, Juan Francisco, et al. (eds.), *Actas del IV Simposio Internacional de Jóvenes Medievalistas, Lorca 2008*, Murcia,

boundaries<sup>34</sup>, as well as to studies of matrimonial strategies, alliances and the circulation of nobles from the upper aristocracy<sup>35</sup>, which have, in an exemplary manner, shown the mobility of these men and women, who were equally, whenever necessary, emissaries for royal power and other institutions. In this context, Luis Krus produced an original thesis about the mental conceptions of the nobility, demonstrating the relational and “international” aspect of the networks of influence of the nobility in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, and highlighting the definitely non-“Portuguese” character of those who, through belonging to the dominant group, occupied and defined the territory. Their sense of belonging, as was the case with ecclesiastic individuals, connected them to a much more “Hispanic” than merely “Portuguese” dimension, thus continually crossing the limits of a physical boundary that was too narrow for the ambitions of groups with traditionally much broader and transversal relations<sup>36</sup>.

It is nevertheless quite difficult to find, for this period, studies that devote themselves exclusively to bilateral relations between Portugal and other realms, although some papers sporadically address the topic, where the settlement of agreements or peace pacts and the circulation of nobles among peninsular courts is the primary focus<sup>37</sup>. An exception to this void is the conquest of Lisbon, which has aroused a far more interest than other themes, where these same intersections might have gathered identical interest<sup>38</sup>, as well as the correlated universe of the

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Universidad de Murcia / Ayuntamiento de Lorca / Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio / Fundación Cajamurcia-Lorcatut / Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2009, pp. 39-49.

<sup>34</sup> As for war, see the article in this collection. Also see LAY, Stephen, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal. Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier*, London, Palgrave, 2008.

<sup>35</sup> CALDERÓN MEDINA, Inés, “Las arras de la reina Teresa, el tratado entre Sancho I de Portugal y Alfonso IX de León”, in MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, Pascual, and DEL VAL VALDIVIESO, María Isabel (dirs.), *Castilla y la sociedad feudal. Estudios en homenaje al profesor D. Julio Valdeón Baroque*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2009, vol 2, pp. 443- 455. See also the articles in this collection on nobility and women.

<sup>36</sup> KRUS, Luís, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico (1280-1380)*, Lisbon, FCG, 1994. With regard to this feeling for jurists, cf. BRANCO, Maria João, “Estados Pátrias e Nações nos juristas hispânicos dos séculos XII e XIII”, *Cultura*, no. 15 (2002), pp. 21-46.

<sup>37</sup> Cases where these dynamics were evident, though not “directly” related to the theme, are ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, KRUS, Luis, and MATTOSO, José, *O Castelo e a Feira. A Terra de Santa Maria nos séculos XI a XIII*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1989; DAVID, Henrique, and PIZARRO, José Augusto, “Nobres portugueses em Leão e Castela: século XIII”, *Revista de História*, 9 (1989), pp. 63-75; BRANCO, Maria João, “Nobles, Eclesiásticos y reyes en las cortes leonesa y portuguesas: escenas de la ‘vida cotidiana’ (1109-1157)”, in FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN, José Maria (dir.), *Monarquía y Sociedad en el Reino de León: de Alfonso III a Alfonso VII*, Actas del congreso internacional, León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 733-76. Some new papers on treaties, now analysed from diverse perspectives, are bringing some novelty to the topic. See CALDERÓN MEDINA, Inés, “Los tratados de paz entre León y Portugal (1191- 1219). La intervención nobiliária en el mantenimiento de la paz”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al. (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade na Idade Média: proceedings from the “VI jornadas luso-espanholas de estudos Medievais”*, Porto de Mós / Alcobaça / Batalha, SPem, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 91-117.

<sup>38</sup> DAVID, Pierre, “Sur la relation de Lisbonne (1147) rédigée par un clerc anglo-normand”, *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, vol. 2, no. 11 (1947), pp. 241-254, and AZEVEDO, Rui de, “A Carta ou Memória do Cruzado Inglês R. para Osberto de Bawdsey sobre a conquista de Lisbon em 1147”, *Revista Portuguesa de*

Portuguese reconquest, a case in which the multitude of foreign participators and the contribution of the Crusaders has already opened doors to research in which the collaboration of these men is obvious and enlightening, and where some pioneering work is currently in progress<sup>39</sup>.

Despite those important exceptions, it feels as if most of the time the Portuguese are still too confined by their inferiority complex and their myth of systemic backwardness, to allow themselves to conceive of the kingdom as a political reality with full rights and as a partaker of the structures common to other European states, even in the twelfth and thirteenth century when it genuinely did. The all-but complete absence of references to the history of diplomacy and external relations that characterise almost all historiographical overviews, purporting over the last decade to synthesise the state of the art in regard to studies of power in medieval Portugal, is well known, and even comprehensible<sup>40</sup>. However, despite this pessimistic view of the status of such studies in Portugal, some things have been changing.

In recent years, work on external relations seems to have made some progress, stimulated both by the work of foreigners, and by a younger generation of Portuguese doctorate students whose theses allow us to predict changes, at this level and in the short term, in the historiographical perspective.

Even for the not-so-young generation, signs of change in the last decade and a half have begun to be manifest. A significant number of colloquia and conferences, held between 1985 and 2005, considered topics where diplomatic relations – or at least the relationships between the various peninsular kingdoms – were covered in

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*História*, no. 7 (1957), pp. 343-370; RUSSELL, Josiah Cox, "Ranulf de Glanville", *Speculum*, no. 45 (1970), pp. 69-79; LIVERMORE, Harold, "The 'Conquest of Lisbon' and its Author", *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 6 (1990), pp. 1-16; EDINGTON, Susan B., "The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade", *Historical Research*, no. 170 (1996), pp. 328-339; BRANCO, Maria João, "A conquista de Lisboa revisitada: estratégias de ocupação do espaço político, físico e simbólico", in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães, Actas do Congresso*, vol. 2: *A política portuguesa e as suas relações exteriores*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães; [Braga], Universidade do Minho, 1997, pp. 121-137; EADEM, "A conquista de Lisboa na estratégia de um poder que se consolida", introduction to *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros: relato de um cruzado*, (translation and revised edition by Aires Augusto Nascimento), Lisbon, Vega, 2001; PEREIRA, Armando, "Guerra e santidade: o cavaleiro-mártir Henrique de Bona e a conquista cristã de Lisboa", in KRUS, Luís, MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide, and ALARCÃO, Miguel (coords.), *A Nova Lisboa Medieval*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2005, pp. 51-73; LAY, Stephen, "Miracles, martyrs and the cult of Henry the crusader in Lisbon", *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2009), pp. 7-46.

<sup>39</sup> PEREIRA, Armando, *Representações da guerra no Portugal da Reconquista (séculos XI-XIII)*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2003. This author is currently working on his doctoral thesis on the representations of the Crusades and the Reconquest by contemporary non-Portuguese authors.

<sup>40</sup> See, for all, FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, "Les chemins de l'histoire du pouvoir dans le médiévisme portugais (ca 1970-ca 2000)", *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, no. 8 (2003-2004), pp. 81-98 (available online at: <http://cem.revues.org/document927.html>); EADEM, "La médiévistique au Portugal (1970-2005): genèses, héritages et innovations", in MAGNANI, Eliana (dir.), *Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs: voix croisées d'Amérique latine et d'Europe*, Dijon, Éditions Universitaires de Dijon, 2010, pp. 151-173.



the programs, in sections on “diplomatic relations”, “international relations” and “external relations”<sup>41</sup>. This tendency has affirmed itself very strongly in some of the important colloquia of the last five years, devoted to the mental construction of a politically affirmed Iberian Peninsula within its European context. The same can be said of recent works of homage to medievalists where the theme is prominent. Taken together, these initiatives have led to a number of publications, where the issue of “external relations” now has a permanent place, if not a central one<sup>42</sup>.

The traditional assertion that documentation for this type of study is scanty is true only if we limit our inquiry to embassy reports, peace treaties or formal declarations of war.

Indeed, documentation abounds if we search for it in such sources as the copious correspondence with Rome, or in other less obvious sources, such as the pay-rolls of the kings of England, as did Patricia Odber de Baubeta<sup>43</sup>, or in those of the court of Filipe Augusto, suggested by Francisco Hernández, or, finally, if we look for it in the highly profitable, multi-purpose commercial relations, including the information provided by agents on the topic of diplomatic relations. Information will not be lacking, for example, if we look for it in the propagation of ideas and circulation of texts, as demonstrated by the pioneering study by Anne Duggan on the early reception of Beckett in Alcobça<sup>44</sup>, or the work of Aires de Nascimento on the circulation of Portuguese manuscripts<sup>45</sup>. Documentation is also rich in

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<sup>41</sup> This has invariably been the case, almost inherently, for the Luso-Spanish conferences of the Societies for Medieval Studies (see footnotes 70, 71 and 73 below) and the conferences on military orders organised by Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes in Palmela (see the chapter “The Military Orders”). This was also the case with the “2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães”, the second volume of which is entitled “A política portuguesa e suas relações exteriores” (2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães, *Actas do Congresso...*).

<sup>42</sup> The collections which pay tribute to medievalists such as José Marques and Humberto Baquero Moreno, Luís Adão da Fonseca, and Iria Gonçalves are representative of that change, as well as the meetings which have taken place, mainly in the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon, with titles such as “Da Hispânia à Ibéria – Discursos Identitários na Península Ibérica”, held in 2007, FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, et al. (eds.), *Nação e Identidades-Portugal, os Portugueses e os Outros*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2009 (held in 2005) and the Colloquium “Afonso Henriques: em torno da criação e consolidação das monarquias do Ocidente Europeu (séculos XII-XIII). Identidades e Liminaridades” (held in 2009, in press).

<sup>43</sup> BAUBETA, Patricia Anne Odber, “Some Early English Sources of Portuguese History”, *Estudos Medievais*, no. 9 (1988), pp. 201-210.

<sup>44</sup> DUGGAN, Anne J., “Aspects of anglo-portuguese relations in the twelfth century. Manuscripts, Relics, Decretals and the cult of St. Thomas Becket at Lórvão, Alcobça and Tomar”, *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 14 (1998), pp. 1-19.

<sup>45</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Livros e Claustro no século XIII em Portugal. O inventário da Livraria de S. Vicente de Fora em Lisbon”, *Didaskalia*, vol. 15 (1985), pp. 229-242; IDEM, “O Scriptorium de Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Momentos da sua História”, in NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and MEIRINHOS, José F. (coords.), *Catálogo dos Códices de Mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública e Municipal do Oporto*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1997, pp. 1xix-xcv; IDEM, “Concentração, dispersão e dependências na circulação de manuscritos em Portugal, nos séculos XII e XIII”, in *Coloquio sobre circulación de codices y escritos entre Europa y la Peninsula en los siglos VIII- XIII (16-19 Septiembre 1982)*, proceedings from the colloquium, Santiago de Compostela, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1988, pp. 61-85.

information about the large European network set up by intellectuals and jurists along with their webs of influence. Consider the role that the Hispanic cardinals of those centuries took on as true ambassadors of Iberian interests at the Roman Curia<sup>46</sup>, or how a community of men truly “international”<sup>47</sup> managed to establish networks of influence that determined the success of political events such as the abdication of King Sancho II<sup>48</sup>.

In fact, what we lack are not so much sources for the study of the diplomacy of these centuries, but a fresh approach to questioning them. If we think of the circulation of persons, goods, ideas and books, delegated powers, legacies and peace treaties, jointures and endowments, settlement agreements, changing of alliances, truces and peace treaties, the legitimation of heirs, the negotiation and mediation of pacts, either in a pacific or in a warlike manner, we can agree that we are deeply immersed in the world of the most traditional diplomatic history. However, for the centuries considered here, we will also be immersed in the world of informal diplomatic processes and contacts, of networks of clients, of the influence of the spoken and unspoken word, of pragmatic knowledge and legal expertise, of brute force and unexpected outcomes. We will be in the world of men who earn individual prominence *qua* members of a specific group, but who reveal to us their milieu, and their worldview through what their lives and works reflect of them.

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<sup>46</sup> BRANCO, Maria João, “Portuguese Ecclesiastics and Portuguese affairs near the Spanish Cardinals in the Roman Cúria (1213-1254)”, in *Carreiras Eclesiásticas no Ocidente cristão (séc. XII-XIV)*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2007, pp. 79-100; FLEISCH, Ingo, “Rom und die Iberische Halbinsel: das Personal der papstlichen Legationen und Gesandtschaften im 12. Jahrhundert”, in JOHRENDT, Jochen, and MÜLLER, Harald. (eds.), *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III*, Berlin / New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 135-189; IDEM, “Legados Papales como Intermediarios de Normas Jurídicas y Valores Culturales”, in DOMÍNGUEZ SÁNCHEZ, Santiago, and HERBERS, Klaus (eds.), *Roma y la Península Ibérica en la Alta Edad Media. La construcción de espacios, normas y redes de relación*, León, Universidad de León; Göttingen, Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 2009, pp. 135-155; LINEHAN, Peter, “A Papal legation and its aftermath: cardinal John of Abbeville in Spain and Portugal, 1228-1229”, in BIROCHCHI, Italo, et al. (eds.), *A Ennio Cortese*, Roma, Il Cigno GG Edizioni, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 236-56; IDEM, “The case of the impugned chirograph and the juristic culture of early 13th century Zamora”, in COLLI, Gaetano, et al. (eds) *Manoscritti, editori e biblioteche tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi offerti a Domenico Maffei*, Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2006, pp. 461-513; IDEM, “*Columpna Firmissima*: D. Gil Torres, the cardinal of Zamora”, in BARTON, Simon and LINEHAN, Peter (eds.), *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 241-263.

<sup>47</sup> From the classic work of Artur Moreira de Sá and Francisco da Gama Caeiro (see the references to the chapter on intellectual history, by José Meirinhos) and the thesis by José Antunes, and including the school of the History of Culture and Philosophy of Oporto, to the more recent projects of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae*, progress has been considerable, reflected in the migrations and contacts of people and ways of being and living, with obvious political reflexes. Cf. *A Igreja e o Clero Português no Contexto Europeu. The Church and the Portuguese Clergy in the European Context*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2005, and *Carreiras Eclesiásticas no Ocidente Cristão (séc. XII-XIV). Ecclesiastical Careers in Western Christianity (12th-14th c.)*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2007.

<sup>48</sup> PETERS, Edward, *The Shadow King. Rex Inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature, 715-1327*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970; FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, *Sancho II, Tragédia*, Lisbon, Circulo de Leitores, 2006, pp. 221-248.

The research lines which are begging to be traced are basically those which have been outlined since Virginia Rau, Pierre David and Carl Erdmann: the great and rich seam of the relations with Rome still has much to teach us, as do ecclesiastic, religious and cultural relations, along with commercial relationships. All these feed continuously in a powerful way what we know about the political relations between sovereign powers and their rivals. The construction of prosopography and the use of unexplored funds in archives outside Portugal, seem to bear as much promises as the badly needed return to textual criticism of the documentary and narrative evidence.

The study of the circulation of manuscripts, ideas and individuals, of their mobility, importance and influence in the universes of commerce, law, medicine and war, in collective or individual efforts, can still be as fruitful as the return to the study of matrimonial strategies and the resulting political alliances in that type of connections, now seen in their compact making and contractual nature, and over the long duration. To accomplish this requires an almost anthropological perspective, drawing on contemporary tools and concepts ways that sociologists and anthropologists can teach us. We have to strive so that the concepts of practice, of *habitus*, of power relations and kinship structures enter into the mental lexicon of those working in the world of diplomacy where everything was so tightly interconnected and in which it would be wrong to try and see any relationship as stable or institutionalised, neither the power relations themselves, nor their designation. To work on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we need to know how to decode the materials that we have, interpreting them both in terms of what they seem to be, and also as what they want to appear to be. We will certainly find many more aspects than we anticipate in those mysterious first centuries of the existence of Portugal. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provide, yet again, a different reality, and that is also what the historiography reflects.

## II.

## The late medieval ages: from external relations to diplomatic practice

2.1. *From the 1950s to the mid-1980s*

When, in the middle of the twentieth century, the study of foreign relations was enriched by fresh theories from abroad on its features and objectives in the light of international relations, the subject experienced in our case some difficulty in disentangling itself from the legal and institutional matrix of the nineteenth century positivist model of diplomatic history, which had characterised French historiography during the first half of the twentieth century and which in Portugal had produced important work on the dissemination of documents<sup>49</sup>. The evidence is particularly true for the 1950s, when the history of the foreign relations woven by the Portuguese crown in medieval times was regarded as an aspect of political history, oriented towards the cult of national heroes, and little given to study of regal power in its institutional, representative, and ideological *facies* and the mechanisms embodying such relations (treaties, embassies, among others)<sup>50</sup>. The only exception seems to have been ecclesiastical history, where the personal investment of certain historians specialising in this type of history in the medieval period made use of foreign sources, particularly those held in Rome, to provide more in-depth knowledge of certain themes linked to major historical moments concerning the relationship of the Portuguese kingdom with the outside world, such as the Great Schism or the Expansion, which were analysed in the light of the contribution made by papal documents<sup>51</sup>.

The change in paradigm seems to have originated at the end of the 1950s, from the moment when socio-economic history based on the *Annales* obtained visibility through the activity of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, and, for the matter at hand, through the work undertaken in association with Virgínia Rau

<sup>49</sup> SANTARÉM, Visconde de (continued by Luís Augusto Rebelo da Silva), *Quadro elementar das relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potências do mundo desde o princípio da monarchia até aos nossos dias*, 18 vols, Paris, J. P. Aillaud; Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1842-1876. On the primacy of political history in the Portuguese historiography of the first half of the twentieth century, see, among others, MENDES, José Amado, "Caminhos e problemas da historiografia portuguesa", in TORRALBA, Luís Reis, MENDES, José Amado, and CATROGA, Fernando, *História da História em Portugal. Sécs. XIX-XX*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1996, pp. 390-395 [hereafter cited as *História da História...*].

<sup>50</sup> With the exception of PINTO, Sérgio da Silva, "O primeiro tratado da aliança anglo-português-Tratado de Tagilde de 10 de Julho de 1372", *Scientia Ivdrica*, t. 2 (1952), pp. 195-208.

<sup>51</sup> Compare, as an example, BAPTISTA, Júlio César, "Portugal e o Cisma do Ocidente", *Lusitânia Sacra*, t. 1 (1956), pp. 65-203, and WITTE, Charles-Martial, "Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, t. 48 (1953), pp. 683-718; t. 49 (1954), pp. 438-461; t. 51 (1956), pp. 413-453, 809-836; t. 53 (1958), pp. 5-46, 444-471.

(through the increased value awarded to certain sources<sup>52</sup>) and through that of A. H. Oliveira Marques (through his summary of external relations<sup>53</sup>). Enquiry into the justifications for diplomatic relations between the states was equally based on political grounds, firstly in a manner eminently focussed on events and the search for nexuses of causality<sup>54</sup> and then through the international work of Jorge Borges de Macedo, who rationalised Portuguese external policy in history-problem terms through a long-term consideration of security and the military element with the primacy given to the geopolitical framework<sup>55</sup>.

These truly foundational works had profoundly inspired new approaches to detail, now extended to the external relations of the Portuguese kingdom with other areas such as England or North Africa, at the hands respectively of Peter Russell<sup>56</sup> and of Torquato de Sousa Soares<sup>57</sup>. Similarly, sources hitherto little used were employed for the purpose of clarifying aspects more directly related to diplomatic activity. It is worth noting at this point Jorge and Maria José Faro's analysis of the costs incurred by the public purse for the embassies sent by the Portuguese crown to the realms and principalities of Western and Central Christianity between 1415 and 1473<sup>58</sup>. Seeing the light of day in 1961, this was an innovative piece of research both in terms of its theme and the source used, and had the same merit of focusing attention on a diplomatic mechanism as important as that of embassies.

Around the same time, the history of Portuguese medieval diplomacy continued to be enriched by valuable contributions enabling situations to be clarified

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<sup>52</sup> Through the formulas for addresses of royal letters, which enabled her to develop an evolving innovative study of the geography of the diplomatic contacts of the Portuguese crown during the reign of King Afonso V. After the initial work by Virginia Rau ("Relações diplomáticas de Portugal durante o reinado de D. Afonso V", offprint from *Aufsätze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, 4 band, Münster, Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964, pp. 247-260), historians would at various times revisit this with precisely the same purpose (DIAS, João José Alves, "Portugal e a Europa no século XV", *História*, no. 38 (December, 1981), pp. 21-25; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1987, pp. 324-327; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and DIAS, João José Alves, "Portugal na Europa Medieval", in *Actas dos V Cursos Internacionais de Verão de Cascais*, vol. 2: *Pequenos e Grandes Estados*, Cascais, Câmara Municipal de Cascais, 1999, pp. 29-44).

<sup>53</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média...*

<sup>54</sup> ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, *A Crise Nacional dos Fins do Século XIV*, vol. 1, Coimbra, s. n., 1960.

<sup>55</sup> MACEDO, Jorge Borges de, *História Diplomática Portuguesa. Constantes e Linhas de força - Estudo de Geopolítica*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Instituto de Defesa Nacional, 1988 (2nd edition revised and illustrated, Lisbon, Tribuna da História, 2006).

<sup>56</sup> RUSSELL, Peter, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1995 [Portuguese version *A intervenção inglesa na Península Ibérica durante a Guerra dos Cem Anos*, translation by Maria Ramos and proofreading by João Gouveia Monteiro, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2000] and his collection of studies *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490. Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to Henry the Navigator*, Aldershot, Variorum-Ashgate, 1995.

<sup>57</sup> SOARES, Torquato de Sousa, "Algumas observações sobre a política marroquina da Monarquia Portuguesa", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 10 (1962), pp. 509-554.

<sup>58</sup> FARO, Maria José, and FARO, Jorge, "Embaixadas enviadas pelos reis de Portugal de 1415 a 1473", in *Congresso internacional de História dos Descobrimentos, Actas*, Lisbon, Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do infante D. Henrique, 1961, vol. 3, pp. 249-270.

and, concomitantly, in the search for so-called “lines of force.” From the late 1960s, the founding work undertaken by Humberto Baquero Moreno, and Luís Adão da Fonseca was located exactly within this double perspective, whilst its appearance was based on the utilisation and exploration of a particular set of circumstances, namely documental research conducted outside Portugal in Aragon<sup>59</sup>. These two researchers limited the scope and dates of their observations, defining for the first time in depth and detail the diplomatic strategies pursued by the Portuguese crown in the mid-fifteenth century with the Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, concerned primarily with establishing their chronology and the most important facts concerning these relations, and developing explanations for the proliferation of trade and military activities<sup>60</sup>. Such analytical aspects gave rise to further in-depth and wide-ranging explanatory factors that Luís Adão da Fonseca swiftly systematised through the study of the geo-strategical coordinates of Portuguese medieval external policy, reconsidering them in the light of the two structuring axes jointly determining Portuguese action. In contrast to the traditional Atlantic quadrant<sup>61</sup>, this researcher also drew attention to the importance of the Mediterranean and the link with the kingdom of Aragon as a strategy for independence from Castile<sup>62</sup>, which Virginia Rau would subsequently emphasise in her studies of the economic relations developed by Portugal in the geographical area of Italy<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> The doctoral dissertation of Humberto Baquero Moreno considered the factors leading to the Battle of Alfarrobeira (1449) and bio/prosopographical clarification of its actors and that of Adão de Fonseca concerning the biography of the *condestável* Pedro, king of Catalonia between 1464-1466 and the son of the most important warrior to be slain at Alfarrobeira. MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira. Antecedentes e significado histórico*, Lourenço Marques, author's edition, 1973 (2nd edition, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1979-1980); FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O condestável D. Pedro de Portugal, A Ordem Militar de Avis e a Península Ibérica do seu tempo (1429-1466)*, Oporto, INIC / Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1982. His undergraduate dissertation was also based on the same individual: *O Condestável Dom Pedro de Portugal: subsídios para o estudo da sua mentalidade*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1968.

<sup>60</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “A expedição enviada pelo infante D. Pedro ao reino de Castela em 1441”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 5 (1972), pp. 59-79; IDEM, “Alguns acordos de extradição entre Portugal e Castela nos séculos XIII a XV”, *Arquivo do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 5 (1972), pp. 15-36 and in *Portugaliae Historica*, vol. 1 (1973), pp. 81-101; IDEM, “A contenda entre D. Afonso V e os reis Católicos: incursões castelhanas no solo português de 1475 a 1478”, *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 25 (1979), pp. 297-324; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *Navegación y corso en el Mediterráneo Occidental. Los Portugueses a mediados del siglo XV*, Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, 1968.

<sup>61</sup> An example in PINTO, Eduardo Augusto Alves Vera-Cruz, *Comparar a Diplomacia portuguesa no séc. XIV com a diplomacia no séc. XV*, Lisbon, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa, 1984, 17 pages, report drawn up for the course of “História Diplomática” of the degree in Law, typewritten.

<sup>62</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “Alguns aspectos das relações entre Portugal e Castela em meados do século XV (1449-1456)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 3 (1972), pp. 61-112.

<sup>63</sup> RAU, Virginia, *Portugal e o Mediterrâneo no século XV: alguns aspectos diplomáticos e económicos das relações com a Itália*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos da Marinha, 1973.

## 2.2. From the mid-1980s to the present

In this particular, the mid-1980s represent what we may consider as a new historiographical period. Firstly, because the work of synthesising undertaken enabled a deepening and systematising of knowledge concerning external and diplomatic relations in the Portuguese Middle Ages. These mainly involved explanations at the global level, even if in-depth approaches remained *grosso modo* limited to the mid-fifteenth century and for a very specific geographical area. Secondly, because the explanatory basis of Portuguese medieval diplomatic policy had been enriched by studying the role of trade, familiar to Portuguese and Spanish researchers, in greater depth resulting in a sharing of experience between both medievalist communities<sup>64</sup>.

On a first level of analysis, it must be considered symptomatic that the topic was identified through the drawing up of diachronic syntheses specifically relating to the international relations of the Portuguese kingdom. Not only addressing the Middle Ages, the legal expertise of its creators considered the approach to the medieval period as a function of a diplomacy designed to be driven by the individual action of its agents and the legal features of the documents produced, read in the light of an interpretation of their legal and political nature guided by key events selected from matrimonial alliances, wars and the analysis of treaties<sup>65</sup>.

Against this backdrop, it is worth mentioning A. H. de Oliveira Marques's publication in 1987 of a synthesis of Portuguese medieval diplomatic relations in the fourth volume of the *Nova História de Portugal*, which he coordinated along with Joel Serrão<sup>66</sup>. The pursuit of these interpretive pathways of a geopolitical nature could

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<sup>64</sup> In addition to the work of Adão da Fonseca and Virginia Rau previously mentioned, we can think specifically of HINOJOSA MONTALVO, José Ramon, "De Valencia a Portugal y Flandes: Relaciones durante la Baja Edad Media", *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia medieval*, vol. 1 (1982), pp. 149-168; TERÁN SÁNCHEZ, Antonio Collantes de, "Las relaciones entre Sevilla y Portugal en el siglo XV", in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (org.), *Actas das I Jornadas de Historia Medieval do Algarve e Andaluzia*, Loulé, Câmara Municipal de Loulé, 1987, pp. 91-100.

<sup>65</sup> This period also produced a bibliographic study by BRANDÃO, Francisco da Costa, *Para uma bibliografia da História Diplomática de Portugal*, Lisbon, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 1989. Regarding the summaries, it should be taken into consideration that these had their origins in the teaching of courses on "História da Diplomática Portuguesa" in the *Faculdades de Direito*, where the subject had to be analysed diachronically with the central theme being the legal perspective of relations between states, the most well-known of which being MARTÍNEZ, Pedro Soares, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, Lisbon, Editorial Verbo, 1986 (2nd edition, Lisbon, Verbo, 1992; 3rd edition, Coimbra, Almedina, 2010). The aforementioned text can be compared with the version that this author has prepared since at least 1981 for the teaching of his course (*História Diplomática*, Lisbon, s. n., 1981-1982, 512 pp.). José Amado Mendes had previously called attention to the dichotomy of diplomatic historians being authors who were at the same time career diplomats and who tended to adopt a more technical political and militar perspective, whilst authors linked to the *métier* of the historian preferred to use more diverse and global explanatory frameworks ("Caminhos e problemas da historiografia portuguesa", in *História da História de Portugal...*, pp. 396-397).

<sup>66</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença,

not help but foreshadow the “new political history” that became part of Portuguese historiography exactly at the end of that decade which, however, continued to undervalue diplomatic relations in regard to other institutional expressions of power<sup>67</sup>. This conjecture was then evaluated in a greater depth in the paper produced by Maria Margarida Lalanda for her scientific-pedagogic aptitude examination, which dealt with diplomatic relations during the reign of King Afonso IV, an isolated work<sup>68</sup> in the sphere of a historiography loathe to cross the Pyrenees<sup>69</sup>.

Another indicator of the new importance awarded to the political dimension may be seen in the bilateral Portuguese-Spanish medieval history meetings held at the time, especially the Portuguese-Spanish and Hispanic-Portuguese *Jornadas* organised in conjunction with the Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais and the Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales. With regard to the present subject, the meeting in 1985 in Oporto was particularly important<sup>70</sup>, as also were the volumes celebrating, memorialising and revisiting those key moments in relations between the two kingdoms represented by the treaties of Tordesilhas (1494) and

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1987. Two years previously, this author had presented a first summary of this matter during the “II Jornadas Luso-espanholas de Estudos medievais”, which would be published four years later: IDEM, “As relações diplomáticas”, in *Actas das II jornadas luso-espanholas de Historia Medieval*, Oporto, Centro de História da Universidade do Porto / INIC, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 39-58.

<sup>67</sup> As such, the parsimony of references to the history of diplomacy in practically all historiographical summaries on power in medieval Portugal is well-known. Since there are studies done on the subject, it seems logic to question such omission. An answer may lay perhaps in the excessive collage to the political history of factual basis, the lack of maturity of the specific studies on diplomatic practice and their sources or simply the predominance of the aforementioned topics on diplomacy.... The historiographical studies considered were the following: HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “O Estado Moderno na recente Historiografia Portuguesa: historiadores do Direito e historiadores ‘toutcourt’”. 2. Uma ‘nova História política’ da Idade Média portuguesa”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (coords.), *A Gênesis do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-medieval (séc. XIII-XV)*, Lisbon, Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 1999, pp. 63-76; FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “Les chemins de l’histoire du pouvoir dans le médiévisme portugais (ca 1970-ca 2000)”..., pp. 81-98 and *Anais. Série História*, vols. 9-10 (2005), pp. 231-266; HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “Diplomática e História do Direito, raízes da “Nova” História Política”, *Cuadernos de história del Derecho*, vol. 12 (2005), pp. 43-56; DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “Sociedade e Economia Medievais: fraquezas e forças da historiografia portuguesa”, *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, no. 106/2 (2004), pp. 273-298; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “Poderes: as dimensões central e local”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 3rd ser., vol. 7 (2006), pp. 9-18; FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “La médiévisque au Portugal (1970-2005): genèses, héritages et innovations”..., pp. 151-173.

<sup>68</sup> LALANDA, Maria Margarida de Sá Nogueira, “A política externa de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)”, *Arquipélago. Série História*, vol. 11 (1989), pp. 107-151.

<sup>69</sup> With the exception of Oliveira Marques and Germany, which *grosso modo* provided him with the geographical scope of his doctoral dissertation: MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Die Beziehungen zwischen Portugal und Deutschland im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert”, *Portugiesische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft. Aufsätze*, 20 (1988), pp. 115-131.

<sup>70</sup> The proceedings of these meetings were published in three volumes between 1987 and 1989. Some of the aspects focused on, like the border cases or the formal relations between the kingdoms, were also the focus of attention at the international conference “Bartolomeu Dias e a Sua Época”, the proceedings of which were also published in 1989 under the auspices of the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses: *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a Sua Época. Actas*, 5 vols, Oporto, Universidade do Porto / CNCDP, 1989; *Actas das II jornadas luso-espanholas de Historia Medieval*, 3 vols, Oporto, Centro de História da Universidade do Porto / INIC, 1989.



Alcanises (1297)<sup>71</sup>, or more recently by the books of homage to Portuguese historians published by the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Oporto, dedicated to Humberto Baquero Moreno and José Marques<sup>72</sup>. In this regard, it is worth recalling that the theme of the “VI Jornadas Luso-espanholas de História Medieval”, held in 2008, was precisely that of war, registering the interest such work enjoyed in the Portuguese historiographical panorama<sup>73</sup>. The themes debated continued the concern for the joint study of such relationships, as for instance with the maintenance of commercial contacts, now linked to the activities of pirates and privateers<sup>74</sup>. This new topic reinforced the idea that formal relationships between the kingdoms increasingly involved the specific nature of the Luso-Castilian wars, based on recent developments in the study of armed conflict with Castile or the infidel<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O tratado de Tordesillas e a diplomacia luso-castelhana no século XV*, Lisbon, Edições Inapa, 1991; SANTOS, Maria Helena Carvalho (coord.), *Do Tratado de Tordesillas (1494) ao Tratado de Madrid (1750). Comunicações apresentadas no XI Congresso Internacional*, Lisbon, Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos do Século XVIII, 1997; CARABIAS TORRES, Ana María (ed.), *Las relaciones entre Portugal y Castilla, en la época de los descubrimientos y la expansión colonial*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1994; RIBOT GARCÍA, Luis Antonio; CARRASCO MARTÍNEZ, Adolfo, and FONSECA, Luís Adão da (eds.), *Congreso Internacional de Historia. El Tratado de Tordesillas y su época*, 3 vols, Madrid, JCL-JQCTT-CDP, 1995; GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, Manuel; ROMERO CAMACHO, Isabel Montes, and CLARET, Antonio María (coords.), *III Jornadas Hispano Portuguesas de Historia Medieval. La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492)*. *Actas*, 2 vols, Seville, Junta de Andalucía / Consejería de Cultura / Universidad de Sevilla, 1997; AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and GARCIA, José Carlos, “O Tratado de Alcañices (1297): uma construção historiográfica”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 15/2 (1998), pp. 967-986. On the conjuncture of these and the holding of these commemorations, CATROGA, Fernando, “Ritualizações da História”, in *História da História...*, pp. 614-615. The border studies in these *Jornadas* were the result of the integrated activity carried out in the 1996-1997 biennium between the Universities of Oporto and Seville on the theme “Relações de fronteira entre Portugal e Castela: do tratado de Badajoz ao tratado de Alcañices (1267-1297)”. The proceedings of the *Jornadas* were published: *IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval. As Relações de Fronteira no Século de Alcañices*. *Actas*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2000 (= *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., 15/1 and 15/2 (1998) [available online at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt>]).

<sup>72</sup> The two *festschriften* are the following: FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, 3 vols, Oporto, Livraria Civilização Editora, 2003; ALVES, Natália Marinho, CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida, and RIBEIRO, Fernanda (eds.), *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, 4 vols, Oporto, Departamento de Ciências e Técnicas do Património e Departamento de História / FL-UP, 2006 (hereafter cited as *Moreno e Marques*).

<sup>73</sup> GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, Manuel, and MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (eds.), *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico. Siglos XIII-XV*, Seville / Cadiz, Diputación de Cádiz / Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António (eds.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade na Idade Média. VI Jornadas luso-espanholas de estudos medievais. 6 to 8 November 2008*, 2 vols, Coimbra, SPEM / Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2009, (hereafter cited as *La Península...* and *A Guerra...*).

<sup>74</sup> Contributions by Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, Abril dos Santos Cruz, Luís Adão da Fonseca, Manuel García Fernández, Josefina Mutgé i Vives in *La Península...*; by Julieta Araújo Esteves in *A Guerra...*; by Anna Maria Oliva in *Moreno e Marques* and by Maria Teresa Ferrel Mallol in both.

<sup>75</sup> See the works by João Gouveia Monteiro and Miguel Gomes Martins covered in this publication in the chapter “The Medieval Military History”.

In another vein, recent years have seen continued study of diplomatic relations following the geo-strategic reference points of the Portuguese crown between the north and south, with new studies from Adão da Fonseca, concentrating on the Mediterranean axis<sup>76</sup>. Portuguese diplomacy, for so long a prisoner of its Iberian neighbour – studies of which continued with particular respect to Castile<sup>77</sup> and Granada<sup>78</sup> – now included geographical areas beyond the considered, such as England<sup>79</sup>, Brittany<sup>80</sup>, Flanders<sup>81</sup> and even North Africa<sup>82</sup>, to take some striking examples.

Similarly, the rehabilitation of political history in the last decades of the twentieth century enabled a refocusing of attention on the individual. If it is true that throughout the period under consideration, the study of the protagonists never moved away from the concerns of those who sought to clarify the features of medieval Portuguese diplomacy, these approaches were restricted, however, to the paradigmatic cases of Portuguese queens and princesses<sup>83</sup>. Given the overall primacy of the socio-economic, studies which focused on the study of the biography of a single figure, mainly considered in terms of their political and diplomatic role, were

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<sup>76</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “Portugal e o Mediterrâneo no final da Idade Média: uma visão de conjunto”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, and CADEDDU, Maria Eugenia (eds.), *Portogallo mediterraneo*, Cagliari, Collana di Studi Italo-iberici, 2001, pp. 13-25; IDEM, “O Mediterrâneo e a fronteira marítima de Portugal nos séculos XIV-XV”, in CADEDDU, Maria Eugenia and MELE, Maria Grazia (eds.), *Frontiere del Mediterraneo*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2006, pp. 41-60.

<sup>77</sup> Divided into works with a broad scope, summaries and collections of articles, of which the following, out of many, can be highlighted: ROMERO PORTILLA, Paz, *Dos monarquías medievales ante la m<sup>II</sup>. “The late medieval ages: from external relations to diplomatic practice” on page 246 odernidad. Relaciones entre Portugal y Castilla, 1431-1479*, A Coruña, Universidade da Coruña, 2000; ARAÚJO, Julieta, *Portugal e Castela na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2009; ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA, Vicente Ángel, “Relations between Portugal and Castile in Late Middle Ages – 13th – 16th centuries”, *e-JPH*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Summer 2003), pp. 1-18 [available online at: [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue1/pdf/palenzuela.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue1/pdf/palenzuela.pdf)]; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, Manuel, *Portugal, Aragón, Castilla: alianzas dinásticas y relaciones diplomáticas (1297-1357)*, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 2008.

<sup>78</sup> Through the work of José Enrique López Coca de Castañer. LÓPEZ DE COCA CASTAÑER, José Enrique, “Portugal y los ‘derechos’ castellanos sobre Granada (siglo XV)”, *Medievalia*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2001), pp. 601-616; IDEM, “Sobre las relaciones de Portugal con el Reino de Granada (1369-1415)”, *Meridies*, vols. 5/6 (2002), pp. 205-210; IDEM, “Granada y la Expansión Portuguesa en el Magreb Extremo”, *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 25 (1998), pp. 351-367.

<sup>79</sup> ATTREED, Lorraine Christine, “Friends in need or in deed? Anglo-Portuguese relations in the fifteenth-century”, *Mediterranean studies*, 8 (1999), pp. 143-156.

<sup>80</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Bretanha e Portugal no século XV”, *Arquipélago – História*, 2nd ser., vol. 1, no. 1 (1995), pp. 21-28.

<sup>81</sup> PAVIOT, Jacques, “Les relations diplomatiques et politiques entre la Bourgogne et le Portugal (1384-1482)”, *Publication du Centre européen d’études bourguignonnes (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, no. 32 (1992), pp. 77-84.

<sup>82</sup> FARINHA, António Dias, *Portugal e Marrocos no século XV*, doctoral thesis in History, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1990.

<sup>83</sup> Symbols of matrimonial alliances which have led to diplomatic activity, their paths between the 1950s and 1970s were studied through wide-ranging biographical work, paying less attention to the political roles carried out by these individuals at their original court or, more frequently, at the court which received them. The key bibliography on this matter is presented in the chapter “Women’s and Gender History”.

rare, such as the *Condestável* Pedro, by Luís Adão da Fonseca<sup>84</sup>, or the Portuguese royal agent in Florence and the Apostolic Curia, the abbot Gomes<sup>85</sup>.

With the aforementioned renewal of political history from the end of the century, the biography of those involved became a powerful ally in clarifying situations and structures present in the political and diplomatic actions of the crown of Portugal in the late Middle Ages. Research into queens and princesses was enriched by new studies on their respective political behaviour in the context of renewed studies on the history of gender<sup>86</sup>, now extended to an observable effective cultural role in several paradigmatic cases such as Queens Filipa de Lencastre<sup>87</sup> and Isabel de Borgonha<sup>88</sup>. Besides this, actual biographical information was developed also to clarify the situation of warriors who benefited from diplomatic activity carried out somewhat occasionally<sup>89</sup> or more regularly, in the cases of the heralds and kings of arms<sup>90</sup>. The theme of exiles, which to a certain extent had been initiated by studies by Humberto Baquero Moreno, underwent a positive biographical change through the analysis of cases of foreign exile in Portugal<sup>91</sup>, as well as Portuguese made welcome

<sup>84</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O condestável D. Pedro de Portugal...*

<sup>85</sup> NUNES, Eduardo Borges, *Dom Frey Gomez: abade de Florença, 1420-1440*, Braga, author's edition – Livraria Editora Pax, 1963 [only vol. 1 was published]; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, "D. Gomes, reformador da Abadia de Florença, e as tentativas de reforma dos mosteiros portugueses no século XV", *Studia Monastica*, vol. 5, fasc. 1 (1963), pp. 123-160.

<sup>86</sup> For bibliography on the political and diplomatic actions of queens and princesses, consult the bibliographic references present in the recent works by RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., "The Queen Consort in Late-Medieval Portugal", in BOLTON, Brenda, and MEEK, Christine, *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, Tournhout, Brepols, 2007, pp. 131-146; EADEM, "Rainhas medievais de Portugal: funções, patrimónios, poderes", *Clio*, 16-17 (2008), pp. 139-153; EADEM, "Infantas e rainhas: garantas de paz, pretexto para guerras", in *A Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 39-59.

<sup>87</sup> COLEMAN, Joyce, "Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal – and Patron of the Gower Translations?", in BULLÓN-FERNÁNDEZ, María (ed.), *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Changes*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 135-166; SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Filipa de Lencastre e o ambiente cultural na corte de seu pai (1360-1387)", *Clio*, vols. 16-17 (2008), pp. 243-258; EADEM, "Philippa of Lancaster, queen of Portugal: educator and reformer", in OAKLEY-BROWN, Elizabeth, and WILKINSON, Louise, J. (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship. Medieval to Early Modern*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2009, pp. 37-46.

<sup>88</sup> BERNARD, Robert B., "The intellectual circle of Isabel of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy and the Portuguese translation of *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* (*O Livro dos Tres Vertudes*)", in McLEOD, Glenda (ed.), *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth Through the Nineteenth Centuries*, Lewiston, E. Mellon Press, 1991, pp. 43-58; WILLARD, Charity Cannon, "The patronage of Isabel of Portugal", in McCASH, June Hall (ed.), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1996, pp. 306-320.

<sup>89</sup> Not being an only case, with regard to this topic consult: HOMEEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Diplomacia e burocracia nos finais da Idade Média: a propósito de Lourenço Anes Fogaça, Chanceler-Mor (1374-1395) e negociador do tratado de Windsor", in *Estudos e Ensaios em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1988, pp. 217-228.

<sup>90</sup> LIMA, João Paulo de Abreu, "Oficiais de Armas em Portugal nos Séculos XIV e XV", in *Actas do 17º Congresso Internacional das Ciências Genealógica e Heráldica*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Heráldica, 1986, vol. 2, pp. 309-344 and, more recently, LIMA, João Paulo de Abreu, and SANTOS, Maria Alice Pereira dos, "Quem foi Gonçalo Caldeira – testemunhos para uma análise de funções políticas na corte portuguesa Quatrocentista – De D. João I a D. Afonso V", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – Ciências e Técnicas do Património*, 1st ser., vol. 2 (2003), pp. 335-346 [available online at: [ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2922.pdf](http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2922.pdf)].

<sup>91</sup> FERNANDES, Fátima Regina, "Os exilados castelhanos no reinado de Fernando I de Portugal", *En la*

in the other Iberian kingdoms<sup>92</sup>. With regard to the latter, particularly visible was the establishing of major research by Paz Romero Portilla regarding the *Portuguese* party, which at certain moments during the fifteenth century exercised significant influence over the government of the Castilian kingdom<sup>93</sup>.

Nowadays the renewal of Portuguese medieval diplomatic history closely follows the study of conditions, means and agents which determine a certain foreign policy in evaluating the mechanisms, representations and rituals which make these possible. In concrete terms, we are in the first place witnessing, after a pause of several decades, a returning to the specific sources for one's study. Besides the necessary taxonomic proposals<sup>94</sup>, there is interest now in the study of epistolary documents that may assist new studies due to the wealth of information which these may provide<sup>95</sup>. What can be highlighted in this chapter are the new perspectives for work that these sources have enabled, based on the ever greater confluence of practical diplomatic history with other historical areas (gender history, cultural history<sup>96</sup>),

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*España medieval*, no. 23 (2000), pp. 101-115 (surveying previous works by the author).

<sup>92</sup> IDEM, "Diogo Lopes Pacheco: acción política y diplomacia entre Portugal y Castilla en el siglo XIV", *Studia historica. Historia medieval*, nos. 18-19 (2000-2001), pp. 211-224; ROMERO PORTILLA, Paz, "Exilados en Castilla en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV. Origen del partido portugués", in REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos M. (coords.), *Poder y sociedad en la Baja Edad Media hispánica. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Luis Vicente Díaz Martín*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2002, vol. 1, pp. 519-539; OLIVERA SERRANO, César, "Exiliados de Portugal en Segovia a finales del siglo XIV", *Estudios segovianos*, vol. 49, no. 106 (2007), pp. 177-198.

<sup>93</sup> ROMERO PORTILLA, Paz, "El partido portugués en Castilla: Siglo XV", in *Moreno e Marques...*, vol. 2, pp. 1245-1253; EADEM., "Un obstáculo para el fortalecimiento de la Monarquía: el partido portugués en Castilla en el siglo XV", in RIBOT GARCÍA, Luis; VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio, and MAZA ZORRILLA, Elena (eds.), *Isabel la Católica y su época. Actas del Congreso Internacional, Valladolid-Barcelona-Granada, 15 a 20 de noviembre de 2004*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 419-434; EADEM, "Cuandolos "portugueses" gobernaban en Castilla. Siglo XV", in *La Península...*, pp. 695-702; EADEM, "El partido portugués de Castilla y sus maniobras para mantenerla paz com Portugal (Siglo XV)", in *A Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 191-208; EADEM., "Apoyodel partido portugués a una política pro-lusitana en Castilla durante el siglo XV", in VAL VALDIVIESO, María Isabel, and MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, Pascual (eds.), *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdéon*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León-Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial de la Universidad de Valladolid, 2009, pp. 665-678.

<sup>94</sup> CATEURA BENNÁSSER, Pau, "Negociar la paz en el siglo XIV", in *A Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 11-36.

<sup>95</sup> SOMMÉ, Monique, *La correspondance d'Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne 1430-1471*, Ostfildern, Jan ThorbeckeVerlag, 2008; GOMES, Rita Costa, "Letters and Letter-writing in Fifteenth Century Portugal", in SCHULTE, Regina, and TIPPELSKIRCH, Xenia von (eds.), *Reading, Interpreting and Historicizing: Letters as Historical Sources. European University Institute Working Paper HEC. N° 2004/2*, Florence, Badia Fiesolana, 2004, pp. 11-36 [available online at: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/2600/HEC04-02.pdf?sequence=1>]; EADEM, "Between Pisa and Porto: Afonso Eanes, merchant of the King of Portugal (1426-1440)", in CURTO, Diogo Ramada, DURSTELER, Eric, and KIRSCHNER, Julius (eds.), *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond*, Florence, Olshki Editore, 2009, pp. 235-248.

<sup>96</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, "Política e cultura nas relações luso-castelhanas no século XV", *Península. Revista de Estudos Ibéricos*, no. 0 (2003), pp. 53-61; BECEIRO PITA, Isabel, "La importância de la cultura en las relaciones peninsulares (siglo XV)", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 29 (1999), pp. 79-104; EADEM, "Embajadas, viajes y relaciones culturales en el mundo ibérico (1370-1460)", in IGLESIA DUARTE, José Ignacio (coord.), *Viajar en la Edad Media. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales. Actas (Nájera, del 4 al 8 de Agosto del 2008*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2009, pp. 193-228.

and also with other disciplines such as linguistics<sup>97</sup> or literature<sup>98</sup>. This has been a whole new area that has opened up to the specialist in diplomacy which makes it possible to consider the trajectories – often multi-faceted – of its protagonists with regard to their respective diplomatic activities so as to establish connections to explain the observed paths<sup>99</sup>.

In terms of subjects, the traditional conjuncture/structure involving a political and economic outline now gave way to the wish to absorb the latest models from abroad that stressed an approach to medieval diplomacy starting from its practice, its mechanisms and its representations. Imbued with concepts associated with other sciences, the history of diplomacy has become more technical. Subjects until then directly linked to the history of external relations lost their shine, similar to the study of treaties between kingdoms that had previously enjoyed great popularity and prominence<sup>100</sup>. Under this new openness to historical anthropology and sociology, the focus has been, for example, on the dimensions of communication within the diplomatic process<sup>101</sup>. Conjunctural practices are evaluated in more detail, while the process of analysis of the gift and counter-gift has made its entrance in the explanatory arsenal of gestures and rituals of diplomatic negotiation<sup>102</sup>.

This does not mean that traditional political themes related to diplomacy no longer make sense. Indeed, the old topics are revisited in a more in-depth manner.

<sup>97</sup> PEREIRA, Regina Marisol Troca, *Discursos dos embaixadores portugueses no Concílio de Constança: 1416*, master's dissertation in Medieval Latin, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1999.

<sup>98</sup> RAMOS, Manuel F., "Modelos e Antimodelos clássicos e bíblicos apresentados ao jovem rei D. Afonso V pela Embaixada de Borgonha (1449)", in LARANJINHA, Ana Sofia and, MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro (orgs.), *Modelo: Actas do V Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Oporto, Departamento de Estudos Portugueses e Estudos Românicos da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2005, pp. 191-200.

<sup>99</sup> It is known that many of the royal ambassadors carried out religious or cultural activities, as attested by the path of the Portuguese prelate of the fifteenth century, the subject of a recent biography by André Garrido and, in the English case, of the ambassadors who carried out important literary activity, (GARRIDO, André, *D. Luís Pires. Retalhos da vida de um prelado quatrocentista*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2007, pp. 67-68, 83-88, 91-103 (master's dissertation in Medieval and Renaissance History); WATKINS, John, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 38/1 (Winter 2008), p. 2).

<sup>100</sup> Portuguese exceptions in terms of publishing initiatives resulting from political events such as the establishment of the Iberian energy market in 2004 or the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007, from which resulted, respectively, a collective publication and an exhibition catalogue: ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de, and PORTELA, Feliciano Nóvoa (coords.), *Encontros e Desencontros Ibéricos – Tratados Hispano-Portugueses desde a Idade Média*, Lisboa / Madrid, Chaves Ferreira Publicações / Lunewerg Editores, 2006, and FONSECA, Teresa (ed.), *Tratados entre Portugal e os Países da União Europeia, séculos XIII-XXI: exposição, Setembro-Dezembro 2007*, Lisbon, Divisão de Edições da Assembleia da República, 2007.

<sup>101</sup> OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, "Comunicar no Portugal Medieval: os relatos dos cronistas", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (coord.), *As Comunicações da Idade Média*, Lisbon, Fundação Portuguesa das Comunicações, 2002, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>102</sup> MARTINS, Armando, "Diplomacia e gestos diplomáticos no reinado de D. Fernando [1367-1383]", in VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, and VARANDAS, José (coords.), *Ratzes medievais do Brasil moderno. Actas do Colóquio. 2 a 5 de Novembro 2007*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2008, pp. 135-154; IDEM., "Depois da guerra, a difícil arte de fazer a paz. D. Fernando (1367-1383)", in *A Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 69-76.

Without concealing the chronicle, archival and historiographical sources which have for a long time been known, the increased mobility of present-day researchers enables new arguments to be brought forward using new information gathered from foreign documentation. Thus, this authentic "new diplomatic history" is currently reflected in monographic studies where the geographic scope of approach is merged with the functional element: on relations with England dominated largely by commercial relations<sup>103</sup>, or with the Holy See, in which interactions of an ecclesiastical and financial kind dominate between the Portuguese crown and the papal Curia<sup>104</sup>.

Of course, the "basic unit" of study remains, both yesterday and today, the embassies and their protagonists, who benefitted *de iure* and *de facto* from a diplomatic role which was recognised and accredited by all parties involved. In fact, it is difficult to refute the founding nature of the work that Isabel Beceiro Pita carried out throughout the 1990s concerning the techniques and agents of diplomatic negotiation<sup>105</sup>, which were quickly acknowledged in Portugal by a number of research activities devoted to clarifying biographical data and the recruitment conditions of the group and ambassadors for particular areas<sup>106</sup>. Recent work has sought to follow the same two-way path<sup>107</sup>, with the new aspect now consisting of the fact that some of this work is inserted into large scale projects to obtain academic degrees,

<sup>103</sup> FARIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Por proll e serviço do reino? O desempenho dos negociantes portugueses do Tratado de Windsor e suas consequências nas relações com Inglaterra (1384-1412)", *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 209-227; MIRANDA, Flávio, and FARIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Comércio e diplomacia: as embaixadas de Portugal a Inglaterra nos séculos XIV e XV", Oporto, CITCEM, 2010; FARIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Trancing the 'chemyn de Portynlage': English servisse and servicemen in fourteenth-century Portugal», *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 37/3 (September 2011), pp. 257-268.

<sup>104</sup> FARELO, Mário, "La représentation de la couronne portugaise à Avignon (1305-1377)", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 40/2 (2010), pp. 723-763.

<sup>105</sup> BECEIRO PITA, Isabel, "Las negociaciones entre Castilla y Portugal en 1399", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 13 (1996), pp. 149-186 [available online at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2159.pdf>]; EADEM, "La consolidación del personal diplomático entre Castilla y Portugal, 1392-1455", in *III Jornadas Hispano Portuguesas de Historia Medieval. La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492)*. Actas, Sevilha, Junta de Andalucía / Consejería de Cultura / Universidad de Sevilha, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 1735-1744; EADEM, "La tendência a la especialización de funciones en los agentes diplomáticos entre Portugal y Aragón (1412-1465)", in *El Poder Real en la Corona de Aragón. XV Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón, Jaca, 20-25 de septiembre 1993*; Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, 1994, vol. 2, pp. 441-455.

<sup>106</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "Um grande diplomata português do século XV: o doutor João Fernandes da Silveira", in *Actas do Colóquio. A diplomacia na História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1990, pp. 93-103; MENDONÇA, Manuela, "Diplomatas portugueses na costa africana (1434-1495): uma releitura de João de Barros", *Mare Liberum*, no. 10 (December 1995), pp. 341-353.

<sup>107</sup> OLIVEIRA, Aurélio de, "As missões de Diogo Gomes de 1456 e 1460", in SILVA, E. Ribeiro da, et al, (orgs.), *Estudos em Homenagem a Luís António de Oliveira Ramos*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2004, vol. 3, pp. 805-814 [available online at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/5014.pdf>]; LOWE, Kate, "'Representing' Africa: Ambassadors and Princes from Christian Africa to Renaissance Italy and Portugal, 1402-1608", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., vol. 17 (2007), pp. 101-129; MARTINS, Armando, "Depois da guerra, a difícil arte de fazer a paz. D. Fernando (1367-1383)", and FARIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Por proll e service do reino? O desempenho dos negociantes portugueses do Tratado de Windsor e suas consequências nas relações com Inglaterra (1384-1412)", in *A Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 69-76 and 209-227.

generally based on the biographical study of an ambassador / “professional” agent or somebody who occasionally carried out this role in the name of the king<sup>108</sup>. The embassies are studied in a monographic manner, covering diplomatic activity which is particularly rich in terms of documentation, above all when encapsulated within the scope of processes of negotiation seeking matrimony with members of the Portuguese royal family<sup>109</sup>.

### 2.3. *And the future*

Nowadays we are witnessing a significant shift from diplomatic history using a political and economic approach to the technical nature of the diplomatic act. This authentic turnabout is salutary, although it may cool interest in diplomatic relations at an internal level. Indeed, the issue at hand has been considered in a general way concerning the formal relationships between realms, subordinating other “diplomacies” such as those practised by cities, of which virtually nothing is known for the medieval period.

Perhaps the impact of these other diplomacies will have to be viewed and assessed in more detail as well as diplomatic activity in general in the organisation of the state, now within the scope of new combinations that seek to balance a historiographical past that should never have been concealed, with the recent work on diplomatic history based around its practice and its opening to interdisciplinarity.

These new works, whether based on chronological sequences of historical facts or essays of a synthetic nature, whether produced by distinguished experts or young researchers, will have to find their path within a necessary considered, rationalised and sustained internationalisation. Given that this is a responsibility that reflects initially on the respective authors, ongoing work would seem to meet that requirement. Hopefully time will confirm this.

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<sup>108</sup> Pedro Caetano is currently working on a master’s dissertation on the topic “O perfil de um Conselheiro régio no século XV. Actividade diplomática e influência política e militar” under the supervision of Judite de Freitas (FL-UP), while Adelaide Millán Costa is currently coordinating a research project of Maria Alice Santos on Portuguese ambassadors in the reign of King João I at the Aberta University).

<sup>109</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “A política matrimonial da dinastia de Avis: Leonor e Frederico III da Alemanha”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 36, vol. 1 (2002-2003), pp. 41-70; REDONDO GARCÍA, Esther, “Negociar un maridaje en Cataluña: el matrimonio de la infanta Leonor con Eduardo de Portugal”, in FERRER MALLOL, María Teresa, et al., *Negociar en la Edad Media. Négociar au Moyen Âge*, Barcelona, CSIC, 2005, pp. 165-184. It is worth remembering that historiography has never stopped valuing dynastic alliances as an important element of those same external relations, a fact which has led to the periodical search for tendencies and factors for these same alliances: BRAGA, Paulo Drummond, “Casamentos reais portugueses. Um aspecto do relacionamento ibérico e europeu (séculos XII-XIV)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 15/2 (1998), pp. 1531-1537 [available online at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4072.pdf>]; AMORIM, Fernando, “A política de casamentos da Casa de Avis (1383-1580)”, *Janus*, 1999-2000 [available online at: [www.janusonline.pt/1999\\_2000/1999\\_2000\\_1\\_6.html](http://www.janusonline.pt/1999_2000/1999_2000_1_6.html)]; VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, “Casamentos e política régia em Portugal, no século XIV”, *Jacobus*, vols. 11-12 (2001), pp. 187-202.





# *Economic and Fiscal History*<sup>\*</sup>

*Filipe Themudo Barata,  
António Castro Henriques*

In 1962, the historian A. H. de Oliveira Marques presented an ambitious research agenda on Portuguese medieval economic history in a national journal. The essay was entitled *Ideário para uma História Económica de Portugal na Idade Média* and it would then be re-published in 1979, when the first master's (*mestrado*) courses in medieval history were created. In 1986 the author proved the effectiveness of his old proposal in the essay for the section on late medieval economy for the third volume of *Nova História de Portugal*. A survey on the economic history of recent decades could do worse than starting an analysis with his seminal and highly influential proposals. The present text aims to compare the programme and research developed by Oliveira Marques with the work on “medieval” economic history that emerged afterwards<sup>1</sup>.

## **Production**

For Oliveira Marques, Portuguese “medieval” economy was intelligible when studied in the *longue-durée*. Given the alleged “immobility” of the period, he proposed a study based upon structures relating to production (“climate”, “soil”, “labour”, “products”, “technologies”, “property”, “management”, “animal production”, “fishing”, “mining”, “crafts” and “organisation of crafts”) as well as “circulation and distribution” (“land and sea routes”, “weights and measures”, “the marketplace”,

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\* António Castro Henriques is the author of “Production” and “State finances and coinage”; Filipe Themudo Barata is the author of “Distribution” and “Private finance, capital and trade”.

<sup>1</sup> A final section on state finances and coinage was added, in accordance with the instructions of the editors.

“external trade”, “consumption”, “standard of living”)<sup>2</sup>. In effect the importance of structural factors for Oliveira Marques was such that he argued that some features of Portuguese agricultural production “were matters for human geography rather than for economic history”<sup>3</sup>.

Admittedly, powerful heuristic reasons supported this option for a thematic and synchronistic organisation<sup>4</sup>, namely, the lack of series for the key indicators – commodity and factor prices, rents and wages – an oversight that some recent studies have addressed, despite few results<sup>5</sup>. However, the separation between production and distribution risked ignoring the interplay between the two. In fact, being focused on the inelasticity of natural resources and with markets relegated to a minor role, this programme contained an implicit Malthusian model. The ensuing research emphasised the relationship between rigid agricultural productivity and demographic changes. Indeed, not least because of Oliveira Marques’ own work, demography became an important strand of research while relatively few questions were asked about growth, standards of living and market institutions. With economic fluctuations, institutional changes and the problem of long-term growth barely acknowledged, only the Black Death challenged the “immobility” of the period<sup>6</sup>.

This *structuraliste* agenda proved to be a practical framework for dealing with disparate evidence, as demonstrated by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Iria Gonçalves, with their monographs on the Mondego valley<sup>7</sup> and Alcobaça abbey<sup>8</sup> respectively. In 1986, in his *Portugal na Crise do Século XIV*, Oliveira Marques demonstrated how his programme allowed for a systematic approach to the national economy as a whole. The ideas proposed by Oliveira Marques in his 1962 essay, and explored in his empirical work, influenced the subsequent “total history” theses and monographs of the 1980s and 1990s, of which those by Amaral, Rodrigues,

<sup>2</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Ideário para uma História Económica da Idade Média”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Ensaio de História Medieval Portuguesa*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Vega, 1979, pp. 23-48.

<sup>3</sup> IDEM, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal. A Questão Cerealífera durante a Idade Média*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Cosmo, 1978, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> As mentioned by Oliveira Marques himself, IDEM, “Ideário para uma História Económica da Idade Média”..., p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> See FERREIRA, Sérgio, *Preços e Salários em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2007; VIANA, Mário, “Alguns Preços de Vinho em Portugal”, *Arquipélago. História*, vol. 5 (2001), pp. 605-26; IDEM, “Alguns preços de cereais em Portugal (séculos XIII-XVI)”, *Arquipélago. História*, vol. 12 (2008).

<sup>6</sup> A more time-sensitive approach can be found in MATTOSO, José, *A Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal (1096-1325)*, vol. 2: *Composição*, Lisbon, 1985.

<sup>7</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego nos Finais da Idade Média*, 2 vols., Lisbon, IN-CM, 1988 (originally a doctoral thesis completed in 1983).

<sup>8</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1989 (originally a doctoral thesis completed in 1984).

Fernandes and Conde stand out<sup>9</sup>. To a large extent, the chapters and sections on “production” in these works answered the questions set by Oliveira Marques. This is a testament to the empirical solidity of his model, which was only challenged recently by truly alternative approaches.

For Oliveira Marques, Portuguese agriculture from the twelfth century onwards was based on what can be called the “wheat paradox”: wheat predominated nearly everywhere, despite the country’s “relative scarcity of good soil” and low yields<sup>10</sup>. This reflected the extent to which the pressure of the population and its subsistence dictated the allocation of productive resources and prevented specialisation.

This model downplayed institutional factors, including the emergence of markets. Tellingly, A. H. de Oliveira Marques attributed more importance to yields than to prices<sup>11</sup>, as if the latter were contingent on the former. In his view, prices merely reflected supply-side movements with little regard for demand-side changes. Markets, Marques insisted, connected the towns with the countryside and cleared contingent surpluses, without affecting production<sup>12</sup>. They had been gently on the rise since the twelfth century but only acquired importance with the Black Death.

In such a model, a dramatic demographic event like the Black Death would entirely change the economic situation, driving prices of formerly scarce essential goods down, and lowering rents on land and moving wages upwards. According to Marques, the Black Death liberated agriculture from the tyranny of self-subsistence and contributed to the expansion of urban markets and, ultimately, to the buoyant trade associated with overseas expansion. In his empirical work, Oliveira Marques detected a post-Plague conversion of wheat fields into vineyards, a change that he attributed to the urban markets, given that wine was a market-oriented culture for which the Portuguese terrain and climate held comparative advantages<sup>13</sup>. In short, only when natural limits were superseded, could the market influence production.

There are reasons to challenge the central role of natural conditions in the reasoning of Oliveira Marques. First, the yields recorded are far from modest and

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<sup>9</sup> FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, *Organização Social do Espaço e Sistema Social no Alentejo Medieval. O caso de Beja*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1991. AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *São Salvador de Grijó na Segunda Metade do Século XIV. Estudo de Gestão Agrária*, Oporto, Cosmo, 1994; RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo nos finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1995; CONDE, Manuel Silvío Alves, *Uma Paisagem Humanizada. O médio Tejo nos finais da Idade Média. A terra e as gentes*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000.

<sup>10</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XV e XVI*, Lisbon, Presença, 1986, pp. 96-97.

<sup>11</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 97; IDEM, “Ideário para uma História Económica da Idade Média”..., p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> In his considerable oeuvre, Marques hesitates about the role of the urban markets; compare IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 38-40 with IDEM, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XV e XVI*..., pp. 141-147 or with IDEM, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal*..., p. 121. For a more concrete perspective on the workings of the market, see COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego*..., vol. 1, pp. 314-20, 399-400 and 424-426.

<sup>13</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XV e XVI*..., pp. 98-99.

remain perfectly in line with those of other supposedly more fertile countries<sup>14</sup>, even with the missing pre-Plague data<sup>15</sup>. While agricultural techniques were studied in some detail by Oliveira Marques, his model assumed that the technological stasis of the period would prevent substantial increases in productivity. Although such improvements remain notoriously difficult to trace, let alone measure, disparate studies have accumulated enough data to challenge the notion of a rigid productive capacity: Robert Durand, in his regional study, signalled a general improvement of capital goods and structures in the 1250s<sup>16</sup>. There are early fourteenth-century cases of capital formation in fishing (partly sponsored by the monarchy), in the export of fruit from the Algarve, and in the regions of Coimbra and Santarém<sup>17</sup>. More importantly, in 1250 the Portuguese still resorted to large tracts of occupied land in the South<sup>18</sup>. In the early fourteenth century there was still scope for assarts in the region of Coimbra as in many other places of the country<sup>19</sup>. Thus, unlike most of thirteenth-century Europe, there was still room to improve output simply by adding more land. This relative abundance of land in the thirteenth century could have offset, or delayed, the diminishing returns and the exhaustion of the soil<sup>20</sup>. Clearances and the draining of swamps were still being carried out in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, implying that the “natural limits”, which play such an important part in Malthusian models, had not yet been reached before the Plague<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> On Portuguese wheat yields, see GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV...*, pp. 240-243. EADEM, “Entre o Campo e a Cidade na segunda metade do século XIV”, in GONÇALVES, Iria, *Um Olhar Sobre a Cidade Medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1998, p. 228; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, p. 144. Maria Helena Cruz Coelho argued that the sizeable town of Coimbra could be comfortably supplied with only a few of its surrounding agrarian units, EADEM, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 2, pp. 142-148; see also, GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça...*, pp. 242-3; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal...*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>15</sup> For an alternative assessment of pre-Plague production, see HENRIQUES, António Castro, “Room for Convergence? An Estimate for Portuguese Agricultural Output, c. 1320 and its wider consequences” (working paper, Faculdade de Economia of University of Oporto).

<sup>16</sup> DURAND, Gilbert, *Les Campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tage aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris, FCG / Centro Cultural Português, 1982, pp. 199 and 229.

<sup>17</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XV e XVI...*, p. 112; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, pp. 227-229; VIANA, Mário, *Espaço e Povoamento numa Vila Portuguesa. (Santarém 1147-1350)*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2007, pp. 37-38.

<sup>18</sup> IDEM, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal...*, pp. 62-3; IDEM, “Ideário para uma História Económica da Idade Média”..., p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, pp. 18, 62-65, 78-79 and 293; GONÇALVES, Iria, “Entre o Campo e a Cidade na segunda metade do século XIV”..., p. 224. In Santarém, there were settlements emerging in the 1340s. VIANA, Mário, *Espaço e Povoamento...*, p. 171.

<sup>20</sup> FERRO, João Pedro, *Alenquer Medieval (Séculos XII-XV). Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996, p. 118.

<sup>21</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo...*, pp. 73-75.

In the absence of detailed, year-by-year observations, it is very hard to pin down the market forces that were at work before and after the Plague. Still, the post-Plague prices listed by M. Viana, M. H. Cruz Coelho and Oliveira Marques himself do not conform to the supply-side narrative outlined by the latter: low early fourteenth-century prices contradict the pressure of overpopulation on resources. Additionally, grain prices do not show signs of having lowered after 1348 whilst the prices of wine, allegedly a market-oriented commodity, decreased throughout the remainder of the century<sup>22</sup>. In the model of Oliveira Marques, the Plague would allow for an improved allocation of resources, better yields and, therefore, lower wheat prices. Similarly, fifteenth-century grain prices, recently made available by Mário Viana, do not function as predicted by the Malthusian model. The well-documented grain shortages in the 1420s and 1430s (taken by Oliveira Marques as signs of the protracted post-Plague agricultural crisis) sit ill at ease with the idea of a stagnating population, as does the trend towards reclaiming soil for wheat production, detected by Maria Helena Cruz Coelho<sup>23</sup>. Conversely, the demographic recovery after 1475<sup>24</sup> is consistent with a persistent upward slope in wheat prices although not with wine prices, which stagnated between 1410 and 1515<sup>25</sup>.

In the absence of price series, the importance of the Plague and the exhaustion of natural resources can be tested in tenancy. In the model used by Oliveira Marques, population growth made resources scarcer and implied gradual rent increases and more demanding conditions in sharecropping contracts; conversely, a demographic catastrophe like the Black Death would imply the inverse<sup>26</sup>. However, there is no evidence for successively higher rents in the pre-Black Death period. Even in areas like the Baixo Mondego, the portion demanded in sharecropping contracts remained static throughout the thirteenth century<sup>27</sup>. There was also a long-term trend towards stability, with the tenant securing increasingly longer periods from the early fourteenth century, as observed by Iria Gonçalves, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Ana Rodrigues<sup>28</sup>. The tenant and his progeny gradually strengthened their position from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, both in rural, suburban and urban settings<sup>29</sup>. There is no undisputable evidence of falling rents

<sup>22</sup> At least before an exogenous factor (strong debasement) intervened.

<sup>23</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>24</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, "Ideário para uma História Económica da Idade Média"..., p. 23; IDEM, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal...*, pp. 53-60.

<sup>25</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém*, Cascais, Património, 1998, p. 190.

<sup>26</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XV e XVI...*, p. 92; IDEM, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal...*, pp. 88 and 102-103.

<sup>27</sup> See data collected in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 2.

<sup>28</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo...*, p. 434; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 2, pp. 297-330.

<sup>29</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, pp. 60-62; GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património*

after the Black Death. In the centre of the country tenancy clauses appear to have become more lax in the second half of the fourteenth century, while<sup>30</sup> urban rents plummeted in Torres Vedras and Coimbra<sup>31</sup>. However, there is no discernable trend in the sharecropping of the Baixo Mondego<sup>32</sup> and rents collected in the vineyards of Santarém between 1340 and 1400 were higher than before, with a new downward trend subsiding after 1400<sup>33</sup>.

The hypothesis of a post-Plague conversion of grain fields into vineyards guided many historians in their regional theses. Resorting to tenancy contracts, Rodrigues and Coelho confirmed many instances of vineyards being planted in the site of wheat-fields<sup>34</sup>. Based upon the framework suggested by Oliveira Marques, Amaral argued that the canons of Grijó manifested their “option for wine”<sup>35</sup>, on the grounds that it was a more marketable commodity<sup>36</sup>. The assumption that the shift to wine was market-oriented and demand-driven is inconsistent with prices. The downward trend of wine prices throughout the whole century shows that the landlord preference for growing wine rather than grain cannot be interpreted as a deliberate response to resurgent demand. More likely, decreasing prices reflect a market glutted by the booming supply of a host of small, price-taking producers<sup>37</sup>. This hypothesis finds some validation in the market regulations throughout the country: even if wine was a staple food for the fourteenth-century Portuguese, it was not affected by price-making laws<sup>38</sup>. Furthermore, one of the most important constraints on free competition was the *relego*, which prohibited the sale of wine in a given town if a privileged producer (the king, a lord or a municipality) was still selling his<sup>39</sup>. These enactments reveal how urban demand could hardly have been an incentive for growing wine<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, as Marques pointed out, *seigneurial* incentives to plant vineyards were detected from the last quarter of the

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*do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV...*, p. 95. COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 2, pp. 298-299; VIANA, Mário, *Espaço e Povoamento numa Vila Portuguesa. (Santarém 1147-1350)...*, p. 102.

<sup>30</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo...*, pp. 458-460 (though protracted and intense military activity in the área in 1370-90 had a far stronger impact than the Plague); CONDE, Manuel Sílvia Alves, *Uma Paisagem Humanizada...*, p. 232.

<sup>31</sup> EADEM, *La Formation et l'exploitation du domaine de la Collégiale de São Pedro de Torres Vedras (fin XIIIe – fin de XV siècles)*, Lisbon-Paris, FCG, 1995, p. 34.

<sup>32</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, 2 vols, pp. 320, 325 and 329-330.

<sup>33</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 71.

<sup>34</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, pp. 152-72, *maxime* 168.

<sup>35</sup> AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *São Salvador de Grijó ...*, p. 125.

<sup>36</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>37</sup> See the case of fifteenth-century Santarém. VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 190. Also, COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, pp. 171-172.

<sup>38</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 183.

<sup>39</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

<sup>40</sup> Lisbon was an exception. VIANA, Mário, “Considerações sobre o abastecimento de vinho a Lisboa provocadas pelo choro de uma dama antiga”, *Arquipélago. História*, vol. 2 (1997), pp. 417-433.

thirteenth century across all the regions of the country<sup>41</sup>. Other studies presented the conversion of wheat fields into vineyards as a long-term process that can be already detected in the twelfth century<sup>42</sup>. Given the stagnating wine prices and the institutional constraints, the most reasonable explanation for the landlords' old (rather than simply Plague-induced) "option for wine" is external demand<sup>43</sup>. Indeed, wine was an export commodity well before the Black Death. In the 1320s, as the export records in Oporto show, the Douro valley was already producing wine *urbi et orbi*<sup>44</sup>. Fiscal evidence hints that in seaports like Lisbon, Setúbal and the Algarve towns, the wine trade was already important well before the Plague<sup>45</sup>.

For all its demographic impact, the Black Death does not appear to have had a major impact upon some essential trends that are manifest before and after 1348. The transition from direct exploitation towards tenancy is observable from the middle of the thirteenth century and appears to have been completed in some regions before the Black Death<sup>46</sup>. The strengthening of the tenants' position preceded the pestilence, and the shift to wine was not created by it; nor did the enriched and urbanised survivors of the Plague reinforce the aggregate demand, as Oliveira Marques supposed. Equally, the Black Death seems to have had no effect upon the trend towards the monetisation of rents that began in the early fourteenth century<sup>47</sup>.

What about labour? Did the extreme population decline indeed give way to the golden age of the labourer? Royal ordinances issued in response to the Black Death confirm that labour was indeed scarce and that there was an upward pressure on wages. This was confirmed by Iria Gonçalves, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Ana Maria Rodrigues<sup>48</sup>. However, the scarcity of labour was nothing new: lords had been threatened by high wages since the early thirteenth century. The General Laws of 1211 and the price-fixing ordinance of 1253 reveal an increasingly free and emancipated labour force. Slaves were rare and had been perfectly absorbed into the

<sup>41</sup> CONDE, Manuel Sílvia Alves, *Uma Paisagem Humanizada...*, p. 232; LIRA, *O Mosteiro de S. Simão*, I, Vila do Conde, Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2001, pp. 186-190. VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 56.

<sup>42</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, 2 vols, pp. 152-153 and 156-161. VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 44; DURAND, Gilbert, *Les Campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tage...*, pp. 180-4.

<sup>43</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 171; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XV e XVI...*, pp. 152 and 166.

<sup>44</sup> MELO, Arnaldo de Sousa, *Trabalho e Produção em Portugal na Idade Média: O Porto, c. 1320 - c. 1415*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2009, pp. 178-84.

<sup>45</sup> HENRIQUES, António Castro, *State Finance, War and Redistribution in Portugal (1250-1527)*, University of York, 2008 (doctoral thesis), pp. 152-155 (table 9).

<sup>46</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo...*, pp. 396-407.

<sup>47</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 77.

<sup>48</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo...*, p. 407; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, 2 vols, pp. 634-642; GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV...*, pp. 150-154.

general population by 1300<sup>49</sup>. Servile workers, who were used in the early thirteenth century in combination with paid workers<sup>50</sup>, left little trace in the records and do not appear to have been numerous. The first half of the thirteenth century saw the emergence of a trend toward leasing out demesnes to low-status farmers throughout the country. While this process is very poorly understood, it can be interpreted as a means for externalising high labour costs, in absence of serfs. At any rate, as Oliveira Marques acknowledged, the wages paid to labourers were already deemed excessive in 1340.

Working on the Augustine priory of Grijó, Luís Carlos Amaral hypothesised that a trend towards a “new management” based upon the monetisation of rents, of labour and of redistributive transfers was already at work in 1365<sup>51</sup>. However, approximately half of the priory’s labour needs were met by days of unpaid work (*geiras*)<sup>52</sup>. Indeed, the ecclesiastical lords could not cope with the labour market. Even the wealthiest monastery in the country, Alcobaça, struggled to hire all the salaried labour it needed (estimated at a minimum of 8,500 days by Iria Gonçalves) despite securing privileges from the monarchy authorising it to hire labourers by force or by making them exempt from military service<sup>53</sup>. In the deeply *seigneurial* countryside of Coimbra the canons of Santa Cruz and other institutions included days of free labour as part of their rents and tried to coerce more and more people into labour<sup>54</sup>. As we know from an appeal made against Alcobaça, wages were low and did not compensate the labourer for the time lost for labouring on his own lands. In other words, those who increased the demand for labour were not willing to pay its growing price and tried to solve this problem by moving the degree of coercion (or persuasion) one notch up. Thus, for labour-short but land-rich monasteries tenancy emerged as an alternative to paying high wages, especially in lands used for vine growing, a labour-intensive activity. Letting the lands to farmers or, typically in this period, to farm them out to locally influential intermediaries (like nobles, merchants, craftsmen or bureaucrats) externalised the cost of labour. As detected in Torres Vedras or in Coimbra, the municipal elites intervened more and more in agriculture and became tenants of the lands on behalf of the great ecclesiastical lords<sup>55</sup>. However, the clauses of the tenancy contracts show that the landlords

<sup>49</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo...*, pp. 582-585.

<sup>50</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, pp. 276-277.

<sup>51</sup> AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *São Salvador de Grijó...*, pp. 103-107.

<sup>52</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>53</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça...*, pp. 151-153.

<sup>54</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego...*, vol. 1, pp. 491-494, 633-635.

<sup>55</sup> EADEM, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 503, 509 and 530-531.



refrained from becoming idle renters and continued to impose strict guidelines on the terms of production of their tenants<sup>56</sup>.

Labour relations show the limitations of the simple pricing mechanisms and reveal some doubts over the role of cities and towns. For Oliveira Marques, following a long tradition of European history, towns and cities were essentially market places that consumed the surplus of the countryside in exchange for specialised products. However, there is enough evidence to claim that towns and cities were not markets trading agricultural produce for more specialised products. From the twelfth century the municipality of Coimbra pressed the neighbouring farmers not to make their own tools but to buy them in the city<sup>57</sup>. As mentioned, throughout the country, municipalities prohibited the import of wine from outside until all the local wine had been sold<sup>58</sup>. Indeed, as Viana noted in Santarém, municipal authorities aspired to self-sufficiency rather than specialisation. Historians like H. Fernandes or M. Viana argued that most Portuguese towns were, in the words of the latter, “agrovilas” (“agro-towns”)<sup>59</sup>. Some Portuguese townships had between one-fourth and one-third non-agricultural households, with craftsmen growing part of their food requirements themselves<sup>60</sup>. Towns aspiring to autarchy created a “beggar-thy-neighbour” background that harmed economic activity and prevented the emergence of comparative advantages<sup>61</sup>. While in the twelfth-century centres like Lisbon and Santarém traded surpluses<sup>62</sup>, trade underwent more difficult times in the late fourteenth century when some cities, like Lisbon or Oporto, only managed to solve their supply problems by enlarging their jurisdiction over neighbouring fields and towns. Furthermore, municipal elites acquired and/or reinforced price-making prerogatives in the second half of the fourteenth century<sup>63</sup>. Specialisation in maritime freight and in some non-agricultural sectors like ironworking was

<sup>56</sup> DURAND, Gilbert, *Les Campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tage...*, pp. 223-226.

<sup>57</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 205

<sup>58</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, pp. 186-187.

<sup>59</sup> IDEM, *Espaço e Povoamento...*, pp. 100 and 205; FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, *Organização Social do Espaço e Sistema Social no Alentejo Medieval...*, p. 80.

<sup>60</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “A População de Torres Vedras em 1381”, in RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Espaços, gente e sociedade. Estudos Sobre Torres Vedras Medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996, p. 65. See also, FERRO, João Pedro, *Alenquer Medieval (Séculos XII-XV)...*; VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 96.

<sup>61</sup> IDEM, *Espaço e Povoamento...*, pp. 32-43. On price-making regulations, see IDEM, “A Viticultura nas Cidades Portuguesas”, in ARÍZAGA BOLUMBURU, Beatriz, and SOLÓRZANO TELECHEA, Jesús Ángel (eds.), *Alimentar la Ciudad en La Edad Media. Nájera Encuentros Internacionales del Medioevo*, 2008. *Actas*, Logrono, 2009, pp. 87-110.

<sup>62</sup> IDEM, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém...*, p. 176.

<sup>63</sup> In economic terms, municipalities protected the interests of their producers: when dominated by agrarian elites, as in Évora, price-making was aimed at the craftsmen, whilst when ruled by traders and craftsmen, as in Oporto, price-making was directed to foodstuffs, and the outsiders were forcefully led into selling.

a feature of Oporto in the second half of the fourteenth century, as analysed by Arnaldo Melo. Yet, the comparatively wealthy citizens of Oporto had to force the farmers under their jurisdiction to bring their surpluses in grain, fish and salt to be sold in the city and, finally, imposed price ceilings on meat. Lack of self-sufficiency was a price that Oporto had to pay for its specialisation<sup>64</sup>. Oporto shows just how far-fetched the idea that urban centres could define the production of the surrounding areas can be in the context of fourteenth-century Portugal.

In the present heuristic conditions, the assertions of Oliveira Marques on production have not yet been fully tested (some remain too vague to be falsified) and still retain some of their vigour. However, later works have presented new material and more complex questions, concerning institutions and long-term growth that promise to occupy the best efforts of the present generation.

## Distribution

Let us return to Oliveira Marques once more to retrieve an analytical model of cities in the medieval period and the place of trade in them. In 1982, he published an article in the *Revista de História Económica e Social* that was very representative of how universities were beginning to deal with urban history; it had the suggestive title: *Cidades Medievais Portuguesas (Algumas bases metodológicas gerais)*<sup>65</sup>. His intention was to propose an “ideal plan”, as the author called it, for studying the urban world, both in its structural and its contextual aspects. Regarding the former, he was unhesitant in the points to be addressed, which he divided into ten topics, with the fourth of them being the “Economy”; in respect of contextual factors, he argued that there could be no pattern to follow, since each city had its “own factology”, which would always lead the historian down different paths.

This article was not just a methodological exercise for university students. In practice, the proposed model, which was quickly accepted in the academic world, both directly and indirectly influenced an entire generation of students and was the source of inspiration for dozens of masters dissertations and doctoral theses or simple monographs on Portuguese medieval cities.

If, from the standpoint of production, these theses and monographs were able to monitor the changes that occurred in the geographical area under study, the question of distribution, implying a comparison with other regions, escaped the main concerns. The rapid acceptance and expansion of this “structuralist”

<sup>64</sup> MELO, Arnaldo de Sousa, *Trabalho e Produção...*, vol. 1, pp. 188-196, vol. 2, p. 210.

<sup>65</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Cidades Medievais Portuguesas (Algumas bases metodológicas gerais)”, in *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 9 (1982), pp. 1-16. Republished in *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Ed. Presença, 1988, pp. 43-67.

agenda, with its criteria for analysing the city, while advancing knowledge of the organisation of the landscape of the urban space and importing managing new ways of examining such forgotten aspects as “urban hygiene and health”, or those barely studied, such as the “geography of the area”, led to the “economy”, and trade in particular, becoming a secondary consideration.

This model limited itself to proposing four brief points to be observed encompassing issues involving domestic and external trade: “Transport and communications”, “Internal and external trade”, “Coinage and prices, weights and measures” and “Consumption”. The best evidence of the effects of this is the low priority that the various publications on various cities ultimately gave to the theme of trade. It should be noted that Oliveira Marques himself warned that in the future, “the production of systematic urban monographs could jeopardise this structural homogeneity”<sup>66</sup>. It is therefore not surprising that in one of the rare academic theses dedicated to medieval trade, submitted to the University of Oporto in 2006 and recently published<sup>67</sup>, the scarcity of Portuguese work in this area, with one or two exceptions, is reflected in the distortion caused by the analytical model adopted. However, this University seems to offer the promise that a true research programme on medieval economic history is under way, with the intention of constructing new study paradigms<sup>68</sup>.

Historians and archaeologists have shared the work of uncovering medieval internal exchange and, as suggested by Oliveira Marques, we have a reasonable idea of the land and sea routes by which merchants and goods circulated. In contrast to the study of cities, not much attention has been given to the specific problems of medieval ports, as for example Amélia Polónia did for ports in the modern era in her study of Vila do Conde<sup>69</sup>.

It is true that in his *Ideário para uma História Económica de Portugal na Idade Média*<sup>70</sup>, Oliveira Marques wrote about what should be included in discussing distribution and consumption in medieval economic history. Practice has shown, however, in so far as proposals focus on the analysis of the economic centres (the cities), the study of structure tends to absorb the contextual dynamics implicit in observing changes in the market.

<sup>66</sup> IDEM, “Cidades Medievais Portuguesas (Algumas bases metodológicas gerais)”..., p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> DOMINGUEZ, Rodrigo da Costa, *Mercadores e Banqueiros: Sociedade e Economia no Portugal dos séculos XIV e XV*, Brasília, Hinterlândia, 2009.

<sup>68</sup> DUARTE, Luis Miguel, “Em defesa da história económica”, in DOMINGUEZ, Rodrigo da Costa, *Mercadores e Banqueiros...*, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> POLÓNIA, Amélia, “Les petits ports dans le système portuaire européen à L’Âge Moderne (XVIe.-XVIIIe. Siècles)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 3rd ser., vol. 9 (2008), pp. 27-51.

<sup>70</sup> MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira, “Ideário para uma História Económica de Portugal na Idade Média”...

So, for trade and problems of distribution in general, what is missing? What becomes essential to study? All would agree that doing business, both domestic and external, requires knowing the market and its operating conditions and environment, including the products traded, and the agents involved in it and their forms of organisation.

When it comes to characterising these actors who participated in distribution, domestic and external, the idea still predominates of dealing with people linked to an activity, preferably individual, and a range of businesses not comparable to those of foreign merchants. In Portugal, the issue was hopelessly trapped in discussion of the profile of the known merchant guilds in the Middle Ages, which set Virgínia Rau and B. Diffie, on one side, denying the corporate nature of merchant groups, and Hedwig Fitler who argued that these were true commercial companies. Virginia Rau's position was defended and promoted by Jorge Borges de Macedo, who, from the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* onwards, wrote that commercial companies in Portugal were a product of the seventeenth century and that, until then, the merchant guilds had always been precarious, without any legally defined status; for him "the establishment of companies was certainly related to mercantilism"<sup>71</sup>. Oliveira Marques again took up this idea in 1987 and published it in *Nova História de Portugal*, while acknowledging that this conclusion could have been the result of a simple lack of documentation<sup>72</sup>.

But as has been shown elsewhere<sup>73</sup>, these Portuguese historians are not correct. While they lacked the sophistication and complexity of other commercial companies working in northern Europe and the Mediterranean, and while they were certainly smaller businesses, and perhaps with less marked levels of internationalisation, Portuguese merchants, as trading professionals, were aware of the advantages of commercial companies and, whenever necessary, used them as working instruments in their multiple forms. This external trade was far from being sporadic and irregular. When Gaspar Nicolas sought, in his treatise on arithmetic, to teach the "art" of doing accounts, he chose as his case study the problems posed in the division of profits between the partners of a company<sup>74</sup>, on the presumption that it would be of general interest and understood by all.

It is therefore necessary to review and analyse those numerous documents that show merchants associating and acting together, to see and understand some of the national and international networks in which they were integrated. For both their

<sup>71</sup> MACEDO, Jorge Borges de, "Companhias comerciais", in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Livraria Figueirinhas, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 122-123.

<sup>72</sup> MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira, "Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV, XV"... , pp. 74-75.

<sup>73</sup> BARATA, Filipe Themudo, *Navegação, comércio e relações políticas: os Portugueses no Mediterrâneo Ocidental (1385-1466)*, Lisbon, JNICT / FCG, 1998, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>74</sup> NICOLAS, Gaspar, *Tratado da pratica d'Arismetica*, facsimile ed. with a study by Luís de Albuquerque, Oporto, Civilização, 1963.

group enterprise and their individual activity we need to know more or less almost everything about the economic strategies and the households involved, the political fault lines and levels and bases of support for the wealth they showed. Missing, too, are basic studies of other stakeholders who operated in the market, with the exception, perhaps, of the muleteers<sup>75</sup>. Most commercial purchases and sales were subject to intermediation, involving brokers, and little is known about the activity of these professionals and their social networks and connections.

Due to an absolute lack of data and research, we are not even at a stage that will allow us to understand properly how they accessed information about markets, how they used this information to organise themselves, what support – cultural, economic or other level – was available: there would certainly have been compilations similar to the “merchant manuals” and accounts books that were common throughout Europe in the high Middle Ages. Perhaps it is time to reinstate the project that once led Virgínia Rau and Federigo Melis to join forces in studying a great mass of documentary evidence taken from Italian archives dealing with Portugal. The known examples show individuals and groups in alliance with different typologies of professionals and all those interested in commerce.

Apart from those working on distribution, let us examine how history has considered the market. Doubts arise at the outset about how we deploy concepts. In Portugal, according to Pirenne, any medievalist since Virgínia Rau’s well-known work on medieval fairs<sup>76</sup> has used the word “market” to refer to places for the regular supplying of urban conglomerates. Far from being purely local, fairs and had to last a minimum of two weeks, and were a bridge to other regions of the country and even abroad. Helped by a tradition of medieval law, attempts have often been made, at the level of economic reality, to understand the types of *cartas de feira* (market patents) with the aim of locating economic centres.

Even if it were acceptable these concepts is acceptable, they run the risk of abolishing the more general notion of the market – namely, that abstract place, varying in size, where supply and demand meet, that enables us to approximate the economic reality of the place with some degree of precision, including fairs and markets in the strict sense of the term, the analysis of which requires quantitative data that is hardly abundant and has been searched for and presented. Oliveira Marques described the distribution mechanisms well, in his *Ideário...*, showing the different stages of the process, starting in the warehousing of products in the larger centres and the redistribution from there, in a more institutional form, to

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<sup>75</sup> The most well-known: MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *A acção dos Almocreves no desenvolvimento das comunicações inter-regionais portuguesas nos fins da Idade Média*, Oporto, Brasília Ed., 1979.

<sup>76</sup> RAU, Virgínia, *Feiras Medievais Portuguesas. Subsídios para o seu estudo*, introduction and notes by José Manuel Garcia, Lisbon, Presença, 1982.

the local markets and fairs, and, more freely, through the activity of the muleteers (*almocreves*)<sup>77</sup>. It is essentially this domestic market concerning which most existing monographs have managed to transmit some notion. There remains, however, a dangerous tendency of considering Portugal as a homogenous whole.

Take prices and salaries. As we have mentioned elsewhere in this paper, it is not possible to see Portugal in the medieval period as possessing having a market on a national scale, which would only happen many centuries later<sup>78</sup>, without making a reasonable estimate of prices and salaries, that is credible and geographically referenced. Once again, examples such as those produced by the University of Oporto are worth conspicuous<sup>79</sup>.

The predominant model is clearly qualitative, in that the detection of a reference to a product in a *carta de foral* or *carta de feira* means the indisputable existence of a regular flow of such merchandise. Of course, in this way, the importance and role that each product had in the market and the cycles to which it was subject, are lost. The silence of sources tends to make historians fall into the temptation of “removing” that product from the market.

These observations apply, unfortunately, to many of the products traded. Consider the paradigmatic case of the slave market in Portugal in the late Middle Ages, which is poorly studied. It is true that sources are scarce and there are no systematic records for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but this does not justify not studying it, especially when Portugal had a very significant place in this market.

Active Portuguese participation in the slave trade was noted at the end of the fourteenth century and was strengthened over the following century, to the extent that the kingdom had a firmer presence in the Mediterranean and was able to compensate for the difficulty some Italian markets experienced in meeting European demand. The data even appears to indicate the involvement of Portuguese merchants in this sector having caused a small decline in the price of slaves in some markets in southern Europe. The slave trade would have represented for the kingdom a global business valued at more than 10 million *reais*<sup>80</sup>. Moreover, this trade was very complex, because it took place along with the market for the remission of slaves, which had its own characteristics, though not to be confused with it. It has been foreign researchers who, despite everything, have most addressed these issues of slavery, both from the standpoint of the market, as well as the social and institutional practices linked to it<sup>81</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira, “Ideário para uma História Económica...”, pp. 38-41.

<sup>78</sup> JUSTINO, David, *A formação do espaço económico nacional*, 2 vols, Lisbon, Vega, 1988-1989.

<sup>79</sup> FERREIRA, Sérgio Carlos Moreira Matos, *Preços e Salários em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média*, master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2007.

<sup>80</sup> BARATA, Filipe Themudo, *Navegação, comércio e relações políticas...*, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>81</sup> SOYER, François, “Escravos muçulmanos e libertos em Portugal Medieval”, *Al-Qantara*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2007), pp. 489-516; SAUNDERS, A. A. de C. M., *História Social dos Escravos e Libertos negros em Portugal*

In the long term, searching for a more rigorous, we would say quantitative, knowledge of the markets, thus moving away from purely qualitative models of analysis, the work carried out in Madeira on the history of sugar, deserves special mention for its success in comparing results between investigators from different, particularly Spanish, origins<sup>82</sup>.

A third group of proposals from Oliveira Marques, in his approach to an ideal medieval economic history, refers to consumption, which would imply consideration of the cost of living and of purchasing power. This is one of the most interesting aspects of his proposal. The issues it raises and the questions posed that, in his opinion, needed resolving, remain open today and waiting to be answered. Distribution is, after all, closely related to consumption and, therefore, to knowledge of the preferences of different types of consumers and their purchasing power. Hence the importance of the pioneering attempt of de Oliveira Marques to get closer to Portuguese daily life in the medieval period<sup>83</sup>; it is this knowledge that can safely address consumption.

It is worth, however, asking ourselves whether this point, which stresses the weight and the importance of these complexities, is compatible with the proposal by the same author for a study of cities, economic centres *par excellence*, based on a structural analysis.

### Private finance, capital and trade

Still following Oliveira Marques and his willingness and foresight to set an agenda for considering the medieval economy, it is recognised that he rarely raised the question of the financing of the economy in general and of trade in particular. Despite the importance he attached to studies of coinage and his writings on the subject, perhaps because he tended to look at individual and low-intensity commercial activity, he never examined problems of credit, accumulation and investments. Not being done, it is a question that remains open. However, in medieval trade, as Robert Lopez enjoyed saying in what became a classic text, “unlimited credit was the great lubricant of the Commercial Revolution”<sup>84</sup>.

This issue of the use of credit and the analysis of capital movements and investments would help to contextualise more clearly the status of the merchants

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(1441-1555), Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982.

<sup>82</sup> VIEIRA, Alberto (coord.), *História do Açúcar. Rotas e Mercados*, proceedings of the “II Seminário Internacional sobre a História do Açúcar” (15-19 April 2001), Funchal, Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico / Secretaria Regional do Turismo e da Cultura, 2002.

<sup>83</sup> MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira, *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1974.

<sup>84</sup> LOPEZ, Robert S., *A Revolução Comercial da Idade Média. 950-1350*, Lisbon, Presença, 1980, p. 83.

themselves. On this, it is not possible to start from a prepared agenda, for this has to be reconstituted from studies essentially unrelated.

For medieval Portugal, in general, credit has been associated with the activities of pawnbrokers, that is, those who lent money against the deposit (collateral) of a good. An activity traditionally ascribed to the Jews, it was a resource the rural population used in times of crisis and, for trade, it was a credit that tended to be linked to small businesses. In the monographs on medieval cities mentioned earlier, it was that this form of credit that was most visible, as well as the identity of some of those pawnbrokers.

However, if landowners, for example, wanted to make major improvements to their properties, or if merchants were dealing with higher turnovers, they would have had to resort to credit of another dimension and, nearly always, more complex in its design and in its effects, particularly legal ones.

Probably since they involve financial instruments with a more complex legal structure, it has been legal experts who have studied credit instruments in Portugal, hence the institutional and technical nature shown by most of these studies. Mário Júlio Almeida e Costa, for example, dedicated a study to the analysis of the *censo consignativo*, a credit instrument that showed how, in rural areas, it was possible to raise capital against the payment of an annual rent for life, guaranteed through property<sup>85</sup>. José Gabriel Pinto Coelho, professor of Commercial Law, was concerned with teaching students the origins, benefits and operation of exchange instruments, namely letters<sup>86</sup>.

This unexpected gap has led to difficulties in understanding the mechanisms used by the Portuguese in their business activities, in realising investment choices made in dealing with problems concerning the structure of capital and in justifying evident currency speculation.

Probably, the absence (or ignorance) of sources in the Portuguese archives does not fill these gaps, but documents relating to foreign trade in several European archives allow us to state with confidence that, at different levels, Portuguese traders knew the market and used the most sophisticated credit instruments. Since 1998, it has been possible to show some of these individuals in action<sup>87</sup>: they made maritime loans, bought and sold credits, regularly used letters of exchange in their business activities, knew of and invested in regular banking mechanisms, bought and sold bonds issued in different markets, and bought and sold currency in different foreign exchanges, even speculating against their own national currency.

<sup>85</sup> COSTA, Mário Júlio de Almeida, *Raízes do Censo Consignativo*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1957.

<sup>86</sup> COELHO, José Gabriel Pinto, *Lições de Direito Comercial*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1945, vol. 1.

<sup>87</sup> BARATA, Filipe Themudo, *Navegação, comércio e relações políticas...*, pp. 329-388.



Finally, it has been shown that the difference between all these people who were involved in trade was related to their volume of business, to the networks they formed part of, to the strength of assurances that they obtained, and even to the political protection they enjoyed. The king's merchants and church procurators were able to act with greater confidence in the businesses they were involved in. When part of wider networks, Portuguese merchants managed to obtain securities and guarantees in the various personal and commercial markets, which enabled the professional merchants of the kingdom to act on a greater scale. If necessary – and this often happened – they organised themselves into businesses and companies that could continue or be discontinued at the end of the journey.

In short, they did as all other European merchants did!

### State finances and coinage

On account of their close relationship with political and administrative history, Portuguese fiscal system and coinage were studied in more detail. Furthermore, the historians working on state finances had more reliable records, notably for the fifteenth century.

As was the case in most European national historiographies, fiscal history was first understood as a chapter in the long narrative of the rise of the state, the *centralização* of Portuguese medievalists. While different, the narratives produced by historians as diverse as José Mattoso, A. L. Carvalho Homem, V. Magalhães Godinho and, again, A. H. Oliveira Marques, all stem from an understanding of state finances based upon *centralização*. The former two, with their focus on the unifying role of the monarchy and administrative developments, dismissed thirteenth – and early fourteenth-century fiscal organisation as a “not very coherent system” (“*sistema pouco coerente*”)<sup>88</sup>. Carvalho Homem claimed that this only occurred with the emergence of kingdom-wide sales taxes (*sisas*) and a central planning officer (the *vedor da fazenda*) in the reign of Fernando I<sup>89</sup>. Mattoso, on the other hand, highlighted the reform of the demesne under Afonso III (1248-79) and the expansion of the crown possessions during his forceful rule, which was more of a pragmatic response to the political crisis at the beginning of his reign than the foundation for a new system<sup>90</sup>. Magalhães Godinho, in his seminal essay on state

<sup>88</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um País*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Estampa, 1984, vol. 2, p. 194. This term was cited by HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “A Corte e o Governo Central”, in COELHO, Maria Helena Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras*, Lisbon, Presença, 1995, p. 546.

<sup>89</sup> IDEM, *O Desembargo Régio (1320–1433)*, Oporto, Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990, p. 129.

<sup>90</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Dois Séculos de Vicissitudes Políticas”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História de*

finances in the *longue-durée*, argued that the finances of Portuguese kings were built upon indirect taxation (mainly customs, with tolls and sales taxes following closely behind). Only from the late fourteenth century onwards, with the declaration of the inalienability of the royal demesne, the creation of sales taxes (in 1370, which became permanent in 1408, until revoked in the 1530s) and with the *vedor da fazenda*, could this patrimonial system be considered as truly “public finances”. Iria Gonçalves and Oliveira Marques also highlighted the “modern” nature of the *sisas* that did not acknowledge personal exemptions involved large sums and was imposed by the crown and approved by parliament and thus supported Magalhães Godinho in this instance. To sum up, the *sisas*, a bottom-up innovation devised by the municipalities to pay for their public works, were eventually hijacked by the monarchy. Thus, the *sisas* were a “modern” tax that marked the rise of a coherent fiscal system with autonomous institutions and a “public”, rather than private, rationale.

Recent studies have challenged this grand narrative on both empirical and conceptual levels. Indeed, although poorly documented, the earlier fiscal institutions appear remarkably innovative and sophisticated, especially when compared with their Castilian equivalents<sup>91</sup>. Accounting procedures based upon comprehensive records and led by curial officers, like the high-steward (*mordomo-mor*), were in place in the reign of Afonso II (1211-23). Still, it was only in the last years of the thirteenth century that a specialised body manned by trained accountants, the *Casa dos Contos*, emerged. At that time, the country had already acquired its unified custom system (*alfandegas*)<sup>92</sup>. Eventually, the monarchy carved out for itself what the composite and diverse administrative background of the country did not provide: a countrywide network of fiscal districts, the *almoxarifados*. This process, which gained momentum with the foundation of the *almoxarifado* of Guimarães under Afonso III<sup>93</sup>, emanated from a tendency to place more and more territories (*terrae*) under the custody of appointed officers rather than hand them over to courtly nobles. In 1341, decades before the “modern” *sisas* became a permanent tax, the crown was served by a *vedor da fazenda* who was responsible for tax-farming contracts countrywide and the letting of royal property (at least in Lisbon).

On the whole, Portuguese finances prior to the Fernandine Wars (1369-83) may be regarded as a “domain state”, as anticipated by the so-called Bonney-Ormrod model<sup>94</sup>. There are, however, decisive undertones: firstly, the “domain” of the

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*Portugal*, vol. 2: *A Monarquia Feudal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1994, pp. 113-124. In addition, HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “A Corte e o Governo Central”..., pp. 537-538.

<sup>91</sup> HENRIQUES, António Castro, *State Finance, War and Redistribution in Portugal*..., pp. 144-145.

<sup>92</sup> On these innovations and on bibliography, see IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 130-146.

<sup>93</sup> MATTOSO, José, “1258-1264: O Triunfo da monarquia portuguesa. Ensaio de História Política”, *Análise Social*, vol. 35, no. 157 (2001), pp. 899-935.

<sup>94</sup> BONNEY, Richard, and ORMROD, W. M., “Crisis, revolutions and self-sustained growth: Towards

Portuguese kings encompassed far more than the rents or the produce from the demesne or any other possessions. It comprised a strong element of indirect taxes (mainly tolls and customs) collected or tax-farmed by the monarchy and a multitude of “entitlements” (*direitos reais*) that were apportioned and farmed by the municipalities. Given this structure, thirteenth and fourteenth-century taxation was usually tax-farmed (by individuals or by the municipalities).

The hoarding of a substantial part of the revenues is another striking feature of the Portuguese “domain state”. Even if expenditure records are virtually non-existent for this period, chronicles reveal that some 10% of the revenues were hoarded; a fact that might help to explain the absence of credit operations and the relative rarity of extraordinary taxation.

While the importance of *sisas* cannot be underestimated, recent research has shown that the fourteenth century sales taxes hardly stood for “modern” principles of “public finances”. Rather than a municipal innovation hijacked by the monarchy, the *sisas* were, in fact, a way of allocating the burden of the occasional aids and subsidies demanded by the monarchy (indeed, the first *sisas* were paid by the Jewry of the kingdom to the king). Some municipal records extol the equitability and the efficiency of the *sisas* because it was deemed preferable to taxes on land and rent which harmed municipal elites. The *sisas* allowed the monarchs to tap the affluent trade (mainly wine) of the townships. The sums involved were very significant (approximately 40% of the ordinary revenues in 1381 and 300% in 1402) and, from 1370 onwards, the monarchy attempted to secure them, with or without consent. Thus, the *sisas* were not a municipal tax but rather a method of apportioning the sums required by the monarch, combining the interests of the monarch with those of the municipal land-owning elites. Accordingly, in 1385, at the all-important *Cortes* of Coimbra that saw the election of João I (1385-1433), the representatives of the towns, led by non-agrarian towns, chose to pay a subsidy on land rather than sales.

Any introduction to Portuguese state finances would be incomplete without reference to coinage, to the political roles of the *cortes* and their vested interests, namely of the municipal elites and the lower tier of the nobility. Initially, the role of the *cortes* in consenting to extraordinary taxation appears secondary, as the monarch possessed other, more direct, channels for bargaining with the municipalities. Nonetheless the *cortes* proved their power when in 1255 they extracted a pledge from Afonso III not to intervene in the coinage without consent, and then, obtained

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a conceptual model of change in Fiscal History”, in ORMROD, W. Mark, BONNEY, Margaret, and BONNEY, Richard, *Crisis, revolutions and self-sustained growth. Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830*, Stamford, Shaun Tyas, 1999, pp. 1-21.

another pledge preventing the monarchy from minting more than a limited amount of bullion per reign and from altering the fineness of the coins.

However, the demands of the Fernandine Wars led to collective fiscal bargaining in parliament. Matters of taxation brought Lisbon and other mercantile towns, who were tolerant towards debasements and averse to sales taxes, into conflict with the majority of agrarian towns, like Évora, whose rentier elites had less to fear from indirect taxation than from taxes on land or income. Lisbon and the mercantile interests lost as sales taxes became permanent and taxes on land and rent extraordinary. A comparison between the revenues obtained through the *sisas* and the taxes on wealth (*finta* and *talha*) shows that the monarchy had much to gain from this option. However, after surviving four decades of nearly constant war with Castile (from 1369 to 1411), the monarchy was extremely compliant to the redistributive pressures applied by the military nobility and the ascending municipal and administrative elites. Debasements, coupled with the seigneurial crisis initiated by the Black Death, weakened these land-owning groups to which the monarchy was indebted. Indeed, more than military needs or ventures, redistribution appeared as the driving force behind the formation and consolidation of the “tax state”, an argument that makes Portugal an interesting case for fiscal history. Furthermore, in contrast to the implications of the Bonney-Ormrod model, military activity (which was normally paid for through devices like extraordinary subsidies or debasement) seems to have been stimulated by permanent revenues rather than the other way round.

The study of coinage also attracted considerable attention from Oliveira Marques, whose path-breaking essays on medieval coinage were completed by Maria José Pimenta Ferro<sup>95</sup>. For Oliveira Marques and *structuraliste* historian Magalhães Godinho, the supply of gold and silver was the key variable for explaining the sometimes dramatic monetary fluctuations. For the former, secure coinage hinted at good economic times, whilst depleted coinage was synonymous with “crisis”. For the latter, royal coins were regarded essentially as an indicator of the availability of precious metals in the Portuguese economy. However, this theory left debasements in the late twelfth century and in the second half of the fifteenth century unexplained, and downplayed the bottom-up and top-down political pressures exerted over the coinage.

Rather than just supply, the changes in coinage may be understood as a tug-of-war between the interests of the crown, the special interests (of merchants, renters, rent-paying farmers) and the widespread demand for more money. Indeed, demand for coinage is the most plausible cause of the first debasement of bullion in the late

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<sup>95</sup> Nonetheless, the most important contribution came from the numismatist Mário Gomes Marques, whose synthesis on Portuguese coinage remains a benchmark for future research in the field. MARQUES, Mário Gomes, *História da Moeda Medieval Portuguesa*, Sintra, Instituto de Sintra, 1996.

twelfth century, as happened elsewhere in Europe. This contrasted with a period (1218-61) during which the crown faced diminishing revenues and tried to finance its sustenance and military operations through debasement. While the supply of precious metals appeared as an influential variable in these debasements, those conditions still do not provide the best explanation for the changes in value and in the metals used for money. As stated, the minting capacity of the Portuguese crown had to come to terms with a stringent fiscal-monetary constitution that dictated the limits for issuing new coins for over a century (from 1261 to 1369). This constitution seems to have outlived its utility during the fourteenth-century drain of bullion and the growth of a highly monetised economy which required the growth of the money supply.

Even if the Silver Famine may have been one factor behind the extreme, non-consented debasements under Fernando I, the decay of the standard of the coinage was precipitated by military ventures. With the wars against Castile, the strict policy of the first kings gave way to a general indifference towards the metallic standard of coinage and, eventually copper coinage replaced bullion as the everyday means of exchange, making Portugal a pioneer in the use of *fiat* money. This posed no inconvenience to the monarchy, whose revenues were based upon *sales taxes* and pleased the exporters, namely in Lisbon and some minor land ports. However, the successive debasements during the war years had profound consequences for the *seigneurial* economy, as they severely reduced the value of all rents expressed in money of account. This had a powerful impact as many rents had been set in money of account in a period when the metallic content of the *dinheiro* was still sound<sup>96</sup>. Moreover, strong debasements were a disincentive for market-orientated peasants who had little to gain from trading grain or wine for poor coins, let alone in the context of price-making municipal authorities<sup>97</sup>.

The changes undergone by Portuguese state finances from their twelfth-century origins to the fifteenth century are hardly intelligible within the framework of the “rise of the state”. The Bonney-Ormrod model does a better job in accounting for those changes. Nevertheless, some striking features of the Portuguese case (the fiscal constitution of 1261; the hoarding of treasures until 1369; the importance of redistributive pressures; the precociousness of fiat money; the rise in military activity following the fiscal changes) can also be used to challenge this model.

<sup>96</sup> AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *São Salvador de Grijó...*, pp. 103-107.

<sup>97</sup> The crown took sides and tried to compensate the lords for their loss by issuing a series of ordinances “of equivalence”, that pegged the new coinages to the old money of account in an effort to protect the value of the rents. HENRIQUES, António Castro, *State Finance, War and Redistribution in Portugal...*, pp. 195-205; FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, *Uma Rua de Elite na Guimarães Medieval (1376-1520)*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1989, p. 93.



# *Medieval Portuguese Towns: The Difficult Affirmation of a Historiographical Topic*

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## **1. A recent and little-loved topic**

An essentially rural country until the threshold of the 1960s, Portugal has since witnessed a huge jump in internal migration toward the urban agglomerations of the coast, that have led to an accelerated process of urbanisation, truly explosive after the Revolution of 25th April, so one could say the country is experiencing an assertion and domination of the city, where the majority of the population live. These circumstances have sparked an interest in cities and especially in understanding their transformations, especially because of the need to frame and regulate urban planning.

In the majority of Portuguese urban centres, a nodal feature can clearly be seen, almost always with some wealth of monuments that constitutes the so-called *centro histórico*. In this space is moulded, in a manner plain to see, the rich cultural urban heritage that today's Portugal has known over the centuries and that has helped create the specific identity of each town or city. Recent recognition of the value of this spatial inheritance, resulting in the classification of historic centres as cultural heritage sites along with recognition by UNESCO especially of those most significant and important, has conferred value on these spaces, making them especially attractive to visitors, and generating flows with an obvious economic and cultural impact. However, the problems arising from by trying to strike a balance between conserving the buildings and the architectural complex, the daily existence of the inhabitants as well as their right to a better quality of life, the pressure from

tourism and, above all, from real estate, have transformed historic centres into one of the main concerns and sources of investment for municipal authorities, with obvious broader repercussions<sup>1</sup>. Concerns about historic centres, and especially about the need to demarcate them clearly, take stock of their value, and especially to justify them in urban and historical terms, have demonstrated not only how complex this task is<sup>2</sup>, but also and especially the shortcomings in urban history that still exist in Portugal, since in most cases there is no recourse to historians for the necessary clarification and information, but to architects and city planners whose vision of the city generally lacks the richness of a diachronic perspective in which the historical component is present.

In effect, in Portugal, urban topics do not seem to attract the attention of historians or universities. This is a very different situation from that which can be observed almost everywhere else, especially in Europe and the United States, where dozens and dozens of research centres exclusively dedicated to the study of the city have proliferated, whether historical or interdisciplinary in perspective<sup>3</sup>. This interest has as its corollary the great vitality, evident not only in the myriad university courses on offer – at undergraduate, master's and doctoral level – taking the city as protagonist with urban history playing an important role<sup>4</sup>, but also in the publications exclusively devoted to urban history, both in book and/or journal form<sup>5</sup>, and the academic conferences that bring together hundreds of specialists, such as the *International Conferences* regularly organised by the European Association on Urban History<sup>6</sup>.

This lack of interest in Portugal is all the more surprising in the field of medieval urban history as the major European syntheses date from the 1970s or 80s<sup>7</sup> and in the majority of cases Portuguese town show clear medieval descent. In effect,

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<sup>1</sup> See RAFFESTIN, Yves, DREIDEMIE, Frank, and LEGER, Denys, *Réhabiliter en site occupé*, Paris, Le Moniteur, 1996; MENEZES, Marlucci, *Levantamento social para projectos de reabilitação urbana. Das formas e modos de olhar, registar, analisar e interpretar os contextos sócio-espaciais aos projectos de intervenção*, Lisbon, LNEC, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. as an example *Porto a Património Mundial*, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1993.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. as examples Centre for Urban History at Leicester; Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte; Centre for Urban History of East Central Europe; Institute for European Urban Studies (IfEU); Danish Centre for Urban History; Urban Morphology Research Group and H-URBAN.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. RODGER, Richard, and MENJOT, Denis (orgs.), *Teaching urban history in Europe/L'enseignement de l'histoire urbaine en Europe*, Leicester, Centre for Urban History, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. as examples: *Urban History*; *Histoire Urbaine*; *Storia della Citta*; *Ciudades*; *Journal of Urban History*; *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. [www.eauh.eu](http://www.eauh.eu)

<sup>7</sup> See DALCHÉ, Jean Gautier, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos IX-XIII)*, Madrid, 1979; BAREL, Yves, *La ville médiévale, système social, système urbain*, Grenoble, 1975; *Histoire de la France Urbaine*, vol. 2: *La ville médiévale, des Carolingiens à la Renaissance*, Paris, Seul, 1980. PLATT, Colin, *The English medieval town*, London, 1976, *Les Villes dans le Monde Ibérique: Actes*, Paris, Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982.



if you look more closely at Portuguese towns and their designated historical centres, in the majority of cases the importance of the medieval component is plain to see. This is evident in aspects such as the preservation of a legible medieval ground plan, the existence of landmark Romanesque and/or Gothic monuments, or in the less visible but more important archaeological vestiges that help establish chronologies for occupation and development.

One would therefore have expected greater interest in urban topics from the Portuguese historiography and particularly from medievalists, not only in terms of providing rigorous and scientific responses to the many complex questions that the study and life of historical urban centres pose for contemporary society, but especially as this is an important topic in the context of European and American historiography, that is, of those to whom we are culturally closest, even as urban studies and more specifically those on urban history may be gaining increasing importance in such significant geographical areas as Latin America and Asia.

This lack of interest in urban history on the part of the Portuguese academic establishment is not confined to medievalists, but can largely be explained by the tendency to associate research on urban centres with the despised matter of local history, the latter being considered a less demanding academic pursuit, almost exclusively the preserve of so-called local “savants”, whose love for “their” town excuses methodological shortcomings and absence of theory<sup>8</sup>. The academic world casts a condescending eye on them, as you can see from this comment Francisco Ribeiro da Silva: “The local historian should be familiar with historical research methods but not be too wedded to them and should invent his own method, where possible”<sup>9</sup>.

This is a difficult stance to counter, given the long tradition that began in the nineteenth century, when a weak or non-existence assertion of historical-cultural regions in nineteenth-century Portugal<sup>10</sup> did not allow the development of local history with a regional context resulting instead, in a history of localities, that is, of towns and cities, giving continuity to timeless demonstrations of local pride and individualism, deeply-entrenched in these communities. Encouraged by liberal and republican intellectuals, who considered local history a particularly suitable vehicle for consolidating nationalism and the historical awareness of communities<sup>11</sup>, it took

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<sup>8</sup> See SILVA, Francisco Ribeiro da, “História local: objetivos, métodos e fontes” in *Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida In Memoriam*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 388-390.

<sup>9</sup> “O historiador local deve conhecer as metodologias da investigação histórica, mas não estar demasiado preso a elas e inventar o seu próprio método, quando for possível”; cf. IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, António de, “Da história das pátrias à história local”, in *A cidade e o campo. Colectânea de estudos*, Coimbra, 2000, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> See BRAGA, Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond, “Poder local e historiografia universitária sobre temáticas regionais (1974-2000)”, in FONSECA, Fernando Taveira da (coord.), *O Poder local em tempo de globalização*.

root outside the universities, fed by local scholars, who almost always came from the cultural elites of these communities, which meant they had little difficulty in publishing and promulgating their works, though rarely beyond the local and/or regional sphere.

Schooled in an earlier tradition of chorographic studies, these writings were influenced, however by the reigning positivist vision of valuing documentation, benefitting not only from legislation<sup>12</sup> obliging local councils to support these histories of localities – or *anais* as the nineteenth-century legislator called them – but also from the sudden local and regional eruption of an interventionist press and the formation of dynamic cultural societies. For the latter, conserving the story of their town or city was tantamount to a primordial mission.

Despite attempts to create a more scientific framework, as was the case of intellectuals championing the introduction of regional, town or city history on the school curriculum in primary schools, or of the promotion of the Frenchman León Poincard's visit to Portugal in 1909 to disseminate more up-to-date methods for drafting monographs on small places<sup>13</sup>, studies of this type remained excluded from the universities, where history became part of the degree in historical and geographical studies<sup>14</sup> in 1911. We may therefore consider as an isolated and merely didactic attempt the publication prepared by Marcello Caetano in 1935, intended to provide guidance on the writing of monographs on Portuguese municipalities by students of administrative law and entitled *Monografias sobre os concelhos portugueses*<sup>15</sup>, a concern doubtless the product of his academic interest in municipal autonomy<sup>16</sup>.

In the wake of the known appetite of legal scholars<sup>17</sup> for historical research, it was they who advanced the study of the urban world of the past, but from a specific perspective, ignoring its spatial and geographical basis, to focus exclusively on political organisation. This theme was appropriated during the second half of the nineteenth century and the greater part of the twentieth century by affiliates of

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*Uma história e um futuro. Comunicações*, Viseu, Palimage, 2005, p. 172.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. SILVA, Armando Malheiro, "Arquivos municipais e história local", *1º Encontro de História Local-Actas*, Espinho, Câmara Municipal de Espinho, 2006, p. 121.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. IDEM, "O Minho nas monografias (sécs. XIX-XX). Notas para uma revisão sistemática dos estudos locais", offprint of *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 43, pp. 34 and 36.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. HOMEM, Armando Luís de, "A Idade Média nas universidades portuguesas (1911-1987). Legislação, ensino, investigação", *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa – Série História*, no. 1 (1994), pp. 331-332.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. SILVA, Armando Malheiro, *O Minho nas monografias (sécs. XIX-XX)...*, pp. 31-37.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. as an example CAETANO, Marcello, *A administração municipal de Lisboa durante a primeira dinastia (1179-1383)*, Lisbon, 1981, reed.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the various examples presented in TORGAL, Luís Reis, MENDES, José Amado, and CATROGA, Fernando, *História da História em Portugal. Séculos XIX e XX*, Col. Temas e Debates, Lisbon, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 199-201 and 210.

the university and by the self-taught, specialists following an autonomous course, outside any institution. Picking up a topic, dear to Herculano, that of municipal institutions, others followed him, such as Gama Barros and above all Marcello Caetano<sup>18</sup>.

The first academic studies on urban themes, and the first deemed rigorous and scientific, came not from history, but from geography, which had matured sufficiently to stand alone in the Portuguese university education system, with the creation in 1930 of the degree in Geographical Sciences<sup>19</sup>. In practice, a pioneering series of studies of urban geography works with a considerable historical bent<sup>20</sup> appeared in the 1920s and 30s, among which Amorim Girão's thesis on Viseu, published in 1925<sup>21</sup>, stands out. Urban topics continued to feature in Girão's academic output, as one of the principal motivators of numerous undergraduate dissertations on urban settlements presented at the University of Coimbra in the 1950s<sup>22</sup>.

Yet one could also say that it was the increasing urbanisation of the Portuguese population, beginning with the 1960s that created the conditions for geography to promote the emergence of the city as a research topic. This process owed a great deal to Orlando Ribeiro and to some of his disciples like Jorge Gaspar and J. M. Pereira de Oliveira. In practice, it was the founder of modern Portuguese geography who, despite stating that "my predilection was for rural studies and the variety of civilisation's contacts..."<sup>23</sup>, developed from that decade onwards a series of paradigmatic studies on approaches to towns from a historical-geographical perspective<sup>24</sup>, amongst which the "Cidade" entry in the then-innovative *Dicionário de História de Portugal*<sup>25</sup> stands out, and opened the way for Pereira de Oliveira's work on Oporto<sup>26</sup> and, especially, for the innovative approaches of Jorge Gaspar, the highlight being his doctoral thesis on Évora's sphere of influence<sup>27</sup>.

The interest taken by geography in the city was responsible for introducing to Portugal questions, operational ideas, methods and concepts hitherto unheard

<sup>18</sup> This topic will be examined in more depth in the respective chapter in this work.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. CLAUDINO, Sérgio, "O ensino de Geografia em Portugal. Uma perspectiva", in *Inforgeo*, 15, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2000, pp. 189-190.

<sup>20</sup> See GARCIA, João Carlos, "As cidades na obra de Orlando Ribeiro", in *Penélope. Fazer e desfazer a história*, no. 7 (1992), pp. 108-109.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. GIRÃO, A. Amorim, *Viseu, estudo de uma aglomeração urbana*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1925.

<sup>22</sup> See GARCIA, João Carlos, "As cidades na obra de Orlando Ribeiro"... , pp. 109.

<sup>23</sup> "[A] minha predilecção fosse para os estudos rurais e a variedade dos contactos de civilização...": cf. RIBEIRO, Orlando, *Memórias de um geógrafo*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa Editores, 2003, p. 133.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. IDEM, *Opúsculos geográficos*, vol. 5: *Temas Urbanos*, Lisbon, FCG, 1994.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. IDEM, "Cidade", in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 574-580.

<sup>26</sup> OLIVEIRA, J.M. Pereira de, *O espaço urbano do Porto*, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Coimbra, 1973.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. GASPAR, Jorge, *A Área de Influência de Évora*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1972.

of in such studies, imported, for the most part, from France, the cultural area closest to Portuguese geographers, a proximity underlined by the publication in 1983, in the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian's collection of university textbooks, of Jacqueline Beaujeu-Garnier's landmark work on urban geography, in a translation by Orlando Ribeiro's disciple, Raquel Soeiro de Brito<sup>28</sup>, designed for university courses in geography. These initiatives assumed even greater importance when, later, Portuguese history later began to take an interest in research on urban centres. Concepts such as the area of influence<sup>29</sup>, peri-urban area<sup>30</sup> and urban network<sup>31</sup> or questions such as the agricultural use of land within the city's influence, or a town or city's functional dynamic, are now correctly used by historians without having to reflect on their origin, so accommodated are they in urban historical research. Urban geography, moreover, was also responsible for spreading interest in analysing the organisation of urban spaces and the need to accompany such studies with meticulous cartography<sup>32</sup>, something largely addressed by city historians, though with less proficiency.

More interested nowadays, in regional and urban planning, and especially in territory, Portuguese geographers pay less attention to urban geography (Teresa Barata Salgueiro's synthesis dates back to 1992)<sup>33</sup>, which is increasingly shifting from an approach that incorporates a historical perspective. Without ever having worked together on a topic they have in common, historians and geographers are now heading off in increasingly more divergent directions, losing in the process a neighbourliness that enriched the historical approach to Portuguese cities and that could yet bear considerable fruit.

However, the intensive urbanisation of the Portuguese population and the perplexities caused by the disorderly manner in which cities have grown, and the

<sup>28</sup> BEAUJEAU-GARNIER, Jacqueline, *Geografia Urbana*, Lisbon, FCG, 1983.

<sup>29</sup> See GONÇALVES, Iria, "Para o estudo da área de influência do Porto nos fins da Idade Média", in GONÇALVES, Iria, *Um olhar sobre a cidade medieval*, Cascais Patrimonia, 1996, pp. 139-152.

<sup>30</sup> See TRINDADE, Maria José Lagos, and GASPAR, Jorge, "A utilização agrária do solo em torno de Lisboa, na Idade Média e a teoria de Von Thunen", in TRINDADE, Maria José Lagos, *Estudos de História medieval*, Lisbon, 1981, pp. 231-240; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, "O espaço periurbano da vila portuguesa de Tomar", in CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Horizontes do Portugal Medieval. Estudos Históricos*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1999, pp. 129-139.

<sup>31</sup> See GASPAR, Jorge, "Le réseau urbain et la campagne au Portugal (XIIe-XVIIe siècle)", in *Città e campagne in Europa*, Storia della Città no. 36, Milano, Electa, 1989, pp. 113-129 and ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *Vilas, poder régio e fronteira: o exemplo do Entre Lima e Minho medieval*, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1994, typewritten.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. GASPAR, Jorge, "A morfologia urbana de padrão geométrico na Idade Média", *Finisterra* [Lisbon], vol. 4 (1969), pp. 198-215, and IDEM, "A cidade portuguesa na Idade Média: aspectos da estrutura física e desenvolvimento funcional", in *La ciudad hispanica durante los siglos XIII al XVI*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 133-147.

<sup>33</sup> See SALGUEIRO, Teresa Barata, *A cidade em Portugal. Uma Geografia Urbana*, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1992.

consequent complication of urban existence that Portugal has witnessed since the 1960s, coincided, too, with the academic emergence of other branches of the social and human sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, which also include cities and especially urban societies in their remit. Although Portuguese historiography, not even contemporary history, is not particularly close to these branches of knowledge, it has remained aware of foreign literature from classics like Max Weber<sup>34</sup> to more recent authors such as Henri Lefebvre<sup>35</sup> or C. Topolov<sup>36</sup>, among others<sup>37</sup>. Questions now present in the historical approach to Portuguese cities are indebted to sociology and anthropology, including topics such as the social experience of space, the disposition of power in the organisation of space, analysis of social systems or the role of rituals of affirmation in urban societies, especially with regard to their leaders in particular, though such concepts have arrived indirectly via foreign historiography<sup>38</sup>.

The urban reality Portugal has experienced in more recent decades has further prompted development of studies on the city from the perspectives of urbanism, urban design and the history of architecture<sup>39</sup>. In the Portuguese case, such studies have by tradition been linked to training at the Fine Arts schools, closely tied to history in that their course outlines reflected Portuguese historiography's own lack of interest in urban history, which for a long time restricted the scope and richness of interpretation. However, the search for urban planning models and the close attention paid to form using a very stabilised lexicon and rigorous use of measurements, proved crucial to approaches to the reading of space that historians have more recently undertaken<sup>40</sup>.

While the study of the city attracted the attention of the social sciences, encouraging a renewal of perspectives and of methods in tackling the city that would prove highly important for the development of urban history, Portuguese historiography, and with it medievalism, continued to view the city as a mere

<sup>34</sup> See WEBER, Max, *La Ville*, Paris, Aubier Montaigne, 1982 (1st edition, 1921).

<sup>35</sup> See LEFEBVRE, Henri, *La Production de l'espace*, Paris, Economica, 2000 (re-ed.) and *Espace et politique - Le droit à la Ville*, Paris, Economica, 2000.

<sup>36</sup> See LEPETIT, Bernard, and TOPOLOV, Christian (dirs.), *La ville des sciences sociales*, Paris, Belin, 2001.

<sup>37</sup> See AGIER, Michel, *Esquisses d'une anthropologie de la ville*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Academia Bruylant, 2009; BASSAND, Michel, KAUFMANN, Vincent, and JOYE, Dominique (dirs.), *Enjeux de la Sociologie Urbaine*, Lausanne, Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes, 2007; HANNERZ, Ulf, *Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1980; KLENIEWSKI, Nancy (ed.), *Cities and Society*, Blackwell Publishing, 2005; PINÇON, Michel, and PINÇON-CHARLOT, Monique, *Paris Mosaïque, Promenades Urbaines*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 2001.

<sup>38</sup> See *infra*, 2. When urban history took centre stage.

<sup>39</sup> See ROSSA, Walter, "História do Urbanismo e Identidade - a arte inconsciente da comunidade", in *A urbe e o traço. Uma década de estudos sobre urbanismo português*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2002, pp. 13-22.

<sup>40</sup> See TRINDADE, Maria Luísa, *Urbanismo na composição de Portugal*, doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2009.

backdrop, virtually always forgotten or an appropriate topic for local scholars, limited to the secondary sphere of local history, beyond the remit of the university<sup>41</sup>. This situation also reflected the slow institutionalisation of university-level history teaching, along with the intellectual climate of the *Estado Novo*<sup>42</sup>.

## 2. When urban history took centre stage

Studies of medieval Portuguese urban history developed significantly in the 1980s, inspired and directed by Oliveira Marques. Such an assertion seems a little surprising when made by researchers trained to *think historically*. In fact, whenever any reality is to be analysed, the various constraints on its emergence, sustainability or decline must be spelled out. This premise applies to all processes, even those where the subject and object coincide, as is the case with the paths followed by recent historiography. In order to explain this expansion in a specific field of research, one needs to establish a bridge between the constraints experienced at the time, possible changes in the paradigm of knowledge, especially in the social sciences, the power of certain historiographical schools and the consequent preference for certain research topics. By privileging the action of a single historian in this radical break with the history of towns and cities undertaken earlier, we do not mean to negate (or even minimise) the influence or porosity of these general catalysing tendencies. Just to remain within the Peninsula, for instance, there has been a chronological similarity in the way medieval urban history has progressed in Portugal and Spain<sup>43</sup>. However, we would like consciously to honour the human factor at the national level.

Yet what was the “Oliveira Marques phenomenon”, to adopt an expression already applied to H. J. Dyos<sup>44</sup>? Let us begin by explaining what similarities are manifest between the action of the *father of urban history* and of the great promoter of Portuguese studies on medieval towns: in both cases you have a determined historian, a project and the effective means to achieve it. That determination was

<sup>41</sup> See HOME, Armando Luís de, ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and AMARAL, Luís Carlos, “Por onde vem o medievalismo em Portugal?”, *Revista de História Económica e Social* [Lisbon], no. 22, January-April (1988), pp. 115-138.

<sup>42</sup> See ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, “O ensino da História Urbana nas universidades portuguesas: práticas e perspectiva”, in MENESES, Avelino de Freitas de, and COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e (coords.), *O reino, as ilhas e o mar oceano. Estudos de Homenagem a Artur Teodoro de Matos*, Lisbon / Ponta Delgada, Universidade dos Açores / Centro de História de Além Mar, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 265-283.

<sup>43</sup> ASENJO GONZÁLEZ, María, “La ciudad medieval castellana: panorama historiográfico”, *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, vol. 50, no. 175 (1990); EADEM, “Las ciudades medievales castellanas. Balance y perspectivas de su desarrollo historiográfico (1990-2004)”, *En la España Medieval*, vol. 28 (2005), pp. 415-453.

<sup>44</sup> CANNADINE, David, “Urban history in the United Kingdom: the ‘Dyos phenomenon’ and after”, in CANNADINE, David, and REEDER, David (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past. Essays in Urban History by H. J. Dyos*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 203-221.

translated into the ability to launch new study topics guaranteed a good reception, as a result of the wealth of prestige Oliveira Marques had amassed due to the pioneering works in Portuguese historiography he had already accomplished. Nor should we overlook that an atmosphere of innovation towards the traditional canons of *learning and doing history* reigned at the time, as embodied by the recent foundation of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas at the Nova University of Lisbon (FCSH-UNL).

At the beginning of the 1980s, Oliveira Marques suggested, in his own words, the expansion of an “*história científica urbana*” (urban scientific history)<sup>45</sup> that had first entered the Portuguese historiographical landscape after the April 25th 1974, and had yielded, as far as the Middle Ages were concerned, just one monograph<sup>46</sup>. To achieve this, he drafted and disseminated in two methodological articles an *ideal plan* for research. The systematic and exhaustive nature of this programme is representative of the fundamentals that guided Oliveira Marques’ historiographical thinking<sup>47</sup>: it comprises in geographical characterisation of sites, the analysis of structures – space and morphology, population, property, economy, society, local government and the justice system, religion, culture, architecture and plastic arts, hygiene and health – whilst not neglecting, in conclusion, a comprehension of an urban centre’s lived experience of events<sup>48</sup>.

This ambitious *plan* did not remain merely on paper, since the conditions to put it (partly) into execution were created. With the opening of the master’s in Medieval History at FCSH-UNL, in 1981, Oliveira Marques had available a seminar, initially biennial, on the city. The other seminars making up the post-graduate curriculum were yearly, and focussed on the nobility (directed by José Mattoso), parliaments (Maria José Ferro Tavares and Iria Gonçalves), and property (Iria Gonçalves). From then on, the number of studies that followed the *plan* as an archetype multiplied in direct ratio to the number of students taking the course, in its various options. The policy of publishing studies promoted by Oliveira Marques and welcomed by various publishing houses and city councils helped boost the programme’s visibility.

Yet Oliveira Marques’ *projecto urbano* (urban project) was not achieved through the fertile monographs that he supervised, based solidly on documents,

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<sup>45</sup> Preface to ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *Um espaço urbano medieval: Ponte de Lima*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990.

<sup>46</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *Santarém medieval*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1980.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the objectives of “*Ideário para uma História Económica de Portugal na Idade Média*”, outlined by the author in the preface to the 1st edition of MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Ensaio de História Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Portugália Editora, 1965, p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> IDEM, “*Introdução à história da cidade medieval portuguesa*” and “*As cidades medievais portuguesas (Algumas bases metodológicas gerais)*”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Novos Ensaio de História Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1988, pp. 13-67.

from *fontes primárias, de arquivo* (primary sources, archives) for the most part, forming a *universo de documentação específica e inédita* (universe of specific and never-before-seen documentation). These were only a means to achieve his real objective – *conhecer a cidade medieval portuguesa* (finding out about medieval Portuguese cities). This needed to look beyond the *mera compilação de dados eruditos* (mere compilation of scholarly data), moving on to *interpretação, teorização e a comparação* (interpretation, theorisation and comparison). This would be accomplished by applying the same grid to documents from all the different urban centres. Of course, the specificities of the sources preserved by each centre, and the ingenuity of the various authors, always ended up making the studies different. But with the definition of *denominadores comuns* (common denominators), the expression *cidade medieval portuguesa* (medieval Portuguese cities) began to correspond to a category with defined content, and not in the *chavões tradicionais* (traditional mould)<sup>49</sup>.

Obviously, one cannot hold Oliveira Marques fully responsible for the boom in urban history of the Middle Ages in Portugal. The reorganisation of the curriculum of the FCSH-UNL master's program contributed in itself to examining questions in greater issues in more depth that, even if the city was not the overall purpose, focussed on realities that intruded into this area. We refer to the substitution of seminars on parliaments and property by others on “poverty and assistance”, led by Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares and on “the countryside in the urban periphery” by Iria Gonçalves. As it is impossible to quote all these studies in this text, we should underline their importance in broadening knowledge of the urban world.

Various historians have researched this topic over time, of whom Iria Gonçalves<sup>50</sup> stands out for the incisive, attentive and singular perspective she brought, among many other topics, to the street, to daily life, or to the links between city and countryside. This latter point influenced, as we shall see, the direction historiography would later take on the medieval urban world. In this way, although the *Plan* remained an uncontested model for monographs, Portuguese output in this field also resulted in studies dealing with concrete aspects of urban reality, such as: landscape, squares, defensive structures, neighbourhoods, place names, city planning interventions, public health, welfare, feasts, solidarity and minority groups... Various historians contributed to making this thematic effervescence happen, broadening the *medieval urban horizons*, both through the intensive international bibliography and through initiatives that brought the authors of these

<sup>49</sup> The expressions in italics are the words of A. H. de Oliveira Marques, written in the prefaces to VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, *Abrantes medieval (1300-1500)*, Abrantes, Câmara Municipal, 1988, and CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves, *Tomar medieval. O espaço e os homens*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996.

<sup>50</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, *Um olhar sobre a cidade medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996.



works themselves to our country, which such as Jean Pierre Leguay and Jacques Heers. Here we would refer to the “Seminário Aberto sobre a Cidade Medieval”, held at the FCSH-UNL in the 1986-87 and 1990-91 academic years and organised by Amélia Aguiar Andrade, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, João Alves Dias and João Silva de Sousa. Adopting a multidisciplinary character, these monthly meetings brought together researchers from all over the country with an interest in the urban world. Given this undeniable strength, one can understand the reasons why, in 1988, in a *state of the art* on the direction of medieval Portuguese historiography in which one of the authors of this study collaborated, urban history was declared to be in the lead<sup>51</sup>.

Chronologically in parallel with this movement, there developed a research area where the urban converged with the municipal. Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho produced an initial synthesis<sup>52</sup>, making it one of her special research areas and Humberto Baquero Moreno directed a systematic research programme focussing on the city of Oporto as a spatial object. The evolution of issues such as these will be followed in the chapter in this book on local authorities.

During the 1980s and part of the 90s, urban history was one of the most dynamic areas of Portuguese medievalist production, both in qualitative terms – as cities became embedded as objects of study *per se* – and in terms of the number of investigators. Accordingly, various professors and a considerable share of the students taking the first master’s courses instituted in Medieval History<sup>53</sup>, especially

<sup>51</sup> HOME, Armando Luís de Carvalho, ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and AMARAL, Luís Carlos, “Por onde vem o medievismo”...

<sup>52</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero de, *O poder concelhio, das origens às Cortes constituintes*, Coimbra, Centro de Estudos de Formação Autárquica, 1986.

<sup>53</sup> Here is a list of the theses and seminar works on medieval cities produced in the context of the master’s degree in Medieval History at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, supervised by various professors from the Faculty. It should be noted that the dates of publication for the works are later than they were written. ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *Um espaço urbano medieval...*; BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima, *Silves. A capital de um reino medieval*, Silves, Câmara Municipal de Silves, 1992; BRAGA, Paulo Drumond, *Setúbal medieval (séculos XIII a XV)*, Setúbal, Câmara Municipal de Setúbal, 1998; CARVALHO, Sérgio Luís, *A vila de Sintra nos séculos XIV e XV*, Sintra, Câmara Municipal de Sintra, 1989; CONDE, Manuel Sílvia Alves, *Tomar Medieval...*; CORREIA, Fernando Branco, *Elvas na Idade Média*, 2 vols., master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1999; DIAS, Nuno Pizarro, *Chaves medieval (séculos XIII e XIV)*, offprint of *Aquae Flaviae*, no. 3, June (1990); FERRO, João Pedro, *Alenquer medieval (séculos XII-XV). Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996 (undergraduate degree work); GOMES, Rita Costa, *A Guarda medieval. Posição, morfologia e sociedade (1200-1500)*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1987; MACIAS, Santiago, “Moura na baixa Idade Média: elementos para um estudo histórico e arqueológico”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no 2, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1993, pp. 127-157; IDEM, *Mértola islâmica. Estudo histórico-arqueológico do bairro da Alcáçova (séculos XII -XIII)*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1996; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and VIANA, Mário, “A mouraria de Lisboa no século XV”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 2, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1993, pp. 191-209; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, *Alcácer do Sal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2000; SILVA, Manuela Santos, *Estruturas urbanas e administração concelhia. Óbidos medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1997; BRANCO, Maria João, *Aveiro medieval*, Aveiro, Câmara Municipal de Aveiro, 1991; VILAR, Herminia Vasconcelos, *Abrantes Medieval...* Although not within the ambit of this course, Saul António Gomes also carried out several studies of the urban world, focusing on Porto de Mós and Leiria, such as, for example, GOMES, Saul António, *Porto de*

but not only<sup>54</sup> at the Nova University, saw their names linked to a city or town, re-doubling falling over their efforts to write dissertations, articles and conference presentations. Yet it is also true that the interest of the (then) young in urban history did not last: some abandoned it definitively, others were guided by it to emerging historiographical topics, while yet others strayed temporarily and later returned with fresh approaches. On balance, although many medievalists conducted work on cities and towns, they were only “incidental”<sup>55</sup> urban historians, as only a few remained committed to the subject. The work of Ângela Beirante stands out as paradigm of perseverance in research into urban issues, of which we highlight, among her countless publications, her doctoral thesis<sup>56</sup>.

And what was the result?

Oliveira Marques reviewed the studies that had been completed, drawing attention to the unequal chronological weight given to the late Middle Ages and the poor coverage of the country’s hinterland<sup>57</sup>. Fifteen years later, this assessment of the execution of a project that had initially been his, his words remain valid, as the shortcomings and imbalances persisting to this day. Although the poor geographical coverage may be addressed by further studies, the late-medieval bias remains as something structural, relating to the availability of sources. The majority of authors begin with the origins of urban centres – whether the Christian reconquest, or pre – or proto-history, via the Roman, Germanic or Muslim periods. However, so briefly are these periods covered, they become mere introductions to the effective subject, namely, to cities and towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are exceptions, as is the case of the monograph on Elvas. There has also been a fall in the number of doctoral theses<sup>58</sup> and master’s dissertations on the topic. As regards the latter, the shorter deadlines for presentation mean that it is impossible to invest exhaustively in collecting medieval documents on an urban centre. The time when

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*Mós medieval (breves subsídio para o seu conhecimento)*, Porto de Mós, Câmara Municipal de Porto de Mós, 1985, and IDEM, “A organização do espaço urbano numa cidade estremenha: Leiria medieval”, in TAVARES, Maria José Ferro (coord.), *A cidade. Jornadas inter e pluridisciplinares. Actas II*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1993, pp. 81-112.

<sup>54</sup> FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, *Uma rua de elite na Guimarães medieval (1376-1520)*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1989; EADEM, *Barcelos: terra de condes. Uma abordagem preliminar (Parte I e II)*, offprint of *Barcelos-Revista* (1991-1992); EADEM, *Guimarães: ‘duas vilas, um só povo’. Estudo de história urbana (1250-1389)*, Braga, CITCEM / Instituto de Ciências Sociais – Universidade do Minho, 2010 (presented in 1997); MARTINS, José António de Jesus, *Lagos medieval*, master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1995, typewritten.

<sup>55</sup> CANNADINE, David, “Urban history in the United Kingdom...”, p. 210.

<sup>56</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *Évora na Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1996.

<sup>57</sup> Preface to FERRO, João Pedro, *Alenquer medieval...*

<sup>58</sup> BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima, *A construção de uma identidade urbana no Algarve medieval. O caso de Loulé*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2007. A thesis on Setúbal is currently being worked on by Ana Cláudia Silveira.

final seminar works would become urban monographs, as happened in the first publications of the FCSH-UNL master's course, already seems remote<sup>59</sup>.

As we have seen, the results Oliveira Marques sought went above and beyond increasing the number of case studies. His proposition was to compare and systematise, forming the *Atlas das cidades medievais portuguesa*, which appeared in 1990<sup>60</sup>, a first fulfilment of this aim, although there were notorious methodological weaknesses in terms of the cartography. However, despite the existence of some piecemeal syntheses<sup>61</sup>, the publication of an urban history of medieval Portugal has been delayed.

In 2001, one of the authors of this text stated that, when compared with 1988, urban history had seen *a progression with continuity*, with the conclusion of studies currently in progress, the execution of others and the exploration of avenues hitherto delayed, such as connecting the urban centre with larger realities<sup>62</sup>. In a *state of the*

<sup>59</sup> Hitherto, and ruling out the dissertations on the city of Oporto which will come under another independent note, only three were defended, on Guimarães, Arraiolos and Caldas da Rainha respectively: SÁ, Alberto, *Sinais da Guimarães Urbana em 1498*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2001; PAULO, Sandra Cristina Espingardeiro, *Arraiolos Medieval. Organização do Espaço e Estruturas Sociais*, Évora, Universidade de Évora, 2007, and DUARTE, Miguel Nuno, *Uma vila que gravita em redor de uma instituição assistencial. A recuperação do património urbanístico do Hospital das Caldas até 1533*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 2008. A dissertation on Estremoz is being prepared at the FCSH-UNL by Marco Liberato.

<sup>60</sup> *Atlas das Cidades Medievais Portuguesas (séculos XII-XV)*, vol. 1: *História Medieval – 1*, edited by António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, Iria Gonçalves and Amélia Aguiar Andrade, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990.

<sup>61</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, “A paisagem urbana medieval portuguesa: uma aproximação”, in ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *Horizontes urbanos medievais*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2004, pp. 11-41; EADEM, “Um percurso através da paisagem urbana”, *ibid.*, pp. 44-53; EADEM, “Percurso vivido, percursos conhecidos nos núcleos urbanos medievais”, *ibid.*, pp. 55-66; EADEM, “Espaços públicos e espaços privados nas cidades portuguesas de finais da Idade Média”, *ibid.*, pp. 67-82; EADEM, “Conhecer e nomear: a toponímia das cidades medievais portuguesas”, *ibid.*, pp. 83-96; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, “As mancebias das cidades medievais portuguesas” in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa – visão histórica e perspectivas actuais, Actas do Colóquio* (March 1985), Coimbra, Instituto História Económica e Social da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra, vol. 1, 1986, pp. 221-241; EADEM, “Espaços de sociabilidade nas cidades medievais portuguesas”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, FL-UP / Livraria Civilização, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 939-946; COSTA, Adelaide Millán da, “A propriedade e o poder no espaço urbano quatrocentista”, in ARAÚJO, Renata, CARITA, Hélder, and ROSSA, Walter (coords.), *Actas do Colóquio Internacional Universo Urbanístico Português. 1415-1822*, Lisbon, CNCDP, 2001, pp. 23-36; EADEM, *O mundo urbano medieval*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 2003; EADEM, “O espaço urbano”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, vol. 1: *A Idade Média*, coordinated by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, pp. 24-39; DIAS, Nuno Pizarro, *As cidades de fronteira de Portugal com a Galiza*, offprint of *Cadernos do Noroeste*, vol. 3, nos. 1-2 (1990); GONÇALVES, Iria, “Relação entre os concelhos e o espaço, segundo o *Corpus* legislativo de produção local, na Idade Média”, in ARAÚJO, Renata, CARITA, Hélder, and ROSSA, Walter (coords.), *Actas do Colóquio Internacional Universo Urbanístico Português...*, pp. 51-56; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Les villes portugaises au Moyen Âge (XIVe-XVe siècles)”, *Villes et sociétés urbaines au Moyen Âge*, Paris, PUF, 1994; SILVA, Manuela Santos, “As cidades (séculos XII-XV)”, in MEDINA, João (dir.), *História de Portugal dos tempos Pré-Históricos aos nossos dias*, vol. 3, s. l., Ediclube 1993; TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, *Pobres, Minorias e Marginais: Localização no Espaço Urbano*, in TAVARES, Maria José Ferro (coord.), *A cidade. Jornadas Inter e Pluridisciplinares...*, vol. 1, pp. 141-153.

<sup>62</sup> COSTA, Adelaide Millán da, “Os tempos do medievalismo e as rupturas do século”, *O Estudo da*

*art* on medievalism, published the same year, Carvalho Homem was much more incisive, detecting in the area a *ralentissement*, a *weariness*, a *diversion* to other areas with closer links to power<sup>63</sup>.

Let us observe the works alleged to be diverting. They focussed on the interaction between towns and their surroundings, treating such categories as a whole<sup>64</sup>; they approached regions without any administrative, political or geographical unity but where interdependence existed<sup>65</sup>; they analysed sub-regions, reading the existing urban centres in their relation to the rural, discovering influences, complementarities and hierarchies<sup>66</sup>, and analysed the process of urbanisation in a given area as a strategy of the territorial domination of regal power<sup>67</sup>. Notable in some of these works are echoes of the special attention paid by Iria Gonçalves to relations between urban centres and rural spaces. This same perspective is clearly evident in the different colloquia that were held on a project led by her on rural and urban landscapes<sup>68</sup>. Curiously, some authors whose studies initially focussed exclusively on the urban world have progressed to include the countryside, whereas others have followed the opposite path. Yet another type of studies was produced, on the political reading of urban space<sup>69</sup>, on the approach to work and production<sup>70</sup>, and a proposal for understanding urban morphology<sup>71</sup> in the area of the history of urbanism. Some of these proposals revealed clearly the influence of José Mattoso's interpretations of the role of cities in medieval Portugal. Although this historian has examined urban issues less frequently, whenever he has done so, he has made very fruitful interpretive suggestions, such as the political role he assigns to urban

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*História* [Lisbon, Associação de Professores de História], no. 4 (2001), pp. 45-52.

<sup>63</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "O Medievismo em Liberdade", in PROENÇA, Maria Cância (coord.), *Um século de ensino da História*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2001, pp. 198-199.

<sup>64</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo nos finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1995; VIANA, Mário, *Espaço e povoamento de uma vila portuguesa (Santarém, 1147-1350)*, doctoral thesis, Ponta Delgada, Universidade dos Açores, 2003, typewritten (although in this case the connection covers an earlier period).

<sup>65</sup> SILVA, Manuela Santos, *Óbidos e a sua região na Baixa Idade Média*, 2 vols., doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1996, typewritten.

<sup>66</sup> CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Uma Paisagem Humanizada. O Médio Tejo nos Finais da Idade Média*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia Historica, 2000.

<sup>67</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *Vilas, Poder Régio e Fronteira...*, see footnote 31.

<sup>68</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria (coord.), *Paisagens rurais e urbanas – Fontes, Metodologias, Problemáticas*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005 (*Actas das Primeiras Jornadas*) and 2006 (*Actas das Segundas Jornadas*).

<sup>69</sup> COSTA, Adelaide Millán da, *Projeção espacial de domínios das relações de poder no burgo portuense (1385-1502)*, doctoral thesis in Social and Human Sciences, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1999, typewritten.

<sup>70</sup> MELO, Arnaldo Rui Azevedo de Sousa, *Trabalho e Produção em Portugal na Idade Média: O Porto, c. 1320 – c. 1415*, 2 vols. Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2009, doctoral thesis, typewritten (a study influenced greatly by Philippe Braunstein).

<sup>71</sup> TRINDADE, Maria Luisa Pires do Rio Carmo, *Urbanismo na composição de Portugal*, doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2009, typewritten. We have deliberately not compiled a list of all the dissertations presented in the area of urban archaeology.

centres and the importance that political functions have in the formation of an urban identity<sup>72</sup> or his very fine perception of the *cortes* chapters presented at parliaments in the second half of the fourteenth century<sup>73</sup>. Here he reads the tensions stemming from the rise of the urban in the political framework of this period<sup>74</sup>, not forgetting his subtle claim, following the survey by Jacques Le Goff, as regards the role of mendicant communities in consolidating the image of the city and its values<sup>75</sup>.

In parallel, and corresponding to direct investment by the universities in the cities in which they are based, the number of studies on both Oporto and Lisbon increased<sup>76</sup>. As regards the northern city, it is worth mentioning that research, which has in recent years mostly been led by Luís Miguel Duarte<sup>77</sup>, is no longer exclusively devoted to the municipal dimension<sup>78</sup>.

Is this a *diversion*, a symptom of the *weariness* that causes a *slowing down*? If there is a distancing, it is in relation to the archetype that the *Oliveira Marques plan* stood for and not to urban history *per se*. In return, it will be difficult to explain as a *progression within continuity*, given that such a concept implies sustained progress towards a stabilised analytical model and achieving the status of a norm. Far from this outlook, we currently have a plethora of methods and perspectives as regards approaches to the medieval town.

In terms of the conception of urban history, Oliveira Marques' project was incorporated in studies that observed the city as an object *per se* and not as a backdrop. Analysis was totally focussed on an urban centre, including at most the immediate surroundings. Subsequent work has lost this pragmatism and uniformity in the name of complex research perspectives. More than just concentrating on

<sup>72</sup> MATTOSO, José, "Introdução à história urbana: a cidade e o poder" and "A cidade medieval na perspectiva da História das Mentalidades", in *Cidades e História*, Lisbon, FCG, 1992, pp. 9-20 and 21-34.

<sup>73</sup> IDEM, "perspectivas económicas e sociais das cortes de 1385", in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1987, pp. 263-275.

<sup>74</sup> IDEM, "O contraste entre a cidade e o campo", in SARAIVA, José Hermano (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Alfa, 1983, vol. 3, pp. 137-158.

<sup>75</sup> IDEM, "O enquadramento social e económico das primeiras fundações franciscanas", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal medieval-novas interpretações*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1985, pp. 329-346.

<sup>76</sup> Study carried out under the Research Group "História de Lisboa Medieval" of the IEM at FCSH-UNL and scientific events such as colloquia and the respective proceedings, organised in the sphere of the same Institute: KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007; See also FONSECA, Luís Adão da, "Lisboa medieval e o seu termo", in *Lisboa subterrânea*, Lisbon, 1994, pp. 86-91. MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, "Depois da Reconquista. A cidade da Baixa Idade Média", in MOIRA, Irisalva (coord.), *O Livro de Lisboa*, Lisbon, Horizonte, 1994, pp. 89-113.

<sup>77</sup> Only the titles with the city of Porto as their subject are listed, namely as regards the layout of its space: FERRAMOSCA, Fabiano, *O Porto medieval e o seu termo segundo o Livro da Rua Nova*, Oporto, 1998; TEIXEIRA, Helena Regina Lopes, *Porto. 114-1518. A construção da cidade medieval*, Oporto, 2010; SANTOS, Maria Helena Pizarro Paula, *A rua Nova do Porto (1395-1520)*, Oporto, 2010; RODRIGUES, Fátima Cristina Pinto Coelho, *O urbanismo, a arquitectura e a construção no Porto Medieval*, Oporto: 2007 (led by Paula Pinto da Costa).

<sup>78</sup> A dissertation on the city area was produced during the earlier period: OSÓRIO, Maria Isabel Pinto, *Cidade, plano e território. Urbanização intra-muros do Porto (sécs. XIII- 1ª metade XIV)*, Oporto, 1994.

exhaustive knowledge of a town's space and society, its relationships (of whatever type) are picked apart – whether be they those forged between the centre and periphery or the region, the crown, the nobility, or other municipalities. New topics are broached, such as the construction of urban memory (especially through its archives or the political discourse of its leaders) and the criteria behind the identities of cities and towns. In other words, the linear outline that shaped subjects of study has been replaced by the centrality of relationships, memories and discourse.

In these circumstances, could one say that the purism of *how medieval urban history used to be done* in our country has given way to hybrid historiographical forms, making it lose its identity as an area of study easily defined as autonomous? We think not... the city maintain its status as a protagonist but shares the stage with other key actors. We may agree that it is more difficult to observe a field of studies blossoming or becoming dominant when there is no structured research programme being followed. Yet such archetypes are unproductive and do not manage to stay *em alta* over an extended period, given they obstruct the possibility of conceptual and methodical innovation. In return, without the earlier monographs, the writing of syntheses would come under threat. Should they obtain funding, research projects that bring together several researchers and bursary holders might be the heirs to programmes that targeted this (necessary) level of systematisation. Large databases enable us to arrive at the *common denominators* by subjecting the documentation from various urban centres to the same questions.

Although we are at a productive crossroads, we must encourage a phase of debate with a view to structured revitalisation of Portuguese medieval urban history. Not epistemological reflection that is far removed from the tangible historiographical work but applied reflection with a view to defining categories for understanding the urban phenomenon in the Middle Ages. This was the aim behind the organisation of the colloquium “A cidade medieval em debate” (medieval cities under debate), which was held in January 2011 at the FCSH-UNL.

### **3. Prospects for medieval urban history in the Portuguese academic world**

At the onset of the twenty-first century, the key question is, beyond doubt, as follows: what is the outlook for medieval urban history in the Portuguese academic world? True, the topic is not confined, as it once was, to local history, having gained an important place in the university world. However, it is currently experiencing rather inauspicious times when compared to the dynamism of urban history in other countries, specifically in relation to the medieval period.

In effect, it continues, in Portugal, as a subject having to share or fight for territory with local history, with which it is still sometimes confused<sup>79</sup>. This association, however, enables it to benefit the financial support of local councils which, after the political emergence of local councils in the post-April 25 era, has encouraged varied and intensive support for studies on local history, with great emphasis on the production of monographs on towns and cities<sup>80</sup>, on the publication of sources<sup>81</sup> or on holding conferences presided over by academics<sup>82</sup>. It is also in conjunction with local authorities that many academic works on urban history are able to be published, chiefly master's dissertations or doctoral theses<sup>83</sup>.

In universities, medieval urban history is still granted little room to develop autonomous courses<sup>84</sup>, a fact accentuated in the case of undergraduate courses by their reduction to three years of study under the so-called Bologna reform. Although urban history in general and medieval urban history in particular are on the curricula of current master's and doctoral courses, they enjoy no autonomous status as these courses, in the case of history, continue to opt for more general approaches. In practice, urban studies have only gained autonomy in curricular proposals of an interdisciplinary character.

Meanwhile, the documents available for studying medieval Portuguese towns, a subject requiring lengthy and complex research in various archives, cannot be accommodated in the new calendars imposed on master's and doctoral courses. In addition to these difficulties is the lack of any type of study grant for master's students, as well as the obvious constraints on the award of doctoral grants by on

<sup>79</sup> See BRAGA, Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond, "Poder local e historiografia universitária sobre temáticas regionais (1974-2000)"..., pp. 175-181.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. as examples BRAGA, Paulo Drumond, *Setúbal medieval...*; BRANCO, Maria João, *Aveiro medieval...*; VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, *Abrantes medieval...*

<sup>81</sup> Cf. as examples *O Foral de Valença*, edited by António Matos Reis, Valença, Câmara Municipal de Valença, 1996; *Forais de Silves*, edited by Manuela Santos Silva, Silves, Câmara Municipal de Silves, s. d.; *Os forais de Ponte de Lima*, edited by José Marques, Ponte de Lima, Câmara Municipal de Ponte de Lima, 2005; 'Vereações'. *Anos de 1401-1449. O mais antigo dos 'Livros de Vereações' do Município do Porto existente no seu Arquivo*, edited by A. Magalhães Basto, 2nd ed., Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1937; 'Vereações'. *Anos de 1401-1449. O segundo Livro de Vereações do Município do Porto existente no seu Arquivo*, edited by J. A. Pinto Ferreira, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1980; 'Vereações'. *1431-1432*, edited by Luís Miguel Duarte and João Alberto Machado, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1985; *Livro de vereação de Alcochete e Aldeia Galega (1421-1422)*, introduction, transcription and notes by José Manuel Vargas, Alcochete, Câmara Municipal de Alcochete, 2005; *Livro das Posturas Antigas*, edited by Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues, Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1974.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. as examples *Actas das Jornadas sobre O Município na Península Ibérica (Sécs. XII a XIX)* [Santo Tirso, 22-24 February, 1985], 2 vols., Santo Tirso, Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 1988; *II Colóquio sobre História de Leiria e da sua região-Actas*, 1 vol., Leiria, Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 1995.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. as examples BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima, *Silves. A capital de um reino medievo...*; COSTA, Adelaide Millán da, "Vereação" e "Vereadores". *O governo do Porto em finais do século XV*, Oporto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1993; FERREIRA, Maria Conceição Falcão, *Uma rua de elite na Guimarães medieval (1376-1520)*...

<sup>84</sup> See ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, "O ensino da História Urbana nas universidades portuguesas: práticas e perspectivas"..., vol. 1, pp. 265-283.

the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT), leading to the anomalous and undesirable emergence of worker-students at the master's and doctoral levels, so busy trying to make ends meet they can dedicate only their scarce free time to research, which does not always fit in with the opening hours of Portuguese libraries and archives. It is therefore easy to understand why conducting outstanding academic work on medieval towns is seriously compromised. If in this situation we then add the fact that the FCT has practically ceased funding research projects on medieval history<sup>85</sup>, it becomes obvious that the future of medieval urban history is not bright, we can at least hope that the production of academic work will continue very circumspectly.

Nevertheless, this should not prevent medievalists from reflecting on the sphere of the subject, namely in terms of clarifying the distinction between urban history and local history, as well as defining the key topics to be developed in studies of medieval Portuguese towns, putting an end to the tendency of considering that everything that happens against an urban backdrop can be called urban history. This is not a reflection that gives pleasure to Portuguese historians, but it remains fundamental in terms of defining concepts and a lexicon related to towns, particularly since, as was explained earlier, history has absorbed them, in certain cases, from other disciplines.

A more engaged and useful dialogue also needs to be undertaken with medieval archaeology with the aim of in terms of encouraging an exchange of views that will enable better results for both sides in their respective research. Meanwhile, it is for the historians to lay out a theoretical approach that can guide archaeologists to accompany the study of artefacts with reflection on the organisation of spaces, prompting them, in other words, to follow methodologies and tackle questions more like those found in other European countries, which have proved so fruitful in explaining urban spaces<sup>86</sup>. It is true the pre-dominance of emergency excavations, and the recent rise of archaeology as a business, have not proved compatible with rigorous and lengthy scientific studies, as these necessarily must be. But the questions posed by historians can provide a useful starting point in revising the results from available excavations.

A simple statement of perspectives considered relevant to the study of medieval Portuguese towns would mean drawing up a length program, not be compatible with the objectives and size of this text. It may, however, be important to mention

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<sup>85</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., "Projectos de investigação em História Medieval financiados pela FCT nos últimos 10 anos", *Medievalista* [online], no. 9, (December, 2010) [consulted 26 April 2010]. Available at <http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA9/rodrigues9002>. ISSN 1646-740X.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. CHOUQUER, Gérard, *L'études des paysages. Essais sur leurs formes et leur histoire*, Paris, Errance, 2000.



some relevant questions that should shape research on medieval Portuguese town and that are rarely factored in. First and foremost, we need to get over the constant lamentation over due to the inexistence of sources similar to those available in other areas of medieval Europe, in favour of a greater attention to criticism of the text, with an awareness of how the many available documents came to exist, enriching the process of enquiring into them. We also need to consider constantly that the study of medieval Portuguese towns should increasingly be undertaken in peninsular terms, bearing in mind there were always two different models of the city present in the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages, the Islamic and the Christian, the latter absorbed an important amount of heritage from the former, a process is far from fully explained. Lastly, we must always be aware that studying the medieval Portuguese town is still hampered by the lack of studies on what preceded it – the town of antiquity modified – and on what came after it, namely, i.e. the town of the sixteenth century. This fact prevents us, for example, from correctly detecting instances of continuity or rupture, which would help us better understand the medieval reality. This would enable a more thorough reflection on the chronology to attribute to medieval towns, which hitherto has not been possible as the studies published thus far illustrate. In practice, there is a tendency to forget the earlier periods and to consider, without much critical rigour, that the sixteenth-century sources still describe the medieval town, something that should be viewed with a great deal of caution.

After José Mattoso had stated in the 1980s that it was during the Middle Ages that the major shift occurred from the decision-making centres of the countryside to the towns, it is surprising that the study of medieval towns attracts so little interest. Let us hope that some of the more recent signs of interest in studying the articulation of power between spaces can open the way to studying new political centres in the kingdom, that is, urban centres, and above all the emergence of Lisbon as the capital.

Returning to one of the initial observations of this text, that historians and among them medievalists are not attended to on questions pertaining to cities today, that urban history not being considered a social necessity, it is worth remembering how surprising it is that Portuguese medievalism has strayed from a topic that could help enhance the value and confirm the importance of the social role of the historian in contemporary society and, in this manner, pave the way for better conditions for the development of historical research.



# *Half a Century of Rural History of the Middle Ages in Portugal: A Possible Overview*

*Luís Carlos Amaral*

When, more than two decades ago, I had the opportunity to collaborate on a summary of Portuguese historiographical work dedicated to the Middle Ages, I stated, right at the outset, that the 1980s had been definitive in promoting studies of medieval rural history<sup>1</sup>. A dozen years later, again in the context of a historiographical overview, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho expressed the same opinion, stressing that research on the Portuguese rural world had constituted a favourable area for that decade<sup>2</sup>, notwithstanding, the importance of some works carried out in earlier decades.

At that time, the influence clearly visible was that of the most reputed French historians – with particular emphasis of course on Marc Bloch and Georges Duby<sup>3</sup> – both at the level of theme and methodology. This preponderance of the cross-Pyrenean school(s) did not impede but simultaneously favoured the reception of other tendencies that rapidly attracted national researchers. I refer specifically to paths traced in neighbouring Spain and, in particular, to proposals developed by José Angel García de Cortázar. This historian, who also borrowed from the French masters, can be considered as the person mainly responsible for the emergence of an

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<sup>1</sup> HOMEEM, Armando Luis de Carvalho, ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and AMARAL, Luís Carlos, “Por onde vem o medievismo em Portugal”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 22, Janeiro-Abril (1988), pp. 115-138 at 122.

<sup>2</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Balanço sobre a história rural produzida em Portugal nas últimas décadas”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (coord.), *A cidade e o campo. Colectânea de estudos*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, 2000, pp. 23-40 at 27.

<sup>3</sup> The most representative works of these two authors concerning the rural world are: BLOCH, Marc, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1931; DUBY, Georges, *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval (France, Angleterre, Empire, IX<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles). Essai de synthèse et perspectives de recherches*, 2 vols., Paris, Aubier, 1962.

*autonomous* and innovative Spanish rural history, fully matured both in theoretical and methodological terms as well as in terms of the potential for development to which the last decades of the last century abundantly testified.

The work I shall consider as this journey's starting point was published in 1969, and focused on the study of the Castilian monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, between the tenth and thirteenth Centuries<sup>4</sup>. Suggestively, the author gave his book an expressive subtitle: *Introducción a la historia rural de Castilla altomedieval*. In fact, this was not just one more academic study of a monastic community, adopting a legal approach to the institution, and its respective land and dependents. The analysis was much more comprehensive, conceiving of ecclesiastical domains as structures largely responsible for organising space and communities, and as the first beneficiaries of income from land and of changes in the agrarian landscape. The gap between this and earlier approaches was obvious. The research, based on a solid conceptual and methodological framework, transformed space into the most dynamic agent of the processes of settlement and social organisation, and the evolution of agrarian systems. Territory lost its traditionally almost neutral status, becoming no longer a simple passive scenario in which "las diversas sociedades evolucionaban sin atender a las alteraciones que le provocaban ni a las influencias que recibían de él"<sup>5</sup>.

The path opened by San Millán de la Cogolla allowed García de Cortázar to proceed with an analytical model of the peninsular medieval rural economy between the eighth and fifteenth centuries based, in essence, on three elements, on space, on society and on the set of relations developed between them. The moment his proposal became public occurred in 1973, at the University of Santiago de Compostela, during "I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas"<sup>6</sup>. His paper *La economía rural medieval: Un esquema de análisis histórico de base regional*<sup>7</sup>, shaped definitively the concept of the social organisation of space which in subsequent works<sup>8</sup>, suitably described and extended, has become a theoretical

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<sup>4</sup> GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Angel, *El dominio del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X al XIII). Introducción a la historia rural de Castilla altomedieval*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> SESMA MUÑOZ, José Angel, "Introducción", in SESMA MUÑOZ, José Angel, and LALIENA CORBERA, Carlos (coords.), *La pervivencia del concepto. Nuevas reflexiones sobre la ordenación social del espacio en la Edad Media*, Zaragoza, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> These *Jornadas* took place at the University of Santiago de Compostela, between 24 and 27 April 1973.

<sup>7</sup> GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Angel, "La economía rural medieval: Un esquema de análisis histórico de base regional", in *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas*, vol. 2: *Historia Medieval*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1975, pp. 31-60 (Portuguese translation: *História Rural Medieval*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1983, pp. 11-50).

<sup>8</sup> The full formulation of the concept, as well as the inherent demonstration of the method, can be seen in three key subsequent essays: IDEM, *La Historia Rural Medieval: Un esquema de análisis estructural de sus contenidos a través del ejemplo hispanocristiano*, Santander, Universidad de Santander, 1978 (Portuguese translation: *História Rural Medieval...*, pp. 51-176); IDEM, "Introducción: espacio, sociedad y organización

and methodological tool equipped with multiple applications. At a symposium held in Huesca in 2006 to commemorate three decades of the formulation of this concept and to evaluate its impact among Hispanic medievalists<sup>9</sup>, García de Cortázar summed up the proceedings as follows: “La organización social del espacio la venimos entendiendo como el proceso y el resultado de la traducción de la estructura de poder de una sociedad en el ámbito en que se halla instalada y que, con su acción, contribuye a acotar. Tal traducción se efectúa a la vez en tres tipos de espacio: el físico, el imaginario y el simbólico. Sobre cada uno de los tres toda sociedad produce valores específicos y reconoce, por aceptación de una herencia cultural, inspiración de un caudillo carismático o consenso (...), que un individuo o un grupo determinado poseen competencias para definir normas de exclusión, de inclusión neutra y de recompensa”<sup>10</sup>.

The certainty and rigour apparent in these words derive, in large part, from confidence in the reliability and feasibility of the concept/model, supported in countless studies of varying length carried out during recent decades. This same author embarked in the late 1980s on what remains the only synthesis of the overall development of Hispanic and Christian rural society in medieval times<sup>11</sup>. This gave him the opportunity to apply and adjust on a greater spatial and chronological scale, as well as in the sources used, the set of tools previously defined and perfected. The soundness of the reconstruction and the suggested interpretation rapidly turned the book into a reference work, both inside and outside the Iberian Peninsula.

My main reason for beginning this review of Portuguese research on the medieval rural world, with an account of the evolution of Spanish historiography, is that rural studies in Portugal in the 1980s, not only assimilated and adapted French thinking, but arose within a more general Iberian historiographical renewal. Were nothing else to be considered, this fact should be underlined, bearing in mind Spanish influence on national research from then onwards.

It must be emphasised, however, that the great surge of research I have just identified did not reflect only ideas and practices coming from abroad. It also maintained, in well digested form, lessons from Portuguese historiography, above

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medievales en nuestra tradición historiográfica”, in GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Angel, (coord.), *Organización social del espacio en la España medieval. La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII a XV*, Barcelona, Editorial Ariel, 1985, pp. 11-42; and IDEM, “Organización social del espacio: propuestas de reflexión y análisis histórico de sus unidades en la España Medieval”, *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, vol. 6 (1988), pp. 195-236.

<sup>9</sup> “Espacios y sociedades rurales en la España medieval”, symposium, held at Huesca, 25 and 26 May 2006. The papers presented there were published in: SESMA MUÑOZ, José Angel, and LALIENA CORBERA, Carlos (coords.), *La pervivencia del concepto. Nuevas reflexiones sobre la ordenación social del espacio en la Edad Media*, Zaragoza, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2008.

<sup>10</sup> GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Angel, “La organización socioeclesiológica del espacio en el norte de la Península Ibérica en los siglos VIII a XIII”, *ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> IDEM, *La sociedad rural en la España Medieval*, Madrid, Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores, 1988.

all from the example of a few pioneering works. This involved a journey beginning in the late nineteenth century, when the first academic histories studies of the economy of rural societies saw the light of day. Much of this pioneering work was due to Alberto Sampaio (1841-1908), who made detailed surveys of early medieval villages from Entre Douro e Minho and their maritime communities<sup>12</sup>, and dealt with wide-ranging rural themes, in particular with geography and varieties of land holding. It is appropriate to mention, too, the enormous contribution of the *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos Séculos XII a XV*, by Henrique de Gama Barros (1833-1925)<sup>13</sup>, which, despite its markedly positivist and institutional imprint, included hundreds of pages on population and social groups, types of property and status, agriculture, hunting and fishing, rural *industries*, etc. Future generations of medievalists mined this vast work as an almost inexhaustible repository of documental information.

Even so, it was only at the end of the 1950s and into the following decade, that research on rural history gained momentum along with a certain individuality. The impact on historiography of progress in other areas of knowledge, such as philology, geography, archaeology and ethnography, has not yet been rigorously examined, but I believe, along with Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho<sup>14</sup>, that Portuguese historians began to show growing sensibility with regard to the works of individuals such as José Leite de Vasconcelos (1878-1941), Joseph-Maria Piel (1903-1992), Jorge Dias (1907-1973)<sup>15</sup> and Orlando Ribeiro (1911-1997)<sup>16</sup>, among others. It seems evident that the study of Portuguese rurality emerged from a variety of domestic and foreign influences, both internal and external to history. It may not be excessive to speak of a certain continuity since the late nineteenth century, but we should bear in mind that this is a continuity that has experienced, let us say, long periods of silence.

<sup>12</sup> SAMPAIO, Alberto, *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, vol. 1: *As Vilas do Norte de Portugal*, Lisbon, Editorial Vega, 1979 (1st ed., 1899-1903); and IDEM, "As Póvoas Marítimas", in SAMPAIO, Alberto, *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, vol. 2: *As Póvoas Marítimas*, Lisbon, Editorial Vega, 1979, pp. 7-100 (1st ed., 1905-1908).

<sup>13</sup> BARROS, Henrique de Gama, *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos Séculos XII a XV*, organised by Torquato de Sousa Soares, 2nd ed., 11 vols., Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1945-1954 (1st ed., 1885-1922).

<sup>14</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Balanço sobre a história rural produzida em Portugal nas últimas décadas"..., pp. 24-25.

<sup>15</sup> I would highlight three key studies from this author, which in a decisive way influenced knowledge of the Portuguese rural world: DIAS, Jorge, *Vilarinho da Furna. Uma aldeia comunitária*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1981 (1st ed., 1948); IDEM, *Os arados portugueses e as suas prováveis origens*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982 (1st ed., 1948); and IDEM, *Rio de Onor. Comunitarismo agro-pastoril*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1981 (1st ed., 1953).

<sup>16</sup> From this notable geographer (and historian) I should mention the study which, in my opinion, is one of the greatest works of Portuguese scientific literature, and which had a great influence on all later historical research concerning the construction of Portuguese space: RIBEIRO, Orlando, *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico. Esboço de relações geográficas*, 4th ed. revised, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1986 (1st ed., 1945).

In 1959 the classic study by Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1908-2000) on Bishop Pedro and the organisation of the diocese of Braga was published in Coimbra<sup>17</sup>. The figure of this prelate served the author primarily as an excellent pretext to reconstruct the space of Braga, with regard to its population in general, and to its ecclesiastical framework. It discussed in detail issues ranging from demographics to the rural economy, including land patrimony, land renting and manorial and ecclesiastical charges. Using a type of analysis closely linked to an institutional view of the diocese, and at times revealing a sharp interpretive *ingenuity*, it nevertheless transcended these limitations to introduce issues and perspectives that were inseparable from a renewed economic and social history. Built upon extensive documentary scholarship – deeply rooted in Portuguese academia of the first half of the twentieth century – the research also shows great awareness of the latest bibliography, particularly that emanating from Spain.

One year later, in 1960, at the University of Louvain, José Mattoso defended his undergraduate dissertation on the Benedictine abbey of São João Baptista de Pendorada<sup>18</sup> in the Douro region. Supervised by the Belgian historian Léopold Genicot (1914-1995), the work reflected the direction of contemporary European research, without forgetting the Portuguese and Iberian historiographical context. The author did not shy away from expressing views on what remains one of the great debates of Hispanic medievalism, namely, the depopulation and repopulation of the Douro Valley between the eighth and eleventh centuries. In this particular aspect, the text shows a certain closeness to the *ermamento total*, total desertification, argued for by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893-1984). It is worth recalling that six years later, the great Spanish researcher published, in exile in Argentina, his most complete and most vigorous essay defending his thesis: *Despoblación y Repoblación del Valle del Duero*<sup>19</sup>.

Despite focussing his inquiry on the origins and the daily religious life of the monastic community, José Mattoso also studied what he termed “Vida material” (Material life), and the relevant chapter explored the structure and management of the monastic estate and its finances<sup>20</sup>. The author was able to establish links between the economic structure resulting from the control and use of the land and the power

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<sup>17</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *O Bispo D. Pedro e a Organização da Arquidiocese de Braga*, 2nd ed. revised, 2 vols., Braga, Irmandade de S. Bento da Porta Aberta, 1997-2000 (1st ed., 1959).

<sup>18</sup> Published under the title: MATTOSO, José, *L'Abbaye de Pendorada des origines à 1160*, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1962, offprint from *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 7 (1957). There is a Portuguese translation available: *A Abadia de Pendorada das origens a 1160*, [Lisbon], Círculo de Leitores, 2002 (*Obras Completas*. José Mattoso, vol. 11).

<sup>19</sup> SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Claudio, *Despoblación y Repoblación del Valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1966.

<sup>20</sup> MATTOSO, José, *A Abadia de Pendorada...*, pp. 87-112.

over the peasants who worked on it, and the actual development of the community of monks. The recourse to cartography, visibly demonstrating the chronological and spatial evolution of the property acquisitions, along with a set of appendices containing extensive and detailed tables on this process, beyond being indispensable to understanding the text, bore witness to the methodological modernity of the research. The most innovative aspect of this work, however, was that it adopted and introduced to Portugal a reconstructive and interpretative model of the medieval rural world which had already been tested at the European level – that is, the monographic study of a monastic institution. Portuguese researchers would over time realise the potential of a model with this configuration, theoretically able to analyse a broad set of issues and problems.

Distinct from previous courses was that of A. H. de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007), who published in 1962 *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal. A questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média*<sup>21</sup>, one of the founding studies of Portuguese rural history. With his remarkable talent for synthesis, the author analysed in all its complexity the problem of cereals in medieval Portugal. Such issues as environmental conditions, the areas and means of production, internal and external commercialisation as well as bread making and consumption, became objects of careful inquiry. The final chapter attempted to systematise the crises of cereal production, tracing their more direct implications throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Oliveira Marques did not hesitate to offer a global interpretation of the evolution of the sector in medieval and modern Portugal: “In summary, (...) it seems possible to characterise the Portuguese Middle Ages, with regard to cereals, as an age spent fighting desperately for self-sufficiency not yet resigned to dependence on foreign trade in order to survive, in contrast to a Modern Age that has accepted wheat imports as normal and regularised them, without taking into serious consideration land improvements and increases in agrarian production”<sup>22</sup>.

This innovation and a certain boldness that largely characterised the author’s extensive work would prove evident when, two years later, his study of medieval Portuguese society won him national and international recognition<sup>23</sup>. Building on the books mentioned along with several articles, the historiographic production of

<sup>21</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal. A questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1978 (1st ed., 1962).

<sup>22</sup> “Em resumo, (...) parece-nos possível caracterizar uma Idade Média Portuguesa, no seu aspecto cerealífero, como época que luta desesperadamente por uma auto-suficiência e que não se resigna a depender do comércio externo para poder subsistir, em oposição a uma Idade Moderna que aceita a importação de trigo como normal e a regulariza, sem mais se preocupar a sério com a valorização da terra e com o aumento da produção dos campos”: IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> IDEM, *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Aspectos da vida quotidiana*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1974 (1st ed., 1964).



Oliveira Marques reached a turning point in 1972 with the release of what many regard as the first truly up to date summary of the history of Portugal<sup>24</sup>. Over several chapters, the themes of rural history occupy an important place in the reconstruction and analysis of social and economic structures.

Meanwhile, José Mattoso concluded his doctoral thesis, devoted to the relations between Hispanic monasticism and the movement of Cluny. Submitted in 1966, once again in Louvain, and published two years later, it studied the monasteries of the diocese of Oporto, during the decisive period that elapsed between the year 1000 and the end of the twelfth century<sup>25</sup>. Far from being a simple extension in time and space of the earlier model of the Pendorada Benedictine community, the research revealed a deepening understanding of the significant changes operating on monastic life in the Peninsula, caused by Benedictine-Cluniac influences from beyond the Pyrenees, especially in the last quarter of the eleventh century. The new – or renewed – religious communities gradually acquired a strongly institutional character, marked by strict adherence to the precepts of the Rule of St. Benedict, by their internal hierarchy and submission to the authority of the prelates, and by the strengthening of temporal foundations. From this perspective, it is not difficult to imagine the important role that the author assigned to the formation, use and administration of the estates, to work and production, and to the income derived from the land and elsewhere.

Yet despite these and other smaller sized contributions, the systematic study of medieval rural life was late in taking firm root and developing significant research pace. Everything began to change with the new dynamism felt by higher educational institutions from the early seventies, accelerating after and because of the Revolution of 25 April 1974. The turmoil caused by revolutionary excess did not prevent universities being given the means to refresh and fundamentally reorganise their courses, opening their doors to an increasing number of young academics, who were, in general, well informed about historical research abroad. One should also note the general public's increased interest in books and magazines devoted to history, leading rapidly to multiple editions and translations with increased circulation figures. Between March 1972 and October 1976, Oliveira Marques's

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<sup>24</sup> IDEM, *História de Portugal. Desde os tempos mais antigos até ao governo do Sr. Pinheiro de Azevedo*, vol. 1: *Das Origens às Revoluções Liberais* (6th ed.), vol. 2: *Das Revoluções Liberais aos nossos dias* (3rd ed.), Lisbon, Palas Editores, 1976 (1st ed., 1972). An English edition was also published along with the first Portuguese edition: *History of Portugal*, vol. 1: *From Lusitania to Empire*, vol. 2: *From Empire to Corporate State*, New York / London, Columbia University Press, 1972.

<sup>25</sup> Published under the title: MATTOSO, José, *Le Monachisme ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mille à 1200*, Louvain, Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1968. There is a Portuguese translation available: *O Monaquismo ibérico e Cluny*, [Lisbon], Círculo de Leitores, 2002 (*Obras Completas. José Mattoso*, vol. 12).

exemplary *História de Portugal* appeared in no fewer than six editions in different formats, selling a total of 31,000 copies<sup>26</sup>.

In 1971, Robert Durand edited the *Cartulário Baio-Ferrado* from the Augustinian monastery of São Salvador de Grijó, a work that had been submitted in the previous year as his *thèse de doctorat du 3<sup>e</sup> cycle*, at the University of Nantes<sup>27</sup>. In the introduction he studied not only the foundation of the monastery and the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine, but also the formation, structure and use of its estate. The following year, the same researcher published a groundbreaking article on vine cultivation and wine production in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the region of the Mondego River<sup>28</sup>. Shortly afterwards, when the earlier-mentioned “I Jornadas de Metodología” took place in Santiago de Compostela, Portuguese research, or on Portuguese subjects, though not sizeable, already mirrored many of the updated trends in Portuguese historiography: Maria José Lagos Trindade (1938-1980) and Jorge Gaspar considered *A utilização agrária do solo em torno de Lisboa na Idade Média*<sup>29</sup>; José Mattoso dealt with the issue of *Senhorias monásticas do Norte de Portugal nos séculos XI a XIII*<sup>30</sup>; finally, Gérard Pradalié, of the Casa de Velázquez in Madrid, studied the *Occupation du sol et cultures autour de Coïmbre au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*<sup>31</sup>.

The decade had not ended when Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho published in Coimbra her monograph on the monastery of São Pedro de Arouca, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries<sup>32</sup>. The work still showed a predominantly institutional structure and approach, but the author analysed in detail the establishment and development of the Arouca community lands, examining the forms, rhythms and geography of acquisitions, the nature of the buildings and how they were used, and the larger regional socio-economic scene of which the institution formed part. A fundamental part of the book consisted of the thorough editing of a voluminous

<sup>26</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *História de Portugal...*, vol. 1, p. VI.

<sup>27</sup> *Le Cartulaire Baio-Ferrado du Monastère de Grijó (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles)*, editing, introduction and notes by Robert Durand, Paris, FCG, 1971.

<sup>28</sup> DURAND, Robert, “La vigne et le vin dans la Bassin du Mondego au Moyen Âge (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 5 (1972), pp. 13-37.

<sup>29</sup> GASPAS, Jorge, and TRINDADE, Maria José Lagos, “A utilização agrária do solo em torno de Lisboa na Idade Média”, in *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas*, vol. 2, pp. 89-94. It should be noted that Maria José Lagos Trindade had already presented a pioneering study on *A Vida Pastoril e o Pastoreio em Portugal nos Séculos XII a XVI - Subsídios para a sua História* in her undergraduate dissertation (Lisbon, 1962). This work was published with the same title in: TRINDADE, Maria José Lagos, *Estudos de História Medieval e outros*, Lisbon, Conselho Directivo da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa / Cooperativa Editora História Crítica, 1981, pp. 1-95.

<sup>30</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Senhorias monásticas do Norte de Portugal nos séculos XI a XIII”, in *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas*, vol. 2, pp. 175-182.

<sup>31</sup> PRADALIÉ, Gérard, “Occupation du sol et cultures autour de Coïmbre au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *ibid.*, pp. 79-87.

<sup>32</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao século XIII*, 2nd ed., Arouca, Câmara Municipal de Arouca, 1988 (1st ed., 1977).

collection of documents, leaving readers with a very accurate idea of the type of sources that normally support research into rural history.

The sporadic production that had so far characterised studies on Portuguese medieval rural history finally began to change. As earlier mentioned, the 1980s nurtured and established them as an important area of research, not least as it became easier to access knowledge from the major European centres, particularly in France, England and Spain.

Between 1980 and 1984 three major works were published, indispensable in understanding the evolution of rural studies in Portugal. Robert Durand defended his doctoral thesis on *Les Campagnes Portugaises Entre Douro et Tage aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* at the University of Paris-Sorbonne in 1980<sup>33</sup>. With an extended chronology, a vast observational space and a tested methodology, he introduced into Portugal the scenery (and scale) of the region – more precisely, regions – as a coherent object of study. Ecclesiastical institutions and municipalities, along with others, were no longer the final aim of research, but became privileged access means of channelling knowledge and explaining human and material structures; privileged because the institutions were almost exclusively the centres for documental production, and because they acted as the most dynamic agents in managing communities and territories.

By focusing its attention on the organisation of rural society and on the construction of the agrarian space, at a time as critical as the Reconquest, this work posed a challenge to Portuguese researchers. Clearly, so ambitious a survey brought increased problems and, occasionally, *inconsistencies* in the selection and identification of territories that had been integrated under different periods and circumstances as the kingdom of Portugal emerged. But the region had become a methodologically legitimate backdrop for the understanding of Portuguese rural society.

Within this context, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho's doctoral thesis, submitted in Coimbra in 1983, set a paradigmatic example. In the author's words, her thesis on *O Baixo Mondego nos Finais da Idade Média (Estudo de História Rural)*<sup>34</sup> "look as its perspective a region that (...) seemed specific and coherent in the dialogue involving

<sup>33</sup> DURAND, Robert, *Les Campagnes Portugaises Entre Douro et Tage aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, Paris, FCG, 1982.

<sup>34</sup> "[P]erspectivada a partir de uma região, que (...) pareceu bastante coerente e específica no diálogo da terra com um rio e do campo com uma cidade", o que lhe permitiu analisar "os momentos de mais funda depressão ou de lenta recuperação que marcaram um tempo longo de crise" e caracterizar "a economia senhorial dominante, nos vectores da propriedade, actividades produtivas, rendas e circulação dos bens", e também "os diversos níveis de poder – régio, senhorial, concelhio – que a atravessaram" e, por último, "os camponeses, nas suas hierarquias, nos traços do seu viver quotidiano e nas suas tensões sociais". COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego nos Finais da Idade Média (Estudo de História Rural)*, 2 vols., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1983.

a land and a river, a country and a city”, which enabled her to analyse “the moments of greatest depression or slow recovery which marked a long period of crisis” and to characterise “the dominant manorial economy in terms of property, productive activities, rents and the circulation of goods”, and also “the various levels of power – crown, manorial, municipality – that traversed it” and, finally “the peasants, their hierarchies, patterns of their daily life and their social tensions”<sup>35</sup>.

It is impossible not to recognise in this statement and, above all, throughout the text, the influence, albeit indirect, of the proposals presented by García de Cortázar in the “Jornadas de Santiago de Compostela”. The analysis developed there stemmed precisely from a regional base, addressing thereafter a series of closely interrelated themes from the initial appropriation and occupation of space to the integration and relationship of the rural communities within society.

A somewhat different framework was adopted by Iria Gonçalves in her 1984 doctoral thesis. It too involved the study of a monastery and the land it occupied, this time the large Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobça, with particular reference to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>36</sup>. Concentrating her main analysis on the structures and economic mechanisms of which the monastery was the main entity, the author was able to describe in detail the construction of various bodies and powers, based on the gradual control of the working capacity of its dependents, of production and of the respective means of production. Given the wealth and holdings and economic power of Alcobça – well beyond most other religious establishments of the time – this is a textbook example of an institution specially equipped to meet the challenges of the long crisis of the late Middle Ages and, given its scale, to become an active agent in the social organisation of a regionally defined space.

The works just mentioned have transformed the study of medieval rural life into an exciting field of research. But not only that. Through the rigorous and systematic nature of their questioning and their appropriate methodology, they have plausibly endowed us with a coherent framework of the structures and the socio-economic and political identity of the countryside. Unsurprisingly, they have become exemplary references for Portuguese rural history.

Roughly contemporary with these studies, certain lesser studies began to appear, mostly as submissions to the newly created masters courses in Medieval History at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of Nova University of Lisbon and the Faculdade de Letras of University of Oporto<sup>37</sup>. In 1981, Ana Maria Seabra de

<sup>35</sup> IDEM, “Balanço sobre a história rural produzida em Portugal nas últimas décadas”..., pp. 28-29.

<sup>36</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobça nos Séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1989.

<sup>37</sup> Set up, respectively, in 1981 and 1983.

Almeida Rodrigues presented a monograph in Paris on the collegiate of *S. Pedro de Torres Vedras*, from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries<sup>38</sup>. Five years later in Lisbon, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa defended his master dissertation devoted to the study of *A Propriedade das Albergarias de Évora nos finais da Idade Média*<sup>39</sup>. The following year, I completed research on the establishment and management of land belonging to the monastery of the Augustinian Canons of São Salvador de Grijó, throughout the second half of the fourteenth century<sup>40</sup>. In 1989, and once again in Lisbon, Saul António Gomes published his detailed study of *O Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no Século XV*<sup>41</sup>, in which the characterisation of the landed economy figured prominently. Finally, in 1990, Maria João Branco Marques da Silva presented her dissertation reconstituting the different scenes inhabited by the rural community of Esgueira at the end of the Middle Ages<sup>42</sup>.

The proliferation of small and medium-sized essays complemented an extraordinarily productive decade, which even at its end saw large-scale studies presented in Lisbon and Coimbra: Pedro Gomes Barbosa considered land settlement and agrarian organisation in Central Estremadura, between the twelfth century and 1325<sup>43</sup>, while Maria Rosa Ferreira Marreiros undertook an extensive survey on *Propriedade Fundiária e Rendas da Coroa no Reinado de D. Dinis. Guimarães*<sup>44</sup>. Even acknowledging that the rural characteristics of large areas of the Portuguese landscape remained to be studied, and that the preferred chronology has been the late Middle Ages, considerable progress in the knowledge of medieval rural life had been made over a short period.

As might be expected, this movement benefited greatly from knowledge provided by other studies that, while not specifically focusing on rural history, paid considerable attention to this theme. José Marques's doctoral thesis, submitted in 1982 and dedicated to studying the archdiocese of Braga in the fifteenth century, included several chapters on the economic and financial organisation of the

<sup>38</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *La Collégiale de S. Pedro de Torres Vedras (fin XIII<sup>e</sup>- fin XV<sup>e</sup> Siècles). Étude Économique et Sociale*, Paris, 1981 (thèse de doctorat du 3<sup>e</sup> cycle).

<sup>39</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, *A Propriedade das Albergarias de Évora nos finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, INIC, 1990.

<sup>40</sup> AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *São Salvador de Grijó na segunda metade do século XIV. Estudo de gestão agrária*, Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1994.

<sup>41</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *O Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no Século XV*, Coimbra, Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1990.

<sup>42</sup> BRANCO, Maria João, *Esgueira. A vida de uma aldeia do século XV*, Redondo, Patrimonia historica, 1994.

<sup>43</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Povoamento e Estrutura Agrícola na Estremadura Central. Séc. XIII a 1325*, Lisbon, INIC, 1992 (doctoral thesis submitted in 1989).

<sup>44</sup> MARREIROS, Maria Rosa Ferreira, *Propriedade Fundiária e Rendas da Coroa no Reinado de D. Dinis. Guimarães*, 2 vols., unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1990.

archbishopric and of the dozens of monasteries located in the diocese<sup>45</sup>. Maria Ângela Rocha Beirante's work on *Évora na Idade Média*<sup>46</sup>, contained many pages analysing the boundaries of Évora and its agrarian structure. In this latter work, as in several other monographs on medieval towns and villages, produced mostly in master's seminar courses, relations between urban centres and their surroundings, mainly agrarian, began to take precedence over reconstructions of rural realities.

Finally, the decade was also marked by the publication in 1985 of the major work by José Mattoso, entitled *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as Origens de Portugal. 1096-1325*<sup>47</sup>. As it is well known, it is not a work specifically dedicated to rural history and, therefore, there is no place here to consider its content in detail. However, I consider vital to include it in this essay, not only because it completely revolutionised our understanding of the process of foundation of the Portuguese kingdom, opening further avenues for research, but also because rural society formed one of the main themes in the construction of the new society. The many pages in the work conceded to the human and economic structures of the rural world translate, simultaneously, the great effort of summarising the prior Portuguese historiography and a mature assimilation of the knowledge and suggestions reaching us from abroad. However, the most exciting aspect of this work stems from the fact that José Mattoso had directed his research (and curiosity) "especially towards particular individuals, their way of living and thinking", which meant that "the institutions, structures and social and economic formations" interested him "above all to the extent that they provided understanding of these individuals"<sup>48</sup>.

This presentation has sought to demonstrate the main features of ongoing research on Portuguese medieval rural life. I have stressed only those works that, in my opinion, best represent the evolution of this historiographical process. It seems clear that the work undertaken, though undoubtedly important, showed a number of gaps in the early 1990s. From theoretical and conceptual points of view, Portuguese research has fed almost exclusively on what had been received from abroad, mainly from France and, on a secondary level, from neighbouring Spain. With regard to methodology, however, adaptation to Portuguese documental realities has imposed greater originality. The fact in itself, apart from other benefits, proved determinant helping investigators find their own way forward in defining the scope and objectives

<sup>45</sup> MARQUES, José, *A Arquidiocese de Braga no Séc. XV*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1988.

<sup>46</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *Évora na Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1995 (doctoral thesis submitted in 1988).

<sup>47</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as Origens de Portugal. 1096-1325*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Oposição*, vol. 2: *Composição*, 5th ed. revised, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1995 (1st ed., 1985).

<sup>48</sup> "[E]specialmente para os homens concretos, a sua maneira de viver e de pensar", donde resulta que "as instituições, as estruturas, as formações sociais e económicas" interessaram-lhe "sobretudo na medida em que os podem revelar": IDEM, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 17.

of their research. As may be seen in the examples discussed, all authors endeavoured to clarify in their introductory chapters their respective themes, chronologies and, though at times indirectly, their spaces.

A similar commitment was to be found in the establishment of documental collections. Over time, and especially with the refinements in diplomatic analysis, certain documents have been promoted and recognised as privileged, even *specific* sources of rural history. On this subject, moreover, I must praise the constant concern of researchers to bring together *all* of the written testimonies of relevance to their study. This concern to be exhaustive, to which major developments in the organisation and treatment of archives are not extraneous, has also led to gaps being identified and losses, caused by time's erosion or human negligence, being itemised in detail.

With regard to themes, primacy has been given to the ecclesiastical domain, preferably monastic. More accurately, these domains have been viewed mainly as *senhorios*, that is, as legal spaces for the accumulation and use of land, through which abbots, priors, canons and monks constructed a fine network of control over the peasants and their work, the land and its cultivation<sup>49</sup>. Less attention has been paid to changes in farmland and in agricultural and livestock products. Research has been focussed on settlement, or rather, on the geography of settlement, a topic with deep roots in Portuguese historiography. Especially visible in regionally based studies, this material has been presented not as a *separate* topic but linked with the economic activities and organisation of the political, social, ecclesiastical and military powers.

From what I have just listed, it is not difficult to identify other important gaps, even within the most privileged subjects of research. There is a marked absence of royal spaces and secular landlords and bishopric spaces. Large areas of the country remained ignored, or almost so. In fact, the understandable – and justified in terms of documentation – predilection for the monastic *settlement* areas, has confined to oblivion the great regions of Trás-os-Montes and the Algarve along with most of the Beira Interior and the Alentejo. The same may be claimed of *Islamic Portugal*. That said, there is no need to labour the point further, given the course research has followed over the last two decades. Our awareness of how much is still to be done stems in large part from the quality of research already done.

A further aspect, however, should be highlighted, namely, the enormous influence this research has exercised to the present day. Running the risks inherent

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<sup>49</sup> An identical historiographic panorama can be found in neighbouring Spain (GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Angel, and MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, Pascual, "Los Estudios sobre Historia Rural de la Sociedad Medieval Hispanocristiana", in ALFONSO, Isabel (coord.), *La Historia Rural de las Sociedades Medievales Europeas. Tendencias y Perspectivas*, Valencia, Universitat de València, 2008, pp. 97-143 at 104.

in any generalization, I believe that the focus has been over the past twenty years on the systematic refinement of earlier research. Looking in detail at the projects undertaken from the 1990s onwards, one can easily corroborate this claim. I would add, however, that this covers only one aspect of the current state of studies on Portuguese medieval rural history.

The great dynamism of urban and municipality history during the 1980s, was harnessed by research on the rural world, promoting debate on the relations between cities and towns and the surrounding rural areas. Improved research has demonstrated what we naturally suspected, namely the existence of a complex structure of political, economic and social interdependencies between town and countryside – in short, a true system of inter-connected arteries that gained strength throughout the Middle Ages. Following on the work of Maria Ângela Beirante on Évora, Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues in 1992 presented her doctoral thesis on *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo nos finais da Idade Média*<sup>50</sup>. Particular attention was paid to the agrarian landscape of the extensive *alfoz* (outskirts), to agriculture and livestock, and to the various types of land use and the social organisation of the peasants. Pursuing the same lines of analysis, Manuela Santos Silva submitted in 1996 her own doctoral thesis at the University of Lisbon, this time on the town of Óbidos and surroundings in the late Middle Ages<sup>51</sup>.

Similarly charting the dialectic of the relationship between city and country, Manuel Sílvio Alves Conde, in a meticulous study presented at the University of the Azores in 1997, adopted a different model. His was a regionally based approach, centred on the Middle Tagus in the late medieval era and offers us a comprehensive reconstruction of the rural landscape and the respective human scenario<sup>52</sup>. On publication, Iria Gonçalves wrote the following in the preface: “Along with the author of this work we comprehend a large space, both cut and joined by the Tagus, and under his guidance we perceive how it has been defined and characterised over time (...). We tread the fields (...), we learn its physical particularities, we make contact with the flora covering it and the fauna inhabiting it. We learn what has been provided by Nature or transformed by Man. We examine its family holdings, its villages, its towns. We travel by its roads, paths and footpaths. We learn from its peasants which seeds to sow in the ground and which tasks are required for them to bear the best fruit God allows”<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo nos finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1995.

<sup>51</sup> SILVA, Manuela Santos, *Óbidos e a sua região na Baixa Idade Média*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1996.

<sup>52</sup> CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Uma paisagem humanizada. O Médio Tejo nos finais da Idade Média*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000.

<sup>53</sup> “Com o autor deste trabalho abarcamos um dilatado espaço que o Tejo corta e une e por sua mão



This short passage, introducing a specific work, faithfully reflects what has been said about the more systematic character research began to assume in the 1980s. Indeed, the refinement of methodological tools and of the study of documents, suitably applied to a many-sided survey, has made possible a comprehensive approach to land, its organisation and its primary agents, the peasants. This type of investigation, more down to earth, more oriented towards restoring and interpreting a humanised landscape, constitutes one of the most innovative trends in rural history as practised in Portugal. Excellent examples may be found in various works of Iria Gonçalves<sup>54</sup> and her disciples. In addition to Manuel Sílvio Conde, the following deserve mention: Maria Isabel Castro Pina with her *A Encosta Ocidental da Serra da Estrela. Um Espaço Rural na Idade Média*<sup>55</sup>; Mário Viana on vineyards in the region of Santarém<sup>56</sup>; and Maria Manuela Catarino's *Na margem direita do Baixo Tejo. Paisagem rural e recursos alimentares (sécs. XIV e XV)*<sup>57</sup>. The project "Paisagens rurais e urbanas entre a Idade Média e os Tempos Modernos. Fontes para o seu estudo"<sup>58</sup>, and its associated workshops, is devoted to continuing such work. Diligently coordinated by Iria Gonçalves, this initiative has produced a considerable number of studies, published in several volumes<sup>59</sup>, demonstrating a wide variety of approaches and topics, of areas examined and timelines.

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vamos percebendo como ele se foi definindo e caracterizando ao longo dos tempos (...). Calcorreamos os campos (...), conhecemos as suas particularidades físicas, tomamos contacto com a flora que as reveste e a fauna que as povoa. Sabemos o que aí foi dado pela Natureza ou transformado pelo Homem. Olhamos os seus casais, as suas aldeias, as suas vilas. Transitamos pelas suas estradas, carreiras e veredas. Aprendemos com os seus camponeses que sementes se lançam à terra e que labores são necessários para que elas frutifiquem o melhor que Deus permite": GONÇALVES, Iria, "Prefácio", in CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Uma paisagem humanizada...*, vol. 1, pp. 7-8.

<sup>54</sup> We may take two relatively recent studies by the author as an example: GONÇALVES, Iria, "Espaços silvestres para animais selvagens, no noroeste de Portugal, com as inquirições de 1258", in *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, vol. 2, Oporto, FL-UP, 2006, pp. 193-219; and EADEM, "Sobre o coberto arbóreo da Beira Interior nos finais da Idade Média", in *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias*, vol. 1, Oporto, FL-UP, 2006, pp. 321-350.

<sup>55</sup> PINA, Maria Isabel Castro, *A Encosta Ocidental da Serra da Estrela. Um Espaço Rural na Idade Média*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1998 (master's dissertation submitted in 1993).

<sup>56</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1998 (master's dissertation submitted in 1996).

<sup>57</sup> CATARINO, Maria Manuela, *Na margem direita do Baixo Tejo. Paisagem rural e recursos alimentares (sécs. XIV e XV)*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000 (master's dissertation submitted in 1998).

<sup>58</sup> Project coordinated by Iria Gonçalves and located at the Centro de Estudos Históricos at Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of Nova University of Lisbon.

<sup>59</sup> The volumes are the following: GONÇALVES, Iria (coord.), *Paisagens Rurais e Urbanas. Fontes, Metodologias, Problemáticas*, vol. 1: *Actas das Primeiras Jornadas* (2005); vol. 2: *Actas das Segundas Jornadas* (2006); vol. 3: *Actas das Terceiras Jornadas* (2007); vol. 4: *Povoamento e População* (2009), Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005-2009. Along with these volumes should also be added two more also organised by Iria Gonçalves: *Media Ætas. Revista de Estudos Medievais*, 2nd ser., vol. 1, *Paisagens Medievais I* (2004/2005); and *Media Ætas. Revista de Estudos Medievais*, 2nd ser., vol. 2, *Paisagens Medievais II* (2005/2006). Finally, still within the framework of the project, are the following important set of edited sources: GONÇALVES, Iria (org.), *Tombo da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 1: *Comendas a Sul do Tejo (1505-1509)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos / Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002; GONÇALVES, Iria, and

Closely related is the research undertaken by André Evangelista Marques, the first significant outcome being *O casal. Uma unidade de organização social do espaço no Entre-Douro-e-Lima (906-1200)*<sup>60</sup>. This was innovative for taking as its starting point the meticulous examination of a given *elementary cell* with a human and spatial link – the family holding (*casal*) – and proceeding to examine the related organisation of the land and the socioeconomic structures of the countryside. In following this path, unusual even at the peninsular level, the author had to improve the methodological tools available, especially when establishing the multiple contexts in which documents deployed the word *casal*, before relating it to specific spatial realities.

Another area that has continued to be fruitful is the *classical* study of land assets, agrarian management and the system of rents of ecclesiastical institutions. Within the scope of the various masters courses in medieval history, a considerable number of monographs have appeared, on the monastery and chapter of Guimarães<sup>61</sup>, and on the communities of Santa Maria de Celas<sup>62</sup>, Santa Maria de Semide<sup>63</sup>, São Simão da Junqueira<sup>64</sup>, Santa Maria de Oliveira (Vila Nova de Famalicão)<sup>65</sup>, Santa Maria de Chelas<sup>66</sup>, Santo Tirso<sup>67</sup>, Santa Maria de Lorvão<sup>68</sup>, São Salvador de Vairão<sup>69</sup> and

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CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves (orgs.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 2: *Comendas do Médio Tejo (1504-1510)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005; GONÇALVES, Iria (org.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 3: *Comendas do Vale do Mondego (1508)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006; GONÇALVES, Iria, and CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves (orgs.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 4: *Comendas do Noroeste (1504-[a.1510])*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008; GONÇALVES, Iria (org.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 5: *Comendas da Beira Interior Sul (1505)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009; and GONÇALVES, Iria, and FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão (orgs.), *Tombos de Santa Maria de Abade de Neiva e São Vicente de Fragoço (1493-1494)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2003.

<sup>60</sup> MARQUES, André Evangelista, *O casal. Uma unidade de organização social do espaço no Entre-Douro-e-Lima (906-1200)*, Noia, Editorial Toxosoutos, 2008 (master's dissertation submitted in 2006).

<sup>61</sup> RAMOS, Cláudia Maria Novais Toriz da Silva, *O Mosteiro e a Colegiada de Guimarães (ca. 950-1250)*, 2 vols., unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1991.

<sup>62</sup> MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *Um Mosteiro Cisterciense Feminino. Santa Maria de Celas (Século XIII a XV)*, Coimbra, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 2001 (master's dissertation submitted in 1991).

<sup>63</sup> MARTINS, Rui Cunha, *Património, Parentesco e Poder. O Mosteiro de Semide do século XII ao século XV*, Lisbon, Escher, 1992, summary document produced within the scope of tests of Pedagogic Aptitude and Academic Capability, submitted in 1992.

<sup>64</sup> LIRA, Sérgio, *O Mosteiro de S. Simão da Junqueira (dos primórdios a 1300)*, 2 vols., Vila do Conde, Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2001 (master's dissertation submitted in 1993).

<sup>65</sup> BASTOS, Maria Rosário da Costa, *Santa Maria de Oliveira. Um Domínio Monástico do Entre-Douro-e-Minho em finais da Idade Média*, Vila Nova de Famalicão, Câmara Municipal de Vila Nova de Famalicão, 1996 (master's dissertation submitted in 1993).

<sup>66</sup> ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, *O Mosteiro de Chelas: Uma comunidade feminina na Baixa Idade Média. Património e gestão*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996 (master's dissertation submitted in 1994).

<sup>67</sup> MELO, Arnaldo Rui Azevedo de Sousa, *O Couto de S.<sup>o</sup> Tirso (1432-1516): Espaço e Economia*, 2 vols., unpublished master's dissertation submitted to FL-UP, Oporto, 1995.

<sup>68</sup> SANTOS, Maria Leonor Ferraz de Oliveira Silva, *O Domínio de Santa Maria de Lorvão no Século XIV. Gestão feminina de um património fundiário*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2001 (master's dissertation submitted in 1997).

<sup>69</sup> MARTINS, Alcina Manuela de Oliveira, *O Mosteiro de S. Salvador de Vairão na Idade Média: o percurso*

São Pedro de Arouca<sup>70</sup>, among many others. However, what seems most significant about the research on religious entities has been the appearance of the first large-scale investigations, aimed at the analysis of diocesan spaces, beginning with Avelino de Jesus da Costa's work on Braga. Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar's doctoral thesis, presented in 1998, was entitled *As Dimensões de um Poder. A Diocese de Évora na Idade Média*<sup>71</sup>. Designed to reconstruct the institutional organisation of the bishopric, the study also considered some of the central issues of land use, such as the establishment of the parochial network, a theme that merits greater attention from historians. Ten years later, the present author published *Formação e desenvolvimento do domínio da diocese de Braga no período da Reconquista (século IX-1137)*<sup>72</sup>. Despite its title, the main objective of the research was, though the reconstruction of Braga's senhorio, to clarify how, in the decisive period before the establishment of the Portuguese kingdom, the social and ecclesiastical organisation of an extended area, both in and beyond the limits of the diocese, functioned as a specific and indispensable foundation for the assertion of power of the prelates of Braga.

Among the trends favoured in the last two decades, has been the rise of research on communities and urban and rural spaces with prolonged Muslim rule. The most representative studies, because of their scope and rigour, have been those by Hermenegildo Fernandes<sup>73</sup>, Stéphane Boissellier<sup>74</sup>, Christophe Picard<sup>75</sup> and Santiago Macias<sup>76</sup>. Each of these authors has devoted extensive research to the reconstruction of territories under Islamic dominion, to their political and administrative order and its economic, the nature of frontier societies, and the

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*de uma comunidade feminina*, Oporto, Universidade Portucalense, 2001 (doctoral thesis submitted in 1999).

<sup>70</sup> RÉPAS, Luís Miguel, *Quando a Nobreza Traja de Branco. A Comunidade Cisterciense de Arouca durante o Abadessado de D. Luca Rodrigues (1286-1299)*, Leiria, Magno Edições, 2003 (master's dissertation submitted in 2000).

<sup>71</sup> VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, *As Dimensões de um Poder. A Diocese de Évora na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1999 (doctoral thesis submitted in 1998).

<sup>72</sup> AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *Formação e desenvolvimento do domínio da diocese de Braga no período da Reconquista (século IX-1137)*, unpublished doctoral thesis submitted in 2007 and defended in 2008, Oporto, FL-UP.

<sup>73</sup> FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, *Organização do espaço e sistema social no Alentejo medieval. O caso de Beja*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1991; and IDEM, *Entre Mouros e Cristãos. A Sociedade de Fronteira no Sudoeste Peninsular Interior (Séculos XII-XIII)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2000.

<sup>74</sup> Regarding this author, see mainly: BOISSELLIER, Stéphane, *Naissance d'une Identité Portugaise. La vie rurale entre Tage et Guadiana de l'Islam à la Reconquête (X<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1999; and IDEM, *Le Peuplement Médiéval dans le Sud du Portugal. Constitution et fonctionnement d'un réseau d'habitats et de territoires. XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, FCG, 2003.

<sup>75</sup> Regarding this author, see mainly: PICARD, Christophe, *Le Portugal musulman (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). L'Occident d'al-Andalus sous domination islamique*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000.

<sup>76</sup> Regarding this author, see mainly: MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola. O último porto do Mediterrâneo. Catálogo da exposição Mértola - História e Património (séculos V-XIII)*, 3 vols., Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2005.

procedures for transferring power between Muslims and Christians along with their effects on urban and rural structures. The work of Santiago Macias on Mértola and its region deserve particular mention, representing as it does a large scale and a successful combination of written and archaeological data, something as yet not common in Portuguese historiography<sup>77</sup>.

In conclusion, the short path that we have traced has shown that studies of rural history in Portugal, from the 1980s to the present day, have expanded both in number and in the themes addressed. Matching this has been a significant increase in the sources used and the depth of analysis. This refers, however, almost exclusively to written documentation. For archaeological evidence, we are at a very early stage of its knowledge and use<sup>78</sup>. Pioneering studies by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida<sup>79</sup>, along with others by Mário Jorge Barroca<sup>80</sup>, Jorge López Quiroga<sup>81</sup> and the above mentioned Santiago Macias, shown the potential of this type of source, above all when combined written documentation. But there is still a long way to go.

A further, necessary comment relates to the diversity of themes. From one perspective, the stock themes of rural history in general have been addressed by Portuguese researchers – local settlement, its geography and density and growth rates; the occupation and organisation of the territory; the installation of power, especially noble, and its projection into the countryside; the construction of the agrarian landscape and agricultural production; social groups and their (vertical and horizontal) relations; the rights and impositions of landlords, rents; etc. When, however, we map the studies done in various areas and regions, we find major omissions and imbalances, thematic, geographical and chronological. We possess, at present, very different levels of knowledge about the varied landscapes that make up this country. In respect of theoretical and conceptual issues, we remain enormously indebted to foreign contributions, though our reverence for alien models has given enormous impetus to internationalisation of Portuguese research, and this has been very positive.

<sup>77</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>78</sup> A relatively recent bibliographic survey of medieval archaeology can be found in: FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., “Arqueologia Medieval em Portugal: 25 anos de investigação”, *Portugalia*, n. s., vol. 26 (2005), pp. 149-173.

<sup>79</sup> Regarding this author, see, for example: ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *Vias Medievais. I. Entre Douro e Minho*, unpublished undergraduate dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1968; IDEM., “Ainda o documento XIII dos «Diplomata et Chartae»”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Série de História*, vol. 1 (1970), pp. 97-107; and IDEM., *Castelologia Medieval de Entre-Douro-e-Minho – Desde as origens a 1220*, supplementary doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 1978 (unpublished).

<sup>80</sup> Regarding this author, see, for example: BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Do Castelo da Reconquista ao Castelo Românico (Séc. IX a XII)*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1994.

<sup>81</sup> Regarding this author, see mainly: QUIROGA, Jorge López, *El final de la Antigüedad en la Gallaecia: La transformación de las estructuras de poblamiento entre Miño y Duero (siglos V al X)*, La Coruña, Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2004.

Finally, it is important to state that the multiple contingencies besetting our national universities – the almost exclusive *territory* for the production of medieval rural history – do not augur for a peaceful future. Yet it is precisely the quality of what has been accomplished that drives us to continue, enabling us to assess soberly just how much remains to be done.



# *The Church and Religious Practices*<sup>\*</sup>

*Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar,  
Maria de Lurdes Rosa*

## I.

### **Ecclesiastical history**

In the early 1980s António Banha de Andrade published what would be the first of the volumes of the *Dicionário da História da Igreja em Portugal*<sup>1</sup>. Some of the articles in this book were, at the time, important states of the art, and in most cases, remain indispensable in understanding the changes in Portuguese religious history up to the start of the 1980s<sup>2</sup>. But the publication of these volumes implicitly acknowledged that the progress of work in this area justified the appearance of a study of this kind, which, however, would unfortunately not be continued in the years immediately following.

It would be necessary to wait some twenty years before a new dictionary appeared, now called the *Dicionário da História Religiosa de Portugal*<sup>3</sup>, which contained the results of new research and, in some cases, advances in general knowledge of religious history in Portugal. In parallel the *História Religiosa de Portugal*<sup>4</sup> was then published, which attempted to reflect on and synthesise the evolution of religious history in Portugal during recent decades. In fact, the previous

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<sup>\*</sup> Hermínia Vilar is the author of “Ecclesiastical history”; Maria de Lurdes Rosa is the author of “History of religious practices”.

<sup>1</sup> ANDRADE, A. A. Banha de (dir.), *Dicionário da História da Igreja em Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Editorial Resistência, 1980-1983.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the articles dedicated to poverty and welfare and to ecclesiastical archives.

<sup>3</sup> AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000-2001.

<sup>4</sup> IDEM (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000-2002.

effort to establish a history of the Church in Portugal dated from the 1920s, through the efforts of Fortunato de Almeida<sup>5</sup>.

Drawing on many contributions by researchers from different generations and pathways, these two works, the *Dicionário de História Religiosa* and the *História Religiosa*, were sponsored by the Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa of the Catholic University of Portugal, a centre that since the 1950s had sponsored the publication of one of the oldest, continuous journals linked to the study of the history of the Church and of ecclesiastical history, namely, the journal *Lusitânia Sacra*. For over fifty years, this journal has included reflections on the history of the Church and on religious history undertaken in the second half of the twentieth century and has made possible the publication of articles that in some cases have been key contributions to questions little discussed by contemporary Portuguese historiography<sup>6</sup>.

Recently, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *Lusitânia Sacra*, it again sought to take stock of Portuguese historiographical work in the area of religious history<sup>7</sup>. The published collection, entitled “Da História Eclesiástica à História Religiosa” (From Ecclesiastical History to Religious History), brought together articles to highlight points concerning historiographical production in the area of religious history but following different chronologies. At the same time, the chosen title depicted the individual path of a scientific journal born in the shadow of the centre of studies, then called Centro de Estudos de História Eclesiástica, while reflecting, in parallel, a historiographical trajectory. At the same time, the title reflected the opening, expansion and adherence to which religious history and, in particular, the religious history of the Middle Ages, had been its target, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s.

The past thirty years in Portuguese historiography have seen an expansion in this area perhaps never before witnessed, visible in the proliferation of studies, the opening up of new areas of work, the multiplication of researchers from different generations and social contexts, in the unquestionable advance of knowledge in areas as diverse as the organisation of regular and secular ecclesiastical institutions, the social composition of the clergy, the interaction between powers, the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, mentalities and religious experiences. A wide range of new questions were being raised even in areas where monographic studies were

<sup>5</sup> The 1st edition of this work dates from the years 1910 to 1928. However, 1960s edition, prepared by Damião Peres, has been used for this study. ALMEIDA, Fortunato de, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, new edition prepared and coordinated by Damião Peres, 4 vols., Oporto, Portucalense Editora, 1967.

<sup>6</sup> See for example the article by Júlio César Baptista on the fourteenth century Schism in Portugal.

<sup>7</sup> “Da História Eclesiástica à História Religiosa”, *Lusitânia Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 21 (2009).



rare, while issues traditionally addressed were taken up again, often in the light of fresh interrogations.

Gradually the influence of French historiography, which since the 1960s and 1970s had been particularly visible in the areas of economic history, the history of mentalities or of social history, established itself at the heart of religious themes, in concerns relating to the social composition of groups of power, and the need to know the details of the patrimony managed by religious institutions. To the classical histories of the Church, consulted and studied by Portuguese historians, were added studies of regular orders, reflections on religious sentiment and, a little later, approaches to the world of the secular clergy integrated into the reconstituted elites linked to royal power.

Only afterwards would the contributions and influence of religious sociology make themselves felt, but the efforts to discuss Portuguese work already done and avenues explored were also delayed. In this context, the growing number of studies has not always been accompanied by reflection on this production, its limits and constraints, and on its framework within the context of European historiography concerning religious history. However, the advances of the last decades are unquestionable.

### 1.1. *From monastic orders to regular experience*

In 1959, Avelino de Jesus da Costa submitted his doctoral thesis entitled *O Bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*<sup>8</sup>. Avelino de Jesus da Costa was by then no longer an unknown author in the area of the history of the Church and his thesis was the climax of an extended process of research and analysis of the organisation of the diocese of Braga, and, in particular, on the establishment of monastic orders in the Braga area<sup>9</sup>. In a certain way, his thesis recovered two strands of his work by linking the religious organisation of the diocese of Braga to the analysis of the continuity of settlement in a region subject to Christian reconquest, drawing on sources such as the *libri censuales* and on parish lists to prove the continuity of human presence in the region during the central centuries of the Middle Ages.

Establishing a date for the restoration of the diocese of Braga had therefore assumed a special importance in his work, and he would return to this issue later in

<sup>8</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *O bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*, 2 vols. Coimbra, Universidade. Faculdade de Letras, 1959.

<sup>9</sup> Amongst other studies one can highlight IDEM, "Documentos da Colegiada de Guimarães", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. 3 (1947), pp. 561-589; IDEM, "A Restauração da diocese de Braga em 1070", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 1 (1956), pp. 17-28.

his career, to clarify his thinking, going back on what he had previously argued<sup>10</sup>. Curiously and despite the importance of this work, the truth is that setting a timeline for the restoration of other dioceses included in the Portuguese kingdom, or the analysis of the vicissitudes of this process, would not merit special attention in the years immediately following.

Despite some particular reflections on the role of João Peculiar and on the political importance of the diocesan map in the first decades of the emergence of the Portuguese kingdom, systematic study of Portuguese dioceses and their internal organisation would have to wait some decades.

In fact, the 1960s witnessed instead a plethora of studies on various monasteries, especially those based in the North of the Peninsula and dedicated to more remote chronologies, in some cases to periods prior to the political emergence of the Portuguese kingdom. José Mattoso was one of the most outstanding authors in the retrieval of studies of the regular clergy in the 1960s. His work on the Pendorada abbey conducted at the start of the 1960s as his undergraduate dissertation<sup>11</sup> would be followed by further analyses of Benedictine monasteries within the diocese of Oporto, particularly regarding the constitution of its archives, culminating in his global study of Iberian monasticism and Cluny, the subject of his doctoral thesis, which dealt with the monasteries of the diocese of Oporto between the years 1000 and 1200. Despite the subsequent diversification of his research interests, José Mattoso revisited themes related to the clergy during his career, either working on specific institutions, as was the case with Rendufe<sup>12</sup>, or analysing questions concerning the relationship between the regular orders and political processes during the first period of Portugal's autonomy.

In fact, research on the regular clergy continued over the following decades, resulting in the emergence of numerous diverse studies.

At the risk of simplifying a broad and diverse movement we can, however, trace some lines that characterise the process, over the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, responsible for revising knowledge of the regular clergy in Portugal during the middle and late centuries of the Middle Ages.

One of the first characteristic features of this movement is linked to the choice of space and chronology in many of these studies. It is clear that the early studies, among which may be placed those of José Mattoso and later on those of José

<sup>10</sup> See the second edition of his doctoral thesis dated 1997.

<sup>11</sup> MATTOSO, José, "L'abbaye de Pendorada: des origines à 1160", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 7 (1962), pp. 1-192 (= *Obras Completas*, vol. 11: *A Abadia de Pendorada das origens a 1160*, translation by João Luís Inglês Fontes, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> IDEM, *Religião e Cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982, pp. 205-281.

Marques and of Maria Helena Coelho<sup>13</sup>, were preferentially focused on institutions located in northern and central Portugal, regions where religious institutions were found, in particular Benedictine and Cistercian, which were more important in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and for which the available sources made possible the establishing of broad analyses. Fiães, Guimarães, Santo Tirso, and Arouca were some of the monasteries studied, followed by Alcobaça, Semide and Celas<sup>14</sup>, among other examples, at the same time as studies progressed to the final centuries of the Middle Ages. However studies on the regular landscape south of the Tagus were sporadic until the end of the 1990s<sup>15</sup>.

Iria Gonçalves's work on the monastery of Alcobaça is perhaps the first paradigmatic example of an approach dedicated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as constituting a representative example of a type of analysis centred on the property held by the institution and the management models of this patrimony. This thesis undoubtedly influenced historiographical work on regular and even secular institutions in the following years. By placing the emphasis of the analysis and the approach on the question of the patrimony and its management models, and by seeking mainly to study the economic context of the institutions faced with being the holders of goods and responsible for the definition of a rural landscape, these studies did not concern themselves with characterising or identifying the institutions analysed, but kept themselves strictly to the analysis of rural history. However, the analyses also served to obtain better knowledge of the economic and social fabric of many of these institutions and helped to map

<sup>13</sup> MARQUES, José, *O Mosteiro de Fiães: notas para a sua história*. Braga, author's edition, 1990; IDEM, "O Mosteiro de Guimarães", *Boletim de Trabalhos Históricos*, vol. 41 (1990), pp. 7-13; IDEM, "Aspectos da vida interna do Mosteiro de Santo Tirso, segundo a visitaçao de 1437", in *Actas do Colóquio de História Local e Regional* [Santo Tirso, 1979], Santo Tirso, Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 1982, pp. 209-232; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O mosteiro de Arouca: do século X ao século XIII*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Universidade de Coimbra, 1977.

<sup>14</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, *O Património do mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1989; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Vida e morte de um mosteiro cisterciense. São Paulo de Almaziva (hoje S. Paulo de Frades, c. Coimbra), séculos XIII-XVI*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 1998; RÊPAS, Luís Miguel Malva de Jesus, *Quando a nobreza traça de branco: a comunidade cisterciense de Arouca durante o abadessado de D. Luca Rodrigues, 1286-1299*, Leiria, Magno Edições, 2003; ALMEIDA, Dina, *O mosteiro cisterciense de Arouca: comunidade e património (1300-1317)*, unpublished master's dissertation in the History of the Middle Ages, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2003; MARTINS, Rui Cunha, *Património, parentesco e poder, O Mosteiro de Semide do século XII ao século XV*, Lisbon, Escher, 1992; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *Um mosteiro cisterciense feminino: Santa Maria de Celas, séculos XIII a XV*, Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 2001; ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, *O mosteiro de Chelas: uma comunidade feminina na Baixa Idade Média: Património e gestão*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996; VARANDAS, José Henriques, *Monacato feminino e domínio rural: o património do mosteiro de Santa Maria de Almoester no século XIV*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1994 (unpublished); and TEIXEIRA, Francisco Manuel de Almeida Correia *O Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Almoester*, unpublished master's dissertation in the History of Art, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1990.

<sup>15</sup> CONDE, Maria Antónia Fialho, *O Mosteiro de S. Bento de Cástris (Évora): bases para uma proposta de valorização histórico-arquitectónica*, 2 vols., Évora, Universidade de Évora, 1995, unpublished master's dissertation.

more clearly the regular network of Portuguese territory and in particular from the thirteenth century onwards.

In a scene dominated by sectorial and individual studies of regular institutions, what was lacking were broader studies that took religious orders *per se* as objects of study, or their regular settlement in a region as the basis for analysis. In fact, we had to wait to the 1990s for fresh questions to be raised and new ways of tackling the sources for such projects to be implemented.

Certain articles by José Mattoso, on the Regular Canons and the Cistercians in the early days of nationality, had already demonstrated the importance of examining the involvement of the religious orders and their leaders in the political context of the Middle Ages. In the same way, the advancement of studies, especially of female monasticism through analysis of the most important convents in the middle centuries of the medieval period<sup>16</sup>, demonstrated the need to understand the specifics of monastic life by considering their prevailing rule and the social composition of the relevant institutions.

Curiously, it would be female monasticism that would benefit from the first attempts at synthesis, in two articles by Maria Alegria Marques, *A evolução do monaquismo feminino até ao século XIII na região do Entre Douro e Tejo* and *A introdução da Ordem de Cister em Portugal*<sup>17</sup>, along with an important article by Maria Helena Coelho and Rui Martins, in which the authors analysed the links between Iberian Cistercian monasticism and the medieval Portuguese nobility<sup>18</sup>. However, there still remained for investigation the establishment, spread and internal organisation of many of the religious orders in Portugal. Notwithstanding studies of the Benedictines or Cistercians that focused on the early existence of these orders, questions remained unanswered, both in terms of their dissemination as well as on the comparative importance of their monasteries.

Studies in preparation by Filomena Andrade, João Luís Fontes, Aires Fernandes and Marta Castelo Branco are likely to change this. The first three will focus, respectively, on the Order of the Poor Clare's, the lives of hermits, and the

<sup>16</sup> Besides the theses already mentioned which have studied Semide, Celas, Arouca, one should also highlight MARTINS, Alcina Manuela de Oliveira, *O Mosteiro de S. Salvador de Vairão na Idade Média: o percurso de uma comunidade feminina*, unpublished doctoral thesis in the History of the Middle Ages, Oporto, Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique, 1999; PINTO, Margarida Isabel da Silva, *O Mosteiro de Odivelas no século XIV: património e gestão*, unpublished master's dissertation in Medieval History, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2000; and BRANCO, Maria João, and VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, "A fundação do Mosteiro de Odivelas", in *Congresso Internacional sobre San Bernardo e o Cister na Galiza e Portugal* [Ourense-Oseira, 1991], *Actas*, Ourense, Monasterio de Oseira, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 589-602; SANTOS, Maria Leonor Ferraz de Oliveira Silva, *O Domínio de Santa Maria de Lorvão no século XIV: gestão feminina de um património fundiário*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2001.

<sup>17</sup> MARQUES, Maria Alegria, *Estudos sobre a ordem de Cister em Portugal*, Coimbra, Edições Colibri / FL-UC, 1998, pp. 9-28 and 29-74, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and MARTINS, Rui Cunha, "O monaquismo ibérico cisterciense e a nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII-XIV)", *Theologica*, 2nd ser., vol. 28, fasc. 2 (1993), pp. 481-506.

Order of Regular Canons for the central and late Middle Ages, and these studies will enable us to build a coordinated and comprehensive picture of the emergence of these orders in the context of these centuries, along with a comparative vision of the importance of the different institutions that followed the same rule and of the internal relations established. The fourth study intends to consider the arrival of the mendicant orders in a diocese (Lisbon), placing its centre of analysis neither on an institution nor even a set of institutions belonging to a single order, but rather on the links between religious institutions, and between them and the area in which they become established.

Something lacking for a long time is knowledge about the arrival and spread of the mendicant orders in Portugal, the details of their lives and their positioning in relation to the possession of wealth. Founding names such as José Mattoso, José Marques, António Mendes do Rosário and Francisco Gama Caeiro were responsible for some of the first works on their organisation and mendicant life and the emergence in Portugal of questions that have arisen in the study of these orders in other historiographies. To these names can be added others, such as Saul Gomes, responsible for the study of the monasteries of Santa Maria da Vitória and São Francisco de Leiria, Júlia Galego and her work on the community of São Domingos de Vila Nova de Gaia, and Isabel Branquinho and Ana Paula Santos, authors of academically assessed work on the monasteries of Santíssima Trindade de Santarém and Santa Clara de Coimbra. But many other institutions await their historian. Likewise, we still know little about the political importance of these orders in relation to royal power, their insertion in the urban environment and the characteristics of their relationship with the religious and lay powers based in the city<sup>19</sup>, despite certain chapters in the work in this area already cited.

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<sup>19</sup> MATTOSO, José, “O enquadramento social e económico das primeiras fundações franciscanas”, in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval. Novas Interpretações*. Lisbon, IN-CM, 1984, pp. 329-346; MARQUES, José, *Os franciscanos no Norte de Portugal nos finais da Idade Média*, offprint from the *Arquivo Distrital do Porto*, vol. 1, Oporto, s.n., 1982; MOREIRA, António Montes, “Implantação e desenvolvimento da ordem franciscana em Portugal, séculos XIII-XVI”, in *O franciscanismo em Portugal: Actas*, Lisbon, Fundação Oriente, 1996, pp. 13-27, and MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “O poder real e o franciscanismo no Portugal medievo”, in *O franciscanismo em Portugal: Actas...*, pp. 87-96; CAEIRO, Francisco da Gama, “Os primórdios dos frades pregadores em Portugal: enquadramento histórico – cultural”, in *Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana*, offprint from the *Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, vol. 3, t. 1, Oporto, 1984, pp. 161-173; IDEM, “Heresia e pregação no século XIV em Portugal: a actuação dos dominicanos”, in *Actas do III Encontro sobre História Dominicana*, offprint from the *Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, vol. 4, t. 2, Oporto, 1989, pp. 299-308. Amongst the numerous works of António do Rosário within different time periods, of note for the medieval period are the articles *Cartório Dominicano Português: século XIII*, Oporto, 1984; *Pergaminhos dos Conventos dominicanos*, Lisbon, 1972; *Primórdios dominicanos em Portugal: notas para o estudo da excelsa figura portuguesa de D. Frei Soeiro Gomes*, offprint from the *Bracara Augusta*, Braga, 1965; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and MATOS, João Cunha, *O convento velho de S. Domingos de Coimbra: contributo para a sua história*, offprint from the *Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, Oporto, 1986. More recently of note is the study by BARBOSA, Albertina Machado da Silva, *Capelas e aniversários do mosteiro de S. Domingos do Porto*, unpublished master’s dissertation Oporto, FL-UP, 1998; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *A Protecção régia aos frades do convento de S. Francisco do Porto no século XV*, offprint from the *Boletim do Arquivo*

In the study of the regular clergy, using this term in a broad sense, we should highlight a final line of research connected to the study and analysis of the military orders in Portugal. Templar, Cristo, Saint James, Hospitallers and Avis are the most representative of this group and their documentary sources have formed the basis for a relatively large number of master's dissertations and doctoral theses submitted to the University of Oporto since the 1980s. Gradually, under the supervision mainly of Adão de Fonseca, the major religious-military institutions of the Middle Ages have been studied according to a previously defined research plan, reflected in the index of each of the submitted academic works. What was then sought was a connected and broad view of the entry and establishment of these orders in the Portuguese context through the application of a common set of questions, the comparative study of which should lead to the intended generic overview<sup>20</sup>.

In most of these studies the sociological analysis of their members was limited to identifying and studying their masters, usually persons better known than the great group of *comendadores* who, from the second half of the thirteenth century or in the fourteenth century took local control of the goods and rights organised into *comendas*.

The effort of trying to identify these *comendadores* and writing a sociology of the military orders would be made only a few years later through the work of Luís Filipe Oliveira<sup>21</sup>, who focused on the *comendadores* of the Orders of Saint James and Avis. By retrieving methodologies and research practices established in other historiographies, Luís Oliveira also sought to confirm theories about the presence of lower nobility or regional families in these orders and tried to assess the role of these orders as an element of social mobility.

What still remains to be done is similar work on the other military orders together with studies of the social composition of these orders, on models of their local settlement, and on the role played by these institutions in the exercise of religious jurisdiction.

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*Distrital do Porto*, Oporto, 1982; CASTRO, Júlia Campos Alves de, *O Mosteiro de S. Domingos das Donas de Vila Nova de Gaia*, unpublished master's dissertation in Medieval History, Oporto, FL-UP, 1993; GOMES, Saul António, *O Convento de S. Francisco de Leiria na Idade Média*, offprint from the *Itinerarium*, Braga, 1994; AFONSO, Luís, *Convento de S. Francisco de Leiria: estudo monográfico*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2003 and GOMES, Saul António, *O mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XV*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1990. On the Dominican presence in the area of note is the article by CRISTINO, Luciano Coelho, "Presença dominicana na região de Leiria antes de Santa Maria da Vitória, séc. XIII-XIV", in *II Encontro sobre História Dominicana. Actas*, vol. 2, Oporto, 1986, pp. 81-94; BRANQUINHO, Isabel, *O Mosteiro da Santíssima Trindade de Santarém: propriedade e gestão (séculos XIII-XV)*, unpublished master's dissertation in Medieval History, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2000; SANTOS, Ana Paula Figueira, *A fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara de Coimbra: da instituição por D. Mor Dias à intervenção da rainha Santa Isabel*, unpublished master's dissertation in Medieval History, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Concerning the historiographical work in the area see the articles included in this collection.

<sup>21</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres e os Comendadores. As Ordens Militares de Avis e de Santiago (1330-1449)*, Faro, Universidade do Algarve, 2009.

## 1.2. *The secular presence: from the diocese to the parish*

As noted above, the study of Portuguese dioceses came late to panorama of historiographical work in religious history. The information conveyed by chroniclers and historians such as Rodrigo da Cunha, Manuel Fialho, Gomes e Castro, Augusto Ferreira and Gonçalves da Costa was for a long time all that was available on diocesan organisation, while the numerous congregational chapter archives, too, were slow to be systematically studied.

The study by Avelino de Jesus da Costa on Bishop Pedro was one of the first to approach the problems raised by diocesan restoration and its organisation after the arrival of Christianity. Interestingly it would once again be the region of Braga that in the 1980s would be the subject of a new study of its archdiocese, now centred on the fifteenth century and the activities of another prelate, Fernando da Guerra. José Marques would, indeed, devote his thesis to this archdiocese of Braga and this prelate<sup>22</sup>. In doing so, he not only described the intervention of a reforming prelate such as Fernando but equally the features of the regular and collegiate presence within the Archdiocesan area as well as the parochial division, outlining the most detailed framework possible of a multifaceted reality concerning the deployment of powers.

The 1990s and the first decade of this century gradually witnessed a proliferation of studies on dioceses. Braga was again the subject of a number of master's dissertations supervised mainly by Ana Maria Rodrigues as part of the master's in Medieval History at the University of Minho<sup>23</sup>, followed by other studies, often carried out for academic examination but involving dioceses as different as Évora, Lamego, Lisbon, Coimbra and, partially, Viseu<sup>24</sup>. Taking as a framework for the analysis

<sup>22</sup> MARQUES, José, *A arquidiocese de Braga no século XV*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1988.

<sup>23</sup> Most of the academic studies on Braga in recent years have been carried out within a project directed by Ana Maria Rodrigues and financed by the Portuguese FCT. Amongst the dissertations defended and centred on the study of patrimony or the community of the ecclesiastical chapter, we would highlight the studies by NOGUEIRA, Alexandra Monteiro, *Formação e defesa do património do cabido de Braga nos finais da Idade Média (1351-1500)*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1998; CERQUEIRA, José Salgado, *A exploração económica das propriedades do cabido da Sé de Braga nos finais da Idade Média (1465-1515)*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1998; BARROS, Ana Andrea Soeiro de, *A aquisição e gestão de bens pelo cabido de Braga na primeira metade da centúria de 300 (1300-1359)*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1998; CARVALHO, Cristina Maria Peixoto de, *O Património do Cabido da Sé de Braga nos finais do século XV*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1999; FERREIRA, Maria Celeste Brandão, *Os bens, direitos e rendimentos do Cabido da Sé de Braga em finais da Idade Média*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2000; LIMA, Maria Justiniana Maciel, *O cabido de Braga no tempo de D. Dinis (1278-1325)*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1998; RIBEIRO, João Carlos Taveira, *A instituição capitular bracarense no século XIV (1325-1374). Organização e relações*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1998; COSTA, Maria Antonieta Moreira da, *O cabido de Braga na segunda metade de Duzentos (1245-1278)*, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2000.

<sup>24</sup> VILAR, Herminia Vasconcelos, *As dimensões de um poder. A diocese de Évora na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1999; SARAIVA, Anísio, *A Sé de Lamego na primeira metade do século XIV (1296-1349)*, Leiria, Magno, 2003; FARELO, Mário, *O Cabido da Sé de Lisboa e os seus cônegos (1277-1377)*, unpublished master's dissertation in Medieval History, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2004; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *A Sé de Coimbra: a instituição e a chancelaria (1080-1318)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2005;

of different timelines and areas, these studies enabled the construction of a more faithful picture of diocesan organisation in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and the identification of episcopal historians who often reviewed and changed the dates established by the chroniclers of earlier centuries, in understanding the functioning of the ecclesiastical chapter and the different ways of sharing and managing the patrimony of these institutions. At the same time, and no less important, these works frequently contributed to knowledge of the sociological profile of some of these institutions and the identification of many of their leaders.

In fact, the study of the secular clergy is, par excellence, the study of the individual and of the protagonist. Prelates and canons have been the subject of specific works that have attempted to reconstruct trajectories, religious and political careers, along with inheritance and family networks. The existence of sources, in many cases personal and especially illuminating on the ways and lives of these characters, have enabled reconstructions and analyses difficult to achieve for other levels of the clergy, and these appeal to medieval historians, thirsty for knowledge of the individual, in a way difficult to resist.

Paradigmatic figures of prelates such as Telo, Fernando da Guerra, Vasco Martins, Egas of Viseu, amongst many others have been studied in monographs<sup>25</sup> that have sought to reconstitute careers and connections, just as bishoprics associated with the temporal period of a kingdom have been the subject of analyses linking royal action and episcopal intervention<sup>26</sup>.

In truth, the last twenty years of studies of the secular clergy have represented a leap of proportions unimaginable at the end of the 1980s. Works on dioceses have multiplied, studies on prelates and even some canons, much more difficult to know when compared to the former, have increased in a significant manner, scattered through journals, the proceedings of colloquia and *festschriften*.

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CASTRO, Júlia Alves, "A diocese de Viseu nos alvares da Nacionalidade", in *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, vol. 5: *Sociedade, Administração, cultura e Igreja em Portugal no século XII*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães / Universidade do Minho, 2000, pp. 353-359.

<sup>25</sup> Various bishops have been studied in articles and monographic works so that it is impossible to list all the analyses carried out in recent years. As an example it is worth highlighting the studies of Gonçalo Pereira by Maria Helena Coelho; Fernando da Guerra studied by José Marques not only in his doctoral thesis but also in later articles; João Afonso Aranha analysed by Armando Carvalho Homem; the members of the Ebrard family who settled in the diocese of Coimbra, Vasco Martins, bishop of Oporto and of Lisbon and Geraldo Domingues, prelate of Oporto and of Évora studied by, respectively, Maria do Rosário Morujão, Maria Helena Coelho and Anísio Saraiva and Hermínia Vilar and Marta Castelo Branco, included in the proceedings of the International Colloquium: *A Igreja e o Clero português no Contexto europeu*, Lisbon, CEHR-UCP, 2005.

<sup>26</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, *Perspectivas sobre a prelazia do reino em tempos dionisinos*, offprint from the *Revista da Faculdade de Letras-História*, Oporto, 1998; VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, "O episcopado do tempo de D. Dinis – trajectos pessoais e carreiras eclesíásticas (1279-1325)", *Arquipélago, História*, 2nd Ser., vol. 5 (2001), pp. 581-694, and EADEM, "No tempo de Avinhão: Afonso IV e o episcopado em meados de Trezentos", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 22 (2010), pp. 149-168.



Again foreign influences played no small part in this innovation. The retrieval of political history and of the social history of institutions brought to the fore the need to understand the social composition of elites linked to the exercise of political power, of which diocesan bishops not infrequently were part. Likewise, advances were made in knowledge of the Portuguese nobility and of the main families that composed it, through the activities of José Mattoso, Leontina Ventura, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and José Augusto Pizarro, among others, who demonstrated how tenuous were the boundaries between this group and numerous prelates and canons connected to them either through family ties or patronage.

In this context, the need to know thoroughly who many of these ecclesiastics linked to the king were, in their responsibility for the management and governance of dioceses, gentlemen, in some cases, owners of inheritances, of obvious influence and at the centre of family and client networks little studied, became known, the multiplicity of these studies constituting one of the most marked aspects of religious historiography in Portugal in recent decades.

It was in the initial context of studies of the secular clergy that the *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae* project took shape from 2002 onwards. Seeking to identify them, setting up a database of Portuguese secular clergy up to 1325, this ambitious project followed a similar path to work already carried out in Britain and France and resulted directly in gave an ample set of studies published in collections as well as in diverse journals<sup>27</sup>.

Recent years have seen, also, the development of studies on the relationship between the clergy and royal power, whether through the participation of ecclesiastics in the construction and definition of the theoretical edifice of royal power (of which the studies by Maria João Branco are paradigms along with Margarida Garcez's thesis)<sup>28</sup>, or through the analysis of the role and the importance of the clergy in the constitution of central political elites.

More recently, other areas of work are being pursued within the framework of the secular clergy. The analysis of archival memories, and of iconographic images representative of their power, particularly in relation to sigillography, together with issues related to the intervention of prelates as patrons, have received particular attention and demonstrate that much remains to be done in this field.

<sup>27</sup> *A Igreja e o Clero português no Contexto europeu*, proceedings of the International Colloquium, Lisbon, CEHR-UCP), 2005, and *Carreiras Eclesiásticas no Ocidente Cristão (séculos XII-XIV)*, Lisbon, CEHR-UCP, 2007.

<sup>28</sup> BRANCO, Maria João, *Poder real e eclesiásticos: a evolução do conceito de soberania régia e a sua relação com a praxis política de Sancho I e Afonso II*, 2 vols., unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 2000; VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, *Igreja e Poder no século XV: dinastia de Avis e liberdades eclesiásticas (1383-1450)*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1997.

Curiously, the more local levels of ecclesiastical structure, with emphasis on collegiate churches and the parish clergy have not received the same attention. As regards the former, after a fruitful period in which several collegiades were examined in terms of the options and methodological models used in the regular institutions that managed the patrimony of these institutions<sup>29</sup>, there has been little advance in this area in recent years. It is no wonder, therefore, that so many questions remain open concerning in particular the identity of the clergy of these churches and their livings, the forms of their integration into the urban area where many of these institutions were located, and their links to local families and political elites.

Little is known, too, of the parish reality. Besides certain basic considerations regarding the problem of the origins of the parish network<sup>30</sup>, especially in the period post-Reconquest, there is a wide range of questions about the dues levied by these churches, about networks of patronage and the multiple influences and powers in specifying the holders of assets, and about the role played by rural and urban churches in establishing daily routines and religious practices.

In general the last decades of the twentieth century and the first of this century have represented years of growth for Portuguese historiography concerning medieval religious history, especially through, as already noted, the definition of new themes and areas of work, together with an increase in the number of those working on these themes. Even so, new challenges arise. Let us highlight only three. The first relates to the need to construct more general overviews. As already mentioned, the pulverisation of monographs has in some areas required some attempts at synthesis or more global approaches to enable an articulated vision of the monographic contributions. The second relates to the need to resume previously trodden paths, abandoned through the apparent exhaustion of the methodological models. We are referring specifically to the need to resume different levels of the study of the secular and regular clergy. The third relates to the need to raise new issues in areas such as the setting up of archives of memorials, of the symbolic use of images by religious institutions and prelates, the links between clergy and urban powers, and the role played by religion in the urban world.

<sup>29</sup> BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima, *Poder e influência de igreja medieval: a colegiada de Santa Maria de Alcáçova de Santarém*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1998; CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves, "Sobre o património da colegiada de Santa Maria da Alcáçova de Santarém. Das origens ao final do século XV", *Arquipélago. História*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1995), pp. 49-104; VIANA, Mário, "Uma perspectiva do património de duas colegiadas de Santarém", *Média Aetas Revista de Estudos Medievais*, vol. 2 (1999) pp. 79-101; MARQUES, Maria Inez Gonçalves, *A Colegiada de S. Martinho de Sintra nos séculos XIV e XV: património e gestão*, unpublished master's dissertation in Medieval History, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1997; SERRA, Joaquim Bastos, *A colegiada de Santo Estevão de Alfama nos finais da Idade Média: os homens e a riqueza da gestão patrimonial*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2003, amongst others.

<sup>30</sup> OLIVEIRA, Miguel de, *As paróquias rurais portuguesas: sua origem e formação*, Lisbon, União Gráfica, 1950; MATTOSO, José, "A História das paróquias em Portugal", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval- novas Interpretações*. Lisbon, IN-CM, 1984, pp. 37-56.

## II.

**History of religious practices**

We may distinguish three main periods in Portuguese historiography on medieval religious practices, carried out within a scientific and university context<sup>31</sup>. The first, from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1960s, was not university-based, but linked either to ecclesiastical and cultural sectors, or to ethnographic traditions that took a deep interest in such themes as the “soul of the people”, “the psychological characteristics of the Portuguese”, and “beliefs and rituals”. The second period, from the 1960s to the beginning of the 1980s, progressively inserted the subject into university research. This was followed by a golden period of academic work, from the 1980s to the end of the 1990s, concluding with the publication of two major works of synthesis, the *História religiosa de Portugal* and the *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*. Although it may be premature to consider it as a fourth period, there being no clear thematic continuity, rather a decline in production, there is the first decade of the twenty-first century, which we will consider mainly in terms of prospects for the future.

The first period witnessed a variety of small monographs, usually religious in nature, on cults, processions, “superstitious religious practices” and related topics, described and coherently synthesised in the relevant pages of *História da Igreja em Portugal*, by Fortunato de Almeida<sup>32</sup>. In the 1950s two remarkable scholars, Mário Martins, S. J., and António José Saraiva, began to transform the subject. Located in very different social fields, they shared a deep common culture and an eclectic approach to historical subjects. The “religious practices” were studied by the Jesuit scholar mainly in literary texts, in an objective manner, though in a register located

<sup>31</sup> These stages are evidently inseparable from various contexts, such as the entire historiographical writing on medieval Portugal, the history of Portugal in the twentieth century (highlighting, because of the break it caused, the 1974 Revolution), to national and international academic and scientific configurations. The most recent summaries which take these contexts into consideration are: BOISSELIER, Stéphane, and SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, “Pour un bilan de l’historiographie sur le Moyen Age portugais au XXe siècle”, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, t. 49 (2006), pp. 213-256 and FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “La médiévisque au Portugal (1970-2005): génèses, héritages et innovations”, in MAGNANI, Eliana (dir.), *Le Moyen Âge vu d’ailleurs: voix croisées d’Amérique latine et d’Europe*, Dijon, Editions Universitaire de Dijon, 2010, pp. 151-173. Although older, the following is essential reading in terms of its considerations on the link between production and institutional conditions, HOMEM, Armando Luis de Carvalho, “O medievismo em liberdade: Portugal, anos 70/90”, *Signum*, vol. 3 (2001), pp. 173-207. For a detailed consideration of the religious practices of lay people, see ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “Sociabilidades e espiritualidades na Idade Média: A historiografia portuguesa sobre os comportamentos religiosos dos leigos medievais”, *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 21 (2009), pp. 75-124; for an appreciation of the field, in a somewhat personal perspective, MATTOSO, José, “Perspectivas de investigação em história religiosa medieval portuguesa”, *ibid.*, pp. 153-172.

<sup>32</sup> ALMEIDA, Fortunato de, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, Oporto, 1910-1924. A more complex presentation of this period, departing from the seventeenth century, can be found in MATOS, Sérgio Campos, “Historiografia. II. Contemporânea”, in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, pp. 368-374

between pedagogic-communicative prose and more academic writing, while the free thinker A. J. Saraiva – animated however by religious concerns close to nineteenth century affective Christianity – re-read the same sources within the broader cultural project of understanding the “Portuguese sense of being and destiny” by studying the “nation’s culture”. Each of them demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of foreign work on the subject, especially French. In the book that deserves special mention here, the first volume of *História da Cultura em Portugal* (1950)<sup>33</sup>, Saraiva used these bibliographical bases to write about the “social conditions of culture”, and the “means and agents of culture”, to consider religion under the such headings as “forms of religious sensibility”, in pursuit of an organic plan of explaining the historical process. In this sense, there is undoubtedly an attempt at a sociological reading of religious phenomenon, though in practice only from texts from the ‘literary canon’ (which, however, he revisits, discovering hidden literatures and oral histories). Mário Martins had previously written in-depth essays on literary texts, but he also compiled thematic syntheses which, though lacking the global explanatory scope of Saraiva, drew on a large number of sources and provided a secure working base for certain “practices” that, a few decades on, would be at the centre of more advanced analyses. We would particularly cite his *Peregrinações e livros de milagres na nossa Idade Média* (1951)<sup>34</sup> and *Introdução histórica à vidência do tempo e da morte* (1969)<sup>35</sup>, as well as the articles collected in *Estudos de Cultura medieval*<sup>36</sup> or the *Guia geral das Horas del-Rei D. Duarte*<sup>37</sup>.

The main feature of the second period, namely, the inclusion of the study of religious practices within a university context between the 1960s and the late 1970s is clearly visible in works that marked the beginning of each of these decades. We are referring, respectively, to *A sociedade medieval portuguesa. Aspectos de vida quotidiana*<sup>38</sup> by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, and *A pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média*<sup>39</sup>. The first, written in 1957 as a graduation monograph and published in 1964, was an inquiry dedicated, very precociously, even in international terms, to the theme of “daily life”; the topics related to religious history are located in different sections, specifically in the

<sup>33</sup> SARAIVA, António José, *História da Cultura em Portugal*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Jornal do Foro, 1950.

<sup>34</sup> Published for the first time in *Revista Portuguesa de História* in 1951, and reedited by Edições Brotéria in 1957.

<sup>35</sup> MARTINS, Mário, *Introdução histórica à vidência do tempo e da morte*, Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> IDEM, *Estudos de cultura medieval*, vols. 1-3, Lisbon, Edições Brotéria / Verbo, 1969, 1980, 1983.

<sup>37</sup> IDEM, *Guia geral das Horas del-Rei D. Duarte*, Lisbon, Edições Brotéria, 1971.

<sup>38</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *A sociedade medieval portuguesa. Aspectos de vida quotidiana*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1964.

<sup>39</sup> *A pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1973 (proceedings of the “Primeiras Jornadas Luso-espanholas de História medieval”, held the previous year).

chapters “Belief” and “Death”, crystallising his socio-cultural approach. This work found no imitators in the years following its publication, which were dominated by regular minor studies on diverse themes of religious life, ranging between the scholarly and the confessional, independent of any academic university projects. The exception took the form of the first articles from a historian raised in monastic circles and trained in Louvain, who in the late 1960s began to publish articles explicitly devoted to religious practices, though focusing mainly on clerical devotion and erudition. We are referring to José Mattoso, who between 1969 and 1972 published four papers that distanced him from his earlier concerns – the institutional history of monasticism – and were dedicated, respectively, to monastic culture, the cultural study of “*sanctio*”, diplomatic formulas in monastic documents, and fringe religious experiences and the ‘readings’ of Cistercians<sup>40</sup>. Though he went on to cover many topics besides religious and ecclesiastical history, the work of José Mattoso in this area would become a major reference in the historiography of medieval Portugal, in terms of breadth, capacity for innovation, and of reflective approach<sup>41</sup>.

The approach to religious history as fully integrated within social history was decisively recovered in the early 1970s, with the convening of what turned out to be the period’s major medieval colloquium, with everything this type of meeting confers in terms of the exchange of experiences, influences and the establishing of disciplinary a identity, namely the “Primeiras Jornadas Luso-espanholas de História medieval”, dedicated to the theme “Poverty and death”. Very much within the concerns of the “*Annales* historiography”, and its most productive areas of expansion (Italy and Spain), the symposium systematically approached the “religious” subject from socio-economic perspectives, bringing together a group of university medievalists at the start of their careers, who would dominate the academic scene in subsequent decades. As a result, this topic would have important place in the historical work of the next period, though not always strictly following the line of the history of poverty and welfare, given that some of those authors had already embarked on the study of economic history and the property of welfare establishments and ecclesiastical institutions.

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<sup>40</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A cultura monástica em Portugal, 875-1200”, *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 3 (1969), pp. 1-35; IDEM, “Sanctio (875-1100)”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 13 (1971), pp. 299-338; IDEM, “Eremitas portugueses no século XII”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 9 (1972), pp. 1-40; IDEM, “Leituras cistercienses do século XIV”, *Do tempo e da história*, vol. 5 (1972), pp. 101-141.

<sup>41</sup> Other works of the Author will be referred to below, but the most significant in terms of this article are in the most complete list of his works, which is available at: <http://iem.fcsh.unl.pt/disponibilizar/bibliografias/bibliografia-mattosoPDF.pdf/view>; for an initial analysis of the evolution of his work in this area, see ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “Rumos da historiografia religiosa de José Mattoso”, *Medievalista* [online], yr. 2, no. 2 (2006), available at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA2/medievalista-historiografia.htm](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA2/medievalista-historiografia.htm)

The 1980s marked a turning point for the whole of Portuguese historiography, both qualitatively and quantitatively. This reflected the definitive reconfiguration of university institutions, which were for the first time creating postgraduate master's courses to provide substantial and thorough research training. With the 1970s generation of teachers at the height of their careers and a growing set of young graduates seeking further training, work in medieval history diversified, specialised, and embarked decisively on the issues that pre-occupied international historians. It cannot be said that the history of religious practices was one of the strongest themes of the renewal. Work carried out in related areas, however, and particularly the importance acquired by "cultural and *mentalités* history" – the study of which, for the Middle Ages, could scarcely avoid religious practices – added many contributions, and, in certain areas, a more in-depth vision (this being especially the case with the history of hospitals, alms-houses and confraternities, and with historical study of the cult of saints). Given the variety and number of topics, we have chosen to highlight the most important, and present them in a global manner.

Two issues that have been the focus of further studies clearly reflect the earlier phase, being the development of research and of syntheses by historians who had reached the upper levels of their career, or of their disciples. We would first highlight in terms of number and variety, studies of confraternities and charitable institutions<sup>42</sup>. Secondly, benefiting from the permanent international interest both of historians and the general public, the history of attitudes towards death, in fact one of the main themes of the 1990s. One of the earliest was a master's dissertation supervised by the very historian who had devoted such a large part of her research to the topic<sup>43</sup>. Research into death covered very varied areas: clerics and death<sup>44</sup>, chantry chapels and pious bequests (particularly in relation to elites)<sup>45</sup>, the will as

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<sup>42</sup> Synthesis and bibliography in FERRO, Maria José Pimenta, "Assistência social caritativa: I: assistência na Idade Média", in ANDRADE, A. A. Banha de (coord.), *Dicionário de História da Igreja em Portugal*, Lisbon, Resistência, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 635-676; IDEM, *Pobreza e morte em Portugal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1989; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *Confrarias medievais portuguesas*, Lisbon, author's edition, 1990; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "As confrarias medievais portuguesas: espaços de solidariedade na vida e na morte", in *Cofradías, gremios, solidariedades en la Europa Medieval – XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales. Estella '92*, Estella, Departamento de Educación y Cultura de Navarra, 1993, pp. 149-183; PAIVA, José Pedro (coord.), *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, vol. 1: *Fazer a História das Misericórdias*, Lisbon, União das Misericórdias Portuguesas, 2002. A detailed list of the works is included in the online bibliography accompanying this publication.

<sup>43</sup> VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval. A Estremadura portuguesa (1300-1500)*, Redondo, Patrimonia, 1995.

<sup>44</sup> CARVALHO, Elisa Maria Domingues da Costa, *A morte do alto clero bracarense (séculos XII a XV)*, unpublished master's dissertation, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1999.

<sup>45</sup> SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Contribuição para o estudo das oligarquias urbanas medievais: a instituição de capelas funerárias em Óbidos na Baixa Idade Média", in *A cidade. Jornadas inter e pluridisciplinares*. Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 115-127; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, "Capelas de Évora", *A Cidade de Évora*, nos. 65-66 (1982-1983), pp. 21-50; EADEM, "As 'heranças das almas' na diocese de Évora no início do século XVI", in *Congresso de História no IV Centenário do Seminário de Évora. Actas*, Évora, Instituto

a form of consolidating lineage strategies<sup>46</sup>, rituals, the “*imaginaire*”, the space of death<sup>47</sup>, political uses of “special” deaths<sup>48</sup>. Some studies were carried out under a new arrangement gradually gaining importance, namely, that of the financed research project, bringing together teams – usually of students in advanced training – coordinated by a senior researcher. Examples have been the project “Representações mentais do invisível em Portugal medieval”, directed by José Mattoso and Luís Krus (1989)<sup>49</sup>, and the project “O poder económico, social e político do cabido da Sé de Braga nos finais da Idade Média (séculos XIII-XIV)”, directed by Ana Maria Rodrigues (1997-1999)<sup>50</sup>.

We should also highlight the important research done by Mário Barroca on “epigraphy and death”<sup>51</sup> and on the representations in funereal sculpture, sometimes using testamentary sources, but is mainly based on epigraphical and archaeological remains<sup>52</sup>.

A new theme that proved highly attracted to researchers has been the practices related to religious sociability and the externalisation of devotion. Feasts and processions have been the subject of specific studies<sup>53</sup>. Pilgrimages, usually

Superior de Teologia / Seminário Maior de Évora, 1994, vol. 1, pp. 105-117; see also, from the same Author, the introduction to the theme, which was a pioneering work at the date of its publication: “Para a história da morte em Portugal (séc. XII-XIV)”, in *Estudos de História de Portugal* (homage to A. H. de Oliveira Marques), vol. 1: sécs. X-XV, Lisbon, Estampa, 1982, pp. 359-383; SOUSA, Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, “Legados pios do convento de S. Francisco do Porto: as fundações de missas nos séculos XV e XVI”, *Boletim do Arquivo Distrital do Porto*, vol. 1 (1982), pp. 59-119; SANTOS, Albertina, *Capelas e aniversários do mosteiro de S. Domingos do Porto no século XV*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1995; GOMES, Saul, “A memória dos fiéis defuntos no obituário da Sé de Lamego”, *Biblos*, vol. 72 (1996), pp. 149-174.

<sup>46</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, “Testamentária nobiliárquica (séc. XIII). Morte e sobrevivência da linhagem”, *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 9 (1997), pp. 137-156.

<sup>47</sup> VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, “Rituais da morte em testamentos dos séculos XIV e XV”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *O reino dos mortos na Idade Média peninsular*, Lisbon, Edições João Sá da Costa, 1995, pp. 165-176; PINA, Isabel Castro, “Ritos e imaginário da morte em testamentos dos séculos XIV e XV”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *O reino dos mortos na Idade Média peninsular...*, pp. 125-164; BRANCO, Maria João, and VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, “Morrer e testar na Idade Média”. *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 4 (1992), pp. 39-59.

<sup>48</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “A morte como tema de propaganda política na historiografia e na poesia portuguesa do século XV”, *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993), pp. 507-538.

<sup>49</sup> In fact the range of this project was vast, covering far more topics than the traditional history of Death. As its main coordinator stated “a representação do mundo dos mortos constituía, porventura, o principal lugar [sic] do imaginário do invisível” (MATTOSO, José, “Introdução”, in MATTOSO, José, *O reino dos mortos na Idade Média peninsular...*, p. 7).

<sup>50</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “O poder económico, social e político do cabido da Sé de Braga nos finais da Idade Média (séculos XIII-XIV). Um projecto de investigação”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., vol. 10 (1998), pp. 335-345.

<sup>51</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Epigrafia medieval portuguesa (862-1422)*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2000.

<sup>52</sup> IDEM, “Cenas de passamento e de lamentação na escultura funerária medieval portuguesa (sec. XIII a XV)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras, História*, 2nd ser., vol. 14 (1997), pp. 657-686.

<sup>53</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, “As festas do *Corpus Christi* do Porto na segunda metade do século XV: a participação do concelho”, *Estudos medievais*, vols. 4-5 (1985), pp. 3-23; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Festa e sociabilidade na Idade Média*, Coimbra, Delegação do INATEL / Associação para o Desenvolvimento e Defesa da Alta de Coimbra, 1994; BRANCO, Maria João, “A procissão na cidade: reflexões em torno da festa do Corpo de Deus na Idade Média portuguesa”, in *A Cidade. Jornadas inter e pluridisciplinares, Actas*, Lisbon,

associated with miracles and cults of sainthood, have been specifically studied by Luís Krus and his circle of students, as well as in other academic groups. Researches were undertaken on Santa Senhorinha<sup>54</sup>, São Vicente<sup>55</sup>, the Martyrs of Morocco<sup>56</sup>, the Infante Santo<sup>57</sup>, Nossa Senhora da Oliveira<sup>58</sup>, and Afonso Henriques<sup>59</sup>. Two global studies have been published by José Mattoso, namely a synthesis of Portuguese medieval hagiography and a historical-ethnographical enquiry into saints of unknown origin<sup>60</sup>. There has also been room for the publication of sources, in particular books of miracles (sometimes with essays on their sanctuaries and cults)<sup>61</sup>. “Parallel” religious practices have received attention, with regard to such issues as demonic possession<sup>62</sup>, blasphemy<sup>63</sup>, the persistence of “pagan” nature cults<sup>64</sup>, the diocesan synods’ correction of daily religious practice<sup>65</sup>, witchcraft<sup>66</sup> and

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Universidade Aberta, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 196-217; COSTA, Adelaide Millán da, *Projeção espacial de domínios: das relações de poder ao burgo portuense (1385-1502)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1999.

<sup>54</sup> GAMEIRO, Odília, *A construção das memórias nobiliárquicas medievais. O passado da linhagem dos senhores de Sousa*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 2000.

<sup>55</sup> KRUS, Luís, “São Vicente e o mar: das relíquias à moeda”, *Passado, memória e poder na sociedade medieval portuguesa. Estudos*, Redondo, Patrimonia, 1994, pp. 143-148; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and GOMES, Saul António, *S. Vicente de Lisboa e os seus milagres medievais*, Lisbon, Edições Didaskalia, 1988.

<sup>56</sup> KRUS, Luís, “Celeiro e relíquias: o culto quatrocentista dos Mártires de Marrocos e a devoção dos Nus”, *Studium Generale. Estudos contemporâneos*, no. 6 (1984), pp. 21-42.

<sup>57</sup> FONTES, João Luís, *Percursos e memória: do Infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000; BRAGA, Paulo Drumond, “O mito do Infante Santo”, *Ler História*, no. 25 (1994), pp. 3-10.

<sup>58</sup> MARQUES, José, *Santa Maria da Oliveira, centro nacional de peregrinações*, Braga, s.n., 1994 (offprint from: *Simpósio Mariológico – Santuário de Nossa Senhora da Penha*, proceedings)

<sup>59</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “O corpo do chefe guerreiro, as chagas de Cristo e a quebra dos escudos: caminhos da mitificação de Afonso Henriques na Baixa Idade Média”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães, Actas*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães / Universidade do Minho, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 85-123.

<sup>60</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Le Portugal de 950 à 1550”, in PHILIPPART, Guy (dir.), *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1996, vol. 2, pp. 83-102; IDEM, “Santos portugueses de origem desconhecida”, in ENES, Maria Fernanda (coord.), *Piedade popular: sociabilidades, representações, espiritualidades. Actas do Colóquio Internacional* (org. Centro de História da Cultura-História das Ideias, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas), Lisbon, Centro de História da Cultura / Terramar, 1999, pp. 27-42.

<sup>61</sup> FERNANDES, Maria Alice, *Livro dos milagres dos Santos Mártires (edition and study)*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1988; FERNANDES, Cristina Célia Oliveira, “O Livro dos Milagres de N.ª S.ª da Oliveira de Guimarães”, *Revista de Guimarães*, vol. 109 (1999), pp. 217-297.

<sup>62</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Saúde corporal e saúde mental na Idade Média portuguesa”, in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1987, pp. 233-252; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “Um possesso do demónio no século XV”, *Exilados, marginais e contestários na sociedade medieval portuguesa. Estudos de História*, Lisbon, Estampa, pp. 72-77.

<sup>63</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “A boca do diabo: a blasfémia e o direito penal português na Baixa Idade Média”, *Lusitania Sacra*. 2nd ser., t. 4 (1992), pp. 61-82.

<sup>64</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, “Paganismo: sua sobrevivência no Ocidente peninsular”, in *In memoriam António Jorge Dias*, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura / Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 17-37.

<sup>65</sup> BRANCO, Maria João, “Norma e desvio: comportamentos e atitudes face ao sagrado na diocese bracarense (sécs. VI-XVI)”, in *IX Centenário da dedicação da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional. Actas*, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa / Cabido Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990, vol. 2/2, pp. 119-146.

<sup>66</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “A feitiçaria em Portugal no século XV”, in *Marginalidade e conflitos*



necromancy<sup>67</sup> and the manipulation of sacred images<sup>68</sup>. From a slightly different perspective, the attempt to isolate “mythical grounds” in narratives of lay and ecclesiastical origin (from fragments of epic poetry and “romances” up to *exempla* or miracle books), we would cite the works of José Mattoso on the *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens*<sup>69</sup> and the *Cantar dos Infantes de Lara*<sup>70</sup>, as well as the ground-breaking work of Luís Krus on the *Lenda da Dama de Pé de Cabra*<sup>71</sup>.

The themes of inner devotion, personal piety, and domestic religion that attracted such interest from European historians of the same period, have not led to similar work in Portugal, beyond dispersed and fragmented essays, mostly concerning the theme of “death”, albeit with some useful data. Studies on individual experiences, from Princess Vataça to Queen Leonor de Lencastre, from Prince Fernando de Serpa (1218-1246) to Duke Jaime de Bragança, alongside with a larger group of individuals of varying status<sup>72</sup>, deserve notice, along with works on devotional objects, in general undertaken by art historians<sup>73</sup>, and studies on specific devotions, produced mostly by ecclesiastical authors<sup>74</sup>. Worth mentioning,

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*sociais em Portugal no século XV. Estudos de História*. Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1985, pp. 61-78; BAUBETA, Patrícia Anne Odber de, *Igreja, pecado e sátira social na Idade Média portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1997.

<sup>67</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A necromancia na Idade Média”, *Humanitas*, vol. 50 (1998), pp. 264-283.

<sup>68</sup> IDEM, “Liturgia monástica e religiosidade popular na Idade Média”, *Estudos Contemporâneos*, no. 6 (1984), pp. 11-20.

<sup>69</sup> IDEM (selection, introduction and comments), *Narrativas dos livros de linhagens*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983.

<sup>70</sup> IDEM, “Sangue e família no Cantar dos Infantes de Lara”, in *Estudos e ensaios em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*. Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1988, pp. 207-216.

<sup>71</sup> KRUS, Luís, “A morte das fadas: a lenda genealógica da Dama do Pé de Cabra”, *Ler História*, no. 6 (1985), pp. 3-34.

<sup>72</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, VENTURA, Leontina, “Vataça: uma dona na vida e na morte”, in *Actas das 2<sup>as</sup> jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História medieval*, Oporto, INIC, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 159-193; SOUSA, Ivo Carneiro de, *A rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525). Poder, misericórdia e espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2002; PEREIRA, Armando de Sousa, “O Infante D. Fernando de Portugal, senhor de Serpa (1218-1246). História da vida e da morte de um cavaleiro andante”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 10 (1998), pp. 95-121; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “D. Jaime, duque de Bragança: entre a cortina e a vidraça”, in CURTO, Diogo Ramada (dir.), *O Tempo de Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, Difel, 1998, pp. 319-332; EADEM, “A fundação do mosteiro da Conceição de Beja pela Duquesa D. Beatriz”, *ibid.*, pp. 265-70; FONTES, João Luís, *Percursos e memória: do Infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo...*; SOMMÉ, Monique, *Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne. Une femme au pouvoir au XV<sup>e</sup>. siècle*, Vileneuve d’Ascq, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*, Oporto, INIC, 1982, pp. 293-309; MACEDO, Francisco Pato de, “O Infante D. Pedro, patrono e mecenas”, *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993), pp. 459-489.

<sup>73</sup> DIAS, Pedro, *Visitações da Ordem de Cristo de 1507 a 1510 – aspectos artísticos*, Coimbra, História de Arte, 1979; GONÇALVES, António Nogueira, *O tesouro de D. Isabel de Aragão, Rainha de Portugal*, Coimbra, Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro, 1983; ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso, “Escultura e ourivesaria”, in *Nos confins da Idade Média*, Oporto, Instituto Português de Museus, 1992, pp. 79-84.

<sup>74</sup> On the Marian cult, see COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *O culto mariano em Portugal e sobretudo em Braga, Coimbra e Lisboa nos séculos XII a XV*, Roma, Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1979; IDEM, *O culto de Nossa Senhora da Conceição em Portugal, até ao século XVI*, Braga, s.n., 1988; FARIA, Francisco Leite de, “Crença e culto da imaculada Conceição em Portugal”, *Revista Española de Teologia*, vol. 44, fasc. 1 (1984), pp. 137-159.

too, in this regard are the studies dedicated to the creation, circulation, reception and use, of religious and/or moralist prose and poetry, in lay environments. These include, on the one hand, research coming from the area of literature, of which we would highlight Aires do Nascimento<sup>75</sup>, João Dionísio<sup>76</sup>, Cristina Sobral<sup>77</sup>, José A. Freitas de Carvalho<sup>78</sup>, and José Carlos Miranda<sup>79</sup>, and on the other, the innovative contributions stemming from a revitalised history of philosophy, specifically with regard to the moralistic prose of the princes of Avis<sup>80</sup>. On the role of princely courts and female figures in the creation and circulation of these texts, mention should be made of the research work of António Resende de Oliveira<sup>81</sup> and Ivo Carneiro de Sousa<sup>82</sup>, as well as of smaller studies on books and libraries<sup>83</sup>.

Finally, the framing of religious practices by the Church has been the subject of a more limited set of studies, some within the domain of ecclesiastical history, though the field has gradually expanded to professional historians. Religious instruction continued to attract interest<sup>84</sup>. Several authors have studied the social

<sup>75</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Língua portuguesa e mediações religiosas”, *Icalp. Revista*, no. 14 (December, 1988), pp. 82-99; IDEM, “A tradução portuguesa da *Vita Christi* de Ludolfo da Saxónia: obra de príncipes em ‘serviço de Nosso Senhor e proveito comum’”, *Didaskalia*, vol. 29 (1999), pp. 563-587; IDEM, “A Igreja na História da Cultura: percursos do livro em Portugal na Idade Média”, *Igreja e missão*, no. 184 (2000), pp. 139-201; IDEM, “Literatura religiosa. I. Época medieval”, in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal...*, vol. 3, pp. 113-125.

<sup>76</sup> DIONÍSIO, João, *Duarte, leitor de Cassiano*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2000.

<sup>77</sup> SOBRAL, Cristina, “Um autor ignorado e a recepção da hagiografia no século XV”, in RIBEIRO, Cristina Almeida, and MADUREIRA, Margarida (coords.), *O género do texto medieval*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1997, pp. 271-281; IDEM, “O Orto do Esposo”, in REIS, Carlos (Dir.), *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, vol 1: *Das Origens ao Cancioneiro Geral*, Lisbon, Alfa, 2001, pp. 411-420.

<sup>78</sup> CARVALHO, José Adriano de Freitas, *Nobres letras...fermosos volumes... Inventários de bibliotecas dos franciscanos observantes em Portugal no século XV. Os traços de união das reformas peninsulares*, Oporto, Centro Interuniversitário de História da Espiritualidade / Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa / FL-UP, 1995; IDEM, “Príncipes, armas e letras”, *Nos confins da Idade Média*, Oporto, Instituto Português de Museus, 1992, pp. 69-73.

<sup>79</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos, *O poeta e o príncipe: ensaio sobre as trovas de Diogo Brandão à morte de D. João II*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1985, proof of scientific and pedagogic capability, typewritten; IDEM, “O tema da morte e a tradição literária do Pranto no Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende”, in *Actas do Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a sua época*. Oporto, Universidade do Porto / Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1989, vol. 4, pp. 77-93.

<sup>80</sup> CALAFATE Pedro (dir.), *História do pensamento filosófico português*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Caminho, 1999.

<sup>81</sup> OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, “A cultura das cortes”, in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de (coords.), *Portugal em definição de fronteiras. Do condado portucalense à crise do século XIV*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1996, pp. 660-691.

<sup>82</sup> SOUSA, Ivo Carneiro de, *A rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525). Poder, misericórdia e espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2002 (defended in 1999 as a doctoral thesis).

<sup>83</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “As livrarias dos Príncipes de Avis”, *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993), pp. 265-287; CEPEDA, Isabel Vilarés, “Os livros da Rainha D. Leonor, segundo o código 11352 da Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa”, *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, 2nd ser., vol. 2 (2) (1987), pp. 51-81; BUESCU, Ana Isabel, *Imagens do Príncipe. Discurso normativo e representação (1525-1549)*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1996.

<sup>84</sup> PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa, “A vida do clero e o ensino da doutrina cristã através dos sínodos medievais portugueses”, *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 10 (1978), pp. 37-74; IDEM, “O ensino da doutrina cristã nos séculos XIII a XVI”, *Missionação portuguesa e encontro de culturas. Actas*, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa,

impact of preaching<sup>85</sup>. With regard to confession, the main focus has been on the guiding texts of the Church<sup>86</sup> and on the confessors and spiritual directors of kings, princes and princesses<sup>87</sup>. José Mattoso has written on the change from public penance to private confession<sup>88</sup>.

The close of the twentieth century saw the appearance of two collective works on the religious history of Portugal, in which the adjective “religious” was deliberately preferred to “ecclesiastical”, an option showing full compliance with the trends in international historiography since the 1960s<sup>89</sup>. Medieval religious practices were given significant attention both in the *História*, with many pages devoted to the lay religion of Christian spirituality and culture, and the political uses of religion, and in multiple entries of the *Dicionário*, albeit obliquely across various time periods.

The research produced in the following decade was characterised, first, by the continuity of some earlier themes. Master’s students tackled confraternal and welfare systems, resulting in some in-depth monographs<sup>90</sup>. But syntheses were also undertaken in two collective works published between 2000 and 2004<sup>91</sup>, including further reflection on old themes and research on new aspects. Many of the papers collected in colloquia came from historians who had devoted their whole research

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1993, vol. 1, pp. 357-370; CEPEDA, Isabel Vilares, “Uma ‘cartinha’ em língua portuguesa desconhecida dos bibliógrafos”, *Actas do Colóquio sobre o livro antigo*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1992, pp. 79-92.

<sup>85</sup> ANTUNES, José, *A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV: juristas e teólogos*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1995, chap. 2; BAUBETA, Patricia Anne Odber de, *Igreja, pecado e sátira social na Idade Média portuguesa...*; CAELIRO, Francisco da Gama, “Ensino e pregação teológica em Portugal na Idade Média: algumas observações”, *Revista Española de Teología*, vol. 144, fasc. 1 (1984), pp. 113-135; HAUF, Albert G., “El ‘ars praedicandi’ de Fr. Alfonso d’Alprão, OFM. Aportación al estudio de la teoría de la predicación en la Península Ibérica”, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, yr. 72 (1979), fascs. 3-4, pp. 233-329; MATTOSO, José, “Estratégias da pregação no século XIII”, *Ler história*, no. 5 (1985), pp. 105-118.

<sup>86</sup> BRAGANÇA, Joaquim de Oliveira, “Memorial dos pecados de Garcia de Resende”, *Didaskalia*, vol. 9 (1979), pp. 206-236; ANTUNES, José, *A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV...*, chap. 4.

<sup>87</sup> MARQUES, João Francisco, “Franciscanos e dominicanos confessores dos reis portugueses das duas primeiras dinastias”, *Espiritualidade e corte (séculos XVI a XVIII)*, Oporto, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1993, pp. 53-60; GOMES, Rita Costa, *A corte dos reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média*, Lisbon, Difel, 1995; MENDONÇA, Manuela, “O franciscanismo dos monarcas do século XV”, in *I-II Seminário ‘O Franciscanismo em Portugal’*, proceedings, Lisbon, Fundação Oriente, 1996, pp. 139-152; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “O poder real e o franciscanismo no Portugal medievo”, *ibid.*, pp. 87-96.

<sup>88</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Pecados secretos”, *Sigila. Revue transdisciplinaire franco portugaise sur le secret*, no. 5 (2000), pp. 31-60.

<sup>89</sup> AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História religiosa de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Formação e limites da Cristandade*, coordinated by Ana Maria Jorge and Ana Maria Rodrigues, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000; IDEM, *ibid.*, vols. 1-4, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000-2001.

<sup>90</sup> MATA, Luís, *Ser, ter e poder. O hospital do Santo Espírito de Santarém nos finais da Idade Média*, Leiria, Edições Magno / Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2000; CLÁUDIO, Ana Sofia, *São as confrarias refúgio dos humildes?: contributo para o estudo das elites eborenses no final da Idade Média*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Évora, Universidade de Évora, 2002; FONSECA, Jorge, *Os hospitais de Montemor-o-Novo entre os séculos XIII e XVI*, Montemor-o-Novo, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Montemor-o-Novo, 2004.

<sup>91</sup> *João Afonso de Santarém e a assistência hospitalar escalabitana durante o Antigo Regime*, Santarém, Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2000; *III Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. D. Manuel e a sua época*, vol. 2: *Igreja e assistência*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 2004.

careers to the discipline, along with thesis supervision, representing one of the most notable thematic continuities in the historiographical area under consideration. However, there does seem to have been a falling off of interest. The most recent theses date from 2002, and in the available lists of graduate research in progress no similar themes were found<sup>92</sup>. Similarly, the subject has not appeared frequently in colloquia or collective works. Mention should be made of a recent work on the leper in medieval Portugal, which reflects on the sources, on current analysis and on the “presentism” of the research, in a case study of Lisbon leper-house<sup>93</sup>.

The parallel field of the history of attitudes towards death also experienced a certain decline in terms of medium-sized studies<sup>94</sup>, but has been taken up in several academic dissertations, showing a certain capacity for continuity. The conclusion of the project on the Braga clergy led to further master’s theses supervised by the main researcher<sup>95</sup>, who then published a useful synthesis<sup>96</sup>. Maria de Lurdes Rosa submitted her doctoral thesis on the late-medieval chantry chapel, from the perspective of the “affirmation of the soul as a legal subject”<sup>97</sup> and later on supervised a master’s dissertation on epitaphs from the tombs of knights<sup>98</sup>. It is in the field of the history of art that the greatest prospects for the future seem to be concentrated, in terms of academic dissertations<sup>99</sup> and also in the development and exploration of the results of the *Imago* research project<sup>100</sup>.

One “new” theme of the 1990s has maintained greater vitality, namely, the history of holiness and cults of sainthood, in their various forms. Luís Krus’s

<sup>92</sup> See the theses mentioned on the website of the Grupo Informal de História Medieval (GIHM), of the University of Oporto.

<sup>93</sup> NÓVOA, Rita, *A casa de S. Lázaro de Lisboa: contributos para uma história das atitudes face à doença (sécs. XIV-XV)*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2010.

<sup>94</sup> CALVÃO, Filipe, COSTA, Teresa, “Fundação de capelas na Lisboa quatrocentista: da morte à vida eterna”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., tomes 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 337-68.

<sup>95</sup> SOARES, Alexandra Margarida, *Os aniversários na Sé de Braga nos séculos XIV e XV*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2000; GONÇALVES, I. C., *As capelas na sé de Braga na baixa Idade Média*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2001.

<sup>96</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “A morte e a comemoração dos defuntos na Sé de Braga nos finais da Idade Média”, *Cadernos do Noroeste – Série História*, vol. 3, nos. 1-2 (2003), pp. 183-218, 220.

<sup>97</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, ‘*As almas herdeiras*’. *Fundação de capelas fúnebres e afirmação da alma como sujeito de direito (Portugal, 1400-1521)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2005 (in press).

<sup>98</sup> PONTES, Luís Filipe, *Do mundo da corte ao mundo da memória*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2008.

<sup>99</sup> FERNANDES, Carla Varela, *Memórias de pedra. Escultura tumular medieval da Sé de Lisboa*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2001; RAMÓA, Joana, ‘*Christus patiens*’. *Representações do Calvário na escultura tumular medieval portuguesa (século XIV)*, Lisbon, Instituto de História de Arte – Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008; see also, on the website of GIHM, theses on the History of Medieval Art currently underway.

<sup>100</sup> This project, directed by José Custódio Vieira da Silva and Maria Adelaide Miranda, within the remit of the IEM, produced the “Imago” database, hosted on the websites of FCSH-UNL and IEM at: <http://imago.fcsh.unl.pt>

students have been a major force in this area, investigating the cults of São Vicente<sup>101</sup>, the Martyrs of Lisbon<sup>102</sup>, and Nuno Álvares Pereira<sup>103</sup>. A broad analysis of holiness in Portugal was published in 2001-2002, reflecting both on texts and on their social contexts and on individual careers<sup>104</sup>. Medieval hagiography and cults of sainthood were also covered in a summary extending to the modern and contemporary epochs<sup>105</sup>. The uses of holiness in the context of war and the relationships warriors had with the sacred, whether more or less orthodox, have also received attention<sup>106</sup>. Less intensely, miracles and pilgrimages continue to arouse the interest<sup>107</sup>.

Another fruitful continuity, resulting in doctoral theses, has been the study and editing by scholars of medieval literature of devotional, moralising and hagiographic texts<sup>108</sup>. Our knowledge of the ecclesiastical frameworks for religious

<sup>101</sup> The doctoral thesis of the author dates from 2003; for new information, see DIAS, Isabel Rosa, "A passio de São Vicente", in CARDOSO, Isabel Alçada (coord.), *São Vicente Diácono e Mártir. Padroeiro de Lisboa*, Lisbon, Centro Cultural de Lisboa Pedro Hispano, 2005, pp. 287-298; PICOITO, Pedro, "O rei, o santo e a cidade. O culto de São Vicente em Lisboa e o projecto político de Afonso Henriques", *ibid.*, pp. 57-87.

<sup>102</sup> GAMEIRO, Odília Alves, "Sociologia e geografia do culto medieval dos Santos Mártires de Lisboa", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 371-387; GOUVEIA, Mário de, "O culto dos santos mártires de Lisboa na fronteira ocidental do reino de Leão (séculos X-XI)", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), pp. 388-399; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "O mosteiro de Santos, as freiras de Santiago e o culto dos Mártires", in KRUS, Luís and BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo (dirs.), *ibid.*, *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2009, pp. 429-436.

<sup>103</sup> MOITEIRO, Gilberto, "Da Lisboa de Nun'Álvares à Lisboa do Santo Condestável. Uma nova devoção na cidade dos reis de Avis", in KRUS, Luís, MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide and ALARCÃO, Miguel (orgs.), *A nova Lisboa medieval*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2005, pp. 121-132.

<sup>104</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "A santidade no Portugal medieval: narrativas e trajectos de vida", *Lusitania Sacra*, tomes 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 369-450; the texts should be updated with the contribution of Cristina Sobral to this book in the chapter "The Study of Literary Texts".

<sup>105</sup> EADEM, "Hagiografia e santidade", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História religiosa de Portugal...*, pp. 326-361

<sup>106</sup> EADEM, "Mortos - 'tidos por vivos': o tribunal régio e a capacidade sucessória das 'almas em glória" (campanhas norte-africanas, 1472-c. 1542), *Anais de História de Além-mar*, vol. 6 (2005), pp. 9-46; EADEM, "Velhos, novos e mutáveis sagrados... Um olhar antropológico sobre formas 'religiosas' de percepção e interpretação da conquista africana (1415-1521)", *Lusitania Sacra*, vol. 18, (2006), pp. 13-85; EADEM, "Vom Hieligen Grafen zum Morisken-Märtyrer: Funktionen der Sakralität im Kontext der nordafrikanischen Kriege (1415-1521)", in KRAUS, Michael and OTTOMEYER, Hans (eds.), *Novos Mundos- Neue Welten. Portugal und das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, Berlin / Dresden, Deutsches Historisches Museum/ Sandstein Verlag, 2007, pp. 89-105 (Portuguese translation in "Do 'santo conde' ao mourisco mártir: usos da santidade no contexto da guerra norte-africana (1415-1521)", in EADEM, *Longas guerras, longos sonhos africanos*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2010, pp. 93-107); PEREIRA, Armando de Sousa, "Guerra e santidade. O cavaleiro-mártir Henrique de Bona e a conquista cristã de Lisboa", in KRUS, Luís, MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide and ALARCÃO, Miguel (orgs.), *A nova Lisboa medieval...*, pp. 51-74.

<sup>107</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Santa Maria da Oliveira, demónios e reis: o uso do poder sagrado por um santuário medieval", *Boletim de Trabalhos Históricos do Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta* (2007-2008), pp. 135-209; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *O livro dos milagres de Nossa Senhora das Virtudes. Estudo histórico*, Azambuja, Câmara Municipal de Azambuja, 2004; EADEM, "Um santuário de romaria no tempo da Expansão: Nossa Senhora da Atalaia (Montijo)", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 36, vol. 1 (2002-2003), pp. 173-199

<sup>108</sup> DIONÍSIO, João, "Literatura franciscana no 'Leal Conselheiro' de D. Duarte", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., tomes 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 491-515. SOBRAL, Cristina, *Adições portuguesas no 'Flos Sanctorum' de 1513 (edição e estudo)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2001; PORTALEGRE, Paulo de, *Novo*

practices has progressed in several directions: preaching<sup>109</sup>, confession<sup>110</sup> and religious instruction<sup>111</sup>.

Devotional life has been one of the most innovative themes, with works on religious and devotional literacy and books<sup>112</sup>, as well as studies of devotional objects and spaces<sup>113</sup>, on religious sentiment and the relationship between devotion and bodily expressions<sup>114</sup> and finally, on the piety of individuals or families<sup>115</sup>. The complex relationship between socio-familial structures and religious options has been the theme of a series of promising studies in progress, focussing on para-institutional structures of religious life (eremitism, domestic piety, the religious “family”, and circles of benefactors), whose importance increased markedly towards the end of the Middle Ages<sup>116</sup>.

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*memorial do estado apostólico*, critical edition by Cristina Sobral, Lisbon, Roma Editora, 2007.

<sup>109</sup> MARQUES, José, “A pregação em Portugal na Idade Média”, *Via Spiritus*, vol. 9 (2002), pp. 317-347; MARQUES, João Francisco, “A pregação medieval portuguesa”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média: livro de homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, Civilização, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 599-621.

<sup>110</sup> MACHADO, José Barbosa, *Tratado de confissão (Chaves, 1489)*, semidiplomatic edition, historical and linguistic study, Braga, Associação Portuguesa de Pais e Amigos do Cidadão Deficiente Mental (APPACDM), 2003.

<sup>111</sup> *O ‘Catecismo Pequeno’ de D. Diogo de Ortiz, bispo de Viseu*, critical edition by Elisa Branco Silva, Lisbon, Colibri, 2001.

<sup>112</sup> SOBRAL, Cristina, “Os Lóios e os livros”, *Românica*, no. 12 (2003), pp. 167-187; GOMES, Saul António, “Três bibliotecas particulares na Coimbra de Trezentos. Em torno das elites e das culturas urbanas medievais”, *Revista de História das Ideias*, no. 24 (2003), pp. 9-49; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, *As ‘almas herdeiras’...*, pp. 349 ff.; LEMOS, Ana, *Um novo olhar sobre o Livro de Horas de D. Duarte*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2009.

<sup>113</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, *As ‘almas herdeiras’...*

<sup>114</sup> MATTOSO, JOSÉ, “A mística das emoções: o dom das lágrimas”, in MATTOSO, José, *Obras completas*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 79-92; MOITEIRO, Gilberto, “As lágrimas na hagiografia do mosteiro de Jesus de Aveiro: expressão de uma comunidade emocional”, in KRUS, Luís, and BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História...*, pp. 391-412.

<sup>115</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “Além da aventura, aquém do capitalismo?: elementos para a história de Fernão Lourenço (1481-1505), um ‘perito económico’ na Expansão portuguesa”, in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 335-367; EADEM, “Em torno de Álvaro Vaz, cavaleiro de Santiago (m. 1513): um estudo das formas de estruturação das elites sociais ‘intermédiadas’”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.) *As Ordens militares e as ordens de cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente. Actas do V Encontro sobre a Ordem de Santiago*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2009, pp. 187-245.

<sup>116</sup> ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, “Opções religiosas das elites lisboetas: o convento de Chelas no século XV”, in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval. Os rostos da cidade...*, pp. 221-231; FONTES, João Luís, “Reclusão, eremitismo e espaço urbano: o exemplo de Lisboa na Idade Média”, *ibid.* pp. 259-277; FARELO, Mário, “Ao serviço da Coroa no século XIV: o percurso de uma família de Lisboa, os ‘Nogueiras’”, *ibid.* pp. 145-168; REPAS, Luís, “familiares e familiaritas no mosteiro cisterciense de Arouca”, in KRUS, Luís, and BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História...*, pp. 501-516.

Let us conclude this brief survey with a consideration of what may be the paths of the future. Over the past ten years, academic output in medieval history has decreased, and the history of religious practices seems unlikely to attract the attention of fresh researchers. Despite the noteworthy progress since the 1970s and 1980s, comparing the results achieved with similar historiographies reveals some theoretical inadequacies and a too frequent resort to research of a monographic nature. More precisely, one should speak of a limited tradition of theoretical reflection, both on the religious as an subject of history, as well as on what it represented, in the Middle Ages and throughout the *Ancient Régime*, before the “invention” of religion by the Enlightenment as a personal attitude of intimate scope. Recent perspectives such as those presented in the writings of J. Baschet or J.-Cl. Schmitt, who have proposed revising the concept of religion and of the role of the Church in medieval society, have not yet been reflected in surveys of strong problematising nature. Nor have significant echoes of the debates about the appropriateness of anthropology for the study of social practices and religious devotion borne significant fruit. For the rest, speaking only in terms of subjects studied, there are vast areas of international research on medieval religious practices that have never been considered by Portuguese historians<sup>117</sup>. A “national” framework continues to be the preferred form for research; post-modern and post-colonial approaches to medieval history, with their rich questioning of concepts, constructions and social influences, have had so far almost no echo. Finally, Portuguese studies have had little international projection. The challenges have therefore been raised. Let us hope that the medievalists in their universities and research centres are capable of mobilising to deal with them.

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<sup>117</sup> We have tried to indicate the principal ones in ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “Sociabilidades e espiritualidades na Idade Média”...





# *Intellectual History and the Scholars*

*José Francisco Meirinhos*

The beginning of the second half of the twentieth century saw the publication of the first volume of António José Saraiva's *História da cultura em Portugal*<sup>1</sup>, a work intended to be a new synthesis of Portuguese history from the perspective of culture as a social activity and product. Written with intentionally political undertones, not unrelated to the author's opposition to the dictatorial regime that gripped Portugal at the time, that history gave prominence to the connection between culture and power in an innovative way, highlighting the material conditions of cultural activity, which was understood in its widest sense. Culture was analysed in terms of the institutions ensuring its conservation and transmission, of the social position of its creative agents, and of the movement of ideas on a regional and international scale. It contended that the dialectical complexity that activates exchanges between tradition and renovation, within the constraints of religion and scientific postulates, can be fully understood only when considered together rather than in isolation, although, as the author admitted, little attention was paid to the plastic arts and music. The work expressly revises and updates that of Teófilo Braga, author of the "sole attempt to integrate the body of Portuguese literary production into the social conditions that provided its environment". Book I, on "A Idade Média até à crise social do século XIV" (The Middle Ages until the social crisis of the fourteenth century), offers a characterisation of the period, before moving

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<sup>1</sup> SARAIVA, António José, *História da cultura em Portugal*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Jornal do Fôro, 1950 (the two subsequent volumes were published in 1962).

on to the social conditions of culture, with its institutions and agents, to primitive heroic poetry, to popular minstrelsy, to clerical culture and to that of the palace. The author draws extensively on recent historiography, which he carefully footnotes, especially when providing the context for particular events or achievements, thus emphasising the social and cultural *continuum* established between Portugal and other nations through the sharing of concepts and modes of thinking. Documental and literary sources are used to describe and analyse cultural institutions and the men involved in their functioning. Particular attention is given to books, libraries, religious orders and above all the university: its students and masters, curricula and degrees. Long sections are devoted to specific authors, among them Saint Anthony of Lisbon, Petrus Hispanus, Alvarus Pelagius, and Thomas Scotus. In subsequent decades, these would become the very central themes and authors capturing the best part of medieval cultural and intellectual studies in Portugal, albeit with successive inflections, greater attention to detail along with a shift of interest to sonorous and epic generalisations, tinged with epistemological prudence, and strengthened by a deeper and more direct knowledge of the primary sources and the proper ways of editing them.

In this chapter, as in this present work, due to the chronological and conceptual delimitation, the period predating the formation of the Portuguese nationhood is not discussed<sup>2</sup>.

## 1. Intellectuals in the Middle Ages

Revealing the preeminent role it attributed to the Latin-speaking clerical culture, one of the sections in A. J. Saraiva's *História* is suggestively entitled: "A vida intelectual em Alcobaça" (Intellectual life in Alcobaça)<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately, the concept "intellectual" is not discussed, but clearly what is described there is simply one aspect of monastic life, that concerning books, their circulation and conservation, and

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<sup>2</sup> As a research guide for the sixth to eighth centuries, one should consider SOUSA, Pio Alves de, *Patrologia galaico-lusitana*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Editora, 2001, which contains a detailed description of the latest knowledge and along with a bibliography on the life and works of: Potamius of Lisbon, Aetheria or Egeria, Ithacius of Faro, Bachiarius, Balconius, Avitus Bracarenis, Orosius, Ithacius Aquae Flaviae, Profuturus, Apringius Pacensis, Martin of Braga, Pascasius Dumienis, Johannes Biclarenis and Fructuosus Bracarenis. On the little that can be known on the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries, a study of particular interest was that made of the religious books left in the will of Mumadona Dias (dated 959) to the monastery of São Mamede in Guimarães, which she founded, cf. FERREIRA, J. A. Pinto, *Livro de Mumadona: cartulário medievo existente no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1973; CARDOZO, Mário de Vasconcelos, "O testamento de Mumadona, fundadora do mosteiro e castelo de Guimarães na segunda metade do século X", *Revista de Guimarães*, vol. 77, nos. 3-4 (1967) pp. 279-298.

<sup>3</sup> SARAIVA, António José, *História da cultura em Portugal...*, pp. 232-246.

the knowledge that was transmitted through them, be it scientific, philosophical, literary or religious. The “intellectual man” would therefore emerge through the reading and writing of books, and other aspects of monastic life such as the monks’ activities in prayer or divine service, were understood to remain outside the realm of “intellectual life”.

The concept “intellectual” was introduced to medieval historiography, at the end of the 1950s, through a conscious and daring anachronistic retrospection by Jacques Le Goff in a small but innovative textbook. In *Les intellectuels au Moyen Age*, the French historian meticulously followed the birth of that social character from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, opening up a whole field of research that combined sociology and the history of ideas<sup>4</sup>. The expression itself does not occur in medieval sources, and *intellectualis*, a philosophical and psychological term describing the activity of the intellect, had within the medieval lexicon a very different meaning from that which it has come to assume in contemporary public life. An indispensable concept was thus created as the centrepiece of intellectual history providing it with a subject, the “intellectual”, who could be a cleric or a lay person<sup>5</sup>, described through his work and social function. Le Goff’s book shows how a new, exclusively masculine group, professionalised itself and constituted a typology within the university community in the thirteenth century. We may say that, following this work, intellectuals began to be one of the social categories that medievalists are authorised to describe.

The university master, who lived from his intellectual work, corresponded mainly but not exactly to the scholastic and was normally a philosopher or theologian, although he could also be a jurist or a theoretical physician. In its fullest sense, the “intellectual” was primarily a *magister*, a university scholar who engaged in intellectual activity in the course of his professional duties and, being equipped with adequate resources, methods and instruments, was involved in the transmission of that scholarly expertise and its contents. In a stricter sense, the intellectual was someone who put the training he received into practice and,

<sup>4</sup> LE GOFF, Jacques, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Age*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1957 (2nd ed., 1985); Portuguese translation: *Os intelectuais na Idade Média*, translated by Luísa Quintela, Lisbon, Estudos Cor, 1973 (2nd ed., translated by Margarida Sérvulo Correia, 1984), and English translation: *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, translated by Teresa Lavender Fagan, Oxford, Blackwell, 1992.

<sup>5</sup> This conceptual pair is indispensable to understanding Christian-Latin medieval literary culture, in which the clergy affirms and retains a monopoly on science and formal learning, until at least the final centuries of the Middle Ages, in which the Church’s power is progressively disputed by the emerging state and its new class of functionaries of learning, who in increasing numbers are lay. Cf. LE GOFF, Jacques, “Chierico/laico”, in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, vol. 2, Torino, 1977, pp. 1066-1086 (translation: “Clérigo/leigo”, in *Enciclopédia Einaudi*, vol. 12, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1987, pp. 370-391); SCHMITT, Jean-Claude, “Clercs et Laïcs”, in LE GOFF, Jacques, and SCHMITT, Jean-Claude, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’Occident Médiéval*, Fayard, Paris, 1999, pp. 214-229.

being largely indifferent to knowledge as an end in itself, used it profitably in other activities, such as diplomacy and advocacy, tutoring or as an ecclesiastical officer<sup>6</sup>. Being engaged in his function of creating and transmitting knowledge, the “intellectual” was no mere employee who got his post as a result of skills acquired at the university. For this reason, intellectual history deals above all else with the creation and transmission of thinking, of the social methods and functions of learning, of the professional functions and symbolic positions of its agents as well as the dimension of work involved in the life of the intellect rather than its social uses. This is why it was possible to identify the intellectual, that professional figure born in the university in the thirteenth century, with the philosopher<sup>7</sup>.

The entry for “intellectual history” in a recent encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages defines the term as “a field of study sometimes also called the history of ideas, including, once most prominently, the history of philosophy, but now often the history of culture itself as a system of understanding or meaning”. Taking into account the main tendencies of recent research, the author reduces “intellectual history” to his own field of study, the history of philosophy, understood in the broadest sense to include forms of understanding or conceptualising reality, the history of ideas and of scientific theories and even of mentalities, integrating intellectual history into its social context, which permits a further widening to the history of popular life and even preliterate popular culture<sup>8</sup>.

Research on the “intellectual” as a new type of medieval man and on the body of his work has in recent years attracted much attention on the part of cultural historians, interested in the means of communicating and transmitting of knowledge, in the institutions of learning, in philosophy and the history of ideas. These domains intersect one another in the understanding of each historical moment and its evolution during the Middle Ages. The historian of intellectual life will, for this reason, also make use of methodologies that make possible the interpretation of sources, reconstructing their social, institutional, economic and symbolic contexts in a comprehensive manner. In addition to hermeneutics and philology, always indispensable to the understanding of texts, intellectual history cannot dispense with the methodological and conceptual tools of sociology, ethnology, anthropology and semiotics. A notable expression of this multidisciplinary interest

<sup>6</sup> For this distinction cf. FUMAGALLI BEONIO BROCHIERI, Maria Teresa, “O intelectual”, in LE GOFF, Jacques, *O homem medieval*, transl., Lisbon, Ed. Presença 1989, pp. 125-141 at 126 (or LE GOFF, Jacques, *L'uomo medievale*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> EADEM, *ibid.*, pp. 133 ff. For a discussion on this conception of the medieval intellectual as a university philosopher, cf. LIBERA, Alain de, *Penser au Moyen Age*, Seuil, Paris 1991 (Portuguese translation: *Pensar na Idade Média*, translated by P. Neves, São Paulo, Ed. 34, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> MARRONE, Steven P., “intellectual history”, in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, vol. 2, pp. 852-855.

is the research led by the Comité international du vocabulaire des institutions et de la communication intellectuelles au Moyen Age (CIVICIMA). Directed by Olga Weijers, this committee has held a number of meetings over the years (the most recent in Oporto)<sup>9</sup> and published its proceedings in a collection bearing its name<sup>10</sup>. Encompassing every domain of “intellectual” life – schools and universities, course books and companion reading or research tools, teaching methods and techniques, the names of disciplines and their masters and students, literary genres and even the material aspects of learning – this field of study has systematised a rich and dynamic technical vocabulary<sup>11</sup> that is revealing, first and foremost, of a medieval self-awareness of the specificity of intellectual work.

The conceptual and categorical relocation that ensues from the anachronistic definition of the figure of the “intellectual” is not free from controversy and debate. Who exactly does the intellectual correspond to in the Middle Ages? Is he merely a university professional who lives from his work or rather every person dealing with written culture and thinking, including monks? Is he a person working in an institution of learning and deriving an income from it, or a dilettante or court idler? Does the term refer to a specific form of learning, confined to scholastic, or does it transcend disciplinary limits to embrace chivalry romance and poetry? Does it include other activities involving artistic skills (theatre, music, handicraft, painting and sculpture, architecture)? If one is to undertake the intellectual history of the Middle Ages and of its agents, questions such as these cannot be left unanswered.

To sift through the studies of intellectual life in Portugal in the Middle Ages to arrive at an overview is a necessary but difficult exercise, partly due to the imprecision of the concept but above all to the dispersion and proliferation of studies over recent decades. Taking into account other chapters of this book, it becomes easier to delimit the research field – to intellectual practices and the institutions related to the production, reproduction and transmission of knowledge and its agents, or “intellectuals”, understood in the above-mentioned fullest sense.

The progress made over the last sixty years can be compared with the most advanced research undertaken in the previous period. The studies by Joaquim de Carvalho (1892-1958), whose complete works were published between 1978

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<sup>9</sup> PACHECO, Maria Cândida (ed.), *Le vocabulaire des écoles des Mendiants au moyen âge, Actes du colloque de Porto (Portugal), 11-12 novembre 1996*, CIVICIMA – Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge, 9, Turnhout, Brepols, 1999.

<sup>10</sup> See the 9 volumes published in the collection “Etudes sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge” (Turnhout, Brepols, 1988-1999).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the volume with which the Project was closed and that presents a systematic introduction to this field of study, TEEUWEN, Mariken, *The Vocabulary of the Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, CIVICIMA, 10, Turnhout, Brepols 2003; see the bibliography in pp. 453-482 that includes studies on vocabulary and intellectual life in the Middle Ages.

and 1997<sup>12</sup>, are a good example of this. As professor of the University of Coimbra and author of numerous works on philosophy, medieval culture and the history of the university in Portugal, he was also innovative in returning to the sources and publishing works and testimonies that supplied materials for new insights, suggestive in many ways.

An overview of the achievements of recent research on intellectual and literary history in Portugal in the Middle Ages can be found in the *Dicionário da literatura medieval portuguesa e galega*<sup>13</sup>, a dictionary of medieval Portuguese and Galician literature, from its origins up to the *Cancioneiro Geral* of 1516. This reference book brings together articles by eighty-six of the most important scholars of the Portuguese and Galician Middle Ages and presents the very latest developments in our knowledge of all the literary genres, authors and anonymous works, libraries and institutions of culture and teaching, correlated historical and social facts, manuscripts and textual problems, medieval traditions, and the historiography on the Middle Ages. The different approaches of the *Dicionário* offer, for the first time, an erudite and interconnected presentation of aspects and domains that are often kept separate in scientific and historical research in the search for rigour or greater depth.

## 2. Practices and instruments of the intellectual activity

In his work, the intellectual makes use of utensils and practices indispensable to the production and transmission of learning. Although in lessons, disputes and sermons, the spoken word was the main vehicle of communication for medieval intellectuals, the written codices were the only resources that ensured their transmission<sup>14</sup>. Before writing, language was the principal and critical instrument of thinking. The world of learning in medieval Portugal was multilingual until the thirteenth-fourteenth century. Latin would become dominant<sup>15</sup>, but even though it managed to marginalise

<sup>12</sup> CARVALHO, Joaquim de, *Obra completa*, 9 vols., Lisbon, FCG, 1978-1997. The interests of this author are not confined to the Middle Ages, having published extensively on the Renaissance and Modern and Contemporary Philosophy. The syntheses on the institutions of culture and scientific and philosophical thinking of the Middle Ages that he wrote for the *História de Portugal* directed by Damião Peres (vol. 2, Barcelos, ed. Portucalense Editora, 1929; vol. 4, Barcelos, ed. Portucalense Editora, 1932), left their mark over the whole of the twentieth century and are reedited in vol. 3 of the *Obra completa*, pp. 127-304.

<sup>13</sup> LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da literatura medieval portuguesa e galega*, Lisbon, Ed. Caminho, 1993.

<sup>14</sup> For studies on writing and the manufacture of books, see the contribution by Maria do Rosário Morujão on the auxiliary sciences of history.

<sup>15</sup> FREIRE, José Geraldes, *Oração de Sapiência. O latim medieval em Portugal: Língua e literatura*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1995, proposes in the first part a characterisation of medieval Latin in Portugal, and in the second part a history of Latin literature in Portugal in the Middle Ages, with a list of

the Arabic and Hebrew languages, its prestige and dominance as the *lingua franca* of the intellectuals declined as the Portuguese language gradually replaced it. By the end of the Middle Ages, a growing number of works were written in Portuguese, for example in hagiography, spirituality and history. If Arabic became very rare or inexistent by the thirteenth century<sup>16</sup>, Hebrew appears to have shown more resistance, printing before 1500 being predominantly in Hebrew<sup>17</sup>, with Hebrew workshops of manuscript decoration flourishing in Lisbon at the end of the fifteenth century<sup>18</sup>, and some medical texts in Castilian *aljamiado*, romance texts in Hebrew alphabet<sup>19</sup>.

Books became of central importance to medieval Latin culture as a consequence of the place accorded to reading in Christian religious life<sup>20</sup>, demanding adequate practice and apprenticeship in the schools. Teachers were not involved in the production and reproduction of books. These were technical and manual tasks entrusted to craftsmen, which gave the intellectual liberty to engage solely in the activities of the mind, through dictation or lecturing. As has been emphasised, also with respect to Portugal, the substitution or evolution of writing itself, or the adoption of formulas and ways of exhibiting or drafting documents, testify to ideological commitments and to the rupture or sharing of institutional orientations<sup>21</sup>.

To compose a new work, prepare a lesson or devise a sermon, given the need to support the discourse of tradition and of authorities, lengthy academic preparation, extensive reading, and works or *florilegia* were needed. Codices and the libraries

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more than 100 works in the most distinct domains, although omitting the respective, printed or manuscript, bibliographic references.

<sup>16</sup> See the anthology of the historiographical, geographical, literary, poetic and philosophical texts, COELHO, António Borges, *Portugal na Espanha árabe*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Seara Nova, 1972-1975 (2nd ed., vols. 1-2, Lisbon, Ed. Caminho 1989; 3rd ed., revised and updated, vol. 1, Ed. Caminho, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. MEIRINHOS, José F., "Editores, livros e leitores em Portugal no século XVI. A coleção de impressos Portugueses da BPMP", in MEIRINHOS, José F., COSTA, Jorge, and COSTA, Júlio (orgs.), *Tipografia Portuguesa do séc. XVI nas coleções da BPMP. Catálogo*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 2006, pp. 17-34 at 17: of the 30 books that are known to have been printed in Portugal up until the end of the fifteenth century, 13 are in Hebrew, 9 in Latin, 8 in Portuguese. In the following century the Hebrew editions disappear and Castilian editions flourish.

<sup>18</sup> SED-RAJNA, Gabrielle, *Manuscrits hébreux de Lisbonne: un atelier de copistes et d'enlumineurs au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Documents, études, répertoires, 16, Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970.

<sup>19</sup> MENDES, Maria Adélia S. Carvalho, "Pedro Hispano, Tesoro de proves. Versão em judeu-castelhano aljamiado (séc. XV)", *Medievalia, Textos e estudos*, nos. 15-16 (1999), monographic volume.

<sup>20</sup> See the chapter of Hermínia Vilar and Maria de Lurdes Rosa on the Church and religious practices.

<sup>21</sup> A study on the medieval practices of writing may be found in SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *Da visigótica à carolina. A escrita em Portugal de 882 a 1172 (aspectos técnicos e culturais)*, JNICT / FCG, Lisbon 1994; EADEM, "A evolução da língua e da escrita", in SERRÃO, Joel, and OLIVEIRA MARQUES (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em definição de fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalense à Crise do Século XIV*, coordinated by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon, Ed. Presença, 1996, pp. 604-634; EADEM, *Ler e compreender a escrita na Idade Média*, Coimbra, Colibri / FL-UC, 2000; EADEM, "Modos de escrever no século XII em Portugal. O caso do mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra", *Bibliotheca Portucalensis*, 2nd ser., nos. 15-16 (2003), pp. 99-114.

were both cause and result of medieval intellectual activity, and not only the texts deliberately copied, but marginal notes, ownership marks and occasional annotations provide evidence of the use of books in a scholastic and academic context. The institutional and political significance of the monasteries of Santa Cruz de Coimbra and Santa Maria de Alcobaça, as well as the sheer size of their preserved codicological heritage, have prompted the study of their respective libraries, and the reconstitution and description of the codices they contain. In recent decades, full catalogues of the Alcobaça collection in the Biblioteca Nacional<sup>22</sup> and the Santa Cruz de Coimbra collection in Oporto Biblioteca Pública Municipal have been published<sup>23</sup>. Having been edited according to different criteria, but adopting analytical codicographic models, each catalogue provides detailed knowledge of the reading habits and the texts that were available to literate monks in both institutions. These collections had long interested historians, for example in connection with the study of the life and thought of Saint Anthony of Lisbon who had been a canon regular of Saint Augustine in the monasteries of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon and later in the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra before joining the Franciscan Order. It is believed that he acquired his rich training in writing and erudition in the two Augustinian houses<sup>24</sup>.

Other smaller libraries have received attention, often for evidence that might seem at first irrelevant, but properly appraised by historians experienced in the reading of what is less obvious in the documents<sup>25</sup>. Knowledge of intellectual and

<sup>22</sup> AMOS, Thomas L., *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional. Lisbon*, 3 vols., Collegeville (Minnesota), Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1988-1990; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., "Em busca dos códices alcobacenses perdidos", *Didaskalia*, vol. 9 (1979), pp. 279-288; IDEM, "Le scriptorium d'Alcobaça: identité et corrélations", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 4 (1992), pp. 149-162.

<sup>23</sup> CRUZ, António, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra a cultura portuguesa medieval*, vol. 1: *Introdução ao catálogo dos códices medievais de Santa Cruz existentes na Biblioteca Pública Municipal*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1963; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and MEIRINHOS, José F. (coords.), *Catálogo dos códices da Livraria de Mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1997. For a more complete bibliography on the history of the *codices* of Santa Cruz see this same work and also FRIAS, Agostinho F., COSTA, Jorge, and MEIRINHOS, José F. (orgs.), *Santa Cruz de Coimbra: A cultura portuguesa aberta à Europa na Idade Média / The Portuguese Culture Opened to Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 2001.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. CAEIRO, Francisco da Gama, *Santo António de Lisboa*, vol. 1: *Introdução ao estudo da obra antoniana*, vol. 2: *A espiritualidade Antoniana*, Lisbon, author's edition, 1967 (re-edition of both the volumes, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1995); and also FRIAS, Agostinho F., *Lettura hermeneutica dei sermones di Sant'Antonio di Padova: introduzione alle radici culturali del pensiero antoniano*, Padova, Centro Studi Antoniani, 1995; MEIRINHOS, José F., "S. António de Lisboa, escritor. A tradição dos Sermones: manuscritos, edições e textos espúrios", *Mediaevalia. Textos e estudos*, nos. 11-12 (1997), pp. 139-182.

<sup>25</sup> MARQUES, José, "Desconhecidas instituições culturais portuguesas. Alguns scriptoria cistercienses", *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 39 (1985), pp. 5-24; IDEM, "Livrarias de mão no Portugal Medieval", in SOTO RÁBANOS, José María, *Pensamiento medieval Hispano*, vol. 1, Zamora, CSIC, 1998, pp. 801-814; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., "Livros e claustro em Portugal no século XIII: o inventário de S. Vicente de Fora", *Didaskalia*, vol. 15 (1985), pp. 229-242; IDEM, "As livrarias dos príncipes de Avis", *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993), pp. 265-287.



scholastic uses of books<sup>26</sup> also finds a rich source of information<sup>27</sup> in medieval accounts of the functions of the book.

Despite the research evaluating, for example, the more artistic and decorative aspects of Portugal's surviving library heritage<sup>28</sup>, there is still no updated inventory of Portuguese libraries containing medieval books, or any edition of medieval catalogues or of references to books in medieval documents, which would enable better knowledge of the true extent of the circulation and ownership of books<sup>29</sup>. In the absence of the volumes themselves, fragments have also been analysed as indirect evidence of the existence of books, which neglect, wear or prolonged use have caused to disappear<sup>30</sup>.

Today's libraries casually divide up the medieval library heritage, even when it has survived over time through the explicit intention of their curators. It is known that a large number of works have indeed been lost<sup>31</sup>, or their function modified. For this reason contemporary libraries allow us to view these precious collections of manuscripts as they have been handed down to us, not as they were constituted, still less as they were at given moments in time. Temporal approximations are only possible through detailed reconstitutions, using indirect clues to understand the gaps and interpret of the marks of usage.

Bearing in mind the very nature of medieval books, according to which each copy needed an original or *exemplar*, one aspect that has attracted the attention of historians is their circulation (through loan, order or purchase), which allows us to reconstruct the replication of trends and styles, as well as the routes of internal, inter-institutional, and international circulation. Occupying a marginal

<sup>26</sup> PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, "Escolas e livros na Idade Média em Portugal", in *Universidade(s). História, memória, perspectivas. Actas do Congresso "História da Universidade" (no 7º centenário da sua fundação)*, vol. 1, Comissão Organizadora do Congresso, Coimbra 1991, pp. 55-69.

<sup>27</sup> IDEM, "Dos livros e dos seus nomes: bibliotecas litúrgicas medievais", *Arquivo de bibliografia portuguesa*, 17 (1971-73), pp. 62-70, 97-167.

<sup>28</sup> CEPEDA, Isabel Vilares, and FERREIRA, Teresa A. S. Duarte (orgs.), *Inventário dos códices iluminados até 1500*, vol. 2, Lisbon, Secretaria de Estado da Cultura / Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1994-2001. Cf. also MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide (coord.), *A iluminura em Portugal. Identidades e influências. Catálogo da exposição: 26 de Abril a 30 de Junho de '99*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Two examples of the appraisal of the medieval catalogues and records are found in NASCIMENTO, Aires A., "Livros e clastro em Portugal"... , and PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, "Livros de Direito na Idade Média", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 7 (1964-66), pp. 7-60; IDEM, *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 8 (1967-69), pp. 81-96; Saul António Gomes (University of Coimbra) directs a project in studies of Portuguese medieval fragments: "FRAGMED - Corpvs Portvgaliae Fragmentorvm".

<sup>30</sup> The indispensable inventory continues to be COSTA, Avelino de Jesus, *Pergaminhos medievais: inventário bibliográfico e ideográfico*, Braga, Seminário de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, 1944-1952, 7 typewritten and unedited volumes (a copy may be consulted at the Library of the FL-UP).

<sup>31</sup> For Santa Cruz of Coimbra, cf. NASCIMENTO, Aires A., and MEIRINHOS, José F. (coords.), *Catálogo dos códices da Livraria de Mão...*, pp. xx-xxii. Despite being repeatedly invoked by historians, book losses due to such facts as the dominion of the Philips, the Earthquake of Lisbon, the French Invasions and the extinction of the religious orders, they have not been dully attested, studied and quantified.

position both in the great circuits of book trade and exchange and the network of academic institutions in Europe, Portugal was especially dependent on these forms of relationship by import of literary culture. For this reason there is considerable interest in the mechanisms of book circulation as a way of understanding not only the speed with which ideas were disseminated or contained, but also the cultural vigour and openness of institutions to other more dynamic contexts of production and innovation<sup>32</sup>.

Although masters and scholars lived from and with books, no medieval university library has survived in Portugal and no document refers to the existence of one, which may indeed suggest that none existed<sup>33</sup>. A large number of manuscripts by thirteenth and fourteenth century authors have survived in libraries in the Iberian Peninsula, imported by masters studying or teaching in foreign universities, particularly in Paris. William Courtenay remarked that these masters did not leave any works written by themselves, nor did they have a remarkable role as university masters, but concluded that the collection and circulation of books (“in itself a major contribution”) was the most important contribution of Iberian scholars to our knowledge of medieval thought, since our access to some of the best textual witnesses to many scholastic works would be lost without it<sup>34</sup>. Being itself an important proof of the masters’ mobility, transportation and preservation of books cannot be overestimated. However, we have to admit that these books had very scant effects on local academic life.

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<sup>32</sup> DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Manuel C., “La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, no. 12 (1969), pp. 219-241, 283-292 (re-edited in IDEM, *Vie chrétienne et culture dans l’Espagne du VII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècles*, CSS 377, Aldershot, Variorum, 1992); MATTOSO, José, “Condições económicas e sociais da circulação de códices na Península Ibérica”, a lecture to the seminar on the Circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa e la Península en los siglos VIII-XIII (Santiago de Compostela 16-19 sept. 1982), published in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1984, pp. 347-364 (= *Obras Completas*, vol. 8, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2002); IDEM, “Monges e clérigos portadores da cultura francesa em Portugal (séculos XI e XII)”, in *Les rapports culturels et littéraires entre le Portugal et la France. Actes du colloque Paris 11-16-octobre 1982*, Paris, FCG, 1983, pp. 41-58 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal medieval...*, pp. 365-387); NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Concentração, dispersão e dependências na circulação de manuscritos em Portugal nos Séculos XII e XIII”, in *Actas del Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península en los siglos VIII-XIII. Santiago de Compostela 16-19 septiembre 1982*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1988, pp. 61-85; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, “Coimbra – centro de atracção e de irradiação de códices e de documentos, dentro da Península, nos séculos XI e XII”, in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, vol. 4, INIC, Oporto 1990, pp. 1309-1334; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., “Circulação do livro manuscrito”, in LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs.), *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval...*, pp. 155-159. For a highly documented synthesis on the subject see IDEM, “A Igreja na história da cultura: percursos do livro em Portugal na Idade Média”, *Igreja e Missão*, no. 18 (2000), pp. 139-201.

<sup>33</sup> The annotations of the University of Coimbra are related to the its modern period, after 1537, although it contains works in the medieval scholastic style and another codices of medieval production.

<sup>34</sup> COURTENAY, William, “Spanish and Portuguese Scholars at the University of Paris in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Exchange of Ideas and Texts”, in CORFIS, Ivy A., and HARRIS-NORTHALL, Ray (eds.), *Medieval Iberia. Changing Societies and Cultures in Contact and Transition*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2007, pp. 110-119.

### 3. *Scholae and studia*

#### Schools.

As we have seen, the two main medieval libraries in Portugal belonged to the two most powerful and influential monasteries in the kingdom. These monasteries had schools that must have occasionally attained a significantly higher level than that of elementary teaching, as is attested by the existence in their libraries of works that were indispensable to advanced scholastic training in the arts, law and, above all, theology. These two were not the only schools in the kingdom, however; other teaching establishments have been the focus of some notable studies, but this topic is still insufficiently explored<sup>35</sup>. In the late 1960s, Artur Moreira de Sá published two papers containing important documental samples concerning teaching and scholars in Portugal before the foundation of the University in 1290 by the King Dinis<sup>36</sup>. At around the same time, Francisco da Gama Caiiro wrote many important pages on schools, circulation of books and biblical, literary and scientific education at the end of the twelfth century and first decades of the thirteenth century, which were part of his studies of the cultural and doctrinal preparation of Saint Anthony of Lisbon<sup>37</sup>. It was indeed inside the monasteries and their schools and *scriptoria* that intellectual life was most likely to take place, in an environment depending on cultural and spiritual links with the exterior<sup>38</sup>. The schools of the religious orders, which were devoted to the intellectual training of their members, were given particular attention as good examples of the international circulation of knowledge and of specific didactic and doctrinal trends, generally established within each order and according to its strategies of preaching and public action. Excessively keen on amplifying their relevance and achievements, however, modern literature on medieval monasteries has gone so far as to make the false claim that

<sup>35</sup> For a recent list of studies, cf. COSTA, Marisa, "Ensino em Portugal na Idade Média. Bibliografia", in *La Enseñanza en la Edad Media. X Semana de Estudios Medievales (Nájera, 1999)*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2000, pp. 507-520.

<sup>36</sup> SÁ, Artur Moreira de, "Primórdios da Cultura Portuguesa I", *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1967), pp. 1-113; IDEM, "Primórdios da Cultura Portuguesa II", *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1968) 1-8, pp. 1-129.

<sup>37</sup> CAEIRO, Francisco da Gama, "As escolas capitulares no primeiro século da nacionalidade portuguesa", *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1966), pp. 1-48 (re-edited in IDEM, *Dispersos*, vol. 2, Lisbon, IN-CM, pp. 25-65); IDEM, *Santo António de Lisboa*, vol. 1: *Introdução ao estudo da obra antoniana*, Lisbon, author's edition, 1967, pp. 3-96 (re-edited in Lisbon, IN-CM, 1995, same pagination); IDEM, "A organização do ensino em Portugal no período anterior à fundação da Universidade", *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1968), pp. 1-23 (re-edited in IDEM, *Dispersos...*, vol. 2, pp. 9-23). In these studies one can find the available knowledge on schools existing outside of the monasteries.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. MATTOSO, José, *Le Monachisme ibérique et Cluny*, Louvain, Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1968, pp. 271-315 (= *Obras Completas*, vol. 12, translated to Portuguese by João Luís Fontes, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002) and the different studies brought together in IDEM, *Religião e cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982 (re-edited in *Obras Completas*, vol. 9, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002) and in IDEM, *Portugal medieval...*; FRIAS, Agostinho Figueiredo, COSTA, Jorge, and MEIRINHOS, José F. (orgs.), *Santa Cruz de Coimbra...*

they had schools for external and public teaching<sup>39</sup>. As far as the mendicant orders are concerned, one should point out that some studies on the Dominicans<sup>40</sup> and on the Franciscans have been produced thus far<sup>41</sup>. Some specific studies on teaching in Portugal have sought to understand the role of scholastic institutions in the import and dissemination of scientific knowledge<sup>42</sup>, as well as to understand the social and political functions of their agents<sup>43</sup>, or the recruitment of educated men to the bureaucracies of the royal court and the municipal councils<sup>44</sup>.

### University.

A large-scale project was undertaken by Artur Moreira de Sá to publish all the available documentation concerning the Portuguese university before its definitive transfer to Coimbra in 1537. Initiated in 1966 and concluded only as recently as 2004, the *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* includes the diplomatic edition of 6,971 annotated documents<sup>45</sup>, gathered in fifteen volumes, each with introductory notes providing context for the primary sources, and a final volume, the *Índice analítico geral abreviado* (2004). This last volume, contrary to what was planned in the "Introduction" to volume 15, does not present any new indexes, nor does

<sup>39</sup> BRANDÃO, Mário, "A escola pública de Alcobça. Um embuste da historiografia alcobacense" [1960], in BRANDÃO, Mário, *Estudos vários*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 269-288.

<sup>40</sup> ROSÁRIO, António do, "Letrados dominicanos em Portugal, nos séculos XIII-XV", *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*, vol. 7 (1979) pp. 509-598.

<sup>41</sup> LOPES, Fernando Félix, "Escolas públicas dos Franciscanos em Portugal antes de 1308", *Colectânea de Estudos*, 1st ser., 1st ser., no. 2 (1947), pp. 83-108, cf. footnote 52, below.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. CARVALHO, Rómulo de, *História do ensino em Portugal, desde a fundação da nacionalidade até ao fim do regime de Salazar-Caetano*, Manuais universitários, Lisbon, FCG, 1986, chaps. 1-4, pp. 11-119.

<sup>43</sup> OLIVEIRA, António Resende, "As instituições de ensino", in SERRÃO, Joel, and OLIVEIRA MARQUES (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal...*, vol. 3, pp. 635-659; PACHECO, Maria Cândida, "O Ensino em Portugal na Idade Média", *Communio*, yr. 10, no. 1 (1993), pp. 62-65.

<sup>44</sup> See the recent studies of GOMES, Saul António, "Escolares e Universidade na Coimbra Medieval", in RAMOS, A. De Oliveira, RIBEIRO, Jorge Martins, and POLÓNIA, Amélia (coords.), *Estudos em homenagem a João Francisco Marques*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 510-531; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Les relations du savoir et du pouvoir dans le Portugal médiéval", in AVERKORN, Raphaela, et al. (dirs.), *Europa und die Welt in der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Dieter Berg*, Bochum, Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2004, pp. 313-334; FARELO, Mário, "Ao serviço da Coroa no século XIV. O percurso de uma família de Lisboa, os "Nogueiras", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (orgs.), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da Cidade*. Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 145-168; IDEM, *A oligarquia camarária de Lisboa (1325-1433)*, 2008, unpublished doctoral thesis in History (Medieval History), Lisbon, FL-UL; IDEM, "La vocation scolaire de la chapelle de maître Pierre de Lisbonne au XIVe siècle", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 5, no. 7 (2009), Available at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA7/medievalista-farelo7.htm](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA7/medievalista-farelo7.htm); IDEM, ROLDÃO, Filipa, and MARQUES, André Evangelista, "Les clercs dans l'administration dionysienne (1279-1325)", in ENCONTRO INTERNACIONAL CARREIRAS ECLESIASTICAS NO OCIDENTE CRISTÃO, *Carreiras eclesiásticas no Ocidente Cristão*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2007, pp. 271-313.

<sup>45</sup> SÁ, Artur Moreira de, *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537)*, 16 vols., Lisbon, 1966-2004. The editing was successively assumed by the institutions that in the last nearly fifty years has overseen the financing of scientific research in Portugal: Instituto de Alta Cultura, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.

it contain any additional documents that might have been discovered since the publication of each single volume. Artur Moreira de Sá oversaw the completion of volumes 1-9. The subsequent volumes were directed by Francisco da Gama Caeiro (vols. 10-11), António Domingues de Sousa Costa (vols. 12-15), and Miguel Pinto de Meneses (vol. 16). The latter had, along with Alice Estorninho, integrally read, collated and organised the immense documental mass that composes the work. In the course of its gradual publication, the editorial criteria were changed, either explicitly or implicitly, so as to include, in the final stages, records containing direct or frequently indirect references to 1) university teachers in the service of the court and various members of the Order of Cristo; 2) royal ambassadors to the papal Curia; 3) Portugal's overseas expansion, 4) the university educated Portuguese episcopacy; and 5) Humanism, in which university scholars distinguished themselves at international level<sup>46</sup>. The documentation is heterogeneous and typologically diversified, and only a small part of it was actually produced by the university. A case in point are the final volumes of the collection, which include a vast number of documents from the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary of the Vatican Secret Archives, never published before.

The *Chartularium* brings together an enormous mass of documents. Though not completely exhaustive, it offers a great wealth of diversified information for the history of the university, of literary culture, and, above all, of the social and political roles of learned men. Over the coming decades, these volumes will surely supply researchers with abundant matter on many different themes, not least the university<sup>47</sup>. The use of prosopography and the transfer of the documents' contents to a textual database allowing queries and incorporating other similar documents will provide researchers with heuristic tools giving complete and rigorous access to nearly three centuries of intellectual history, while at the same time revealing the extent to which university academics were involved in political and ecclesiastical institutions throughout that period.

Important results of the analysis of these documents appeared in the *História da Universidade em Portugal* issued in 1997<sup>48</sup>, at a time when the *Chartularium* was

<sup>46</sup> IDEM, "Introdução", *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Immediately before the publication of the *Chartularium* its conceiver published a reflection on the methodological and historical problems that then justified the project and that in good part continued to apply: IDEM, "Dúvidas e problemas sobre a universidade medieval portuguesa", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, 3rd ser., no. 8 (1965), pp. 240-273. Also see GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio, "Aspectos de la universidad portuguesa medieval", in IJSEWIJN, Jozef, and PAQUET, Jacques (eds.), *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 1978, pp. 133-147.

<sup>48</sup> *História da Universidade em Portugal*, vol. 1, t. 1 (1290-1356), t. 2 (1537-1771), prefaces by António Ferrer Correia and by Rui de Alarcão, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra / FCG, 1997.

still being published. This work dealt with the broader institutional aspects of the university and revised previous findings<sup>49</sup>.

The origins and the date of the university's foundation have attracted special attention<sup>50</sup>. Religious orders played a prominent part throughout its history, particularly the mendicants, and within these, the Dominicans<sup>51</sup>; the Franciscans, self-prohibited from taking degrees and becoming members of the academic staff, being thus confined to their own *studia*<sup>52</sup>.

All things considered, however, it is still not entirely clear how the Portuguese medieval university effectively contributed to the development and diffusion of learning and literate culture. It is clear enough that it had the structure and functioning of an institution dependent on royal power, in which a certain dialectic of consented submission formed part and parcel of the mechanisms for the social promotion of the teachers, who were bestowed with privileges by the king<sup>53</sup>. This submission on the part of university scholars to royal power looks even more striking if we consider that, in contrast to what happened in other parts of Western

<sup>49</sup> For their importance and for constituting a unique contribution to our knowledge of the intellectual life in Portugal in the Middle Ages, one should point out the studies integrated into volume 1: MATTOSO, José, "A universidade portuguesa e as universidades europeias", in *História da Universidade em Portugal...*, pp. 5-29; DIAS, Pedro, "Espaços escolares", *ibid.*, pp. 33-38; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "As finanças", *ibid.*, pp. 39-67; MARQUES, José, "Os corpos académicos e os servidores", *ibid.*, pp. 71-127; VELOSO, Maria Teresa Nobre, "O Quotidiano da academia", *ibid.*, pp. 131-151; MATTOSO, José, "A universidade e a sociedade", *ibid.*, pp. 305-335; OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, "A mobilidade dos universitários", *ibid.*, pp. 339-356. See further below for the different contributions on the disciplines taught in the university.

<sup>50</sup> SÁ, Artur Moreira de, "La fondation de l'Université, à Lisbonne, en 1288 et son rôle dans le développement de la culture portugaise jusqu'au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, 3rd ser., no. 12 (1969), pp. 29-36; IDEM, "Les origines de l'Université portugaise et son évolution jusqu'en 1537", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 2 (1970) pp. 13-46; FREIRE, José Galdes, "Petição de 12-XI-1288 (crítica textual): história da Universidade", *Humanitas*, vols. 51-52 (1989-1990), pp. 219-221; RODRIGUES, Manuel Augusto, "Proto-história e fundação da Universidade de Coimbra", *Arquivo da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, vols. 11-12 (1992), pp. 19-33; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, "Considerações à volta da fundação da Universidade portuguesa no dia 1 de Março de 1290", in *Universidade(s). História, memória, perspectivas. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 1, pp. 71-82.

<sup>51</sup> ROSÁRIO, António do, "Dominicanos na história da Universidade Portuguesa", *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 177-194.

<sup>52</sup> There exists a broad examination of the *studia* and of Franciscan authors in the work of LOPES, Fernando Félix, *Colectânea de estudos de História e Literatura*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1997; in this volume are collected the studies the author devoted to this subject: IDEM, "Escolas públicas dos franciscanos em Portugal até 1308", *Colectânea de estudos*, no. 2 (1947), pp. 83-108 (re-edited in IDEM, *Colectânea de estudos de História...*, vol. 2, pp. 353-369); IDEM, "Os estudos entre os franciscanos portugueses no séc. XVI", *Colectânea de estudos*, 2nd ser., no. 2 (1951), pp. 155-91 (re-edited in IDEM, *Colectânea de estudos de História...*, vol. 2, pp. 385-405); IDEM, "O ensino das doutrinas de Escoto na Universidade de Coimbra", *Itinerarium*, vol. 12 (1966), pp. 193-264 (re-edited in IDEM, *Colectânea de estudos de História...*, vol. 2, pp. 473-534); IDEM, "Franciscanos portugueses pretridentinos. Escritores, mestres e leitores", *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*, vol. 7 (1979), pp. 451-508 (re-edited in IDEM, *Colectânea de estudos de História...*, vol. 2, pp. 407-60); IDEM, "Franciscanos de Portugal antes de formarem província independente e provinciais a que obedeciam", *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, vol. 45 (1985), pp. 349-450 (re-edited in IDEM, *Colectânea de estudos de História...*, vol. 2, pp. 1-93).

<sup>53</sup> VERGER, Jacques, "Université et pouvoir politique, du Moyen Age a la Renaissance", in *Universidade(s). História, memória, perspectivas. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 5, pp. 11-23, in which the Portuguese case is cited.

Europe whenever their affairs were called into question, they hardly ever voiced their disagreement over the successive relocations of the university between Lisbon and Coimbra, which were decided by the kings under the pressure of the municipal elites. The university's frailties were not only administrative but above all, academic and scientific. It speaks eloquently about the quality of the Portuguese medieval university that we know nothing, either directly or indirectly, about any original work composed by its teachers. Even the curricula are unknown until the sixteenth century. The debility of the university is also attested by the consistent granting of scholarships attributed by the kings to undertake courses abroad, and by the apparent need to resort to foreign teachers to ensure teaching at the Portuguese university<sup>54</sup>.

The policy of attributing grants to pursue courses abroad was an important instrument of tutelage used by the kings and a channel to social promotion for their beneficiaries, as they depended on the social position of the beneficiary. The presence of Portuguese students in foreign universities caught the attention of researchers in the 1950s through to the 1970s, with the publication of several volumes about their presence in Bologna<sup>55</sup>, Oxford<sup>56</sup>, Toulouse<sup>57</sup>, Salamanca<sup>58</sup>, Montpellier<sup>59</sup> or, for the

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<sup>54</sup> Despite there being documental clues to this movement of foreign masters, their names are not known, or apart from occasional cases, which sciences they would have taught. Prior to more revealing investigation one might doubt whether the presence of these masters was a permanent fact, or that they attained a high number, or that these foreign masters, having in fact taught here, were of a recognised level, or authors of some work, given that in no case did these masters merit a nominal record until the fifteenth century. In contrast, the record subsisted of foreign masters occupying high positions in the ecclesiastical institution or in the royal bureaucracy, but not in the university.

<sup>55</sup> SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, "João das Regras e outros juristas portugueses da Universidade de Bolonha (1378-1421)", offprint of *Revista da Faculdade de Direito*, Lisbon, s. n., 1960; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, "Estudantes portugueses na reitoria do colégio de S. Clemente de Bolonha na primeira metade do século XV", *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1969), pp. 1-157; IDEM, *Portugueses no Colégio de S. Clemente e Universidade de Bolonha durante o século XV*, 2 vols., Bologna, Real Colégio de España, 1989-1990.

<sup>56</sup> RUSSELL, Peter E., "Medieval Portuguese Students at Oxford University", *Aufsätze der Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, t. 1 (1960), pp. 183-191.

<sup>57</sup> SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo, *Portugueses no Estudo de Toulouse, (Universitatis Conimbrigensis studia ac regesta)*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1954; IDEM, *Les portugais à l'Université de Toulouse (XIII-XVII siècles)*, Paris, FCG, 1970.

<sup>58</sup> IDEM, *Portugueses no Estudo de Salamanca (1250-1550)*, offprint of *Revista da Faculdade de letras* [Lisboa], 3rd ser., 5 (1962); ANTUNES, José, "Portugueses no processo histórico da fundação da Universidade de Salamanca", *Revista de história das ideias*, vol. 12 (1990), pp. 19-53.

<sup>59</sup> SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo, *Les portugais à l'Université de Montpellier (XIII-XVIIe siècles)*, Paris, FCG, 1970.

period following the end of the Middle Ages, Paris<sup>60</sup> and Italy<sup>61</sup>. More recently Mário Farelo has produced a series of studies on the *peregrinatio academica* of medieval and modern Portuguese scholars throughout foreign universities<sup>62</sup>. In the thirteenth century the number of Portuguese scholars heading abroad was small, increasing progressively over time, which appears to attest to the need to go abroad in order to get a better, deeper education, because the Portuguese university could not provide it. It is difficult to imagine that such expedients were due to an increase in the number of students, to the extent that the university could not admit all of them. Demand appears to have been greatest in Law and Theology, which is explained by the nature of these disciplines and by the social requirement for high level graduates to serve in ecclesiastical institutions and in the royal court and municipal bureaucracy. With regard to the most favoured destinations, there are still few comparative studies, but Peter Russell suggests that in the fourteenth century there must have been more Portuguese students in Oxford and Cambridge than in Paris<sup>63</sup>. He ventures whether this might not have been due to Portugal's stronger commercial ties with England. He also refers to the first pages of Luís de Matos' book, in which the author surveys the records of students at Paris during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>64</sup>.

#### 4. *Scientiae*

Joaquim de Carvalho has emphasised that "the activity of Portuguese schools appears to have been exercised in obscurantist repetition of the same texts, so that only dialectics, or logic as we would say today, would have stimulated philosophical

<sup>60</sup> MATOS, Luis de, *Les portugais à l'Université de Paris, entre 1500-1550, (Universitatis Conimbrigensis studia ac regesta)*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1950; FARELO, Mário, *La peregrinatio academica portugaise vers l'Alma mater parisienne, XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, unpublished master's dissertation, Montréal, University of Montreal, 1999; IDEM, "Les Portugais à l'Université de Paris au Moyen Âge. Aussi une question d'acheminement de ressources", *Memini. Travaux et documents publiés para la Société des études médiévales du Québec*, no. 5 (2001) pp. 101-129; IDEM, "Os estudantes e mestres portugueses nas escolas de Paris durante o período medievo (sécs. XII-XV): elementos de história cultural, eclesiástica e económica para o seu estudo", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., tomes 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 161-196.

<sup>61</sup> RAU, Virgínia, "Italianismo na cultura jurídica portuguesa", *Revista portuguesa de História*, t. 12 (1969), pp. 185-206; EADEM, "Alguns estudantes e eruditos portugueses em Itália no século XV", *Do tempo e da História*, vol. 5 (1972), pp. 29-99.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the relevant studies in FARELO, Mário, "Bibliografia sobre os escolares portugueses no estrangeiro", Lisbon, Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2007, available online at: [www.fch.unl.pt/iem/biblio/bibliografia-escolaresPDF.pdf](http://www.fch.unl.pt/iem/biblio/bibliografia-escolaresPDF.pdf), and IDEM, "On Portuguese Medical Students and Masters Travelling Abroad: An Overview from the Early Modern Period to the Enlightenment", in GRELL, Ole Peter, CUNNINGHAM, Andrew, and ARRIZABALAGA, Jon (eds.), *Centers of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500-1789*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, pp. 127-147.

<sup>63</sup> RUSSELL, Peter E., "Medieval Portuguese Students at Oxford University"...

<sup>64</sup> See MATOS, Luis de, *Les portugais à l'Université de Paris, entre 1500-1550...*, pp. 2-5 (especially p. 2, n. 1).



reflection<sup>65</sup>. The publication of primary sources has not allowed for a substantial reassessment of the courses that were actually taught, as information on school and university curricula is still scarce. Information is far more abundant on benefits, petitions, privileges, academic rituals, and quarrels within the university world and among its masters than on course planning and teaching. The documents are so scarce and opaque that for decades one of the most hotly debated questions has focused on which disciplines were effectively taught in the Portuguese *Studium generale* and whether the teaching of theology was authorised or not<sup>66</sup>.

The absence of works whose authorship can be linked to the Portuguese university in the Middle Ages remains so far an undisputed fact. Only through indirect evidence can we infer any interest in the domains of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, of philosophy, medicine, law or theology. What we know about the teaching in the *Faculdades* is vague, since the medieval statutes and lists of privileges never mention curricula.

The *trivium* was certainly studied, providing an initial training essentially in grammar, but also in dialectics and rhetoric (where continuity with prior learning in monastic and cathedral schools was particularly evident)<sup>67</sup>. It is not totally unlikely that something of the *quadrivium* was also taught<sup>68</sup>. This set of disciplines was common training in the schools and also in the Faculdade de Artes. In these, if the school was not of very elementary level, it might perhaps go a little further by reading some works, especially Aristotle's. However, only some rare fifteenth-century documents and a few passages in King Manuel's new university statutes, promulgated in 1503, contain the first references to the study of natural and moral sciences<sup>69</sup>.

*Philosophy* encompassed, in practice, the vast disciplinary boundaries of the Faculdade de Artes, and gradually absorbed the liberal arts<sup>70</sup>. Owing to the definition

<sup>65</sup> “[A] actividade das escolas portuguesas parece ter-se exercido obscuramente na repetição dos mesmos textos, e do quadro dos seus estudos só a dialéctica, ou como hoje diríamos a lógica, teria estimulado a reflexão filosófica”: CARVALHO, Joaquim de, *Obra completa...*, vol. 3, p. 249 (chapter “Cultura filosófica e científica – período medieval”, in PERES, Damião (dir.), *História de Portugal...*, vol. 4). One may note that the assertion is based on one single work and author, the *Summulae logicales* attributed to Petrus Hispanus. Contrary to what was then thought, today it is beyond dispute that the work was not written in Portugal (where only much later would it have been used) and that its author is probably not even Portuguese, cf. below footnotes 98-102.

<sup>66</sup> IDEM, *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 281-282 (cited chapter).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. above, on the Schools.

<sup>68</sup> For the music, see the chapter of Manuel Pedro Ferreira in this volume.

<sup>69</sup> PACHECO, Maria Cândida, “Trivium e quadrivium”, *História da Universidade em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 155-177. The panorama would alter with the appearance of the printing press and the dissemination of the Humanism in Portugal, and above all with the Statutes granted by King Manuel in 1503, cf. MARTINS, José Vitorino de Pina, “O humanismo (1497-1537)”, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 179-236. In any case, the documentation of the *Chartularium* still encloses much information that should be read differently so as to extract the knowledge that we clearly lack on the medieval Portuguese university.

<sup>70</sup> For conceptions of the order of the liberal arts, cf. MEIRINHOS, José F., “O sistema das ciências num

of the field, with frontiers traditionally malleable, embracing part of the literature of the classical, patristic and medieval traditions, it include various intellectual domains, historical periods and authors. It is necessary to point out that a large part of the studies and works of Portuguese medieval arts masters were undertaken and recognised abroad. This was certainly the most studied field, the knowledge of which has been most substantially modified by the edition of works of the most important medieval authors. Either through a better knowledge of the texts or through the evolution of what has increasingly come to be understood as “medieval philosophy”<sup>71</sup>, the picture of how philosophy was studied in medieval Portugal is also being updated over the last few years<sup>72</sup>. But if we take a close look at the works by Joaquim de Carvalho, to give but one example, we find that they already focus on the same authors that have been studied over the past half-century. Perhaps only the twelfth century has allowed for new hypotheses<sup>73</sup>. Further ahead, in section 6, there is a survey of the editions and the studies produced so far on individual authors mainly from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Contributions on the regional or local presence of philosophy are scarce<sup>74</sup>. Considering the amount of information they gather and the fact that their scope extends beyond Portugal, the volumes of Jesué Pinharanda Gomes on Arab-Islamic philosophy and Jewish philosophy<sup>75</sup> remain useful.

On *law*, Antonio García y García has brought to light several authors and institutions that are crucial to understand this science and its presence in medieval

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esquema do século XII no manuscrito 17 de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Porto, BPM, Geral 21)”, *Medievalista* [online], yr. 5, no. 7, Dec. (2009), available at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/medievalista7/medievalista-meirinhos7.htm](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/medievalista7/medievalista-meirinhos7.htm)

<sup>71</sup> On methodological and orientational change in the historiography of the Medieval Philosophy, see IDEM, “Filosofia Medieval, conceito em reconfiguração”, *Signum*, vol. 9 (2007), pp. 209-246.

<sup>72</sup> PONTES, José Maria da Cruz, “Contribuciones recientes a la historia de la filosofía portuguesa de los siglos XIII-XV”, *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*, vol. 4 (1972), pp. 185-202; CARVALHO, Mário Santiago de, “Conspecto do desenvolvimento da filosofia em Portugal (séculos XIII-XV)”, *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, vol. 4 (1997), pp. 131-155. For a more detailed presentation and with an update and state of the art for the combination of authors and trends, see CALAFATE, Pedro (org.), *História do pensamento filosófico português*, vol. 1: *Idade Média*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2002 (2nd ed., revised, of the work published in 1999 by Ed. Caminho). Also of note are the abundant references, in an informed but personal reading, in GOMES, J. Pinharanda, *Dicionário de Filosofia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Dom Quixote, 2004 (2nd ed.). See also some chapters in CARVALHO, Mário Santiago de, *A síntese frágil. Uma introdução à Filosofia (da Patrística aos Conimbricenses)*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2002.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. MEIRINHOS, José F., “A filosofia no século XII em Portugal: os mosteiros e a cultura que vem da Europa”, in MEIRINHOS, José F., *Estudos de Filosofia Medieval. Autores e temas portugueses*, Porto Alegre, EST ed., 2007, pp. 29-41; IDEM, “A ciência e a filosofia árabes em Portugal: João de Sevilha e de Lima e outros tradutores”, *ibid.*, pp. 43-54.

<sup>74</sup> The exception is BRANDÃO, Domingos de Pinho, “Teologia, Filosofia e Direito na diocese do Porto nos séculos XIV e XV. Alguns subsídios para o seu estudo”, offprint of *Studium generale*, vol. 7 (1960), 118 p.

<sup>75</sup> GOMES, J. Pinharanda, *História da filosofia portuguesa*, 3 vols. [vol 1: *A filosofia hebraico portuguesa* (Lello & irmão, Porto 1981; re-edited, Guimarães Ed., Lisbon 1999); vol. 2: *A patrologia lusitana* (Lello & irmão, Porto 1983); vol. 3: *A filosofia árabe-portuguesa* (Guimarães Ed., Lisbon 1991). Also see CARVALHO, Mário Santiago de, *Falsafa. Breve introdução à filosofia árabe-islâmica*, Coimbra, Minerva, 2007.

Portugal<sup>76</sup>. The majority of jurists, both canonists and civilians, studied in foreign universities, and this is why we know so little about how law was taught in the Portuguese *studium generale*<sup>77</sup>. Abundant information is available on Portuguese jurists who studied or taught in foreign universities, such as masters Vincentius Hispanus, Sylvester Godinho, Iohannes de Deo, or foreigners such as Alvarus Pelagius who exercised their activity in Portugal. More will be said about them in section 5. The documents become more abundant for the final period of the Middle Ages, enabling a better comprehension of teaching contents, training structure and degrees awarded in law. It is possible to identify some constants in the political positions held by masters who exercised their activity in Portugal<sup>78</sup>.

*Medicine* was also taught in the university, but our knowledge of exactly *how* it was taught is, once more, scarce and imprecise<sup>79</sup>. During the Middle Ages there was an operative distinction between scholastic, theoretical, and literary medicine, and the practical medicine exercised by surgeons, barbers or indeed of any other person skilled in the art of healing. This is why its practice and even teaching can be traced back to before the foundation of the university<sup>80</sup>. But it is practical medicine<sup>81</sup> that we find in the sources most of the time and that is better known, even if for limited periods<sup>82</sup>. In the first half of the fourteenth century the municipal council of the city of Oporto routinely employed Jewish and Muslim physicians and granted them the status of *quase vizinhos* (almost neighbors or citizens), arguing against

<sup>76</sup> GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio, *Estudios sobre la canonística portuguesa medieval*, Monographs, 29, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976; IDEM, "En torno a la canonística portuguesa medieval", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 26 (1979), pp. 125-151.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. COSTA, Mário Júlio de Almeida, "Leis, Cânones, Direito (Faculdades de)", in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1965, vol. 2, pp. 677 ff.; IDEM, "O Direito (Cânones e Leis)", in *História da Universidade em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 271-283, as the author recognises here (n. 2) the research has made little progress since the that paper published in 1965 and that he explicitly resumes with additions and modifications. Also see IDEM, "Para a história da cultura jurídica medieva em Portugal", *Boletim da Faculdade Direito*, no. 35 (1959), pp. 253-276; IDEM, *História do Direito Português*, 4th ed., revised and updated, Coimbra, 2009; PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa, "Livros de Direito na Idade Média"...; IDEM, "Manuscritos de direito canónico existentes em Portugal", *Arquivo Histórico da Madeira*, no. 11 (1959), pp. 196-242; nos. 12-13 (1962-1963), pp. 28-41. For the period immediately following the end of the Middle Ages, see MONTEIRO, António de Castro Xavier, "Como se ensinava o Direito das gentes na Universidade de Coimbra no século XVI?", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, vol. 33 (1993), pp. 9-36.

<sup>78</sup> ANTUNES, José, "Posição de alguns mestres antes e depois da fundação da Universidade face aos direitos dos povos", in *Universidade(s). História, memória, perspectivas. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 4, pp. 11-37.

<sup>79</sup> ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, "A Medicina", in *História da Universidade em Portugal...*, pp. 285-302, an unfinished study by its author (cf. n. on p. 285) who indicates the relevant documents in the *Chartularium*, but continues to give as a reference the old LEMOS, Maximiano, *História da medicina em Portugal. Doutrina e instituições*, Lisboa, 1898 (re-edited, 2 vols., Lisbon, D. Quixote, 1991).

<sup>80</sup> McCLEERY, Iona, "Opportunities for Teaching and Studying Medicine in Medieval Portugal before the Foundation of the University of Lisbon (1290)", *Dynamis*, vol. 20 (2000), pp. 305-329.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. EADEM, "Saintly Physician, Diabolical Doctor, Medieval Saint: Exploring the Reputation of Gil de Santarém in Medieval and Renaissance Portugal", *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2005), pp. 112-125.

<sup>82</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, "Físicos e cirurgiões quatrocentistas. As cartas de exame", in GONÇALVES, Iria, *Imagens do Mundo Medieval*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1988, pp. 9-52.

the protests of the bishop and chapter that Christian physicians were worse<sup>83</sup>. This fact is suggestive of the (low) quality of medical education at that time in Portugal, and also of the likely continuity in medical education among Muslim and Jewish communities, quite possibly transmitted within the family and outside the schools.

*Theology*, the queen of all the sciences according to the medieval university hierarchy, became the object of a long controversy over when its teaching in the Portuguese university first began. Contrary to ancient tradition, according to which it should have begun only around 1400, José Antunes suggested, on the basis of a new documental reading, that the teaching of theology could be attested as early as a bull of Pope Nicholas IV, dated 9 August 1290, the same bull that sanctioned the creation of the university<sup>84</sup>. Information is, once again, chronologically and qualitatively sparse, allowing for few general conclusions and making it very hard for an exact picture of the teaching to emerge. Nevertheless, information is still comparatively more abundant than for other subjects. Theology was the subject matter which enjoyed greater autonomy from royal power in the Portuguese university, obviously because it was more directly dependent on the ecclesiastical authority. Though it was possible to arrive at conclusions about textbooks and the functionality of the book<sup>85</sup>, we lack information about the relationship of Theology to the other *Faculdades*, especially that of the Arts, and whether it maintained any sort of doctrinal control over masters and students<sup>86</sup>. There are also gaps in our knowledge of the procedures of circulation and progression between arts and theology.

No substantial advancement in our knowledge of these disciplines in medieval Portuguese schools and in the university has taken place in recent years. This is one of the domains in the intellectual history of the Portuguese Middle Ages which still require deeper research, focused on the primary sources and free from oft-repeated but barely substantiated assumptions and ready-made explanations about how literate culture was transmitted, where, by whom, and through which channels.

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<sup>83</sup> I owe this information to André Vitória, on the basis of the document Oporto, Arquivo Histórico Municipal, Autos e sentença de dúvidas e jurisdição entre o bispo e a cidade, A-PUB 5514, f. 31 (= *Corpus Codicum...*, II, p. 29, col. 2).

<sup>84</sup> ANTUNES, José, *A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV (Juristas e Teólogos)*, unpublished doctoral thesis in History, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1995, see chapter 6 in particular, IDEM, "Cultura teológica, o poder e a Universidade portuguesa", pp. 471-569; IDEM, "A Teologia", in *História da Universidade em Portugal...*, pp. 237-270.

<sup>85</sup> NASCIMENTO, Aires A., "O livro de teologia: génese de uma estrutura e estruturação de uma ciência", *Didaskalia*, vol. 25 [volume in homage to Professor Joaquim O. Bragança] (1995), pp. 235-255.

<sup>86</sup> On doctrinal control see the polemic and accusations of Alvarus Pelagius against Thomas Scotus in the first half of the fourteenth Century (see footnote 108).

## 5. *Magistri and auctores*

To quote Joaquim de Carvalho one more time: “metaphysical speculation does not seduce the more cultured spirits of medieval Portugal. / It is in the practical studies, such as dialectics, ethics and politics, that their attention is concentrated; but, despite the absence of writings, some doctrinal divergences within scholastics did find an echo in Portugal”<sup>87</sup>. This diagnosis gave rise to two conclusions that historians in the second half of the twentieth century have since tried to tackle: a) has there really been in Portugal such negligence of metaphysics and a preference for practical philosophy during the Middle Ages and ever since then? b) are there no Portuguese writings to attest scholastic controversies?

These two conclusions have not yet been refuted by new discoveries. In fact, nothing relevant or challenging this interpretation has been found. But focusing on the well-known works by authors who studied or taught in foreign universities, attempts have been made to downplay that supposed lack of interest in metaphysics and the silence kept on scholastic controversies<sup>88</sup>. Nevertheless, most authors whose works are known to us do seem to display a keener interest in, or a near-exclusive preference for, practical philosophy, be it politics, ethics, theology or works on the logical *organon*. But a quick look at the works of the authors mentioned below can contribute to show that there may be some grounds to question the validity of this old and seemingly rock solid interpretation.

The list of medieval authors and anonymous works is extensive and, considering all genres and languages, may come close to one thousand<sup>89</sup>. As this brief synopsis

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<sup>87</sup> “[A] especulação metafísica não seduziu os mais cultos espíritos do Portugal medievo. / É nos estudos práticos, como a dialéctica, a ética e a política, que a sua atenção se concentra; mas, a despeito da ausência de escritos, ecoaram em Portugal algumas divergências doutrinárias da escolástica”. CARVALHO, Joaquim de, *Obra completa...*, vol. 3, pp. 281-282 (chapter “Cultura filosófica e científica – período medieval”, in PERES, Damião (dir.), *História de Portugal...*, vol. 4).

<sup>88</sup> What Joaquim de Carvalho says on medieval Portuguese scholastics, has to a certain extent been modified and expanded by others through a supposed lack of interest on the part of Portuguese of all periods for philosophy, a supposed cultural and personality characteristic that diminishes Portugal in the face of an already inferior Spain. As António José Saraiva wrote: “The un-interest in Philosophy in Portugal contrasts with the interest in history. Whichever the period, we find we have an abundant historiography of excellent quality, comparable to that of the great literatures and certainly not inferior to the Spanish one” (“Com o desinteresse pela filosofia contrasta em Portugal o interesse pela história. Qualquer que seja a época, encontramos entre nós uma historiografia abundante e de excelente qualidade, comparável à das grandes literaturas e certamente não inferior à espanhola”). The Unamunian origin of this idea is revealed a little further on: “Portugal became so little noted for its philosophical reflection, at least in the manner it was practiced in the West, but in this we are not out of tune with the Hispanic concert” (“Tão-pouco se notabilizou Portugal pela reflexão filosófica, pelo menos como o Ocidente a praticou, mas nisto não destoamos no concerto hispânico”). Unamuno noted in the cited work that “the Portuguese people are even more unphilosophical than the Spanish – and take care, for this is already a great deal” (“o povo português é ainda mais infilosófico que o espanhol – e atenção, porque este já o é muito”). SARAIVA, António José, *A cultura em Portugal. Teoria e história*, vol. 1: *Introdução geral à cultura portuguesa*, Lisbon, Gradiva, 1994, pp. 89 and 92.

<sup>89</sup> See the online database “Arca. Textos e autores medievais portugueses”: <http://ifilosofia.up.pt/gfm/arca>

is not the place to go through that list in detail, one should at least mention two catalogues that remain indispensable in exploring this forest, which is still far from being definitively charted<sup>90</sup>. Of all the available commentaries and systematic bibliographies, the recent work by José Carlos Martín deserves to be highlighted, despite its excessive selectiveness<sup>91</sup>.

As stated earlier, we have no knowledge of any written work left by any medieval figure teaching or enrolled at the Portuguese university. All the authors mentioned below, presented as abbreviated examples of recent historiographic achievements, have in common the fact that they studied or pursued their university or ecclesiastical careers abroad<sup>92</sup>. Those authors who lived and work before Portugal became an independent kingdom have been excluded.

*John of Lima* (Iohannes Hispalensis et Limiensis), was one of the most important Arab-Latin translators of the twelfth century. If we accept the hypothesis of his *Limienis* (from Ponte de Lima) origin, proposed by Lemaire and Charles Burnett, then he might have been the only Portuguese native to have contributed to the *translatio Studiorum* into Latin<sup>93</sup>.

*Anthony of Lisbon / Padua* (Antonius Ulixbonensis / Patavinus, c.1190-1231), Franciscan preacher, has been the object of numerous studies of his life, thought, and pastoral activity<sup>94</sup>. There has been controversy over whether or not his sermons were composed in Portugal and revised in Italy. In either case, it stands to reason that they were the fruit of his studies in the regulated monasteries of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon and Santa Cruz in Coimbra<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Manuel Cecilio, *Index scriptorum Latinorum medii aevi Hispanorum*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1958; IDEM, et al., *HISLAMP. Hispanorum Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Posteriorisque Aevi. Autores latinos peninsulares da época dos descobrimentos (1350-1560)*, Lisbon, CNCDP / IN-CM, 1993.

<sup>91</sup> MARTÍN, Jose Carlos, *Sources latines de l'Espagne tardo-antique et médiévale (Ve-XIVe siècles). Répertoire bibliographique*, with the collaboration of Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, and Jacques Elfassi, Paris, CNRS éditions, 2010.

<sup>92</sup> On these authors, see the studies cited above in notes 72 and 90.

<sup>93</sup> MEIRINHOS, José F., "A ciência e a filosofia árabes em Portugal. João de Sevilha e de Lima e outros tradutores", in MEIRINHOS, José F., *Estudos de Filosofia Medieval. Temas e autores portugueses...*, pp. 43-54 (with extensive bibliographical references on the question).

<sup>94</sup> Critical edition of the *Sermons* in COSTA, Beniamino, et al., *S. Antonii Patavini, O. Min., Doctoris Evangelici, Sermones dominicales et festivi, ad fidem codicum recogniti*, 3 vols., Padova, Edizioni Messagero, 1979; translation with facing Latin text: *Obras completas. Sermões dominicais e festivos*, 2 vols., Introduction, translation and notes by Henrique Pinto Rema, Tesouros da literatura e da história. Oporto, Lello & Irmão editores, 1987; English translation: *Sermons for Sundays and Festivals*, 4 vols., translated by Paul Spilsbury, Padova, Messagero, 2007-2010. For a look at the work and the state of the investigation cf. MEIRINHOS, José F., "S. António de Lisboa, escritor. A tradição dos Sermones: manuscritos, edições e textos espúrios", *Mediaevalia. Textos e estudos*, nos. 11-12 (1997), pp. 139-182.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. CAEIRO, Francisco da Gama, *Santo António de Lisboa...*, vols. 1-2; FRIAS, Agostinho Figueiredo, *Lettura ermeneutica dei "Sermones" di Sant'Antonio di Padova. Introduzione alle radici culturali del pensiero antoniano*, translation by J. Serra, Centro Studi Antoniani, Padova, 1995 (also published in *Il Santo*, 35 (1995),

*Paio of Coimbra* (Pelagius Parvus or Pelagius Aprilis, c.1195 / 1200-c.1249) was a Dominican preacher of the first half of the thirteenth century, whose sermons echoed recent theological and philosophical tendencies<sup>96</sup>.

*Giles of Santarém* (Aegidius lusitanus, c.1185-1265), often described as the Portuguese Faustus, had a significant local role in the life of the Dominican Order and an important scientific career as a physician. None of the works attributed to him has yet been published (although there are ancient editions of at least one, credited to other authors)<sup>97</sup>.

*João de Deus* (Iohannes de Deo), a canonist, was a master in Bologna and author of a vast legal work, which had considerable impact not only on the academic world but also on judicial practice<sup>98</sup>.

*Pedro Hispano* (Petrus Hispanus), identified as Pope John XXI, 1276-1277, is one of the most studied Portuguese medieval authors, with a long list of attributed works on logic, philosophy, psychology, zoology, theoretical medicine, practical medicine, theology, sermons and alchemy<sup>99</sup>. Some of the most important works attributed to him were published in the second half of the twentieth century. Medical compendia have been published by Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira<sup>100</sup>. Logical, philosophical and mystical works have been published by foreign scholars<sup>101</sup>. Much

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pp. 275-458); PACHECO, Maria Cândida Monteiro, *Santo António de Lisboa. Da ciência da Escritura ao livro da Natureza*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1997.

<sup>96</sup> MARQUES, Bernardino Fernando da Costa, *Mundividência Cristã no Sermonário de Frei Paio de Coimbra. Edição crítica da Summa Sermonum de festiuitatibus Magistri Fratris Pelagii Parui Ordinis Praedicatorum*, A. D. 1250 – Cod. Alc. 5/CXXX B.N. Lisboa, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2010.

<sup>97</sup> *Actas do Colóquio comemorativo de S. frei Gil de Santarém*, Lisbon, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, 1991; McCLEERY, Iona, *The life and legend of Giles of Santarem, Dominican friar and physician (d.1265): a perspective on medieval Portugal*, doctoral thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2000; EADEM, “Life and Death in Medieval Portugal: the Cult and Miracles of Gil de Santarem”, in BRANCO, Maria João Violante (ed.), *Shaping the State in Medieval Portugal: Administration, Church and Society*, Ashgate, Aldershot (at press).

<sup>98</sup> ANTUNES, José, *A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV...*, pp. 585-652, publishes the *Liber Poenitentiarius* of João de Deus. A general study is COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, *Um mestre português em Bolonha no século XIII, João de Deus. Vida e obras*, Braga, Editorial Franciscana 1957; new status report in MURANO, Giovanna, “La tradizione delle opere di Iohannes de Deo ed il ms Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 1094 (A.II.10)”, *Mediaevalia. Textos e estudos*, no. 26 (2007); also see the work of GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio, *Estudios sobre la canonística portuguesa medieval...*

<sup>99</sup> The bibliography is truly extensive. See PONTES, José Maria da Cruz, *A obra filosófica de Pedro Hispano Portugalense. Novos problemas textuais*, Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos / Universidade de Coimbra, 1972; ANTUNES, José, “O percurso e o pensamento político de Pedro Hispano, Arcebispo eleito de Braga e Papa João XXI”, in *IX centenário da dedicação da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional – Actas*, vol. 2/1, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa / Cabido Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990, pp. 125-184; MEIRINHOS, José F., “Giovanni XXI”, in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, Rome, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000, vol. 2, pp. 427-436; NASCIMENTO, Aires A., *Pedro Hispano, figura maior da cultura portuguesa aberta ao mundo*, s. l., Casino Figueira, 2010.

<sup>100</sup> PEREIRA, Maria Helena da Rocha (ed.), *Obras Médicas de Pedro Hispano*, Coimbra, IUC, 1973 (includes the edition of: *Thesaurus Pauperum e De febribus; De regimine sanitatis; Liber de conservanda sanitate*).

<sup>101</sup> *Obras Filosóficas II. Comentário al ‘De anima’ de Aristóteles*, editing, introduction and notes by

of the *corpus* attributed to Petrus Hispanus still awaits publication and proper study. It has long been debated, occasionally with totally erroneous arguments, that the author of the *Summulae logicales* was not Pope John XXI<sup>102</sup>. A hypothesis put forward by the present author, and currently under debate, argues that the post-medieval historiographical tradition led to three or more different characters being brought together under the same name of Petrus Hispanus, among them the Portuguese Pedro Julião, who became Pope John XXI in 1276-1277, along with at least two or three other individual Petri, who wrote works on logics, philosophy, medicine, theology, and alchemy<sup>103</sup>.

*Ferrando Hispano* (Fernandus or Ferrandus Hispanus), bishop of Coimbra between 1302 and 1303, where he died on 8 August, has been identified as the Averroist philosopher and commentator who wrote the, recently published<sup>104</sup> commentary on Book II of *The Economics* by the Pseudo-Aristotle.

*Afonso de Dinis of Lisbon* (Alphonsus Dionisii Ulixbonensis), one of the most interesting masters of the fourteenth century. He had a remarkable intellectual

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Manuel Alonso y Alonso, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944; IDEM, *Obras Filosóficas II I. Expositio libri de anima – De morte et vita et de causis longitudinis ac brevitatis vitae – Liber naturalis de rebus principalibus naturarum*, editing, introduction and notes by Manuel Alonso y Alonso, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952; *Pedro Hispano, Exposição sobre os livros do Beato Dionísio Areopagita (Expositio librorum Beati Dionysii)*, textual-editing, prologue, introduction and notes by Manuel Alonso y Alonso, preface by A. M. de Sá, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1957; HISPANO, Pedro, *Obras Filosóficas I: Scientia libri de anima*, editing, introduction and notes by Manuel Alonso y Alonso, 2nd ed., Libros 'Pensamiento'. Collaboration series, Barcelona, Juan Flors publ., 1961 (1st ed., 1941); *Peter of Spain (Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis), Tractatus Called Afterwards Summulae logicales*, first critical edition from the Manuscripts with an Introduction by L. M. de Rijk, Philosophical Texts and Studies, no. 22, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1972; *Peter of Spain (Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis), Syncategoremata*, first critical edition with an introduction and indexes by L. M. de Rijk, with an English translation by Joke Spruyt, Studien und Texte zur geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 30, Leiden / New York / Köln, E. J. Brill, 1992; DE ASÚA, Miguel J. C., "Los Problemata o Quaestiones de animalibus de Pedro Hispano. Transcripción del texto", *Stromata*, vol. 54 (1998), pp. 267-302.

<sup>102</sup> FERREIRA, João, "As Súmulas Lógicas de Pedro Hispano e os seus comentadores", *Colectânea de Estudos*, 2nd ser., vol. 3 (1952), pp. 360-394; D'ORS, Angel, "Petrus Hispanus O.P., Auctor Summularum", *Vivarium*, vol. 35 (1997), pp. 21-71; IDEM, "Petrus Hispanus O.P., Auctor Summularum (II): Further Documents and Problems", *Vivarium*, vol. 39 (2001), pp. 209-254; IDEM, "Petrus Hispanus O.P., Auctor Summularum (III): Petrus Alphonsi or Petrus Ferrandi?", *Vivarium*, vol. 41 (2003), pp. 249-303. For a criticism of the hypotheses of Angel d'Ors, see TUGWELL, Simon, "Petrus Hispanus: Comments on Some Proposed Identifications", *Vivarium*, vol. 37 (1999), pp. 103-113; IDEM, "Auctor Summularum, Petrus Hispanus OP Stellensis?", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 76 (2006) pp. 103-115.

<sup>103</sup> MEIRINHOS, José F., "Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis? Elementos para uma diferenciação de autores", *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, no. 3 (1996), pp. 51-76; IDEM, *Pedro Hispano (século XIII)*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Bibliotheca manuscrita*, vol. 2: ... et multa scripsit, doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 2002; IDEM, *Introdução ao estudo de Pedro Hispano*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2010.

<sup>104</sup> FOUTO, Catarina, *Ferrandus Hispanus: Commentarium in Oeconomica Aristotelis (Paris, BnF, Lat. 16133, ff. 69r-73v)*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2007, master's dissertation in Classical Studies, pp. 17-26. On Ferrandus Hispanus see for example ZIMMERMANN, Albert, "Remarques et questions relatives à l'oeuvre de Ferrand d'Espagne", in SANTIAGO-OTERO, Horácio (org.), *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la Edad Media en la Península Ibérica. Actes du Colloque international*, Brepols, Turnhout 1994, pp. 213-228.



career that led him to attend courses in arts, medicine and theology in Paris. Before returning to Paris to study theology he worked as a physician in Spain and Portugal, during which period he translated works from Arabic into Latin with the aid of a Jewish interpreter, among which is a short tractate by Averroes whose original Arabic version is unknown<sup>105</sup>.

*Álvaro Pais* (Alvarus Pelagius, c.1275 / 1280-1350 / 1352), born in Galicia, in north-western Spain, was a canonist and papal penitentiary at the papal curia in Avignon, in the service of Pope John XXII. *Álvaro Pais* was a champion of papal political supremacy and a sharp polemicist. His interesting and extensive works touched on law, theology, dogmatics and political philosophy, and were all published in Portugal during the second half of the twentieth century<sup>106</sup>. He remains among the most studied medieval authors connected to Portugal<sup>107</sup>.

*Tomás Escoto* (Thomas Scotus) is the most enigmatic of all medieval authors who were born or active in the kingdom of Portugal. He is known solely through the Alvarus Pelagius denunciation, in the *Collyrium fidei adversus haereses*, of ideas he may have defended on subjects touching on theology and politics, philosophy and religion, biblical interpretation and the lives of the saints, the sciences and the prophets. The nature of his philosophical and intellectual ideas has been discussed and identified by many as consisting of Averroism, an interpretation Mário Santiago de Carvalho contests<sup>108</sup>. In the absence of other sources mentioning him, there

<sup>105</sup> The translation of the short work by Averroes *De separatione primi principii* was published and translated by Carlos Steel and Guy Guldentops, "An Unknown Treatise of Averroes Against the Avicennians on the First Cause. Edition and Translation", *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, vol. 64 (1997), pp. 86-135, text and translation in pp. 94-134; MEIRINHOS, José F., "Afonso de Dinis de Lisboa: percursos de um filósofo, médico, teólogo, tradutor e eclesiástico do século XIV", *Península. Revista de estudos ibéricos*, no. 4 (2007), pp. 47-64, in which reference is made to the bibliography on the author.

<sup>106</sup> *Colírio da Fé contra as Heresias (Collyrium fidei adversus haereses)*, 2 vols., editing and translation by M. P. Meneses, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1954-1956; IDEM, *Espelho dos reis (Speculum regum)*, 2 vols., editing and translation by M. P. Meneses, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1955-1963; MENEGHIN, Vittorio, *Scritti inediti di Fra Alvaro Pais*, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1969 (includes *Gradus humilitatis* and letters); PAIS, Álvaro, *Estado e pranto da Igreja (Status et plactus Ecclesiae)*, 8 vols., editing and translation by M. P. Meneses, Lisbon, INIC / JNICT / FCT, 1988-1998. The recent research has discovered that the *Speculum regum* is composed of silent utilisations of long passages of the works of diverse authors and of the *Status et plactus Ecclesiae* itself.

<sup>107</sup> COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais*, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1966; BARBOSA, João Morais, *O 'De statu et planctu Ecclesiae'. Estudo crítico*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1982 (at the beginning other works are studied, with a general bibliography at the end); CARVALHO, Mário Santiago de, *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais e outros franciscanos (séculos XIII-XV)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2002, pp. 13-120 (includes four studies). On the works and bibliography cf. MEIRINHOS, José F., *Alvarus Pelagius O.F.M.*, in *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 1/2, Florence, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2000, pp. 194-196

<sup>108</sup> Edition in PAIS, Álvaro, *Colírio da fé contra as heresias (Collyrium fidei adversus haereses)*..., part. 5, errors vii-xxvi, vol. 2, pp. 40-78. Cf. MARTINS, Mário, "As acusações contra Tomás Escoto e a sua interpretação", *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, vol. 8 (1952), pp. 29-49 (re-edited in IDEM, *Estudos de literatura medieval*, Braga, Livr. Cruz, pp. 285-305); GOMES, Pinharanda, "Averroísmo", in *Dicionário de Filosofia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Ed. D. Quixote, 2003, pp. 52-59; CARVALHO, Mário Santiago de, "O 'sedutor' Tomás Escoto", *Humanística e Teologia*, vol. 11 (1990), pp. 171-198 (reed. in CARVALHO, Mário Santiago de,

remains is the possibility that Thomas Scotus was an invention of Alvarus Pelagius, which would seem to contradict the latter's natural severity and unflinching rigour in citing his sources.

*André do Prado* (Andreas de Prato, c.1380-c.1455), a Franciscan who in his *Horologium fidei* (Watch of the Faith) produced an extensive commentary on the Creed in twelve chapters, a fictional dialogue with Prince Henrique, the Navigator. He is also the author of another book of theology, still not published, the *Liber distinctionum* or *Spiraculum Francisci Maironis*, a compendium of the *Conflatus* by Francis of Mayrone<sup>109</sup>.

*João da Silva Menezes* (Blessed *Amadeu da Silva* c.1427-1482), a Franciscan who was also an enigmatic character whose example of asceticism and virtue exercised great fascination in Italy in his day, especially among the common people and the business elite. It is still a matter for debate whether he is the author of the *Apocalypsis nova* that manuscripts attribute to him, an ascetic and prophetic work in eight parts or *raptus*, which has recently been published in a critical edition<sup>110</sup>. This work reveals philosophical and theological influences. His *Sermones* remain unpublished.

*Gomes of Lisbon* (Gometius Ulixbonensis), also a Franciscan, who lived in the end of the fifteenth century and was a much-appreciated theology teacher in Pavia, where he published some synopses on philosophical subjects<sup>111</sup>.

*Diogo Lopes Rebelo* (Didacus Rebelo), also late fifteenth-century author, he studied and became a teacher in Paris, where he published in 1496 a work on political theory which he dedicated to King Manuel I, as well as synopses on theology<sup>112</sup>.

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*Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais e outros franciscanos...*, pp. 95-120). For a positive association of Thomas Scotus with political averroism see BERTELLONI, Francisco, "Sobre la existencia de un averroísmo ibérico en los siglos XIII y XIV", in SOUZA, J.A.C.R., *Idade Média: tempo do mundo, tempo dos homens, tempo de Deus*, Porto Alegre, Ed. EST, 2006, pp. 470-481.

<sup>109</sup> *Horologium fidei. Diálogo com o infante D. Henrique* (Edição do ms. Vat. lat. 1068), edited and translated by Aires Augusto do Nascimento, Lisbon, CNCDP / IN-CM, 1994; cf. CARVALHO, Mário Santiago de, "Frei André do Prado", in CALAFATE, Pedro (ed.), *História do pensamento filosófico português...*, vol. 1, pp. 253-277.

<sup>110</sup> DIAS, Domingos Lucas, *Beato Amadeu da Silva, Apocalipsis Nova – Nova Apocalipse*, critical edition, fixing of the text, translation, introduction and notes, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 2004; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, "Beato Amadeu", in CIDADE, Hernâni (dir.), *Os grandes portugueses*, 2 vols., vol. 1, Lisbon, Arcádia, s. d., pp. 187-205.

<sup>111</sup> *Questão muito útil sobre o objecto de qualquer ciência e principalmente da filosofia natural (Quaestio perutilis de cuiuscumque scientie subiecto, principaliter tamen naturalis philosophiae)*, establishment of the text and translation by M. Pinto de Meneses, introduction by J. C. Gonçalves, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1964; D'ORS, Angel, "Gometius Hispanus Ulixbonensis O.F.M.Conv. (†1513)", *Análise*, vol. 24 (2003), pp. 95-144; MEIRINHOS, José F., "Metaphysics and the modus multiplicandi scientias in the *Quaestio perutilis de cuiuscumque scientie subiecto* by Gomes of Lisbon (c. 1497)", in PICH, Roberto Hofmeister (ed.), *New Essays on Metaphysics as Scientia transcendens*, Louvain-la-Neuve, FIDEM, 2007, pp. 321-442.

<sup>112</sup> *Do governo da República pelo rei (De republica gubernanda per regem)*, editing and translation by M. P. de Meneses, introduction and notes by A. M. Sá, Lisbon, Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1951; re-edited, Lisbon, Távola Redonda, 2000, including the edition of the *Tractatus de productionibus personarum*, edited

Apart from Thomas Scotus, and maybe Amadeu da Silva too, although in a different way, we are unable to detect in these authors any evidence to maintain the argument that heterodoxy is one of the distinctive features of “Portuguese thinking”<sup>113</sup>.

The intellectual influence of these authors is certainly small, if we consider the period globally. Only the “sanctified intellectuals” Fernando Martins, *alias* Anthony of Lisbon and Padua, Paio of Coimbra, Giles of Santarém, and Amadeu da Silva<sup>114</sup> have found their way into popular culture, and this was due not to their intellectual achievements but rather to the fascination that their lives and example continuously exercised on people, fed by hagiographies, at local, national and even international levels. These narratives emphasise their religious life and thaumaturgical virtues, although one should point out that they usually also invoke their knowledge, either positively or negatively.

Having reviewed the abridged shortlist of medieval Portugal’s most important authors, what stands out clearly, even amongst those belonging to the same religious order, is the lack of any continuity in their works, beyond their simple attachment to the same institution or spiritual orientations. If we verify among them the consistency of the scholastic model, or the presence of certain interests of thinking, the reason is to be found in institutional and cultural inertia, not in the weighty influence of a particular Portuguese author. Whenever influences can be pinned down, they usually point to traditional authors such as Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus. It was perhaps only in 1548, when the university moved from Lisbon to Coimbra for the last time and the Colégio das Artes was founded, that the foundation would be laid for a form of teaching, thinking and writing coherently developed over time. The Jesuits’ control of the Colégio das Artes, effective after 1555, paved the way for the development of a local intellectual and philosophical tradition that had considerable international influence in the formation of the Second Scholasticism and during the Counter-Reformation, but it must be stressed that this was a period of Iberian union<sup>115</sup>.

Medieval moral and speculative-religious literature in the vernacular<sup>116</sup> deserves particular mention, due to its considerable importance at the time. It has

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and translated by M. P. de Meneses, introduction by M. C. de Matos.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. GOMES, J. Pinharanda, “Heterodoxia”, *Dicionário de Filosofia Portuguesa...*, pp. 163-168.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, *Santos e demónios no Portugal medieval*, Lisbon, Fio da palavra, 2010, see respectively pp. 32, 33-34, 34-36, 51-52.

<sup>115</sup> On this period, its authors and schools, studies and bibliography, cf. CALAFATE, Pedro (org.), *História do pensamento filosófico português*, vol. 2: *Renascimento e Contra-Reforma*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002.

<sup>116</sup> See CEPEDA, Isabel Vilares, *Bibliografia da prosa medieval em língua portuguesa*, Lisbon, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1995. An extensive collection of essays on the anonymous literary corpus and in vernacular middle Portuguese (but also on several other authors, manuscripts and literary genres) may

been the object of editions that have made an extremely significant contribution to the study of intellectual life in medieval Portugal in recent years. These works consist of a mostly anonymous literary corpus, produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, made up for the most part of reasonably well-identified works carried over into Portuguese both through paraphrase and translation. Some of them have been the focus of recent research and publication, due to their interest to philology and the history of literature<sup>117</sup>: the *Boosco deleitoso*, a treatise inspired by the *De vita solitaria* of Petrarch and composed by the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth<sup>118</sup>; the *Corte enperial*, an anonymous treatise of Christian apologetics and theological and spiritual polemic against Judaism and Islamism, dating from the fourteenth century<sup>119</sup>; the *Castelo perigoso*, an anonymous translation of treatises of Carthusian asceticism, dating from the end of the fourteenth century<sup>120</sup>; the *Horto do esposo*, an anonymous ascetic moral compilation from the second half of the fourteenth century<sup>121</sup>; the *Livro do solilóquio de Sancto Agostinho*, which is in fact the translation, with two brief interpolations, of a treatise from the twelfth century on the virtues of contemplative life<sup>122</sup>; the *Livro da vertuosa benefeytoria* of Prince Pedro and João Verba, a political-moral work, produced c.1418-1425 and based on the *De beneficiis* of Seneca<sup>123</sup>; and, finally, the *Leal Conselheiro* of King Duarte I, composed between 1435 and 1438<sup>124</sup>. These anonymous works still pose important questions concerning dating, the context in which they were composed, the sources that were used, and, of course, authorship. Having originated in monastic or courtly environments, and being distinct as to intentionality of composition, these works are part of a vast and collective process in the formation of the Portuguese language, also demonstrating that by the fourteenth century it was intensively adopted as a vehicle of communication in the intellectual world. Differentiating from Latin

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be found in the works of MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de literatura medieval*, Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1956; IDEM, *Estudos de cultura medieval*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Ed. Verbo (vol. 1, 1969), Ed. Brotéria (vols. 2-3, 1980-1983).

<sup>117</sup> For a brief presentation of the content, problems and bibliography on each one of the texts here cited, cf. the respective entries in LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da literatura medieval portuguesa e galega...*, *passim*.

<sup>118</sup> *Boosco Deleitoso*, editing by Augusto Magne, Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1950.

<sup>119</sup> *Corte enperial*, interpretative editing by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Aveiro, Universidade de Aveiro, 2000.

<sup>120</sup> *Castelo Perigoso*, critical editing by Elsa Maria Branco da Silva, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2001.

<sup>121</sup> *Horto do Esposo*, critical editing by Irene Freire Nunes, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2007. The work had a previous edition.

<sup>122</sup> *Livro de soliloquio de Sancto Agostinho (Cód. Alcob. CCLXXIII 198)*, critical editing and glossary by Maria Adelaide Valle Cintra, Lisbon, Centro de estudos Filológicos, 1957 (in the same Alcobaça manuscript of the *Horto do esposo*).

<sup>123</sup> *Livro da vertuosa benefeytoria*, critical editing, introduction and notes by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1994. The work had previous editions.

<sup>124</sup> *Leal Conselheiro*, critical editing, introduction and notes by Maria Helena Lopes de Castro, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1999.

and Castilian, these texts contribute especially to the constitution of a Portuguese intellectual vocabulary, being philosophical or theological, a domain that continues to be insufficiently studied<sup>125</sup>.

## 6. *Receptio and desiderata*

A famous medieval adage tells us that *whatever is received is received according to the manner of the receiver (quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur)* and not according to the object itself. This epistemological principle, frequently repeated for example by Thomas Aquinas, could be the motto for the aesthetics of reception in literary theory<sup>126</sup>. We should also allow it to remind us that our understanding of the Middle Ages and of its intellectual history depends above all on each scholar's methodological, theoretical, and even ideological preferences. These change over time, being determined by a vast set of interests (political, economic, institutional, ideological, generational, personal), of which even the historian himself is often unaware, being immersed in them. Therefore, let us not be baffled by the many Middle Ages we now have before us, which historiography has been both excavating and creating. That some profiles of the Middle Ages are the result of retrospective projections rather than the analysis of the object itself can be verified through the archaeology of the ideological drives of the last quarter of the twentieth century. For example, interest in national philosophies, or in the idea of *saudade*, or in the identification and glorification of the first intellectual icons of the nation, is no longer so dominant. The bias and prejudices for or against the Middle Ages do not bear so heavily upon medievalists as they did at some point in the past. Medieval studies became an essentially critical discipline, not only of the sources it works on, but also of the methodologies it uses and means of interpretation, redefining subjects proper to it, and shunning contradictory and sometimes disfiguring interpretations of history. For this reason, medieval studies are, first and foremost, an exercise in critical thinking and hermeneutic, incessantly searching for a closer, deeper understanding of the sources.

A brief journey through Portuguese medieval intellectual history shows that the most important achievement of the last half-century has been the publication of primary sources and the interpretation of those sources. Historians of culture, institutions and ideas, can develop joint projects, with mutual benefit, penetrating

<sup>125</sup> Cf. HENRIQUES, Marisa das Neves, "Do desencanto pelas palavras e da necessidade de um léxico filosófico medieval português", *Revista filosófica de Coimbra*, vol. 20 (2011).

<sup>126</sup> JAUSS, Hans Robert, *História literária como desafio à ciência literária. Literatura medieval e teoria dos géneros*, translation by Ferreira de Brito, Vila Nova de Gaia, ed. José Soares Martins, 1974.

further into the study of published or unpublished material, editing and translating documents and works. In the mid-twentieth century, after Joaquim de Carvalho in Coimbra, it was Moreira de Sá in Lisbon who stimulated the study of intellectual history. His work was continued in the second half of the twentieth century by scholars such as Mário Martins (Braga), Francisco da Gama Caeiro, Joaquim Cerqueira Gonçalves, José Mattoso, Aires Augusto Nascimento (Lisbon), José Maria da Cruz Pontes, Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira, Avelino de Jesus da Costa, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Maria José Azevedo Santos (Coimbra), António Cruz, José Marques, Maria Cândida Pacheco (Oporto), who revitalised and lent increased visibility to this area of medieval studies through their own work as medievalists, and creating conditions for further research in different departments and research centres, where lines of traditional inquiry had been pursued, and making headway in experimenting new ways of analysing and interpreting medieval sources. Publications multiply today, and a large number of dissertations, theses and projects are being produced, displaying great thematic and disciplinary diversity. More ground can thus be covered, increasingly by means of expanded teams with wide international connections. The rising number of active scholars authorises one to expect results and the opening up of new perspectives, if above all there is no retreat into the purely local or national interests, something that today seems unlikely due to participation in research networks. Portuguese medieval studies would have much to gain if they broadened their fields of study and no longer confined themselves to national subject matters, as has happened up until now – with the exception, perhaps, and owing to their very nature, to the areas of literature, theology and philosophy. This reaching out of medieval studies would be especially profitable as far as the sharing of methodologies is concerned – not so much in objects of study, although there is room for greater refinement. It is particularly important, however, that conclusions and theoretical explanations specific to other social realities and contexts are not forced on to the interpretation of Portuguese medieval history.

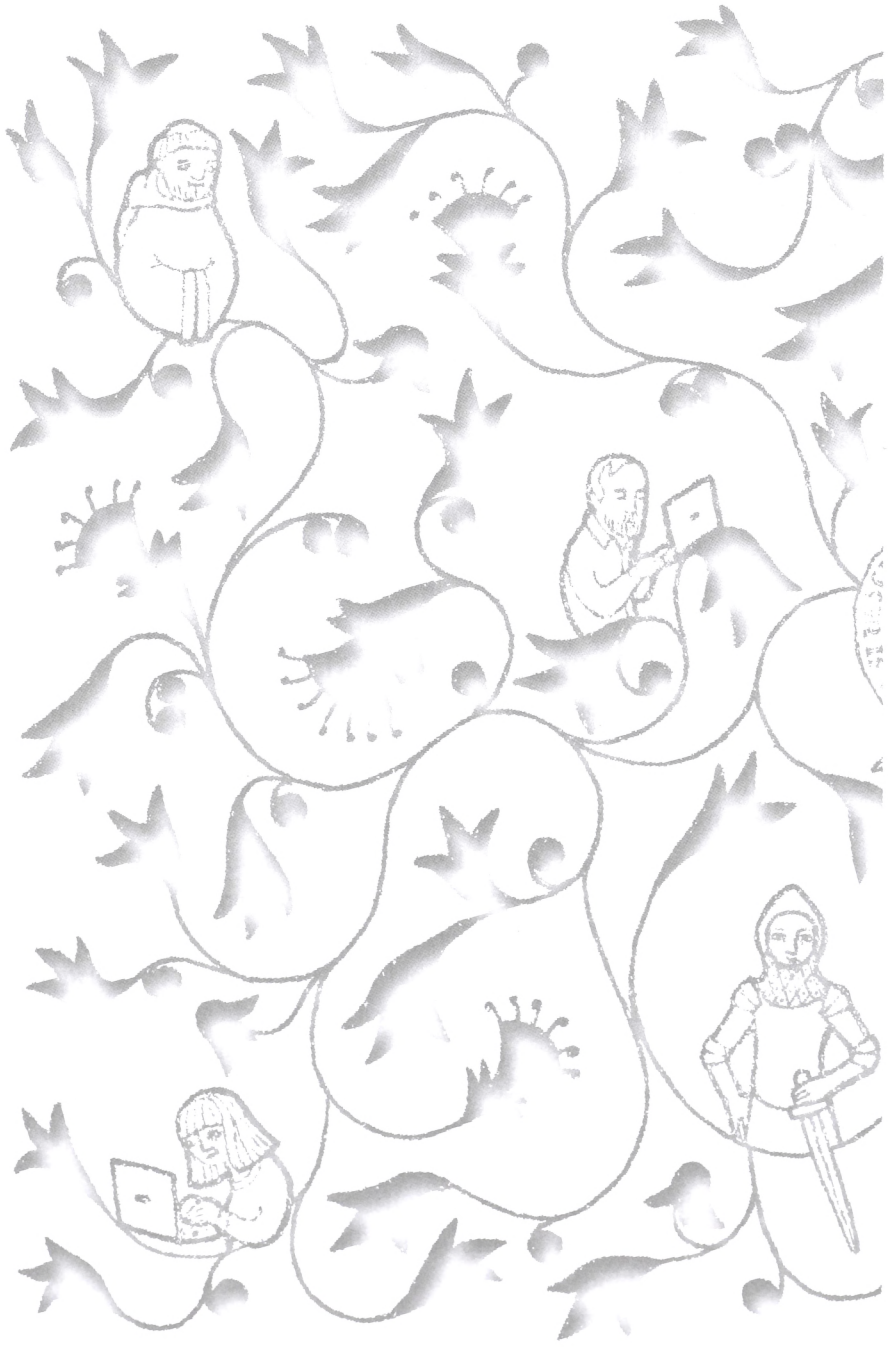
Active research teams are well aware of what needs to be done. It is important that they prepare the field for future generations of scholars, through the identification, publication, and, whenever possible, translation of medieval documental or textual *corpora*. Conditions are in place to undertake a more rigorous inventory of our medieval written heritage, dispersed throughout libraries and archives, public and private. A good part of the available documents on schools and the university is already published, but still awaits surveys (which could be undertaken in future master's and doctoral theses) that systematically dissect, explore, and reconstruct the different aspects of teaching policies, governance in scholastic institutions, curricula, the lives and careers of the teachers, throughout the Portuguese Middle

Ages. Electronic resources allow us to make documents in print digitally accessible to researchers by means of databases that can be queried and searched; these databases can be expanded with the new, unpublished materials (as is already the case with some literary genres), which would make it easier, for example, to complete and search through the documents in the *Chartularium universitatis portugalensis* and in other collections. In similar fashion, a *Corpus philosophorum Portugaliae* could be put together, incorporating works written in various languages on philosophy, theology and other connected areas, with direct relevance to medieval thought in Portugal. Some existing editions still need to be replaced by improved, critical editions. These are long-term projects, and that is why they are viable.

Given the dynamism of Portuguese medieval studies in recent years, it is very likely that many of these projects are already under way<sup>127</sup>.

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<sup>127</sup> I am grateful to André Vitória for reading the English version of this chapter and for his numerous suggestions enabling greater clarity.





# *Literary and Historiographical Production*

*António Resende de Oliveira*

The fields under analysis in this chapter have in recent decades asserted themselves as disciplinary frontier zones, shared by historians of literature, linguists, philologists or historians proper. In this list, whilst paying due regard to the work of historians, we shall not overlook that of investigators from other areas who pay special attention to the research of the former or who show themselves concerned with the historical context of the cultural products in question, to which they sometimes bring an invaluable input. In the presentation of the bibliography a perception will be reflected, right away, of the more recent course of cultural history and of the historiographical circles especially involved in its construction. Even so, some pieces will inevitably be missing. This absence is only due to the inability of the author to deal with the incompatibilities resulting from a conflict between the available time and space and the diversity of the thematic areas in play.

1. It was precisely in 1950 that was published what is till today the only history of Portuguese culture<sup>1</sup>. By dividing the Middle Ages into two periods separated by the crisis of the end of the fourteenth century, António José Saraiva began by privileging, within the ambit of the themes under analysis, the treatment of the epic, the analysis of what he designated “popular minstrelsy of folkloric and bourgeois inspiration”

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<sup>1</sup> SARAIVA, António José, *História da Cultura em Portugal*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Jornal do Foro, 1950. In the 1980s the author attempted a reformulation and updating of the work, from which emerged the introductory volume and those relating to the Middle Ages: IDEM, *A Cultura em Portugal. Teoria e História*, books 1 and 2, Lisbon, Livraria Bertrand, 1982-1984; IDEM, *O Crepúsculo da Idade Média em Portugal*, Lisbon, Gradiva, 1988.

and an approach to “palatine culture”, integrating into this the troubadour song, tales of chivalry and a brief reference to the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*. In the second period, he mainly gave prominence to Fernão Lopes, an author to whom he was later to remain attentive<sup>2</sup>, and again tackled “palatine culture”, now centred on the analysis of the *Leal Conselheiro* and the *Livro da Virtuosa Benfeitoria*. But the basis on which he built this synthesis of the history of culture was to undergo deep changes from that moment forward, both in regard to the historical framing of the cultural production he selected and in regard to the configuration of that production.

In effect, in the very next year the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*<sup>3</sup> began to be edited by Lindley Cintra, with a lengthy introduction which revolutionised our knowledge of Portuguese historiographical production of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, incorporating not only this chronicle, whose authorship was then attributed to the Count of Barcelos, Prince Pedro, but also various texts and translations associated with this great chronicle enterprise which the researcher dealt with in his introduction and in studies accompanying his research<sup>4</sup>. Towards the end of the same decade, Diego Catalán, following up on Cintra’s investigations, was already working on clarifying the first Portuguese chronicle predating the work of the Count of Barcelos, that he designated the *Crónica Portuguesa de Espanha e Portugal*<sup>5</sup>. A few years later he started to work on the partial edition of the Castilian translation of the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*<sup>6</sup>.

At the same time, the discovery of new chronicle texts (the *Crónica de Cinco Reis de Portugal* and the *Crónica dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*<sup>7</sup>, or in other words, the manuscripts of the presently named *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*), rekindled the debate over the intervention of Fernão Lopes in this narrative of the

<sup>2</sup> IDEM, *Fernão Lopes*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Publicações Europa-América, 1965 (1st ed., s.d.).

<sup>3</sup> CINTRA, Luís Filipe Lindley, *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1951-1961 (facsimiled edition with a new volume, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983-1984).

<sup>4</sup> IDEM, “O *Liber Regum* e outras fontes do Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro”, *Boletim de Filologia*, t. 11 (1950), pp. 224-251; IDEM, “Uma tradução galego-portuguesa desconhecida do *Liber Regum*”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, t. 52 (1950), pp. 27-40; IDEM, “Sobre uma tradução portuguesa da General Estoria de Afonso X”, *Boletim de Filologia*, t. 12 (1951), pp. 184-191; IDEM, “Sobre a formação e evolução da lenda de Ourique (até à Crónica de 1419)”, in *Miscelânea de estudos em honra do Prof. Hernâni Cidade*, Lisbon, 1957, pp. 168-215; IDEM, “A lenda de D. Afonso I, rei de Portugal (Origens e evolução)”, *Revista ICALP*, nos. 16-17, June-Sept. (1989), pp. 64-78.

<sup>5</sup> CATALÁN, Diego, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos. Cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal*, Madrid, Gredos, 1962.

<sup>6</sup> CATALÁN, Diego, and SOLEDAD DE ANDRÉS, María (eds.), *Edición Crítica del Texto Español de la Crónica de 1344 que Ordeno el Conde de Barcelos don Pedro Alfonso*, Madrid, Gredos / Fundación Ramon Menéndez Pidal, 1970.

<sup>7</sup> BASTO, Artur de Magalhães (ed.), *Crónica de Cinco Reis de Portugal*, Oporto, Livraria Civilização, 1945; TAROUCA, Carlos da Silva (ed.), *Crónica dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1952-1953.

first reigns of Portuguese history<sup>8</sup>, whilst the work of this chronicler continued to warrant the attention of some historians, whether in essays, or in the publication of his chronicles<sup>9</sup>. Less frequented, the work of Gomes Eanes de Zurara, was questioned in connection to his biography and with regard to the question of plagiarism<sup>10</sup>.

In conclusion, these chronographic novelties at once facilitated a re-evaluation of the importance of historiography in the context of Portuguese medieval culture, even to the detriment of the remaining production, mostly pertaining to the annals and books of lineages<sup>11</sup>. In this area the novelties were fewer. But first and foremost one has to point out that, despite their importance to the period of the formation of Portugal and of the successive additions until the fifteenth century, and notwithstanding Pierre David's important study, the annals were never enthusiastically embraced by historians<sup>12</sup>. The books of lineages, in turn, were the focus of questions relating to their dating or, in the case of the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, to their sources and the narratives included in them or to problems over their recasting<sup>13</sup>. During the 1970s, some historians took these

<sup>8</sup> BASTO, Artur de Magalhães, *Fernão Lopes. Suas 'crônicas perdidas' e a Crônica Geral do Reino – A propósito de uma crônica quatrocentista inédita dos cinco primeiros reis de Portugal*, Oporto, Livraria Progredior, 1943; IDEM, *Estudos. Cronistas e crônicas antigas. Fernão Lopes e a "Crônica de 1419"*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1960; TAROUCA, Carlos da Silva, "Terão aparecido as crônicas perdidas de Fernão Lopes?", *Broteria*, vol. 52 (1951), pp. 39-59; BRÁSIO, António, "Da autoria da Crônica de D. Pedro I e da História Geral do Reino", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, vol. 8 (1985), pp. 339-368, and IDEM, "Algumas observações sobre a autoria das chamadas 'Crônicas de cinco' e 'dos sete reis' tiradas da crítica interna", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 9 (1959), pp. 57-77.

<sup>9</sup> In the middle of the twentieth century there stood out, in those publications, the names of Damião Peres and of Torquato de Sousa Soares, and in some studies, Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, António José Saraiva, Albin Beau, and Peter Russell, and the already mentioned António Brásio and Artur Magalhães Basto. For a more exhaustive inventory we refer to AMADO, Teresa, *Bibliografia de Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1991.

<sup>10</sup> DINIS, A. J. Dias, *Vida e Obra de Gomes Eanes de Zurara*, Lisbon, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1949; CARVALHO, Joaquim de, "Sobre a erudição de Gomes Eanes de Zurara: notas em torno de alguns plágios deste cronista", *Biblos*, vol. 25 (1949), pp. 1-160 (re-edited in *Estudos sobre a Cultura Portuguesa do século XV*, 1949 and *Obra Completa*, 1983). In a more general perspective, on the question of the authorship of the fifteenth century chronicles, DINIS, A. J. Dias, "As crônicas medievais portuguesas. Adulteração de Rui de Pina?", *Braga, Colectânea de Estudos*, yr. 1, 2nd ser., no. 3 (1950), pp. 299-345.

<sup>11</sup> In the biography genre a number of writings of a hagiographic nature stand out that, owing to their specificity, will not be dealt with here. Cf., ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Hagiografia e santidade", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, vol. C-I, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores / Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2000, pp. 326-361; EADEM, "A santidade no Portugal medieval: narrativas e trajectos de vida", *Lusitânia Sacra*, t. 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 369-450; SOBRAL, Cristina, "Hagiografia em Portugal: balanço e perspectivas", *Medievalista* [online], no. 3 (2007).

<sup>12</sup> DAVID, Pierre, "Annales portugalenses veteres", in DAVID, Pierre, *Etudes Historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris / Lisbon, Les Belles Lettres / Portugalia, 1947, pp. 257-340. One author who showed an interest in a part of the Annals relating to King Afonso Henriques, known under the designation *Annales Domni Alfonsi Portugalensium regis*, as early as the 1960s, was, BLÖCKER-WALTER, Mónica, *Alfons I von Portugal. Studien zu geschichte und sage des begründers der portugiesischen unabhängigkeiten*, Zurich, Fretz und Wasmuth Verlag, 1966.

<sup>13</sup> VEIGA, A. Botelho da Costa, "Os nossos nobiliários medievais (alguns elementos para a cronologia da sua elaboração)", *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos*, t. 15 (1942), pp. 165-193; RICARD, Robert, "La relation portugaise de la bataille du Salado (1340)", *Hespéris*, t. 43 (1956), pp. 7-27; CINTRA, Luís Filipe Lindley, "Livros

novelties into account, in studies that ventured to draw wider pictures of Portuguese historiography<sup>14</sup>.

On the literature side, research extended into diverse sectors and themes, favouring fifteenth century literature.

The troubadour song was initially the area least likely to attract the attention of historians. Still largely dependent on the tutelary figure of Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, namely on the large synthesis she offered in the edition of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*<sup>15</sup>, it benefitted from the research carried out by Rodrigues Lapa<sup>16</sup>, whose knowledge of the texts, and in particular of the *cantigas de escárnio e de maldizer*, was to lead, in 1965, to his edition of one of the most representative works to shed light on the troubadour legacy<sup>17</sup>. Meanwhile, in Italy during the 1950s, Silvio Pellegrini was also making his mark, with important studies, principally into the figure and production of King Afonso X<sup>18</sup>, while Giuseppe Tavani came onto the scene with a study that reflected the main orientations of the group of Italian philologists who came to occupy a prominent position in the treatment of Galician-Portuguese troubadour song in the following decades, analysing the surviving evidence to elucidate the production of medieval *cancioneiros* (songbooks), preserved in the collective *cancioneiros*<sup>19</sup>. Beyond the philological field (within which one should also acknowledge the work of Jean-Marie D'Heur)<sup>20</sup>, there remained only a

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de linhagens”, in COELHO, Jacinto Prado (dir.), *Dicionário de Literatura*, Oporto, Livraria Figueirinhas, 1982 (3rd ed.), vol. 2, pp. 569-570; SARAIVA, António José, “O autor da narrativa da batalha do Salado e a refundição do Livro do conde D. Pedro”, *Boletim de Filologia*, t. 22 (1971), pp. 1-16.

<sup>14</sup> SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo, *A Historiografia Portuguesa*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Editorial Verbo, 1972; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Antologia da Historiografia Portuguesa. Das origens a Herculano*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Publicações Europa-América, 1974.

<sup>15</sup> VASCONCELOS, Carolina Michaëlis, *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1904 (reprinted in Lisbon, IN-CM, 1990, 2 vols.).

<sup>16</sup> Partially collected in LAPA, Miguel Rodrigues, *Miscelânea de Língua e de Literatura Portuguesa Medieval*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1982.

<sup>17</sup> IDEM, *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de Mal Dizer dos Cancioneiros Medievais Galego-Portugueses*, Vigo Editorial Galáxia, 1965 (3rd ed.: Lisbon, Edições João Sá da Costa, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Brought together in part in PELLEGRINI, Silvio, *Studi su Trove e Trovatori della Prima Lirica Hispano-Portoghese*, 2nd ed., Bari, 1959.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. TAVANI, Giuseppe, *Ensaio Portugueses. Filologia e linguística*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1988, in which essays are brought together on the two lines of investigation indicated, and, as a global inventory, IDEM, *La Lirica Galego-Portoghese*, in KÖHLER, E. (dir.), *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, II. Les genres lyriques*, t. 1, fasc. 6, Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1980 (last Portuguese edition, still maintaining the historical framework of the troubadour song proposed in the first edition, IDEM, *Trovadores e Jograis. Introdução à poesia medieval galego-portuguesa*, Lisbon, Caminho, 2002). Regarding the other Italian authors, where the works deserving mention are those of Luciana Stegagno Picchio, Anna Ferrari, Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso and Giulia Lanciani, I will have to refer to PELLEGRINI, Silvio, and MARRONI, Giovanna, *Nuovo Repertorio Bibliografico della Prima Lirica Galego-Portoghese*, L'Aquila, Japadre Editore, 1981, a work that was followed up, as of 1987, in the *Boletín Bibliográfico de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, coordinated by Vicenç Beltran.

<sup>20</sup> D'HEUR, Jean-Marie, *Troubadours d'oc et troubadours galiens-portugais. Recherches sur quelques échanges dans la littérature de l'Europe au Moyen Age*, Paris, Centro Cultural Português, 1973; IDEM, “Nomenclature des troubadours galiens-portugais (XIIe-XIVe siècles). Table de concordance de leus

few attempts, not always successful, to identify authors or to broach the themes of the compositions, concluding as early as 1977, with an inventory of the orientations of the satire in the *cantigas de escárnio e de maldizer*, undertaken by an assiduous frequenter of medieval literature<sup>21</sup>.

With regard to the epic, António José Saraiva sought to reinforce the indications laid down in his *História da Cultura em Portugal* concerning a tradition linked to the figure of the first Portuguese king<sup>22</sup>, whilst Mário Martins expended, in various studies, some reflections on the *matéria de Bretanha*<sup>23</sup>. But the more substantial nucleus of the investigation aimed at clarifying the literature of the princes of Avis, be it the treatises on hunting<sup>24</sup>, or the didactic and moral literature emanating from, or circulating within, the court<sup>25</sup>.

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chansonniers et liste des incipit de leus compositions”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 7 (1973), pp. 17-100; IDEM, “Sur la tradition manuscrite des chansonniers galiciens-portugais. Contribution à la bibliographie générale et au corpus des troubadours”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 8 (1984), pp. 3-43.

<sup>21</sup> MARTINS, Mário, *A Sátira na Literatura Medieval Portuguesa (Séculos XIII e XIV)*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1977. For the production of the period as a whole see the aforementioned PELLEGRINI, Sílvio, and MARRONI, Giovanna, *Nuovo Repertorio...*

<sup>22</sup> SARAIVA, António José, “Sobre o texto da tradição épica de Afonso Henriques”, *Les Langues Neo-Latines*, nos. 183-184, Jan.-Mar. (1968); IDEM, “Sur le texte de la tradition épique d’Afonso Henriques: analyse stylistique comparée des versions de la Crónica de Veinte Reyes et de la Quarta Crónica Breve de Santa Cruz de Coimbra”, *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, vol. 30 (1969), pp. 11-38; IDEM, *A Épica Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1979 (2nd ed. 1991).

<sup>23</sup> MARTINS, Mário, “O livro de José de Arimateia, da Torre do Tombo”, *Brotéria*, vol. 55 (1952), pp. 289-298 (re-edited in *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, Braga, 1956, pp. 50-57); IDEM, “A eucaristia no Livro de José de Arimateia e na Demanda do Santo Graal”, *Itinerarium*, t. 87 (1975), pp. 16-30; IDEM, *Alegorias, Símbolos e Exemplos Morais da Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Edições Brotéria, 1975; IDEM, “Frases de orientação nos romances arturianos e em Fernão Lopes”, *Itinerarium*, t. 95, Jan.-Mar. (1977), pp. 3-24; IDEM, “Os prantos de Palamedes no Tristan e na Demanda do Santo Graal em medievo-português”, *Itinerarium*, t. 104 (1979), pp. 223-232.

<sup>24</sup> IDEM, “Da caça e da concepção do desporto no Livro da Montaria”, in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1956, pp. 453-466; IDEM, “Cinopedia medieval”, *Brotéria*, vol. 69 (1959), pp. 41-50 (also in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval*, Lisbon, Verbo, 1969); IDEM, “A espiritualidade do Livro da Montaria”, *Itinerarium*, t. 32 (1961), pp. 163-170 (also in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval...*); IDEM, “Experiência e conhecimento da natureza no ‘Livro da Montaria’”, in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval...*, pp. 85-100.

<sup>25</sup> RICARD, Robert, “L’infant D. Pedro de Portugal et O Livro da Virtuosa Benfeitoria”, *Bulletin des Études Portugaises et de l’Institut Français au Portugal*, vol. 17 (1953), pp. 1-65 (reedited in *Études sur l’Histoire Morale et Religieuse du Portugal*, Paris, Centro Cultural Português, 1970, pp. 87-136); DINIS, A. J. Dias, “Quem era Fr. João da Verba, colaborador literário de El-Rei D. Duarte e do infante D. Pedro”, *Itinerarium*, t. 2 (1956), pp. 424-491; IDEM, “Ainda sobre a identidade de Frei João da Verba”, *Itinerarium*, t. 3 (1957), pp. 479-490; RUSSELL, Peter Edward, “Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca, translators of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*”, *Medium Aevum*, Oxford, vols. 30-31 (1961-1962), pp. 26-32; FERNANDES, Rogério, “D. Duarte e a educação senhorial”, *Vértice*, vol. 37 (1977), pp. 347-388; MARTINS, Mário, “A amizade e o amor conjugal no Leal Conselheiro”, *Didaskalia*, vol. 9 (1979), pp. 269-278 (also published in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval*, vol. 3, Lisbon, Brotéria, 1983). From a more philosophical perspective, MARTINS, Diamantino, “O sistema do universo na Virtuosa Benfeitoria do infante Dom Pedro”, *Bracara Augusta*, vols. 16-17 (1964), pp. 292-300; IDEM, “O sistema moral da Virtuosa Benfeitoria”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, vol. 21 (1965), pp. 235-254; IDEM, “O De Beneficiis de Séneca e a Virtuosa Benfeitoria do Infante D. Pedro”, *ibid.*, pp. 255-321.

2. In the last quarter of the century, knowledge of Portugal's medieval world was to undergo profound revision owing to the work of José Mattoso. His synthesis, *Identificação de um País*, reconfigured the territory from the *seigneurial*, municipal and royal points of view, autonomising and giving unexpected prominence to the role of lords and municipal councils as power structures<sup>26</sup>. And with the nobility's *seigneurial* power came its contribution to the fields of medieval historiography and literature.

In relation to the former, during the 1970s some of Mattoso's writings evinced from the start his keen interest in the books of lineages<sup>27</sup>, one of the main sources for the study of the nobility. That interest of his was to materialise later with the publication of this body of books and of the narratives contained in them<sup>28</sup>, as well as with new studies on their place within the culture of the nobility<sup>29</sup>. Other essays reveal, from different angles, his attention to historiography and his cautious handling of narrative sources<sup>30</sup>. Within the literary sphere, his attention turned during the next two decades to the importance of troubadour song, first detecting the connection of troubadours to some of the narratives of the books of lineages<sup>31</sup>, and afterwards associating the production of the *Gesta de Egas Moniz* (feats) to the troubadour João Soares Coelho<sup>32</sup>, calling attention to the need for reconstituting

<sup>26</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal (1096-1325)*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1985 (re-edition in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas*, 12 vols., Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000-2002, vol. 2 and 3).

<sup>27</sup> IDEM, "Os livros de linhagens portuguesas e a literatura genealógica europeia da Idade Média", *Armas e Troféus*, t. 5, Apr.-Jun. (1976), pp. 132-150; IDEM, "As fontes do Nobiliário do Conde D. Pedro", in *A Historiografia Portuguesa antes de Herculano*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1977, pp. 21-66 (both these studies were re-edited more recently in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 7).

<sup>28</sup> PIEL, Joseph, and MATTOSO, José (eds.), *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Nova série*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1980 (vol. 1: *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*, critical edition by Joseph Piel and José Mattoso; vol. 2: *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, critical edition by José Mattoso); MATTOSO, José, *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983 (re-edition in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 5).

<sup>29</sup> IDEM, "A literatura genealógica e a cultura da nobreza em Portugal (s. XIII-XIV)", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval. Novas interpretações*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1985, pp. 309-328 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 8); IDEM, "Sur les sources du comte de Barcelos", in *L'Historiographie Médiévale en Europe. Actes du Colloque*, Paris, CNRS, 1991, pp. 111-116 (re-published in Portuguese translation in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 1, pp. 267-273); IDEM, "A transmissão textual dos livros de linhagens", in FARIA, Isabel Hub (org.), *Lindley Cintra. Homenagem ao homem, ao mestre, ao cidadão*, Lisbon, Cosmos / FL-UL, 1999, pp. 565-584 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 1).

<sup>30</sup> IDEM, "O mosteiro de Santo Tirso e a cultura medieval portuguesa", *Santo Tirso. Boletim cultural concelhio*, vol. 1 (1977), pp. 91-119; IDEM, "A realza de Afonso Henriques", *História & Crítica*, 13 (1986), pp. 5-14 (re-edited more recently in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 6); IDEM, "A morte dos reis na cronística pré-afonsina", *Estudos Medievais*, vol. 10 (1993), pp. 79-96.

<sup>31</sup> IDEM, *Ricos-homens, Infâncias e Cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa dos séculos XI e XII*, Lisbon, Guimarães & C.ª Editores, 1982. With various chapters devoted to cultural issues, seeking to evaluate them in the framework of the evolution of the nobility itself, the author has recourse to different types of texts that he seeks to situate chronologically and in their functionality.

<sup>32</sup> IDEM, "João Soares Coelho e a gesta de Egas Moniz", *Boletim de Filologia*, t. 28 (1983), pp. 99-122 (re-published with alterations in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval...*, and in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 8).

the conditions of the production of the *cantigas*<sup>33</sup>, identifying the composition of the *escárnios* (mocking) with the civil war of 1245-1247<sup>34</sup>, exploring the significance of the laments preserved by the *cancioneiros* or utilising the compositions as a barometer of the sexuality of the courtly milieu<sup>35</sup>. Through the connection of the principal terms of the troubadour language to the feudal lexicon, he located, finally, this cultural manifestation in its natural milieu, questioning the very significance of troubadour love<sup>36</sup>.

Aside from the genealogical and chronographic texts and the troubadour song, José Mattoso's attention also extended to the epic (which he sought to posit as a projection of the expectations of a secondary, vassal-type of nobility, albeit one that frequented the royal circle in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)<sup>37</sup>, to proverbial literature<sup>38</sup>, to Castilian narratives<sup>39</sup> and to approaches reconciling cultural sources of different origin<sup>40</sup>.

Despite the prominence of José Mattoso's work, he was not alone in these incursions into the cultural field. In historiography, in addition to A. de Almeida Fernandes's questioning of the authorship of the *Gesta de Egas Moniz* and some hypotheses advanced on the production of the books of lineages<sup>41</sup>, other researchers

<sup>33</sup> IDEM, "Investigação histórica e interpretação literária de textos medievais", *Ler História*, no. 11 (1987), pp. 5-13 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *A Escrita da História. Teoria e métodos*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1988, and in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 10).

<sup>34</sup> IDEM, "As relações de Portugal com Castela no reinado de Afonso X, o Sábio", in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1987, pp. 73-94 (pp. 80-84 for the background of the *escárnios*. Re-edition in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 6).

<sup>35</sup> IDEM, "O pranto fúnebre na poesia trovadoresca galego-portuguesa", in FINAZZI-AGRÒ, Ettore (dir.), *Per Via. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Giuseppe Tavani*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1997, pp. 205-223 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 4); IDEM, "A sexualidade na Idade Média portuguesa", *Naquele Tempo. Ensaios de história medieval*, in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 1, pp. 15-38.

<sup>36</sup> IDEM, "O léxico feudal", *Penélope*, no. 1 (1988), pp. 11-40 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 1); IDEM, "A difusão da mentalidade vassálica na linguagem quotidiana", in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval...*, pp. 149-163 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 6).

<sup>37</sup> IDEM, "Épica (temas épicos)" and "Gesta de Afonso Henriques", in LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Caminho, 1993, pp. 237-238 and 293-294, respectively, in addition to the aforementioned IDEM, "João Soares Coelho e a gesta de Egas Moniz"...

<sup>38</sup> IDEM, "Refranes que dizem las viejas trás el huego", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 17 (1987), pp. 485-490; IDEM, *O Essencial sobre os Provérbios Medievais Portugueses*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1987 (both re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 6).

<sup>39</sup> IDEM, "Sangue e família no cantar dos infantes de Lara", *Estudos e ensaios em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1988, pp. 207-216 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 1); IDEM, "Sobre o pranto épico castelhano", *Obras Completas...*, vol. 4, pp. 137-147.

<sup>40</sup> In addition to the work IDEM, *Ricos-homens, Infâncias e Cavaleiros...*, already mentioned, one may refer to, as an example, IDEM, "As três faces de Afonso Henriques", *Penélope. Fazer e desfazer a História*, no. 8 (1992), pp. 25-42 (re-edited in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 1), which brings together some annals, an epic text and some family traditions preserved in the books of lineages for the construction of the three royal portraits.

<sup>41</sup> FERNANDES, A. de Almeida, *A História de Lalim. Homenagem de Lalim ao conde D. Pedro*, Lamego, Câmara Municipal de Lamego, 1990.

attempted to elucidate the *Crónica da Conquista do Algarve*<sup>42</sup>, while in one of his last studies Lindley Cintra pursued the transfigurations of the legend of Afonso Henriques beyond the Middle Ages<sup>43</sup> and Joaquim Chorão Lavajo revisited the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis*<sup>44</sup>. Returning to the literary sphere, Mário Martins pursued, in the 1980s, his investigation into different aspects of the courtly romance<sup>45</sup>, a group of texts somewhat forgotten by the historians at a time when the identification of the Portuguese translator of the *Matéria de Bretanha* permitted new advances in the appreciation of these texts<sup>46</sup>. In troubadour song, the inquiry to the *cancioneiros* and editions of the *cantigas* of different troubadours and *jograis* continued. These had been for the most part the domain of Italian philologists, with only episodic contributions by historians, despite the historical importance of some of these incursions<sup>47</sup>.

The bulk of the attention of the historians was then directed towards the fifteenth century, in historiography, with comprehensive works undertaken by Torquato Soares, Veríssimo Serrão, Graça Rodrigues, Armindo de Sousa or Peter Russell<sup>48</sup>, or in studies more focussed on authors or themes. Fernão Lopes continued to attract research, with essays adopting general approaches<sup>49</sup> or plumbing themes

<sup>42</sup> MACHADO, José Pedro, "Crónica da Conquista do Algarve (Texto de 1792)", *Anais do Município de Faro*, no. 8 (1978), pp. 239-274; MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero, "Uma interpretação da Crónica da Conquista do Algarve", in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso Espanholas de História Medieval*, Oporto, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 123-133.

<sup>43</sup> CINTRA, Luís Filipe Lindley, "A lenda de D. Afonso I, rei de Portugal (Origens e evolução)", *Revista ICALP*, nos. 16-17, June-Sept. (1989), pp. 64-78.

<sup>44</sup> LAVAJO, Joaquim Chorão, "A 'Crónica do Mouro Rasis' e a historiografia portuguesa medieval", in *Estudos Orientais. O legado cultural de judeus e mouros*, Lisbon, Instituto Oriental, 1991, pp. 127-154.

<sup>45</sup> MARTINS, Mário, "O ideal de Galaaz no 'Livro de José de Arimateia'", *Estudos Medievais, Porto*, no. 1 (1981), pp. 5-23; IDEM, "Simbologia das vestes sacerdotais no Livro de José de Arimateia", *Didaskalia*, vol. 13 (1983), pp. 303-309.

<sup>46</sup> CASTRO, Ivo, "Sobre a data da introdução na Península Ibérica do ciclo arturiano da Post-Vulgata", *Boletim de Filologia*, t. 28 (1983), pp. 81-98; IDEM, *Livro de José de Arimateia: estudo e edição do cod. ANTT 643*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1984.

<sup>47</sup> It being impossible to give a minimally reliable idea of the production then verified, I refer to the aforementioned bibliographic reports, it being fair to mention the Portuguese contributions of Elsa Gonçalves and of Jorge Alves Osório. In the historiographic milieu one should mention the incursion into the songbooks of LIVERMOORE, Harold, "The formation of the *cancioneiros*", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 25 (1988), pp. 107-147.

<sup>48</sup> SOARES, Torquato de Sousa, "A historiografia portuguesa no século XV: crónicas e cronistas", in *A Historiografia Portuguesa antes de Herculano...*, pp. 67-86; SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo, *Cronistas do século XV posteriores a Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1977; RODRIGUES, Graça Almeida, *Cinco Autores Históricos*, Lisbon, Presença, 1979; SOUSA, Armindo de, "Os cronistas e o imaginário no século XV: breve reflexão sobre a crónica enquanto discurso", *Revista das Ciências Históricas*, vol. 9 (1994), pp. 43-47.

<sup>49</sup> SARAIVA, José Hermano, "A revolução de Fernão Lopes", *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Classe de Letras*, t. 18 (1977), (re-edited in SARAIVA, José Hermano, *Outras Maneiras de Ver*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1979, pp. 5-50; TRINDADE, Maria José Lagos, "Fernão Lopes: historiador", *Estudos de História Medieval e Outros*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1981, pp. 273-283; SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo, "Fernão Lopes: o homem e o historiador à luz do nosso tempo", *Revista Militar*, vol. 4, Abr. (1984), pp. 195-211; RUSSELL, Peter E., "Archivists as Historians: The case of the portuguese fifteenth-century royal chroniclers", in DEYERMOND, Alan (org.), *Historical Literature in Medieval Iberia*, vol. 2, London, Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen



highlighted by the chronicler<sup>50</sup>. Gomes Eanes de Zurara, the second royal chronicler, also attracted attention, in studies centred on his tainted reputation as a historian<sup>51</sup>, with topics taken from his work<sup>52</sup> or with studies of a more general nature<sup>53</sup>. The exploration of other historiographical avenues was residual, as was the case with the studies relating to João Álvares and other authors<sup>54</sup>. Mário Martins bridged the gap between historiography and literature and ventured a synthesis on laughter in the fifteenth century<sup>55</sup>, not overlooking the didactic prose of Avis<sup>56</sup>. The works of the princes of the new dynasty became the subject of perhaps even more varied approaches, drawing on the work of classicists<sup>57</sup>, historians of literature and, above

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Mary and Westfield College, 1996 (also in RUSSEL, Peter E., *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490*, Variorum, 1995).

<sup>50</sup> PASSOS, Maria Lúcia Perrone de Faro, *O Herói na Crónica de D. João I, de Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Prelo, 1974; EADEM, "Lisboa personagem de Fernão Lopes", in *Amar, Sentir e Viver a História. Estudos de homenagem a Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1995, pp. 953 ff.; EADEM, "Lisboa enquanto sistema de organização do espaço nas crónicas de Fernão Lopes", in *Uma Vida em História. Estudos em homenagem a António Borges Coelho*, Lisbon, Caminho / Universidade de Lisboa / Centro de História, 2001, pp. 103-130; REBELO, Luís de Sousa, *A concepção do poder em Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1983; EADEM, "Millénarisme et historiographie dans les chroniques de Fernão Lopes", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 26 (1989), pp. 97-120; MARTINS, Mário, "As comparações bíblicas e litúrgicas em Fernão Lopes", in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval...*, vol. 3, pp. 207-216; IDEM, "O juramento sobre a hóstia em Fernão Lopes e na batalha de Alfarrobeira", *ibid.*, pp. 217-224; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *As estruturas sociais em Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1984; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, "A morte como tema de propaganda política na historiografia e na poesia portuguesa do século XV", *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993), pp. 507-538.

<sup>51</sup> CASTELO BRANCO, Manuel da Silva, "Uma reabilitação histórica", *Boletim de Filologia*, t. 30 (1985), pp. 55-67.

<sup>52</sup> LOUREIRO, Rui Manuel, "A visão do mouro nas crónicas de Zurara", *Mare Liberum*, no. 3 (1991), pp. 193-209.

<sup>53</sup> KING, Larry D., "In the shadow of the master: the present state of Zurara research", in *A Crónica do Conde Dom Duarte de Meneses*, Indiana University, 1976 (doctoral thesis); BARRETO, Luís Filipe, "Gomes Eanes de Zurara e o nascimento do discurso historiográfico de transição", in BARRETO, Luís Filipe, *Descobrimientos e Renascimento: formas de ser e pensar nos sécs. XV e XVI*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983, pp. 63-125; ALBUQUERQUE, Luis de, "Un prince et son chroniqueur", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 23 (1987), pp. 319-332; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "O valor da crónica de Zurara sobre a conquista de Ceuta", *Colectânea de estudos em homenagem ao Prof. Luís de Albuquerque*, Lisbon, Ed. Presença, 1987, pp. 191-202.

<sup>54</sup> MARTINS, Mário, "Frei João Álvares e a literatura dos campos de concentração", in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval...*, vol. 3, pp. 225-229; IDEM, "Pero Lopez de Ayala em Aljubarrota e os seus cantares na prisão em Portugal", *Estudos Medievais*, no. 7 (1986), pp. 107-117; SARAIVA, José Hermano, "A Aljubarrota de Froissart", *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Classe de Letras*, t. 27 (1988), pp. 16-29; RUSSELL, Peter, "Reflexões de Cadamosto acerca do Infante D. Henrique", *Revista das Ciências Históricas*, vol. 9 [Actas do Congresso A Geração de Avis na Historiografia. Sécs. XV-XX] (1994), pp. 61-69.

<sup>55</sup> MARTINS, Mário, *O Riso, o Sorriso e a Parodia na literatura de Quatrocentos*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978.

<sup>56</sup> IDEM, "A amizade e o amor conjugal no Leal Conselheiro", *Didaskalia*, 9 (1979), pp. 269-278 (published in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval...*, vol. 3; IDEM, "Pais e filhos no Leal Conselheiro", *ibid.*, pp. 199-206.

<sup>57</sup> PEREIRA, Maria Helena da Rocha, "Helenismos no 'Livro da Virtuosa Benfeitoria'", *Biblos*, vol. 57 (1981), pp. 313-358; SILVA, Manuel Augusto Naia da, *Temas Comuns no De Beneficiis de Seneca e na Virtuosa benfeitoria do Infante D. Pedro*, 1996, doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL.

all, historians of philosophy<sup>58</sup>. This multi-disciplinarity was later felt at the Prince Pedro conference, which resulted in a set of important reflections on the prince, who, culturally speaking, was one of the outstanding figures of medieval Portugal<sup>59</sup>. From a more philosophical perspective, centred on King Duarte, Prince Pedro and Fernão Lopes, the most recent history of Portuguese philosophy provides a good measure of this area of studies<sup>60</sup>.

3. During the 1980s there appeared a new generation of historians whose vision of the Portuguese Middle Ages was equally marked by the work of José Mattoso, regardless of how close they were to the historian or to his work. In the cultural field, a number of new avenues of research followed and broadened some already well-beaten tracks; others advanced in fresh terrain, at least in historiographical terms, or deepened existing research. Studies in medieval historiography, in the different forms it had assumed (annals, books of lineages, chronicles, accounts of crusades, etc.), saw a great advance, due in part to the consolidation of the lineage territory “constructed” by José Mattoso. Luís Krus stood out, in this regard, with an important set of studies centred on the analysis of the books of lineages<sup>61</sup>, and evolved into his doctoral thesis, which used as its point of departure the interpretation of the toponymic information contained in the books in question<sup>62</sup>. In addition to a model

<sup>58</sup> CAEIRO, Francisco da Gama, “Dom Duarte à luz da cultura portuguesa”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, t. 47 (1991), pp. 407-424; GAMA, José, “Análise das paixões no Leal Conselheiro”, *ibid.*, pp. 387-405; IDEM, *A Filosofia da Cultura Portuguesa no Leal Conselheiro de D. Duarte*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1995; PACHECO, Maria Cândida Monteiro, “Para uma antropologia situada: o Leal Conselheiro”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, t. 47 (1991), pp. 425-441.

<sup>59</sup> *Biblos*, vol. 69 [Actas do Congresso Comemorativo do 6º Centenário do Infante D. Pedro] (1993). Those who examined the cultural work of the Prince have been Jorge A. Osório, Sebastião Tavares de Pinho, João Abel de Fonseca, Pedro Calafate, Aires A. Nascimento, Nair de Castro Soares, Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, Luís de Sousa Rebelo, F. da Gama Caeiro, Amândio Coxito and Aida Dias. For a more general perspective, Luís Adão da Fonseca centred himself on “A morte como tema de propaganda política na historiografia e na poesia portuguesa do século XV”, an aforementioned study (see footnote 50). The same historian sought to present some aspects of the cultural patronage of the Avis dynasty in FONSECA, Luís Adão, “Política e cultura nas relações luso-castelhanas no século XV”, *Península. Revista de Estudos Ibéricos*, no. 0 (2003), pp. 53-61, having equally edited the production of the *Condestável Pedro* in IDEM (ed.), *Obras Completas do Condestável Dom Pedro de Portugal*, Lisbon, FCG, 1975.

<sup>60</sup> CALAFATE, Pedro (dir.), *História do Pensamento Filosófico Português I. Idade Média*, Lisbon, Caminho, 1999.

<sup>61</sup> KRUS, Luís, “A morte das fadas: a lenda genealógica da Dama do Pé de Cabra”, *Ler História*, no. 6 (1985), pp. 3-34; IDEM, “O tema das origens da nobreza portugalense no relato fundacional da linhagem dos senhores da Maia (finais do século XIII)”, in BETHENCOURT, Francisco, CURTO, Diogo Ramada (orgs.), *A Memória da Nação*, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1991, pp. 71-79; IDEM, “As origens lendárias dos condes de Trastâmara”, *Penélope*, no. 8 (1992), pp. 43-49 (all re-edited in KRUS, Luís, *Passado, Memória e Poder na Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Estudos*, Redondo, Patrimonia Historica, 1994); SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos, and KRUS, Luís, “A construção do passado de uma nobreza de serviço: as origens dos Pimentéis”, in *Colóquio Utopia. Mitos e Formas*, Lisbon, FCG, 1993, pp. 101-114.

<sup>62</sup> KRUS, Luís, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica do Espaço Ibérico. Geografia dos livros de linhagens medievais portugueses (1280-1380)*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1994.

inventory of medieval Portuguese historiography<sup>63</sup> and the supervision of works on the books of lineages<sup>64</sup>, he also directed his attention, in one of his last works, to the study of the annals<sup>65</sup>, and one is left to wonder whether he meant to pursue that line of research. He was accompanied, in Lisbon, by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, an author for whom medieval historiography also deserved some attention, directed towards different works and themes<sup>66</sup>.

In addition to the books of lineages, Fernão Lopes and, in part, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, continued to attract an attention that went beyond the historiographical community. Studies by João Gouveia Monteiro<sup>67</sup>, Margarida Ventura<sup>68</sup>, Maria da Conceição Camps<sup>69</sup> and Rui Martins<sup>70</sup> deserve attention (the first rehearsing a global approach and the others exploring more circumspect themes of the Lopesian work), together with those by Maria Teresa da Silva and Rita Costa Gomes on Zurara<sup>71</sup>. If,

<sup>63</sup> IDEM, "Historiografia 1. Época medieval", LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário de Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa...*, pp. 312-315.

<sup>64</sup> PICOITO, Pedro, *As Musas e a Memória. História, conflito e legitimação política nos livros de linhagens*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1997; IDEM, "O sonho de Jacob: sacralidade e legitimação política nos livros de linhagens", *Lusitânia Sacra*, t. 10 (1998), pp. 123-148.

<sup>65</sup> KRUS, Luís, "A produção do passado nas comunidades letradas do Entre Minho e Mondego nos séculos XI e XII – as origens da analítica portuguesa", in *História Cultural e das Mentalidades Medievais (Lição síntese)*, Lisbon, 1998 (summary submitted for his "Agregação" exam).

<sup>66</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, "O sangue a cruz e a Coroa: a memória do Salado em Portugal", *Penélope*, no. 2 (1989), pp. 27-48; IDEM, "Vencer ou morrer. A batalha do Salado", in BETHENCOURT, Francisco; CURTO, Diogo Ramada (orgs.), *A Memória da Nação...*, pp. 505-514; IDEM, "A imagem do mouro nos 'Anais de D. Afonso Henriques'", in *Colóquio Internacional sobre A Imagem do Mundo na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Ministério da Educação / Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1992, pp. 203-211; IDEM, "D. Afonso Henriques nas primeiras crónicas portuguesas", in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso*, 7 vols., Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães / Universidade do Minho, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 23-31; IDEM, "As ordens militares no nobiliários medievais portugueses", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na Construção do Mundo Ocidental. Actas do IV Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Palmela / Edições Colibri, 2005, pp. 623-630; IDEM, "A construção da memória sobre a batalha do Salado em Portugal", in GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, Manuel, and ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel Montes (eds.), *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico. Siglos XIII-XV. Cádiz, 1-4 de Abril de 2003*, Seville-Cádiz, pp. 341-350; IDEM, "Medieval Portuguese royal chronicles. Topics in a discourse of identity and power", *e-journal of portuguese history*, vol. 5, no. 2, winter (2007), pp. 1-7.

<sup>67</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Fernão Lopes. Texto e contexto*, Coimbra, Livraria Minerva, 1988; IDEM, "Fernão Lopes e os cronistas coevos: o caso da 'Crónica do Condestabre'", *Revista de História das Ideias*, no. 11 (1989), pp. 37-61.

<sup>68</sup> VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, *O Messias de Lisboa. Um estudo de mitologia política (1383-1415)*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1992.

<sup>69</sup> CAMPS, Maria da Conceição, *A presença do Policraticus de João de Salisbúria na crónica de D. João I de Fernão Lopes. Perspectiva jurídico-política*, master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2003, (partially published in *Mediævalia. Textos e documentos*, no. 22 (2003), pp. 121-156).

<sup>70</sup> MARTINS, Rui Cunha, *A Fronteira Antes da Sua Metáfora. Cinco teses sobre a fronteira hispano-portuguesa no século XV*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2000. The chapters 11 and 12 of this work, "O Portugal refundado da cronística", relating to Fernão Lopes and Zurara, were re-edited in MARTINS, Rui Cunha, *O Método da Fronteira*, Coimbra, Edições Almedina, 2008. One may also refer to the enquiries on the image of Leonor Teles projected by Fernão Lopes in DUARTE, Manuel Marques, *Leonor Teles*, Oporto, Campo das Letras, 2002.

<sup>71</sup> SILVA, Maria Teresa B. Lino da, *Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses de Gomes Eanes de Zurara*.

in relation to works such as the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis*<sup>72</sup>, the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*<sup>73</sup> or the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*<sup>74</sup>, the interest of historical investigation was somewhat ancillary, the same was not true with regard to the treatment of themes or personages in diachronic perspective, explored wholly or in part through the medieval chronicles<sup>75</sup>. Alongside these multifaceted contributions one should also mention those undertaken on some of the chronicles of the Reconquest<sup>76</sup> and in

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*Edição e estudo*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1997; GOMES, Rita Costa, “Zurara and the empire: reconsidering fifteenth-century portuguese historiography”, *Storia della Storiografia - Histoire de l’Historiographie - History of Historiography*, 47 (2005), pp. 56-89; EADEM, “Zurara, Gomes Eanes de”, in LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa...*, pp. 687-690.

<sup>72</sup> REI, António, “O Livro de Rasis e a memória da casa senhorial dos Aboim-Portel”, *Callipole - Revista Municipal de Cultura*, no. 13 (2005), pp. 17-29; IDEM, “O redactor do Livro de Rasis ou Crónica do Mouro Rasis: subsídios para a sua identificação”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade na Idade Média: Actas das VI Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de Estudos Medievais*, Campo Militar de S. Jorge (CIBA) / Porto de Mós / Alcobça / Batalha, SPEM, vol. 2, pp. 269-276

<sup>73</sup> COELHO, Filomena Lopes, “O espaço e a história: cartografia dos topónimos da Crónica de 1419”, *Estudos Medievais*, 5-6, pp. 91-128; BRANCO, António, “O lugar do mestre Paio Correia na história - I. A Crónica de 1419 e a Crónica da Conquista do Algarve”, in LUCÍA MEGÍAS, José Manuel (dir.), *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Alcalá de Henares, University of Alcalá, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 357-364.

<sup>74</sup> FOURNIER, António, *A primeira parte da Crónica Geral de 1344: o texto e a sua construção*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1995; IDEM, “Bamba: a construção de uma exemplaridade - a propósito da figura do refundidor da Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344”, in BRANCO, António (coord.), *Figura. Actas do II Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Faro, Universidade do Algarve, 2001, pp. 133-169.

<sup>75</sup> PEREIRA, Armando de Sousa, “A conquista de Santarém na tradição historiográfica portuguesa”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 5, pp. 297-323; OLIVEIRA, Ana Maria Rodrigues, “Mulheres e fronteira na cronística medieval dionisina”, in *As Relações de Fronteira no Século de Alcanices, Actas das IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Oporto, 1998, vol. 2, pp. 1581-1594; EADEM, *As Representações da Mulher na Cronística Medieval Portuguesa (sécs. XII a XIV)*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000; EADEM, “A imagem da mulher nas crónicas medievais”, *Faces de Eva*, no. 5 (2001), pp. 131-147; SILVÉRIO, Carla Serapicos, *Representações da realeza na cronística medieval portuguesa. A dinastia de Borgonha*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / FCSH-UNL, 2004; REI, António, *O Louvor da Hispânia na Cultura Letrada Peninsular Medieval. Das suas origens discursivas ao apartado geográfico da Crónica de 1344*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2007; OLIVEIRA, António Resende, “As vidas de D. Pedro e de D. Inês de Castro na historiografia medieval portuguesa”, in FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário Ferreira, LARANJINHA, Ana Sofia, and MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro (orgs.), *Seminário Medieval. 2007-2008*, Oporto, Estratégias Criativas, 2009, pp. 113-125; BRANCO, Maria João, and DIAS, Isabel Barros, “Metamorfoses de Urraca de Castela-Leão e de Teresa de Portugal: construção e desconstrução das imagens de duas rainhas”, in LÓPEZ CASTRO, A., and CUESTA TORRE, L. (eds.), *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Leon, University of Leon, 2007, pp. 335-347; FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário, “Urraca e Teresa: o paradigma perdido”, *Guarecer* [online], Aug. (2010), accessible at: [www.seminariomedieval.com](http://www.seminariomedieval.com)

<sup>76</sup> MENDES, J., “Crónica da tomada de Lisboa aos mouros e da fundação do mosteiro de S. Vicente”, in LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs. and coords.), *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa...*, pp. 177-179; BRANCO, Maria João, “A conquista de Lisboa revisitada: estratégias de ocupação do espaço político, físico e simbólico”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 2, pp. 119-137; EADEM, “A conquista de Lisboa na estratégia de um poder que se consolida”, introduction to NASCIMENTO, Aires A. (ed.), *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros. Relato de um Cruzado*, Lisbon, Vega, 2001, pp. 9-51; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, “Memória cruzadística do feito da tomada de Alcácer (1217)”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães...*, vol. 2, pp. 319-357; RAMOS, Manuel Francisco, *Memoria de victoria christianorum, Salado-1340*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1996; IDEM, “A Memoria

the annalistic literature<sup>77</sup>, or others that include historiographical discourse as one of the elements of an approach that does not dispense, in broaching their proposed theme, a wider range of sources<sup>78</sup>.

More recently, a group of researchers from the literary field but very attentive to historical production, meeting at the “Seminário Medieval de Literatura, Pensamento e Sociedade (SMELPS)”, sought to continue the work of Lindley Cintra and of Diego Catalán with which we began this inventory, with reference to the emergence of Portuguese medieval historiography. Focussing on the final decades of the thirteenth century and on the early fourteenth century, in the period prior to Count Pedro, but not neglecting the work of this illegitimate son of King Dinis, they advanced new hypotheses on the genesis of the Portuguese chronicles, situating them as early as the reign of King Afonso III<sup>79</sup>. Re-evaluating the presence and impact of the *Liber Regum* in Portugal<sup>80</sup>, they sought to contextualise the Galician-Portuguese translation of the *Crónica de Castela*<sup>81</sup>, exploring major themes and figures of these first chronicles<sup>82</sup>. Being integrated into the international network of

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In sancta et admirabili Victoria Christianorum como fonte da Chronica d'el Rei D. Affonso IV”, in RIBEIRO, Cristina Almeida, and MADUREIRA, Margarida (coords.), *O Género do Texto Medieval*, Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1997, pp. 157-172; FOURNIER, António, “A ‘Crónica da Fundação do Mosteiro de S. Vicente’: memória e ideologia”, *ibid.*, pp. 173-188; DIAS, Isabel, “De como o mosteiro de S. Vicente foi refundado”, *ibid.*, pp. 139-144.

<sup>77</sup> In addition to the aforementioned studies by Luís Krus and Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, VIANA, Mário, “A memória regional na analística portuguesa dos séculos XI e XII”, *Estudos Medievais*, 10 (1993), pp. 59-77; ANTUNES, José, “O príncipe ideal cristão nos Annales Domni Alfonsi Portugallensium Regis (1185)”, *Humanitas*, t. 50 (1998), pp. 437-440; SILVÉRIO, Carla Alexandra Serapicos de Brito, “A imagem da realeza na analística medieval portuguesa dos séculos XI e XII”, *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 3, pp. 33-40; PEREIRA, Armando de Sousa, “Motivos bíblicos na historiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra dos finais do século XII”, *Lusitânia Sacra*, tomes 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 315-336; GOUVEIA, Mário, *O limiar da tradição no moçarabismo conimbricense: os ‘Anais de Lorvão’ e a memória monástica do território de fronteira (séc. IX-XII)*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2008. See the presentation of the dissertation by the author in *Medievalista* [online], no. 8 (July 2010), accessible at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista)

<sup>78</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “O corpo do chefe guerreiro, as chagas de Cristo e a quebra dos escudos: caminhos da mitificação de Afonso Henriques na Baixa Idade Média”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso...*, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 85-123; PEREIRA, Armando de Sousa, *Representações da Guerra, no Portugal da Reconquista (séculos XI-XIII)*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2003; GAMEIRO, Odília Filomena Alves, *A Construção das Memórias Nobiliárquicas Medievais. O passado da linhagem dos senhores de Sousa*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 2000; FONTES, João Luís Inglês, *Percursos e Memória: Do infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000.

<sup>79</sup> MOREIRA, Filipe Alves, *Afonso Henriques e a Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, Oporto, Estratégias Criativas, 2008. This proposal motivated the essays of José Mattoso and José Carlos Miranda on the same chronicle, published in *Medievalista* [online], no. 6 (2009), accessible at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista)

<sup>80</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro, “Do Liber Regum ao Livro Velho de Linhagens”, *Guarecer* [online], Dec. (2009), accessible at: [www.seminariomedieval.com](http://www.seminariomedieval.com); IDEM, “Do Liber regum em Portugal antes de 1340”, *e-Spania* [online] no. 9 (2010), available at: <http://e-spania.revues.org>; FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário, “O Liber Regum e a representação aristocrática da Espanha na obra do conde D. Pedro de Barcelos”, *ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro, “A introdução à versão galego-portuguesa da Crónica de Castela (A2a): Fontes e estratégias”, in FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário Ferreira, LARANJINHA, Ana Sofia, and MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro (orgs.), *Seminário Medieval...*, pp. 61-97.

<sup>82</sup> MOREIRA, Filipe Alves, “*‘E des ally foi pera mal’: o lugar de Sancho II na cronística medieval*

the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) “Approche Interdisciplinaire des Logiques du Pouvoir dans les Sociétés Ibériques Médiévales” (AILP, formerly the Séminaire Interdisciplinaire de Recherches sur l’Espagne Médiévale – SIREM), one of the leading centres for the study of medieval Iberian historiography<sup>83</sup>, it is hoped that this attempt to clarify the origins of the Portuguese chronicles will be maintained<sup>84</sup>.

Finally, in literary matters the contribution of historians is unevenly distributed throughout the study of troubadour songs, the courtly novel, the epic or the brief narratives of the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*. The main novelty, in this respect, was probably the emphasis on historical setting of the Galician-Portuguese troubadour song. The importance of this cultural manifestation was recognised by José Mattoso, who, as we have seen, explored it from 1982 onwards in various essays on the nobility and their culture. In turn, Luis Krus’s research endeavours had started out as part of a collective study that explored the satirical theme of the “sodomites and cuckolds”, revisiting the *cantigas* of *escárnio e maldizer* to unveil the image of the cities reflected in them<sup>85</sup>, whilst Amélia Andrade detected the presence of the Church and the clerical milieu in these satirical songs or poems<sup>86</sup>. I myself was dealt a lengthier task: to study the *cancioneiros*. That task, that proceeded throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, was at the origin of my doctoral thesis and to some studies centred on the organisation of the songbooks<sup>87</sup>. In parallel, as a result

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*portuguesa*”, *Guarecer* [online], accessible at: <http://www.seminariomedieval.com>; IDEM, “Um novo fragmento da Crónica Portuguesa de Espanha e Portugal de 1341-1342 e suas relações com a historiografia alfonsina”, *Guarecer* [online], jun. (2009); IDEM, “A primeira redacção da Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344, fonte da Crónica de 1419?”, in FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário Ferreira, LARANJINHA, Ana Sofia, and MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro (orgs.), *Seminário Medieval...*, pp. 99-111; FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário, “La Mère d’Adam: Femmes et pouvoir dans l’historiographie hispanique médiévale”, *ibid.*, pp. 13-26; GOMES, Rita Braga, “Léxico feudo-vassálico nos primeiros relatos do reinado de D. Dinis”, *ibid.*, pp. 27-40; EADEM, “Exemplum na cronística portuguesa: reinado de D. Dinis”, in *Medievalismo en Extremadura. Estudios sobre Literatura e Cultura Hispánicas de la Edad Media*, Cáceres, University of Extremadura, 2009, pp. 445-448.

<sup>83</sup> For a recent situation report on the studies of medieval peninsular historiography, see WARD, Aengus, “Past, present and future in the latin and romance historiography of the medieval christian kingdoms of Spain”, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, Jun. (2009), pp. 147-162.

<sup>84</sup> One volume that pays homage to Diego Catalán has just been published with studies by José Carlos Ribeiro Miranda, Filipe Alves Moreira and Maria do Rosário Ferreira, being FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário (coord.), *O Contexto Hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa dos Séculos XIII e XIV. Em memória de Diego Catalán*, Coimbra, IUC, 2010.

<sup>85</sup> PIMENTA, Berta Martinha C., PARNES, Leonardo, and KRUS, Luís, “Dois aspectos da sátira nos *cancioneiros* galaico-portugueses: ‘Sodomíticos’ e ‘Cornudos’”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [Lisbon], no. 2 (1978), pp. 113-128; KRUS, Luís, “A cidade no discurso cultural nobiliárquico: sécs. XIII e XIV”, in TAVARES, Maria José Ferro (coord.), *A Cidade. Jornadas inter e pluridisciplinares*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 381-393.

<sup>86</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and MAGALHÃES, Olga, “A igreja e os seus membros nas *cantigas* de *escárnio* e *mal dizer* dos *cancioneiros* medievais galaico-portugueses”, *Estudos Medievais*, no. 1 (1981), 39-58.

<sup>87</sup> OLIVEIRA, A. Resende de, “Do *Cancioneiro* da Ajuda ao ‘*Livro das Cantigas*’ do Conde D. Pedro: análise do acrescento à secção das *cantigas* de amigo de w”, *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 10 (1988), pp. 691-751; IDEM, *Depois do Espectáculo Trovadoresco. A estrutura dos *cancioneiros* peninsulares e as recolhas*

of the biographical enquiries on troubadours that accompanied the investigation of the songbooks, some fragments on the history of the troubadour milieu were being published, throwing light on different moments of the troubadour trajectory in the Western Peninsula<sup>88</sup>, realising the profile and functions of the different cultural agents<sup>89</sup>, analysing the production of some courts<sup>90</sup>, reinterpreting satirical compositions or cycles<sup>91</sup> or venturing into more general syntheses<sup>92</sup>.

Clarifications on the definition of different troubadour generations inspired studies by other researchers who sought to combine the new information with internal analysis of the compositions or used them to interpret the *cantigas* themselves. An highlight was the work of Ângela Correia on a love song addressed by João Soares to an alleged maid<sup>93</sup> together with that of José Carlos Miranda on the second troubadour generation with accompanying essays, refreshing our understanding of the genetic phase of Galician-Portuguese troubadour production<sup>94</sup>.

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*dos séculos XIII e XIV*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1994; IDEM, "Investigação histórica e compilações trovadorescas", in *Literatura Medieval. Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Lisbon, Ed. Cosmos, vol. 2, pp. 169-173.

<sup>88</sup> A part of these studies was published in IDEM, *O Trovador Galego-Português e o seu Mundo*, Lisbon, Editorial Notícias, 2001, for which reason I will dispense with their details. Some of the main problems of the galician-portuguese troubadour song were examined in IDEM, "A Galiza e a cultura trovadoresca peninsular", *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 11 (1989), pp. 7-36.

<sup>89</sup> In addition to the just mentioned study on Galicia, see, on the *jogral* (minstrel), IDEM, *Aventures i Desventures del Joglar Gallegoportuguès*, Barcelona, Columna, 2001.

<sup>90</sup> IDEM, "Distracções e cultura", in VENTURA, Leontina, D. *Afonso III*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2006, pp. 223-262; IDEM, "Na casa de Afonso X. O rei, a corte e os trovadores (abordagem preliminar)", *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 31 (2010), pp. 53-76.

<sup>91</sup> IDEM, "Rui Garcia de Paiva no escárnio galego-português", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. 36, t. 1 (2002-2003), pp. 285-295; VENTURA, Leontina, and OLIVEIRA, A. Resende de, "Os Briteiros (séculos XII-XIV) 4. Produção trovadoresca", in *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, FL-UP / Livraria Civilização, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 763-777.

<sup>92</sup> OLIVEIRA, A. Resende de, "Trovadores e Xograes. Contexto histórico", Vigo, Xerais, 1995.

<sup>93</sup> CORREIA, Ângela, "O outro nome da ama. Uma polémica suscitada pelo trovador Joam Soares Coelho", *Colóquio/Letras*, no. 142, Oct.-Dec. (1996), pp. 51-64; EADEM, "O enquadramento histórico das cantigas à 'ama' do trovador Joam Soares Coelho", "And gladly wolde (s)he lerne and gjadly teche", in *Homenagem a Júlia Dias Ferreira*, Lisbon, Departamento de Estudos Anglísticos / FL-UL / Edições Colibri, 2006, pp. 111-120.

<sup>94</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro, "Aurs Mesclatz ab Argen. Sobre a primeira geração de trovadores galego-portugueses", Oporto, Edições Guarecer, 2004; IDEM, *Calheiros, Sandim e Bonaval: uma rapsódia 'de amigo'*, Oporto, author's edition, 1994; IDEM, "Garcia Mendes d'Eixo e as duas faces de Janus", in MARINHO, Fátima, and TOPA, Francisco (coords.), *Literatura e História. Actas do Colóquio Internacional realizado na Faculdade de Letras do Porto de 13 a 15 de Novembro de 2003*, Oporto, Departamento de Estudos Portugueses e de Estudos Românicos da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 41-48; IDEM, "João Soares de Paiva: perfil histórico do primeiro trovador em galego-português", in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 5, pp. 5-16; IDEM, "João Soares de Paiva e o rei de Navarra: para a leitura do cantar Ora faz ost'ô senhor de Navarra", in *O Sentido que a Vida Faz. Estudos para Óscar Lopes*, Oporto, Campo das Letras, 1997, pp. 321-329; IDEM, "Le surgissement de la culture troubadouresque dans l'occident de la Péninsule Ibérique: les genres, les thèmes et les formes", in *Le Rayonnement des Troubadours. Actes du Colloque de l'Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1998, pp. 97-105; IDEM, "Osoir' Anes, a mulher-que-canta e as tradições familiares dos Marinheiros", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Línguas e literaturas*, 2nd ser., vol. 20, t. 1 (2003), pp. 117-129; MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, "A segunda geração de trovadores galego-portugueses: temas, formas e

Owing perhaps to the fragmentary nature of the texts that have survived and the difficulties raised by their study, the efforts by António José Saraiva and Lindley Cintra to establish a medieval Portuguese epics did not in the end originate any in-depth studies on the subject – which nevertheless still found a few adherents – of the alleged feats of Afonso Henriques or Egas Moniz<sup>95</sup>, and of the presence of the Carolingian *gesta* in the territory<sup>96</sup>. Because of its wider scope and of the methodological issues it raises, and notwithstanding the fact that it comes from outside the historiographical circles, mention should also be made of Rosário Ferreira's doctoral thesis<sup>97</sup>, which is based on the Castilian legend of the *Sete Infantes*<sup>98</sup> but proceeds to cover the historiographical works of King Afonso X and Count Pedro. Also from the literature side have appeared in-depth studies on the courtly novel<sup>99</sup>, which has not prevented participation by historians in exploring different motives behind the group of texts that gave body to this chivalric fiction<sup>100</sup>. Something similar happened with the literature of Avis, dominated, as we have seen, by philosophical studies and by the greater visibility of Prince Pedro, whose work was re-evaluated on the sixth centenary of his birth.

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realidades”, in *Medioevo y Literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1995, vol. 3, pp. 499-512.

<sup>95</sup> BARRADAS, Aurélio Paulo, and NABAIS, Fernando, “A Gesta de D. Afonso Henriques. Épica e ética”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso...*, vol. 3, pp. 57-80; PICOITO, Pedro, “Espaço e poder na épica medieval portuguesa”, *Colóquio/Letras*, no. 142, Oct.-Dec. (1996), pp. 65-81 (re-edited in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães...*, vol. 5, 1997, pp. 19-37; NEVES, Maria Leonor Curado, “Uma poesia épica portuguesa?”, in *Historia da Literatura Portuguesa 1. Das origens ao Cancioneiro Geral*, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 2001, pp. 163-188; on Egas Moniz see the aforementioned essay by MATTOSO, José, “João Soares Coelho e a gesta de Egas Moniz”...

<sup>96</sup> See the studies of Mário Martins brought together in MARTINS, Mário, *Estudos de Cultura Medieval...*, vol. 3, pp. 357 ff.

<sup>97</sup> SANTOS, Maria do Rosário Prata Ferreira dos Santos, *A Lenda dos Sete Infantes. Arqueologia de um destino épico medieval*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2005. For a recent inventory of the Peninsular epic, with allusions to the Portuguese case, see CATALÁN, Diego, *La Épica Española. Nueva documentación y nueva evaluación*, Madrid, Fundación Ramon Menéndez Pidal, 2000.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. MATTOSO, José, “Sangue e família no cantar dos infantes de Lara”, in *Estudos e ensaios em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, pp. 207-216 (re-published in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 1).

<sup>99</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro, *A Demanda do Santo Graal e o Ciclo Arturiano da Vulgata*, Oporto, Granito Editores, 1999; IDEM, *Galaaz e a Ideologia da Linhagem*, Oporto, Granito Editores, 1999; IDEM, “Realeza e cavalaria no Livro de José de Arimateia, versão portuguesa da Estoire du Saint Graal”, in *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1993, pp. 157-161; IDEM, *Conto de Perom, o Melhor Cavaleiro do Mundo. Texto e comentário de uma narrativa do Livro de José de Arimateia, versão portuguesa da Estoire del Saint Graal*, Oporto, Casa do Livro, 1994 (2nd ed., 1998); IDEM, “Como o rei Artur e os cavaleiros da sua corte demandaram o reino de Portugal”, *Colóquio/Letras*, no. 142 (1996), pp. 83-102; FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário, “A sombra de Tristão: do potencial estruturante da matéria de Bretanha na mundivisão aristocrática do Portugal medieval”, in NEVES, Leonor Curado, MADUREIRA, Margarida, and AMADO, Teresa, *Matéria de Bretanha em Portugal*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2001, pp. 159-175.

<sup>100</sup> SILVÉRIO, Carla Alexandra Serapicos de Brito, “As imagens do corpo e as representações da sociedade medieval n’A Demanda do Santo Graal”, *ibid.*, pp. 227-240; CHAMBEL, Pedro, “Reflexões sobre ‘A demanda espiritual de Lancelote’ n’A Demanda do Santo Graal”, *Ibid.*, pp. 267-276; IDEM, *A Simbologia dos Animais n’A Demanda do Santo Graal*, Cascais, Patrimonia historica, 2000.



When we take stock of the work of recent generations of historians in the areas under analysis, it is possible to detect two distinct periods. During the first period, which may be said to have lasted until the 1980s, the themes under discussion had a secondary, even minimal, role in a historiography in which approaches of a political or institutional character still prevailed and notwithstanding its beckoning, towards the end, to economic history, a move that was confirmed by the advent, in 1978, of the *Revista de História Económica e Social*. The main studies in historiography and literature emanated from philologists and literary historians, whether at the levels of research or synthesis, counterbalanced, for the fifteenth century, by essays centred at times on the literature of Avis, or on the problems of the fifteenth century chronicles or more general inventories of Portuguese historiography. Above all hovered a tireless Mário Martins, with a large investigation on monastic literature, but rebelling against the thematic cantonments.

In 1966, José Mattoso presented his doctoral thesis<sup>101</sup> in Louvain. But it would be the weight of the noble presence in the monastic environment that would lead him to the study of the nobility and its cultural world, editing such fundamental texts as the books of lineages, seeking to identify their narratives and using these and other literary texts to understand the tensions that ran through the noble milieu of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of his followers sought to deepen the lines of investigation now opened, principally the genealogical literature and troubadour song, reinforcing the importance of the nobility, whether in the evolution of the historiography, or in *trovadorismo*. The diffusion of master degree courses in the universities opened up different approaches based on a wider range of literary texts and narratives, in which the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Nova University of Lisbon was prominent. More recently, in a sort of return to the historico-philological studies of Diego Catalán, and under the orientation of José Carlos Ribeiro Miranda, a nucleus of the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Oporto has refreshed the knowledge of our first chronicles and of the penetration of epic and courtly romance in Portugal.

The impulse of recent decades, in addition to the discovery of new narratives or fragments of narratives<sup>102</sup>, has doubtless contributed to clarifying the importance of

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<sup>101</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Le Monachisme Ibérique et Cluny. Les abbayes du diocèse de Porto de l'an mil à 1200*, Louvain, Publications Universitaires, 1968 (translation: *O Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*, in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 12).

<sup>102</sup> Deserving to be followed with attention, for the possibilities it offers for the discovery of new fragments of literary or historiographical texts, the head office of FRAGMED project is in the Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura at the University of Coimbra. Cf. GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro, "Do fragmento ao saber: o projecto FRAGMED-Corpus Portugaliae Fragmentorum", *Forma Breve*, no. 4 (2006), pp. 65-79.

a set of texts about which had lingered multiple doubts. This was one of the greater consequences of the new perception of the medieval world brought about mainly by the work of José Mattoso. With the way open to contextualise literary and narrative texts of the first centuries of Portuguese history within the politico-cultural capacity of the different institutions of the medieval society, in particular, for the texts under analysis of seignorial courts, the latest generation of medievalists could re-evaluate the production of those texts, integrating them into the strategies of affirmation of the different lineages faced with the threat of royal centralisation.

On the historiography side, from the editions to the scholarly studies, the books of lineages seem to have drawn greater attention. There still remain, however, a few less trodden areas, such as the annals, which in any event require new editions before fresh advances may be made in their study. From such an important work as the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, moreover, we do not have available an edition of the version that figures closest to that of the Count of Barcelos, a necessary condition to be able to safely evaluate the objectives pursued by the illegitimate son of King Dinis. From the fifteenth century chroniclers, who are varyingly explored, in addition to other problems, doubts remain as to the authorship of the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* or, for those who attribute it to Fernão Lopes, on the degree of intervention of later chroniclers in the texts that have been handed down to us<sup>103</sup>.

The attention devoted to the literary field has been equally heterogeneous, focussing primarily on approaches to troubadour song. Without having resolved all the problems of this cultural manifestation, unthinkable in an interdisciplinary arena where multiple types of knowledge are summoned, the historiographical contribution has allowed to place the knowledge of the theme on a new level, capable of inspiring further progress. Advances have been made in the perception of the internal organisation of the existing songbooks and, as a consequence, in new projections about the songbooks that accompanied the troubadour production; in the definition of a history for the compositions of troubadours and *jograis* (in connection with the clarification on the courts frequented by them and with the evolution of the different types of compositions); in the interpretation of the satirical texts; in the knowledge of the different cultural agents, at last, a theme thrown into some confusion by the presence in the Peninsula of the *segrel*, an enigmatic court poet.

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<sup>103</sup> The doctoral thesis of Filipe Alves Moreira that will be available by the time of the publication of this work, will examine this chronicle. A recent inventory of the studies relating to Portuguese historiographical texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was made by FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário, "Historiografia medieval em Portugal: velhos textos, novos caminhos", in FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário (coord.), *O Contexto Hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa dos Séculos XIII e XIV*, Coimbra, IUC, 2010, pp. 7-18.

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# *The Medieval Portuguese Nobility*

*José Mattoso*<sup>1</sup>

Portuguese social history was thin on the ground, or virtually non-existent, until the 1980s. The forays of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and of Marxist authors, whose stances were based on examination of the social structures, took an economic history approach in the case of the former, and in the latter adopted the concept of class struggle boiled down to its most elemental form and applied almost slavishly (Álvaro Cunhal, Borges Coelho, Armando Castro). Even the innovative and well-informed work by A. H. Oliveira Marques entitled *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa* (1964) should, despite its title, be filed under a history of daily life, as its subtitle accentuates. In fact, the inspiration for the materials it deals with does not lie in sociology *per se*. It does not examine how society is divided into classes, nor does it look at the characteristics and functioning of each class and how they interrelate. It does not analyse the relationship between society and politics and its offshoot legal concepts. It disregards how the social system successively adapted to the changes brought about by new periods. Before the 1970s, Portuguese medievalists reduced the study of society to *social institutions*, and the meaning they were given by authors like Gama Barros or Paulo Merêa, heavily influenced by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz. In other words, they included the history of society in legal history. This was the viewpoint behind the most widely consulted synthesis of

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<sup>1</sup> With the collaboration of Leontina Ventura, José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro and Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa.

the time, by L. García de Valdeavellano<sup>2</sup>. Traditional ideas and the political regime's ideology, which considered any attempt to interpret the influence of the economy on the way society was structured as "materialism", and anything suggesting there had been something akin to "class struggle" in Portugal as "communism", bound the historiography into the tightest of straitjackets.

## 1. The first steps

The change can be dated very precisely to 1981, when a collection of articles by José Mattoso was published, entitled *A Nobreza medieval portuguesa. A família e o poder*. These re-published articles, which had been written since 1968, were prefaced by a text presenting a full programme of future research on the topic. This represented a historiographical sea change. It consisted, more specifically, of adopting an interpretative scheme for historical phenomena based on concepts from sociology. The "nobility" was seen as a social class, confronted by the other social classes and by political and religious powers. This "programme" pointed out the best sources for studying the nobility, the methods to be pursued in future research and the empirical data to observe in the available documentation in order to identify the essential lines of the adopted social system, in particular to gauge the material and ideological bases of the social and political power exercised by the noble class, and to reconstitute the mechanisms created for its biological and social reproduction. The same programme provided a rudimentary synthesis the overall evolution of the Portuguese nobility, characterising the different periods that can be observed between the eleventh century and the end of the fourteenth century.

The work was followed a year later by the published synthesis *Ricos-homens, infanções e cavaleiros* that, despite lacking a scholarly apparatus, presented an entirely new overview of how the nobility was structured and operated, the categories it comprised, its prerogatives, its composition, its relationship to the crown and how it developed over the same period<sup>3</sup>. The same author published his well-known work *Identificação de um País* in 1985, in which social history – not only of the nobility but also of the other classes in Portuguese society – was one of the two areas of social and human sciences where could be found the most important conceptual contributions for an overall interpretation of the first period of Portugal's history. The other area of the human sciences that provided the basis

<sup>2</sup> GARCÍA DE VALDEAVELLANO, Luis, *Curso de Historia de las Instituciones españolas. De los orígenes al final de la Edad Media*, 2nd ed., Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1970 (1st ed. 1968).

<sup>3</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Ricos-homens, infanções e cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa*, Lisbon, Guimarães Editores, 1982.

for the overall interpretation of the Portuguese nation in the same work was human geography. The essential details of its contribution to understanding the national phenomenon had already been presented by Orlando Ribeiro in one of the most innovative and decisive works of the twentieth century in Portugal, *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico* (1945). Regardless of the fact that forty years had elapsed since its publication, it had not had any discernible impact on our historiography. The marriage of the phenomena from the geographical context with those from social history – what García de Cortázar would call from that very year of 1985 on, “the social organisation of space”<sup>4</sup> – proved extremely fertile in understanding the phenomena that led to Portugal’s appearance as an independent political entity on the Iberian Peninsula, the conditions that allowed it to continue over the following centuries and many other aspects peculiar to our Middle Ages<sup>5</sup>.

The history of the medieval nobility has since become one of the most fruitful chapters in the new Portuguese historiography. The fact that the three works mentioned specifically indicated the documental clues upon which a history of society in general could be erected, and of the nobility in particular, itself showed the enormous virtues of Portuguese documentation from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, whose abundance and relative accessibility were becoming apparent. They utterly dispelled the prevailing view, gleaned from reading Alexandre Herculano and Oliveira Martins, that our Middle Ages were an obscure period, replete with legends, violence and crudeness, without proper sources, with a society consisting of a shapeless mass of unknown and ignorant people, with only the Royals meriting any attention. Rather than confirming such impressions, they showed that the questions suggested by the social history of the nobility could inspire and direct a large number of individual studies. These would necessarily take into account the parameters of space and time, choice of individual cases with a lesser or greater representative effect, consideration of similarities or differences that could be historically observed and classified by cross-referencing documental data and allow for the adoption of social, political, economic and intellectual viewpoints.

In fact, as the same author noted in 1976<sup>6</sup>, the three Portuguese lineage books – *Livro Velho de Linhagens*, *Livro de Linhagens do Deão* and the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* (and their different re-workings) – constitute an unusual assemblage in terms of European genealogical literature in the sheer wealth of the data. This

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<sup>4</sup> GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Angel (ed.), *La organización social del espacio en la España medieval. La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII al XV*, Barcelona, Editorial Ariel, 1985.

<sup>5</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal (1096-1325)*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1985.

<sup>6</sup> IDEM, “Os livros de linhagens portuguesas e a literatura genealógica europeia da Idade Média”, *Armas e troféus*, 3rd ser., t. 5 (1976), pp. 132-150.

data could be cross-referenced with data from two further series of sources replete with extraordinarily rich information dating from almost the same period as the genealogies: the *inquirições* of Kings Afonso II, Afonso III, Dinis and Afonso IV (hitherto consulted only by highly specialised scholars, such as Gama Barros), and the *Livro de cantigas do Conde D. Pedro*<sup>7</sup>. This rich collection of *trovadoresque* poetry from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was well known to literature specialists, but unknown to historians as such<sup>8</sup>. The *inquirições* provided priceless information on areas of the aristocracy from the respective periods and on the strategy pursued by the crown to check the growth of the aristocracy; the *cantigas* proved themselves an unmatched source of hints and information on the cultural production of the nobility and its mentality. In addition, as is obvious, there is the separate documentation from monastic archives (the starting point for José Mattoso's research on the nobility) and the royal chancery records. One can detect in the first all manner of traces concerning the relationships between the nobles and the communities that supported them. In the latter, details are no less abundant on the relationship between the nobles and political power. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the enormous possibilities offered by this data source have inspired a large number of master's dissertations and doctoral theses, articles in more or less specialist journals, presentations at congresses and colloquia, collective works on thematic subjects and publications commemorating local, regional and national events.

Before examining the main publications in this genre, it is well worth highlighting the fact that José Mattoso's views were inspired, as regards social history, by the theses of Georges Duby, that is, by the adoption of a model of a dominant class whose structure was above all the result of a certain system of family ties<sup>9</sup>. This could be described in schematic and simplistic terms as follows: after a cognate and endogamous phase or one of the "circulation of women", which was dominant at the beginning of the eleventh century, the nobility of the region studied by Duby adopted

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<sup>7</sup> This work is known only by its name and from what appears in later songbooks ("Cancioneiro da Vaticana" and "da Biblioteca Nacional"). Cf., for example, FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário, "D. Pedro de Barcelos e a representação do passado Ibérico", in FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário (coord.), *Cadernos de Literatura Medieval – CLP. O Contexto Hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa nos Séculos XIII e XIV (Em memória de Diego Catalán)*, Coimbra, IUC, 2010, pp. 81-106.

<sup>8</sup> The scarce use Portuguese historians made of troubadour literature up to the 1960s contrasts with the vast amount of knowledge of history demonstrated by VASCONCELOS, Carolina Michaëllis, *O Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, Halle, 1904 (re-published by the IN-CM, 1990), and by SARAIVA, António José, *História da cultura em Portugal*, Lisbon, Jornal do Foro, 1950.

<sup>9</sup> The concepts J. Mattoso based his work on were explicitly mentioned at a conference at the Faculdade de Economia of Coimbra in 1982, and published the same year in the journal *Bracara Augusta* and reproduced in the collection *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações* (Lisbon, IN-CM, 1985). Mention is made of the theoretical concepts based on reading C. Lévi-Strauss, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Marcel Mauss and Georges Balandier.



an agnatic-like structure, characterised by the hereditary transmission of power in a single line, excluding second and bastard sons. These young men were excluded from inheritance and remained in an inferior position, constituting the favoured source of recruitment for the retinues of the great lords and the crusades of the Holy Land; they sought to escape their condition of dependence by marrying an heiress or rich widow. They therefore made up the social *milieu* that inspired chivalrous romances with their heroic ideal of service and adventure. It is also important to stress that the lords of the nobility had acquired, through the inheritance of vassals or through illegal appropriation, the ability to exercise legal, military and fiscal (or feudal) powers, that is, powers of a public nature that enabled them to coerce their dependents economically through “political” authority. Aristocratic powers (public authority) were thus passed on by blood or birth. Hereditary succession guaranteed the social reproduction of aristocratic status. Hence the importance of the single line: it prevented power from fragmenting and from subsequently being weakened. When applied to the Portuguese context, this model explains the conflicts between Portugal’s nobility from the ninth to eleventh centuries and the lineages emerging during the same period in Entre Douro e Minho, the establishment of *seigneurial* feudal systems in the North of Portugal, the forming of lineages and their succession in a single line, the emergence of secondary lineages descended from second sons and bastards, the profusion of nunneries from the second half of the twelfth century<sup>10</sup>, the exile and passage of young nobles through the other kingdoms of the Peninsula and their participation in the reconquest of Andalucía<sup>11</sup>, the way young men were directed towards the military orders, the resistance to the matrimonial regime of canonical impediments imposed by the bishops who advocated Gregorian reform, and, afterwards, the acceptance of a sacramental idea of a single marriage.

<sup>10</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A nobreza medieval portuguesa. As correntes monásticas dos séculos XI e XII”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 10 (1982), pp. 29-47; reproduced in IDEM, *Obras completas*, vol. 8 (12 vols., 2000-2002), Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002, pp. 149-168; the relationship between nunneries and nobility was also studied by MARTINS, Rui Cunha, *Património, parentesco e poder. O mosteiro de Santa Maria de Semide do século XII ao século XV*, Lisbon, Escher, 1992; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and MARTINS, Rui Cunha, “O monaquismo feminino cisterciense e a nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII-XIV)”, *Theologica*, 2nd ser., vol. 28, no. 2 (1993), pp. 481-506; RÉPAS, Luis Miguel, *Quando a Nobreza Traja de Branco. A Comunidade Cisterciense de Arouca durante o Abadessado de D. Luca Rodrigues (1286-1299)*, Leiria, Magno Edições, 2003, and IDEM, “*Familiares e familiaritas no mosteiro cisterciense de Arouca (séculos XIII e XIV)*”, BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luis (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2009, pp. 501-515.

<sup>11</sup> DAVID, Henrique, and SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, “Nobres portuguesas em Leão e Castela (século XIII)”, *Revista de História* [Oporto], vol. 7 (1987), pp. 135-150; FERREIRA, João Paulo Martins, *Entre consanguinidade e naturalidade. A movimentação da Nobreza Portuguesa entre Portugal e Leão (1169-1230)*, unpublished master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2010, (compare against CALDERÓN MEDINA, Inés, *El Poder Regio y la Nobleza Leonesa. Construcción y Representación de la Monarquía Medieval (1157-1230)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2009. See also, for a broader period: SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, “De e para Portugal. A circulação de nobres na Hispânia Medieval (séculos XII a XV)”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 40, no. 2 (2010), pp. 889-924.

Subsequent research conducted by José Mattoso's followers showed the need both to diversify and broaden this scheme and to review some of its essential points. Issues related to the system of marriage were not disputed, but nor were they developed, apart from by the author himself<sup>12</sup>. The same cannot be said of the system of succession. Let us first recall Leontina Ventura's doctoral thesis at the University of Coimbra<sup>13</sup> that, without changing the basic scheme, employed it to present a thorough and rich piece of research on the lineages comprising the nobility of Afonso III's court. With the descendants of the lords of da Maia removed, the de Riba Douros' dead or dispersed, and the de Sousas' submission achieved, three main groups may be seen at court: the descendants of the former lineages who accepted the *status quo*, those occupying the best positions in the *cúria régia* and taking advantage of the monarch's protection to accumulate land-based fortunes in recently-occupied regions (such as Chancellor Estevão Anes and João de Aboim), and the members of a service nobility made up of bastard knights from prestigious lines, yet whose fortunes had dwindled due to shared inheritances; the latter tried to make up for what they lacked economically by building an exemplary record of courtly loyalty (such as the Coelhos)<sup>14</sup>. Although this thesis has never been published, the survey of the documentation of each of the lineage's aristocratic patrimony, along with the meticulous examination of the aristocratic and feudal vocabulary from a semantic point of view, made it an indispensable point of reference for researchers working on the same type of issues over the following years. Of further note is the fact that Leontina Ventura also presented the thesis as a study of the semantics of feudal and aristocratic vocabulary that, unfortunately, has not inspired further research in the same area, though it deserves to be developed and examined in more detail.

After her doctorate, the same author devoted herself to studying an important group of nobles with a special configuration: the knights from the regions of Coimbra, Vouga and Viseu, who made up a lower class, closer in its origins to the

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<sup>12</sup> See the following articles: MATTOSO, José, "Sobre a estrutura da família nobre portugalense", in MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas...*, vol. 7 [2001], pp. 271-283; IDEM, "Notas sobre a estrutura da família medieval portuguesa", *ibid.*, pp. 283-304; IDEM, "Ricos-homens, infâncias e cavaleiros", *ibid.*, vol. 5 [2000], pp. 77-81; IDEM, "Identificação de um país", *ibid.*, vol. 2 [2000], pp. 174-178; IDEM, "Sangue e família no *Cantar dos Infantes de Lara*", in MATTOSO, José, *Naquele tempo. Ensaios de História Medieval*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2009, pp. 45-54; IDEM, "Barregão – barregã: notas de semântica", *ibid.*, pp. 55-64; IDEM, "A longa persistência da barregania", *ibid.*, pp. 65-80. Cf. MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *O casamento no contexto da sociedade medieval portuguesa*, offprint of *Bracara Augusta*, t. 33 (1979). One of the rare studies that can be consulted in this regard, for the fifteenth century, is that by ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Mariage et empêchements canoniques de parenté dans la société portugaise, 1455-1520", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, vol. 108 (1996), pp. 525-608.

<sup>13</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, *A Nobreza de Corte de Afonso III*, 2 vols., unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1992.

<sup>14</sup> What we state about the Coelhos summarises the interpretative proposal of MATTOSO, José, "João Soares Coelho e a gesta de Egas Moniz", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal medieval. Novas interpretações*, Lisboa, Estampa, 1985, pp. 409-435, but fits in well to the framework sketched out by Leontina Ventura.

*cavaleiros vilã* (knights chosen by the municipality to fight as vassals in name of the king), with ties to the bishops, and which maintained a certain kind of identity at least during the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Her research in this field has helped confirm José Mattoso's earlier impressions<sup>15</sup>. She has additionally studied some characteristic lineages of the middle and lower aristocracy, such as the Portocarreiros and the Briteiros<sup>16</sup>, as well as of those who rose from a lower class to the top of the court nobility, such as the Nóbregas<sup>17</sup>. She also compiled a good array of documentation to verify the material and symbolic transmission of aristocratic assets in the thirteenth century<sup>18</sup>.

The second thesis we should mention on the family structures of the Portuguese nobility is that of José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro, also supervised by José Mattoso and presented at the University of Oporto<sup>19</sup>. In addition to reconstituting the genealogy of virtually all the Portuguese lineages from the time of King Dinis, thus establishing a valuable database covering thousands of individuals, the thesis demonstrates beyond a shadow of a doubt that hereditary succession in a single line was far from the rule and did not call into question the theoretical principle of equal distribution. We do not know exactly to what extent either was practised. However, we do know that the objective of keeping the inheritance intact, or at the very least the domain that gave the lineage its name, was often achieved by excluding second

<sup>15</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, "O cavaleiro João Gondesendes. Sua trajectória político-social e económica (1083-1116)", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 15 (1985), pp. 31-69; EADEM, "Introdução", in VENTURA, Leontina, and FARIA, Ana Santiago, *Livro Santo de Santa Cruz. Cartulário do século XII*, Coimbra, INIC, 1990, pp. 9-44; VENTURA, Leontina, "O elemento franco na Coimbra do século XII: a família dos Rabaldes", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. 36 (2002-2003), pp. 89-114; EADEM, "As cortes ou a instalação em Coimbra dos *fideles* de D. Sesnando", DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (orgs.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2006, pp. 37-52; VENTURA, Leontina, "O Alcaide Cerqueira (1158-1207). Identificação, trajectória e património", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História...*, pp. 673-690. VENTURA, Leontina, and MATOS, João da Cunha, "Cavaleiros de fronteira (Coimbra, Viseu e Seia) ao tempo de Afonso Henriques", in *Actas do II Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1997.

<sup>16</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, "Os Portocarreiro: um percurso luso-castelhano (séculos XI-XV)", in *El condado de Benavente. Relaciones hispano-portuguesas en la Baja Edad Media*, Benavente, Centro de Estudios Benaventanos "Leodel Pozo", 1999; VENTURA, Leontina, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, "Os Briteiros (séculos XII-XIV)", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 30 (1995), pp. 71-102; IDEM, *ibid.*, t. 31, vol. 2, (1997), pp. 65-102; IDEM, *ibid.*, t. 35 (2001-2002), pp. 143-170; also published in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor doutor Humberto Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, FL-UP / Livraria Civilização, 2003, pp. 763-777.

<sup>17</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, "João Peres de Aboim: da terra da Nóbrega à corte de Afonso III", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 1st ser., no. 18 (1986), pp. 57-73.

<sup>18</sup> EADEM, "Testamentária nobiliárquica (séc. XIII). Morte e sobrevivência da linhagem", *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 19 (1997), pp. 137-156.

<sup>19</sup> SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas, Genealogias e estratégias (1279-1325)*, 3 vols., Oporto, Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Família da Universidade Moderna, 1999. See later for further work by the same author.

sons from marrying, as the same author demonstrates by means of a thorough headcount of the percentage of illegitimate sons of noble origin recorded in the consulted documentation, which rose from 5.3% in the twelfth century to 9.8% in the thirteenth century and to 11.9 % in the fourteenth century. To a certain extent, therefore, this practice compensated for the common rule of distributing and consequently ruining the family fortune after two or three generations.

This important correction to the family relationships model adopted by J. Mattoso was joined in 2009 by another stemming from Mattoso's idea of the *juvenes* as the favoured recruitment pool for knights of the military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In a doctoral thesis also supervised by J. Mattoso, Luís Filipe Oliveira showed that the majority of the members of the military orders were of non-noble origin, and that it was only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that their number dropped in the nobles' favour, without, however, becoming the general rule<sup>20</sup>.

These two major corrections to the model created by Duby and adopted by Mattoso showed the need to use it as a reference scheme and not as a social law. In practice, the processes by which the nobility reproduced its social status could correspond to different strategies prompted by the different means of achieving social ascent and avoiding ruin: it did not take the form of restricting shared inheritance, but also of amassing land and *seigneurial* fortunes under the king's complacent eye, as João de Aboim did in the reign of Afonso III, and, also, of the protective influence exerted in favourable times by individuals with personal or institutional power, such as the masters and commanders of the military orders – as occurred in the case of the Pimentéis, who were studied by Bernardo de Vasconcelos e Sousa<sup>21</sup> –, or of the bishops, as was manifestly the case with the Pereiras<sup>22</sup>. Some families were even able to make the most of the extensive proliferation of their members: they managed to be placed in offices or court services or in royal government, and formed a network of influence to protect each other. This is what would appear to have happened with the Marinhos, of Galician origin<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres e os Comendadores. As Ordens Militares de Avis e de Santiago (1330-1449)*, Faro, Universidade do Algarve, 2009. See also, in the same regard, VASCONCELOS, António Maria Falcão Pestana de, *Nobreza e Ordens Militares. Relações sociais e de Poder*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 2009; SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "A participação da nobreza na Reconquista e nas Ordens Militares", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente. Actas do V Encontro sobre as Ordens Militares (Palmela, 15 a 18 de Fevereiro de 2006)*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2009, pp. 143-155 [originally presented in 2002 at the "IV Encontro"].

<sup>21</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo de Vasconcelos e, *Os Pimentéis. Percursos de uma linhagem da Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa (Séculos XIII-XIV)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2000.

<sup>22</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "O arcebispo D. Gonçalo Pereira: um querer, um agir", in *IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga. Actas*, vol. 2/1, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1990, pp. 389-462.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. MATTOSO, José, *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens*, in MATTOSO, José, *Obras completas...*, vol. 5, p. 216.

In this way, the observations of Bernardo de Vasconcelos e Sousa, J. A. de Sottomayor-Pizarro and L. F. Oliveira reveal a greater degree of social mobility than foreseen with the effective osmosis of the ruling class<sup>24</sup>, as well as a complex practice of choosing the cognate or agnatic models in marriage strategies. All this prompts a closer look at the meaning of “lineage” as a concept *per se*, as a surrounding framework of varying strategies based on family solidarity and not merely on hereditary succession<sup>25</sup>. We should not, however, forget that the strategies of social ascent could have varied from family to family and from lineage to lineage. This can only be safely ascertained through research on how they evolved over several generations, as already demonstrated by Bernardo de Vasconcelos e Sousa in his exemplary study of the Pimentel family, which was the topic of his doctoral thesis<sup>26</sup>. Research on family paths over long periods of time enable us to check how the different processes social mobility operated in practice. Essentially, these did not differ a great deal from the end of the twelfth century to the end of the *Ancien Régime*, as shown by the comparison of what happened in the Middle Ages and what occurred between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, according to Mafalda Soares da Cunha’s explanatory survey of the marriage strategies of the Meneses and the Cunhas over three centuries<sup>27</sup>.

Meanwhile, José Mattoso’s research has pointed several authors in continuations no less decisive in terms of understanding the social history of the nobility. Beyond question, the most important was the work of Luís Krus, which provides the foundation for interpreting the underlying ideological discourse of the books of lineages<sup>28</sup>. By pondering the positive or negative meaning of the events, narratives

<sup>24</sup> Climbing the social ladder by joining the military orders can also be compared to the legal legitimacy guaranteed by municipal charters, as occurred in Terena, which was studied by GAMEIRO, Odília Alves, “Legitimação jurídica do senhorialismo fidalgo. O foral de Terena”, in DIAS, Isabel Barros, BRANCO, Maria João, and SEQUEIRA, Rosa Maria (eds.), *Discursos de legitimação. Actas do Colóquio Internacional* [CD-ROM], Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 2003. This work should be compared with that of OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “Os cavaleiros de carneiro e a herança da cavalaria vilã na Estremadura. Os casos de Arruda e de Alcanede”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coords.), *Muçulmanos e cristãos entre o Tejo e o Douro (séculos VIII a XIII)*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela / FL-UP, 2005, pp. 159-166.

<sup>25</sup> See José Carlos Mirandas’s communication from the international colloquium organised by the Seminário Medieval de Literatura, Pensamento e Sociedade, “Legitimação e linhagem na Idade Média Peninsular”, Lamego, 31 May 2010 (in press).

<sup>26</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, *Os Pimentéis. Percursos de uma linhagem da nobreza medieval portuguesa (Séculos XIII-XIV)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2000.

<sup>27</sup> CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da, “Nobreza, alianças matrimoniais e reprodução social. Análise comparada dos grupos familiares dos Meneses e Cunha (séc. XV-1640)”, in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisbon, IEM, 2009, pp. 741-756.

<sup>28</sup> KRUS, Luís, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico. Geografia dos Livros de Linhagens medievais portuguesas (1280-1380)*, Lisbon, FCG, 1994 (thesis presented at the Nova University of Lisbon, in 1989). On the construction of memoirs of lineages, see also the following master’s dissertation supervised by Luís Krus: GAMEIRO, Odília Alves, *A Construção das Memórias Nobiliárquicas Medievais. O passado da linhagem dos senhores de Sousa*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 2000.

and actions of the protagonists based on the area in which they were located in the texts (whether near or far from the border; in the royal court or in territories deemed to be the place where their ancestors originated from before Portugal emerged as an independent country; in the city or in the countryside; in battle against the Saracens or in *seigneurial* struggles), he defines a complex and varied hierarchy of the levels of prestige that marked and benefitted the lineages concerned and their respective members. This research has contributed decisively to defining the hierarchical role of the lineage books, together with the alliances and rivalries the different families engaged in amongst themselves or through their relationship with political power. In addition, L. Krus' work raised important corrections to the hypotheses previously formulated by José Mattoso about the textual transmission of the lineage books and the historical context in which they were drafted. The brilliance of this approach seems, however, to have discouraged any possible responses, as if there were nothing more to add. In truth, there is no further research to highlight in this area. Luís Krus has, nevertheless, published small essays on other aspects of the lineage narratives and their related historiography, as well as the ideas of the time and literary culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>29</sup>.

In the same year that Luís Krus published his thesis, António Resende de Oliveira's doctoral work appeared, dealing with what he called the *trovadoresque spectacle*, which shed light on another aspect of the culture and mentality of the nobility, focussing not on a lineage-based historiography, but instead on poetry production<sup>30</sup>. Thanks, on the one hand, to the genealogical research of José Mattoso and Leontina Ventura, and on the other, to an innovative model of textual criticism, it has been possible to revise the earlier identification of *trovadores* and *jograis*, particularly those of Carolina Michaëlis and Rodrigues Lapa, to renew knowledge of the social framework in which court poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was cultivated, and so better understand allusions of the poems. Resende de Oliveira later conducted various separate studies and overviews in the same area<sup>31</sup>. One further author, José Carlos Ribeiro de Miranda, working alongside him

<sup>29</sup> KRUS, Luís, *Passado, memória e poder a sociedade medieval portuguesa. Estudos*, Redondo, Patrimonia, 1994. The Instituto de Estudos Medievais of Nova University of Lisbon, founded by Luís Krus, recently re-published this collection with the addition of unpublished texts: *A construção do passado medieval. Textos inéditos e publicados*. Lisbon, IEM, 2011.

<sup>30</sup> OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco. A estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1994.

<sup>31</sup> IDEM, *Aventuras e desventuras del joglar gallego português*, Barcelona, Columna, 2001; IDEM, *O trovador galego-português e seu mundo*, Lisbon, Ed. Notícias, 2001; IDEM, "Rui Garcia de Paiva no escárnio galego-português", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 36, vol. 1 (2002-2003), pp. 285-295; IDEM, "D. João Peres de Aboim: um percurso cultural" (presentation at the colloquium "D. João de Portel. Da biografia ao códice", Portel, 2003); IDEM, "A cultura das cortes", in SERRÃO, Joel, MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em definição de fronteiras. Do condado portugalense à crise do século XIV*, coordinated by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon, Ed. Presença,

in the same field of research, though trained in literature rather than history, but who has always taken into account the social environment in which poetic and narrative creation occurred, has added new details in understanding the authors and the interpretation of *jogral* and trovador texts<sup>32</sup>.

## 2. Second generation

I believe that these are the main reference points as regards current Portuguese historiography of the nobility<sup>33</sup>. Nevertheless, a great many studies have been released on the same topic since the beginning of the 1990s. We could view these as the product of a second generation of authors, whether because they were supervised by authors of the first generation (those hitherto mentioned), or because and they conducted their work from different perspectives, or because they did not limit their research to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, extending it instead to the end of the fifteenth century. Without proposing new interpretative theses as such, they have normally tackled study cases, that is, of families, individuals, regions or landlords. Exceptionally, they venture to suggest analyses or to cast their net wider. However, we still lack a systematic and comprehensive study of the social and economic structure of the Portuguese aristocracy at the end of the

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1996, pp. 660-691; IDEM, "A cultura da nobreza (séculos XII-XV): balanço sem perspectivas", *Medievalista* [online], no. 3 (2007).

<sup>32</sup> MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro de, "A Lenda de Gaia dos Livros de Linhagens: uma questão de literatura?", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto. Línguas e Literaturas*, vol. 5, t. 2 (1988), pp. 483-515; IDEM, Calheiros, Sandim e Bonaval: uma rapsódia de Amigo, Oporto, author's edition, 1994; IDEM, *A Demanda do Santo Graal e o ciclo arturiano da Vulgata*, Oporto, Granito, 1998; MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro de, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, "A segunda geração de trovadores galego-portugueses: temas, formas e realidades", in PAREDES, Juan (ed.), *Medioevo y Literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación de Literatura Medieval*, Granada, Universidade de Granada, vol. 3, pp. 419-512. José Carlos Miranda set up a "Medieval Literature, Thought and Society Seminar" ("Seminário Medieval de Literatura, Pensamento e Sociedade" – SMELPS) in 2007 in whose scope innovative studies on medieval aristocratic culture have been written. For a list of the works, consult the journal *Guarecer* [online], accessible at: [www.seminariomedieval.com](http://www.seminariomedieval.com)

<sup>33</sup> In 1997, José Mattoso presented two complementary summaries on the progress of studies on the nobility: MATTOSO, José, "A nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos X a XIV)", in MATTOSO, José, *Naquele tempo. Ensaios de História Medieval*, Lisbon, Temas e Debates, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon, 2009, pp. 287-310; and IDEM, "A nobreza medieval portuguesa no contexto peninsular", *ibid.*, pp. 311-330. The current position of his followers (with the aforementioned amendments) can be seen in the three articles on the "state of the question" in SOUSA, Bernardo de Vasconcelos e, "Linhagens e identidade social na nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII-XIV)", *Hispania*, vol. 67, no. 227 (2007), pp. 881-898; SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "Da Linhagem ao Solar. Algumas reflexões sobre a evolução da Nobreza (séculos XII a XV)", in *Casa nobre – Um património para o futuro. 1º Congresso Internacional. Actas (Arcos de Valdevez, 10 a 12 de Novembro de 2005)*, Arcos de Valdevez, Câmara Municipal de Arcos de Valdevez, 2007, pp. 33-37; SOUSA, Bernardo de Vasconcelos e, and SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "A família. Estruturas de parentesco e casamento", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, vol. 1: *A Idade Média*, coordinated by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores / Temas & Debates, 2010, pp. 126-143.

Middle Ages. Though not contesting, in general, the interpretative theses we have indicated, they do contain material that sooner or later will have to be analysed and synthesised, to verify how far we may consider the nobility of the fifteenth century as a simple extension of what came before or the result of some essential renewal. Yet it is not just a question of confirming, denying, perfecting or amending perspectives over the long term. Without bringing anything genuinely new to our knowledge of the Portuguese aristocracy from a strictly social point of view, they have shifted the historian's attention to different issues, in other words, to manners, dress, actions and beliefs habits, which lead us to alter our interpretations of the meaning of the available texts. This is the case, for instance, with religious practices and discourse whose assumptions are not always easy to understand. The texts sometimes appear obvious, other times extraordinary, and compel us to meticulous efforts of interpretation and frequently to call on concepts provided by other social and human sciences, especially anthropology. We shall provide some examples in a moment.

Various contributions have been made, generally in the guise of master's dissertations or doctoral theses, to verify or contest, by means of case studies, the efficacy of interpretations or simply to describe the trajectory of certain individuals or families, following the example of Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa in his aforementioned thesis on the Pimentéis. Some come in the shape of works on the processes behind "seigneurialisation"<sup>34</sup>, which takes as given the landlords' relationship to the land providing their income and where they exert their authority – an approach whose study requires bringing together a large number of empirical observations, from data on terminology (the study and origin of the so-called "seigneurial rights") and linking it to the different material conditions imposed by nature or the specific traditions of certain regions. As is evident, such elements cannot be generalised. The hope is therefore that monographs drafted from this perspective can help refresh duly differentiated knowledge of a crucial aspect in the history of the social and economic structures of the medieval aristocracy. The issue of "seigneurialisation" had already been discussed by J. Mattoso in his *Identificação de um país*, yet it has not been explored sufficiently. To do so would require more

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<sup>34</sup> For example: SOUSA, Joana Catarina Pereira da Silva, *A Nobreza e o Processo de Senhorialização nas Terras de Basto (Séculos XIII-XIV)*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2008; SISTELO, Vasco de Andrade, *A Nobreza e o Processo de Senhorialização no Vale do Neiva (Séculos XIII-XIV)*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2010. See also: SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "O regime senhorial na fronteira do nordeste português. Alto Douro e Riba Côa (séculos XI-XIII)", *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, vol. 67, no. 227, Sept.-Dec. (2007), pp. 849-880; SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, and ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso, "Território, senhorios e património na Idade Média", in *Marco de Canaveses. Perspectivas*, Marco de Canaveses, Câmara Municipal de Marco de Canaveses, 2009, pp. 81-116.



regional analyses like those carried out by L. Krus between 1978 and 1993<sup>35</sup>. The topic is crucial to understanding the nature of the power exerted by the “seigneurs” in the areas they dominated, the relationship between them and their subjects and how they competed with other powers, such as the crown and the Church. Yet we do not know exactly how they were constituted. That is, we do not know whether the regional variations indicate a habitual standard or several different processes behind their establishment. The changes they underwent over time (how and for what reasons) are also not clearly explained. However, it is no surprise that the topic has attracted only a few researchers: it demands painstaking observation and the systematic use of numerous documental clues that require a great deal of hard graft<sup>36</sup>. Unfortunately, the current university curricula to which dissertations are subject do not encourage lengthy and complex research, as is needed in this case.

The current trend in research on the nobility favours research on the regional establishment of certain lineages, in which, as we have already seen, one can find important elements towards drawing up a diachronic and spatial view of how the aristocracy were distributed<sup>37</sup>. As has already been pointed out, studies of this kind serve to test the operability of the all-encompassing interpretations of the 80s, as well as those that prioritise the history of certain families over different generations, whose identity appears to be based more on passing on their name than settling in one location<sup>38</sup>. In contrast to what might be expected, given the widely-spread

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<sup>35</sup> KRUS, Luís, and BETHENCOURT, Olga, “As inquirições de 1258 como fonte da história da nobreza: o julgado de Aguiar de Sousa”, *Revista de História econômica e social*, no. 9 (1978), pp. 17-74; MATTOSO, José, KRUS, Luís, and ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, “Paços de Ferreira na Idade Média. Uma sociedade e uma economia agrárias”, in PEREIRA, Arménio da Assunção (coord.), *Paços de Ferreira. Estudos monográficos*, Paços de Ferreira, Câmara Municipal de Paços de Ferreira, 1986, pp. 171-243; IDEM, *O castelo e a feira. A Terra de Santa Maria nos séculos XI a XIII*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1989; KRUS, Luís, “D. Dinis e a herança dos Sousas. O inquérito régio de 1287”, *Estudos medievais* [Oporto], no. 10 (1993), pp. 119-158.

<sup>36</sup> One of the few studies on how seigneurial powers were exercised at the end of the Middle Ages that I am aware of is by LOPES, Sebastiana Alves Pereira, *O Infante D. Fernando e a nobreza fundiária de Serpa e Moura (1453-1470)*, Beja, Câmara Municipal de Beja, 2003.

<sup>37</sup> SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, “O regime senhorial na fronteira do nordeste português. Alto Douro e Riba Côa (séculos XI-XIII)”...; SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, and ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso, “Território, senhores e património na Idade Média”...; SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, “Os de Ataíde. De Santa Cruz de Tâmega à Corte Régia (séculos XII a XV)”, *Armas e troféus. Revista de História, Heráldica, Genealogia e Arte*, 9th ser. (2008), pp. 31-52; FERREIRA, Delfim Bismark, *A Terra de Vouga nos séculos IX a XIV. Território e Nobreza*, Aveiro, Associação para o Estudo e Defesa do Património Natural e Cultural da Região de Aveiro, 2008.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to the thesis by Bernardo Vasconcelos Sousa, on the Pimentéis, which has already been referred to, see, *inter alia*: SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, “Os de Ataíde”..., and FERREIRA, Delfim Bismark, *A Terra de Vouga*..., both referred to in the previous footnote; VENTURA, Leontina, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, “Os Briteiros (séculos XII-XIV)”..., mentioned in footnote 16; FERNANDES, Fátima Regina, “Os Abreu. Uma família em busca do estabelecimento na segunda metade do século XIV”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, no. 12 (1997), pp. 147-154; MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “A família Palhavã (1253-1357). Elementos para o estudo das elites dirigentes da Lisboa medieval”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 32 (1997-1998), pp. 35-93; IDEM, “Os Alvernazes: um percurso familiar e institucional entre finais de Duzentos e inícios de Quatrocentos”, *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal*, no. 6 (2002), pp. 10-43; MOURA, Carlos, *A linhagem*

sources and the characteristic royal prominence in the Portuguese Middle Ages, which tends to obscure the emergence of nationally-important individuals, the biographical or monographic studies on given individuals have caught the attention of several researchers. As is only natural, most follow the trail blazed by Luís Adão da Fonseca<sup>39</sup> studying personalities from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>40</sup>, though at times they devote themselves to more distant periods<sup>41</sup>.

From Afonso III's reign, the royal court was a magnet with an increasingly greater influence on the structure of the aristocracy, both through economic and/or political support, and through the creation of aristocratic titles. The first

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*do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses: percursos e estratégias de poder político, social e senhorial*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2005; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Casa dos Coutinhos: Linhagem, Espaço e Poder*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1999; VASCONCELOS, Luis Fernando Palhares de, *Os Chancinhos. A Corte e a Igreja na estruturação da linhagem*, unpublished master's dissertation, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2007; MACHADO, José Carlos Soares, *Os Braganças: História Genealógica de uma Linhagem Medieval (Séculos XI- XIII)*, Lisbon, author's edition, 2004; CUMBRE, José Pavia, *Os Melo. Origens, trajetórias familiares e percursos políticos (séculos XII-XV)*, Lisbon, Tribuna da História, 2007. FARELO, Mário, "Ao serviço da Coroa no século XIV: o percurso de uma família de Lisboa, os 'Nogueiras'", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da Cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 145-168; LOURENÇO, Vanda, "Os Avelar. Percurso de uma linhagem em Lisboa (1325-1367)", *ibid.*, pp. 169-181; SILVEIRA, Ana Cláudia, "Entre Lisboa e Setúbal: os Palhavã", *ibid.*, pp. 197-213. See also: SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "A descendência de Dom João Pires de Aboim", *DisLivro Histórica. Revista*, no. 2 (2009), pp. 7-17; LOURO, Maria Antónia Teixeira, "Os bens de D. João de Aboim em Portel", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História...*, pp. 353-356.

<sup>39</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*, Oporto, Centro de História da Universidade, 1982.

<sup>40</sup> MACEDO, Francisco Pato de, "O Infante D. Pedro, patrono e mecenas", *Biblos*, vol. 69 (1993), pp. 459-489; FONTES, João Luís, *Percursos e memória: do Infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000; DÁVILA, Maria Barreto, *D. Fernando I, 2º Duque de Bragança. Vida e Acção Política*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2009; LOPES, Sebastiana Alves Pereira, *O Infante D. Fernando e a Nobreza Fundiária de Serpa e Moura...*; ALVAREZ PALENZUELA, Vicente Ángel, "Protagonismo político de um linaje português en la Castilla de Juan II: Rodrigo Alfonso Pimentel", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média...*, vol. 3, pp. 1301-1310; CAMPOS, Nuno Miguel Silva, *Redes sociais: D. Pedro de Meneses e a construção da Casa de Vila Real (1415-1437)*, Lisbon, Ed. Colibri / CIDEHUS / Universidade de Évora, 2004; LOURENÇO, Vanda, "Lopo Fernandes Pacheco: um valido de Afonso IV", *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia*, no. 5 (2006), pp. 49-69; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, "D. Joana Teles de Meneses – a comendadeira que deixou o Mosteiro para casar com D. João Afonso Pimentel", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média...*, vol. 2, pp. 653-658; SOUSA, João Silva de, *D. Afonso, 4º Conde de Ourém*, Ourém, Câmara Municipal de Ourém, 2005. See also the studies on certain individuals, among whom are some from the fifteenth century, collected by COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e (coord.), *A Nobreza e a Expansão. Estudos biográficos*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000.

<sup>41</sup> GOUVEIA, Mário de, "Hermenegildo Guterres e a presúria de Coimbra (sécs. IX-X)", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História...*, pp. 279-292; LOURENÇO, Vanda Lisa, *D. Gonçalo Garcia de Sousa – Um Percurso de Vida*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2003; LOURENÇO, Vanda, "O itinerário de D. Gonçalo Garcia de Sousa (1229-1285)", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História...*, pp. 327-351; ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, "João Viegas, cavaleiro de Santarém: um percurso patrimonial", in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (orgs.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques...*, pp. 363-374; PEREIRA, Armando, "O Infante D. Fernando de Portugal, senhor de Serpa (1218-1246). História da vida e da morte de um cavaleiro andante", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 10 (1998), pp. 95-121; MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "Da Esperança a São Vicente: um percurso em torno de Estêvão da Guarda", *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal*, no. 3 (1999), pp. 10-60.

results of this process were studied by Leontina Ventura and by José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro<sup>42</sup>. Yet the relationship between the crown and the aristocracy changed over the late Middle Ages, which strongly affected (along with other more wide-reaching factors) its social development. We still lack a substantive work on the process by which the Portuguese nobility emerged and consolidated itself after the 1383 revolution. The hypothesis that on that occasion there were a group of second sons who took advantage of the opportunity to wrest the titles and domains away from the heads of the lineages that supported Beatriz, daughter of former late King Fernando and Queen of Castile, thus marking a structural turning point in the nobility, was presented by José Mattoso in 1985 and has never been contested or properly confirmed<sup>43</sup>. In her doctoral thesis on the royal court in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Rita Costa Gomes clarified some issues with a systematic review of the trajectories of a large number of families that stabilised in the fifteenth century, in order to define their relations with the crown, seeking to establish from the roles they played what their place was in the constellation of the groups of nobility<sup>44</sup>. She found an evident variety of situations, but showed that the configuration these groups was related, on the one hand, to the roles and services they performed at court or in their relations with the crown, and on the other, to the place their forebears occupied in the hierarchy of social elites in the previous phase. Some clearly came from non-noble backgrounds, that is, from the urban or the educated bourgeoisie. Others might have remained in intermediary or ambiguous positions for over a generation. However, the transformation in the relationship between the main lineages and secondary lines of the nobility was not the only factor of change. The role of the members of the military orders who occupied important positions during the wars of King Fernando and those that followed during the reign of King João I gave rise to knightly investiture ceremonies both on the eve of the Battle of Badajoz and before the Battle of Aljubarrota. Both were recorded by Fernão Lopes. Therefore there was new blood and confrontation with the nobility of the family of Leonor Teles<sup>45</sup>, and among lords faithful to Beatriz and to the King of Castile and the supporters of the Master of Avis.

<sup>42</sup> See VENTURA, Leontina, *D. Afonso III*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2006; and SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, *D. Dinis*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2005, pp. 181-183.

<sup>43</sup> MATTOSO, José, "A Nobreza e a Revolução de 1383", in *1383-1385 e a crise geral dos séculos XIV-XV. Jornadas de História Medieval. Actas*, Lisbon, s. n. 1985, pp. 391-402; re-published in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1987; and in IDEM, *Obras completas...*, vol. 6 [2001], pp. 218-232.

<sup>44</sup> GOMES, Rita Costa, *A Corte dos reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média*, Lisbon, Difel, 1995, pp. 64-108, 129-151.

<sup>45</sup> On the nobility during King Fernando's reign, see: FERNANDES, Fátima Regina, *O reinado de D. Fernando no âmbito das relações régio-nobiliárquicas*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 1996. See also TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, "A Nobreza no Reinado de D. Fernando e a sua Actuação em 1383-1385",

### 3. The fifteenth century

It is likely that at least some of the noble families with names that only appear after these events were tangible cases of ennoblement (expressly sanctioned by King João I). One example of this kind is the Coutinhos, who were studied by Luís Filipe Oliveira<sup>46</sup>. Rita Costa Gomes, as we have already seen, offers a complex overview where one finds analogous cases that could be examined in more depth. A similar task was performed by Judite de Freitas<sup>47</sup> and, with other perspectives, by Fátima Fernandes<sup>48</sup>. Of greater importance is the need for a systematic comparative study of the old nobility and that which appears in the fifteenth century. For this, it needs to be investigated whether their income continued to be fundamentally agricultural and seigneurial (that is, not only rent from cultivation of the land and the work of peasants, but from other sources such as commercial, urban rents, mining or handicrafts). The cases highlighted by Virgínia Rau of lords who seem to presage the aristocrat-merchants of the sixteenth century<sup>49</sup> suggest diversification of the income of the aristocratic class. In fact, the Prince Henrique's *seigneurial* assets were very diversified<sup>50</sup>. They evidently included control of trade with the Atlantic islands. Concessions of captaincies to lords of undetermined status in Madeira and the Azores also seem to have been a form of access to the nobility. It is important to study to what extent personal cases of "intermediate" status are representative or otherwise, although, in principle, the barrier between nobles and non-nobles remained difficult to overcome<sup>51</sup>.

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*Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 12 (1983), pp. 45-89.

<sup>46</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Casa dos Coutinhos...*, work referred to in footnote 38; IDEM, "Outro Venturoso de finais do século XV: Francisco Coutinho, conde de Marialva e de Loulé", in COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, and RODRIGUES, Victor Luís Gaspar (orgs.), *A Alta Nobreza e a fundação do Estado da Índia. Colóquio internacional. Actas (Lisboa, 16 a 20 de Outubro de 2001)*, Lisbon, Centro de História de Além-Mar / Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2004, pp. 45-56.

<sup>47</sup> FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *'Teemos por bem e mandamos'. A burocracia régia e os seus oficiais em meados de Quatrocentos (1439-1460)*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 195-208, with a systematic study of the bureaucratic and political roles they played.

<sup>48</sup> FERNANDES, Fátima Regina, *Sociedade e poder na baixa Idade Média. Dos Azevedos aos Vilhenas: as famílias da nobreza medieval portuguesa*, Curitiba, Edit. UFPR, 2003. See also: EADEM, "Estratégias de legitimação linhagística em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História [Oporto]*, 3rd ser., vol. 7 (2006), pp. 263-284.

<sup>49</sup> RAU, Virgínia, "Aspectos do 'Trato' da 'Adiça' e da 'Pescaria' do 'Coral' nos Finais do Século XV", *Do Tempo e da História*, vol. 5 (1972), pp. 143-157.

<sup>50</sup> SOUSA, João de Silva de, *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique*, Lisbon, Ed. Estampa, 1991.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example: ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Além da aventura, aquém do capitalismo? Elementos para a história de Fernão Lourenço (1481-1505), um 'perito económico' na Expansão portuguesa", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval...*, pp. 335-367; EADEM, "Em torno de Álvaro Vaz, cavaleiro de Santiago (m. 1513). Um estudo das formas de estruturação das elites sociais 'intermédiadas'", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente. Actas do V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2009, pp. 187-245.

However, the most prestigious occupation of the nobles seems to have been warfare: not only for second sons but also for some heads of lineages. Military service in North Africa was doubtlessly one factor that had a determining influence on aristocratic ideology, not just as a symbolic element of prestige, but also as a factor with real effects on the hierarchical position of some of the members of the dominant class<sup>52</sup>. They certainly inspired the tales of warrior prowess, such as the *Doze de Inglaterra*, which served as an exhortation to all those who went to fight in the Moroccan forts, comparing them to the heroes of the Round Table<sup>53</sup>. The actions of Pedro de Meneses and Duarte de Meneses against the same backdrop earned them the rare privilege of becoming central characters in Zurara's two biographical chronicles. The very real nature of the fighting with the Moors in Ceuta, Alcácer Ceguer, Arzila and Tangiers, tied up with the ideal of the Crusades, inspired new religious devotions and a spiritual imagination pregnant with warrior references<sup>54</sup>. Yet the old processes of sending some noble family members to places where they could not reproduce also continued: unmarried daughters took their vows in monastic communities<sup>55</sup> and knights travelled outside Portugal in search of adventure or of marriage<sup>56</sup>.

Obviously, relationships with royalty also played a fundamental role both in terms of the place nobles occupied at the royal court and through the strict control the king exerted over the appointment of the masters and commanders of the military orders and the concession of aristocratic titles<sup>57</sup>: the titled nobility became

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<sup>52</sup> See OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "Entre a História e a Memória: Os Coutinhos e a Expansão quatrocentista", *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, no. 2 (2001), pp. 115-126; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Mortos 'tidos por vivos': o tribunal régio e a capacidade sucessória das 'almas em glória' (Campanhas norte-africanas, c. 1472-c. 1542)", *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 6 (2005), pp. 9-46; IDEM, "Velhos, novos e mutáveis sagrados... Um olhar antropológico sobre formas 'religiosas' de percepção e interpretação da conquista norte-africana (1420-1521)", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 18 (2006), pp. 13-85; and also the collections coordinated by COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e (coord.), *A Nobreza e a Expansão. Estudos biográficos*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000; COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, and RODRIGUES, Victor Luís Gaspar (coords.), *A Alta Nobreza e a fundação do Estado da Índia...*

<sup>53</sup> See RILEY, Carlos Guilherme, *Os Doze de Inglaterra: a ficção e a realidade*, unpublished, aptitude exams, Ponta Delgada, Universidade dos Açores, 1988.

<sup>54</sup> See the articles by Maria de Lurdes Rosa referenced in footnote 51, and others re-published in the collection ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, *Longas guerras, longos sonhos africanos*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2010.

<sup>55</sup> GOMES, Saul António, "Acerca da origem social das monjas cistercienses de Santa Maria de Cós (Alcobaça) em tempos medievos", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 36, vol. 1 (2002-2003), pp. 141-160; ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, "Opções religiosas das elites lisboetas: o convento de Chelas no século XV", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval...*, pp. 221-231. See also, in the same work, the chapter on gender history by Ana Maria Rodrigues and Manuela Santos Silva.

<sup>56</sup> SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "De e Para Portugal. A circulação de nobres na Hispânia Medieval (séculos XII a XV)", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 40, no. 2, Jul.-Dec. (2010), pp. 889-924.

<sup>57</sup> See the fundamental doctoral thesis by GOMES, Rita Costa, *A corte dos reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média...*, and, specifically on the issue of titled nobility: OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and RODRIGUES, Miguel, "Um Processo de Reestruturação do Domínio Social da Nobreza. A Titulação na 2ª Dinastia", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 22 (1992), pp. 77-114. We are indebted to João Cordeiro Pereira for his pioneering summary on social mobility and the aristocratisation of the nobility at the end of the Middle

the *de facto* aristocratic elite<sup>58</sup>. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, its members developed a strategy of strict biological reproduction (frequently powerless when faced with the lack of direct male heirs, with pliable solutions for problems of succession, and, at the same time, following essentially endogamous marriage practices)<sup>59</sup>. The ties that spread by being passed down a single line, whether those of entails (*morgadios*) or those of chantries, became key elements in shaping the late-medieval nobility<sup>60</sup>.

All of these mechanisms contributed to “sealing off” access to the ranks of the nobility, sub-dividing it into stricter hierarchical classes. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Marquis of Vila Real reacted bitterly to what he thought appeared to be a demonstration of the contemporary aristocracy’s loss of dignity<sup>61</sup>. As happened in the time of Pedro, Count of Barcelos, also less studied, but equally important in understanding the characteristics of the of the middle and lower nobility who lived in the rural area, far from the royal court, are the royal appointments of lay nobles from the country’s hinterland and castle wardens<sup>62</sup>. If the king played a particularly important role in restricting and shaping the upper nobility, we must also examine the means by which it was possible for non-nobles to ascend to the lower levels, or the extent to which one may speak of an “intermediary” nobility that managed to penetrate the ruling class through various processes, such as, for example, by working in offices reserved for lawyers or the offices of the royal administration. Nevertheless, it is not always clear if we are dealing with individuals transiting from one class to another, or the formation of an intermediary class of

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Ages: PEREIRA, João Cordeiro, “A estrutura social e o seu devir”, in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 5: *Portugal do Renascimento à crise Dinástica*, coordinated by João Alves Dias, Lisbon, Ed. Presença, 1998, pp. 276-336. More recently, and spilling over the chronological confines of the fifteenth century, CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da, and MONTEIRO, Nuno G., “Aristocracia, poder e família em Portugal, séculos XV-XVIII”, in CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da, and HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO, Juan (eds.), *Sociedade, Família e Poder na Península Ibérica. Elementos para uma História Comparativa / Sociedad, Familia y Poder en la Península Ibérica. Elementos para una Historia Comparada*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / CIDEHUS-Universidade de Évora / Universidad de Murcia, 2010, pp. 47-75.

<sup>58</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *D. Afonso V, O Africano*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2006, pp. 131-135.

<sup>59</sup> CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da, “Nobreza, alianças matrimoniais e reprodução social. Análise comparada dos grupos familiares dos Meneses e Cunha”..., as referenced earlier.

<sup>60</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, *O Morgadio em Portugal, séculos XIV-XV. Modelos e formas de comportamento linhagístico*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1995; EADEM, *As ‘almas herdeiras’. Fundação de capelas fúnebres e afirmação da alma como sujeito de direito (Portugal, 1400-1521)*, doctoral thesis, Lisbon / Paris, FCSH-UNL / EHESS, 2005, at press.

<sup>61</sup> AUBIN, Jean, “Vieille noblesse et temps nouveaux. Les amertumes du Marquis de Vila Real”, in AUBIN, Jean, *Le Latin et l’astrolabe (III). Études inédites sur le règne de D. Manuel (1495-1521)*, posthume edition by Maria da Conceição Flores, L. F. Thomaz and Françoise Aubin, Lisbon / Paris, FCG / Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2006, pp. 61-101.

<sup>62</sup> SOUSA, João Silva de, “Senhores laicos e senhorios na Comarca da Beira no século XV. Nomeações régias”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média...*, vol. 2, pp. 631-641; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “Alcaidarias dos castelos durante a regência do Infante D. Pedro”, *Revista de História* [Oporto], vol. 13 (1995), pp. 35-50.

somewhat ambiguous status. Beyond the personal or family trajectories of this kind that have been treated jointly dealt in the studies already cited by Rita Costa Gomes, Judite de Freitas and Fátima Fernandes, mention should also be made of the cases of Álvaro Vaz and Fernão Lourenço, whose “ambiguity” was highlighted by Lurdes Rosa<sup>63</sup>. The issue of the relationship between the nobility and the social “elite” forms a particularly important chapter as regards aristocratic status<sup>64</sup>. Its analysis needs further probing.

To these elements that could coordinate the necessary details for a structural study of the ruling class at the end of the Middle Ages, we may add other aspects of family trajectories and the organisation of *seigneurial* houses. In Humberto Baquero Moreno’s voluminous doctoral thesis on the Battle of Alfarrobeira, there is an enormous quantity of well-classified and objective data regarding the main families that came into conflict at that time and that were the principal families of the kingdom<sup>65</sup>. The most important aristocratic house of the fifteenth century was, without a shadow of a doubt, that of Prince Henrique. It therefore stands as a model due to its singular complexity. It has been studied by João de Silva de Sousa<sup>66</sup>. The house of Bragança is also an example of obvious importance<sup>67</sup>. However, there would be every advantage in multiplying the number of study cases, always richer and more complex than generalisations about the whole period. Some research already exists with this sphere as regards families especially prominent<sup>68</sup>, yet we need to undertake more to trace a typology of family trajectories so we can understand more objectively the social structures of the late-medieval nobility.

<sup>63</sup> See footnote 51.

<sup>64</sup> See BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e Redes Clientelares da Idade Média. Problemas metodológicos*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2001.

<sup>65</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira. Antecedentes e significado histórico*, Lourenço Marques, Universidade de Lourenço Marques, 1973. See also: IDEM, “Contestação e oposição da nobreza portuguesa ao poder político nos finais da Idade Média”, *Ler História*, no. 13 (1988), pp. 3-14;

<sup>66</sup> SOUSA, João de Silva de, *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique...*, referenced in footnote 50.

<sup>67</sup> CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da, *Linhagem, Parentesco e Poder. A Casa de Bragança (1384-1483)*, Lisbon, Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1990; PESTANA, Manuel Ignácio, “A génese remota do património da Casa de Bragança. Dos escambos de D. Dinis às grandes doações”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média...*, vol. 2, pp. 851-860.

<sup>68</sup> FERNANDES, Fátima Regina, *Sociedade e poder na baixa Idade Média...* (referenced in footnote 48); EADEM, “Estratégias de legitimação linhagística em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* [Oporto], 2006, pp. 263-284; PESTANA, Manuel Ignácio, “A génese remota do património da Casa de Bragança. Dos escambos de D. Dinis às grandes doações”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média...*, vol. 2, pp. 851-860; SOUSA, João Silva de, “Senhores laicos e senhorios na Comarca da Beira no século XV. Nomeações régias”, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 631-641; PELÚCIA, Alexandra, *Martim Afonso de Sousa. Trajectória de uma elite no império de D. João III e de D. Sebastião*, Lisbon, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2009 (with a very complete study on the history of the Souses and the Souses Chichorros branch, pp. 31-123).

Whereas social themes in regard to the fifteenth-century nobility have already attracted many researchers, the same cannot be said of those looking at their culture and mentality, unless we consider the works of the “Princes of Avis” as being representative of the aristocratic world’s vision. It would be interesting to study what reception these works had at the hands of the nobility. Garcia de Resende’s *Cancioneiro* may also furnish significant data to our knowledge of court culture. We should recall the studies by Lurdes Rosa, already mentioned, which broach the topic from a religious angle<sup>69</sup>, and by Carlos Guilherme Riley’s, from the perspective of knightly ideology. We begin, moreover, to see the emergence of nobles interested in reading, under the natural influence of Italian Humanism, yet one can definitely not generalise from the few examples studied<sup>70</sup>. Some families began to organise their archives, thus freeing themselves from the customary dependence on religious institutions, to which they normally entrusted their documents until the fourteenth century<sup>71</sup>. Finally, one aspect that deserves special attention is that addressed by Mário Justino Silva as regards daily behaviour, of which the *Ditos portuguesas dignos de memória* give a good account<sup>72</sup>. Oliveira Marques’ work that we referred to at the beginning, with its information on daily life, offers an objective framework that has not been bettered, despite more than fifty years having elapsed since it was published.

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<sup>69</sup> See, in addition to those previously referenced: ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “Entre a corte e o ermo: reformismo e radicalismos religiosos (fins do século XIV- século XV)”, in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Formação e limites da Cristandade*, coordinated by Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues and Ana Maria C. M. Jorge, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, pp. 492-505; EADEM, “Dinheiro, poder e caridade: elites urbanas e estabelecimentos de assistência (1274-1345)”, *ibid.*, pp. 460-470; EADEM, “D. Jaime, duque de Bragança: entre a cortina e a vidraça”, in CURTO, Diogo Ramada (dir.), *O Tempo de Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, Difel, 1998, pp. 319-332.

<sup>70</sup> OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, “‘Mais de pedras que de livros’: D. Afonso, 4º conde de Ourém, e a cultura nobiliarquia do seu tempo”, in ANDRÉ, Carlos Ascenso (coord.), *D. Afonso, 4º conde de Ourém e a sua época Actas do Congresso Histórico*, Ourém, Câmara Municipal de Ourém, 2004, pp. 293-310.

<sup>71</sup> See OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “O Arquivo dos Condes de Marialva num inventário do século XVI”, in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média...*, pp. 221-260. Studying private archives is one of the research lines pursued by the Instituto de Estudos Medievais of Nova University of Lisbon. See the Institute’s website for information on its activities, especially the list of presentations from the international colloquium that took place in October 2010.

<sup>72</sup> SILVA, Mário Justino, *O Rei e os Nobres. Imagens do quotidiano nos ‘Ditos Portugueses dignos de Memória’*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2004 (despite the title, it largely looks at the court and nobles in the fifteenth century).



#### 4. Publication of sources<sup>73</sup>

In summary and without trying to be exhaustive, since this book contains accounts of the publication and re-publication of narrative or documental sources, many of which are hugely important in the study of the medieval nobility, we cannot omit to mention in this chapter of our historiography the debt revitalised research owes to two particular studies. The critical edition of the *Livros de linhagens* by José Mattoso and Joseph Piel in 1985, an attempt to re-launch the famous and venerable *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* published by the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, was a much more reliable work to use than the earlier editions, which were replete with errors and misrepresentations. The idea at the time was to continue the new series in the monumental collection by adding the unpublished volumes of King Dinis' *inquirições*. The project partly went did go ahead, as the Academia finally published two volumes of the 1284 and 1288 *inquirições* and the 1290 sentences, in a transcription by José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro, but with the dilatoriness of an institution that does not believe in the scientific interest of such documents.

Reference could be made here to the notable number of editions of other sources that have been published since the onset of the 1980s and that have also helped rejuvenate the history of medieval Portuguese nobility: royal chronicles, trovador poetry, royal chanceries, "acts" of the *cortes*, disjointed documents, monastery and diocesan records offices, etc... However, on closer inspection, one sees that these publications, resulting from separate initiatives, differ greatly in terms of their thoroughness, suitability and importance. It is evident they deserve special attention from the research institutions with by a systematic plan for source publication. A plan of this nature could be the result of cooperation and of a division of the labour between institutions working on historical research, with the help of public and/or private funding.

#### 5. Possible prospects for the future

Though not all the studies referenced here attain the same scientific level, that does not stop them being useful pieces in trying to re-work the puzzle. It may be that, for the future, the conditions for academic work on this theme may not encourage further studies. In fact, the obstacles are clear to projects that require years of

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<sup>73</sup> See, in the same volume, the chapter on "The Editions of Archival Sources and Documents" by Saul António Gomes.

research and, in general, lengthy processing of the data (the reduction in master's courses to two years and doctorates to a maximum four years do not accommodate long periods of documental survey). The effects can be felt on studies of the medieval nobility, under pressure like many others and compressed by tight deadlines not adequate for archive work.

Given the proliferation and fragmentation of separate studies, a systematic study "programme" is needed, not only for the publication of sources, as mentioned above, but also of lineages particularly representative of the whole, above all for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this program, particular attention should be paid to the origins of each lineage (geographic and social), its embedment (local, regional and institutional), its exercise of local, regional or national powers, its position *vis-à-vis* the crown, councils and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, taking into account the attitude of its respective members (not necessarily unanimous), its relation to other lineages (alliances and conflicts), to the conditions for its reproduction (biological and social), to the symbolic means it deployed to defend its prestige, its identity or its social project (namely, support for religious movements). Applying this matrix of questions to the fifteenth century, a time of major economic, social, political and cultural change, seems extremely important, bearing in mind the social unrest of the 1380s, the new configuration of political power and its relation to feudal ideas, the participation of the nobles in the African war, the new religious mentality, new signs of social prestige, progress in mercantile activity and the monetary economy, demographic conditions (with new and frequent outbreaks of the plague), the influence of humanist culture and the intensification of international contacts, and the initial results of the exploration of the Atlantic islands and those off the African coast. There is no shortage of documental and narrative sources. However, the key is to bring all their data together in a safe, structured, non-episodic fashion that is not merely descriptive.

The progress made, the revision of traditional themes (such as, for example, the position of the first-born and second sons in the family structure, the means of passing on the family inheritance or the nobility's relations with the military orders) and the possibility of thorough and productive discussion between those who have dedicated themselves to studying the nobility over the past twenty or thirty years, make it appropriate to place on the order of the day a stock-taking of the road so far travelled; such a stock-taking would include a state of play, and an inventory of the issues that have been "solved" and those that remain outstanding. This would, in fact, be a good means of bringing together the available elements for a synthesis

on the medieval Portuguese nobility. Like all syntheses, this would also only be provisional; but it would take the debate and systematisation of knowledge to a new level, enabling the fallout from our acquired knowledge to settle, and re-launching research in terms of themes that can contribute to the clarification of questions considered central.



# *The Military Orders*<sup>\*</sup>

*Luís Filipe Oliveira,  
Luís Adão da Fonseca, Maria Cristina Pimenta,  
Paula Pinto Costa*

## **The military orders in the twelfth-Fourteenth Centuries**

Studies of the military orders have become one of the specialities of Portuguese historiography over the last thirty years. Throughout this period, the increase in published work has been very significant. From 1976 to 1992, according to a list organised by a team led by Carlos Ayala Martínez<sup>1</sup>, more than a hundred studies were published, with another seventy by 2002<sup>2</sup>, a trend that has been consolidated since in the latest bibliographical surveys<sup>3</sup>. Many of these were not, strictly speaking, studies of the orders – some were the result of studying documents about the militias using analytical procedures from other areas, as has been the case with rural, urban, or religious history, or research into groups and social conflicts<sup>4</sup> – but

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\* Luís Filipe Oliveira is the author of “The military orders in the twelfth-fourteenth centuries”; Luís Adão da Fonseca, Maria Cristina Pimenta and Paula Pinto Costa are the authors of “Military orders in the fifteenth century”.

<sup>1</sup> AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, et al., “Las Órdenes Militares en La Edad Media Peninsular. Historiografía 1976-1992. 2. Corona de Aragón, Navarra y Portugal”, *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, no. 3 (1993), pp. 87-144.

<sup>2</sup> See AYALA MARTINEZ, Carlos, and BARQUERO GONI, Carlos, “Historiografía Hispánica Y Ordenes Militares en La Edad Media, 1993-2003”, *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, no. 12 (2002), pp. 101-161.

<sup>3</sup> See ÁVILA GIJÓN, Juan, “La bibliografía de la Orden Militar de Cristo (Portugal). Del manuscrito al soporte electrónico”, *Via spiritus*, no. 9 (2002), pp. 349-428; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “The Military Orders Established in Portugal in the Middle Ages: A Historiographical Overview”, *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2004). See also, SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (dir.), et al., *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal: Das Origens a Trento. Guia Histórico*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2005, pp. 511-557.

<sup>4</sup> Amongst others, see RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “O património da Donas de Santos no termo de Torres Vedras durante a Idade Média”, in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens*

they all revealed a growing interest in the orders and their history. This change was in part stimulated by the renewal of university teaching and of research, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, but also benefitted from the space made available to ensure the dissemination of works and research continuity in this area<sup>5</sup>. Among the most important were the “Encontros sobre Ordens Militares”<sup>6</sup>, which began in 1987, quickly having an international impact, and the *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, the first issue of which appeared in 1997<sup>7</sup>. This was the first, and for many years the only, European journal totally dedicated to military orders<sup>8</sup>.

This change was not only quantitative but also one of perspective. In general, the military orders came to be seen as part of a larger reality. Due to the influence of dominant trends in medieval historiography, the studies then published could not avoid analysing socio-economic realities, such as the formation and distribution of patrimony, its organisation into *comendas*, or the way in which these were administered<sup>9</sup>. Other aspects, however, were also researched – idealisations of the life and internal organisation, relations with other powers, or the identity of the friars and masters – important in recovering a complete picture of the history of the orders. In recent decades, therefore, studies such as these have provided a substantial picture of the presence and activity of different military orders within the history and territory of Portugal. From this work, it became possible to attempt

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*Militares em Portugal, Actas do Iº Encontro Sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 1991, pp. 115-130; BRAGA, Paulo Drummond, “A construção corrente na região de Palmela nos finais da Idade Média”, *ibid.*, pp. 143-155; PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa, “Visitações de Mértola de 1482”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul da Europa. Actas do II Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 1997, pp. 345-371; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, “A Ordem de Avis e a minoria muçulmana”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, Religião, Poder e Cultura. Actas do III Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, 2 vols., Palmela, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 167-173. For further examples, see the lists cited in previous notes.

<sup>5</sup> For a quick overview of academic work from 1981 onwards, see “Masters Courses and Dissertations in Medieval History at Portuguese Universities”, *e-journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 1, no. 2, summer (2003).

<sup>6</sup> Since 1987, there have been six *Encontros sobre Ordens Militares*. The last one took place in March 2010, and the respective proceedings await publication. In 1992, the 2nd *Encontro* included the participation of five foreign researchers.

<sup>7</sup> Running since 1997 under the editorial control of Luís Adão da Fonseca, there have been 11 issues of the journal. For an overview of the journal and an index of articles published, see COSTA, Paula Pinto, “Militarium Ordinum Analecta: Sources for the Study of the Religious-Military Orders. New approaches based on the written memory”, *e-journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 6, no. 2, winter (2008), available at: [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue12/pdf/pcosta.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue12/pdf/pcosta.pdf) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010).

<sup>8</sup> The two other European journals in this area, the Italian *Sacra Militia. Rivista di storia degli ordini militari*, and the Spanish *Revista de las Órdenes Militares*, published their first issues in 2000 and 2001, respectively.

<sup>9</sup> See the studies produced as part of the master’s in Medieval History at the University of Oporto and cited below.

to produce the first general overviews<sup>10</sup>, plus one of a single order<sup>11</sup>, though these efforts were conditioned by gaps in the available information, so that a proper synthesis has yet to be made. But researchers, or those simply curious, would find enough in them for an initial outline of the history of the orders, as well as providing the necessary tools to get to know their respective homes, or monasteries or even to list the documentation produced by them and preserved in the archives<sup>12</sup>.

This development should be measured against the state of the historiography of the orders up to the 1980s. In 1976, when Derek Lomax published his bibliographical list, he had rightly called attention to the poverty of Portuguese studies in this area<sup>13</sup>; his list extended with difficulty to a hundred titles, most of them written before the twentieth century. It is indeed the case that D. Lomax had not included all Portuguese works on military orders<sup>14</sup>, but his diagnosis was perfectly fair. Most of the works had not escaped the old themes of national inspiration, or their antiquarian origins – the origins and decline of the orders, the monumental artistic manifestations, or the glories of the past, particularly from the time of the Expansion and the Discoveries<sup>15</sup> – and there were no updated monographs on any of the various military orders. When the volumes of the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* were published in 1971, they provided the best overall assessment of Portuguese historiography. But, with rare exceptions, the work had to depend the pre-twentieth century bibliography to write the entries for the five military orders that had existed within the Portuguese kingdom<sup>16</sup>.

There were some slightly more encouraging signs. Even D. Lomax had recognised this, citing Virgínia Rau's study on the salt of Setúbal as a model for analysing the lordships of the orders<sup>17</sup>. To this he added articles by Rui de Azevedo<sup>18</sup>,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. FONSECA, Luís Adão, "Ordens Militares", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, 4 vols., Lisbon, 2001; FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "As Ordens Militares no Reino de Portugal", in NOVOA PORTELA, F., and AYALA MARTÍNEZ, C. (coords.), *As Ordens Militares na Europa Medieval*, Lisbon, Chaves Ferreira – Publicações S. A., 2005, pp. 137-166.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. CUNHA, Maria Cristina, *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Avis (Séc. XII-XV)*, Oporto, Faculdade de Letras. Biblioteca Digital, 2009, available at: <http://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/bitstream/10216/54066/2/livrocristinacunha000076638.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); PINTO, Paula Costa, *A presença dos Hospitalários em Portugal*, Gavião, Ramiro Leão, 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "Ordens Militares", in SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (dir.), et al., *Das Origens a Trento...*, pp. 453-502.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. LOMAX, Derek W., *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Iberica Durante La Edad Media*, offprint of *Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España*, no. 6 (1976), p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, et al., "Las Órdenes Militares en La Edad Media Peninsular. Historiografía...", pp. 138-141.

<sup>15</sup> For a description of these studies, see LOMAX, Derek, *Las Órdenes Militares...*, pp. 26, 66-67; AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, et al., "Las Órdenes Militares...", pp. 111, 138 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, 4 vols, Lisbon, 1971.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. LOMAX, Derek, *Las Ordenes Militares...*, p. 47.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. AZEVEDO, Rui Pinto de, "As origens da Ordem de Évora ou de Avis", *História*, no. 1 (1932),

some others written by foreign authors<sup>19</sup>, in addition to the papers given at the “Congresso Hispano-Português sobre Ordens Militares”, organised in 1971, whose Proceedings had not then been published<sup>20</sup>. These latter papers showed the main signs of renewal, through their academic diversity and the topicality of their themes – the Order of São Julião do Pereiro and the vicariate of Tomar, the rural properties and the country estates of the military orders, and the royal taxation to which they were liable<sup>21</sup>. Despite their academic originality, or perhaps because of it, none of the papers awakened any interest in the orders on the part of other scholars, nor led to new investigations. In the Universities of Lisbon and of Coimbra, the orders had indeed been the subject of some attention, but that had not produced more than a few undergraduate theses<sup>22</sup>. These had limited circulation and varied in quality, were rarely based on solid archival research, and represented individual efforts without any follow-up. More important, because there existed some continuity, was the publication of the proceedings of the visitations, due to the efforts of art historians, persuaded of the value of these sources for the study of art, religious architecture and medieval dwellings. Only two volumes were published, in 1969 and 1972<sup>23</sup>, as

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pp. 233-241; IDEM, “Algumas achegas para o estudo das origens da Ordem de S. João do Hospital de Jerusalém, depois chamada de Malta, em Portugal”, *Revista portuguesa de história*, no. 4 (1949), pp. 317-327; IDEM, “Bens da Ordem de Avis em Benavente, no ano de 1364”, *Estudos benaventinos*, no. 1 (1957), pp. 12-19; IDEM, “Primórdios da Ordem Militar de Évora”, *Junta Distrital de Évora: boletim anual de cultura*, no. 8 (1967), pp. 43-62.

<sup>19</sup> COCHERIL, Maur, “Les Ordres Militaires Cisterciens au Portugal”, *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, n. s., tomes 28-29 (1967-1968), pp. 11-71; JAVIERRE MUR, Aurea, “La Orden de Calatrava en Portugal”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, t. 130 (1952), pp. 323-376; JAVIERRE MUR, Aurea, “Documentos para el estudio de la Orden de Santiago en Portugal en la Edad Media”, *Bracara augusta*, nos. 16-17 (1964), pp. 409-428; MARTIN, José-Luis, “La monarquía portuguesa y la Orden de Santiago, 1170-1195”, *Anuario de estudios medievales*, no. 8 (1972-73), pp. 463-466.

<sup>20</sup> They were only partially published in 1981. See *Las órdenes militares en la Península durante la Edad Media. Actas del congreso internacional hispano-portugués (1971)*, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 11 (1981).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. TRINDADE, Maria José L., “A propriedade das Ordens militares nas Inquirições Gerais de 1220”, *ibid.*, pp. 81-93; RAU, Virginia, and GONÇALVES, Iria, “As Ordens militares e a tributação régia em Portugal”, *ibid.*, pp. 95-98; SAO PAYO, Marques de, “O sol e a lua no selo da Orden de Sant'Iago de Espada de Portugal. O sol (ou estrelas) e a lua (ou crescentes) nos selos medievais”, *ibid.*, pp. 505-508; BARATA, José P. M., “A herdade templária da Açafa. Seus limites a Sul do Tejo”, *ibid.*, pp. 675-678; GONÇALVES, José Pires, “Templários em Monsaraz”, *ibid.*, pp. 679-686; AZEVEDO, R. Pinto de, “A Ordem militar S. Julião do Pereiro, depois chamada de Alcântara”, *ibid.*, pp. 713-729; FERRO, Maria J. Pimenta, “A vigairaria de Tomar, nos finais do século XV”, *ibid.*, pp. 859-868; FERRO, Maria J. Pimenta, “As doações de D. Manuel, Duque de Beja, a algumas Igrejas da Ordem de Cristo”, *ibid.*, pp. 869-882.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. LOURO, Maria Joana Carvalho, *A Ordem Religiosa Militar de Santiago da Espada. Sua acção em Alcácer do Sal*, undergraduate dissertation submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 1958; SILVA, Alcino Manuel, *Oito mestres da Ordem de Cristo: sua acção em lutas, conquistas e descobrimentos*, undergraduate dissertation submitted to the FL-UC, Coimbra, 1946; MATTOSO, António Mancelos, *Subsídios para o Estudo das Comendas da Ordem de Cristo de Soure e de Ega*, undergraduate dissertation submitted to the FL-UC, Coimbra, 1970.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. SANTOS, Vitor Pavão dos (ed.), *Visitações de Alvalade, Casével, Aljustrel e Setúbal (Ordem de São Tiago)*, Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal, no. 7, Lisbon, FCG, 1969; SANTOS, Vitor Pavão dos (ed.), *Visitações de Palmela e Panóias (Ordem de São Tiago)*, Documentos para a história de arte em Portugal, no. 11, Lisbon, FCG, 1972.



part of a collection financed by the Fundação Gulbenkian, but the project would be taken up again by other researchers at the end of the 1970s<sup>24</sup>. Rather than the orders and their history, however, it was the documents they produced and preserved which most interested the researchers.

This attitude was to change only in the 1980s. Two works by Portuguese researchers, both published in 1982, contributed. One was an essay on the history of the aristocracy by José Mattoso<sup>25</sup>, an author who, in the same year, had already underlined the importance of the orders in understanding the southern areas of the country<sup>26</sup>. This work had the merit of exposing historians of the orders to social history, and, in particular, the history of the aristocracy, in linking recruitment for the orders with the adoption of lineage customs, and above all, in suggesting that, from the end of the thirteenth century, younger sons bereft of inheritance were encouraged to join military orders. This hypothesis did not resonate greatly among scholars of the orders<sup>27</sup>, leading only to occasional research<sup>28</sup>, before becoming the starting point more than twenty years later for a prosopographical study of the masters and *comendadores* of Avis and of Saint James<sup>29</sup>.

The second work mentioned above was a study by Luís Adão da Fonseca on an important fifteenth century peninsular figure, Pedro, *Condestável* of Portugal, who became the grand master of Avis in 1444<sup>30</sup>. As far as the orders were concerned,

<sup>24</sup> Cf. DIAS, Pedro (ed.), *Visitações da Ordem de Cristo de 1507 a 1510: aspectos artísticos*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade, 1979; HORMIGO, José M., *Visitações da Ordem de Cristo em 1505 e 1537*, s. l., s.n., 1981; CAVACO, Hugo, and ANTÓNIO, V. R. de S. (eds.), *Visitações da Ordem de Santiago no sotavento algarvio (subsídios para o estudo da história da arte no Algarve)*, s. l., s.n., 1987; LAMEIRA, Francisco, and SANTOS, Maria R. dos Santos (eds.), *Visitações de igrejas algarvias: Ordem de S. Tiago*, Faro, 1988. For an inventory of the published *Visitações* from the Order of Saint James, see OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "A comenda de Cacula e a Visitação de 1478-1482", in BERNARDES, João Pedro (org.), *Sic memorat. Estudos em Homenagem a Teresa Júdice Gamito*, Faro, Universidade do Algarve, 2008, pp. 139-151.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. MATTOSO, José, *Ricos Homens, Infanções e Cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Guimarães Ed., 1985, mainly pp. 227-239.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. IDEM, "Perspectivas actuais da investigação e de síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128-1383)", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 9, (1982), pp. 227-239.

<sup>27</sup> Portuguese historians studying military orders did not cite the work and it also does not appear in the lists of titles in the compiled bibliographies mentioned above.

<sup>28</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, "Memória familiar e ordens militares. Os Pimentéis no séc. XIV", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul...*, pp. 37-49; IDEM, "As Ordens Militares nos nobiliários medievais portugueses", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na Construção do Mundo Ocidental. Actas do IV Encontro sobre Ordens Militares (30 de Janeiro a 2 de Fevereiro de 2002)*, Palmela, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2005, pp. 623-630; SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "A participação da nobreza na Reconquista e nas Ordens Militares", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares (15 a 18 de Fevereiro de 2006)*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2009, pp. 143-155.

<sup>29</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres e os Comendadores, As Ordens Militares de Avis e de Santiago (1330-1449)*, Faro, Universidade do Algarve, 2009; For a summary, see *Medievalista* [online], yr. 4, no. 5, Dec. (2008), available at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA5/medievalista-oliveira.htm](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA5/medievalista-oliveira.htm)

<sup>30</sup> Cf. FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal, a Ordem Militar de Avis e a*

this study played a decisive role in underlining their importance, and the influence the men who led them had in the affairs of the kingdom, and above all in relating that political weight to the internal organisation of the military orders, to the composition and geography of their patrimony, and to the value of the rents which were made available to the masters. In subsequent years, the author would return to the same theme, first to characterise the orders as pressure groups<sup>31</sup> and then to emphasise their influence on the political games of the realm<sup>32</sup>.

It was this triple perspective, at the same time political, institutional and patrimonial, which proved most productive. It became, in fact, the starting point for a programme studying military orders as part of the master's degree in Medieval and Renaissance History at the University of Oporto. The degree was launched in 1986, and between 1989 and 1995 the first monographic studies of the orders of Avis, Cristo, Hospitallers and Saint James were carried out<sup>33</sup>. Although these studies were certainly hampered by some archival resources being incorrectly classified<sup>34</sup>, or by the scarcity of the records preserved, they all investigated not only the origins and geographical locations of the military orders, but also their internal structure and the relations they established with other powers, particularly those more active within the kingdom. At the end of the 1990s this work was followed by more in-depth studies<sup>35</sup> mainly devoted to the history of the orders during their transition

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*Península Ibéria do seu tempo (1429-1466)*, Oporto, INIC / Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1982, mainly pp. 93-110.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. IDEM, "Algumas Considerações a propósito da documentação existente em Barcelona respeitante à Ordem de Avis: sua contribuição para um melhor conhecimento dos grupos de pressão em Portugal em meados do século XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 1 (1984), pp. 19-56.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. IDEM, *O essencial sobre o Tratado de Windsor*, Lisbon, 1986.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. CUNHA, Maria Cristina, *A Ordem Militar de Avis (Das Origens a 1329)*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 1989; CUNHA, Mário Sousa, *A Ordem Militar de Santiago (Das origens a 1327)*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 1991; MATA, Joel Ferreira, *A Comunidade Feminina da Ordem de Santiago: A comenda de Santos na Idade Média*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 1991; COSTA, Paula Pinto, *A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal (séculos XII-XIV)*, Oporto, 1993, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP; BARBOSA, Isabel Lago, "A Ordem de Santiago em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média (Normativa e prática)", in BARBOSA, Isabel Lago, et al., *As Ordens de Cristo e de Santiago no início da Época Moderna: A Normativa*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 2, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1998, pp. 93-288 [= master's dissertation, 1989]; VASCONCELOS, António Pestana de, "A Ordem Militar de Cristo na Baixa Idade Média. Espiritualidade, Normativa e Prática", *ibid.*, pp. 5-92 [= master's dissertation, 1995]; SILVA, Isabel Morgado, "A Ordem de Cristo durante o mestrado de D. Lopo Dias de Sousa (1373?-1417)", in SILVA, Isabel Morgado, et al., *As Ordens Militares de D. João I*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 1, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1997, pp. 5-126 [= master's dissertation, 1989]; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, "A Ordem Militar de Avis (Durante o mestrado de D. Fernão Rodrigues de Sequeira)", *ibid.*, pp. 127-242 [= master's dissertation, 1989].

<sup>34</sup> To study the rules of the Order of Saint James, Isabel Lago Barbosa had, in her master's dissertation in 1989, to identify the archival resources of the Order of Saint James. The respective inventory of the archive was only published much later. See FARINHA, Maria do Carmo, et al., *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, Lisbon, Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais – Torre do Tombo, 1997.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. SILVA, Isabel Luísa Morgado de Sousa e, *A Ordem de Cristo (1417-1521)*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 6, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2002, pp. 5-503 [= doctoral thesis, 1998]; COSTA, Paula Pinto, *A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal: Dos Finais da Idade Média à Modernidade*, *Militarium*

from the medieval to the modern period. Such a shift towards the modern period may perhaps be explained by the greater abundance and accessibility of the available sources. This was certainly the emphasis of most of the research carried out in the following years<sup>36</sup>. However, work on earlier periods did not completely disappear<sup>37</sup>.

All the research within that programme enabled the study of military orders to affirm and consolidate itself as a specific area of medieval historiography, along with the spaces for debate, the exchange and confrontation of ideas and views made possible by the “Encontros de Palmela” and the *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, though inevitably with some imbalance in terms of the themes and periods considered. The latter, of course, stand out, given the greater attention paid to the processes and realities of the late Middle Ages. Of the twenty-five master’s dissertations and doctoral theses completed under that programme between 1989 and 2009<sup>38</sup>, only eight, less than one-third, related to periods prior to the fifteenth century<sup>39</sup>, although two others, with a much more extensive time frame<sup>40</sup>, could be included within this group. It is not surprising therefore that there are issues

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Ordinum Analecta, vols. 3-4, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2000, pp. 5-592 [= doctoral thesis, 1999]; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, *As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média*, Palmela, 2002 [= doctoral thesis, 1999]; MATA, Joel Ferreira, *A Comunidade Feminina da Ordem de Santiago: A comenda de Santos em finais do século XV e no século XVI: Um estudo religioso, económico e social*, Militarium Ordinum Analecta, vol. 9, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2007 [= doctoral thesis, 1999].

<sup>36</sup> Cf. BASTO, Ana Carolina D., *A Vila do Torrão: segundo as Visitações de 1510 e 1534 da Ordem de Santiago*, master’s dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2003; ALVES, Cristina P. Vinagre, *A propriedade da Ordem de Santiago em Palmela: as visitasões de 1510 e de 1534*, master’s dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2004; LUCAS, Isabel Maria, *As Ermidas da Ordem de Santiago nas Visitações de Palmela do século XVI*, master’s dissertation submitted FL-UP, Oporto, 2004; RAMOS, Maria Regina, *As igrejas de Palmela nas visitasões do século XVI: rituais e manifestações de culto*, master’s dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2004; SANTOS, Carlos F. Russo, *A Ordem de Santiago e o papado no tempo de D. Jorge: de Inocência VIII a Paulo III*, master’s dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2004; BARREIRO, Poliana Monteiro, *Uma visitação às igrejas da Ordem de Santiago: (a vila de Setúbal nos avores do século XVI)*, master’s dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2005; ALMEIDA, Ema Maria, *A mobilidade no âmbito da Ordem do Hospital: o caso de Portugal na Idade Média*, master’s dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2006; VASCONCELOS, António Pestana, *Nobreza e Ordens Militares. Relações Sociais e de Poder (Séculos XIV a XVI)*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2008.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. FERNANDES, Maria Cristina, *A Ordem Militar de Santiago no século XIV*, master’s dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2002; FERREIRA, Maria Isabel, *A normativa das ordens militares portuguesas: (séculos XII-XVI): poderes, sociedade, espiritualidade*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2005; FERNANDES, Maria Cristina, *A Ordem do Templo em Portugal (das origens à extinção)*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UL, Oporto, 2009.

<sup>38</sup> This includes two doctoral theses that were defended at the Lusíada University, but supervised by academics linked to that programme. See MENDONÇA, Manuel Lamas, *A Ordem de Avis no Século XVI. Um alheado entardecer*, doctoral thesis submitted to the Lusíada University, Lisbon, 2008; SEABRA, Maria Teresa, *A comarca da Aldeia Galega do Ribatejo (séculos XV e XVI)*, doctoral thesis submitted to the Lusíada University, Lisbon, 2008.

<sup>39</sup> See the master’s dissertations, cited above, of Maria Cristina Cunha, Mário Sousa Cunha, Paula Pinto Costa, Maria Cristina Pimenta, Isabel Morgado Silva, Joel Mata, and the master’s dissertation and doctoral thesis of Maria Cristina Fernandes.

<sup>40</sup> See the theses, cited above, of Maria Isabel Ferreira and António Maria Vasconcelos.

needing to be further explored, along with fresh themes and various aspects that have recently aroused attention and are little studied and poorly understood.

Among these is the Order of the Temple. Due to its importance, and to the place it occupies within romantic imagery, this topic has interested researchers for a considerable period of time, and there have been fine studies carried out on Templar military architecture and castles, its patrimony and some of the towns which came under the lordship of the military order, as well as its chancellorship along with conflicts involving the knights<sup>41</sup>. Only recently, however, has the order been the object of monographic studies based on archival research. The first was an academic thesis completed in the United States in 2002<sup>42</sup>. Perhaps because the existence of that study was overlooked – it was neither cited nor made use of, though part of its conclusions were disseminated in 2005<sup>43</sup> – another study on the order came out in 2009 covering the same period<sup>44</sup>. Both works are based on an incomplete inventory of available sources – neither making use of the ninety-three bundles of documents of the convent of Tomar or the documents of the Temple kept among the royal and private documents of the Order of Cristo<sup>45</sup> – so it would have been difficult to have exhausted all the possibilities offered by the topic. Both insist, however, on the close link of the militia to the kings, and on the reduced weight of international connections, leading to the suggestion that the order took on a strong national character from the twelfth century<sup>46</sup>. This vision should, however, be the subject of

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “A Ordem do Templo e a arquitectura militar portuguesa do século XII”, *Portugália*, n. s., nos. 17-18 (1996-1997), pp. 171-209; OLIVEIRA, Nuno Villamariz, “Algumas considerações sobre os castelos da Ordem do Templo em Portugal - o exemplo paradigmático de Castelo Branco”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, MALPICA CUELLO, António, and REAL, Manuel (coords.), *III Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular: Arqueologia da Idade Média da Península Ibérica. Actas*, 7, ADECAP, Oporto, 2000, pp. 153-167; OLIVEIRA, Nuno Villamariz, *Castelos Templários em Portugal [1120-1314]*, Ésquilo, Lisbon, 2010; GOMES, Saul António, “A presença das ordens militares na região de Leiria (séculos XII-XV)”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As ordens militares em Portugal e no Sul...*, pp. 143-204; CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves, *Tomar Medieval: O Espaço e os Homens*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996; GOMES, Saul António, “Observações em torno das Chancelarias das Ordens Militares em Portugal, na Idade Média”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria...*, pp. 111-167; IDEM, “Observações em torno da chancelaria da Ordem do Templo em Portugal”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 121-139; MARQUES, Maria Alegria, “O litígio entre a Sé de Coimbra e Ordem do Templo pela posse das Igrejas de Ega, Redinha e Pombal”, *Jornadas sobre Portugal medieval. Actas*, Leiria, Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 1987, pp. 349-366.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. VALENTE, José M., *Soldiers and Settlers: The Knights Templar in Portugal, 1128-1319*, doctoral thesis submitted to the University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “Ordens Militares”, in SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (dir.), et al., *Das Origens a Trento...*, pp. 462-463, 465, 555.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. FERNANDES, Maria Cristina, *A Ordem do Templo em Portugal (das origens à extinção)*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2009.

<sup>45</sup> For a description of these sources, see FARINHA, Maria do Carmo, et al., *Mesa da Consciência...*, pp. 282-283, 298-299; MARQUES, A. H. Oliveira, *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, 1988, p. 211.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. VALENTE, José, *Soldiers...*, pp. 116-117, 121-122; FERNANDES, Maria Cristina, *A Ordem do Templo...*, pp. 170-172, 214 ff. The last idea mentioned in the text is that of José Valente.

an urgent review, given the existence of provincial masters with jurisdiction over all *Hispania*<sup>47</sup>; or considered in the light of known information regarding the presence of Portuguese knights in Cyprus and the Holy Land<sup>48</sup>.

Such international connections existed in other orders, and especially in that of the Hospitallers. Unlike the orders of Avis and Saint James, which had lost their links to Castile and soon underwent a national reorganisation<sup>49</sup>, though without putting into place an autonomous set of internal rules<sup>50</sup>, the Hospitallers remained an international order. As was the case with the Knights Templar<sup>51</sup>, there is not much information on the involvement of the grand master, or of the central convent, in the life of the order within the kingdom, and there is nothing to suggest that the Leça priorate was governed by foreign brothers<sup>52</sup>. This lack of information has not however been considered anomalous, perhaps because of the importance of studies on the role of the orders in establishing international frontiers<sup>53</sup>, thus suggesting their relevance to national politics. To overcome this national perspective, derived from given the sources preserved in Portuguese archives, it would be necessary to investigate other archives, in particular, those of the Hospitaller Order in Malta<sup>54</sup>. More recent analyses have shown, moreover, that it was not uncommon

<sup>47</sup> Cf. VALENTE, José, *Soldiers...*, p. 183; FERNANDES, Maria Cristina, *A Ordem do Templo...*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. CLAVERIE, Pierre-Vincent, “*Contra soldanum de Coine’* ou la contributin des Templiers portugais à la defense de la Syrie franque”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 399-412; BURGTORF, Jochen, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120-1310)*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 388, 392, 547-48, 667.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. LOMAX, Derek W., “El Rey Don Dinis y la Orden de Santiago”, *Hidalguia*, no. 30 (1982), pp. 477-487; CUNHA, Mário Sousa, “A quebra da unidade santiaguista e o mestado de D. João Osório”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul...*, pp. 393-405; AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, “La Escisión de los Santiaguistas Portugueses: Algunas Notas sobre Los Establecimientos de 1327”, *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, no. 24 (1997), pp. 53-69; CUNHA, Maria Cristina, “A Eleição do Mestre de Avis nos Séculos XIII-XIV”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 13 (1996), pp. 103-122.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. BARBOSA, Isabel Lago, “A normativa da ordem de Santiago: uma memória peninsular”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul...*, pp. 65-70; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, *As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago...*, pp. 95 ff.; FERREIRA, Maria Isabel, *A Normativa das Ordens...*, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. FERNANDES, Maria Cristina F., *A Ordem do Templo...*, p. 171.

<sup>52</sup> COSTA, Paula Pinto, *A Ordem Militar do Hospital...*, pp. 53-57, 155-157; EADEM, “A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal: Dos finais da Idade Média à Modernidade”..., pp. 132-133.

<sup>53</sup> AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, *Alfonso X, el Algarve Y Andalucía: El destino de Serpa, Moura Y Mourão*, offprint of *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Historia Medieval I*, Córdoba, 1994; IDEM, “Frontera castellano-portuguesa y órdenes militares: problemas de jurisdicción, ss. XII-XIII”, in *III Jornadas de cultura hispano-portuguesa: Interrelación cultural en la formación de una mentalidad, siglos XII al XVI. Actas*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1999, pp. 51-92; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “Ordens Militares e Fronteira: Um desempenho Jurisdiccional e Político em Tempos Medievais”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 3rd ser., vol. 7 (2006), pp. 79-91; EADEM, “As ordens militares portuguesas na estruturação da fronteira”, in MELE, Maria Grazia, and CADEDDU, Maria Eugenia, *Frontiere del Mediterraneo. Atti del Seminario Internazionale (Cagliari, 10-12/10/2002)*, Cagliari-Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2006, pp. 61-76.

<sup>54</sup> For a description, see VANN, Theresa, “Hospitaller Record Keeping and Archival Practices”, in NICHOLSON, Helen (coord.), *The Military Orders. Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, Aldershot, 1998, pp. 275-285.

for Portuguese knights to visit Rhodes, and that the Leça prior or, later on, that of Crato, maintained its ties with the central convent, while paying its contributions (*responiones*) that regularly fell due<sup>55</sup>.

Poorly understood and little studied<sup>56</sup>, phenomena affecting the mobility of friars within the kingdom are not likely to be any less significant. Beyond the general assemblies, sometimes held in convents and more regularly than has been stated<sup>57</sup>, the rules also prescribed short stays with the conventual friars, as was the case in Calatrava during the three Easters of the year, or in Saint James during Lent and Advent<sup>58</sup>. However, such obligations were not the only aspects to determine the mobility of the knights, and they were often replaced through the award of a *comenda*, or moved to another. The study of these rotations has been hampered by a tendency to accept the lifelong nature of the commendatory mandates, as prescribed by the *Estatutos de Cristo* in 1326 and the *Estabelecimentos de Santiago* in 1327, though there is nothing similar for the Avis Order<sup>59</sup>. The available data are therefore not very significant. They only deal with the Saint James and Avis orders, but show that by the end of the fourteenth century, mandates were not for life, but temporary, and that only rarely were they longer than fifteen years<sup>60</sup>. In those orders, it was common for the *comendadores* to be stripped of their *comenda*, or removed to another, though this transition to different houses did not necessarily involve a career in an upward sense<sup>61</sup>. It is thus important to ascertain the realities documented in the other orders, so as to determine the normality of these practices in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The results of that research will be critical to understanding the functional, or beneficial, dimension, of the *comendador* mandates, or even to assess the nature of the *comendas*, sometimes seen as family property and identified as actual lordships<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. LUTTREL, Anthony, "The Hospitallers of Rhodes and Portugal: 1300-1415", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 463-477; COSTA, Paula Pinto, "O Mediterrâneo e a Ordem de S. João", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, and CADEDDU, Maria Eugénia (orgs), *Portogallo Mediterraneo*, Cagliari, Istituto sui Rapporti Italo-Iberici, 2001, pp. 75-97. For more distant periods, see BURGTORF, Jochen, *The Central Convent...*, pp. 387, 392, 591-92, 667.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. CUNHA, Maria Cristina, "A mobilidade interna na Ordem de Avis (séc. XII-XIV)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 3rd ser., vol. 7 (2006), pp. 69-77.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres...*, p. 131. See also JOSSERAND, Philippe, *Église et Pouvoir dans la Péninsule Ibérique: Les Ordres Militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252-1369)*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2004, pp. 437-441; AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la edad media (siglos XII-XV)*, Madrid, Marcial Pons / La Torre Literaria, 2003, pp. 305-307.

<sup>58</sup> Inter alia, see O'CALLAGHAN, Joseph "La Vida de las Órdenes Militares de España según sus estatutos primitivos", in IZQUIERDO BENITO, R., and RUIZ GOMEZ, F. (eds.), *Alarcos 1195. Actas del Congreso internacional conmemorativo del VII Centenario de la Batalla de Alarcos*, Cuenca, 1996, pp. 7-29.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. SILVA, Isabel Morgado e Silva, "A Ordem de Cristo...", p. 32; BARBOSA, Isabel Lago, "A Ordem de Santiago...", doc. E, p. 234.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres...*, pp. 127-130.

<sup>61</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 128, 437, 459-460.

<sup>62</sup> Amongst others, see BARBOSA, Isabel Lago, "A Ordem de Santiago...", p. 182; PIMENTA, Maria

The military orders could also be important spaces for social mobility. Though the significance of this topic was underlined quite some time back, it has been poorly studied and the only data available is for the Hospitallers<sup>63</sup> and, more plentifully, for the Avis and Saint James orders<sup>64</sup>. One can demonstrate that the orders not only served to rehabilitate and consolidate the power and prestige gained by a few noble families, but also as a pathway to the nobility, helping to establish noble credit for those who came from more modest origins. More important, perhaps, was the demonstration that the Saint James and Avis orders were spaces for social osmosis, which could have enhanced the blending of the nobility with the urban elites, since, until the beginning of the fifteenth century, they had never been an aristocratic bastion and accepted the vocation of urban knights and city burghers<sup>65</sup>. It would be important to test these observations, checking the size of urban recruitment in other orders and the due weight of those who professed noble origin. However, it would also be desirable to extend the research back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both to examine the era in which the orders replaced municipal militias in the war effort, and to observe the consequences of the early end of the Reconquest in the recruitment policies of the military orders.

Not much is known, however, about the presence of the knights of the orders in urban spaces<sup>66</sup>. Most convents have been studied primarily for their artistic and architectural value<sup>67</sup>, and little is known about the individuals who lived there or about their influence on local life. Studies of *comendas*, more attentive to rural

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Cristina, "A Ordem Militar de Avis...", p. 190; COSTA, Paula Pinto, *A Ordem Militar do Hospital...*, p. 155. For a different view, see JOSSERAND, Philippe, *Église et Pouvoir...*, pp. 328-339.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, "Memória familiar e ordens militares...", pp. 37-49; IDEM, *Os Pimentéis. Percursos de Uma Linhagem da Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa (Séculos XIII-XIV)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2000, pp. 148-179; COSTA, Paula Pinto, "A nobreza e a ordem do Hospital: uma aliança estratégica", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria...*, pp. 605-621.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres...*, pp. 120-124, 181-186; VASCONCELOS, António Pestana, "Os Vasconcelos e as Ordens Militares", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 247-258; MENDONÇA, Manuel Lamas, "Furtado de Mendonça portugueses. Um caso de ascensão social avançada nas Ordens Militares", in VV. AA., *Comendas e Ordens Militares na Idade Média*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 11, Oporto, CEPES / Civilização Editora, 2009, pp. 181-215. Even though the data mainly concern the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see also VASCONCELOS, António Pestana, *Nobreza e Ordens...*, pp. 221 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres...*, pp. 167-176, 184-201.

<sup>66</sup> See however, the remarks of CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves, *Tomar Medieval...*, pp. 162-178; GOMES, Saul António, "As ordens militares e Coimbra medieval: tópicos e documentos para um estudo", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens militares. Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 43-72; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, *Alcácer do Sal...*, pp. 173-176, 206 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Amongst others, see RODRIGUES, Jorge, and PEREIRA, Paulo, *Santa Maria de Flor da Rosa. Um Estudo de História de Arte*, Crato, 1986; COSTA, Paula Pinto, and ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso, *Leça do Bailio no tempo dos Cavaleiros do Hospital*, Lisbon, 2001; POMBO, Hugo, CORTE, Izelina, and CUNHA, João Pedro, *O Convento de S. Bento de Avis*, Lisbon, 2001; SILVA, José Custódio V., "A igreja de Santiago da Espada de Palmela", *O fascínio do Fim. Viagens pelo final da Idade Média*, Lisbon, 1997, pp. 61-74; FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., "Os conventos da Ordem de Santiago em Palmela", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 583-633.

assets<sup>68</sup>, have added little about the centres located in urban areas, ignoring the location and structure of the corresponding houses, and, in particular, the relations of association and community that spread from them<sup>69</sup>. In some cases, the ability to attract the faithful, involving them in the life of the friars, must have been very significant. Such was the case with the houses of Évora and Arruda in the thirteenth century<sup>70</sup>, whose churches saw their activity greatly reduced – the former had its bell removed and only the friars and nuns of the *comenda* attended the church in the latter – due to the reaction of the city’s bishop and the prior of São Vicente. The tensions and conflicts with the active powers in the urban space, whether ecclesiastical or local authorities, have been more studied and are better known<sup>71</sup>, but are not the only way to consider these issues. Other means would have to be used to measure the impact of the orders in local life. What is known about the Templars’ role in the spread of urban planning, clearly visible in Nisa and in Tomar<sup>72</sup>, or of the

<sup>68</sup> Amongst others, see DIAS, João José Alves, “As comendas de Almourol e da Cardiga das ordens do Templo e de Cristo, na Idade Média”, in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I...*, pp. 101-112; SILVA, Isabel Morgado, and PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, “Castro Marim: uma comenda da Ordem de Cristo”, *Cadernos históricos*, no. 3 (1992), pp. 62-93; VARGAS, José Manuel, “Mouguelas: Uma comenda da Ordem de Santiago no termo de Setúbal”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria...*, pp. 485-515; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “A comenda de Leça do Bailio (séculos XII-XVII)”, *Matesinus. Revista de arqueologia, História e Património de Matosinhos*, no. 5 (2004), pp. 84-91. EADEM, “As Comendas: enquadramentos e aspectos metodológicos”, in VV. AA., *Comendas e Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 9-24; CUNHA, Maria Cristina, “A comenda de Oriz da Ordem de Avis”, *Bracara augusta*, t. 40 (1987), pp. 131-198; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “A Comenda de Noudar da Ordem de Avis: a memória da fronteira entre a Idade Média e a Idade Moderna”, in IZQUIERDO BENITO, R., and RUIZ GOMEZ, F. (orgs.), *Las Órdenes Militares en La Península Iberica. Actas, Cuenca, 2000*, vol. 1, pp. 655-681; SILVA, Maria J. Oliveira, “A Comenda de S. Vicente da Beira da Ordem de Avis (1330-1384)”, in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (eds.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, Oporto, 2006, vol. 4, pp. 7-23.

<sup>69</sup> For a discussion concerning the forms of association of lay members to the military orders, see TOMMASI, F., “Men and Women of the Hospitaller, Templar and Teutonic Orders: Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries”, in LUTTREL, Anthony, and NICHOLSON, Helen (orgs.), *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 71-88.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, “A Diocese de Évora e a Ordem de Avis. Dois poderes em confronto na centúria de Duzentos”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul...*, pp. 271-284; TAROUCA, Carlos Silva, “As Origens dos Cavaleiros de Évora (Avis) segundo as Cartas do Arquivo da Sé de Évora”, *A Cidade de Évora*, vol. 5, nos. 13-14, (1947), pp. 30-31, doc. no. II; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “O mosteiro de Santos, as freiras de Santiago e o culto dos Mártires”, in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2009, p. 431.

<sup>71</sup> For some examples, see MARQUES, Maria Alegria, “O litígio entre a Sé de Coimbra e Ordem do Templo...”, pp. 349-366; VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, “A Diocese de Évora e a Ordem de Avis...”, pp. 271-284; MARQUES, José, “O concelho alentejano de Figueira e a Ordem de Avis, em 1336”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: História*, Oporto, 2nd ser., vol. 5 (1985), pp. 95-111; IDEM, “A Ordem de Santiago e o concelho de Setúbal, em 1341”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As ordens militares em Portugal e no Sul...*, pp. 285-305; SILVA, Isabel Morgado, “Concelho de Soure versus Ordem de Cristo: um processo de conflito em finais do século XIV”, *Revista de ciências históricas*, no. 12 (1997), pp. 109-117; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “O couto de Leça e a cidade do Porto: momentos de oposição de dois poderes medievais”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, M. Fernanda (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 1223-1229.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Tomar Medieval...*, pp. 86-87; TRINDADE, Maria Luísa, *Urbanismo*



Hospitallers' concern for works of welfare<sup>73</sup>, or regarding the urban dissemination of the cult of the martyrs<sup>74</sup>, seems in fact to show a certain harmony with the urban residents. Which could also have been the case with the participation of the military orders in economic life and commercial networks, enlightened by the significant presence of a merchant alongside the friars-martyrs of Tavira<sup>75</sup>.

Nor is much known about the religious life and spiritual concerns of the brothers belonging to the orders. The topic was the subject of a recent colloquium<sup>76</sup>, and the ideas about the crusades have also been given a certain amount of attention in recent years<sup>77</sup>, so that important discoveries can be expected in the future. Studies in these areas, as of yet not very advanced, are crucial to understanding knightly philosophy and the reasons that led them not only to their profession of faith, but also to how they conceived of their mission and came to accept that the service of God could become entangled with that of the king and the ideals of chivalry<sup>78</sup>. An analysis of these processes would definitely result in a better understanding of the

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*na composição de Portugal*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UC, Coimbra, 2009, pp. 421-443, 503-523. Perhaps to these can be added the case of Sines (TRINDADE, Maria Luísa, *Urbanismo...*, pp. 471-490), and also those of Coima and of Sesimbra (OLIVEIRA, José Augusto, *Na Península de Setúbal, em finais da Idade Média: organização do espaço, aproveitamento dos recursos e exercício do poder*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2008, pp. 144-163), towns of the Order of Saint James.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. COSTA, Paula Pinto, "A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal: Dos finais da Idade Média à Modernidade"..., pp. 87-90.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. GAMEIRO, Odília "Sociologia e geografia do culto medieval dos Santos Mártires de Lisboa", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, FONTES, João Luís (coords), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 371-387; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "O mosteiro de Santos, as freiras de Santiago...", pp. 429-436; PICOITO, Pedro, "Os Sete Mártires de Tavira. História de um culto local", in JORNADAS DE HISTÓRIA DE TAVIRA, *V Jornadas de História de Tavira. Actas*, Tavira, Câmara Municipal de Tavira, 2006, pp. 52-70; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, "O Santuário de Santa Maria dos Mártires de Alcácer do Sal (Séculos XIII-XVI), in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 635-676.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres...*, pp. 197-198.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares e Religiosidade. Homenagem ao Professor José Mattoso*, Palmela, GESOS – Gabinete de Estudos sobre a Ordem de Santiago / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2010, For a description of this, see OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís, "9º Curso sobre Ordens Militares e Religiosidade em Palmela", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 5, no. 6, Jul. (2009), available at: [www2.fchh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA6/medievalista-oliveira-fontes.htm](http://www2.fchh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA6/medievalista-oliveira-fontes.htm)

<sup>77</sup> Amongst others, see KRUS, Luís, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica do Espaço Ibérico (1280-1380)*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1994, pp. 115, 120-121, 137-142, 298-299; FONSECA, Luís Adão, *A Cruzada, a Paz e a Guerra no Horizonte da Nova Europa do século XI*, Oporto, 1998; PEREIRA, Armando, "Guerra e santidade: O cavaleiro-mártir Henrique de Bona e a conquista de Lisboa", *Lusitânia Sacra*, t. 17 (2005), pp. 15-38; COSTA, Paula Pinto, and PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, "A cruzada e os objectivos fundacionais das Ordens Religioso-Militares em Portugal", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, no. 40 (2009), pp. 73-84.

<sup>78</sup> For an analysis of this process, see JOSSERAND, Philippe, "In servitio Dei et domini regis'. Les Ordres Militaires du royaume de Castille et la défense de la Chrétienté latine: frontières et enjeux de pouvoir (XII-XIV siècles)", in AYALA, C. de, BURESI, P., and JOSERRAND, Philippe (coords.), *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI-XIV)*, Madrid, Casa de Velásquez, 2001, pp. 89-111; JOSSERAND, Philippe, "Itinéraires d'une rencontre: les ordres militaires et l'ideal chevaleresque dans la Castille du Bas Moyen Age (XIII-XV siècle)", in SANCHEZ, J. P., *L'Univers de La Chevalerie en Castille (fin du Moyen Age – début des temps modernes)*, Paris, Éditions du Temps, 2000, pp. 77-103.

institutional evolution of the military orders and, above all, of the importance of their reform from the end of the fourteenth century onwards<sup>79</sup>.

Although these are institutions that made war in the name of God, or for *love*, as was said, and geared towards male vocations, the women who formed part of the military orders, or who chose to make their professions of faith with them, should not be forgotten. The only data available relate, however, to the nuns of Saint James and to the monastery of Santos<sup>80</sup>, the only female convent of the military orders until the end of the Middle Ages. Not everything is clear, however. It would be useful to learn more about the establishment of the convent and its relation with the *comenda* of Santos, and to define more precisely how the nuns were recruited, and the importance and role of the secular nuns within the order and convent life. Data are very scarce for other orders, and there are only scattered items for a few *familiares* and nuns of the Templar and Hospitaller orders<sup>81</sup>, and nothing is known about the Order of Avis. This should therefore become a focus of research, as there are presently insufficient data to assess the importance of the female vocations.

Older, previously studied, aspects could also benefit considerably from being reconsidered. That has certainly at least been the case with two recent studies, one on conflict management in the Setúbal peninsula, and the other involving a re-reading of the donation of Berver to the Hospitallers<sup>82</sup>. Research into thirteenth century royal enquiries could also be reconsidered, less for studying the issues of land ownership, than for scrutinising the motives of donors, especially the smaller ones, in order to reconstruct the communities built around the friars and their homes. This could even lead to a reconsideration of the problem, once much discussed<sup>83</sup>, of

<sup>79</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres...*, pp. 72-76, 276, 279-280; VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, "Uma reforma para a Ordem de Cristo: breves notas a propósito dos estatutos de D. João Vicente", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens militares. Guerra...*, vol. 1, pp. 273-287.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. MATA, Joel, *A Comunidade Feminina da Ordem de Santiago: A comenda de Santos na Idade Média...*; IDEM, "As religiosas do hábito de Santiago: origem e problemas", in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso*, vol. 5, Guimarães, 1996, pp. 109-116; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "O mosteiro de Santos, as freiras de Santiago..." pp. 429-436; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "Uma barregã régia, um mercador de Lisboa e as freiras de Santos", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos...*, pp. 182-196.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. VALENTE, José, *Soldiers...*, pp. 162, 299; FERNANDES, Mara Cristina, *A Ordem do Templo...*, pp. 269, 272, 318, 329; COSTA, Paula Pinto, *A Ordem Militar do Hospital...*, pp. 39, 200, 223.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. OLIVEIRA, José Augusto, "A gestão de conflitos entre concelhos da Ordem de Santiago: o caso de Sesimbra e Setúbal", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 735-745; COSTA, Paula Pinto, and BARROCA, Mário, "A doação de Berver à Ordem do Hospital por D. Sancho I. Leitura e contextualização do documento de 1194", *ibid.*, pp. 679-714.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. TAROUCA, Carlos Silva, "As origens da Ordem...", pp. 25-39; AZEVEDO, R. Pinto de, "As origens da Ordem de Évora...", pp. 233-241; TAROUCA, Carlos Silva, "Primórdios da Ordem Militar de Évora...", pp. 43-62; OLIVEIRA, Miguel de, "A milícia de Évora e a Ordem de Calatrava", *Lusitania sacra*, t. 1, (1956), pp. 51-64; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, "Calatrava em Portugal: notas para uma revisão", in MADRID MEDINA, A., and VILLEGAS DIAZ, L. (coords.), *El nacimiento de la Orden de Calatrava. Primeros tiempos de expansión (siglos XII-XIII)*, Ciudad Real, Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 2009, pp. 189-204.

the origins of the friars of Évora, in the light of studies on the military brotherhoods of the twelfth century<sup>84</sup>, particularly those which were organised around the main monastic houses. It would also be interesting to deepen the analysis already carried out concerning the relationship between the orders and the crown during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries<sup>85</sup>. The more spectacular occurrences during the reign of King Dinis<sup>86</sup> should not lead us to forget the previous initiatives, nor the influences stemming from across the frontier. It is always good to remember, after all, that the Order of Cristo closely followed the national model adopted by the Order of Santa Maria of Spain and that it also chose for its main centre a town located on the limits of the kingdom, near the maritime border with the land of the Moors<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. BÉRIOU, Nicole, and JOSSERAND, Philippe (dirs.), *Prier et Combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Fayard, 2009, s. v. "Confréries Militaires"; CARRAZ, Damien, "Precursors and Imitators of the Military Orders: Religious Societies for defending the faith in the Medieval West (11th to 13th Centuries)", *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2 (2010), pp. 91-111.

<sup>85</sup> See MARQUES, José, "Os castelos algarvios da Ordem de Santiago no reinado de D. Afonso III", *Caminiana*, yr. 8, no. 13 (1986), pp. 9-32; CUNHA, Maria Cristina, "A ordem de Avis e a Monarquia Portuguesa até ao final do reinado de D. Dinis", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 12 (1995), pp. 112-123; COSTA, Paula Pinto, "A Ordem do Hospital no primeiro século da Nacionalidade", *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães...*, vol. 5, pp. 97-107; AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, "Las órdenes Militares y los procesos de afirmación monárquica en Castilla y Portugal (1250-1350)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2nd ser., vol. 15 (1998), pp. 1279-1312; VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, "Arquivo, propriedade e guerra: Afonso II e as Ordens Militares", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente...*, pp. 715-734.

<sup>86</sup> Amongst others, see LOMAX, Derek W., "El Rey Don Dinis...", pp. 477-487; CUNHA, Mário Sousa, "A quebra da unidade santiaguista...", pp. 393-405; AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, "La Escisión de los Santiaguistas...", pp. 53-69; CUNHA, Maria Cristina, "A Eleição do Mestre de Avis...", pp. 103-122; COSTA, Paula Pinto, "D. Dinis e a Ordem do Hospital: dois poderes em confronto", in *Actas da II Semana de Estudos Alfonsies*, Porto de Santa Maria, 2001.

<sup>87</sup> Concerning the Order of Santa Maria of Spain, set up in 1272 and located in Cartagena, see AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, *Las órdenes militares...*, pp. 108-112; JOSSERAND, Philippe, *Église et Pouvoir...*, pp. 620-625; TORRES FONTES, Juan, "La Orden de Santa Maria de España", *Miscelanea Medieval Murciana*, vol. 3, (1977), pp. 75-118.

## Military orders in the fifteenth century

### 1. *The chronological limits of the fifteenth century: 1385-1521 / 1551*

Bibliographical reflection on the military orders from the end of the Middle Ages to the fifteenth century involves reflection on the chronological limits being considered. As is well known, chronology in itself does not bring coherence to the phenomena inserted in its depths, making it necessary to adjust and explain the temporal limits of the theme in question – in the present case, that of the military orders in Portugal.

For a life cycle of these institutions that, as a point of departure, can be fixed between the 1380s and the beginning of the sixteenth century, we should focus both on the history of the orders themselves and on how the monarchy understood their role. In Portugal during the 1380s, one may observe changes in the leadership of these *militiae* that, due to their effects, allow us to pre-date the beginning of the 1400s to the final quarter of the previous century. Another perspective might locate these transformations in the reign of King João I, when the king asked the Pope to transfer the government of the orders to the princes, making them the *administrators* and the militias into *instruments of government*. Though this strategy was enacted only between 1418 and 1434<sup>88</sup>, it reflected earlier policies, first initiated by King Dinis, and strengthened during the 1380s when the masters' bonds to the monarch were reinforced.

With regard to the sixteenth century, similar problems arise when considering the *end of the fifteenth century cycle*. Here, too, the criteria vary. If one considers the reign of King Manuel (who died in 1521) as an acceptable option in the context of the history of Portugal, the historical evolution of the orders themselves prolongs the cycle until 1551, when the masterships were incorporated within the crown<sup>89</sup>. In reality, this latter option appears the most appropriate, considering that the analysis of the internal life of these institutions, in the first half of the 1500s, does not significantly alter what is known for the earlier period.

### 2. *The state of the art in the mid-20th century and the importance of the 80's.*

From the historiographical point of view, the works of Derek Lomax, published in

<sup>88</sup> COSTA, Paula Pinto, PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, and SILVA, Isabel Morgado Sousa e, "Prerrogativas Mestrais e Monarquia: as Ordens Militares Portuguesas na Baixa Idade Média", in GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, Manuel, and ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel Montes (eds.), *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico. Siglos XIII-XV*, (proceedings of the "V Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval", Cádiz 1-4 Apr. 2003) Cádiz, Diputación de Cádiz / Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006, pp. 589-595.

<sup>89</sup> OLIVAL, Fernanda, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno. Honra, Mercê e Venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)*, Lisbon, Estar Editora, 2001.

1975/76<sup>90</sup>, constitute a very useful contribution to understand the evolution in the treatment of this subject. This research and synthesis was later updated, in various lists<sup>91</sup>. In analysing these texts, there is a prominent difference represented by the 1980s, not just in the number of published titles, but also in methodological renovation and thematic diversity. The first step was taken in 1982 with Luís Adão da Fonseca's *Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*<sup>92</sup>. This study, centred on the figure of Counstable Pedro, governor of the Order of Avis (between 1444 and 1466), underlined the importance of the orders within Portuguese history. This first contact with the documentation effectively gave birth to a line of research on the military orders, undertaken at the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Oporto, along with the first master's degree course devoted to the Middle Ages. This course dedicated a seminar to these institutions, which resulted, during its first phase, in the writing of eight dissertations<sup>93</sup>. In this context, conditions were established to organise a survey of the documental *corpus* of the military orders in Portugal and to follow up on the works already undertaken, especially those published by scholars. From this, it became possible to move on to more ambitious studies. By the

<sup>90</sup> LOMAX, Derek W., "La historiografía de las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica (1100-1550)", *Hidalguía*, no. 23 (1975), pp. 711-724; IDEM, "Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media", *Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España*, Salamanca, no. 6 (1976), pp. 9-109.

<sup>91</sup> PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, and SILVA, Isabel Morgado, "As Ordens Militares na Idade Média Peninsular. Portugal: alguns contributos para a elaboração de uma bibliografia", *Medievalismo. Boletim de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, yr. 3, no. 3 (1993), pp. 102-144, available at: [www.medievalistas.es/revista/M\\_3/Completo.pdf](http://www.medievalistas.es/revista/M_3/Completo.pdf) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010). In this work, the Portuguese collaboration in the bibliographical updating consisted, furthermore, of the presentation of a list of Portuguese titles, prior to 1975, that were not part of the one put together by Lomax. Other lists that may be usefully consulted include: AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos (coord.), "Las Órdenes Militares en la Edad Media peninsular. Historiografía 1976-1992. Corona de Aragón, Navarra y Portugal", *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, no. 3 (1993), pp. 87-144; ÁVILA GIJÓN, Juan d', "La bibliografía de la Orden Militar de Cristo (Portugal). Del manuscrito al soporte electrónico", *Via Spiritus*, vol. 9 (2002), pp. 349-428, available at: <http://ler.lettras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/3486.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); COSTA, Paula Pinto, "The Military Orders established in Portugal in the Middle Ages: A Historiographical Overview", *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 2, no. 1, Summer (2004), available at: [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue3/pdf/ppcosta.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue3/pdf/ppcosta.pdf) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010). One may also see, FONSECA, Luís Adão da (coord.), et al., "Apresentação - As Ordens Militares em Portugal", available at: [www.moderna1.ih.csic.es/oomm/PORTUGAL.htm](http://www.moderna1.ih.csic.es/oomm/PORTUGAL.htm) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010). Integrated into the Repertoire OOMM - Bibliografía de las Órdenes Militares en la Edad Moderna, maintenance by Francisco Fernández Izquierdo (Departamento de Historia Moderna, Instituto de Historia, CSIC), database available at: [www.moderna1.ih.csic.es/oomm/default.htm](http://www.moderna1.ih.csic.es/oomm/default.htm) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010). A comparative reading could be based on JOSSERAND, Philippe, "Les ordres militaires dans les royaumes de Castille et de León. Bilan et perspectives de la recherche en histoire médiévale", *Atalaya*, no. 9 (Administrer et convaincre au Moyen Âge, octobre 1998), available at: <http://atalaya.revues.org/index78.html> (accessed 1, Nov. 2010).

<sup>92</sup> FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*, see footnote 30, above.

<sup>93</sup> From this set are selected those that fall within the chronological period of this text: BARBOSA, Isabel Maria de Carvalho Lago, *A Ordem de Santiago em Portugal nos finais da Baixa Idade Média (Normativa e prática)*... (see footnote 33); MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, *A Comunidade Feminina da Ordem de Santiago: a Comenda de Santos na Idade Média*. (see footnote 33); PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, "A Ordem Militar de Avis (durante o Mestrado de D. Fernão Rodrigues Sequeira)"... see footnote 33; SILVA, Isabel Luisa Morgado de Sousa e, "A Ordem de Cristo sob o Mestrado de D. Lopo Dias de Sousa"... (see footnote 33); VASCONCELOS, António Maria Falcão Pestana de, "A Ordem Militar de Cristo na Baixa Idade Média. Espiritualidade, normativa e prática"... (see footnote 33).

end of the 1990s, eleven doctoral theses had been presented, centred both on political-institutional enquiries, and on approaches related to the norm, the female community, the commanderies and the patrimony, as well as to the relationships with the nobility and art<sup>94</sup>. With the exception of one title devoted to the Order of the Temple<sup>95</sup>, all the other dissertations focussed on the late Middle Ages, usually extending until the mid-sixteenth century, in an attempt to find coherent answers only evident over the long term. The latter also coincided with various master's degree dissertations, presented during the first decade of the twenty-first century, with particular emphasis on the territorial and religious implantation and with the respective jurisdictions<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> COSTA, Paula Pinto, "A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal: dos finais da Idade Média à Modernidade"... (see footnote 35); FERREIRA, Maria Isabel Rodrigues, *A Normativa das Ordens Militares Portuguesas (séculos XII-XVI). Poderes, Sociedade, Espiritualidade*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UL, Oporto, 2004; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, *A comunidade feminina da Ordem de Santiago: a comenda de Santos em finais do século XV e no século XVI. Um estudo religioso, económico e social...* (see footnote 35); MENDONÇA, João Manuel de Morais Lamas Silveira, *A Ordem de Avis revisitada (1515-1538). Um alheado entardecer*, 2 vols., doctoral thesis submitted to the Lusíada University, Lisbon, 2007; OLIVEIRA, José Augusto, *Na Península de Setúbal, em finais da Idade Média: organização do espaço, aproveitamento dos recursos e exercício do poder*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2008; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A Coroa, os Mestres e os Comendadores...* (see footnote 29); PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, "As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média. O governo de D. Jorge", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da (dir.), *As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média. O governo de D. Jorge*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 5, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2001, pp. 5-600; SEABRA, Maria Teresa da Silva Diaz de, *A comarca da Aldeia Galega do Ribatejo (séculos XV e XVI)*, 2 vols., doctoral thesis submitted to the Lusíada University, Lisbon, 2008; SILVA, Isabel Luisa Morgado de Sousa e, "A Ordem de Cristo (1417-1521)"... (see footnote 25), pp. 5-503; SOUSA, Ana Cristina Correia de, "Título da prata (...), do arame, estanho e ferro (...), latam cobre e cousas meudas ..." *Objectos litúrgicos em Portugal (1478-1571)*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2010; VASCONCELOS, António Pestana de, *Nobreza e Ordens Militares. Relações sociais e de poder (séculos XIV a XVI)*, 2 vols., doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2008, available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10216/9376> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010).

<sup>95</sup> FERNANDES, Maria Cristina Ribeiro de Sousa, *A Ordem do Templo em Portugal (das origens à extinção)*... (see footnote 37).

<sup>96</sup> In the University of Oporto: ALMEIDA, Ema Maria Cardoso de, *A mobilidade no âmbito da Ordem do Hospital: o caso de Portugal na Idade Média*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2006; ALVES, Cristina Paula Vinagre, *A propriedade da Ordem de Santiago em Palmela. As Visitações de 1510 e de 1534* (2004), Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2011; BARREIRO, Poliana Monteiro, *Uma visitação às igrejas da Ordem de Santiago: a vila de Setúbal nos alvares do século XVI*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2005; BASTO, Ana Carolina de Doménico de Avilez de, *A Vila do Torrão segundo as visitasões de 1510 e 1534 da Ordem de Santiago*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2003; LUCAS, Isabel Maria Guerreiro Gonçalves Mendes Oleiro, *As Ermidas da Ordem de Santiago nas Visitações de Palmela do século XVI* (2004), Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2011; NETO, Dirceu Marchini, *A Ordem do Hospital no Noroeste da Península Ibérica: privilégios e doações recebidos entre os séculos XII e XVI*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2010; NUNES, Duarte Gil Oliveira, *A comenda de Noudar da Ordem de Avis no final da Idade Média*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UP, Oporto, 2010; RAMOS, Maria Regina Soares Bronze, *As Igrejas de Palmela nas Visitações do século XVI. Rituais e Manifestações de Culto*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2011; SANTOS, Carlos Fernando Russo, *A Ordem de Santiago e o papado no tempo de D. Jorge: de Inocêncio VIII a Paulo III*, Oporto, author's edition, 2007. In the Nova University of Lisbon: COSTA, João Tiago dos Santos, *Palmela nos finais da Idade Média. Estudo do códice da visitação e tombo de propriedades da Ordem de Santiago de 1510*, master's dissertation submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2010; COTA, Cristina Maria de Carvalho, *A música no Convento de Cristo em Tomar: desde finais do séc. XV até finais do séc. XVIII*, 2 vols., master's dissertation submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2007; MEDEIROS, Maria Dulcina Vieira Coelho, *O Infante D. João (1400-1442). Subsídios para uma biografia*, master's dissertation submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 1999.

Simultaneously, other institutions of a diverse nature began to get involved in these themes and to support these studies. The best example has been the “Encontros de Palmela sobre Ordens Militares” (conference), first held in 1989. Over time, these meetings have come to feature as an international reference point, as seen in the growing number of participants from other countries, something clearly evident in the growing size of the proceedings<sup>97</sup>.

As for publications during the 1990s, one collection specialising in these topics stands out, namely, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*<sup>98</sup>. Early volumes were, above all, devoted to the publication of academic dissertations, already mentioned in this text, but the more recent (while continuing to feature dissertations) have also included editions of documents relating to the military orders (such as the *Livro dos Copos*, and of the historiographical work of Jerónimo Román<sup>99</sup>), along with texts presented at scientific seminars<sup>100</sup>. Recently a dictionary has been published about the military orders in medieval European history, directed by Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand, containing all relevant information about military orders in Portugal, together with bibliographical support<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do 1º Encontro...* (proceedings of the 1st Conference on the Military Orders, 1989); FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul da Europa...* (proceedings of the 2nd Conference on the Military Orders, 1992); FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares, Guerra, Religião, Poder e Cultura...* (proceedings of the 3rd Conference on the Military Orders, 1998); EADEM (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na Construção do Mundo Ocidental...* (proceedings of the 4th Conference on the Military Orders, 2002); EADEM (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente...* (proceedings of the 5th Conference on the Military Orders, 2006); Proceedings of the 6th Conference on the Military Orders, 2010 (forthcoming).

<sup>98</sup> *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vols. 1 to 11, published between 1991 and 2009, by the Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, the Centro de Estudos da População, Economia e Sociedade (CEPESE) and the Livraria Civilização Editora. On this collection: COSTA, Paula Pinto, “*Militarium Ordinum Analecta: Sources for the Study of the Religious-Military Orders. New approaches based on the written memory*”... (see footnote 7).

<sup>99</sup> COSTA, Paula Pinto (coord.), et al., *Livro dos Copos, Vol. I*, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da (dir.), *Livro dos Copos, Vol. I*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 7, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2006; COSTA, Paula Pinto (coord.), et al., *História das Ínclitas Cavalarias de Cristo, Santiago e Avis de Fr. Jerónimo Román*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, 10, Oporto, CEPESE / Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2008. Also REGO, Francisco Xavier do, “*Descrição geográfica, histórica e crítica da vila e Real Ordem de Avis*”, *Cadernos de Divulgação Cultural* [Câmara Municipal de Avis], yr. 1, no. 1, Nov. (1985), pp. 12-106.

<sup>100</sup> For example, VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 11, Oporto, CEPESE / Civilização Editora, 2009 (indicated in the bibliography according to the authors of the different texts).

<sup>101</sup> BÉRIOU, Nicole, and JOSSERAND, Philippe (dir.), *Prier et combattre. Dictionnaire européen des Ordres Militaires au Moyeh Âge*, Paris, Fayard, 2009 (various articles on the Portuguese Military Orders). A collaboration on a non-specific dictionary on this theme: FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “*Ordens Militares*”, in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2001, vol. 3, pp. 334-345. Also: OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “*Ordens Militares*”, in SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (dir.), *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das Origens a Trento – Guia Histórico*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2005, pp. 453-502.

### 3. Importance given to the fifteenth century

In studies published about the military orders in Portugal during the medieval period, the fifteenth century occupies a core position. One can be sure that texts covering the early cycle of the history of these institutions are firmly based on indispensable knowledge of the documents, allowing study of their origins, institutional developments, territorial implantation, internal organisation and relations with other entities, such as the papacy, the episcopate, the monarchy and the municipalities. These themes are present in most of the dissertations mentioned earlier. However, whenever deeper reflection is required on the role of the orders in the wider conjuncture of the period, the later medieval times appear naturally as a favoured field of study.

After reading an important part of the bibliography published in recent years, one perceives that the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern era, rather than simply continuing earlier times, presents itself as a promising field in which different questions raised. Prominent features are the interrelation of powers, especially with the monarchy, and the social origin of the friars. The theme, in itself, is not new, but the quantitative and qualitative alteration in the sources available allows the problems to be viewed in a completely different context<sup>102</sup>. If the relationship with the crown is more visible, the monarchy itself having favoured their settlement in the Portugal, involving them in its projects and endowing them in its patrimony, the less obvious social aspects have demanded a recourse to distinct work methodologies, as well as an exchange with other areas of knowledge, in which identical problems arise. This is the case, for example, with the history of the nobility.

The texts devoted to the relations between the monarchy and the orders are probably the most representative of the most recent Portuguese historiography<sup>103</sup>. The

<sup>102</sup> FARINHA, Maria do Carmo Dias, and JARA, Anabela Azevedo, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, Lisbon, Instituto Arquivos Nacionais – Torre do Tombo, 1997.

<sup>103</sup> AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos de, *Las Órdenes Militares Hispánicas en la Edad Media (siglos XII-XV)*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2003; BARBOSA, Isabel Lago, “Mestre ou Administrador? A substituição dos Treze pela coroa na escolha do Mestre”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 2, pp. 223-229; COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, *Henrique, o Infante*, Lisbon, Esfera dos Livros, 2009; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “Algumas achegas para o estudo dos privilégios da Ordem do Hospital na Idade Média”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul da Europa. Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 311-317; EADEM, “O Mediterrâneo e a Ordem de S. João”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, and CADEDDU, Maria Eugénia (eds.) *Portogallo Mediterraneo*, Cagliari, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche / Istituto sui rapporti italo-iberici, 2001, pp. 75-97; EADEM, “A Ordem de S. João em Portugal: traços da sua evolução medieval”, in MOLERO GARCÍA, Jesús, IZQUIERDO BENITO, Ricardo, and RUIZ GÓMEZ, Francisco (coords.), *La Orden Militar de San Juan en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media, Actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en Alcázar de San Juan*, Alcázar de San Juan, Patronato Municipal de Cultura, 2002, pp. 223-247; EADEM, “A Ordem do Hospital em Portugal e em Aragão no século XV: estudo de um caso”, in CLARAMUNT RODRÍGUEZ, Salvador (coord.), *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de nova planta*, (proceedings of the “XVII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón”), Barcelona, University of Barcelona, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 325-334; EADEM, “As adaptações das Ordens Militares aos desafios da ‘crise’ tardo-medieval”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 3rd ser., vol. 5 (2004)



pp. 143-154, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2380.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); EADEM, "O poder régio e os hospitalários na época de D. Manuel", *Camoniana [Bauru]*, 3rd series, no. 15 (2004), pp. 251-268; EADEM, "Ordens Militares e Fronteira: um Desempenho Militar, Jurisdicional e Político em Tempos Medievais", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História*, 3rd ser., vol. 7 (2006), pp. 79-91, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/3405.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); EADEM, "As Ordens Militares portuguesas na estruturação da fronteira", in CADEDDU, Maria Eugénia, and MELE, Maria Grazia (eds.), *Frontiere del Mediterraneo*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2006, pp. 61-76; EADEM, "Uma cultura de guerra aquém e além da fronteira: a Ordem do Hospital no contexto da batalha de Aljubarrota", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saúl António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade na Idade Média (Actas das VI Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval)*, Torres Novas, SPEM / Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 591-604; EADEM, *Uma contenda entre a coroa e a Ordem do Hospital: estruturas de pesca no Rio Tejo (Publicação da sentença de 1417)*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 8, Oporto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2007; EADEM, *A presença dos Hospitalários em Portugal*, Gavião, Ramiro Leão, 2009; COSTA, Paula Pinto, and PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, "A cruzada e os objetivos fundacionais das Ordens Religioso-Militares em Portugal", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 40 (2009), pp. 273-284; BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, "A Mesa da Consciência", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, *As regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião. Elementos para uma história estrutural*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 7-63; CUNHA, Maria Cristina, "A eleição do Mestre de Avis nos séculos XIII-XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 13 (1996), pp. 103-122, available at <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2157.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010) [re-edited in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 373-392]; EADEM, *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Avis (séc. XII-XV)*... (vd. footnote 11); CUNHA, Mário R. de Sousa, "O Infante D. João administrador da Ordem de Santiago. História de uma procuração", in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 171-180; DUTRA, Francis A., "Evolution of the Portuguese Order of Santiago, 1492-1600", *Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 4 (1994), pp. 63-72 (reprinted in IDEM, *Military orders in the early modern Portuguese world: the orders of Christ, Santiago and Avis*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006); FERREIRA, Maria Isabel Rodrigues, "A nova dinastia e o governo das Ordens Militares: uma estratégia de entendimento", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade na Idade Média...*, vol. 2, pp. 169-178; FERRO, Maria José Pimenta, "As doações de D. Manuel, duque de Beja, a algumas igrejas da Ordem de Cristo", *Do Tempo e da História*, no. 4 (1971), pp. 153-172 [re-edited in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 11 (1981), pp. 869-882]; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, "Algumas considerações a propósito da documentação existente em Barcelona respeitante à Ordem de Avis: sua contribuição para um melhor conhecimento dos grupos de pressão em Portugal em meados do século XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 1 (1984), pp. 19-56, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/artigo3781.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010) [re-published in VV. AA., *Jornadas sobre Portugal Medieval*, (Leiria, 1983) Leiria, Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 1986, pp. 276-311]; IDEM, *D. João II*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2005, pp. 204-232; IDEM, "A Ordem do Hospital na Península Ibérica na Idade Média. O caso particular de Portugal", in PELLETTIERI, Antonella (dir.), *Alle origini dell'Europa Mediterranea. L'Ordine dei Cavalieri Giovanniti*, Rome / Florence, CNR / Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2007, pp. 123-134; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, "O Mosteiro de Santos sob a protecção régia (Séculos XIV/XV)", in *Poder e Sociedade*, (proceedings of the Jornadas Interdisciplinares) Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 303-315; IDEM, "O poder político e a política dos poderes: as relações entre D. Manuel e as freiras da Ordem de Santiago", in AMORIM, Norberta, PINHO, Isabel, and PASSOS, Carla (coords.), *III Congresso Histórico de Guimarães D. Manuel e a sua época*, vol. 1, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 2004, pp. 143-155; IDEM, "As relações entre o poder político e o Mosteiro de Santos na Baixa Idade Média: contexto e afinidades", in GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, Manuel, and ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel Montes (eds.), *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico...*, pp. 723-729; MAURÍCIO, Rui Paulo Duque, "Ordo Militaris e função real", in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 245-271; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "Cartas de preito e menagem apresentadas pelos alcaides dos castelos fronteiriços do Alentejo, pertencentes à Ordem de Avis, ao condestável D. Pedro (1448-1449)", *Gaya [Vila Nova de Gaia]*, vol. 3 (1985), pp. 137-144; IDEM, "Os castelos da Ordem de Avis no século XV", in COMISSÃO PORTUGUESA DE HISTÓRIA MILITAR, *Actas do IV Colóquio. A História Militar de Portugal no séc. XIX*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1993, pp. 333-346 [re-published in *Medievo Hispano: estudios in memoriam del Prof. Derek W. Lomax*, Madrid, Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1995, pp. 53-63]; IDEM, "As ordens militares na sociedade portuguesa do século XV: o mestrado de Santiago", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 14 (1997) pp. 65-89, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2076.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov. 2010); IDEM, "O Infante D. Fernando, mestre da Ordem de

reasons are easily demonstrated. The fact that the orders were governed by members of the royal family, or close to them, in the case of the Hospitallers, and that some of their members had seats at court and held public offices of great importance in the king's name, made the link between these two levels of power indestructible. The known documentation concerning the orders clearly reveals this connection, whether it is

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found in their immediate sources, or in various other documents of royal provenance.

One further fact stands out, as the orders themselves make clear in their preoccupation with preserving documents, in which this very tendency is evident. The need to perpetuate institutional memories characterised by this relationship is visible, for example, in the elaboration of some of their charters (e.g. the aforementioned *Livro dos Copos*<sup>104</sup>), as well as the way in which the militias select and organise their written records<sup>105</sup>. An identical message is engraved on the ceiling of the palace at Sintra, especially in the skilful manner in which the coats of arms were distributed according to the proximity to the crown of the different lineages, and where we observe those families with most members in the higher spheres of the orders<sup>106</sup>.

In some studies already accomplished, the inclusion of extensive lists of friars and people in some way connected to the militias constitutes a solid base for the study of

<sup>104</sup> See footnote 99.

<sup>105</sup> CASTELO BRANCO, Manuel da Silva, “Pedro Álvares Seco”, *Miscelânea Histórica de Portugal*, no. 2 (1982), pp. 31-52; IDEM, “O obituário do Real Convento de Cristo em Tomar”, *Boletim Cultural e Informativo da Câmara Municipal de Tomar*, no. 1 (1981), pp. 119-142; no. 2 (1981), pp. 109-128; no. 5 (1983), pp. 193-220; no. 6 (1983), pp. 191-228; IDEM, “Os livros de cartas dos reis de Portugal para o convento de Tomar (1519-1590)”, *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Tomar*, 14th of March (1991), pp. 125-141; CHORÃO, Maria José Mexia Bigotte, “O Livro de Matrícula dos Cavaleiros e Freires Professos da Ordem de Santiago”, *Memória*, no. 2 (1990), pp. 161-180; EADEM, “O cartório da Ordem de Santiago”, in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 23-28; CHORÃO, Maria José Mexia Bigotte, “A Ordem de Santiago na Torre do Tombo”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, 1997, pp. 31-35; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “A memória das Ordens Militares: o Livro dos Copos da Ordem de Santiago”, *ibid.*, pp. 15-22; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, and PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, “Frei Jerónimo Román, cronista das Ordens Militares”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 21-33 [re-published with alterations and addenda, under the title of “Introdução. As Crónicas sobre as Ordens Militares Portuguesas de Jerónimo Román”, in COSTA, Paula Pinto (coord.), *História das Inclitas Cavalarias de Cristo, Santiago e Avis de Fr. Jerónimo Román*, *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, vol. 10, Oporto, CEPES / Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2008, pp. 7-20; GONÇALVES, Iria (org.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 1: *Comendas a sul do Tejo (1505- 1509)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002; GONÇALVES, Iria, and CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves (orgs.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 2: *Comendas do médio Tejo (1504-1510)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005; GONÇALVES, Iria (org.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 3: *Comendas do Vale do Mondego (1508)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006; EADEM (org.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 4: *Comendas do Noroeste (1504-[a. 1510])*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008; EADEM (org.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 5: *Comendas da Beira Interior Sul (1505)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009; EADEM (org.), *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, vol. 6: *Comendas da Beira Interior Centro (1508)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, “A memória do património, privilégios, direitos e garantias das donas da Ordem de Santiago (sécs. XIV/XV)”, in IZQUIERDO BENITO, Ricardo, and RUIZ GÓMEZ, Francisco (coords.), *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica...*, vol. 1, pp. 1117-1131; IDEM, “Os livros de visitas quinhentistas das comendas da Ordem de Santiago”, in VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 131-143; MENDONÇA, Manuela, “Documentos relativos às Ordens Militares na Chancelaria de D. Manuel. Tipologia e conteúdos”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 1, pp. 79-90; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, “Algumas reflexões sobre o fundo medieval da Ordem de Avis”, in IZQUIERDO BENITO, Ricardo, and RUIZ GÓMEZ, Francisco (coords.), *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica...*, vol. 1, pp. 87-94.

<sup>106</sup> FREIRE, Anselmo Braamcamp, *Brasões da Sala de Sintra*, vols. 1-3, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1996.

their social profile, namely of the friars<sup>107</sup>. However, it was parallel developments in the study of nobility that allowed us to take the most daring steps forward in identifying the families and social networks in which these men were incorporated, as well as the relationships they maintained in the exercise of their functions<sup>108</sup>. Thus, it has recently

<sup>107</sup> COSTA, Paula Pinto, *A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal: dos finais da Idade Média à Modernidade...*; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, *A comunidade feminina da Ordem de Santiago: a comenda de Santos em finais do século XV...*; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, *As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média. O governo de D. Jorge...*; SILVA, Isabel Luísa Morgado de Sousa e, *A Ordem de Cristo (1417-1521)...*; VASCONCELOS, António Maria Falcão Pestana de, *Nobreza e Ordens Militares. Relações sociais e de poder...*

<sup>108</sup> As more accomplished results, see: ALVES, Cristina Vinagre, “Contributos para o conhecimento da sociedade de Palmela no século XVI: o caso dos foreiros da Ordem de Santiago”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 827-845; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, “A Ordem de Avis e a minoria muçulmana”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 2, pp. 167-173; DUARTE, Luis Miguel, “Garcia de Melo em Castro Marim (a actuação de um alcaide mor no início do século XVI)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 5 (1988), pp. 131-149, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2106.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); DUTRA, Francis A., “Membership in the Order of Christ in the Sixteenth Century: Problems and perspectives”, *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 1 (1994), pp. 228-239 [reprinted in *Military orders in the early modern Portuguese world...*]; IDEM, “New Knights in the Portuguese Order of Santiago during the Mastership of Dom Jorge, 1492-1550”, *eHumanista*, vol. 2 (2002), pp. 105-160, available at: [www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/volume\\_02/index.shtml](http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/volume_02/index.shtml) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010) [reprinted in *Military orders in the early modern portuguese world...*]; IDEM, “Cavaleiros e comendadores e os capítulos gerais da Ordem de Santiago, de 1550 e 1564: estudo preliminar”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 703-714; GONÇALVES, Iria, “Homens e terras da Beira Interior sob controlo da Ordem de Cristo: a Aldeia de Meios no dealbar do século XVI”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 491-520; LÁZARO, Alice, *Cavaleiros de Santiago senhores da Lagoalva. Os Anhaias, de Leiria, Imagens & Letras*, 2006; LOPES, Sebastiana Pereira, *O Infante D. Fernando e a nobreza fundiária de Serpa e de Moura (1453-1470)*, Beja, Câmara Municipal de Beja, 2003; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, “A instituição familiar e o direito de herdar: o dote da freira Joana de Lordelo (1499)”, *Lusiada. Revista de Ciência e Cultura. Direito*, 1st ser., nos. 1-2 (2000), pp. 105-127; IDEM, “As confrarias como espaço de sociabilidade. O exemplo das comendas da Ordem de Santiago na passagem da Baixa Idade Média para o século XVI”, in ASSOCIAÇÃO PARA A INVESTIGAÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO SÓCIO-CULTURAL, *Actas do 2º Congresso Internacional de Investigação e desenvolvimento socio-cultural, Póvoa do Varzim, AGIR*, 2004, pp. 1-18; MENDONÇA, Manuel Lamas de, “Furtado de Mendonça portugueses. Um caso de ascensão social alavancada nas Ordens Militares”, in VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 181-215; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “Fidalgos, cavaleiros e vilões: as Ordens Militares de Avis e de Santiago (1330-1449)”, *ibid.*, pp. 145-161; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, “Uma sentença régia para Teresa Eanes, manceba de um comendador da Ordem de Avis”, in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 221-231; EADEM, “Outros legados do Príncipe Perfeito. Os Lencastre: uma família entre as Ordens Militares de Avis e de Santiago e a Corte de Quinhentos”, in HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de and COSTA, Paula Maria de Carvalho Pinto (eds.), *Iberia Quatrocentos-Quinhentos. Livro de Homenagem a Luís Adão da Fonseca*, Oporto, CEPES / Livraria Civilização, 2009, pp. 263-289; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, and MENDONÇA, Manuel Lamas da Silveira de, “A quinta do paço do mestre, na Telhada (Alenquer)”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 521-531; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “Em torno de Álvaro Vaz, cavaleiro de Santiago (m. 1513): um estudo das formas de estruturação das elites sociais intermédias”, *ibid.*, pp. 187-245; SEIXAS, Miguel Metelo de, and GALVÃO-TELLES, João Bernardo, *Heráldica no concelho de Fronteira*, Fronteira, Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa / Câmara Municipal de Fronteira, 2002; SILVA, Fernando Mário de Abranches Correia da, “Dom Diogo da Gama, prior-mor da Ordem de Cristo: o irmão ignorado de Dom Vasco da Gama”, *Tabardo*, no. 4 (2008), pp. 37-56; SOVERAL, Manuel Abranches de, and MENDONÇA, Manuel Lamas de, *Os Furtado de Mendonça portugueses. Ensaio sobre a sua verdadeira origem*, s. l., author’s edition, 2004; VASCONCELOS, António Maria Falcão Pestana de, “Os Sousa Chichorro e as Ordens Militares: reflexões em torno desta linhagem”, in ARAÚJO, Renata Malcher de (ed.), *Estudos em*

been possible to interpret the assembled data with greater confidence. More than merely identifying the friars and their families, an area well explored and constantly updated, it has become important to broaden this study to their social and power networks. In particular, the analysis of the involvement of these institutions in overseas expansion is a good example of this theme's potential<sup>109</sup>.

This broadening of the research horizons has also made possible, a revival of the interest in more specific areas of the military orders, as is the case of the commanderies. Traditionally seen as mere patrimonial topics providing, above all, income<sup>110</sup>,

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*Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias...*, vol. 1, pp. 119-140, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4410.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); IDEM, "Os Mascarenhas, uma família da Ordem de Santiago", in VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 163-180; IDEM, "Os Vasconcelos e as Ordens Militares. Algumas considerações em torno de uma linhagem", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 247-258.

<sup>109</sup> CASTELO BRANCO, Manuel da Silva, "A Ordem de Santiago e a Índia", *Oceanos*, no. 4 (1990), pp. 64-65; IDEM, "As Ordens Militares na expansão portuguesa. Vice-reis e governadores da Índia que, no séc. XVI, tiveram os hábitos de Avis, Cristo e Santiago", in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...* 1991, pp. 57-66; COSME, João Ramalho, and MANSO, Maria de Deus, "A Ordem de Santiago e a expansão portuguesa no séc. XV", *ibid.*, pp. 43-55; COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, and LACERDA, Teresa, "Os comandos das Armadas da Índia e as Ordens Militares no reinado de D. Manuel I", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V...*, pp. 479-487; DIAS, Pedro, "D. João da Cruz, um malabar a quem D. Manuel fez cavaleiro da Ordem de Cristo", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 2, pp. 397-418; DUTRA, Francis A., "The Order of Santiago and the Estado da Índia, 1498-1750", in DUTRA, Francis, and SANTOS, João Camilo dos (eds.), *The Portuguese in the Pacific*, Santa Barbara, 1996, pp. 287-304 [reprinted in *Military Orders in the early modern Portuguese world...*]; IDEM, "As Ordens Militares", in CURTO, Diogo Ramada (dir.), *O tempo de Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, Difel, 1998, pp. 229-241; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *Vasco da Gama. O homem, a viagem, a época*, Lisbon, Expo 98 / Comissão de Coordenação da Região do Alentejo, 1997 [abbreviated edition (without illustrations and appendix), Lisbon, Expo 98, 1998]; IDEM, "Vasco da Gama e a Ordem de Santiago", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 2, pp. 277-292; IDEM, "Alessandro VI e l'espansione oceanica: una riflessione", in CHIABÒ, M.; OLIVA, A. M., and SCHENA, O. (eds.), *Alessandro VI dal Mediterraneo all'Atlantico (actas do congresso, Cagliari, 2001)*, Rome, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2004, pp. 221-233; IDEM, "As Ordens Militares e a Expansão", in COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, and RODRIGUES, Vítor Luís Gaspar (eds.), *A Alta Nobreza e a Fundação do Estado da Índia*, (proceedings of the conference 16-19 Oct., 2001), Lisbon, Centro de História de Além-Mar / Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2004, pp. 321-347; IDEM, "La colonia italiana in Portogallo, l'Ordine di Santiago e Colombo", in MACCONI, Massimiliano (ed.), *Genova Europa Mondo. Cristoforo Colombo cinque secoli dopo*, Genova, Fratelli Frilli Editori, 2006, pp. 53-73; IDEM, "The Portuguese Military Orders and the Oceanic Navigations: From Piracy to Empire (Fifteenth to early Sixteenth Centuries)", in UPTON-WARD, Judi (ed.), *The Military Orders, 4 (On land and by Sea)*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 63-73; JANA, Ernesto José Nazaré Alves, "Considerandos sobre a presença da Ordem de Cristo no Ultramar português", in *Congresso Internacional de História Missionação Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas*, (Lisbon, 1992) Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa / CNCDP / Fundação Evangelização e Culturas, 1993, vol. 3, pp. 423-439; MENDONÇA, Manuela, "As Ordens de Cristo e Santiago nos primórdios da Expansão Portuguesa (séculos XIV-XV)", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, *Amar, sentir e viver a História, Estudos de homenagem a Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 859-884; OLIVAL, Fernanda, "Norte de África ou Índia? Ordens Militares e serviços (século XVI)", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 769-795; RUSSELL, Peter, "Prince Henry 'the Navigator'. A life", New Haven / London, Yale University Press, 2000; SILVA, Isabel Luísa Morgado de Sousa e, "Do Mediterrâneo ao Atlântico: as Ordens Monástico-Militares e a Ordem de Cavalaria de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo", *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira*, vol. 53 (1998), pp. 513-524; SILVA, Joaquim Candeias, "D. Francisco de Almeida comendador do Sardoal (Na passagem dos 500 anos da sua morte)", *Revista Zahara*, yr. 8, no. 15, pp. 8-20.

<sup>110</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, "Um Santuário de Romaria no tempo da Expansão: Nossa Senhora da

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not forgetting their respective urban and rural locations<sup>111</sup>, they have more recently also been considered as privileged areas for the exercise of power<sup>112</sup>, following the

Comenda de Sesimbra em 1516”, *Lusiada, Ciências Empresariais*, 1st ser., no. 3 (2004), pp. 77-93; IDEM, “A oposição entre a agricultura e a criação de gado: uma sentença do mestre da Ordem de Santiago em 1510”, *Lusiada, Ciências Empresariais*, 1st ser., no. 5 (2006), pp. 69-82; IDEM, “A Arquitectura Religiosa, assistencial e militar da Comenda de Ferreira, na primeira Metade do Século XVI”, in ARAÚJO, Renata Malcher de (ed.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias...*, vol. 1, pp. 397-411, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4423.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, “A paisagem ribeirinha de Alcácer do Sal, em finais do século XV”, *Media Aetas. Revista de Estudos Medievais*, 2nd ser., vol. 2 (2005-2006), pp. 101-124; RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “O património das Donas de Santos no termo de Torres Vedras durante a Idade Média”, in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 115-130 [reprinted in *Espaços, gente e sociedade no Oeste. Estudos sobre Torres Vedras medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia Historica, 1996, pp. 177-192]; SILVA, Isabel Luísa Morgado de S. e, *Soure, uma mui antiga terra da Estremadura, Exposição D.Manuel I. A Ordem de Cristo e a Comenda de Soure. V Centenário da subida ao trono de D. Manuel*, Soure, CNCDP / Câmara Municipal de Soure, 1996; VARGAS, José Manuel de Jesus, “Mouguelas: uma comenda da Ordem de Santiago no termo de Setúbal”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 485-515; VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, “Breve nota sobre a cobrança de dívidas à Ordem de Cristo numa carta régia de 1405”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 307-309.

<sup>111</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, and DIAS, João José Alves, “O património urbano da Ordem de Cristo em Évora no início do séc. XVI”, in DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA DA ARTE DA FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E HUMANAS DA UNIVERSIDADE NOVA DE LISBOA, *Estudos de Arte e História. Homenagem a Artur Nobre de Gusmão*, Lisbon, Vega, 1995, pp. 61-79; BRAGA, Paulo Drumond, “A construção corrente na região de Palmela nos finais da Idade Média”, in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 143-155; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, “Feira e festas em Alcácer nos tempos tardo-medievais”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 1, pp. 193-200; EADEM, “A paisagem ribeirinha...”, EADEM, “O santuário de Santa Maria dos Mártires de Alcácer do Sal. A paisagem envolvente”, in GONÇALVES, Iria (ed.), *Paisagens rurais e urbanas*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2007, vol. 3, pp. 171-234.

<sup>112</sup> COSTA, Paula Maria Pinto, “Os bens da igreja de S. João de Castelo de Vide à morte de Fr. João Balieiro”, in ARAÚJO, Renata Malcher de (ed.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias...*, vol. 2, pp. 273-288, available at <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4439.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); EADEM, “Algumas comendas hospitalárias entre os poderes central, municipal e senhorial em tempos medievais”, *Filermo*, no. 9 (2007), pp. 77-90; EADEM, “As comendas: enquadramentos e aspectos metodológicos”, in VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 9-24; EADEM, “A presença dos Hospitalários em terras de Amarante. Séculos XIII-XVI”, in *Actas do II Congresso Histórico de Amarante. Política, Sociedade e Cultura*, vol. 1, t.3, Amarante, 2009, pp. 233-247; EADEM, “A leitura do espaço na perspectiva das Ordens Militares: memória documental”, in *XXIX Encontro da Associação Portuguesa de História Económica e Social*, 2009, Câmara Municipal de Amarante, available at: [http://web.letras.up.pt/aphes29/data/PaulaPintoCosta\\_Texto.pdf](http://web.letras.up.pt/aphes29/data/PaulaPintoCosta_Texto.pdf) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); COSTA, Paula Maria Pinto, and ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso, *Leça do Balio no tempo dos Cavaleiros do Hospital*, Lisbon, Edições Inapa, 2001; CUNHA, Maria Cristina, and PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, “A comenda de Albufeira da Ordem de Avis nos inícios do século XV: breve abordagem”, in *Actas das I Jornadas de História Medieval do Algarve e Andaluzia*, Loulé, Câmara Municipal de Loulé, 1987, pp. 305-347; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “A Comenda de Noudar da Ordem de Avis: a memória da fronteira na Idade Média e na Idade Moderna”, in IZQUIERDO BENITO, Ricardo, and RUIZ GÓMEZ, Francisco (coords.), *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica...*, vol. 1, pp. 655-681 [re-published, with alterations, under the title “Fronteiras territoriais e memórias históricas: o caso da Comenda de Noudar da Ordem de Avis”, in VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 37-55; GOUVEIA, António Camões (coord.), *D. Manuel. A Ordem de Cristo e a Comenda de Soure. V Centenário da subida ao trono de D. Manuel*, Soure, CNCDP / Câmara Municipal de Soure, 1996; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, “A Pesca e a Sociabilidade na Vila de Sesimbra nos primórdios do Século XVI”, *Universidade Lusitana. Revista de Ciências Económicas e de Empresa*, 1st ser., no. 2 (2004), pp. 45-64; OLIVAL, Fernanda, “A

articulation between these fields of approach, as demonstrated by the proceedings of the “I Seminário Internacional sobre as Comendas das Ordens Militares”<sup>113</sup>. In the context of this seminar, the importance of these government structures was re-evaluated and, in the application of new methodologies, their diversified role was analysed in the general context of Southern Europe and the kingdom, as well as in their local sphere. An area of comparative history was thus opened, that although familiar in many other domains, had not so far been explored in relation to military orders in Portugal.

In fact, a double perspective may be indicated, as the commanderies were used both by the friars and their families, and by the monarchy that, at the end of the Middle Ages, deployed them within a framework of gratuities and honours with which it rewarded loyal subjects<sup>114</sup>. One of the more common sources in the Portuguese archives – the *visitations* – also endorses this reality. The multiplication of published editions (total or partial) of these sources<sup>115</sup> has thus allowed their greater use by historians and

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<sup>113</sup> See footnote 100.

<sup>114</sup> OLIVAL, Fernanda, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno...*; EADEM, “Norte de África ou Índia? Ordens Militares e serviços (século XVI)”...; SILVA, Isabel Luísa Morgado de Sousa e, “As comendas novas da Ordem de Cristo no Entre Douro e Minho: alguns aspectos de vivência religiosa”, in *I Congresso sobre a Diocese do Porto. Tempos e Lugares de Memória. Homenagem a D. Domingos Pinho Brandão*, Oporto / Arouca, FL-UP, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 43-71; EADEM, “A Igreja e a Ordem de Cristo no primeiro quartel do século XVI: a criação das comendas novas”, in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (eds.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor doutor José Marques...*, vol. 2, pp. 249-261, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4858.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); EADEM, “As comendas novas da Ordem de Cristo. Uma criação manuelina”, in VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 105-117.

<sup>115</sup> ANTUNES, Luis Pequito, “Visitações da Ordem de Santiago à vila de Aljezur (1482-1490)”, *Espaço Cultural*, no. (1987), pp. 51-70; IDEM, “Visitações da Ordem de Santiago a Aljezur e Odeceixe na primeira metade do século XVI”, *Espaço Cultural*, no. 4 (1989), pp. 65-85; BARBOSA, Isabel Maria Lago, “Regimentos de visitasões da Ordem de Santiago em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média”, in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luis Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 159-169; BARROS, Maria de Fátima Rombouts, BOIÇA, Joaquim Ferreira, and GABRIEL, Celeste, *As Comendas de Mértola e Alcaria Ruiva: as Visitações e os Tombos da Ordem de Santiago, 1482-1607*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1996; BATORÉO, Manuel, “Uma visitação do senhor D. Jorge à Ermida do Cabo Espichel e a pintura do Mestre da Lourinhã”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 2, pp. 365-372; CARMONA, Rosalina, *Lavradio: a Igreja de Santa Margarida, 1492-1569. Visitações e provimentos da Ordem Militar de Santiago*, Lavradio, Junta de Freguesia do Lavradio, 2004; CASTELO BRANCO, Manuel da Silva, “Visitações na Ordem de Cristo até finais do século XVI”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 407-430; CAVACO, Hugo, “Visitações” da Ordem de Santiago no *Sotavento Algarvio (subsídios para a História da Arte no Algarve)*, Vila Real de Santo António, Câmara Municipal de Vila Real de Santo António, 1987; CORRÊA, Fernando Calapéz, “Visitação da Ordem de Santiago à Vila de Faro em 1534”, *Anais do Município de Faro*, no. 24 (1996), pp. 101-129; CORRÊA, Fernando Calapéz, and VIEGAS, António, “Visitação da Ordem de Santiago ao Algarve, 1517-1518”, *Revista Al'ulyã*, no. 5 (1996); COSTA, João Tiago dos Santos, “As visitasões da Ordens Militares (séculos XV-XVI) na historiografia medieval portuguesa. Estado da arte”, *Revista Sapiens*, no. 1, Jun. (2009), pp. 34-63, available at: [www.revistasapiens.org/Biblioteca/](http://www.revistasapiens.org/Biblioteca/)



scholars from other areas (specifically, the history of art). Up to a certain point, the repetitive way the *visitações* present their information, deriving from the normative principles that underlie them, becomes surprisingly suggestive of the purposes they pursued.

Another area has consisted of the analysis of the normative texts that guided the internal life of these institutions: Rules, Statutes, and Definitions. The published bibliography has favoured explanations of the origin and contextualisation of production of these texts, the way they expressed legal ties to convents outside Portugal, and their contribution to an understanding of the structure of the orders<sup>116</sup>. Such texts

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<sup>116</sup> BARBOSA, Isabel Maria Lago, "Um códice inédito dos Estabelecimentos de 1440 da Ordem de Santiago na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto", in CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO, *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval...*, vol. 3, pp. 1197-1204; EADEM, "A normativa da Ordem de Santiago: uma memória peninsular", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 65-70; EADEM, *A Ordem de Santiago em Portugal nos finais da Baixa Idade Média...*; COSTA, Paula Pinto, "Norma e desvio na Ordem do Hospital", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, vol. 3 (2002), pp. 49-62, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/2279.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); COSTA, Paula Pinto, and VASCONCELOS, António Pestana de, "Christ, Santiago and Avis: an approach to the rules of the Portuguese Military Orders in the Middle Ages", in NICHOLSON, Helen (ed.), *The Military Orders: Welfare and Warfare*, 2, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 251-257; FERREIRA, Maria Isabel Rodrigues, *A Normativa das Ordens Militares Portuguesas (séculos XII-XVI)...*; EADEM, "A documentação pontifícia: fonte

have been especially useful in understanding the power relationships in which the orders were placed. But one cannot overlook that we are dealing with a domain whose study is presented as fundamental to a fuller comprehension of what these institutions really were. In this sense, it constitutes a line of research that is far from being totally closed.

Finally, one should not forget that certain studies present wide ranging approaches<sup>117</sup>. Because some are geographically situated in very specific areas, they adopt a well-defined monographic approach<sup>118</sup>. Following this local focus,

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para o estudo da normativa das Ordens Militares”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 35-67; FONTES, João Luís Inglês, “Cavaleiros de Cristo, monges, frades e eremitas: um percurso pelas formas de vida religiosa em Évora durante a Idade Média (séculos XII a XV)”, *Lusitânia Sacra*, t. 17, (2005), pp. 39-61; JANA, Ernesto José Nazaré Alves, “Fundamentos da nova Ordem de Cristo”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 435-474; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, “Os cavaleiros da Ordem de Avis na Baixa Idade Média. Algumas reflexões entre a norma e a prática”, *Cistercium*, nos. 246-247 (2007), pp. 159-188; REIS, António Matos, “A Ordem Militar de Avis, sob a égide de Cister: prática religiosa e espiritualidade do século XII ao século XV”, in VV. AA., *II Congreso Internacional sobre el Cister en Galicia y Portugal*, (proceedings) Ourense, s. n., 1998, pp. 595-612; VASCONCELOS, António Maria Falcão Pestana de, *A Ordem Militar de Cristo na Baixa Idade Média...*; VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, “Uma reforma para a Ordem de Cristo: breves notas a propósito dos estatutos de D. João Vicente”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 1, pp. 273-287; WITTE, Charles-Martial de, “Une tempête sur le Couvent de Tomar (1558-1580)”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 25 (1988), pp. 307-423.

<sup>117</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de (coord.), *Portugal and the Order of Malta. Aspects of Europe*, Lisbon, Edições Inapa, 1998; COSTA, Fernando Lagos, “Acerca das Ordens Religiosas Militares em Portugal, sua importância geográfica”, in CENTRO DE ESTUDOS GEOGRÁFICOS, *Livro de homenagem a Orlando Ribeiro*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 71-81; COSTA, Paula Pinto, “As Ordens Religiosas-Militares no Portugal Medieval”, in ARQUIVO DISTRITAL DE BRAGANÇA, *A construção de uma identidade. Trás-os-Montes e Alto-Douro*, catalogue of the exhibition held during the “III Congresso de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro”, Bragança, Arquivo Distrital de Bragança, 2002, pp. 79-82; CUNHA, Maria Cristina de Almeida e, “As Ordens Militares”, in MATOS, Maria Antónia Pinto de (coord.), *Catálogo da Exposição Nos Confins da Idade Média, Arte Portuguesa, Séculos XII-XV*, (Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis), s. l., Secretaria de Estado da Cultura / Instituto Português de Museus, 1992, pp. 65-68; DUTRA, Francis A., *Military orders in the early modern portuguese world...*; FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “As Ordens Militares no reino de Portugal”, in NOVOA PORTELA, Feliciano, and AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos de (coords.), *As Ordens Militares na Europa Medieval*, Lisbon, Chaves Ferreira, 2005, pp. 137-166; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, “Around a theme. The female community of the Order of St. James in Portugal: a journey from the late 15th century to the 16th century”, *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 6, no. 1, summer (2008), available at: [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue11/pdf/jmata.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue11/pdf/jmata.pdf) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, and MORGADO, Isabel, “Las Ordenes Militares en Portugal”, *Informe Historia*, 16: *Las Ordenes Militares y Caballerescas en la Edad Moderna*, yr. 20, no. 225 (1995), pp. 70-74; RESENDE, Conde de, “Sinopse histórica da Ordem de Malta”, *Filermo*, no. 2 (1993), pp. 21-34.

<sup>118</sup> BRAGA, Paulo Drummond, *Setúbal Medieval (séc. XIII a XV)*, Setúbal, Câmara Municipal de Setúbal, 1998; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Tomar Medieval. O espaço e os homens*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996; CORREIA, Francisco, *Aldeia Galega do Ribatejo: séculos XIII a XV*, Montijo, Câmara Municipal do Montijo, 2001; DAVEAU, Suzane, “Géographie historique du site de Coruche, étape sur les itinéraires entre Évora et le Ribatejo”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 5th ser., t. 2, pp. 115-135; DIAS, João José Alves, *Paio de Pele: a vila e região do século XII ao XVI*, Santarém, Assembleia Distrital, 1989; DIAS, Mário Balseiro, *Monografia do Concelho de Alcochete (séculos XII- XVI)*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Administração*, (Montijo, author’s edition, 2004), vol. 2: *Economia* (Alcochete, Câmara Municipal de Alcochete, 2009); FERREIRA, J. C. Lobato, *Monografia da antiga vila de Belver, da Ordem de S. João do Hospital*, Gavião, Câmara Municipal de Gavião, 1984; GOMES, Saul António, “A presença das Ordens Militares na região de Leiria (séculos XII-XV)”, in FERNANDES, Isabel

the relationship with the municipal authorities appears as a theme of interest to researchers<sup>119</sup>.

#### 4. Forthcoming Studies

For the present, it has become evident that the studies on the military orders in the late Middle Ages have shown unparalleled growth, visible as much in the number of studies published as in the broadening of the range of aspects considered. Various themes, traditionally dealt with in a sporadic manner, have in recent years been the object of greater attention. Such is the case of spirituality and religiosity, in their different manifestations<sup>120</sup>, as well as the links with conventual houses situated beyond the

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Cristina F. (coord.), *As ordens militares em Portugal e no Sul...*, pp. 143-204; MENDONÇA, Manuela, "A vila de Alcácer do Sal no Século XV", in MENDONÇA, Manuela, *Cidades, Vilas e Aldeias de Portugal. Estudos de História Regional Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 117-137; MENDONÇA, Manuela, "De Punhete a Constância. Percorso Histórico", *ibid.*, pp. 201-218; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, *Alcácer do Sal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Alcácer do Sal, 2000.

<sup>119</sup> CORRÊA, Fernando Calapez, "Um conflito institucional entre a câmara de Aljezur e a Ordem de Santiago em 1462", in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do Iº Encontro ...*, pp. 303-311; COSTA, Paula Pinto, "O couto de Leça e a cidade do Porto: momentos de oposição de dois poderes medievais", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média...*, vol. 3, pp. 1223-1229; OLIVEIRA, José Augusto C. F. de, "A gestão de conflitos entre os concelhos da Ordem de Santiago: o caso de Sesimbra e Setúbal", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 735-745; SILVA, Isabel Luísa Morgado de Sousa e, "Concórdia entre o 'Mestre' de Cristo e o Concelho de Tomar no século XV", in PACHECO, Paulo, and ANTUNES, Luís Pequito (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal, Actas do I Encontro...*, pp. 273-301. At the level of the relations of the military orders with the municipal councils, important aspects for the chronology under study may be consulted in: PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, *A Ordem de Avis durante o Mestrado de D. Fernão Rodrigues Sequeira...*; SILVA, Isabel Luísa Morgado de S. e, *A Ordem de Cristo sob o Mestrado de D. Lopo Dias de Sousa...*

<sup>120</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, "Um Santuário de Romaria no tempo da Expansão: Nossa Senhora da Atalaia (Montijo)"; FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares e religiosidade. Homenagem ao Professor José Mattoso...*; FERRO, Maria José Pimenta, "A vigairaria de Tomar, nos finais do século XV", *Do Tempo e da História*, no. 4 (1971), pp. 139-151 [re-published in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 11 (1981), pp. 859-868]; JANA, Ernesto José Nazaré Alves, "A actuação dos priores da Ordem de Cristo durante o século XVI", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 343-381; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, "O Mosteiro de Santos no contexto da espiritualidade medieval", *Revista de Ciências Históricas Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique*, vol. 18 (2003), pp. 77-86; IDEM, "A devoção e a memória do patrono da Ordem de Santiago nas suas comendas em finais do século XV e na primeira metade do século XVI", in ASSOCIAÇÃO PARA A INVESTIGAÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO SÓCIO-CULTURAL, *I Congresso Internacional Sobre Etnografia, Póvoa de Varzim, AGIR, 2005*, pp. 1-16; IDEM, "A persistência do ritual da morte nas comendas da Ordem de Santiago, na primeira metade do século XVI", in ASSOCIAÇÃO PARA A INVESTIGAÇÃO E DESENVOLVIMENTO SÓCIO-CULTURAL, *I Jornadas Internacionais Vestígios do Passado*, Barcelos, 2005; IDEM, "A Religião e a Espiritualidade na Comenda de Sesimbra", in DEPARTAMENTO DE CIÊNCIAS E TÉCNICAS DO PATRIMÓNIO, and DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA (eds.), *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor doutor José Marques...*, vol. 2, pp. 375-385, available at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4865.pdf> (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); OLIVEIRA, Maria Leonor Ferraz de, "As Ordens Religiosas na Diocese de Évora 1165-1540", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 5, no. 7 (2009), available at: [www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA7/medievalista-oliveira7.htm](http://www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA7/medievalista-oliveira7.htm) (accessed 1 Nov., 2010); PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, "O santuário de Santa Maria dos Mártires de Alcácer do Sal (séculos XIII a XVI)", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina

national frontiers, and of the social expression of the family strategies of the members of the above mentioned *militiae*. In parallel, the history of art and architecture, in its multiple manifestations, along with archaeology, has warranted irrefutable interest in recent years, constitute promising fields that cannot be ignored<sup>121</sup>.

F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 635-676; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, “As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média: Breves notas sobre a dimensão religiosa das Milícias”, in AMORIM, Norberta, PINHO, Isabel, and PASSOS, Carla (coords.), *III Congresso Histórico de Guimarães D. Manuel e a sua época...*, vol. 2, pp. 559-566; PIMENTA, Maria Cristina, and BARREIRO, Poliana Monteiro, “As Comendas enquanto espaço de enquadramento religioso”, in VV. AA., *Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média...*, pp. 89-104; REIS, António Matos, “A Ordem Militar de Avis, sob a égide de Cister: prática religiosa e espiritualidade do século XII ao século XV”...; SILVA, Isabel Morgado de Sousa e, “‘Fazer a cura das almas’. A intervenção manuelina na Ordem de Cristo (breves reflexões em torno de)”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 809-826.

<sup>121</sup> AFONSO, Luís, “A pintura mural das igrejas das ordens militares em torno de 1500. Primeiras impressões de uma abordagem iconográfica”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 899-915; ANTUNES, Luis Pequito, “O Património construído da Ordem de Santiago”, *Oceanos*, no. 4 (1990), pp. 97-101; BOIÇA, Joaquim Ferreira, and BARROS, Maria de Fátima Rombouts, “A mesquita-igreja de Mértola”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do III Encontro...*, vol. 2, pp. 341-364; BOIÇA, Joaquim, and BARROS, Fátima, “O castelo de Mértola – estrutura e organização espacial (sécs. XIII-XVI)”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500-1500)*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2002, pp. 579-586; CAETANO, Joaquim Oliveira, “Gregório Lopes – pintor régio e cavaleiro de Santiago. Algumas reflexões sobre o estatuto social do pintor no séc. XV e inícios do séc. XVI”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 73-92; CÔMEZ RAMOS, Rafael, “Arquitectura Fronteriza Portuguesa: la Vera Cruz de Marmelar, un Enclave de la Reconquista Lusã”, *Laboratorio de Arte*, vol. 21, no. 21 (2009), pp. 37-65; COSTA, Paula Pinto, and ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso, *Leça do Balio no tempo dos Cavaleiros do Hospital...*, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *A Igreja de S. João Baptista de Alcochete*, Alcochete, Câmara Municipal de Alcochete, 2003; EADEM, *O castelo de Palmela: do islâmico ao cristão*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2004; EADEM, “Os conventos da Ordem de Santiago em Palmela”, FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, Actas do V Encontro...*, pp. 583-633; GONÇALVES, Luís Jorge, and FERREIRA, Luís Filipe, “O castelo de Sesimbra – Um castelo de fronteira marítima”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, pp. 385-388; GRAÇA, Luís Maria Pedrosa dos Santos, *Convento de Cristo*, Lisbon / Mafra, Elo, 1991; JANA, Ernesto José Nazaré Alves, “Alguns apontamentos sobre o oratório-fortaleza de Tomar”, in VV. AA., *Actas do Colóquio sobre História Regional e Local do Distrito de Santarém*, s. l., Escola Superior de Educação de Santarém, 1992, pp. 195-219; MATOS, Manuel Cadafaz de, “Testemunhos de comunicação (no papel e na pedra) em louvor do Padroeiro da Ordem de Santiago”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., and PACHECO, Paulo (coords.), *As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa, Actas do II Encontro...*, pp. 489-542; PAGARÁ, Ana, SILVA, Nuno Vassalo e, and SERRÃO, Vitor, *Igreja Vera Cruz de Marmelar*, Portel, Câmara Municipal de Portel, 2006; PEREIRA, Fernando António Baptista, “O retábulo de Santiago”, *Oceanos*, no. 4 (1990), pp. 66-74; PEREIRA, Paulo, *De Aurea Aetate. O coro do convento de Cristo em Tomar e a simbólica manuelina*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2003; IDEM, *Convento de Cristo*, Tomar, Lisbon, Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico, 2009; PINTO, Rui Costa, “A igreja de Santiago de Almada. Alguns contributos para o seu estudo”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 951-979; RODRIGUES, Jorge, and PEREIRA, Paulo, *Santa Maria de Flor da Rosa. Um estudo de história de arte*, s. l., Câmara Municipal do Crato, 1986; SERRÃO, Vitor, “As encomendas de pintura à sombra da Ordem de São Tiago de Espanha, séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental, Actas do IV Encontro...*, pp. 881-898; SERRÃO, Vitor, and MECO, José, *Palmela Histórico-Artística. Um inventário do património artístico concelhio*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2007; SILVA, José Custódio Vieira

Similarly, analysis of the economic dimension of the military orders, besides the study of their patrimony and income, in which a serious investment in cartography plays an important role, should be widened to a consideration of their commercial and financial interests, inside and outside the kingdom, without omitting their links to phenomena of social, political and diplomatic nature.

On the other hand, there are still areas insufficiently examined, that appear indispensable to a global knowledge of this theme. Among them, we highlight the areas of everyday social life, the problems in the concession of habits, and the organisation of the following processes of *habilitação*, the systematic surveying of insignia and symbols related to the identity of these institutions, without forgetting their expression in the domain of military history<sup>122</sup>.

Finally, a possible renewal of studies on the military orders could include the adoption of work methodologies from other areas (namely of the history of art, and archaeology) and the utilisation of later sources, especially important in representing the heritage constructed in earlier times.

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da, "A Igreja conventual da Ordem Militar de Sant'iago da Espada, em Palmela, e os infantes D. João e D. Pedro", in VV. AA., *Jornadas sobre Portugal Medieval...*, pp. 127-133.

<sup>122</sup> With the example of: MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Arcaísmo ou modernidade do Exército Português nos finais da Idade Média? O contributo das Ordens Militares", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura, Actas do 3º Encontro...*, vol. 2, pp. 259-275.



# *The Medieval Military History*

*Miguel Gomes Martins,  
João Gouveia Monteiro*

In 1988, shop windows displayed the third edition of the *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, by A. H. de Oliveira Marques. Among its approximately 300 pages, the author surprised the reader with an interesting bibliography of military history, a subject of little interest and practically forgotten by historiography. A brief glance at the titles listed was enough to show the topic had hitherto attracted little attention<sup>1</sup>. The majority of the studies referred to in the *Guia* predated 1945, with little added since the mid-twentieth century. This was a consequence, in large measure, of the aversion to conflict provoked by two world wars, but also of the paths imposed by the *Annales* school, and by the *Nouvelle Histoire*, that reduced military history to a mere history of battles – and a prolongation of political history – almost exclusively the domain of the military men. However, this paradigm was about to change, as one perceived from the attention devoted to the theme by Oliveira Marques himself in volume 4 of the *Nova História de Portugal*, published a year earlier. In a chapter entitled “A arte da guerra” (The art of war), he outlined the main aspects of terrestrial and naval warfare, from the theoretical and practical preparation of the warriors to the tactics, by way of armaments, military organisation, personnel, marches, etc<sup>2</sup>. But these were not the only signs of change, at that time, to be apparent.

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<sup>1</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Estampa, 1988, pp. 93-96.

<sup>2</sup> IDEM, “A arte da guerra”, in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 4: *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, Presença, 1987, pp. 335-364.

In 1990, there took place the first seminar of the recently founded (1989) Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar (Portuguese Committee of Military History), an initiative given life by its president, General Manuel Themudo Barata. It brought together, under the suggestive heading “Para uma visão global da História Militar” (For a global vision of Military History), contributions originating as much in the military world as the academic<sup>3</sup>. Even though it is impossible to establish the link with any certainty, it was in practice after this scientific meeting that military history became the object of a more rigorous scientific analysis, above all – in keeping with the objective of the organisers – in the heart of the university community.

Twenty years down the line, there remain innumerable paths to follow, themes demanding revision or deeper analysis and others awaiting “their” historians. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that – in good measure owing to works produced, mainly over the last two decades – we today possess a much more comprehensive and rigorous vision of war in the Middle Ages than we had in the mid-twentieth century.

As is to be expected, it is in works of a panoramic nature, dealing with the theme from the perspective of a “total war”, or in other words, focussing on martial activity without overlooking social, economic, mental and technological aspects, among others, that one may observe the maturity and degree of development of the studies in this area. From this perspective, one should highlight three works: first, the opening volume, directed by José Mattoso, of the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, a collection coordinated by Manuel Themudo Barata and by Nuno Severiano Teixeira, devoted to the Middle Ages, bringing together contributions by Mário Jorge Barroca, João Gouveia Monteiro and Luís Miguel Duarte<sup>4</sup>; secondly, João Gouveia Monteiro’s doctoral thesis, published under the title *A Guerra em Portugal nos Finais da Idade Média*, covering the period between the beginning of the reign of King Fernando and the Battle of Alfarrobeira<sup>5</sup>; and thirdly, that of Miguel Gomes Martins, entitled *Para Bellum. Organização e Prática da Guerra em Portugal Durante a Idade Média (1245-1367)*, focusing on the period between the Civil War of 1245-1248 and the end of the reign of King Pedro I<sup>6</sup>. In summarised

<sup>3</sup> In relation to medieval history, the seminar included contributions from Luís Adão da Fonseca, from Humberto Baquero Moreno, from José Marques and from António Pires Nunes. The initiative was repeated in the following year, with the presence of Pedro Gomes Barbosa, Carlos Guilherme Riley, João Gouveia Monteiro and Jorge Borges de Macedo. It continues as a yearly event to the present day.

<sup>4</sup> BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, vol. 1 (sécs. XI-XV), coordinated by José Mattoso, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal nos Finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, Notícias, 1998.

<sup>6</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum. Organização e Prática da Guerra em Portugal Durante a Idade Média (1245-1367)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2007.



form, in the case of the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, but more developed in the other two, these are, without doubt, the studies in which the theme of war in the Middle Ages receives most attentive and detailed analysis, supplying the reader with an image as complete as possible on how military activity was prepared and executed in medieval Portugal. They deal with such matters as recruitment, the preparation of the combatants, logistics, different types of operations, and also the consequences of the war, allowing us to view the phenomenon in its multiple aspects and not just from the strictly martial perspectives of strategy and tactics.

Although these three titles embody the essentials, they are not thought to exhaust them. In the following pages, we draw attention, on the one hand, to the principal aspects of preparation, organisation and practice of war in Portugal during the Middle Ages and, on the other, to the works that have most contributed to what is known today in this regard.

Thus, on the recruitment, organisation, administration and logistics of the armies, matters central to understanding the art of war, we already have at our disposal a considerable set of works. With regard to recruitment (noble, municipal and of the military orders, but also of other units of lesser numerical expression such as the royal guard), we should first mention the contributions of Mário Barroca and João Gouveia Monteiro in the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*<sup>7</sup>, but also of the latter in his doctoral thesis<sup>8</sup> and equally the chapter devoted to these matters by Miguel Gomes Martins in *Para Bellum*<sup>9</sup>.

Beyond these large scale analyses, there are also some sectorial studies, such as the diverse entries of Gastão de Melo de Matos in the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*<sup>10</sup>, or the study of João Gouveia Monteiro on military orders<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, it is on the recruitment of the municipal militias, analysed from a general perspective by Marcelo Flores<sup>12</sup>, that we possess a greater number of case studies, among which we

<sup>7</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "Organização territorial e recrutamento militar [da Reconquista a D. Dinis]", in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 69-94.

<sup>8</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Recrutamento e efectivos", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 27-134.

<sup>9</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "Os combatentes", in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 17-247.

<sup>10</sup> MATOS, Gastão de Melo de, "Exército", in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Oporto, Figueirinhas, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 506-508; IDEM, "Ginetes", *ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 415-416; and IDEM, "Infantaria", *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 317-319.

<sup>11</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Arcaísmo ou modernidade do Exército Português nos finais da Idade Média? O contributo das Ordens Militares", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Ordens Militares. Guerra, Religião, Poder e Cultura. Actas do III Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Palmela, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 259-275.

<sup>12</sup> FLORES, Marcelo, "A guerra vista do chão: os conflitos militares em Portugal nos reinados fernandino e joanino observados numa perspectiva local", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade na Idade Média. Actas das VI Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de Estudos Medievais*, s. l., SPEN, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 173-182.

underline those dealing with Lisbon<sup>13</sup> and Santarém<sup>14</sup>, but also with the settlements of Alcanede, Arruda<sup>15</sup> and Sesimbra<sup>16</sup>, which are of special interest for understanding of the methods of payment, recruitment and mobilisation of the militias in smaller villages. Another approach is the analysis of the militias through the corps in which they are constituted. Among these, it appears to be the crossbowmen of the *conto* (number) that have attracted most interest. In this respect, special reference should be made to the pioneering study by Maria da Conceição Falcão Ferreira on the crossbowmen of the *conto* of Guimarães, published in 1988<sup>17</sup>. This militia, which some authors suggest represents the embryo of a permanent army, was above all targeted by Miguel Gomes Martins, who, in addition to the pages devoted to the theme in his doctoral thesis<sup>18</sup>, analysed it recently in a synthesis<sup>19</sup> in which he recovers some of the themes previously explored in two articles focusing on the case of the crossbowmen of the *conto* of Lisbon, and in one chapter of the work *Lisboa e a Guerra (1367-1411)*<sup>20</sup>.

With regard to military organisation (methods of mobilisation, the procurement of resources, namely, finance, weapons, horses and victuals, and the obtaining and communication of information), studied in detail by João Gouveia Monteiro<sup>21</sup> and by Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>22</sup>, the studies that exist are mainly of regional scope. We recall, first, that of Teresa Dulce da Cunha Gomes on the military organisation

<sup>13</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Lisboa e a Guerra. 1367-1411*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2001, pp. 15-46.

<sup>14</sup> VIANA, Mário, *Os cavaleiros de Santarém nos séculos XII e XIII*, offprint of *Arquipélago – História*, 2nd ser., vols. 9-10 (2006).

<sup>15</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “Os cavaleiros de carneiro e a herança da cavalaria vilã na Estremadura. Os casos de Arruda e de Alcanede”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coords.), *Muçulmanos e Cristãos entre o Tejo e o Douro (Sécs. VIII a XIII)*, Palmela / Oporto, Câmara Municipal de Palmela / FL-UP, 2005, pp. 159-166.

<sup>16</sup> OLIVEIRA, José Augusto da Cunha Freitas de, “Peão ou cavaleiro. A fortuna de um pequeno proprietário de Sesimbra, em 1369”, *Arquipélago – História*, 2nd ser., vol. 7 (2003), pp. 269-284.

<sup>17</sup> FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, “Os besteiros do conto de Guimarães na centúria de Trezentos”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, vol. 3 (1988), pp. 183-216.

<sup>18</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “Os besteiros do conto”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 155-179.

<sup>19</sup> IDEM, “Los ballesteros del Conto en Portugal en la Edad Media”, *Medievalismo*, no. 18 (2008), pp. 375-395.

<sup>20</sup> IDEM, “Os besteiros do conto de Lisboa: De 1325 aos inícios do século XV”, *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal*, no. 1 (1997), pp. 90-116; and IDEM, “O conto dos besteiros de 1421 – Da teoria à prática. Um exemplo do termo de Lisboa”, in *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média*, Oporto, Civilização, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 1203-1209; and IDEM, *Lisboa e a Guerra...*, pp. 35-46.

<sup>21</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Estado moderno e guerra: monopólio da violência e organização militar”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (coords.), *A Gênese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-Medieval*, Lisbon, Universidade Autónoma Editora, 1999, pp. 79-93; and IDEM, “Organização e formação militares [de D. Afonso IV (1325) à Batalha de Alfarrobeira (1449) – Os desafios da maturidade]”, in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 192-215.

<sup>22</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “A caminho da guerra”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 565-582; and MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Administração, equipamento e finanças”, in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 135-188.

of the lands of Fraião, Pena da Rainha, and Valadares<sup>23</sup>; secondly, that of António Manuel Carvalho Lima, on the territory of *Anegia* between the nineteenth and twelfth centuries<sup>24</sup>; and thirdly those by António Matos Reis<sup>25</sup>, or by Abel dos Santos Cruz, on the frontier municipalities<sup>26</sup>.

Logistics have also warranted the attention of João Gouveia Monteiro and of Miguel Gomes Martins, respectively, in *A Guerra em Portugal nos Finais da Idade Média* and *Para Bellum*. These deal, for example, with the financing of war<sup>27</sup> – a theme first explored by José Marques in relation to the reign of King Afonso V<sup>28</sup> –, or with the rearing of horses<sup>29</sup>, a subject of a master's dissertation by Arminda Martins Fernandes<sup>30</sup>. Also within the ambit of logistics, themes linked to the production and maintenance of weapons have also been explored, on the one hand, by Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>31</sup> and, on the other, by João Gouveia Monteiro, not only in the work cited above<sup>32</sup>, but in a further study devoted exclusively to the *Armeiros e Armazéns nos Finais da Idade Média*<sup>33</sup>.

Unsurprisingly, one of the most alluring themes of medieval military history is, beyond doubt, the actual execution of war, already broadly analysed by José

<sup>23</sup> GOMES, Teresa Dulce da Cunha, *Organização Militar Medieval no Alto-Minho. Terras de Fraião, Pena da Rainha e Valadares*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1997.

<sup>24</sup> LIMA, António Manuel Carvalho, "O território Anegia e a organização administrativa e militar do curso terminal do Douro (séc. IX-XII)", in *Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida – In Memoriam*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 399-413.

<sup>25</sup> REIS, António Matos, "Os municípios medievais perante a guerra", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 359-375.

<sup>26</sup> CRUZ, Abel dos Santos, "O problema da fronteira na vida militar dos concelhos ao tempo do rei D. João I: exemplos da chancelaria real", in *IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval. As Relações de Fronteira no Século de Alcanices. Actas*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 577-600.

<sup>27</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Administração, equipamento e finanças", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 135-188; and MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "A caminho da guerra", in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 576-582.

<sup>28</sup> MARQUES, José, "O príncipe D. João (II) e a recolha das pratas das igrejas para custear a guerra com Castela", in MARQUES, José, *Relações entre Portugal e Castela nos Finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1994, pp. 305-324.

<sup>29</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Criação e manutenção dos cavalos", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 151-162; and MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "Os cavalos", in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 311-335.

<sup>30</sup> FERNANDES, Arminda Martins, *O Cavalo e o Cavaleiro na Idade Média*, unpublished master's dissertation, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 1999.

<sup>31</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "O armamento", in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 273-310.

<sup>32</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Armazenamento e conservação de armas", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 144-151.

<sup>33</sup> IDEM, *Armeiros e Armazéns nos Finais da Idade Média*, Viseu, Palimage, 2001.

Mattoso, in his study of the municipalities of Riba Côa<sup>34</sup>, and by Artur Manuel Ceia<sup>35</sup>.

The practical training of the warriors, in particular of the nobles, was the object of various analyses on the part of João Gouveia Monteiro, not solely in a more condensed examination in *A Guerra em Portugal*<sup>36</sup>, as through two distinct analyses, although both devoted to martial sports<sup>37</sup>, a theme that equally attracted the attention of Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>38</sup> and Ana Maria Rodrigues<sup>39</sup>.

With regard to the themes of the chain of command, the marching columns, the encampments and the supply of the armies on campaign, these were also studied in *Para Bellum*, by Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>40</sup>, and in *A Guerra em Portugal*, by João Gouveia Monteiro<sup>41</sup>, an author who, in another work, also explored the problem of the communications in war contexts, a theme practically forgotten until then<sup>42</sup>. In concrete terms on the chain of command of the medieval armies, we cannot forget the pioneering works of Gastão de Melo de Matos published in the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*<sup>43</sup>, whilst on the provisioning of the troops on campaign we have two other studies elaborated by Pedro Gomes Barbosa and by Helena Catarino<sup>44</sup>.

But it is themes related to strategy and tactics that, understandably, have most captivated the attention of military historians, who have studied the theoretical training of the warriors (meaning the commanders), the external influences and the

<sup>34</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A guerra”, in MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um País*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Estampa, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 420-426.

<sup>35</sup> CEIA, Artur Manuel, *O Fenómeno Guerra no Último Quartel do Século XIV. Tipologia e Caracterização*, offprint of *Revista Militar* [Lisbon] (1986).

<sup>36</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Como fazer a guerra”, in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 191-220.

<sup>37</sup> IDEM, *Torneios, Justas e Feitos de Armas: Escolas de Guerra e Desporto de Nobres no Ocidente Medieval*, offprint of *Actas do V Colóquio da Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar – Do Infante e Tordasilhas*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1994; and IDEM, “Jogos de guerra”, in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 411-449.

<sup>38</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “A formação dos combatentes. Da teoria à prática”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 352-369.

<sup>39</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “Le sport aristocratique selon les princes d’Avis”, in *Légendes, mythologies, histoire et imaginaire sportif. Actes des journées d’études Bernard Jeu*, Lille, 1995, pp. 113-121.

<sup>40</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “Os combates”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 605-643.

<sup>41</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “O exército em trânsito”, in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 221-270.

<sup>42</sup> IDEM, “As comunicações em contextos bélicos”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (coord.), *As Comunicações na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Fundação Portuguesa das Telecomunicações, 2002, pp. 171-189.

<sup>43</sup> MATOS, Gastão de Melo de, “Adiantado”, in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal...*, vol. 1, p. 29; IDEM, “Capitão”, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 471-472; IDEM, “Condestável”, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 148; IDEM, “Coudel”, *ibid.*, vol 2, p. 218; and IDEM, “Alferes”, *ibid.*, vol 1, pp. 97-98.

<sup>44</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, “A alimentação dos exércitos em campanha durante a Idade Média”, in *Turres Veteras IX – História da Alimentação*, Lisbon / Torres Vedras, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Torres Vedras, 2007, pp. 41-48; and CATARINO, Helena, “A guerra e a alimentação: o testemunho de Fernão Lopes”, in *Turres Veteras V – História Militar e da Guerra*, Lisbon / Torres Vedras, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Torres Vedras, 2000, pp. 45-53.

existence – or absence – both of a body of doctrine, and of a typology of operations and basic tactical principles. These topics were explored in detail by Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>45</sup>, by Mário Barroca and by João Gouveia Monteiro in their respective chapters of volume 1 of the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*<sup>46</sup>, and also in an article published by the latter on the Portuguese army on the brink of the Overseas Expansion<sup>47</sup>.

As with practical training, questions about war theory, as absorbed by the noble combatants and analysed in *Para Bellum*<sup>48</sup>, have been particularly cherished by João Gouveia Monteiro, who has examined them on various occasions<sup>49</sup>. One of the most interesting approaches has been to try and understand whether the execution of war in Portugal was, or not –, and if so, how – the subject of external influences, as explored by Afonso do Paço who has studied British military influence in Portugal<sup>50</sup>, and by João Gouveia Monteiro, who has examined the influence of the *Epitoma rei militaris* by Vegécio<sup>51</sup>, while also interrogating himself on points of contact and differences between the tactical models put into practice, in the Iberian Peninsula and in Palestine, by the military orders<sup>52</sup>.

Studies are a little more abundant on the typologies of the military operations, a theme developed by Miguel Gomes Martins, in respect of military operations conducted between 1245 and 1367<sup>53</sup>, and by João Gouveia Monteiro, on the period between 1367 and 1449<sup>54</sup>. Also important for the understanding of these questions are some works of a narrower focus, such as those by Pedro Gomes Barbosa on

<sup>45</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “Os combates”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 582-593, 702-754.

<sup>46</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Estratégias e Tácticas [da Reconquista a D. Dinis]”, in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 148-158 ; and MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Estratégia e táctica militares [de D. Afonso IV (1325) à Batalha de Alfarrobeira (1449) – Os desafios da maturidade]”, *ibid.*, pp. 216-244.

<sup>47</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Cavalaria montada, cavalaria desmontada e infantaria – Para uma compreensão global do problema militar nas vésperas da expansão portuguesa”, in *Revista de História das Ideias*, no. 14 (1992), pp. 143-194.

<sup>48</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “A formação dos combatentes. Da teoria à prática”, in *Para Bellum...*, pp. 335-352.

<sup>49</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “A aprendizagem: histórias e tratados”, in *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 337-398; IDEM, “La culture militaire de la noblesse portugaise, à la fin du Moyen Age”, in *Quatre Études d’Histoire Militaire Médiévale Portugaise*, Coimbra, Palimage, 2007, pp. 111-142; and IDEM, “A cultura militar da nobreza na primeira metade de Quatrocentos. Fontes e modelos literários”, in *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 19 (1998), pp. 195-227.

<sup>50</sup> PAÇO, Afonso do, “Nun’Álvares e a táctica militar inglesa”, *Novidades (Letras e Artes)*, Lisbon, 6th of June (1961).

<sup>51</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Vegécio e a prática militar medieval: influência real e condicionalismos”, in *Entre Romanos, Cruzados e Ordens Militares*, Coimbra, Salamandra, 2010, pp. 97-134.

<sup>52</sup> IDEM, “As ordens militares e os modelos tácticos de combate de um e do outro lado do Mediterrâneo – uma abordagem comparada”, in *Entre Romanos...*, pp. 255-301.

<sup>53</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “Os combates”, in *Para Bellum...*, pp. 582-754.

<sup>54</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Cercos e outras operações”, in *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 337-398.

frontier war<sup>55</sup>, or by Abel dos Santos Cruz regarding the *almogavar* actions in North Africa at the end of the 1400s<sup>56</sup>.

In regard to the strategic options of medieval kings and generals, we also possess a significant and diversified set of texts that clarify some of these questions. From a broader perspective, there are the analyses by Mário Jorge Barroca and by João Gouveia Monteiro, included in the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*<sup>57</sup>. Others have opted to study the implementation of strategic orientations at the regional level, as undertaken by Amélia Aguiar Andrade with respect to Portugal's north-eastern frontier during the reign of King Afonso Henriques<sup>58</sup>, by Sílvio Conde regarding the region of the Tagus Valley<sup>59</sup>, and by Pedro Gomes Barbosa on the Leiria region<sup>60</sup> and of the eastern Beira frontier<sup>61</sup> – also studied, although for a later period, by Carlos Guilherme Riley<sup>62</sup>, and by Pedro Gomes Barbosa in a panoramic study devoted to the frontier defence systems<sup>63</sup>. Some strategic and tactical options have been studied from the angle of the military commanders who put them into practice, as in the cases of the famous Geraldo, *O Sem-Pavor* (the Fearless), the object of a study by Armando de Sousa Pereira<sup>64</sup>; of Afonso III, the target of the analysis of Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>65</sup>; and of King João I and Nuno Álvares, the central figures of the articles

<sup>55</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, “Guerra de presúria, fossado e algara. A fronteira portuguesa (da segunda metade do século IX a inícios do XII)”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coords.), *Muçulmanos e Cristãos...*, pp. 91-102.

<sup>56</sup> CRUZ, Abel dos Santos, *As Almogaverias em Marrocos: 1415-1471*, offprint of *Actas do VI Colóquio “Portugal na História Militar”*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1995.

<sup>57</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Da Reconquista a D. Dinis”, in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 21-161; MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Organização e formação militares [de D. Afonso IV (1325) à Batalha de Alfarrobeira (1449) – Os desafios da maturidade]”, *ibid.*, pp. 192-215.

<sup>58</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, “Afonso Henriques e a fronteira noroeste: contornos de uma estratégia”, in ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *A Construção Medieval do Território*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2001, pp. 75-86.

<sup>59</sup> CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, “Fronteira, guerra e organização social do espaço: o Vale do Tejo entre muçulmanos e cristãos”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coords.), *Muçulmanos e Cristãos...*, pp. 43-52.

<sup>60</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, “Leiria e a defesa dos campos de Coimbra”, in BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Documentos, Lugares e Homens*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1991, pp. 15-36.

<sup>61</sup> IDEM, “Organização defensiva na fronteira beirã oriental: «Extremadura» e Riba Cóa até ao século XIII”, in *IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas...*, vol. 1, pp. 199-212.

<sup>62</sup> RILEY, Carlos Guilherme, “A guerra e o espaço na fronteira medieval beirã. Uma abordagem preliminar”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, vol. 6 (1991), pp. 145-159.

<sup>63</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Sistemas Defensivos de Fronteira, na “Reconquista” (Séculos IX-inícios do XII)*, offprint of *Actas do VIII Colóquio da Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar – Preparação e Formação Militar em Portugal*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1997.

<sup>64</sup> PEREIRA, Armando de Sousa, *Geraldo Sem Pavor*, Oporto, Fronteira do Caos, 2008.

<sup>65</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *As Milícias Concelhias e os Forais de Afonso III*, offprint of *Vária Escrita*, no. 10 (2003).

by António Pires Nunes<sup>66</sup>, José Loureiro dos Santos<sup>67</sup> and João Gouveia Monteiro, who revisited the figure of the *Condestável* in an analysis of his tactical principles, in articulation with the defensive strategies developed during the fourteenth century<sup>68</sup>.

Considerably more abundant are studies focusing on the military operations conducted over longer periods, as in the compilation of studies by Pedro Barbosa of the Reconquest<sup>69</sup>, of the article by José Antunes, António Resende de Oliveira and João Gouveia Monteiro on the politico-military conflicts in Portugal during the Middle Ages<sup>70</sup>, or of the pieces by Mário Jorge Barroca, João Gouveia Monteiro and Luís Miguel Duarte, respectively, on the periods stretching from the Reconquest to the reign of King Dinis, on the period from the reign of Afonso IV to the Battle of Alfarrobeira, and on the war in North Africa during the fifteenth century, all to be found in the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*<sup>71</sup>. However, the vision we have today of the practice of war in Portugal, conveyed principally by the above mentioned works, results, in great part, from analyses of particular cases, in other words, of this or that war, campaign or military episode.

The period between the formation of Portugal and the end of the Reconquest (1249-1250) is perhaps that for which we have the least number of case studies. Nevertheless, there exists an interesting set of works on the battles of São Mamede<sup>72</sup> and of Ourique<sup>73</sup>; the *bufurdium* of Valdevez<sup>74</sup>; the conquest of Lisbon<sup>75</sup>; the

<sup>66</sup> NUNES, António Pires, *D. João e D. Nuno. Chefes Militares em Fernão Lopes*, offprint of *Revista Militar* [Lisbon] (1986).

<sup>67</sup> SANTOS, José Alberto Loureiro dos, *Abordagem Estratégica da Guerra da Independência*, Lisbon, Serviço Histórico Militar, 1986.

<sup>68</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "A Tática militar na Europa do século XIV: princípios, antecedentes e inovações", in *Entre Romanos...*, pp. 169-199.

<sup>69</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Reconquista Cristã Nas Origens de Portugal. Séculos IX a XII*, Lisbon, Êsquilo, 2008.

<sup>70</sup> ANTUNES, José, OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, and MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Conflitos políticos no reino de Portugal entre a Reconquista e a Expansão", *Revista de História das Ideias*, no. 6 (1984), pp. 25-160.

<sup>71</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "História das campanhas [da Reconquista a D. Dinis]", in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 22-68; and MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "As campanhas que fizeram a História", *ibid.*, pp. 245-285; and DUARTE, Luís Miguel, "África", *ibid.*, pp. 392-441.

<sup>72</sup> PINA, Luiz Maria da Camara, *A Batalha de S. Mamede (21 de Junho de 1128). Subsídios para a sua História Militar*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1979.

<sup>73</sup> VELHO, Martim, *Estudos Críticos Sobre a Batalha de Ourique*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1989.

<sup>74</sup> MERÊA, Paulo, "A propósito do 'Bufurdium' de Val-de-Vez", *Portucale*, vol. 13, no. 73 (1940), pp. 97-98.

<sup>75</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Conquista de Lisboa (1147). A Cidade Reconquistada aos Mouros*, Lisbon, Tribuna, 2004; SANTOS, Nuno Valdez dos, "Lacunas da história da conquista de Lisboa", in *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média*, Oporto, Civilização, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 1217-1221; and also – even though it is focused on the questions of poliorcetics, MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Entre Lisboa e Jerusalém. A poliorcética nas quatro primeiras cruzadas", in *Entre Romanos...*, pp. 203-253 (originally published in *Entre Lisbonne et Jérusalem – La Poliorcétique au Cours des Quatre Premières Croisades (1097-1204)*, offprint of *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 5 (2005), pp. 9-79).

conquest of Beja; the incursion against Triana and the Almohad invasion of 1184<sup>76</sup>; the conquest of Alcácer<sup>77</sup>; the siege of Silves and the final phase of the conquest of the Algarve<sup>78</sup>, namely the conquest of Alcoutim<sup>79</sup> and of Tavira<sup>80</sup> and the siege of Faro, in 1249<sup>81</sup>.

The Civil War of 1245-1248 has also been the subject of various analyses that, despite not being strictly military history, remain essential to an understanding of some of the main conflicts of that period. Highlights are the pioneering study by José Mattoso<sup>82</sup>, the doctoral thesis by José Varandas<sup>83</sup>, as well as the article by Saul Gomes and Leontina Ventura (whose doctoral thesis provided a useful synthesis of the main events)<sup>84</sup> on the role of the city of Leiria in the Civil War<sup>85</sup>.

With regard to the armed conflicts of the period of more than a century between the reign of Afonso III and the end of the government of King Pedro I, we also have several case studies at our disposal. Of particular note are works by Miguel Gomes Martins on the 1296 campaign against Castile and the Luso-Castilian War of 1336-1338<sup>86</sup>, by José Mattoso about the Civil War of 1319-1324<sup>87</sup>, by Isilda Maria

<sup>76</sup> VEIGA, Augusto Botelho da Costa, "A data da tomada de Beja", "O fossado de Sevilha, por D. Sancho, em 1178", and "A invasão almóada de 1184", in *Três Temas Históricos (Século XII)*, offprint of *Anais*, 2nd ser., vol. 7 (1956), pp. 9-24, 25-34 and 35-101, respectively.

<sup>77</sup> PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, "Memória cruzadística do feito da Tomada de Alcácer (1217)", *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, vol. 2: *A Política Portuguesa e as suas Relações Exteriores*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1996, pp. 321-357.

<sup>78</sup> HENRIQUES, António Castro, *Conquista do Algarve (1189-1249). O Segundo Reino*, Lisbon, Tribuna, 2003; MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero de, "Uma interpretação da Crónica da Conquista do Algarve", in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Oporto, INIC, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 123-133.

<sup>79</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "A Ordem de Santiago e a conquista de Alcoutim", in *Seminário O foral de D. Dinis e o Alcoutim Medieval e Moderno*, Alcoutim, Câmara Municipal de Alcoutim, 2004, pp. 6-11.

<sup>80</sup> MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, "Uma reflexão sobre os cavaleiros mortos na tomada de Tavira por D. Paio Peres Correia", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 2, pp. 329-336.

<sup>81</sup> DAVID, Henrique, and SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, "A conquista de Faro. O reavivar de uma questão", *Revista de História*, no. 9 (1989), pp. 63-75.

<sup>82</sup> MATTOSO, José, "A crise de 1245", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval. Novas Interpretações*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, IN-CM, 1992, pp. 57-75.

<sup>83</sup> VARANDAS, José, *'Bonus Rex' ou 'Rex Inutilis'. As Periferias e o Centro. Redes de Poder no Reinado de D. Sancho II (1223-1248)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2003.

<sup>84</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, *A Nobreza de Corte de Afonso III*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 446-470.

<sup>85</sup> VENTURA, Leontina, and GOMES, Saul António, "Leiria na crise de 1245-1248. Documentos para uma revisão crítica", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 38 (1993), pp. 159-197.

<sup>86</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "Dividir para reinar: a campanha portuguesa em Castela em 1296", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 213-240; and IDEM, "A Guerra esquiava. O Conflito luso-castelhano de 1336-1338", *Promontoria - Revista do Departamento de História, Arqueologia e Património da Universidade do Algarve*, yr. 3, no. 3 (2005), pp. 19-80.

<sup>87</sup> MATTOSO, José, "A guerra civil de 1319-1324", in MATTOSO, José, *Portugal Medieval...*, pp. 293-308.



Pires dealing with naval attacks on the Algarve during the 1336-1338 war<sup>88</sup>, and by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa on the Battle of Salado and the positioning of the principal noble lineages during the Civil War of 1355<sup>89</sup>.

It is something of a paradox, given the profusion of armed incidents during the period of the Fernandine Wars, that apart from pages devoted to these three conflicts by João Gouveia Monteiro in the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*<sup>90</sup> our sole account is a brief synthesis by Armando Martins<sup>91</sup>. It is fair to add that some of the individual episodes of those war years have been studied in some depth, such as the “quasi-battle” of Caia, by João Gouveia Monteiro<sup>92</sup>; the Biscayan attacks launched against the Lisbon region in 1382, by José Marques<sup>93</sup>; and the Castilian siege of Lisbon in 1373, by Miguel Gomes Martins, comparing it with that of 1384<sup>94</sup>.

For the period between the death of King Fernando (1383) and the Peace of Ayllón (1411), signed between Portugal and Castile, a period outlined by Luís Miguel Duarte’s *Guerra pela Independência*<sup>95</sup>, there exist a more substantial number of studies. The “classic” article by José Mattoso about the positioning(s) of the Portuguese nobility during the crisis of 1383-1385 served as the bugle call for many ensuing works<sup>96</sup>. On the siege of Lisbon of 1384, Miguel Gomes Martins provides a comprehensive account<sup>97</sup>, whereas on the siege of Torres Vedras of 1384 we have merely a slight piece by Ana Maria Rodrigues<sup>98</sup>. However, the period that followed

<sup>88</sup> MARTINS, Isilda Maria Pires, “Os ataques castelhanos no território algarvio durante o reinado de D. Afonso IV”, in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Oporto, INIC, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 217-221;

<sup>89</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, “O sangue, a cruz e a coroa. A memória do Salado em Portugal”, *Penélope*, no. 2 (1989), pp. 27-48; IDEM, “Vencer ou morrer: a Batalha do Salado, 1340”, in *A Memória da Nação*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1991, pp. 505-514; IDEM, “A guerra civil de 1355”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 393-407.

<sup>90</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “As guerras fernandinas contra Castela”, in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 250-261.

<sup>91</sup> MARTINS, Armando, *Guerras Fernandinas. 1369-1371, 1372-1373, 1381-1382*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2006.

<sup>92</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “Histórias da guerra no Alentejo dos finais da Idade Média”, offprint of *Actas do IV Colóquio da Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar – A História Militar de Portugal no Séc. XIX*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1993.

<sup>93</sup> MARQUES, José, “Devastações biscaínhas na Quinta da Azóia (1381)”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 31, vol. 2 (1996), pp. 191-217.

<sup>94</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Lisboa e a Guerra...*, pp. 67-94.

<sup>95</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, *Guerra pela Independência. Aljubarrota. 1383-1389*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2006.

<sup>96</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A nobreza e a Revolução de 1383”, in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Estampa, 1990, pp. 277-293.

<sup>97</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *A Vitória do Quarto Cavaleiro. O Cerco de Lisboa de 1384*, Lisbon, Prefácio, 2006; and IDEM, *Abastecer as cidades em contexto de guerra: o cerco de Lisboa de 1384*, offprint of *Alimentar la Ciudad en la Edad Media – Nájera. Encuentros Internacionales del Medievo. 2008*, Nájera, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2009.

<sup>98</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “O cerco de Torres Vedras em 1384-1385. Uma releitura de Fernão Lopes”, in *Actas do II Colóquio e dia da História Militar: Portugal e a Europa. Séculos XVII a XX*, Lisbon,

King Fernando's reign is marked by important combats, such as the Battle of Atoleiros, analysed by Carlos Gomes Bessa<sup>99</sup>, and the Battle of Trancoso, studied by Salvador Dias Arnaut<sup>100</sup>, as well as by Altino de Magalhães<sup>101</sup>, and Frederico Alcides de Oliveira<sup>102</sup>. More recently, archaeological campaigns undertaken on some battle fields, together with the study of the osteological remains recovered from them, have permitted a better knowledge of these combats, expressed in the writings, among others, of Maria Antónia de Castro Athayde Amaral, on the Battles of Trancoso and Aljubarrota<sup>103</sup>, and of Fernando Pedro Figueiredo, Lídia Catarino, Helena Catarino, Eugénia Cunha, Carina Marques and Vítor Marques – working within a project coordinated by João Gouveia Monteiro –, on the Battle of Aljubarrota, which have contributed significantly to the detailed image we have today of the events that occurred on the fourteenth of August of 1385<sup>104</sup>, beyond doubt one of the most studied episodes in Portuguese military history.

This “mother of all Portuguese battles”, as João Gouveia Monteiro has called it, has summoned more interest on the part of military historians, not just for the importance with which it has been endowed, but also for the circumstance, in itself sufficiently alluring, of the almost surgically precise knowledge of the site where it took place. Writings by the same author supply an innovative perspective on the combat, thanks on the one hand to a re-interpretation of the narrative and documental sources, some of which are little known, and on the other to new data gathered from the battlefield by a multidisciplinary team, coordinated by the author, leading in two works of reference, to the uncovering of aspects practically forgotten or even ignored about the battle<sup>105</sup>, a subject he has revisited on various other occasions and

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Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1992, pp. 341-348.

<sup>99</sup> BESSA, Carlos Gomes, “A Batalha de Atoleiros. Seu Carácter precursor em Portugal”, in *Aljubarrota – 600 Anos Depois. Ciclo de Conferências na Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal*, Lisbon, Minerva, 1987, pp. 97-128.

<sup>100</sup> ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, *Acerca da Batalha de Trancoso*, Trancoso, Câmara Municipal de Trancoso, 1986.

<sup>101</sup> MAGALHÃES, Altino de, “A guerra continua no território castelhano. A batalha de Trancoso”, *Aljubarrota – 600 Anos...*, pp. 243-260.

<sup>102</sup> OLIVEIRA, Frederico Alcides de, “A batalha de Trancoso”, *ibid.*, pp. 211-228.

<sup>103</sup> AMARAL, Maria Antónia de Castro Athayde, “Os vestígios materiais da guerra – o caso da Batalha de Aljubarrota (S. Jorge, Porto de Mós) e da Batalha de S. Marcos (Trancoso)”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 521-537.

<sup>104</sup> FIGUEIREDO, Fernando Pedro, and CATARINO, Lídia, “Em busca das estruturas”, in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia (coord.), *Aljubarrota Revisitada*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001, pp. 29-96; CATARINO, Helena, “A descoberta dos vestígios arqueológicos”, *ibid.*, pp. 97-132; CUNHA, Eugénia, MARQUES, Carina, and MARQUES, Vítor, “Os mais verdadeiros testemunhos da Batalha de Aljubarrota”, *ibid.*, pp. 133-191.

<sup>105</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia (coord.), *Aljubarrota Revisitada...*; IDEM, *Aljubarrota, 1385. A Batalha Real*, Lisbon, Tribuna, 2003.

from different perspectives<sup>106</sup>. But much of what we know about this battle is due to the pioneering work of Afonso do Paço, responsible for the first archaeological excavations conducted at São Jorge and author of a significant number of studies on the theme<sup>107</sup> and by Gastão de Melo de Matos, another profound connoisseur of the battlefield<sup>108</sup>. Also important to comprehending the events on the São Jorge plateau are, among many others, the studies by Alcides de Oliveira<sup>109</sup>, Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga<sup>110</sup>, Nuno Valdez dos Santos<sup>111</sup>, Carlos Gomes Bessa<sup>112</sup>, Salvador Dias Arnaut<sup>113</sup>, and Renato Marques Pinto<sup>114</sup>. These have mainly focussed on generic aspects of the battle, but they have also tackled more specific questions, but of no less importance, such as Nuno Varela Rubim's study of the use of artillery<sup>115</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> IDEM, "Estratégia e risco em Aljubarrota: a decisão de dar batalha à luz do "paradigma Gillingham", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 75-107 (also published with some adjustments in *Entre Romanos...*, pp. 137-168); IDEM, *A Batalha de Aljubarrota - Novas Interpretações*, offprint of *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 6 (2006); IDEM, "La Bataille d'Aljubarrota et la tactique au XIV<sup>ème</sup> Siècle", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Quatre Études d'Histoire Militaire Médiévale Portugaise*, Coimbra, Pallimage, 2007, pp. 87-109; IDEM, "La Bataille d'Aljubarrota (14 août 1385)", *Cahiers du CRISIMA (Centre de Recherche Interdisciplinaire sur la Société et l'Imaginaire au Moyen Âge)*, Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier III, 2006, pp. 19-36; IDEM, "The Battle of Aljubarrota [1385]: A Reassessment", *Journal of Medieval Military History*, no. 7 (2009), pp. 75-103.

<sup>107</sup> PAÇO, Afonso do, "Escavações de carácter histórico no campo de batalha", *Aljubarrota - Trabalhos em Execução de Arqueologia Militar*, Lisbon, Comissão de História Militar, 1959, pp. 35-51; IDEM, *Novos Documentos sobre a Batalha de Aljubarrota*, offprint of *Infantaria*, nos. 151-152 (1959); IDEM, *Do Lendário da Batalha de Aljubarrota*, offprint of *Actas do Colóquio de Estudos Etnográficos Dr. José Leite de Vasconcelos*, vol. 2, Oporto, s.n., 1960; IDEM, "Em torno de Aljubarrota. I - O problema dos ossos dos combatentes da batalha", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 12 (1962), pp. 114-163; IDEM, "Escavações de carácter histórico realizadas no campo de batalha de Aljubarrota", *Bracara Augusta*, t. 3 [*Actas do Congresso Histórico de Portugal Medieval*], vols. 18-19, nos. 41-42 (1965); IDEM, *Novos Aspectos da Batalha de Aljubarrota*, offprint of *O Canelho de Santo Tirso - Boletim Cultural*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1961).

<sup>108</sup> MATOS, Gastão de Melo de, "Considerações tácticas sobre a batalha de Aljubarrota", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 12 (1962), pp. 11-19; MATOS, Gastão de Melo de, "Estudos dos Textos", in *Aljubarrota - Trabalhos em Execução de Arqueologia Militar*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1959, pp. 21-33.

<sup>109</sup> OLIVEIRA, Frederico Alcide de, *Aljubarrota Dissecada*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, Lisbon, Direcção do Serviço Histórico-Militar, 1988.

<sup>110</sup> VEIGA, Augusto Botelho da Costa, *Aljubarrota*, offprint of the official report *Aljubarrota - Trabalhos em Execução de Arqueologia Militar*, Lisbon, Horus, 1959; IDEM, *Algumas Palavras Sobre as Prováveis Concepções Tácticas de Nuno Álvares nas Duas Posições de Aljubarrota*, offprint of *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 8 (1961); IDEM, *Ayala e Aljubarrota*, offprint of *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 5 [homage to Gama Barros] (1951).

<sup>111</sup> SANTOS, Nuno Valdez dos, "Certezas e incertezas da batalha de Aljubarrota", *Revista Militar*, 2nd century, yr. 31, nos. 8-9, Aug.-Sept. (1979), pp. 461-545.

<sup>112</sup> BESSA, Carlos Gomes, "Memória da 'Batalha Real' no 6<sup>º</sup> Centenário", in ACADEMIA PORTUGUESA DA HISTÓRIA, *Batalha de Aljubarrota, Sessão Comemorativa do VI Centenário - Junho de 1985*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1988, pp. 27-77.

<sup>113</sup> ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, "Algumas notas sobre a campanha de Aljubarrota", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 10 [homage to Damião Peres] (1962), pp. 467-499.

<sup>114</sup> PINTO, Renato F. Marques, "A batalha de Aljubarrota", in *Aljubarrota - 600 Anos...*, pp. 229-242.

<sup>115</sup> RUBIM, Nuno José Varela, *Sobre a Possibilidade Técnica do Emprego de Artilharia na Batalha de Aljubarrota*, offprint of *Revista de Artilharia*, yr. 82, 2nd ser., nos. 725-726, Jan.-Feb. (1986), pp. 257-283.

Studies are scarcer on the years following Aljubarrota, ending in 1411 with the Luso-Castilian Peace of Ayllón. In effect, for this quarter century profoundly marked by innumerable military episodes, namely, the offensive campaigns against the Castilian territory, we only have available one work on the Anglo-Portuguese campaign of 1387<sup>116</sup>, another that examines the Castilian attacks on the Algarvian coast<sup>117</sup>, and a third that analyses, from the perspective of the municipal militias of Lisbon, the offensive actions undertaken by the royal Portuguese forces in the years of 1385, 1386, 1387 e 1398<sup>118</sup>.

With reference to the North African campaigns of the fifteenth century, which also have not particularly attracted military historians, the synthesis by Luís Miguel Duarte included in the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, to which we have already referred, supplies a general panorama of the principal episodes<sup>119</sup>, a good part of which are also covered by Maria de Fátima Reis, in a study whose chronological scope extends until the middle of the sixteenth century<sup>120</sup>. On the conquest of Ceuta, the study that best explores military aspects, although focusing on an eminently geopolitical and strategic evaluation, is that by José Loureiro dos Santos<sup>121</sup>, while for a knowledge of some of the operations launched from this fortress after 1415 we have Nuno Silva Campos's book on Count Pedro de Meneses<sup>122</sup>. With regard to the Muslim siege of Ceuta, in 1418 or 1419, the article by Damião Peres continues to be obligatory reading<sup>123</sup>, whilst on the campaigns of Afonso V in Africa, more precisely on the conquest of Alcácer Ceguer, Nuno Varela Rubim has provided a fascinating interpretation of the artillery, ships and personal armament portrayed in the second set of the Pastrana tapestries<sup>124</sup>.

To conclude this extensive journey through the case studies, accounts of the Luso-Castilian conflicts of the last decades of the fifteenth century are not

<sup>116</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "A Campanha Anglo-Portuguesa em Castela, em 1387: Técnicas e Tácticas da Guerra peninsular nos Finais da Idade Média", offprint of the *Actas do VI Colóquio da Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar - Portugal na História Militar*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1995.

<sup>117</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "A ameaça externa sobre o Algarve durante a crise dos fins do século XIV", *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, vol. 3 (1988), pp. 173-182.

<sup>118</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Lisboa e a Guerra...*, pp. 49-67.

<sup>119</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, "África", in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 392-441.

<sup>120</sup> REIS, Maria de Fátima, *Campanhas do Norte de África-Conquista de Marrocos, 1415-1550*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2006.

<sup>121</sup> SANTOS, José Loureiro dos, *Ceuta 1415 - A Conquista*, Lisbon, Prefácio, 2002.

<sup>122</sup> CAMPOS, Nuno Silva, *D. Pedro de Meneses. O Primeiro Capitão de Ceuta*, Lisbon, Sete Caminhos, 2008.

<sup>123</sup> PERES, Damião, "Ceuta cercada: um problema cronológico", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 12 [homage to Paulo Merêa], vol. 1 (1969), pp. 293-299.

<sup>124</sup> RUBIM, Nuno José Varela, *Novo Conjunto de Tapeçarias de D. Afonso V na Igreja de Pastrana em Espanha*, s. l., author's edition, 2005.

obviously abundant, bar one work of synthesis by Manuela Mendonça<sup>125</sup> and, with a narrower geographical scope, the work of Humberto Baquero Moreno on border confrontations during this period of intense martial activity<sup>126</sup>.

If there is a theme, in medieval military history, in which there is no lack of studies it is, without doubt, that of military architecture, driven in good measure by the archaeological campaigns conducted in some fortifications, and incorporating joint visions of the typology of the medieval Portuguese castle and the spatial distribution of the fortresses (castles and urban defense works), their construction and maintenance, together with a relevant set of case studies on the chains of command of those defensive structures.

Among the former should be mentioned the global approaches developed by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida<sup>127</sup>, Mário Barroca<sup>128</sup>, João Gouveia Monteiro<sup>129</sup> (one in collaboration with Maria Leonor Pontes)<sup>130</sup>, José Custódio Vieira da Silva<sup>131</sup>, Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>132</sup> and a synthesis by Rosa Varela Gomes on Moslem military architecture<sup>133</sup>. In the works of wider scope, we should not overlook two important studies by António Pires Nunes on castles, of which one (the *Dicionário Temático de Arquitectura Militar*) covers periods in addition to the Middle Ages<sup>134</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> MENDONÇA, Manuela, *Guerra Luso-Castelhana. Século XV*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2006.

<sup>126</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "Conflitos fronteiriços hispano-portugueses nos finais da Idade Média", *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, vol. 13 (1998), pp. 11-30.

<sup>127</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, "Castelos e cercas medievais. Séculos X a XIII", in MOREIRA, Rafael (dir.), *Portugal no Mundo. História das Fortificações Portuguesas no Mundo*, Lisbon, Alfa, 1989, pp. 38-54.

<sup>128</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "Arquitectura militar [da Reconquista a D. Dinis]", in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 95-121; IDEM, "Os castelos", in *Nos Confins da Idade Média - Catálogo da Exposição Europália '91*, Lisbon, s.n., pp. 51-57; IDEM, "Castelos medievais portugueses. Origens e evolução (séc. IX a XIV)", in *La Fortaleza Medieval. Realidad y Símbolo. Actas de la XIV Asamblea General de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, Alicante, s. n., 1998, pp. 13-30.

<sup>129</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Os Castelos Portugueses dos Finais da Idade Média. Presença, Perfil, Conservação, Vigilância e Comando*, Coimbra, Colibri / FL-UC, 1999; IDEM, "Castelos e armamento [de D. Afonso IV (1325) à Batalha de Alfarrobeira (1449) - Os desafios da maturidade]", in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 164-191; and IDEM, "L'architecture militaire médiévale portugaise. Une vision d'ensemble", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Quatre Études d'Histoire Militaire Médiévale Portugaise...*, pp. 15-47.

<sup>130</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, and PONTES, Maria Leonor, *Castelos Portugueses*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2002.

<sup>131</sup> SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da, "Séculos XIV e XV", in MOREIRA, Rafael (dir.), *Portugal no Mundo. História das Fortificações Portuguesas...*, pp. 55-71.

<sup>132</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "As estruturas fixas de defesa", in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 379-563.

<sup>133</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, "A arquitectura militar muçulmana", in MOREIRA, Rafael (dir.), *Portugal no Mundo. História das Fortificações Portuguesas...*, pp. 27-37.

<sup>134</sup> NUNES, António Lopes Pires, *O Castelo Estratégico Português e A Estratégia do Castelo em Portugal*, Lisbon, Serviço Histórico Militar, 1988; IDEM, *Dicionário Temático de Arquitectura Militar e Arte de Fortificar*, Lisbon, Serviço Histórico Militar, 1991.

On the more precise question of the evolution of Portuguese military architecture, we have available an important set of works. The seminal study is Mário Barroca's *Do Castelo da Reconquista ao Castelo Românico*, to which must be added his article analysing the role of King Dinis in the dissemination within Portugal of the principles of active defence<sup>135</sup>. A synthesis essential to comprehending changes in the art of fortification in Portugal is that by João Gouveia Monteiro on the improvements made to Portuguese castles during the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century<sup>136</sup>. As important agents in the dissemination and implementation of some of the principles of active defence, the military orders have also been analysed in two works by Mário Barroca, one focusing on the Order of the Temple and another on the Order of the Hospitallers<sup>137</sup>, together with a third piece analysing in broader perspective the theme of the fortifications of the military orders<sup>138</sup>.

However, it is not only at the level of syntheses, overviews and global visions that one detects the advance of castle science seen in recent years in Portugal. Case studies have been more prominent, such a vast number existing it would be impossible to register all in the space available. Following geographical criteria, we shall limit ourselves to drawing attention to some of the most significant and most recent studies.

For the Northern region we should mention, not least for their pioneering spirit, studies by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida who, in addition to various overviews, analyses<sup>139</sup>, has left us important work on the castles of Aguiar de Sousa

<sup>135</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Do Castelo da Reconquista ao Castelo Românico (Séc. IX a XII)*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 1994; and IDEM, "D. Dinis e a arquitectura militar portuguesa", in *IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas...*, vol. 1, pp. 801-822.

<sup>136</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Reformas góticas nos castelos portugueses ao longo do século XIV e na primeira metade do século XV", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500-1500). Actas do Simpósio Internacional sobre Castelos*, Lisbon / Palmela, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2002, pp. 659-666.

<sup>137</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "A Ordem do Templo e a arquitectura militar portuguesa do século XII", *Portugália*, n. s., vols. 17-18 (1997), pp. 171-209; IDEM, "A Ordem do Hospital e a arquitectura militar em Portugal (sécs. XII a XIV)", in *Arqueologia da Idade Média da Península Ibérica, Actas do 3º Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular*, Oporto, ADECAP, 2000, vol. 7, pp. 187-209.

<sup>138</sup> IDEM, "Os castelos das ordens militares em Portugal (Séc. XII a XIV)", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil Anos de Fortificações...*, pp. 535-548.

<sup>139</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, "Castelos medievais do Noroeste de Portugal", in *Finis Terrae - Estudos em Lembrança do Prof. Dr. Alberto Balil*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1992, pp. 371-385; IDEM, "Muralhas românicas e cercas góticas de algumas cidades do Centro e Norte de Portugal. A sua lição para a dinâmica urbana de então", in *Cidades e História - Ciclo de Conferências*, Lisbon, FCG, 1992, pp. 137-141; IDEM, *Castelologia Medieval de Entre-Douro e Minho. Das Origens a 1220*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 1978; IDEM, "Castelos medievais do Norte de Portugal", in *Conclusiões das Primeiras Xornadas Históricas e Arqueológicas de 'Mariña Lucense'*. Foz: A Fronteira e o Mariscal Pardo de Cela, Foz, Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1993, pp. 50-101.

and of Baltar / Vandoma<sup>140</sup>; by Mário Barroca, who inspected some of the fortresses of Northern Portugal, such as the castles of Aguiar da Pena and Guimarães<sup>141</sup>; by Ricardo Teixeira, who centred his analysis on the Trás-os-Montes region<sup>142</sup>, as did Rita Costa Gomes in a monography on the castles of the Trás-os-Montes border area<sup>143</sup>; and by António Manuel Carvalho Lima, who focused on the fortifications of the terminal stretch of the Douro River<sup>144</sup>. Among many other fortified spaces, we also have studies on the castles of Germanelo<sup>145</sup>, Penafiel de Bastuço<sup>146</sup>, Freixo de Espada-à-Cinta<sup>147</sup>, etc.

The Central region has been equally well covered with studies of a panoramic character or of regional scope such as those by Rita Costa Gomes on the castles of the Beira frontier<sup>148</sup>, by Mário Barroca<sup>149</sup>, by Luís Jorge Gonçalves<sup>150</sup>, by Jorge Adolfo de Meneses Marques<sup>151</sup> and by António Pires Nunes<sup>152</sup>. From a strictly local perspective, other important studies are those of the castles of Viseu<sup>153</sup>, Montemor-

<sup>140</sup> IDEM, "Os castelos de Aguiar de Sousa e de Vandoma/Baltar", *O Concelho de Paredes*, vol. 3 (1980), pp. 15-17.

<sup>141</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and MORAIS, António J. Cardoso, "A Terra e o Castelo. Uma experiência arqueológica em Aguiar da Pena", *Portugalia*, n. s., vols. 6-7 (1985-1986), pp. 35-87; and BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "O castelo de Guimarães", *Patrimonia*, no. 1 (1996), pp. 17-28.

<sup>142</sup> TEIXEIRA, Ricardo, "Castelos e fortificações da região de Chaves entre a 'Reconquista' e a Baixa Idade Média", in *Arqueologia da Idade Média da Península Ibérica...*, pp. 89-107; IDEM, "Castelos e organização do território nas duas margens do curso médio do Douro (Séculos IX-XIV)", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil Anos de Fortificações...*, pp. 462-476.

<sup>143</sup> GOMES, Rita Costa, *Castelos da Raia. Trás-os-Montes*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2003.

<sup>144</sup> LIMA, António Manuel Carvalho, *Castelos Medievais do Curso terminal do Douro (Séc. IX-XII)*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1993.

<sup>145</sup> ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, *O Castelo de Germanelo*, offprint of *Anais*, 2nd ser., vol. 28 (1982).

<sup>146</sup> FONTES, Luís Fernando, and REGALO, Henrique Jorge L., "O castelo de Penafiel de Bastuço, Paços de S. Julião, Braga. Elementos para o seu estudo", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 5 (1997), pp. 199-220.

<sup>147</sup> PINTADO, Francisco António, *O Castelo de Freixo de Espada à Cinta. Notas Para o seu Estudo*, Freixo de Espada à Cinta, Câmara Municipal de Freixo de Espada à Cinta, 1992.

<sup>148</sup> GOMES, Rita Costa, *Castelos da Raia. Beira*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 1996.

<sup>149</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "Aspectos da evolução da arquitectura militar da Beira Interior", in *Actas das 1<sup>as</sup> Jornadas do Património da Beira Interior*, Trancoso / Guarda, s.n., 1998, pp. 215-238.

<sup>150</sup> GONÇALVES, Luís Jorge, "Implantação e conservação dos castelos da raia da Beira (séculos XII-XIV)", in *Arqueologia da Idade Média da Península Ibérica...*, pp. 131-140.

<sup>151</sup> MARQUES, Jorge Adolfo de Meneses, "Castelos da Reconquista na região de Viseu", in *Arqueologia da Idade Média da Península Ibérica...*, pp. 113-129.

<sup>152</sup> NUNES, António Lopes Pires, "Torres de vigia da Beira Baixa", in *Livro do Congresso. Primeiro Congresso sobre Monumentos Militares Portugueses*, Vila Viçosa, s.n., 1982, pp. 44-49.

<sup>153</sup> ALVES, Carlos Filipe Pereira, "A evolução arquitectónica de um espaço de múltiplas funções: o alcácer e o castelo de Viseu (séculos XII-XIV)", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 2, pp. 77-91.

-o-Velho<sup>154</sup>, Alcobaça<sup>155</sup>, Leiria – with its most diverse features observed in detail by Saul Gomes<sup>156</sup> –, Belmonte<sup>157</sup>, and the defensive structures of Lisbon<sup>158</sup>.

However, it is the fortresses south of the River Tagus that appear to have attracted most interest from scholars. Regional analyses have been made by, among others, Helena Catarino<sup>159</sup>, Valdemar Cordeiro<sup>160</sup>, and Fernando Branco Correia<sup>161</sup>. But since the Alentejo and the Algarve had strong connections with the Order of Saint James, it is not surprising that some, more panoramic works have examined the order's castles, as did Isabel Cristina Fernandes on the region of the Sado<sup>162</sup>, José Marques in relation to the order's Algarvian castles<sup>163</sup> and Mário Barroca, with reference to a broader geographical scope<sup>164</sup>. From a strictly local perspective, the studies available describe the defensive structures of Terena<sup>165</sup>, Mértola<sup>166</sup>, Alcoutim<sup>167</sup>, Castelo de

<sup>154</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "O castelo de Montemor-o-Velho nos séculos X a XIII", in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coords.), *Muçulmanos e Cristãos...*, pp. 111-126.

<sup>155</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, "Notas sobre o castelo de Alcobaça", in BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Documentos, Lugares e Homens...*, pp. 59-73.

<sup>156</sup> GOMES, Saul António, "Torre e prisão. Para um entendimento da torre de menagem do castelo de Leiria", in *Torre de Menagem. Núcleo Museológico da Torre de Menagem do Castelo de Leiria*, Leiria, Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 2001, pp. 9-25; IDEM, *Introdução à História do Castelo de Leiria*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, Leiria, Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 2005.

<sup>157</sup> MARQUES, António Augusto da Cunha, "O castelo de Belmonte (Castelo Branco). Resultados arqueológicos", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil Anos de Fortificações...*, pp. 485-495; NUNES, António Lopes Pires, "Fortificações de Belmonte", in *Actas del I Congreso de Castellología Ibérica*, Palencia, Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1998, pp. 405-419.

<sup>158</sup> SUCENA, Eduardo, "Os muros afonsinos de Lisboa", *Arqueologia e História*, vol. 53 (2003), pp. 45-48; and SILVA, Augusto Vieira da, *A Cerca Moura de Lisboa. Estudo Histórico descritivo*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1987; IDEM, *As Muralhas da Ribeira de Lisboa*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1987; IDEM, *A Cerca Fernandina de Lisboa*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1987.

<sup>159</sup> CATARINO, Helena, "Castelos muçulmanos no Algarve", in BARATA, Filomena, and PARREIRA, Rui (eds.), *Noventa Séculos entre a Serra e o Mar*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 1997, pp. 449-457; EADEM, "Fortificações da Serra Algarvia", in TORRES, Cláudio, and MACIAS, Santiago (coords.), *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998, pp. 207-218.

<sup>160</sup> CORDEIRO, Valdemar, *Castelos, Fortalezas e Torres da Região do Algarve*, Faro, s.n., 1997.

<sup>161</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, "Fortificações Muçulmanas do Algarve", in *IV Congresso do Algarve*, Silves, s. n., 1986, vol. 1, pp. 97-102; CORREIA, Fernando Branco, "Fortificações islâmicas do Gharb", in TORRES, Cláudio, and MACIAS, Santiago (coords.), *Portugal Islâmico...*, pp. 193-206.

<sup>162</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., "Castelos da Ordem de Santiago: a região do Sado", *Arqueologia da Idade Média da Península Ibérica...*, pp. 169-180.

<sup>163</sup> MARQUES, José, "Os castelos algarvios da Ordem de Santiago no reinado de Afonso III", in MARQUES, José, *Relações entre Portugal e Castela nos Finais da Idade Média...*, pp. 125-138.

<sup>164</sup> PAVÃO, Luís, and BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Castelos da Ordem de Santiago*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2002.

<sup>165</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Terena. O Castelo e a Ermida da Boa Nova*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2006.

<sup>166</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, "A alcáçova de Mértola. História e arqueologia urbana", *Arqueologia* [Oporto], vol. 6 (1982), pp. 86-95; BOIÇA, Joaquim M. F., and BARROS, Maria de Fátima R., "O castelo de Mértola – estrutura e organização espacial (sécs. XIII a XVI)", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil Anos de Fortificações...*, pp. 579-586.

<sup>167</sup> CATARINO, Helena, "Um olhar sobre o castelo de Alcoutim: resumo das intervenções arqueológicas", in *Seminário O foral de D. Dinis...*, pp. 12-17; EADEM, "Os sistemas defensivos muçulmanos do Algarve



Vide<sup>168</sup>, Noudar<sup>169</sup>, Elvas<sup>170</sup>, Juromenha<sup>171</sup>, Silves<sup>172</sup>, Palmela<sup>173</sup>, Moura<sup>174</sup>, Olivença<sup>175</sup>, Loulé<sup>176</sup>, among many others.

One aspect of castle science in which most progress has been made recently has been the study of the chain of command of medieval fortresses, a theme approached for the first time by Baquero Moreno with reference to the regency of Prince Pedro<sup>177</sup> – and of their systems of vigilance, matters hitherto completely beyond the remit of historiography. Special attention should be paid to studies by João Gouveia Monteiro<sup>178</sup>, and by Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>179</sup> (who has also particularly written about Lisbon castle)<sup>180</sup>. Each author devotes also close attention to the construction and conservation of fortifications<sup>181</sup>, showing that the study of castles and of everything to do with them is no longer the exclusive domain of archaeologists, art historians or architects.

Another branch of military history that has grown enormously over recent decades relates to the study of armaments, their manufacture and sale, storage and typologies. Ample proof of the interest provoked by the theme is the catalogue of the exhibition *Pera Guerrejar. Armamento Medieval no Espaço Português*, which

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oriental e o castelo velho de Alcoutim”, *III Congresso de Arqueologia Medieval Española*, Oviedo, s. n., 1992, vol. 2, pp. 296-305.

<sup>168</sup> CID, Pedro, *As Fortificações Medievais de Castelo de Vide*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2005.

<sup>169</sup> COELHO, Adelino de Matos, *O Castelo de Noudar, Fortaleza Medieval*, Lisbon, s. n., 1986.

<sup>170</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, “O sistema defensivo da Elvas islâmica”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil Anos de Fortificações...*, pp. 357-367; ALVES, Francisco Silva, and AFONSO, Luzia (coords.), *Castelo de Elvas*, Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1991.

<sup>171</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, “O castelo da Juromenha – influências islâmicas e cristãs”, *Callipole*, no. 2 (1994), pp. 27-42.

<sup>172</sup> DOMINGUES, J. D. Garcia, *Muralhas e Torres da Almedina de Silves*, Silves, s.n., 1981; GOMES, Rosa Varela, and GOMES, Mário Varela, “Dispositivos defensivos de Silves (Algarve, Portugal)”, in *III Congresso de Arqueologia Medieval Española (Oviedo, 1989)*, Oviedo, s.n., 1992, vol. 2, pp. 287-295; GOMES, Rosa Varela, “Estruturas defensivas medievais de Silves”, in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil Anos de Fortificações...*, pp. 325-336.

<sup>173</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *O Castelo de Palmela. Do Islâmico ao Cristão*, Palmela, Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2004.

<sup>174</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, “As muralhas medievais de Moura”, *O Arquivo de Beja*, 2nd ser., vol. 3 (1986), pp. 253-273.

<sup>175</sup> MARQUES, José, “D. Afonso IV e a construção do alcácer de Olivença”, in MARQUES, José, *Relações entre Portugal e Castela nos Finais da Idade Média...*, pp. 153-177.

<sup>176</sup> PIRES, Isilda Maria, *O Castelo de Loulé*, Loulé, s. n., 1985; PIRES, Isilda Maria, and MATOS, José Luís de, *Muralhas de Loulé*, Loulé, s.n., 1984.

<sup>177</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “Alcaidarias dos castelos durante a regência do infante D. Pedro”, *Revista de História*, no. 13 (1995), pp. 35-49.

<sup>178</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Os Castelos Portugueses dos Finais da Idade Média...*

<sup>179</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “Comando e vigilância das fortalezas”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 509-563.

<sup>180</sup> IDEM, *A Alcaidaria e os alcaides de Lisboa Durante a Idade Média (1147-1433)*, Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2006.

<sup>181</sup> IDEM, “As obras de construção e conservação”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 462-509; MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Os Castelos Portugueses dos Finais da Idade Média...*, pp. 123-194.

brought together contributions by Mário Barroca and João Gouveia Monteiro (the scientific coordinators of the project), together with Luís Miguel Duarte and Nuno Varela Rubim, in addition to the great Spanish specialist Alvaro Soler del Campo<sup>182</sup>.

Armament was also one of the subjects of João Gouveia Monteiro's doctoral thesis<sup>183</sup> – which includes a useful glossary of weapons<sup>184</sup> –, plus further pieces by Mário Barroca<sup>185</sup> and by Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>186</sup>. This subject has also seen important works by Luís Miguel Duarte<sup>187</sup>, Miguel Sanches de Baêna<sup>188</sup> and Paulo Simões Agostinho, who devoted his master's dissertation (suggestively entitled *Vestidos para Matar*) to the armament of combatants at the end of the fourteenth century<sup>189</sup>. Less explored, being complex and highly specialised, has been gunpowder artillery, though there exist some works of reference such as those by Nuno Varela Rubim and by Tércio Machado Sampaio<sup>190</sup>, as well as an interesting synthesis elaborated by Luís Miguel Duarte for the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*<sup>191</sup>.

Significantly poorer is the scenario relating to naval warfare, on such topics as the typology of ships and their technical specifications, recruitment, command and organisation, tactical particularities and the campaigns. There do, however, exist a number of works that permit us, albeit with many gaps, to gain a general overview. One study deserving particular attention is the synthesis made by Luís Miguel Duarte for the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, which covers a good part of these

<sup>182</sup> SOLER DEL CAMPO, Alvaro, "El armamento medieval islamico en la Peninsula Iberica", in BARROCA, Mário Jorge, and MONTEIRO, João Gouveia (coords.), *Pera Guerrejar. Armamento Medieval no Espaço Português*, Palmela, Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2000, pp. 15-36; BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "Armamento medieval português. Notas sobre a evolução do equipamento militar das forças cristãs", *ibid.*, pp. 37-76; DUARTE, Luís Miguel, "Armas de guerra em tempo de paz", *ibid.*, pp. 173-202; MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "Artifícios e Engenhos na Poliorcética Medieval Portuguesa (Séculos XIV-XV)", *ibid.*, pp. 203-221. RUBIM, Nuno José Varela, "O armamento pirobalístico (até fins séc. XV / Inícios séc. XVI)", *ibid.*, pp. 223-243.

<sup>183</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, "L'homme armé au Portugal, aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles", *Cahiers d'études et de recherche du Musée de l'Armée*, no. 3 [L'Homme Armé en Europe, XIV<sup>e</sup> – XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles] (2002), pp. 67-94; IDEM, "L'armement médiéval: sources et typologie. Le cas portugais dans son contexte ibérique", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *Quatre Études d'Histoire Militaire Médiévale Portugaise...*, pp. 49-85; IDEM, "Castelos e armamento [de D. Afonso IV (1325) à Batalha de Alfarrobeira (1449) – Os desafios da maturidade]...", pp. 164-191.

<sup>184</sup> IDEM, "Glossário de armas", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 531-547.

<sup>185</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "Armamento medieval [da Reconquista a D. Dinis]", in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 122-147.

<sup>186</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, "O armamento", in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 249-310.

<sup>187</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, *Justiça e Criminalidade no Portugal Medieval (1459-1481)*, Oporto, FCG / FCT, 1999, pp. 285-306.

<sup>188</sup> BAÊNA, Miguel Sanches de, "Armamento Medieval", in *Torre de Menagem. Núcleo Museológico da Torre de Menagem do Castelo de Leiria...*, pp. 57-177.

<sup>189</sup> AGOSTINHO, Paulo Jorge Simões, *Vestidos para Matar. O Armamento de Guerra na Cronística Portuguesa de Quatrocentos*, unpublished master's dissertation, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2006.

<sup>190</sup> RUBIM, Nuno José Varela, *Sobre a Possibilidade Técnica do Emprego de Artilharia na Batalha de Aljubarrota...*; RUBIM, Nuno José Varela, and SAMPAIO, Tércio Machado, *A Artilharia Antes da Utilização da Pólvora*, offprint of *Revista de Artilharia* (2000).

<sup>191</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, "1449-1495: o triunfo da pólvora", in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar...*, vol. 1, pp. 347-391.

subjects<sup>192</sup>. On the organisation of the “war navy”, we have available, in addition to the pioneering study by Rosalinda Branca da Silva Cunha<sup>193</sup>, one monographic study by José de Vasconcellos e Menezes<sup>194</sup>, and the collective work coordinated by Humberto Baquero Moreno, entitled *Homens, Doutrinas e Organização (1139-1414)* and included in the collection *História da Marinha Portuguesa*. With regard to the principal campaigns and naval battles, monographs by Armando Saturnino Monteiro and by José Rodrigues Pereira – extending to periods beyond the Middle Ages –, are, for the time being, the only ones to offer a succinct vision of these episodes<sup>195</sup>.

As has been emphasised by the greater part of the authors, war is important culturally and mentally (something clearly brought out in analyses by Armando Norte and by Armando de Sousa Pereira<sup>196</sup>, among others), but it is above all a social phenomenon. This being the case, it is not surprising the relationship between war and society have also been the subject of innumerable studies exploring themes hitherto considered marginal, such as the landscape of war, the redistribution of wealth and the social mobility promoted by warfare, and even the psychology of the warrior.

Many of these subjects have been tackled by Vasco Jorge Rosa da Silva (who has also studied the problem of prisoners of war)<sup>197</sup> and João Gouveia Monteiro in a joint text entitled in Portuguese *A vivência da Guerra no Outono da Idade Média*<sup>198</sup>. The effects of warfare, and the psychological framework in which it was conducted, have also been examined in their doctoral theses by João Gouveia Monteiro<sup>199</sup> and Miguel Gomes Martins<sup>200</sup>. The latter had previously studied some of those matters

<sup>192</sup> IDEM, “A marinha de guerra portuguesa”, *ibid.*, pp. 290-346.

<sup>193</sup> CUNHA, Rosalinda Branca da Silva, *Subsídios para o Estudo da Marinha de Guerra na 1ª Dinastia*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1955.

<sup>194</sup> MENEZES, José de Vasconcellos e, *Os Marinheiros e o Almirantado. Elementos para a História da Marinha (Século XII-Século XVI)*, Lisbon, Academia de Marinha, 1989.

<sup>195</sup> MONTEIRO, Saturnino, *Batalhas e Combates da Marinha Portuguesa*, vol. 1: 1139-1521, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1998; PEREIRA, José António Rodrigues, *Grandes Batalhas Navais Portuguesas*, Lisbon, Esfera dos Livros, 2008;

<sup>196</sup> NORTE, Armando, “As elites intelectuais e a Guerra: manifestações ideológicas e modelos proselitistas na génese do reino português”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 377-391; PEREIRA, Armando de Sousa, *Representações da Guerra no Portugal da Reconquista (Séculos XI-XIII)*, Lisbon, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2004.

<sup>197</sup> SILVA, Vasco, *Prisioneiros de Guerra no Portugal da Idade Média*, Oporto, Ecopy, 2007.

<sup>198</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, and SILVA, Vasco, “A vivência da guerra no Outono da Idade Média”, in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, vol. 5, coordinated by Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2004, pp. 12-44.

<sup>199</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, “O rasto da guerra”, in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, *A Guerra em Portugal...*, pp. 399-408; IDEM, “Crenças, medos e comportamentos”, *ibid.*, pp. 451-488; IDEM, “A função da guerra”, *ibid.*, pp. 489-514.

<sup>200</sup> MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, “Outras faces da guerra”, in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Para Bellum...*, pp. 755-782.

in regard to Lisbon during the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth century<sup>201</sup>, having also analysed the effects of war on rural and urban landscapes<sup>202</sup>, as did Anísio Saraiva, whose focus was the city of Viseu<sup>203</sup>. Many of the problems directly and indirectly caused by the war and examined in the above studies are well mirrored in innumerable *cortes'* articles, an excellent barometer of the effects of the war on communities, as perceived by Maria Helena Coelho, who has on various occasions explored this subject<sup>204</sup>. More recently, João Gouveia Monteiro and Miguel Gomes Martins have revisited many of these themes, in a study analysis focusing on frontier areas and entitled *As Cicatrizes da Guerra no Espaço Fronteiriço Português*, whose chronology extends from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century<sup>205</sup>.

Having concluded this short journey through the main themes, authors and works that, since the middle of the last century, have contributed most to our current knowledge on how war in the Middle Ages was organised, prepared and conducted, we hope we have made it clear that Portuguese medieval military history now finds itself in an excellent state of vitality and dynamism. Much, however, remains to be done. Without trying to be exhaustive, and accepting that all the subjects previously studied naturally remain open to fresh approaches and interpretations, it appears useful to point out some themes to which military historians should begin to direct their attention.

Few studies exist on warfare during the period of the Reconquest, namely works of a panoramic nature which might explore, for example, many of the trails pioneered by Mário Barroca in the *Nova História Militar de Portugal*. Similarly, there are still few studies of the armed conflicts between Portugal and Castile in the second half of the fifteenth century; larger scale works in this area would also be particularly welcome. With these two periods duly analysed, involving questions such as recruitment, logistics and the preparation of combatants, the network of fortifications and the conduct of war in its strategic and tactical aspects, the periods

<sup>201</sup> IDEM, "As consequências da guerra", in MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *Lisboa e a Guerra...*, pp. 95-131.

<sup>202</sup> IDEM, *Ficou aquela terra estragada que maravilhosamente era de ver. Guerra e paisagem no Portugal medieval (1336-1400)*, offprint of *Paisagens Rurais e Urbanas. Fontes, Metodologias, Problemáticas* (II), 2006.

<sup>203</sup> SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa, "Viseu no resto da guerra: dos conflitos fernandinos à paz definitiva com Castela", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 323-358.

<sup>204</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Les cortes en temps de guerre - une médiation interactive entre le roi et les corps sociaux du royaume de Portugal aux XIV e XV siècles", *Parliaments, Estates and Representations / Parlements, États et Représentation*, no. 21 (2001), pp. 37-56; EADEM, "No rasto da guerra - o antes e o depois", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, GOMES, Saul António, and REBELO, António Manuel Ribeiro (coords.), *A Guerra e a Sociedade...*, vol. 1, pp. 287-306; EADEM, "As cortes e a guerra", *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, no. 1 (2001), pp. 61-80.

<sup>205</sup> MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, and MARTINS, Miguel Gomes, *As Cicatrizes da Guerra no Espaço Fronteiriço Português (1250-1450)*, Coimbra, Palimage, 2011.

left open by the doctoral theses of Miguel Gomes Martins and of João Gouveia Monteiro (encompassing the periods between the mid-thirteenth century and the mid-fifteenth century), would be covered both upstream and downstream. We would thus have acquired the much-needed diachronic vision of the main aspects of war for the whole panorama of the Middle Ages.

Also requiring an autonomous analysis is the war in North Africa. In essence, the subject has already been studied by Luís Miguel Duarte, but it would be pertinent to develop some of the questions raised by this author, namely, the principal episodes and campaigns, the specificities of recruitment, and the strategic and tactical particularities of war in this theatre of operations.

More remains to be done. We equally continue to lack studies of naval warfare, without doubt one of the greatest “Achilles’ heels” of our medieval military history. Research in this area will be of the utmost urgency, taking once again as its point of departure, once again, Luís Miguel Duarte’s work on the typology and characteristics of the vessels, the recruitment of crews and garrisons, on the form in which naval operations were carried out, especially on the articulation of land-based and amphibious operations, and on the manner in which the naval battles were conducted. Only in this way will it be possible to pass on to another type of approach, namely, the elaboration of works of a panoramic character on the Portuguese “war navy”.

Finally, because only by such means can we build correct and rigorous global visions, there continues to be a need for more case studies, whether on operations and campaigns, on castles and city walls, or on the multi-faceted relationships between certain localities and war. We hope, therefore, that these pages may contribute to encourage researchers in their task, opening up new avenues in Portuguese medieval military history.



# Women's and Gender History

*Manuela Santos Silva,  
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It is well known that women's history (as part of the larger area of women's studies) is an intellectual trend that has its origins in the late 1960s, when women scholars involved in political movements such as the anti-war protests and the black freedom movements in the United States of America or women's liberation movements in Europe started recovering the still-hidden history of women as part of their militant commitment<sup>1</sup>. This original link to feminism and contemporary politics may explain the Academy's resistance to this new area of studies, perceived as engaged and therefore unscientific<sup>2</sup>. It certainly explains Portuguese tardiness in this field. Until the "Carnation Revolution" of 1974, Portugal lived under a political regime that conditioned intellectual life through propaganda, governmental control of teaching agents, and censorship of books and newspapers. Those that challenged this state of affairs were expelled from the universities, imprisoned or forced into exile<sup>3</sup>. There was no room for feminist claims or for women's studies scholarship in the public sphere.

The urban and more educated elements of Portuguese society were, though, aware of transformations under way elsewhere in Europe and North America. The conference entitled "Sobre a condição da mulher portuguesa" (On the condition of the

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<sup>1</sup> DOWNS, Laura Lee, *Writing Gender History*, London, Hodder Headline, 2004, pp. 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> THÉBAUD, Françoise, *Écrire l'histoire des femmes*, 2nd reprint, Lyon, ENS Editions, 2001, pp. 44-45.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the cases of the medievalist A. H. de Oliveira Marques, and the early modernist Vitorino Magalhães Godinho in MENDES, José Amado, "A renovação da historiografia portuguesa", in TORRALBA, Luis Reis, MENDES, José Amado, and CATROGA, Fernando, *História da História em Portugal*, Mem Martins, Temas e Debates, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 365-377.

Portuguese Woman), organised in Lisbon in 1968, and the cycle of lectures that took place the following year, under the theme “A Mulher na Sociedade Contemporânea” (Woman in Contemporary Society)<sup>4</sup>, may be seen as reflecting the foreign debates. Issues such as women’s education, work, and sexuality were discussed there along with moral, social, and juridical questions<sup>5</sup>. But the political opening that followed Salazar’s accident in 1967, known as the “Primavera Marcelista” (Marcelista Spring) after Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano’s Christian name, proved brief, and such cultural events were again impossible until the overthrow of the dictatorship.

The atmosphere of political and cultural freedom and effervescence that followed April 25, 1974, encouraged the development of the social sciences and the renovation of their methods, themes and questions. University teaching also changed. Tenured professors closely linked to the old regime were removed, and new lecturers were recruited, many of them women. At the same time, feminist movements began putting forward such claims as women’s right to vote, to civil divorce, and to birth control. In 1977, a Comissão da Condição Feminina (Commission for the Feminine Condition) was created as a government institution to promote the equality of rights, and started sponsoring studies and publications on women. However, it was only after the mid-1980s that women’s history became visible in the universities, through the multiplication of research groups, centres of bibliographic resources, workshops, and publications<sup>6</sup>.

Two great interdisciplinary conferences took place in 1985 whose proceedings demonstrated the vitality of this new field of studies: “As Mulheres em Portugal” (Women in Portugal) at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais of the University of Lisbon<sup>7</sup>, and “A Mulher na Sociedade Portuguesa. Visão Histórica e Perspectivas Actuais” (Woman in Portuguese Society: Historical vision and present perspectives), at the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Coimbra<sup>8</sup>. We may date from the latter the beginning of a “women’s history” trend among Portuguese medievalists, as several presented papers and maintained an interest for this field of studies over the following years. This does not imply that no earlier work existed on women in medieval Portugal, as we shall see in the course of this article. But they were traditional studies that did not question women’s subordinate position, either

<sup>4</sup> The transactions were published almost immediately: *Sobre a condição da mulher portuguesa*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1968; *A mulher na sociedade contemporânea*, Lisbon, Prelo, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> SILVA, Maria Regina Tavares da, “Estudos sobre as mulheres em Portugal. Um olhar sobre o passado”, *ex aequo*, no. 1 (1999), pp. 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> VAQUINHAS, Irene, “Impacte dos estudos sobre as mulheres na produção científica nacional”, *ex aequo*, no. 2 (2002), pp. 148-150.

<sup>7</sup> Its proceedings were edited in the scientific journal *Análise Social*, 3rd ser., vol. 22, nos. 92-93 (1986).

<sup>8</sup> Edited as *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa. Visão histórica e perspectivas actuais. Actas do colóquio*, 2 vols., Coimbra, FL-UC, 1986.



historically or in contemporary society. On the contrary, most of the historians that presented papers to the Coimbra conference of 1985 were conscious that they were living in new times, and attempting to write a new history that would challenge the traditional views about the discipline itself, and for which they needed not only new sources but also new questions for the old ones.

The Coimbra Conference was organised in six sessions that demonstrated the main lines of research at the time. In “Mulher e família” (Woman and family), José Mattoso made one of the rare theoretical reflections on this subject, enunciating a vast number of problems that should be studied by historians concerning the participation of women in what he considered to be the two fundamental vectors of family life – succession and alliance – and proposing methods (mainly borrowed from other social sciences) for researching them<sup>9</sup>. Even today, a quarter of a century later, his gigantic research program is far from accomplished. Yet, in the very same session, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Leontina Ventura responded partially to his questions in a paper studying the role of aristocratic women in the strategies of alliance and the transmission of patrimony from the eleventh to the thirteenth century<sup>10</sup>. After a long hiatus, this study has been recently prolonged to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by two foreign researchers<sup>11</sup>. Works on marriage, that had a long tradition in Portugal among the historians of law<sup>12</sup>, also gave extensive treatment to women’s position in the family<sup>13</sup>.

Curiously, two papers were presented at this session that we may consider forerunners of new lines of research that only developed later. One explored women’s condition in Afonso X of Castile’s *Fuero Real*<sup>14</sup>, to be followed a few years after by further studies analysing the laws concerning women in particular law codes, such as the *Ordenações de D. Duarte*, *Ordenações Afonsinas*, and *Ordenações Manuelinas*,

<sup>9</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A mulher e a família”, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 35-49.

<sup>10</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and VENTURA, Leontina, “A mulher como um bem e os bens da mulher”, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 51-90.

<sup>11</sup> SPERLING, Jutta, “Women’s Property Rights in Portugal under Dom João I (1385-1433): A Comparison with Renaissance Italy”, *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 13 (2005) pp. 27-60; ELBL, Ivana, “Status and Agency: Royal Grants to Portuguese Noblewomen, 1438-1481”, *ibid.*, pp. 61-114.

<sup>12</sup> MERÊA, Manuel Paulo, “A arra penitencial no direito hispânico anterior à Recepção”, in MERÊA, Manuel Paulo, *Estudos de Direito Hispânico Medieval*, Coimbra, 1952, t. 1, pp. 37-58; IDEM, “O dote nos documentos dos séculos IX-XII (Astúrias, Leão, Galiza e Portugal)”, *ibid.*, pp. 59-138; IDEM, “Em torno do casamento ‘de Juras’”, *ibid.*, pp. 151-171; IDEM, “Notas complementares I – Sobre a palavra ‘arras’”, *ibid.*, pp. 139-145; MONCADA, Luis Cabral de, “O casamento em Portugal na Idade Média”, in MERÊA, Manuel Paulo, *Estudos de História do Direito*, Coimbra, 1948, vol. 1, pp. 37-92.

<sup>13</sup> MORENO, Humberto Carlos Baquero, “O casamento no contexto da sociedade medieval portuguesa”, offprint of *Bracara Augusta* (1979); ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, TEIXEIRA, Teresa, and MAGALHÃES, Olga, *Subsídios para o estudo do adultério em Portugal no século XV*, offprint from *Revista de História* [Porto], vol. 5 (1984).

<sup>14</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, “A mulher na legislação afonsina: o Fuero Real”, in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa...*, vol. 1, pp. 243-257.

or emanating from Parliament (*Cortes*)<sup>15</sup>. The second paper concerned prostitutes<sup>16</sup> and inaugurated the interest in women at the margins of society, such as concubines (*barregãs*) and illegitimate daughters<sup>17</sup>, witches<sup>18</sup>, and women belonging to the Muslim and Jew minorities<sup>19</sup>.

The session on “Woman and work” attracted no medievalists, and this remains one of the less represented areas of study today. In 1987, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho published an article about women’s work in medieval towns that remained an “only child” for almost twenty years<sup>20</sup>. More recently, two other scholars have revisited this subject with fresh views and new source material from Oporto and Lisbon<sup>21</sup>, but women retail traders are much better known than artisans, and rural women’s work still awaits its researcher<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> SILVA, Maria Joana Corte-Real Lencart e, “A mulher nas Ordenações Manuelinas”, *Revista de História* [Porto], vol. 12 (1993) pp. 59-79; TOMÉ, Irene, “Representações femininas nas Ordenações Afonsinas”, *Faces de Eva*, no. 5 (2001), pp. 117-129; FERREIRA, Vitaline Maria Correia de Lacerda Ramalho Cardoso, *A presença da mulher na legislação medieval portuguesa*, 2 vols., master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2006; SILVA, Manuela Santos, “Protagonistas ainda que ausentes: As mulheres nas cortes medievais portuguesas”, in *As Cortes e o Parlamento em Portugal. 750 Anos das Cortes de Leiria de 1254. Actas do Congresso Internacional*, Leiria, Assembleia da República / Município de Leiria, 2006, pp. 221-227.

<sup>16</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, “As mancebias nas cidades medievais portuguesas”, in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa...*, vol. 1, pp. 221- 241.

<sup>17</sup> MATTOSO, José, “*Barregão-barregã*: notas de semântica”, in KREMER, Dieter (ed.), *Homenagem a Joseph M. Piel por ocasião do seu 85º aniversário*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988, pp. 367-376; IDEM, “A longa persistência da barregania”, *Faces de Eva*, no. 1-2 (1999), pp. 11-26; FONSECA, Ana Cristina Tavares da, *Barregãs e bastardas régias da 1ª dinastia portuguesa*, master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2005.

<sup>18</sup> PALLA, Maria José, *La sorcière et l’entremetteuse dans le théâtre de Gil Vicente* (offprint from *Actes du 115<sup>e</sup> Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes*), Paris, CTHS, 1991; EADEM, “Images du sabbat et figures de magicienne dans l’oeuvre de Gil Vicente”, in CHAQUIN, Nicole Jacques, and PRÉAUD, Maxime (dirs.), *Le sabbat des sorciers (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup>. siècles)*, Grenoble, Jérôme Millon, 1993, pp. 316-129 ; MAURÍCIO, Maria José, “A feitiçaria e o feminino nos séculos XIV e XV”, in FERREIRA, Maria Luísa Ribeiro (org.), *Pensar no feminino*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2001, pp. 121-133.

<sup>19</sup> SILVA, Carlos Guardado da, “O rosto feminino dos judeus e muçulmanos na Idade Média”, in *A Mulher na História. Actas dos Colóquios sobre a Temática da Mulher (1999-2000)*, Moita, Câmara Municipal da Moita, 2001, pp. 151-180; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, “A mulher muçulmana no Portugal medieval”, *Clio*, n. s., vols. 16-17 (2007), pp. 105-117.

<sup>20</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “A mulher e o trabalho nas cidades medievais portuguesas”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 20, May-Aug. (1987), pp. 45-63.

<sup>21</sup> MELO, Arnaldo, “Mulher, trabalho e família: a dimensão económica do agregado familiar. Porto, 1340-1450”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira dos (coords.), *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, FL-UP / Livraria Civilização, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 273-287 (English version: “Women and work in the household economy: the social and linguistic evidence from Porto, c. 1340-1450”, in BEATTIE, C., A. Maslakovic, and JONES, S. R., *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c. 1550. Managing Power, Wealth and the Body*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003, pp. 249-269); GONÇALVES, Iria, “Regateiras, padeiras e outras mais na Lisboa medieval”, in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 1-29. Syntheses on urban women that do not concern work exclusively were also attempted by SILVA, Manuela Santos, “As mulheres cristãs nas cidades da Idade Média”, in *A Mulher na História...*, pp. 143-150, and BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, “As filhas de Eva nas cidades portuguesas da Idade Média”, in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares Sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, 2009, pp. 97-111.

<sup>22</sup> Though some elements can be found in the synthesis of VICENTE, António M. Balcão, “A mulher na ruralidade medieval”, in *A Mulher na História...*, pp. 125-141.

The role of women in Galician-Portuguese poetry had been studied earlier<sup>23</sup> and was again scrutinised in the “Woman and literature” session<sup>24</sup>. Fresh sources were then subjected to investigation and shown to be relevant for women’s history, such as genealogies<sup>25</sup> and hagiographies<sup>26</sup>. Genealogies were more thoroughly examined in the search for women<sup>27</sup>, as well as chronicles<sup>28</sup>, morality books<sup>29</sup> and again hagiographies<sup>30</sup>. This gives us today a much clearer idea of how medieval men represented women of their time<sup>31</sup> but, because of the lack of sources emanating from Portuguese women themselves, we still know almost nothing about their self-representation.

Though the “Woman and religion” session received only one contribution from a medievalist, namely, Maria Alegria Marques Fernandes’ paper on female monasticism until the thirteenth century<sup>32</sup>, this is one of the areas in which more

<sup>23</sup> ÁLVAREZ BLÁZQUEZ, José María, “A mulher na lírica medieval galego-portuguesa”, offprint from *Bracara Augusta*, Braga, 1963.

<sup>24</sup> NUNES, Irene Freire, “Voz e representação da mulher na poesia occitânica e galego-portuguesa”, in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa...*, vol. 2, pp. 11-19; OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, “A mulher e as origens da cultura trovadoresca no Ocidente peninsular”, *ibid.*, pp. 21-34.

<sup>25</sup> KRUS, Luís, “Uma variante peninsular do mito de Melusina: A origem dos Haros no Livro de Linhagens do conde D. Pedro de Barcelos”, published as “A morte das fadas: a lenda genealógica da Dama do Pé de Cabra”, *Ler História*, no. 6 (1985), pp. 3-34; a more recent interpretation has been proposed by OLIVEIRA, Maria Lúcia Wiltshire de, “A Dona pé-de-cabra, agonia e triunfo do feminino”, *Faces de Eva*, no. 24 (2010) pp. 115-127.

<sup>26</sup> FREIRE, José Geraldes, “Problemas literários das ‘Victae Sanctae Senhorinae’”, in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa...*, vol.2, pp. 35-38.

<sup>27</sup> FERREIRA, Isabel Maria Sabino, *No silêncio das palavras (Mulheres nos Livros de Linhagens)*, master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1995; MARTINS, Alcina Manuela de Oliveira, “A mulher entre a norma e a prática na Idade Média portuguesa”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira dos (coords.), *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno...*, vol. 1, pp. 99-102.

<sup>28</sup> VERDELHO, Evelina, “A mulher na historiografia portuguesa dos reinados de D. Afonso V e D. João II. Imagens e palavras”, *Revista da Universidade de Aveiro/Letras*, nos. 6-8 (1989-1991), pp. 201-219; OLIVEIRA, Ana Rodrigues, *As representações da mulher na cronística medieval portuguesa (sécs. XII a XIV)*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000; EADEM, “A imagem da mulher nas crónicas medievais”, *Faces de Eva*, no. 5 (2001), pp. 133-147; EADEM, “Santarém e as cidades da comarca da Estremadura na memória cronística feminina”, in *Santarém na Idade Média. Actas do Colóquio*, Santarém, Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2007, pp. 275-284.

<sup>29</sup> SANTOS, Leonor Silvestre, *A mulher, o diabo e a luxúria nos exempla do Orto do Esposo*, master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> TAVARES, Pedro Vilas Boas, “Senhorinha de Basto: memórias literárias da vida e milagres de uma santa medieval”, *Via Spiritus*, 10 (2003) pp. 7-37. We will mention other works using hagiographies when referring to women saints.

<sup>31</sup> HUTCHINSON, Amélia Pereira, *Leonor Teles and the Construction of Female Characters in Fernão Lopes*, doctoral thesis, London, King’s College, 2002; EADEM, “Leonor Teles: Representations of a Portuguese Queen”, *Historical reflections: réflexions historiques*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2004), pp. 73-87; EADEM, “Punctuating the Narrative: The Structural Function of Female Characters in Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eanes de Zurara’s Chronicles”, *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 13 (2005), pp. 1-14; GOMES, Maria Amélia Ramos, “A figura da mulher em Fernão Lopes”, in STONE, Maria Emília, ABREU, Ilda Soares de, and SOUSA, António Ferreira de (coords.), *Falar de Mulheres. História e historiografia*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2008, pp. 89-97; MELO, Érika Cristiane Pinheiro de, *Santas e Pecadoras – Ensaio acerca de algumas representações de mulheres na Baixa Idade Média*, master’s dissertation, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2008.

<sup>32</sup> MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes, “Evolução do monaquismo feminino, até ao século XIII, na

progress was made in the following years. The female branches of the religious orders had attracted some previous attention<sup>33</sup> and continued to be studied<sup>34</sup>. After the beginning of the 1990s, a great number of theses<sup>35</sup>, as well as many smaller essays<sup>36</sup>, were devoted to female monasteries, analysing the social connections of

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região de Entre Douro e Tejo. Notas para uma investigação”, in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa...*, vol. 2, pp. 89-105.

<sup>33</sup> LOPES, F. Félix, “As primeiras clarissas de Portugal”, *Colectânea de Estudos*, 2nd ser., yr. 2 (1952), pp. 210-234.

<sup>34</sup> ROSÁRIO, Frei António do, “Mapa de Portugal Dominicano Feminino”, in *Actas del 1º Congreso Internacional del Monacato Feminino en España, Portugal y América, 1492-1992*, León, Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 653-665; MOREIRA, António Montes, “Breve história das Clarissas em Portugal”, in *IIº Congreso Internacional Las Clarisas en España y Portugal*, *Actas*, Madrid, Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 1994, vol. 1, pp. 211-231; DIAS, Geraldo J. A. Coelho, “Perspectivas bíblicas da mulher e monaquismo medieval feminino”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História*, 2nd ser., vol. 12 (1995) pp. 9-45; ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, “As Clarissas em Portugal – Dimensões regionais de uma corrente de espiritualidade europeia (séculos XIII – XIV)”, *Discursos, Língua, Cultura e Sociedade*, 3rd ser., no. 1 (1999), pp. 109-127; MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes, “O Cister feminino em Português: fontes e estudos”, *Cistercium*, yr 51, no. 217 (1999), pp. 841-851.

<sup>35</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Mosteiro de Arouca: Do Século X ao Século XIII*, Coimbra, 1977; EADEM, Arouca, *Uma terra, um mosteiro, uma santa*, Arouca, 1989; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, *A Comunidade Feminina da Ordem de Santiago: A Comenda de Santos na Idade Média*, master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1991; MARTINS, Rui Cunha, *Património, parentesco e poder. O mosteiro de Semide do século XII ao século XV*, Lisbon, Escher, 1992; CASTRO, Júlia Isabel Coelho Campos Alves de, *O Mosteiro de S. Domingos das Donas de Vila Nova de Gaia (1345-1514)*, master’s dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 1993; VARANDAS, José Manuel Henriques, *Monacato feminino e domínio rural: O património do mosteiro de Santa Maria de Almoester no Século XIV*, unpublished tests of pedagogical aptitude and scientific capacity, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1995; ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, *O Mosteiro de Chelas, uma comunidade feminina na Baixa Idade Média. Património e gestão*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996; SANTOS, Ana Paula Pratas Figueira, *A Fundação do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Coimbra: Da Instituição por D. Mor Dias à Intervenção da Rainha Santa Isabel*, master’s dissertation, Coimbra, FL-UC, 2000; PINTO, Margarida Isabel da Silva, *O mosteiro de Odivelas no século XIV. Património e gestão*, master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2000; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa, *Um Mosteiro Cisterciense Feminino: Santa Maria de Celas (Século XIII a XV)*, Coimbra, Por Ordem da Universidade, 2001; MARTINS, Alcina Manuela de Oliveira, *O Mosteiro de S. Salvador de Vairão na Idade Média: O Percurso de uma Comunidade Feminina*, doctoral thesis, Oporto, Universidade Portucalense, 2001; SANTOS, Maria Leonor Ferraz de Oliveira Silva, *O Domínio de Santa Maria do Lorvão no Século XIV: Gestão Feminina de um Património Fundiário*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2001; RÉPAS, Luís Miguel, *Quando a Nobreza Traja de Branco: A Comunidade Cisterciense de Arouca durante o Abadessado de D. Luca Rodrigues (1286-1299)*, Leiria, Magno, 2003.

<sup>36</sup> VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, and BRANCO, Maria João, “A fundação do mosteiro de Odivelas”, in *Congreso Internacional Sobre San Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal*, *Actas*, Ourense, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 589-601; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and MARTINS, Rui Cunha, “O monaquismo feminino cisterciense e a nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII – XIV)”, *Theologica*, 2nd ser., vol. 28, fasc. 2 (1993), pp. 481-506; VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, and BRANCO, Maria João, “Vivência religiosa e propriedade no mosteiro de Arouca no dealbar do século XIV: o exemplo de Margarida Pires de Portocarreiro”, in *Poder e sociedade*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 273-291; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, “A fundação do mosteiro da Conceição de Beja pela Duquesa D. Beatriz”, in CURTO, Diogo Ramada (dir.), *O Tempo de Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, CNCDP, 1998, pp. 265-270; RÉPAS, Luís Miguel, “Margarida Anes Fafes de Lanhoso (1272-1316). A mulher, a religiosa, a gestora”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 34 (2000), pp. 491-533; GOMES, Saul António, “Acerca da origem social das monjas cistercienses de Santa Maria de Cós (Alcobaça) em tempos medievos”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 36, 1 (2002-2003), pp. 141-160; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, “D. Joana Teles de Meneses – a comendadeira que deixou o Mosteiro para casar com D. João Afonso Pimentel”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda Ferreira dos (coords.), *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno...*, vol. 2, pp. 653-658; RÉPAS, Luís Miguel, “As abadessas cistercienses na Idade Média: identificação, caracterização e estudo das trajetórias individuais ou familiares”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd

their founders and their nuns, their internal organisation and functions, and the management of their estates. We dare assert, however, that most of these studies were undertaken from socio-economic and religious history perspectives rather than that of women's history, as they followed the same lines of enquiry that had been defined for male monasteries instead of developing new approaches that would take into consideration the specificities of the feminine communities<sup>37</sup>. Articles and books on female spirituality<sup>38</sup>, and female saints<sup>39</sup>, where the specificity of women's religious beliefs and practices is emphasised, also multiplied in these last few years.

In the "Feminine roles and values" session, there was one paper that examined woman's participation in secular and monastic culture<sup>40</sup>, and another that discussed

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ser., t. 17 (2005), pp. 63-92; IDEM, "A Fundação do Mosteiro de Almoiteiro: novos documentos para uma velha questão", in *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias*, Oporto, 2006, vol. 2, pp. 103-122; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "Uma barregã régia, um mercador de Lisboa e as freiras de Santos", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval...*, pp. 182-196; ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, "Opções religiosas das elites lisboetas: o convento de Chelas no século XV", *ibid.*, pp. 221-231; RÉPAS, Luís Miguel, "Entre o mosteiro e a cidade: o recrutamento social das "donas" de Odivelas", *ibid.*, pp. 232-238; BRANQUINHO, Isabel, "As sorores de São Vicente de Fora: uma primeira abordagem", *ibid.*, pp. 239-258; ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, "O poder e o privilégio: o convento de Santa Clara de Coimbra em meados do século XIV", in BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo, and KRUS, Luís (dirs.), *Olhares Sobre a História...*, pp. 79-88; MARTINS, Alcina Manuela de Oliveira, "Genebra de Sá, uma abadessa de Vairão nos finais da Idade Média", *ibid.*, pp. 385-389; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "O mosteiro de Santos, as freiras de Santiago e o culto dos Mártires", *ibid.*, pp. 429-436.

<sup>37</sup> As was done, for instance, by GILCHRIST, Roberta, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*, London, Routledge, 1996.

<sup>38</sup> FERNANDES, Maria de Lurdes Correia, "Casamento e religiosidade feminina no século XV na Península Ibérica", in *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a sua Época. Actas*, Oporto, CNCDP, 1989, vol. 5, pp. 73-90; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "Mulher e Religião em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média", in *Actas del 1º Congreso Internacional del Monacato Femenino en España, Portugal y América, 1492-1992*, León, Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 629-637; FONTES, João Luís, "A pobre vida no feminino: o caso das Galvoas de Évora", in BUESCU, Ana Isabel, SOUSA, João Silva de, and MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide (coords.), *O corpo e o gesto na civilização medieval*, Lisbon, Colibri / IEM, 2005, pp. 157-178.

<sup>39</sup> Many works existed already on Isabel of Aragon, but three foreign authors have completely revised our vision of this queen saint: MUÑOZ FERNÁNDEZ, Angela, *Mujer y experiencia religiosa en el marco de la santidad medieval*, Madrid, Al-Mudayna, 1988; EADEM, "Santa Isabel Reina de Portugal: una infanta aragonesa paradigma de religiosidad y comportamiento femenino en el Portugal bajomedieval", in *2ªs Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval. Actas*, Oporto, INIC, 1989, vol. 3, pp. 1127-1143; VAIRO, Giulia Rossi, "Le origini del processo di canonizzazione di Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha Santa de Portugal, in un atto notarile del 27 Luglio 1336", *Collectanea Franciscana*, vol. 74, fascs. 1-2 (2004), pp. 161-162; EADEM, "Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha Santa de Portugal, e il monastero di S. Dinis de Odivelas", in *IV Congreso Internacional Cister en Portugal y en Galicia. Actas*, Braga / Oseira, 2009, pp. 845-867; EADEM, "Isabela of Aragon, Holy Queen of Portugal, and the Diffusion of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Portugal", in PELÁEZ DEL ROSAL, Manuel (ed.), *Actas III Congreso Internacional Sobre el Franciscanismo en la Península Ibérica*, Córdoba, El Almendro, 2010, pp. 479-492; MCCLEERY, Iona, "Isabel of Aragon (d. 1336): model queen or model saint?", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 57 (2006), pp. 668-692. Recent essays concern also female sanctity in general, or other specific women saints: ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, "A Beatitude no Feminino: Modelos de Santidade e Formas de Poder", *Discursos. Língua, Cultura e Sociedade*, 3rd ser., no. 2, Apr. (2000), pp. 71-84; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "A religião no século: vivências e devoções dos leigos", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 423-510; EADEM, "A santidade no Portugal medieval: narrativas e trajectos de vida", *Lusitania Sacra*, tomes 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 369-450.

<sup>40</sup> PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa, "Algumas considerações sobre o papel da mulher na Idade Média", in A

woman's role in the colonisation of São Tomé<sup>41</sup>. The presence of women in the Portuguese expansion overseas had already been studied earlier<sup>42</sup> and remains a source of curiosity for historians. Nevertheless, women's participation in the formation of an Indo-Portuguese society, and in the colonisation of Brazil and Africa has attracted much more scholarly work than their contribution to the peopling of the Atlantic islands and the occupation of fortresses in North Africa in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries<sup>43</sup>.

In "Woman and politics", the political consequences of Inês de Castro's love story with crown Prince Pedro (the future King Pedro I) were discussed, as well as the role of Countess Isabel de Urgel, wife of the *infante* Pedro, during his regency and the reign of Afonso V<sup>44</sup>. The study of queens, princesses, and aristocrats was not a novelty at that time, as these were the only women for whom the sources traditionally used by historians – chronicles, royal and ecclesiastical charters, genealogies – supplied plentiful information<sup>45</sup>. By the end of the 1980s, furthermore, new source material was questioned, leading to the discovery that not only it was

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*mulher na sociedade portuguesa...*, vol. 2, pp. 197-202.

<sup>41</sup> SILVA, José Manuel Azevedo e, "A mulher no povoamento e colonização de S. Tomé (séculos XV-XVII)", *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 229-244.

<sup>42</sup> RAPOSO, Hipólito, "Mulheres na conquista e navegação", *Brotéria*, vol. 27 (1938), pp. 297-308, 378-383 and 542-551; SANCEAU, Elaine, "Portuguese Women During the First Two Centuries of Expansion Overseas", in *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos*, Lisbon, s. n., 1960, vol. 5, 1st part., pp. 237-262; EADEM, *Castelos em África*, Oporto, 1961; EADEM, *Mulheres Portuguesas no Ultramar*, Oporto, Livraria Civilização, 1979; BOXER, Charles, *A mulher na expansão ultramarina Ibérica: 1415-1815*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1977.

<sup>43</sup> In the conference organised around this theme in 1993, many papers addressed the former and few the latter: ALVIM, Maria Helena Vilas-Boas e, "A mulher na expansão na perspectiva de alguns cronistas e historiadores seus coevos", in *O Rosto feminino da Expansão Portuguesa. Congresso Internacional. Actas*, Lisbon, Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 261-268; SILVA, Maria Regina Tavares da, "Depondo a fraqueza do sexo, revestiram-se de ânimo varonil", *ibid.*, pp. 269-274; MARGARIDO, Alfredo, "As mulheres outras nas ilhas atlânticas e na costa ocidental africana nos séculos XV a XVII", *ibid.*, pp. 357-374; SILVA, José Manuel Azevedo e, "Eva Gomes e o estado nascente de um novo paraíso terreal no meio do Atlântico: a Madeira", *ibid.*, pp. 391-405; RIBEIRO, João Adriano, "A mulher na Madeira nos séculos XV e XVI", *ibid.*, pp. 407-416; RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., and FERREIRA, Maria de Fátima Moura, "Mulheres portuguesas em Marrocos. Imagens do quotidiano feminino nos séculos XV e XVI", *ibid.*, pp. 417-431; LINAJE CONDE, Antonio, "Algunas mujeres representativas de la historia de Ceuta", *ibid.*, pp. 481-490; CALDEIRA, Arlindo Manuel, "As mulheres no quotidiano da ilha de São Tomé nos séculos XV e XVI", *ibid.*, pp. 491-506.

<sup>44</sup> ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, "Os amores de Pedro e Inês: suas consequências políticas", in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa...*, vol. 2, pp. 403-414; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "Isabel de Urgel e a política do seu tempo", *ibid.*, pp. 415-425.

<sup>45</sup> As far as 1859, Figanieri had published an overview of Portuguese medieval queens, followed by Benevides and Monteiro; FIGANIÈRE, Frederico Francisco de la, *Memórias das Rainhas de Portugal (D. Theresa – Santa Isabel*, Lisbon, Typographia Universal, 1859; BENEVIDES, Francisco da Fonseca, *Rainhas de Portugal. Estudo Histórico*, Lisbon, Typographia Castro Irmão, 1878; MONTEIRO, J. P. Franco, *As Donatarias de ALENQUER. História das rainhas de Portugal e da sua casa e estado*, Lisbon, M. Gomes Editor, 1893.

possible to investigate lesser women<sup>46</sup> but also much more could be said about the most powerful ladies<sup>47</sup>.

Given such fragments and lacunas, it is little wonder that no one has presumed to edit a history of women in Portugal, similar to those that have been published in France in 1991-92 and in Spain in 1997<sup>48</sup>. However, in the *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, recently been directed by José Mattoso, a chapter on “A mulher” (The Woman) has been included that attempts to give an overall view of the subject<sup>49</sup>. This chapter is placed together with “O nome” (The Name), “A alimentação” (The Food), “A criança” (The Child), “A sexualidade” (Sexuality) and “O corpo, a saúde e a doença” (The Body, Health and Sickness) under the general title of “O corpo” (The Body – as opposed to “A alma” (The Soul) and “Espaços e lugares” (Spaces and Places), the other two great divisions of the Middle Ages volume). The fact that it is still the singular “woman” that is described, failing to acknowledge the diversity of women’s conditions and experiences, and that women are relegated solely to their biological nature by the choice of the title of the division in which they are included, clearly shows how little progress has been made in this matter since 1985.

So far we have been discussing women’s history. What about gender history? The concept of gender (as a social construct) as opposed to sex (as a biological given) was first used by psychologists and sociologists at the turn of the 1970s<sup>50</sup> and quickly adopted by American feminists who wanted to reject the biological determinism

<sup>46</sup> CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves, “Uma estratégia de passagem para o Além: o testamento de Beatriz Fernandes Calça Perra (Tomar, 1462)”, in *Actas das I Jornadas de História Moderna*, Lisbon, s.n., 1988, pp. 917-937; IDEM, “Um património laico tomarense nos finais da Idade Média: os bens de Beatriz Fernandes Calça Perra”, in CONDE, Manuel Silvio Alves, *Horizontes do Portugal Medieval. Estudos Históricos*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1999, pp. 143-161; CRUZ, Abel dos Santos, and TEIXEIRA, Carla A., “Olhares sobre a mulher viúva na Idade Média (através da Chancelaria de D. Afonso V)”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, vol. 18 (2003), pp. 89-112; GOMES, Saul António, “Uma dama na Leiria medieval: Beatriz Dias, ‘manceba del-rei’ D. Pedro I”, in *Economia, sociedade e poderes. Estudos em homenagem a Salvador Dias Arnaut*, Coimbra, Editora Ausência, 2004, pp. 301-329; BRAGA, Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond, “Violência no feminino, violência sobre o feminino”, in BRAGA, Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond, *Vivências no Feminino. Poder, violência e marginalidade nos séculos XV e XIX*, Lisbon, Tribuna da História, 2007, pp. 11-20.

<sup>47</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and VENTURA, Leontina, “Vataça – uma dona na vida e na morte”, in *Actas das II<sup>as</sup> Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Oporto, Centro de História da Universidade do Porto / INIC, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 159-193; EDAM, “Os bens de Vataça. Visibilidade de uma existência”, *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 9, t. 2 (1987), pp. 33-77; MARTINS, Maria Odete Banha da Fonseca Sequeira, *Dona Brites: uma mulher da Casa de Avis*, master’s dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2004; VIVAS, Diogo, “Constança Sanches. Algumas observações em torno de uma bastarda régia”, *Clio*, n. s., vols. 16-17 (2007), pp. 223-241; FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, *D. Branca de Vilhena. Património e redes sociais de uma nobre senhora no século XV*, Oporto, Edições Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 2008.

<sup>48</sup> DUBY, Georges, and PERROT, Michelle (dirs.), *Histoire des femmes en Occident*, 5 vols, Paris, Plon, 1991-1992; GARRIDO, Elisa (ed.), *Historia de las Mujeres en España*, Madrid, Síntesis, 1997.

<sup>49</sup> OLIVEIRA, Ana Rodrigues, and OLIVEIRA, António Resende de, “A mulher”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, vol. 1: *A Idade Média*, coordinated by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2010, pp. 300-323.

<sup>50</sup> STOLLER, Robert, *Sex and Gender. On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity*, New York, Science House, 1968; OAKLEY, Ann, *Sex, Gender, and Society*, London, Temple Smith, 1972.

that had prevailed in the analysis of the sexual difference. Yet feminist scholars did not anticipate, nor necessarily approve, all the consequences of introducing this new concept in the academic world. As Joan Scott stated in the seminal article in which she theorised gender in 1986, some historians started using “gender” as a more neutral and scientific term than “women” to increase the acceptability of their work; others used it as a way to signify their refusal to study women in isolation, and their conviction that it was necessary to analyse the social relations between the sexes instead<sup>51</sup>. This gave rise to criticism and opposition by activists who feared a new “disappearance” of women from history, and became even more infuriated by the enthusiasm that surrounded the rise of a new field of studies that addressed men as gendered creatures<sup>52</sup>. Thus in the English-speaking world many scholars persisted in focusing their attention exclusively on women and using the label “women’s history” whereas many others turned to gender history in its different meanings, including Joan Scott’s definition: “gender is a constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power”<sup>53</sup>.

In Portugal, even more than in France, Spain, and other Latin countries<sup>54</sup>, the word and the concept of gender has taken a long time to find acceptance and be used by the Academy, and it is still almost ignored by the public. In medieval studies, there are very few works that address gender: one article on the masculinity of the clergy<sup>55</sup> and another one on the gendered bodies seen through a medical treatise<sup>56</sup>. But there is a domain in which gender is being currently used as an analytical tool: the study of queenship.

The concept of queenship, as opposed and complementary to kingship, is relatively recent. It began to be used in case studies in the late 1970s and in the 1980s but it was only in the 1990s, through several anthologies on the subject, that queenship became generalised as an important device for the study of medieval

<sup>51</sup> SCOTT, Joan, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis”, *American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 5 (1986), p. 1056.

<sup>52</sup> DOWNS, Laura Lee, *Writing Gender History...*, pp. 73-74. On the emergence of men’s studies, see FRANTZEN, Allen J., “When women aren’t enough”, *Speculum*, vol. 68, nos. 1-2 (1993), pp. 445-471; FENSTER, Thelma, “Preface: Why Men?”, in LEES, Clare A., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis, 1994, pp. ix-xiii.

<sup>53</sup> SCOTT, Joan, “Gender: a Useful Category of Historical Analysis”..., p. 1067.

<sup>54</sup> THÉBAUD, Françoise, *Écrire l’Histoire des Femmes...*, pp. 111-114; MUÑOZ FERNÁNDEZ, Ángela, “¿Eran los bárbaros buenas personas? A propósito de la Edad Media, la Historia de las Mujeres y Joan Scott”, in BORDERÍAS, Cristina (ed.), *Joan Scott y las Políticas de la Historia*, Barcelona, Icaria, 2006, pp. 111-113.

<sup>55</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., “Um Mundo só de Homens: os capitulares bracarense e a vivência da masculinidade nos finais da Idade Média”, in *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2006, vol. 1, pp. 195-209, available online at: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4807.pdf>

<sup>56</sup> EADEM, “Entre a sufocação da madre e o prurido do pénis: género e disfunções sexuais no *Thesaurus pauperum* de Pedro Hispano” in *Rumos e escrita da História. Estudos em homenagem a A. A. Marques de Almeida*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2006, pp. 33-44.



queens<sup>57</sup>. Differences in the exercise of power and authority could not be particularly visible in what concerned reigning queens, but queens consort had specific duties and functions, which were regulated by medieval legal codifications based on the Roman law<sup>58</sup>. Introducing the theme of medieval queenship<sup>59</sup> in the anthology edited by him, John Carmi Parsons highlighted “*Family, Sex, and Power*” as “*The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship*”, and most contributors to the books previously mentioned paid particular attention to subjects such as motherhood, succession, dynastic alliances, piety, reputation and patrimony. Consequently, differing from the power of kings, queenship in the Middle Ages resulted from a series of competencies and prerogatives much more private in substance.

There is no equivalent term for *queenship* in Portuguese and Spanish. Since those that became queens in their own right were rare, in Iberian medieval kingdoms as elsewhere, the paradigm of a medieval queen became the queen consort, some of them becoming regents during widowhood and before their eldest son's majority. There is also some specificity where their competencies were concerned, allowing Iberian queens to be more autonomous during their married lives than their other European counterparts. In describing the queen's specific power and behaviour as an independent being, the term *queenship* is, therefore, very useful and copying some of our Spanish language colleagues, we will make use of it<sup>60</sup>.

The roles and functions of medieval queens of Portugal were acknowledged by their first historians (already mentioned in this text). They published some of the charters emitted by the chancelleries of the queens, their signatures, their private seals, and they partially reconstructed the composition of the queens' households, and of their individual estates. But these studies on the queens of Portugal were not followed up for over a century. In the late 1970s and the 1980s, Portuguese academic research tended to encourage the writing of monographic essays on medieval towns, monasteries, dioceses or regions, denying almost radically the history of events or personalities. However, some of these monographic studies renewed an interest in local and regional jurisdiction, and some of these studies dealt with towns that had belonged almost permanently to the queens' domain: Óbidos and Torres Vedras, for

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<sup>57</sup> VANN, Theresa M. (ed.), *Queens, Regents, and Potentates*, Cambridge, Academia Press, 1993; PARSONS, John Carmi (ed.), *Medieval Queenship*, Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1998 (1st ed., 1994); DUGGAN, Anne (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 1997.

<sup>58</sup> As was shown by VANN, Theresa M., “The Theory and Practice of Medieval Castilian Queenship”, in VANN, Theresa M. (ed.), *Queens, Regents, and Potentates...*, pp. 125-147.

<sup>59</sup> PARSONS, John Carmi, “Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: the Rhythms of Medieval Queenship”, in PARSONS, John Carmi (ed.), *Medieval Queenship...*, pp. 1- 12.

<sup>60</sup> SILLERAS FERNÁNDEZ, Núria, “*Queenship en la Corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media: Estudio y Propuesta Terminológica*”, *La Corónica. A Journal of Medieval Spanish Language and Literature*, vol. 32/1, fall (2003), pp. 119-133.

instance<sup>61</sup>. Research on the economic foundations of the queens' households was, therefore, the starting-point for the knowledge of Portuguese medieval Queenship<sup>62</sup>.

The royal fees, and the rents gained by the exercise of *seigniorial* jurisdiction were applied to the maintenance of the queen's wardrobe and household expenses. The queen also supported dozens of ladies who served her and kept her company. Additionally, she had to pay for the services of household officials and servants, and even for her children's nannies<sup>63</sup>. The major part of the queen's domain reached her through marriage, by means of her dowry, and could be supplemented by money or rents<sup>64</sup>. As we know, royal marriages were carefully planned by the kings' counsellors, and also by the potential brides' fathers and their respective staff<sup>65</sup>. The contract established involved not only the couple who were to marry, but their families', lineages' and kingdoms' territorial interests. Therefore, most royal marriages were arranged during the establishment of peace alliances, and were sometimes hastened to avoid a war<sup>66</sup>. As a practical result, queens were frequently used as hidden or open negotiators between the kingdoms they were connected to, as some early studies had already revealed about the more charismatic figures<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Óbidos 'Terra que foi da Rainha D. Filipa' (O Senhorio de Óbidos de 1415 a 1428)", in *Actas de Arqueologia do Estado. Primeiras Jornadas sobre Formas de Organização e Exercício dos Poderes na Europa do Sul (Séculos XIII - XVIII)*, Lisbon, História & Crítica, 1988, pp. 311-330 (re-published in, *A região de Óbidos na Época Medieval. Estudos*, Caldas da Rainha, Património Histórico, Grupo de Estudos, 1994, pp. 85 -109); RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., "Poderes Concorrentes e seus Agentes na Torres Vedras Quatrocentista", in *Amar, Sentir e Viver a História. Estudos de Homenagem a Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão*, Lisbon, Colibri, 1995, pp. 49-72.

<sup>62</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., and SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Private Properties, Seigniorial Tributes and Jurisdictional Rents: The Income of the Queens of Portugal in the Middle Ages", in EARENIGHT, Theresa (ed.), *Women and Money in Medieval Europe*, s. l., Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 209-228.

<sup>63</sup> GOMES, Rita Costa, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal no Final da Idade Média*, Carnaxide, DIFEL, 1995; SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Os primórdios da Casa das Rainhas de Portugal", in *As Raízes Medievais do Brasil Moderno*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História / Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2008, pp. 27-41; EADEM, "A Casa e o Património da Rainha de Portugal D. Filipa de Lencastre: um ponto de partida para o conhecimento da Casa das Rainhas na Idade Média", *Revista Signum*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2010), pp. 207-227, available at: [www.revistasignum.com/signum/index.php/revistasignumn11/article/view/29/28](http://www.revistasignum.com/signum/index.php/revistasignumn11/article/view/29/28)

<sup>64</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., "For the Honor of Her Lineage and Body: The Dowers and Dowries of Some Late Medieval Queens of Portugal", *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2007), pp. 1-13, available at: [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue9/pdf/rodrigues.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue9/pdf/rodrigues.pdf); SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Notícia sobre a segunda doação régia de Alenquer, Óbidos e Sintra à Rainha D. Leonor de Lencastre (Évora, 15 de Abril de 1491)", in SILVA, Manuela Santos, *A Região de Óbidos na Época Medieval...*, pp. 111-119.

<sup>65</sup> EADEM, "O casamento de D. Beatriz (filha natural de D. João I) com Thomas Fitzalan (Conde de Arundel) – paradigma documental da negociação de uma aliança", in *Problematizar a História. Estudos de História Moderna em Homenagem a Maria do Rosário Themudo Barata*, Lisbon, Caleidoscópio / Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2007, pp. 77-91.

<sup>66</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., "Infantas e rainhas: garantes de paz, pretexto para guerras", in *A Guerra e a Sociedade na Idade Média. VI Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de Estudos Medievais*, Campo Militar de S. Jorge (CIBA), Porto de Mós / Alcobaca / Batalha, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 39-60. A case study of one of these tormented political periods can be seen in OLIVERA SERRANO, César, *Beatriz de Portugal. La Pugna Dinástica Avis-Tratámara*, Santiago de Compostela, Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos (annex 35), 2005.

<sup>67</sup> W. J. Entwistle and Peter E. Russell ("A Rainha D. Filipa e a sua corte", in *Congresso do Mundo*

The political roles performed by most queens, even in non-voluntary ways, are therefore undeniable. Their acceptance by the people, or the motives for which some of them came to be hated, can have had little to do with them personally<sup>68</sup>. Sometimes only subsequent events determined how they were remembered over time<sup>69</sup>. Most frequently, in the eyes of contemporary chroniclers, those queens who gained too much power, for instance as regents of the realm, were seen as incarnations of evil, and their negative image has come down to our own time<sup>70</sup>.

Information about the future queens' upbringing and education is of the utmost importance to an enlightened gender history. Aristocratic girls and boys exercised their own specific roles and functions, for which they were prepared from childhood onwards. Whenever there are sources about their families of origin, the composition of their households or the places where lived, it is possible to reconstitute their families' background and identify their academic, artistic, physical or religious interests and achievements. Such has been the case of Philippa of Lancaster (1360-1415)<sup>71</sup>, to whom we can add her daughter Isabel and her

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*Português. Publicações*, Lisbon, 1940, vol. 2, pp. 319-346), had already shown that Queen Philippa of Lancaster had maintained strong emotional ties with her country of origin, writing and receiving letters from relatives, and using her influence to obtain favours in England for members of her clientele. Later, Peter Russell, recognised that this queen was the main responsible for the maintenance of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance signed in Windsor in 1386, see RUSSELL, Peter E., *A Intervenção Inglesa na Península Ibérica durante a Guerra dos Cem Anos*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 2000, pp. 563-585. See also, GÂNDARA, Alfredo, *Isabel. Filha de D. João I, prolongamento histórico de Joana d'Arc*, Lisbon, Livraria Bernardo, 1954, followed by the more recent study by RESENDE, Helena Maria de, "D. Isabel, uma infanta portuguesa no ducado de Borgonha", in *O Rosto feminino da Expansão Portuguesa. Congresso Internacional. Actas*, Lisbon, Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 153-162. The destiny of some Portuguese princesses in other Iberian kingdoms was studied briefly by PÉREZ DE TUDELA Y VELASCO, Maria Isabel, and RÁBADE OBRADÓ, Maria Pilar, "Dos princesas portuguesas en la corte castellana: Isabel y Juana de Portugal", in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História medieval*, Oporto, INIC, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 357-384 and CASSOTI, Marsilio, *Infantas de Portugal Rainhas em Espanha*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2007.

<sup>68</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., "Aliénor, une infante entre la Castille, l'Aragon et le Portugal", *e-Spania*, no. 5 (2008), available at: <http://e-spania.revues.org/document11833.html>; EADEM, "D. Leonor, infanta de Aragão, rainha de Portugal: linhagem, género e poder na Península Ibérica do século XV", in *As Raízes Medievais do Brasil Moderno*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História / Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2008, pp. 209-232; EADEM, "Between Husband and Father: Queen Isabel of Lancaster's Crossed Loyalties", *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, vol. 3 (2009), pp. 205-218.

<sup>69</sup> SOUSA, Maria Leonor Machado de, "Inês de Castro, quase um mito", *Faces de Eva*, no. 19 (2008), pp. 69-80.

<sup>70</sup> DIAS, Isabel Barros, "Uso pragmático do topos da Rainha Má na Segunda Redacção da Crónica de 1344", in TOSCANO, Ana Maria, and GODSLAND, Shirley, *Mulheres Más. Percepção e Representações da Mulher Transgressora no Mundo Luso-Hispânico*, Oporto, Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 123-140; FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, "Dona Leonor de Aragão: imagens de contestação e de poder", *ibid.*, pp. 73-86; SEQUEIRA, Maria do Carmo Castelo Branco de, "Sedução e Malícia (a propósito de duas mulheres do imaginário português – a Ribeirinha e Leonor Teles)", *ibid.*, pp. 177-189; SOUSA, Ana Paula, *Leonor Teles "Huuma Maa Molher?"*, master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2004; CAMPOS, Isabel Maria Garcia de Pina N. Baleiras S., *Leonor Teles, uma mulher de poder?*, master's dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> COLEMAN, Joyce, "The Flower, the Leaf, and Philippa of Lancaster", in COLETTE, Carolyn P. (ed.), *The Legend of Good Women. Context and Receptio*, Oxford, D. S. Brewer, 2006, pp. 33-58; EADEM, "Filipa de Lancaster, Rainha de Portugal – e mecenas das traduções de Gower?", in BULLÓN-FERNÁNDEZ, María (ed.), *A Inglaterra e a Península Ibérica na Idade Média. Sécs. XII-XV. Intercâmbios Culturais, Literários e Políticos*, Lisbon, Publicações Europa-América, 2008, pp. 135-165; SILVA, Manuela Santos, "Filipa de

great-granddaughter Leonor, also known as *de Lencastre* (from the English *Lancaster*), who were also owners of expensive libraries and performed important religious and cultural roles in their own courts<sup>72</sup>.

Until recently, the general notion that there were insufficient documentary sources for writing about women has been the main reason for the lack of biographies of the queens of Portugal<sup>73</sup>. Nevertheless, T. W. E. Roche was able to draw on English, Flemish, French, Castilian and even Portuguese chroniclers to compose his 1971 biography *Philippa of Lancaster*<sup>74</sup>. Very recently, several books containing short biographies of the medieval queens of Portugal, and even of the kings' mistresses, have appeared, without recourse, however, to the scarce but existent primary sources<sup>75</sup>. That proper research permits deeper investigation into particular aspects of their life cycles has already been shown<sup>76</sup>. In 2002, Manuel Marques Duarte wrote a short but serious work on Queen Leonor Teles, drawing on the chronicles but also on historical works on that period<sup>77</sup>. Ivo Carneiro de Sousa composed his doctoral thesis on Leonor, queen to João II of Portugal<sup>78</sup>.

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Lencastre e o Ambiente Cultural na Corte de seu pai (1360-1387)", *Clio*, n. s., vols. 16-17 (2007), pp. 243-258; EADEM, "Philippa of Lancaster, queen of Portugal: educator and reformer", in OAKLEY-BROWN, Liz, and WILKINSON, Louise J. (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship. Medieval to Early Modern*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2009, pp. 37-46; EADEM, "Práticas religiosas e hábitos culturais inovadores na Corte dos Reis de Portugal (1387-1415)", in *Poder Espiritual/Poder Temporal. As relações Igreja/Estado no tempo da Monarquia (1179-1909)*. Actas, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 2009, pp. 191-212.

<sup>72</sup> SOMMÉ, Monique, *Isabelle de Portugal, Duchesse de Bourgogne. Une femme au pouvoir au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Villeneuve d'Ascq, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998; LACERDA, Daniel, *Isabel de Portugal. Duquesa de Borgonha*, Lisbon, Presença, 2010; SOUSA, Ivo C. de, *A rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525). Poder, misericórdia, religiosidade e espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2002; CEPEDA, Maria Isabel Vilares, "Os livros da Rainha D. Leonor, segundo o código 11352 da Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa", *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, 2nd ser., vol. 2, no. 2 (1987), pp. 51-81.

<sup>73</sup> There have been, of course, several minor studies of some of them: see, for instance, BERKELEY, Alice, "Philippa of Lancaster, mother of Portuguese Expansion", in *O Rosto feminino da Expansão Portuguesa...*, pp. 145-152, and AMORIM, Maria de Lurdes, "Dona Leonor de Lencastre, grande senhora do Renascimento", *ibid.*, pp. 163-178.

<sup>74</sup> ROCHE, T. W. E., *Philippa. Dona Filipa of Portugal*, London Chichester, Phillimore, 1971.

<sup>75</sup> SERRANO, Joana Bouza, *As Avis. As grandes rainhas que partilharam o trono de Portugal na segunda dinastia*, Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2009; OLIVEIRA, Ana Rodrigues, *Rainhas medievais de Portugal*, Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2010; LOURENÇO, Paula, PEREIRA, Ana Cristina, and TRONI, Joana, *Amantes dos Reis de Portugal*, 7th ed., Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2010 (1st ed., 2008).<sup>75</sup>

<sup>76</sup> DIAS, Nuno Pizarro, "Dinis e Isabel, uma difícil relação conjugal e política", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 31, vol. 2 (1996), pp. 129-165; RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., "The Queen Consort in Late-Medieval Portugal", in BOLTON, Brenda, and MEEK, Christine, *Aspects of power and authority in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, pp. 131-144.

<sup>77</sup> DUARTE, Manuel Marques, *Leonor Teles. Ensaio Biográfico*, Oporto, Campo das Letras, 2002.

<sup>78</sup> SOUSA, Ivo C. de, *A rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525). Poder...*

Although there existed some previous biographical essays on some important princes and kings<sup>79</sup>, the new collection of biographies of the kings of Portugal<sup>80</sup> has decisively opened the door for this historical genre, promoting the combination of rigorous research with a style accessible to the general public. The recent biography of Prince Henrique, the Navigator, by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, demonstrates this clearly<sup>81</sup>. Through biographies of kings and queens, men and women, gender history may, perhaps, progress in the near future.

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<sup>79</sup> MENDONÇA, Manuela, *D. João II*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1991, and RUSSEL, Peter, *Henrique o Navegador*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2004, among a few others.

<sup>80</sup> Edited by Círculo de Leitores (Rio de Mouro), 2005-2006.

<sup>81</sup> COSTA, João Paulo de Oliveira e, *Henrique o Infante*, Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2009.



# *When Those on the Margins Took Centre Stage*

*Luís Miguel Duarte*

In previous historiographical stocktaking exercises, I have underscored the importance of the 25 April 1974 to the different areas and chronologies of Portuguese history, especially of the Middle Ages. Yet if we consider the study of marginals and marginalisation, the change of the political regime has not been as directly reflected in research.

It is worth remembering that the subject gained credence at the end of the 60s in France, the country where virtually everything that was interesting in social sciences was happening. And, as usual, it prolonged in the field of history the convulsions of the “Old World”, this same old world that was chasing us and forcing us to flee steadfastly, as one of the famous watchwords daubed on the walls of the Latin Quarter put it. The '68 Spring and the Prague Spring, Woodstock and the anti-Vietnam War uprisings on American campuses were the most visible episodes of a political and social unease that permeated almost every continent. Without having to identify a simple cause-effect relationship, the number of alternative life styles and value systems multiplied. Some historians, weary of the traditional way of studying central personalities and their respective political and palatial intrigues, jumped at the opportunity to explore different fields.

For the record, interest in these uncharted areas predates May 68 by a long way – one more argument in favour of my reluctance to link directly time’s political winds of change with historians’ agendas.

From the beginning of the 60s, poverty was enshrined as a noble topic for medieval studies. The decade began in stimulating fashion: The Czech historian František Graus’ article *Pauvres des Villes et Pauvres des campagnes* was published in the *Annales*<sup>1</sup> and has since become a landmark text.

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<sup>1</sup> GRAUS, František, “Au bas Moyen-Âge : pauvres des Villes et Pauvres des campagnes”, *Annales. ESC*, vol. 16 (1961), pp. 1053-1065.

The following year, 1962, saw Michel Mollat, a medievalist with a background in economic history and maritime history<sup>2</sup> launch an innovative seminar at the Sorbonne on the history of the poor and poverty in the Middle Ages: this seminar would run for fourteen years (up to 1976) and totally rejuvenate the quality and quantity of studies on poverty, as well as influencing neighbouring areas, such as marginalisation. Taking stock of this seminar almost half a century later, the results are impressive: many of those who were or would later become landmark names in medieval European historiography were participants; as Mollat himself sums up, there were roughly 980 written presentations at the seminar sessions, 220 *mémoires*, several doctoral theses and 10 multi-copied<sup>3</sup> *Cahiers de la Sorbonne*. The finished product of this collective project was the two thick volumes that were published in 1974 under Michel Mollat's direction, entitled *Études sur l'Histoire de la Pauvreté*<sup>4</sup>.

Such names as Évelyne Patlagean, Michel Rouche, Alexander Gieysztor, Pierre-André Sigal, André Vauchez, Cinzio Violante, Lester K. Little, Philippe Ariès, Jean-Claude Schmitt, Raoul Manselli and Natalie Zemon Davies collaborated on these volumes. Yet if we analyse the nine editions of the multi-copied *Cahiers de la Sorbonne* that were published annually as an integral part of this project, we get a better understanding of its sheer scale: we find Bronislaw Geremek, Jacques Le Goff (with three texts), Jean Glénisson, Charles de La Roncière, Guy Fourquin, Jean Favier, Philippe Wolff, František Graus, Alphonse Dupront, Hervé Martin, Francis Rapp, Regine Le Jan, Pierre Toubert, Alberto Tenenti, Édouard Perroy and Émile Delaruelle. Mollat himself regularly worked on these *cadernos*, with six texts in total. From an overall standpoint and taking into account the duration, quality and homogeneity, the number of participants and their backgrounds<sup>5</sup>, the direct results – the two volumes of studies, plus a summary by Michel Mollat, the *Cahiers* – and, indirectly, the books of some of those who attended the seminar, and the quantity of congresses, weeks, collective volumes that followed, all inspired by the Sorbonne Seminar<sup>6</sup>; given that forty-five years have elapsed, the vast majority of these works have not aged a day and retain both their erudite and informative content and their suggestive power. I do not hesitate about classifying this project as by far the most

<sup>2</sup> He published his first maritime history work in 1938; and, in 1951, *La Comptabilité du port de Dieppe au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Armand Colin.

<sup>3</sup> In actual fact, I am aware of nine editions that we manage to obtain then as students at the University of Oporto.

<sup>4</sup> MOLLAT, Michel (dir.), *Études sur l'Histoire de la Pauvreté: Moyen Age-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1974 (vol. I: *Pauvreté et charité, valeurs spirituels*; vol. 2: *Développement du paupérisme et organisation de l'assistance*).

<sup>5</sup> From 16 countries.

<sup>6</sup> Portugal included, as we shall see in a moment.



important in terms of European medieval history, possibly with the *Origins of the Modern State* a distant second<sup>7</sup>.

Moving on: over these fourteen years' work, the bridges between poverty and marginalisation were a constant. For instance, in the list of the most common Latin keywords linked to poverty in medieval texts<sup>8</sup>, concepts like *abjectus*, *captivus*, *debilis*, *famelicus*, *idiotus*, *ignarus*, *incarceratus*, *injustitia*, *leprosus*, *mendicus*, *miserabilis* appear. And in the *Études* or *Cahiers* we find several studies on heresies and others such as: "Les nomenclatures de vagabonds et de malfaiteurs (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)"; "Les milieux asociaux et les 'classes dangereuses' en France, de la Grande Peste à la Jacquerie (1348-1358)"; "Pauvreté et sorcellerie"; "Les Tziganes"; "Les pauvres dans les troubles urbains à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les pays de Seine et au Pays Bas"<sup>9</sup>; "Recherches sur les sentiments de sécurité et d'insécurité dans la région parisienne au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles"; "Le rôle de la peur dans le massacre des lépreux et des juifs accusés d'empoisonnement des fontaines en 1321". In addition to the different works on heresies and heretics, lepers and their hospitals, crimes and criminals, Jews, gypsies, vagabonds and insurgents, sorcerers, insecurity, fear, and "dangerous classes" – except prostitutes, who were not specifically discussed at the Sorbonne – what we have here are practically all the players and topics that would occupy research on marginals and marginalisation over the following years.

Even when not sanctioned by the title, allusions to marginals and the phenomena of marginalisation are frequent in virtually all the texts. The topic of "marginals" had started, pre-destined for success; the theme was original and appeared – and still does – highly seductive and the perfect counterpoint to the tired, grey agenda of the official classical programmes.

Although this project dominated (and continues to dominate) the field of poverty studies, it was not alone. The second number of the "Cahiers de Fanjeaux" was released in 1966 on the topic *Vaudois languedociens et pauvres catholiques*<sup>10</sup>. The same year, Georges Duby published a small article on the rural poor<sup>11</sup>. The prestigious Italian *Settimane* of several centres and chronologies counted poverty among their concerns. Additionally, the English-speaking world was travelling a similar route, albeit less enthusiastically<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> One last note: three Portuguese (Virginia Rau, Iria Gonçalves and José Mattoso) and one Spaniard (José García Oro) subscribed to the two volumes of the *Études*.

<sup>8</sup> MOLLAT, Michel (dir.), *Études sur l'Histoire de la Pauvreté...*, vol. 2, pp. 840-841.

<sup>9</sup> This important text, by Michel Mollat himself, inspired two others, bearing the same title but relating to Amiens and to Douai.

<sup>10</sup> CENTRE D'ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES DE FANJEAUX, *Vaudois languedociens et pauvres catholiques* (IIe Session d'histoire religieuse du Midi de la France aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, Fanjeaux, 26-31 juillet 1966), *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, no. 2, Toulouse, Privat, 1966.

<sup>11</sup> DUBY, Georges, "Les Pauvres des Campagnes", *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, t. 52, no. 149 (1966), pp. 25-32.

<sup>12</sup> In 1966 a doctoral thesis on a French hospital was defended in Princeton; and particularly some

Michel Mollat produced a synthesis of his own in 1978, *Les Pauvres au Moyen Âge*, subtitled “*Étude Sociale*”<sup>13</sup>. Meanwhile, some who had taken their first steps at his seminar published their own first books<sup>14</sup>. In studies on the history of poverty, bridges were both visible and numerous to the terrain of voluntary or involuntary marginalisation, crime, deviation and heresy. This thematic shift had a name: Bronislaw Geremek, the famous Polish historian. Born in Warsaw in 1932 to a fur trader who died in Auschwitz, he managed to flee the ghetto with his mother. Graduating in History in Warsaw in 1954, between 1956 and 1958 he pursued doctoral studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. From 1960 to 1965, he taught at the Sorbonne<sup>15</sup>. Over this period, Geremek forged solid scientific and personal ties with some of the most outstanding French historians, such as Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff. He completed his doctorate in 1960, presenting a wholly innovative thesis that only became accessible to many of us when, in 1968, Anna Posner and Christian Klapisch-Zuber published a French translation under the title *Le Salarial dans l’artisanat parisien, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Étude sur le marché de la main-d’oeuvre au Moyen Âge*<sup>16</sup>. But it was in 1972<sup>17</sup> that Geremek “inaugurated” a new area of work, with his post-doctorate work *Les Marginaux parisiens aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*<sup>18</sup>. From then on, the number of studies on marginals and marginalisation multiplied, but the best would always be those by Bronislaw Geremek<sup>19</sup>. The association of poverty with marginalisation – understandable yet not obligatory – continued like a matrix.

## Meanwhile, in Portugal

In contrast to what normally happens with cutting-edge trends, the main historical debates and movements that bypass us almost entirely, Portuguese medieval

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interesting proceedings from a congress held in Münchengladbach in 1973 and published two years later: FLOOD, David (ed.), *Poverty in the Middle Ages*, Paderborn, Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1975.

<sup>13</sup> MOLLAT, Michel, *Les Pauvres au Moyen Âge: Étude Sociale*, Paris, Hachette, 1978.

<sup>14</sup> Here I am recalling, among many others, SIGAL, Pierre-André, *Les Marcheurs de Dieu. Pèlerinages et pèlerins au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1974, or GOGLIN, Jean-Louis, *Les Misérables dans l’Occident Médiéval*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1976.

<sup>15</sup> He was nominated Visiting Professor by the Collège de France in 1995.

<sup>16</sup> BRONISLAW, Geremek, *Le Salarial dans l’artisanat parisien, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Étude sur le marché de la main-d’oeuvre au Moyen Âge*, translated from the Polish by Anna Posner and Christian Klapisch-Zuber, Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1968.

<sup>17</sup> In reality for us, in 1975, with the French translation.

<sup>18</sup> BRONISLAW, Geremek, *Les Marginaux parisiens aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Flammarion, 1975.

<sup>19</sup> Of the main ones, I highlight IDEM, *Truands et Misérables dans L’Europe Moderne (1350-1600)*, Paris, Gallimard, 1980; IDEM, *La potence ou la pitié: l’Europe et les pauvres du Moyen Age à nos jours*, Paris Gallimard, 1987; IDEM, *Les Fils de Caïm: L’Image des Pauvres et des Vagabonds dans la Littérature européenne (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris, Flammarion, 1998.

historians, for all their obvious limitations in terms of number and especially of scientific methods for group work and debate, managed to catch this train without significant delay<sup>20</sup>. This was exclusively due to Virgínia Rau. I never met her in person, so my analysis of her contribution is based solely on the written work she left and the comments of those who worked closely with her.

I have formed a contradictory image of her<sup>21</sup>: from early on she was involved with some of the most prestigious historians of her time; she was on the Prato *Settimane* from the outset with Federigo Melis; she was a constant presence at international colloquia in France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. She followed Michel Mollat's career. She was authoritarian, a woman of power<sup>22</sup> and one with clear links to the regime. She devoted herself to economic history at all times, which the regime viewed suspiciously. She also supported young female researchers<sup>23</sup> at a time when Portuguese university life was not exactly hospitable to women's careers. Yet Virgínia Rau's work also seems contradictory to my eyes on another level: although this historian showed an impressive ability for work and published an appreciable number of books and articles, was perhaps the most-well known Portuguese medieval historian and the most widely-quoted abroad<sup>24</sup>, went to the top colloquia and spoke to the most interesting people, to read the pages she wrote is generally very frustrating. She doubtlessly had good knowledge of the documentation in Portuguese and foreign archives, but proposed few ideas, raised few questions, and offered only a few attempts at explanation; at times it seems all we are given are juxtaposed files of documents. Read, *Feiras Medievais Portuguesas*<sup>25</sup>, you will understand what I am talking about.

Virgínia Rau was a woman of inexhaustible energy and someone who showed a great deal of initiative and organisational skill. She was in Paris in autumn 1967 and attended Michel Mollat's seminar on poverty<sup>26</sup>. She was enthusiastic about the topic and tested it in two presentations<sup>27</sup>, and at a meeting at the Barcelona Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, she suggested to three Spanish colleagues, Miguel Gual Camarena, Emilio Sáez and Manuel Riu that they choose poverty

<sup>20</sup> Although forty years have been and gone, and despite the visible progress made, these limitations still exist and cause us harm.

<sup>21</sup> I should explain that I mean this more as praise than a slur.

<sup>22</sup> A role she played negatively in general, but sporadically to everyone's benefit.

<sup>23</sup> Iria Gonçalves, Maria José Lagos Trindade and Maria José Pimenta Ferro. The quality of these three historians' work speaks for itself, with no need for patronage.

<sup>24</sup> She remains, in cases, the only one quoted.

<sup>25</sup> RAU, Virgínia, *Feiras Medievais Portuguesas. Subsídios para o seu Estudo*, Lisbon, Presença, 1983 (1st ed., 1943).

<sup>26</sup> She published a text in *Cahier*, no. 6 (1967-1968) entitled "La pauvreté et l'assistance aux pauvres au Portugal pendant le Moyen Âge".

<sup>27</sup> In Braga, at the end of 1970, and in Barcelona, in May 1971.

as the theme of the first encounter of Portuguese and Spanish medievalists. The meeting was held in Lisbon and was to be repeated every two years<sup>28</sup>.

The “I Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval” was held between 25 and 30 September 1972. The title was “A Pobreza e a Assistência aos Pobres na Península Ibérica” (Poverty and Helping the Poor on the Iberian Peninsula). It is very curious to examine the two volumes of the proceedings, which were published the following year<sup>29</sup>. There were two opening addresses (Michel Mollat and Torquato de Sousa Soares), two closing ones (Emilio Sáez and Virgínia Rau) and thirty-three presentations<sup>30</sup>. Michel Mollat’s opening address is enlightening, full of ideas and suggestions and is erudite, intelligent and well written. Forty years later, it is a pleasure to read and very useful. In sharp contrast, Torquato Soares’ six pages are disappointing, hardly mentioning the topic of the congress. The closing address, three pages by Emilio Sáez, is purely formal. Not a single scientific observation is made<sup>31</sup>; he highlights the female participation (five presentations out of thirty-four, i.e. one seventh) and compliments these five participants and “todas las señoras y meninas que han asistido a las mismas [Jornadas] y las han embellecido com su gentil presencia”.

Virgínia Rau wound up the proceedings and her words bring us back to discussing history. It is clear that she followed all the most engaging work being done abroad; as already stated, that it was she who, on visiting the Sorbonne seminar, realised the interest of the topic “Poverty and Assistance” and suggested the Lisbon Portugal-Spain meeting<sup>32</sup> to her Barcelona colleagues. She attended the “97<sup>e</sup> Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes” in Nantes in March 1972 and, realising the potential of the matters raised, recorded in the proceedings the congress programme line-for-line. In contrast to this awareness and clear perception of what was significant, her own intervention, duly supported by documents, once again leaves us with a feeling of frustration, especially when compared to that of Mollat, four years her junior.

Going through the proceedings, we find the names of many who would leave their mark on medieval studies in the decades to follow. Fortunately, the overwhelming majority are active to this day: José Mattoso, Iria Gonçalves, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Baquero Moreno, Maria José Pimenta Ferro, Luís Adão da Fonseca; others

<sup>28</sup> On central topics in economic, social and cultural history, Virgínia Rau clarified.

<sup>29</sup> *A Pobreza e a Assistência aos Pobres na Península Ibérica Durante a Idade Média. Actas das 1<sup>as</sup> Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval* (Lisbon, 25-30 Set. 1972), Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura / Centro de Estudos Históricos da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1973.

<sup>30</sup> At least that is the number published in the Proceedings (curiously, Emilio Sáez counted 34, and Virgínia Rau 32).

<sup>31</sup> He highlights one of the presentations, that of José Orlandi, explaining that the topic dealt with by this historian was “definitive and wisely studied”.

<sup>32</sup> Emilio Sáez was professor at the University of Barcelona from 1958 to 1979; it was only in the latter years of his career that he moved to the University Complutense of Madrid.

that are no longer with us, such as Dias Dinis, Domingos Maurício, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida<sup>33</sup>, António Cruz, Maria José Lagos Trindade, Félix Lopes, Eduardo Borges Nunes, António Domingues de Sousa Costa, Isaiás da Rosa Pereira, Joseph Piel. Of the Spanish, I would highlight José Luis Martín, Juan Torres Fontes, Julio Valdéon, Antonio Linage Conde, José Orlandis and Carmen Battle.

With the reservations I have already expressed, linked to the former characteristics of Portuguese historiography (particularly its enormous investment in reading sources in contrast to its smaller outlay on analysis, synthesis and theory), these proceedings represented perhaps the most organised and most focussed effort on a topic in the annals of our medievalism. Forty years later, most of the Portuguese presentations continue to be read and cited by anyone broaching the topic. As stated, the topic bordered on marginalisation in a great many respects but was not the same thing. Marginals were still off our research agenda.

### **Marginals, to a certain extent**

It was only after 25 April 1974 that the topic of marginals began to be researched in Portugal. Without presuming to know everything that happened in those heady years when the Portuguese university system saw student and staff numbers increase ten- or twenty-fold, the history curricula reformed and all manner of scientific meetings and initiatives take place, where young people avidly sought out the topics, chronologies and books that had been withheld by the Academy for decades, I shall merely summarise what happened at the University of Oporto, as I participated in it and it was central to the topic at hand. After a year when no first year students were admitted<sup>34</sup>, the undergraduate course in History at the Oporto Faculdade de Letras welcomed new students in 1975, with new courses and one new member of the teaching staff, Humberto Baquero Moreno, from the Universidade of Lourenço Marques<sup>35</sup>, where he had taught for ten years. He was entrusted with teaching the newly created “Movimentos Populares na Idade Média” (Popular Movements in the Middle Ages) course<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> As a former student and fervent admirer of this professor who was taken from us too soon, I allow myself the minor “injustice” of highlighting the richness of his communication (ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, “Os Caminhos e a Assistência no Norte de Portugal”, in *A Pobreza e a Assistência aos Pobres na Península Ibérica Durante a Idade Média...*, vol.1, pp. 39-57), as well as the quantity and quality of his Portuguese and foreign bibliography.

<sup>34</sup> By decision of Minister Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, Portuguese universities did not accept first-year students in the 1974-1975 academic year.

<sup>35</sup> And having completed his doctorate in January 1974.

<sup>36</sup> Later entitled “Movimentos Sociais na Idade Média” (Social Movements in the Middle Ages), and cancelled shortly thereafter.

I was lucky enough to attend this course that same year and the experience was unforgettable. For once we had and shared the best bibliography that was hot off the presses abroad: books on the *Irmandiños* revolts in Galicia, on the *payenses de la remensa* in Catalonia, the 1381 peasant uprisings in England from the works of Rodney Hilton<sup>37</sup>; we devoured the work of Mollat and Philippe Wolff, *Ongles bleus, Jacques et Ciompi. Les révolutions populaires aux XIVe et siècles*<sup>38</sup>, as well as Guy Fourquin's book on the same topic<sup>39</sup>. That year we found out about the launch of a book, which we managed to buy and use immediately in class (which may seem commonplace today but it was not at all in 1975): I am referring to *Conflictos Sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*, by Julio Valdeón<sup>40</sup>, which we all read cover to cover before it became widely used in Spain. Yet the struggle could be less about speed than about investment: it was with pure envy that we looked at our classmate who had ordered through the Livraria Leitura the mythical volume *Hérésies et Sociétés dans l'Europe Pré-industrielle, XI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, edited by Jacques Le Goff. All I remember is that it was a Mouton<sup>41</sup> edition and that the book cost much more than I had earned the month before as a full-time elementary school teacher. It was with this bibliography that we enthusiastically set about our group work<sup>42</sup>.

Professor Baquero Moreno felt, on our part, every encouragement to continue his research into social conflict and the phenomena of marginalisation. It should be emphasised that these had been a challenge to him right from the start of his career: he had always been interested in social conflicts in their different dimensions (factions of nobles and their fights, abuse and violence perpetrated by noblemen, the small against the mighty); in social contestation, deviations, crimes, oppression of the Jews, in people who were excluded and marginalisation.

In 1961, his undergraduate dissertation, "Subsídios para o Estudo da Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Moralidade e Costumes", which was primarily based on legislation, showed sensibility attuned to studying deviations from the norm, or to

<sup>37</sup> Which we obtained via the Spanish translation: *Siervos y liberados. Los movimientos campesinos medievales y el levantamiento inglés de 1381*, Madrid, Siglo Veintiuno, 1978, translated by Aurelio Martínez Benito, proofread by Derek W. Lomax, from the English original: HILTON, Rodney, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381*, London, Temple Smith, 1973.

<sup>38</sup> MOLLAT, Michel, and WOLF, Philippe, *Ongles Bleus, Jacques et Ciompi. Les Révolutions Populaires en Europe aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, [Paris], Calmann-Lévy, 1970.

<sup>39</sup> FOURQUIN, Guy, *Les soulèvements populaires au Moyen Âge*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1972. We read everything, even books without much consistency, like the small volume on the *Jacquerie*, by DOMMANGET, Maurice, *La Jacquerie*, Paris, F. Maspero, 1971.

<sup>40</sup> VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio, *Conflictos Sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*, Madrid, Siglo Veintiuno, 1975.

<sup>41</sup> LE GOFF, Jacques (dir.), *Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe pré-industrielle, XIe-XVIIIe siècle. Communications et débats du colloque de Royaumont*, civilisations et sociétés, no. 10, Mouton, Paris, 1968.

<sup>42</sup> One on medieval heresies (Henrique David, Eugénia Mota, Augusto Santos Silva); the other on poverty (Lúcia Rosas, João Arriscado Nunes, José Luís Meireles Batista, and myself).

aspects of familiar structures, not merely in a legal context but particularly, thanks to his in-depth knowledge of the documentation, in terms of their real existence<sup>43</sup>.

Baquero Moreno regularly studied social conflicts<sup>44</sup>, justice and delinquency<sup>45</sup>, and tensions involving the Jewish population<sup>46</sup>. He addressed the topic of marginalisation directly in titles like *Exclusão e marginalidade Social no Portugal quatrocentista*<sup>47</sup>, or *Os marginais no Portugal medievo: comportamentos anti-sociais perante as normas de hospitalidade*<sup>48</sup>.

Beyond his personal research, this historian was the driving force behind scientific meetings on marginalisation and motivated young people starting out on their careers to take an interest in the topic. For example, he organised the “II Encontro Luso-Brasileiro de Historiadores: Pobreza, marginalidade, marginação social” (Porto, 9-11 January 1995) to which I shall return<sup>49</sup>. It was he who proposed, to those considering doctoral research, the *cartas de perdão* (letters of pardon) of the chancelleries of Kings Afonso V or João II as a means of understanding criminality,

<sup>43</sup> In this way, he published MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “Subsídios para o estudo da adopção em Portugal na Idade Média: D. Afonso IV a D. Duarte”, *Revista dos Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique. Ciências Humanas*, 5th ser., vol. 3 (1966), pp. 67-84; IDEM, “Subsídios para o estudo da legitimação em Portugal na Idade Média: D. Afonso III a D. Duarte”, *Revista dos Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique*, 5th ser., vol. 4 (1967), pp. 209-237; IDEM, “Nótula sobre a legitimação dum filho de pais incógnitos em 1444”, *Revista de Ciências do Homem da Universidade de Lourenço Marques*, ser. A, vol. 1, no. 1 (1968), pp. 221-224; IDEM, “Nótula sobre um contrato de casamento no século XV, com obrigação pré-nupcial de adoptar os filhos da desposada”, *Revista de Ciências do Homem da Universidade de Lourenço Marques*, ser. A, vol. 2, no. 1 (1969), pp. 253-260; IDEM, “O casamento no contexto da sociedade medieval portuguesa”, *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 33, fascs. 75-76 (87-88), Jan.-Dec. (1979), pp. 145-173.

<sup>44</sup> IDEM, “O assalto à Judiaria Grande de Lisboa em Dezembro de 1449”, *Revista de Ciências do Homem da Universidade de Lourenço Marques*, ser. A, vol. 3, no. 1 (1970), pp. 207-253; IDEM, “Um conflito social em Pinhel e seu termo no século XV”, in ACADEMIA PORTUGUESA DA HISTÓRIA, *Papel das Áreas Regionais na Formação Histórica de Portugal. Actas do Colóquio*. Lisboa, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1975, pp. 333-379; IDEM, “Os movimentos sociais em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas – Universidade Portucalense*, vol. 1 (1986), pp. 219-225; IDEM, “Tensões e conflitos na sociedade portuguesa em vésperas de 1492”, *Revista de História – Centro de História da Universidade do Porto*, vol. 11 (1991), pp. 23-44.

<sup>45</sup> IDEM, “Injúrias e blasfémias proferidas pelo homem medieval português na sua vida de relação social”, *Revista de Ciências do Homem da Universidade de Lourenço Marques*, ser. A, vol. 5 (1972), pp. 111-130; IDEM, “Elementos para o estudo dos coutos de homiziados instituídos pela coroa”, *Portugaliae Historica*, vol. 2 (1974), pp. 13-61; IDEM, “A manutenção da ordem pública no Porto quatrocentista”, *Revista de História – Centro de História da Universidade do Porto*, vol. 2 (1979), pp. 365-373; IDEM, “Um possesso do demónio no século XV”, *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 34, fasc. 78 (91), Jul.-Dec. (1980), pp. 578-581.

<sup>46</sup> As well as the referenced IDEM, “Assalto à Judiaria Grande de Lisboa”..., see: IDEM, “As pregações de Mestre Paulo contra os judeus bracarenses no fim do século XV”, *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 30, t. I, fasc. 69 (81) (1976), pp. 139-148; IDEM, “Novos elementos relativos a Mestre Paulo, pregador do século XV, contra os judeus bracarenses”, *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 32, fascs. 73-74 (85-86) (1978), pp. 7-38; IDEM, “A sentença do rei D. João I, contra os judeus, de 1412”, *Lucerna. Homenagem a D. Domingos de Pinho Brandão* (1984), pp. 411-415.

<sup>47</sup> IDEM, “Exclusão e marginalidade Social no Portugal quatrocentista”, *Ler História*, no. 33 (1997), pp. 37-51.

<sup>48</sup> IDEM, “Os marginais no Portugal medievo: comportamentos anti-sociais perante as normas de hospitalidade”, *Revista Lusófona de Ciências Sociais*, no. 2 (2005), pp. 99-107.

<sup>49</sup> The Proceedings were published in: *Revista de Ciências Históricas – Universidade Portucalense*, vol. 11, (1996).

justice and all the related social issues. It was my good fortune to accept the challenge with him as my supervisor.

It seems self-evident from my summary above that studies of marginals and the phenomena of social marginalisation will always be linked to Humberto Baquero Moreno's name.

Naturally, he was far from being only one. Interested from early on in the study of poverty<sup>50</sup>, Maria José Pimenta Ferro, for example, published a text entitled *Pobres, minorias e marginais: localização no espaço urbano*<sup>51</sup>.

Into this large "dustbin" which the concept of marginalisation became, we threw – and still throw – the usual suspects: Jews and prostitutes, the insane and the poor, vagabonds and lepers, delinquents and heretics. All of which have had their historians.

We still owe to Maria José Ferro the two major detailed works on Portuguese Jews: her undergraduate dissertation, *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XIV*<sup>52</sup> and her doctoral thesis, *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XV*<sup>53</sup>. Naturally, after the research for these two long works, this historian also published a large number of articles on the specifics of the lives of the Portuguese Jews<sup>54</sup>.

The classic work – and the only one – on vagabonds dates back to 1977 and its author is once again by Humberto Baquero Moreno, *A Vagabundagem nos fins da Idade Média Portuguesa*<sup>55</sup>. The only systematic work on prostitution was authored by Ângela Beirante<sup>56</sup>, *As Mancebias nas Cidades Medievais Portuguesas*<sup>57</sup>.

Lepers and leper hospitals have garnered more attention, primarily because they have benefitted from the on-going interest of historians of medicine, many of whom are physicians themselves. There have been some monographs in more recent decades on leper hospitals, sometimes concerning their respective heritage: Ângela

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<sup>50</sup> Perhaps, like Baquero Moreno, motivated by the 1972 Congress on poverty and assistance and through Virginia Rau's encouragement.

<sup>51</sup> FERRO, Maria José Pimenta, "Pobres, minorias e marginais: localização no espaço urbano", in TAVARES, Maria José Ferro (coord.), *A Cidade. Jornadas Inter e Pluridisciplinares*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 141-153. Read also, by GREGÓRIO, Rute Dias, "Nas franjas da sociedade medieval. Problemáticas do estudo da marginalidade medieva", *Arquipélago*, nos. 11-12 (1998), pp. 671-714.

<sup>52</sup> FERRO, Maria José Pimenta, *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XIV*, Lisbon, Guimarães Editora, 1979.

<sup>53</sup> EADEM, *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XV*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1982); vol. 2 (Lisbon, INIC, 1984).

<sup>54</sup> In actual fact, a fair number of researchers carry out occasional research on the Jews.

<sup>55</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, "A vagabundagem nos fins da Idade Média portuguesa", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 24, t. 2 (1977), pp. 229-276.

<sup>56</sup> Her sensitivity to generally-ignored social themes was rightly praised by Oliveira Marques.

<sup>57</sup> Published in: BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, "As Mancebias nas Cidades Medievais Portuguesas", in *A Mulher na Sociedade Portuguesa. Visão Histórica e Perspectivas Actuais. Actas do Colóquio* (20-22 March 1985), Coimbra, Instituto de História Económica e Social / FL-UC, 1986, vol. 1, pp. 221-241.



Beirante<sup>58</sup>, Sílvio Conde<sup>59</sup>, José Marques<sup>60</sup>, Ivone Marques Dias<sup>61</sup> and Maria Odete Ramos<sup>62</sup> are the authors to take account of here. A recent master's dissertation by Rita Sampaio da Nóvoa has refreshed perspectives on the topic in the light of the most interesting suggestions from abroad<sup>63</sup>.

The existence of heretical movements or currents in Portugal has not attracted particular attention, perhaps due to the complexity of its study. This is why Margarida Garcez's work *Heresias e dissidências. Regalismo e anti-regalismo no Século XV*, stands out<sup>64</sup>.

## Crime and punishment

For common sense reasons, crime and justice have always been considered by historians as excellent observatories for studying marginals. As mentioned previously, I accepted Professor Baquero Moreno's suggestion to study criminality in fifteenth-century Portugal, using the *king's letters of pardon* as my principal source. In the sphere of this research, I published works on denunciation<sup>65</sup>, gangs<sup>66</sup>, blasphemy<sup>67</sup>, the

<sup>58</sup> EADEM, "A Gafaria de Évora", *A Cidade de Évora: Boletim de Cultura da Câmara Municipal*, 2nd ser., no. 1 (1994), pp. 213-328 (included in the collection EADEM, *O Ar da Cidade. Ensaios de História Medieval e Moderna*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2008, pp. 235-251).

<sup>59</sup> CONDE, Manuel Sílvio, "Subsídios para o Estudo dos leprosos no Portugal medievo. A gafaria de Santarém nos séculos XIII-XV", in CONDE, Manuel Sílvio, *Horizontes do Portugal medieval: Estudos históricos*, Cascais: Patrimonia, 1999, pp. 321-376.

<sup>60</sup> Who studies leper hospital in a broader work: MARQUES, José, "A assistência no Norte de Portugal nos finais da Idade Média", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto: História*, 2nd ser., vol. 6 (1989), pp. 11-94.

<sup>61</sup> DIAS, Ivone Marques, "Alguns aspectos sobre a lepra na Idade Média em Portugal", in RIBEIRO, Maria Eurydice (org.), *A Vida da Idade Média*, Brasília, Universidade de Brasília, 1997, pp. 95-121.

<sup>62</sup> RAMOS, Maria Odete, *Património da Gafaria de S. Gião de Monção (Séculos XV-XVI)*, unpublished master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2002.

<sup>63</sup> NÓVOA, Rita Sampaio, *A Casa de São Lázaro de Lisboa: contributos para uma história das atitudes face à doença (Sécs. XIV-XV)*, unpublished master's dissertation, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2010.

<sup>64</sup> GARCEZ, Margarida, "Heresias e dissidências. Regalismo e anti-regalismo no Século XV", *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira*, vol. 53 (1995), pp. 185-218.

<sup>65</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, "A Denúncia nas leis e na vida portuguesa de Quatrocentos", in *Inquisição. Comunicações apresentadas ao 1º Congresso Luso-Brasileiro sobre Inquisição*, Lisbon, Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos do Século XVIII / Universitária Editora, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 447-461.

<sup>66</sup> IDEM, "Leonel de Lima: o bando e o barco", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 31, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 371-392 (volume in homage of Professor Salvador Dias Arnaut); IDEM, "Bandos, Bandidos e Crimes no Portugal das Caravelas", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto - História*, 2nd ser., vol. 13 (1996), pp. 231-248. Also published in the *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira*, vol. 53 (1995), pp. 453-473.

<sup>67</sup> IDEM, "A Boca do Diabo: A blasfémia e o direito penal português da Baixa Idade Média", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 4 (1992), pp. 61-81.

right to asylum<sup>68</sup>, the galley rowers<sup>69</sup>, the banished<sup>70</sup>, the death penalty<sup>71</sup>, smuggling<sup>72</sup>, sea-related crime<sup>73</sup> and other related subjects<sup>74</sup>.

However, with the accumulation of information and problems, it struck me it would be useful to offer some clarification of the concepts and ideas in this slippery terrain of “marginals” and “marginality”, which apparently takes in a little of everything. Taking advantage of the aforementioned “II Encontro Luso-Brasileiro de Historiadores” organised by Humberto Baquero Moreno in 1995, I tried out a preliminary survey, which also included a brief “state of the art”, in a presentation entitled *De que falamos nós quando falamos de marginais? Portugal na Baixa Idade Média*<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> IDEM, “Casa de Oração ou Covil de Ladrões. Notas sobre o direito de asilo em Portugal durante a Idade Média”, in *IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional. Actas*, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa / Faculdade de Teologia de Braga / Cabido Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 617-645.

<sup>69</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, and SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de, “Os Forçados das Galés. Os barcos de João da Silva e Gonçalo Falcão na conquista de Arzila em 1471”, in *Actas do Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a sua época*, Oporto, Universidade do Porto / CNCDP, 1989, vol. 2, pp. 331-328.

<sup>70</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “Fidalgos e Degredados. A fronteira portuguesa de Marrocos”, in CADEDDU, Eugenia, and MELE, Maria Grazia (eds.), *Frontiere del Mediterraneo. Seminario Internazionale di Studi (Cagliari, 10-12 ottobre 2002)*, Cagliari / Genova / Torino, Istituto di Storia dell’Europa Mediterranea, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, [2003], pp. 77-89.

<sup>71</sup> IDEM, “Um luxo para um país pobre? A pena de morte no Portugal medievo”, *Clio & Crimen. La Pena de muerte en la sociedade europea medieval* (proceedings of the “IV Coloquio Internacional del Centro de Historia del Crimen de Durango”, Durango / Bilbao, 3-4 Nov. 2006), no. 4 (2007), pp. 63-94.

<sup>72</sup> IDEM, “O Gado, a fronteira, os alcaides das sacas e os pastores castelhanos”, in ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA, Á. (ed.), *Jornadas de Cultura Hispano-Portuguesa*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1999, pp. 125-146; IDEM, “Contrabandistas de gado e ‘passadores de cousas defesas’ para Castela e Terra de Mouros”, in *As relações de fronteira no século de Alcañices. IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Actas, Oporto, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 451-473 (offprint of *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto – História*, 2nd ser., vol. 15); IDEM, “O comércio proibido”, in RAMOS, Luís Oliveira, POLÓNIA, Amélia, and RIBEIRO, Jorge Martins (coords.), *Estudos em homenagem a João Francisco Marques*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 407-424.

<sup>73</sup> IDEM, “Crimes do mar e justiças da terra”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto – História*, 2nd ser., vol. 8 (1991), pp. 43-73.

<sup>74</sup> IDEM, “Justice et Criminalité au Portugal au Moyen Âge et au début de l’Époque Moderne: les traces, les silences, les problèmes”, in *Le Politiche Criminale nel XVIII Secolo*, proceedings of the congress “‘La Leopoldina’ – Criminalità e giustizia criminale nelle riforme del ‘700 europeo’”, Milão, Giuffrè, 1990, vol. 11, pp. 449-460; IDEM, “Retalhos da Vida de um Reino”, in CURTO, Diogo (dir.), *O Tempo de Vasco da Gama*, Lisboa, Difel, 1998, pp. 305-318; IDEM, “A Justiça Medieval Portuguesa: inventário de dúvidas”, *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho. Revista de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid*, vol. 11 (2004), pp. 87-97; IDEM, “Os Pobres e a Justiça em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média”, in *Actas do Congresso Internacional: El Tratado de Tordesillas y su Época. Sociedad V Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas*, 1995, t. 1, pp. 421-440; IDEM, “A Retórica da Salvação. Histórias de morte e vida em Portugal há quinhentos anos”, in PAOLINI, Claire J. (ed.), *La Chispa ‘97 Selected Proceedings. The Eighteenth Louisiana Conference on Hispanic Languages and Literatures*, New Orleans, Tulane University, 1997, pp. 123-134. Also published with minor changes in ESTEVES, António, and AZEVEDO, José (eds.), *Metodologias Qualitativas para as Ciências Sociais*, Oporto, Instituto de Sociologia da Faculdade de Letras, 1998, pp. 88-97; IDEM, “O Local do Crime”, in GONÇALVES, Iria (coord.), *Paisagens rurais e urbanas: fontes, metodologias, problemáticas*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006, pp. 9-28; IDEM, “Sarilhos no Campo”, in *Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida: In Memoriam*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 299-314; IDEM, “A Revolta de Vila Mou”, in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, AMARAL, Luís Carlos, and SANTOS, Maria Fernanda (coords.), *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, Livraria Civilização, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 789-794; IDEM, “Crimes na Serra”, in *Estudos em Homenagem a José Amadeu Coelho Dias*, Oporto, FL-UP, 2006.

<sup>75</sup> IDEM, “De que falamos nós quando falamos de marginais? Portugal na Baixa Idade Média”, *Revista*

Using the typology suggested by Jacques Le Goff in 1979<sup>76</sup>, I attempted to apply it to what I knew of the Portuguese reality. It was my belief that the concept of *marginal* was used with excessive levity, without anyone trying to define it, and that is why people were labelled marginals who, in my view, were far from being so. One example among many: the “ruffians” who “protected” and above all exploited prostitutes, and who are seen today as on the very margins, had colourful identities, with close ties to the monarch, were squires to noblemen and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and were “members of an urban middle class” as I wrote then and write now. Even the hard and fast criminals were often part and parcel of the close entourages and factions of major noblemen. They lived with them, naturally swelled the ranks of the king’s army in the event of war and were never short of legal counsel if accused or caught by the Law. This is why I believed the field of social marginalisation should be rethought and restricted somewhat<sup>77</sup>; that many of the categories that historians classified as marginal were no such thing<sup>78</sup>; that perhaps it would be more useful to think not of a static society, with a clearly drawn frontier between those who were “in” and those banished to the margins, but more of dynamic social formations with different levels and different criteria of marginalisation and segregation.

Some fifteen years later, I was offered the chance to return to the topic on the pretext of drafting a chapter on marginals in *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*<sup>79</sup>. I tried to meet the challenge of José Mattoso who asked for more essay and less raw information and I ventured to propose for debate in the scientific community four theses: one on how our late-medieval society was not static or arranged in circles where the outside ring would be occupied by marginals, as it would be virtually impossible to imagine at that time situations of total exclusion; one on the social values and processes that disqualified people and dragged them to the periphery; one on the fact that there were immoral professions and others that were vile (albeit legal, some of them); and lastly one on how among the same people or in the same socio-professional or ethnic groups we might find different levels of segregation and integration. As will be understood, this being recent work, these are the theses that I consider worth debating at the current juncture while we continue our search.

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*de Ciências Históricas – Universidade Portucalense*, vol. 11, (1996), pp. 55-68.

<sup>76</sup> LE GOFF, Jacques, “Les marginaux dans l’Occident Médiéval”, in VINCENT, Bernard (org.), *Les marginaux et les exclus dans l’Histoire*, Paris, Union Générale d’Edition, 1979, pp. 19-27.

<sup>77</sup> “At least as regards the Portuguese late Middle Ages, you can’t go around calling everyone an *marginal*” (“Pelo menos no que toca à Baixa Idade Média portuguesa, não se pode chamar marginal a torto e a direito”), I wrote in conclusion.

<sup>78</sup> Works on lepers and leper hospitals have shown this for some time, for instance.

<sup>79</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “Marginalidade e marginais”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, vol. I: *A Idade Média*, coordinated by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores / Temas e Debates, 2010, pp. 170-196.



# *The History of Everyday Life*

Manuel Sílvio Alves Conde

## I.

Intellectual interest in everyday life is very ancient. Almost without exception, however, it remains anecdotal, resulting in a minor type of literature, or of scholarly narratives centred on the habits and customs of “other” peoples distant in space or time from the author or his readers, offering diversion more than explanation.

The history of everyday life has come to take its place at the crossroads of new historical concerns. Contributing to this has been the development of archaeology<sup>1</sup>, the work of sociologists such as Norbert Elia<sup>2</sup> and Eric Goffman<sup>3</sup>, and the historiographical shift associated with the *Annales* school<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> To gain knowledge from artefacts and reconstruct the daily lives of various populations.

<sup>2</sup> To study the evolution of European culture through its everyday life, above all in ELIAS, Norbert, *O processo civilizacional*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Publicações Dom Quixote, 1990 (1st German ed. 1939).

<sup>3</sup> To emphasise the interest of the study of everyday life, in the context of the collective and of mass culture, in works such as GOFFMAN, Eric, *La mise-en-scène de la vie quotidienne*, Paris, Minuit, 1973.

<sup>4</sup> From its earliest moments, the *Annales* made fundamental contributions to the study of everyday life in, among others, the works of BLOCH, Marc, *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale et particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1983 (1st ed., 1924); IDEM, *La société féodale*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1998 (1st ed., 1939-1940). In these are explored the ways of collective psychology, rituals, myths, popular beliefs, the conditions of life and the mental atmosphere of feudal society, as a contribution to explaining how it functioned.

The work of BRAUDEL, Fernand, *Civilização material, economia e capitalismo, séculos XV-XVIII*, t. 1: *As estruturas do quotidiano*, Lisbon, Teorema, 1992, p. 13 (1st French ed., 1967; 1st Portuguese ed., 1970), the decisive turn in the study everyday life, radicalising the field of historical investigation. In constructing his work *Civilização material, economia e capitalismo, séculos XV-XVIII*, he outlined a program in which he described, below the levels of social hierarchies and the superficiality of markets, close to the ground, an “opaque zone”, corresponding to the activities of the base. Everyday life, then, would be fundamentally, a

This new area of research, considered by Georges Duby as complementary to the history of economic and social structures, has developed rapidly, branching out to encompass the multiple facets of being human, taking in body and spirit, giving rise to numerous partial studies and even to some syntheses.

## II.

In Portugal, the attention given to the themes of everyday life have remained until recently tied to a type of scholarship that has been sterile or even facetious.

Studies such as those devoted by Estácio de Veiga to Islamic material life<sup>5</sup>, or those by Alberto Sampaio on the northwest of Portugal<sup>6</sup>, or the *Historia da sociedade em Portugal no seculo XV* by Costa Lobo<sup>7</sup>, remained isolated examples of attempts at tackling themes from everyday life, without any follow-up in historiographical terrain<sup>8</sup>. Such studies have long been confined to the sphere of ethnology, initially with José Leite de Vasconcelos<sup>9</sup>, later with Jorge Dias, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira and their colleagues<sup>10</sup>. The geographer Orlando Ribeiro also tackled some of these issues<sup>11</sup>, while Marcelo Caetano produced a fine study on work organisation, though from an institutional perspective<sup>12</sup>.

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place of reproduction, of permanence and ritual, of the repetition of the actions of ordinary men and women.

Arising from the encounter of history with anthropology which “led naturally to the study of mentalities, considered as ‘what changes least’ in historical evolution”, LE GOFF, Jacques, “L’historien et l’homme quotidien”, *Un autre Moyen Âge*, Paris, Gallimard, 1999, p. 323 (1st ed., 1972).

<sup>5</sup> VEIGA, Sebastião Filipe Martins Estácio da, *Memorias das antiguidades de Mértola*, Lisbon, 1880 (a study of ceramic, urban structure and Islamic fortifications), and IDEM, *As antiguidades monumentais do Algarve*, 4 vols., Lisbon, 1886-1891, among others.

<sup>6</sup> SAMPAIO, Alberto, *Estudos históricos e económicos*, vol. 1: *As vilas do Norte de Portugal*, Lisbon, Editorial Vega, 1979 (1st ed., 1902) (tackling rural space, settlement and rural housing).

<sup>7</sup> LOBO, António de Sousa Silva Costa, *Historia da sociedade em Portugal no século XV*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1903 (tackling themes such as the house, work, money, prices, salaries, and individual possessions).

<sup>8</sup> See also the work of BARROS, Henrique da Gama, *Historia da administração publica em Portugal nos seculos XII a XV*, 2nd ed., 11 vols., Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1945-1954 (1st ed., 1885-1923), in spite of its institutional focus, it provided information about various aspects of everyday life.

<sup>9</sup> See especially the monumental *Etnologia Portuguesa*, 8 vols., Lisbon, IN-CM, 1933-1982.

<sup>10</sup> Of the works in this group, there stand out: OLIVEIRA, Ernesto Veiga de, and GALHANO, Fernando, *A arquitectura tradicional portuguesa*. Lisbon, Publicações Dom Quixote, 1992 (from 1959 the main text in this collection); OLIVEIRA, Ernesto Veiga de, GALHANO, Fernando, and PEREIRA, Benjamim, *Construções primitivas em Portugal*, Lisbon, Publicações Dom Quixote, 1994 (1st ed., 1969).

<sup>11</sup> RIBEIRO, Orlando, *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico. Esboço de relações geográficas*, 4th ed., revised and expanded, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1986 (1st ed., 1945); IDEM, *Geografia e civilização. Temas portugueses*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, s.d. (1st ed. 1961). See also various essays, collected in the series *Opúsculos geográficos*, vols. 4-6, Lisbon, FCG, 1991-1995, and, as well, his *Geografia de Portugal* (with Herman Lautensach and Suzanne Daveau), 4 vols, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1989-1991.

<sup>12</sup> CAETANO, Marcello, “A antiga organização dos mesteres da cidade de Lisboa”, in AMARAL, Diogo Freitas do (org.), *Estudos de história da administração pública portuguesa*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1994, pp. 127-189 (1st ed., 1943). On the Portuguese artisan, see: CRUZ, António, *Os mesteres do Pôrto. Subsídios para*

At the start of the second half of the twentieth century, questions relating to material culture and to everyday life lay far beyond the horizons of Portuguese medievalists. These horizons were closely confined, dominated by political and military themes, especially those relating to the foundation of national identity. Economic and social issues, given much space in trans-Pyrenees European historiography of the post-war period, were largely absent, and addressing cultural issues was highly dubious. Archaeological investigation excluded everything that could contribute to knowledge of the Islamic past<sup>13</sup> and iconographic sources were neglected. A primary responsibility for this restriction lay, beyond all doubt, with the dictatorship beginning in 1926, which along with its Spanish counterpart, succeeded in surviving into the post-war period. But one should also mention the self-absorbed Portuguese university system, with its two *Faculdades de Letras* – in Lisbon and Coimbra – unreceptive to the new trends finding expression in the historiographies of the western democracies.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the most important work of reference of the mid-century came from outside the universities, namely, the *História da cultura em Portugal*, de António José Saraiva<sup>14</sup>, with original approaches to the social conditions of culture, to the forms of religious sensibility or of medieval thought, among other aspects.

By then, Mário Martins had published what were the first steps on a long journey during which he always required that medieval man should be seen as a living being, with ideas, beliefs, feelings and aspirations<sup>15</sup>.

In Coimbra, at the end of the 1950s, Avelino de Jesus da Costa presented a doctoral thesis, based on sound scholarship, which featured among other innovations a study of the density and distribution of the population of the archdiocese of Braga<sup>16</sup>. Some years later, it was the turn of Salvador Dias Arnaut to present a thesis on medieval food<sup>17</sup>. Re-launched in 1961, the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Oporto showed itself open to new ideas with a study of roads<sup>18</sup>.

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*a história das antigas corporações dos ofícios mecânicos*, Oporto, Sub-Secretariado de Estado das Cooperações e Previdência Social, 1943, vol. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Note, as an exception, VIANA, Abel, “Notas históricas, arqueológicas e etnográficas do Baixo Alentejo”, *Arquivo de Beja*, vols. 3-12 (1946-1960).

<sup>14</sup> SARAIVA, António José, *História da cultura em Portugal*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Jornal do Foro, 1950. It should be noted the author was imprisoned and forbidden to teach in 1949.

<sup>15</sup> See his first works: MARTINS, Márcio, *Estudos de literatura medieval*, Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1956; IDEM *Peregrinações e livros de milagres na nossa Idade Média*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Edições Brotéria, 1957 (1st ed., 1951).

<sup>16</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, *O bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*, 2nd ed. revised and expanded, 2 vols., Braga, Irmandade de S. Bento da Porta Aberta, 1997-2000 (1st ed., 1959).

<sup>17</sup> ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, *A arte de comer em Portugal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1986 (1st ed., with an introduction by Giacinto Manuppella, *O “Livro de Cozinha” da Infanta D. Maria de Portugal*, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1967).

<sup>18</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *Vias Medievais. I – Entre Douro e Minho*, Oporto, FL-UP,

In Lisbon, the improvement in the panorama of medievalism seemed more consistent, from the end of the 50s and throughout the following decade. In the Faculdade de Letras, Virgínia Rau founded the Centro de História of the University of Lisbon (1958), and opened it to the treatment of economic and demographic issues, addressing social question and everyday life in undergraduate dissertations or communications to congresses<sup>19</sup>. Between 1965-1972, the journal *Do Tempo e da História* was published, receptive to foreign authors and themes, in a manner normal in European democracies but rare among us<sup>20</sup>. The Centre also sponsored the first Portuguese-Spanish Colloquium “A pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média” (1972). A. H. de Oliveira Marques, a teacher in this Faculty since 1957, but expelled from the university during the academic crisis of 1962, published works of the greatest importance, beginning with his thesis on the history of agriculture, that stimulated a series of studies of rural history, along with a precious guide to students and a collection of essays, innovative in their themes and methodologies<sup>21</sup>.

Meanwhile, Joel Serrão compiled with innovative *Dicionário de história de Portugal*<sup>22</sup>, with the editorial collaboration of university and non-university specialists, with a broad thematic and ideological framework, Carlos de Azevedo gave us the first study of noble houses<sup>23</sup> and Mário Martins addressed medieval religion<sup>24</sup>.

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1968, unpublished undergraduate dissertation in History.

<sup>19</sup> See, among others, the dissertations of MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *A sociedade em Portugal nos séculos XII a XIV (subsídios para a sua história)*, undergraduate dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1956; MARTINS, Maria Otilia Simões, *Elementos para o estudo do vestuário nos séculos XIII-XIV e XV*, undergraduate dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1959; MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *Subsídios para o estudo da sociedade medieval portuguesa (moralidade e costumes)*, undergraduate dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1961; SANTOS, Vítor Manuel Pavão dos, *A casa do Sul de Portugal na transição do século XV para o século XVI*, undergraduate dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1964. Mention should also be made of the innovative collective communication presented at the “Congresso histórico de Portugal medievo”, in 1959, under the title: “Para o estudo da Peste Negra em Portugal” (published in *Bracara Augusta*, vols. 14-15 (1963), pp. 210-239).

<sup>20</sup> Among the younger contributors were José Mattoso, who gained his doctorate in Lovaine, in 1966, with a thesis on the Iberia monarchy, much alert to the social and economic dimension of the monasteries, along with the everyday life of the monks: MATTOSO, José, *Obras completas*, vol. 12: *O monaquismo ibérico e Cluny*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002 (1st ed. in French, 1968)] and also Iria Gonçalves, who presented there her first writings on anthropology.

<sup>21</sup> MARQUES, António Henrique de Oliveira, *Introdução à história da agricultura em Portugal. A questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Cosmos, 1978 (1st ed., 1962) (the work addressed themes everyday life, such as agricultural labour and bread-making, process and the consumption of cereals): IDEM, *Guia do estudante de história medieval portuguesa*, 3rd ed., Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1988 (1st ed., 1964); IDEM, *Ensaio de história medieval portuguesa*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Editorial Vega, 1980 (1st ed., 1965) (addressing socio-economic themes, but also questions relating to food, dress and demography).

<sup>22</sup> SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de história de Portugal*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1963-1971.

<sup>23</sup> AZEVEDO, Carlos de, *Solares portuguesas, Introdução ao estudo da casa nobre*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1969.

<sup>24</sup> MARTINS, Mário, *Introdução histórica à vidência do tempo e da morte*, 2 vols., Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1969.



From the perspective of the present approach, the fundamental work of this period is, of course, A. H. de Oliveira Marques', *A sociedade medieval portuguesa. Aspectos de vida quotidiana*. Drawing on a multitude of unpublished or published documents, along with much useful information dispersed across unfamiliar or out-dated writings, the author constructed a pioneering, amply illustrated work<sup>25</sup>, in which such matters as a table, a dress, hygiene and health, affection, work, belief, culture, entertainments and death were discussed in the context of Portuguese late-medieval society. These characteristics won him the appreciation of a wide audience, leading to fresh editions and an English translation. But for all the innumerable suggestions scattered by the author across the text or in the pages of the bibliography, it had no academic follow-up in the decade following its publication<sup>26</sup>.

### III.

A renewal of the country, as a consequence of the 25 April 1974, had ripped open fresh horizons for Portuguese historiography. We witnessed, from that time, an extraordinary increase in subscriptions to the three existing degree courses in history, requiring, in the context of profound institutional and curricular change, a substantial increase in the teaching staff. There followed the creation of new courses, in new universities, the stabilisation of university career structures with the enactment of a statute that imposed on professors specific research requirements, as well as the creation of the first masters' degrees<sup>27</sup>. From that point onwards, a good proportion of research on medieval history was conducted in the context of doctoral theses, masters' dissertations and other academic assessments.

A reinvigoration of medievalism resulted, during the 80s, in the production of three expansive works in the sphere of rural history, namely, the doctoral theses of Robert Durand, Maria Helena Coelho and Iria Gonçalves<sup>28</sup>, contributing most

<sup>25</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *A sociedade medieval portuguesa. Aspectos de vida quotidiana*, 6th ed., Lisbon, A esfera dos livros, 2010 (1st ed., 1964). This is a pioneer work, even at the international level, antedating those of Braudel, Le Roy Ladurie and Jacques Le Goff.

<sup>26</sup> It should be noted the same indifference was shown to other challenges, such as the launching of the Portuguese version of Braudel's work (1970).

<sup>27</sup> The first masters' degree in Medieval History was offered at the recently-formed Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of Nova University of Lisbon, since 1981, taught by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, José Mattoso, Maria José Ferro Tavares and Iria Gonçalves.

<sup>28</sup> DURAND, Robert, *Les campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tage aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, FCG, 1982; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego nos finais da Idade Média. Estudo de história rural*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Lisbon, IN-CM, 1989 (1st ed., 1983); GONÇALVES, Iria, *O património do mosteiro de Alcobça nos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1989.

fascinating elements to our knowledge of space, of the rural habitat, of agricultural labour, and of the everyday life of the peasant.

In the same decade, there began a long series of studies of urban history, inspired above all by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, through his seminars of “Medieval Towns”, as a component part of the masters’ degree in Medieval History at Lisbon’s Nova University. In addition to a fine analysis of urban space, these works almost invariably addresses some issues of everyday life, such as housing, celebrations or feasts<sup>29</sup>. In addition, Maria José Ferro’s doctoral thesis shed fresh light on the everyday life of Jewish communities<sup>30</sup>.

Meanwhile, José Mattoso devoted himself to studying the nobility, publishing two fundamental works, alert to the everyday life and thinking of the aristocracy as well as to their family structure. He followed this with his *Identificação de um País*, an innovative essay on the origins of nationality. Declaring in the preface “[m]y curiosity was directed especially to real men, their way of life and their thoughts”, the author was particularly attentive to time and space, to the rural and the urban, to the number and distribution of men, to the structures shaping their lives, to their anxieties, hopes, and loyalties, to agricultural work, trade, crafts, and leisure<sup>31</sup>.

Shortly after, A. H. de Oliveira Marques launched the first of the volumes of his *Nova história de Portugal*, which he directed with Joel Serrão. Dedicated to the crisis of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he was alert above all to structural questions, meticulously treating matters such as the population and the professions, and even inserting a chapter on everyday life (on food, clothing, house, health and hygiene, recreation and the affections)<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> See, among others: BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela Rocha, *Santarém medieval*, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1980; EADEM, *Évora na Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1995; GOMES, Rita Costa, *A Guarda medieval. Posição, morfologia e sociedade (1200-1500)*, *Cadernos da Revista de história económica e social*, nos. 9-10, Lisbon, 1987; FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, *Uma rua de elite na Guimarães medieval (1376-1520)*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1989; ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *Um espaço urbano medieval: Ponte de Lima*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990; RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo nos finais da Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1995; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Tomar medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996; MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola islâmica. Estudo histórico-arqueológico do Bairro da Alcáçova (séculos XII-XIII)*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1996; SILVA, Manuela Santos, *Estruturas urbanas e administração concelhia. Óbidos medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1997.

<sup>30</sup> TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 2 vols., Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 1982-1984.

<sup>31</sup> “A minha curiosidade orientou-se especialmente para os homens concretos, a sua maneira de viver e pensar”: MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal, 1096-1325*, 5th ed., revised and updated, 2 vols., Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1995 (1st. ed., 1985); IDEM, *A nobreza medieval portuguesa, A família e o poder*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1981; IDEM, *Ricos-homens, infanções e cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII*, Lisbon, Guimarães & C.ª Editores, 1982.

<sup>32</sup> SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 4: *Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, coordinated by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1987. The volumes dedicated to the Middle Ages appeared later, vols. 2: *Portugal das invasões germânicas à “reconquista”*, coordinated by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1993; and vol. 3: *Portugal em definição de fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalese à crise do século XIV*, coordinated by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1996.

Research on everyday medieval life went on, proceeding in small stages. Overall, it was seldom done independently, but rather in works of a general nature, in investigations focussed on rural life, on the cities and on the nobility.

But some specific works were centred on everyday life – at the hands of Baquero Moreno, with approaches to the themes of marriage, illness, marginality, travel, pilgrimages and *almocreves* (mule drivers)<sup>33</sup>; or of Iria Gonçalves, who tackled both rural and urban space in recreating Lisbon’s riverbank life, examining urban life, replete with information about food, feasts, travel, the structure of care, professional activities, consumption, of the rules of life<sup>34</sup>; or of Mário Martins, who chose as his subject of study allegories, symbols and moral exemplars, but also laughter and satire<sup>35</sup>; or of Luís Krus, dealt with topics such as the experience of time representations of space, the body, sexual satire, the family and the sacred<sup>36</sup>.

In 1978, Cláudio Torres founded the Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, turning to the medieval archaeology of the region, with prospects for interdisciplinary study in the sphere of the social and human sciences<sup>37</sup>. Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida then debated, in his doctoral theses, Romanesque architecture from the archaeological perspective, overflowing with topics concerning everyday life<sup>38</sup>. A few years later, Mário Barroca tackled the subject of death, in a well-documented work presented for an academic examination. He immersed himself afterwards in

<sup>33</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *Alguns documentos para o estudo das estradas medievais portuguesas*, offprint of *Revista de Ciências do Homem*, vol. 5, ser. A, Lourenço Marques, Universidade de Lourenço Marques, 1972; IDEM, *A acção dos almocreves no desenvolvimento das comunicações inter-regionais nos fins da Idade Média*, Oporto, 1979; *O casamento no contexto da sociedade medieval portuguesa*, offprint of *Bracara Augusta*, t. 33, Braga, 1979; IDEM, *Marginalidade e conflitos sociais em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV. Estudos de história*, Lisbon, Presença, 1985; IDEM, “Vias portuguesas de peregrinação a Santiago de Compostela”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [of Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 3 (1986), pp. 77-89.

<sup>34</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, *Imagens do mundo medieval*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1988; EADEM, *Um olhar sobre a cidade medieval*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996.

<sup>35</sup> MARTINS, Mário, *A sátira na literatura medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII e XIV)*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1977; IDEM, *O riso, o sorriso e a paródia na literatura portuguesa de Quatrocentos*, Lisbon, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978; IDEM, *Alegorias, símbolos e exemplos morais da literatura medieval portuguesa*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Edições Brotéria, 1980 (1st ed., 1975).

<sup>36</sup> KRUS, Luís, “A vivência medieval do tempo”, in KRUS, Luís, *A construção do passado medieval. Textos inéditos e publicados*, Lisbon, IEM, 2011, pp. 21-32; IDEM, “Celeiro e relíquias: o culto quatrocentista dos Mártires de Marrocos e a devoção dos nus”, *ibid.*, pp. 133-149; IDEM, “A cidade no imaginário medieval”, in *Diário de Notícias, Suplemento História*, Lisbon, March 29, 1983; IDEM, “Celeiro e Relíquias: o culto quatrocentista dos Mártires de Marrocos e a Devoção dos Nus”, in *Studium Generale. Estudos Contemporâneos*, no. 6, Oporto, 1984, pp. 21-42; IDEM, “Corpo na Idade Média”, in PEREIRA, José Costa (coord.), *Dicionário Ilustrado da História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 1986, vol. 1, pp. 157-158; KRUS, Luís, PIMENTA, Berta Martinha, and PARNES, Leonardo, “Dois aspectos da sátira nos cancioneiros galaico-portugueses: ‘Sodomíticos e Cornudos’”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, 4th ser., no. 2 (1978), pp. 113-128.

<sup>37</sup> The Campo Arqueológico launched in 1992, the journal *Arqueologia medieval* (10 numbers published to date).

<sup>38</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *Arquitectura românica de Entre Douro e Minho*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1978.

the study of the fortified houses of the nobility<sup>39</sup>. With these and other researchers, medieval, Christian and Islamic archaeology demonstrated its importance with contributions that proved decisive in expanding knowledge of the material culture of medieval communities.

#### IV.

Portugal's accession to Europe in 1986, and the stabilisation of the university network in a context of a declining youth population, changed the context of historiographical production from the late 80s, and especially over the following two decades. The weight given to the theses declined compared to the earlier period; they diminished in number in the face of the maturing and crystallisation of the university teaching staff, or of the earlier shortening of masters' dissertations. At the same time, the participation of Portuguese medievalists in international initiatives increased, along with the interest shown by foreign researchers in Portuguese themes, or the listing of Portuguese works in foreign bibliographies.

The production of Portuguese medievalism proved to be innovative and diverse, alert to what was done abroad and taking care to address the thematic gaps needing to be filled.

The history of everyday life shared this dynamic, at times incorporated into general works, whether on rural or urban themes, and at others taking autonomous approaches<sup>40</sup>. The space available in this text does not allow me to dwell on the minutia of this production. For this reason, we have opted for a selection that permits above all an emphasis on the diversity of the themes<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Necrópoles e sepulturas medievais de Entre Douro e Minho (séculos V a XV)*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1987; IDEM, "Em torno da residência senhorial fortificada. Quatro torres medievais na região de Amares", *Revista de História* [Centro de História da Faculdade de Letras at University of Oporto], vol. 9 (1989), pp. 9-61.

<sup>40</sup> For the first, see *História de Portugal*, directed by José Mattoso, or the *Nova História de Portugal*, directed by Joel Serrão and António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, the *História Religiosa de Portugal*, directed by Carlos Moreira de Azevedo, or the *Nova história Militar de Portugal*, directed by Manuel Themudo Barata and Nuno Severiano Teixeira. As for the remainder, cf. *infra*, footnotes 48-51.

<sup>41</sup> We refer to other chapters of this book where the theme of everyday life will also be encountered in relation to rural life, cities, religious life, gender, marginality, minorities, archaeology, literature, art, music and intellectual history.

Before proceeding further, we should mention the edition of a collection on *Quotidiano medieval*<sup>42</sup>, along with, especially, the very recent publication *História da vida privada em Portugal*, directed by José Mattoso, with respective chapters relating to key aspects of everyday medieval life<sup>43</sup>. Reference should also be made to recent work by Maria Alegria Marques and João Soalheiro on the courts of the first Portuguese kings, addressing such topics as palaces, the king's table, court fashions, and entertainments<sup>44</sup>, as well as the colloquium held in Guimarães in June, 2010, under the title *No tempo de D. Afonso Henriques*, which tackled topics such as territory, ways of communication, architecture, jewellery, housing, clothing, food, writing, illumination, iconography and ceramics.

Time, whether it be the rhythm of days or the stages of life<sup>45</sup>, along with its representations, became at the turn of the century the focus of a rich exhibition, curated by Aires A. Nascimento<sup>46</sup>.

Perceptions of space on the part of the nobility were the theme of an essential work by Luís Krus<sup>47</sup>. The theme of urban space was extremely fruitful at this time<sup>48</sup>. Rural existence, the context of life for the great part of the population, continued to attract the attention of medievalists in studies centred on landlords<sup>49</sup>,

<sup>42</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da (coord.), *Estudos medievais. Quotidiano medieval: imaginário, representações e práticas*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2004. With an interesting "Nota liminar" by Amélia Aguiar Andrade.

<sup>43</sup> MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal*, vol. 1: *A Idade Média*, coordinated by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2010.

<sup>44</sup> MARQUES, Maria Alegria, and SOALHEIRO, João, *A Corte dos Primeiros Reis de Portugal. Afonso Henriques, Sancho I, Afonso II*, Gijón, Ediciones Trea, 2009. I am grateful to my colleague and friend Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa for the suggestions passed on to me concerning this essay.

<sup>45</sup> On childhood, OLIVEIRA, Ana Rodrigues, *A criança na sociedade medieval portuguesa*, Lisbon, Editorial Teorema, 2007; EADEM, "A criança", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada...*, vol. 1, pp. 260-299; on youth and old age, cf. KRUS, Luís, "Atitudes face à inovação/tradição na sociedade medieval", in KRUS, Luís, *A construção do passado medieval...*, pp. 33-40.

<sup>46</sup> See the exhibition catalogue: *A imagem do tempo. Livros manuscritos ocidentais*, coordinated by Aires Augusto do Nascimento, Lisbon, FCG, 2000.

<sup>47</sup> KRUS, Luís, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico: Geografia dos Livros de Linhagens (1280-1380)*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, 1994.

<sup>48</sup> Cf., among others: TAVARES, Maria José Ferro (coord.), *Jornadas Inter e Pluridisciplinares A Cidade, Actas*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1993; GONÇALVES, Iria, *Um olhar sobre a cidade medieval...*; EADEM, "Um dia na cidade medieval", *Media Aetas*, 2nd ser., vol. 3 (2008-2009), pp. 9-32; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, *Alcácer do Sal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2000; GOMES, Rosa Varela, *Silves (Xelb), Uma cidade do Gharb Al-Andalus*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, 2002; ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *Horizontes urbanos medievais*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2003; KRUS, Luís, MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide, and ALARCÃO, Miguel Alarcão (coords.), *A Nova Lisboa medieval*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2005; KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís FONTES (coords.), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *O ar da cidade. Ensaio de história medieval e moderna*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2008; BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima, *A construção de uma identidade urbana no Algarve medieval. O caso de Loulé*, Casal de Cambra, Caleidoscópio, 2009; FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, *Guimarães 'duas vilas, um só povo'. Estudo de história urbana (1250-1389)*, Braga, CITCEM / Universidade do Minho, 2010.

<sup>49</sup> Cf., among others, GOMES, Saul António, *O mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XV*,

or on regions<sup>50</sup>, encompassing the city / countryside<sup>51</sup>. Several authors tackled walking and various other aspects relating to travel<sup>52</sup>.

Iria Gonçalves continued his work on onomastics, with articles dispersed in various publications, but collected recently in a useful synthesis<sup>53</sup>.

*A História da população portuguesa*, edited by Teresa Rodrigues, presents an up to date picture of the number and distribution of people, demographic behaviour and migrations<sup>54</sup>.

Food, including tastes and rituals in food, have merited the attention of various writers<sup>55</sup>, conspicuous among them Iria Gonçalves<sup>56</sup>. Maria José Ferro

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Coimbra, Instituto de História de Arte, 1990; AMARAL, Luís Carlos, *Formação e desenvolvimento do domínio da Sé de Braga no período da Reconquista (século IX-1137)*, doctoral thesis, Oporto, FL-UP, 2007.

<sup>50</sup> Among others, see: BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Povoamento e estrutura agrícola na Estremadura central. Século XIII a 1325*, Lisbon, INIC, 1992; CATARINO, Maria Helena, *O Algarve Oriental durante a ocupação islâmica*, 3 vols., Loulé, 1997-1998; PINA, Maria Isabel Castro, *A encosta ocidental da Serra da Estrela*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1998; BOISSELLIER, Stéphane, *Naissance d'une identité portugaise. La vie rurale entre Tage et Guadiana de l'Islam à la Reconquête (X<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1999; IDEM, *Le peuplement médiéval dans le Sud de Portugal. Constitution et fonctionnement d'un réseau d'habitats et de territoires, XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, FCG, 2003; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, *Uma paisagem humanizada. O Médio Tejo nos finais da Idade Média*, 2 vols., Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000; CATARINO, Manuela, *Na margem direita do Tejo. Paisagem rural e recursos alimentares (sécs. XIV e XV)*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2006; MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola. O último porto do Mediterrâneo. Catálogo da exposição Mértola – História e património (séculos V-XIII)*, 2 vols., Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2005; MARQUES, André Evangelista, *O casal: uma unidade de organização social do espaço no Entre-Douro-e-Minho (906-1200)*, Noia, Editorial Toxosoutos, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> An original scientific project also explored this theme, under the direction of Iria Gonçalves. See the associated studies: GONÇALVES, Iria (coord.), *Paisagens rurais e urbanas. Fontes, metodologias, problemáticas*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005-2009; *Paisagens medievais*, 1 and 2, in *Media Aetas*, 2nd ser., vols. 1-2 (2004-2006). Cf. also GONÇALVES, Iria, "O espaço rural", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada...*, vol. 1, pp. 39-53.

<sup>52</sup> See, among others: CORREIA, Margarida Sérvulo, *A viagem do infante D. Pedro*, Lisbon, Gradiva, 2000; GONÇALVES, Iria, "Percorrendo a fronteira na companhia de Duarte de Armas", in *Media Aetas*, 2nd ser., vol. 2 (2005-2006), pp. 67-100; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, and AFONSO, Marina, "Elementos para o estudo da rede viária de Trás-os-Montes no início de Quinhentos", in *Paisagens rurais e urbanas. Fontes, metodologias, problemáticas...*, vol. 2, pp. 67-99; IDEM, "Notas sobre viagens e viajantes. No Norte de Portugal, entre o ocaso da Idade Média e a alvorada dos Tempos Modernos", in KRUS, Luís, and BARATA, Maria do Rosário Themudo (dirs.), *Olhares sobre a história. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Casal de Cambra, Caleidoscópico, 2009, pp. 173-186.

<sup>53</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, "O nome", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal...*, vol. I, pp. 198-225.

<sup>54</sup> RODRIGUES, Teresa Ferreira (coord.), *História da população portuguesa. Das longas permanências à conquista da modernidade*, Oporto, Edições Afrontamento, 2008, pp. 75-137. Cf. also, MARQUES, António Henrique de Oliveira, and DIAS, João José Alves, "A população portuguesa nos séculos XV e XVI", in *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su época, Congreso Internacional de Historia*, Salamanca, Sociedad V Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 245-263.

<sup>55</sup> Among others: COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Apontamentos sobre a comida e a bebida do campesinato coimbrão em tempos medievais", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Homens, Espaços e Poderes. Séculos XI-XV*, vol. 1: *Notas do viver social*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990, pp. 9-22; EADEM, "Ao correr do vinho. Governança e des governança dos homens", *Portefólio* [Évora], no. 1 (2005), pp. 112-121; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo, *A Alimentação em Portugal na Idade Média. Fontes – Cultura – Sociedade*, Coimbra, INATEL, 1997, pp. 35-66; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *Ritos alimentares em algumas confrarias portuguesas medievais*, ofprint from *Actas do Colóquio Internacional Piedade Popular*, Lisbon, Centro de História da Cultura da Universidade Nova de Lisboa / Terramar, 1999.

<sup>56</sup> Iria Gonçalves is the author of several works on this theme. See, among others: GONÇALVES, Iria,

devoted a master's seminar course to *Pobreza, assistência e morte*, and published various works on the theme<sup>57</sup>. José Mattoso also directed a seminar on *O corpo, a saúde e a doença na Idade Média portuguesa*, devoting several studies several studies to these and related topics<sup>58</sup>, such as affection, sexuality<sup>59</sup>, and death<sup>60</sup>. The anthropologist Eugénia Cunha made an important contribution to the study of pathologies with her research on paleo-biology among medieval populations<sup>61</sup>.

*O corpo e o gesto na civilização medieval* was the subject of a recent scientific meeting which tackled successively the following topics: identities, sacredness, rituals and language<sup>62</sup>. Dress and adornment have been studied by various researchers<sup>63</sup>.

Feasts and conviviality have been the themes chosen by Maria Helena da Cruz

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"A colheita régia medieval, padrão alimentar de qualidade (um contributo beirão)", *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas*, vol. 6 (1992-1993), pp. 175-189; EADEM, "À mesa, com o rei de Portugal", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 14 (1997), pp. 13-32; EADEM, "Sobre o pão medieval minhoto: o testemunho das inquirições de 1258", *Arqueologia medieval*, no. 6 (1999), pp. 225-243; EADEM, "Entre a abundância e a miséria: as práticas alimentares da Idade Média portuguesa", in ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da (coords.), *Estudos medievais. Quotidiano medieval...*, pp. 43-65; and the synthesis: EADEM, "A alimentação", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 226-259.

<sup>57</sup> Including the book, TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, *Pobreza e morte em Portugal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1989.

<sup>58</sup> Published in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1987, and also IDEM, *Naquele tempo. Ensaios de história medieval*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000. Cf. also IDEM (dir.), *O Reino dos Mortos na Idade Média Peninsular*, Lisbon, Edições João Sá da Costa, 1996; and the recent synthesis IDEM, "O corpo, a saúde e a doença", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 348-374.

<sup>59</sup> On this theme, see the recent synthesis by OLIVEIRA; António Resende de, "A sexualidade", *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 324-347.

<sup>60</sup> On this theme, cf. VILAR, Herminia, *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval. A Estremadura portuguesa (1300-1500)*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1995; BARROCA, Mário Jorge, "Cenas de passatempo e de lamentação na escultura funerária medieval portuguesa (século XIII a XV)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [Oporto], 2nd Ser., vol. 14 (1997), pp. 657-686; and the synthesis, ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "A morte e o Além", in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 402-417.

<sup>61</sup> CUNHA, Maria Eugénia, *Paleobiologia das populações medievais portuguesas. Os casos de Fão e S. João de Almedina*, doctoral thesis, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1994; EADEM, "Paleobiologia, história e quotidiano: critérios de transdisciplinaridade possível", in ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da (coords.), *Estudos medievais. Quotidiana medieval...*, pp. 117-141; CUNHA, Eugénia, MARQUES, Carina, and MATOS, Vítor, "Os mais verdadeiros testemunhos da batalha de Aljubarrota: os ossos dos seus combatentes", in MONTEIRO, João Gouveia (coord.), *Aljubarrota revisitada*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001, pp. 133-191.

<sup>62</sup> BUESCU, Ana Isabel, SOUSA, João Silva de, and MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide (eds.), *O Corpo e o gesto na civilização medieval*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2006.

<sup>63</sup> The outstanding being PALLA, Maria José, *Do essencial e do supérfluo, estudo lexical do traje e adornos em Gil Vicente*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1992; EADEM, *Traje e pintura. Grão Vasco e o retábulo da Sé de Viseu*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1999; EADEM, *Trilogia Vicentina, Léxico do Traje e Adornos no Teatro de Gil Vicente*, Lisbon, IEM, 2006.

Coelho<sup>64</sup>, along with other authors<sup>65</sup>. Subjects such as toys and games<sup>66</sup>, or such as violence<sup>67</sup>, have not failed to find their researchers.

Over and above the subsidiary contributions made by works on urban and rural history, housing has been the subject of specific works and even of a colloquium entitled “Formas de habitar e alimentação na Idade Média”<sup>68</sup>, and of a cycle of meetings under the heading Morar. “Tipologia, funções e quotidiano da habitação medieval”<sup>69</sup>. Manor houses have been studied, above all by José Custódio Vieira da Silva and by Mário Barroca<sup>70</sup>. About ordinary urban housing we have a fair amount of knowledge, thanks to information conveyed in research on urban history, but thanks, too, to specific investigations such as those of Conceição Falcão<sup>71</sup>, Sílvio

<sup>64</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Festa e sociabilidade na Idade Média”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Ócio e Negócio em tempos medievais*, Coimbra, INATEL, 1998; EADEM, “A festa – a convivialidade”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 144-169.

<sup>65</sup> See, among others: RODRIGUES, Ana Maria, “Festas de touros no Portugal medievo”, *Cadernos do Noroeste*, vol. 4, nos. 6-7 (1991), pp. 343-358; EADEM, “Contributo para o estudo das festas na Idade Média portuguesa”, *Cadernos do Noroeste*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1996), pp. 103-120; GOMES, Rita Costa, “Sobre a festa e o rito, na corte medieval”, *ibid.* pp. 9-22; TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, “A festa – uma ruptura no quotidiana do homem medieval”, *Revista portuguesa de história* [Coimbra], t. 31, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 99-130; KRUS, Luís, “Leituras profanas da festa sagrada”, in KRUS, Luís, *A construção do passado medieval...*, pp. 279-290.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. GOMES, Rosa Varela, “Brinquedos muçulmanos – um aspecto do quotidiana no Sul de Portugal”, in ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da (coords.), *Estudos medievais. Quotidiana medieval...*, pp. 103-116; CAMPOS, Flávio de, “Jogos e a temática lúdica em Portugal ao final da Idade Média”, *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre / BUCEMA* [online], hors ser., no. 2 (2008), available at: <http://cem.revues.org/index9492.html>.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. DUARTE, Luís Miguel, *Justiça e criminalidade no Portugal medievo (1459-1481)*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 1999 (above all the chapter on crime); IDEM, “Sarilhos no campo”, in BARROCA, Mário Jorge (coord.), *Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida. In memoriam*, Oporto, FL-UP, 1999.

<sup>68</sup> *Arqueologia medieval*, no. 4 (1993).

<sup>69</sup> *Media Aetas* [Ponta Delgada], nos. 3-4 (2000-2001).

<sup>70</sup> SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da, *Paços medievais portugueses*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 2002; IDEM, “O paço”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 78-97; BARROCA, Mário Jorge, “Torres, casas-torres e casas-fortes: a concepção do espaço de habitação da pequena e média nobreza na Baixa Idade Média”, *Revista de história das ideias* [Coimbra], vol. 19 (1997), pp. 39-103; IDEM, “Arquitectura gótica civil”, in ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, and BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *História da arte em Portugal: O gótico*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2002, pp. 86-128. Cf. also GOMES, Mário Varela, and GOMES, Rosa Varela (coords.), *Palácio almôada da Alcáçova de Silves*, exhibition catalogue, Silves, Museu Municipal de Arqueologia de Silves, 2001.

<sup>71</sup> FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, “Habitação popular urbana no Norte de Portugal medievo: uma tipologia? Ou um modo de construir?” *Cadernos do Noroeste – Série História* [Braga], vol. 15, nos. 1-2 (2001), pp. 381-452; EADEM, “Subsídios para o estudo da construção corrente em Barcelos de Quatrocentos”, *Ibid.*, pp. 433-448.



Conde<sup>72</sup> and Luísa Trindade<sup>73</sup>. The same cannot be said about rural housing, about which we know almost nothing, in spite of the efforts of Iria Gonçalves and others<sup>74</sup>. Much remains to be done also with reference to furniture and kitchen utensils<sup>75</sup>.

Work has attracted over recent years the interest of many researchers, being the subject of the recent doctoral thesis by Arnaldo Melo<sup>76</sup>. Agricultural labour has been covered in the various works on rural history already cited. Merchants and market traders have earned the attention of Maria Helena Coelho<sup>77</sup>, and artisans that of Ana Maria Rodrigues<sup>78</sup>. Saul Gomes has worked on the construction sector<sup>79</sup>, the

<sup>72</sup> CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, “Sobre a casa urbana do Centro e Sul de Portugal, nos fins da Idade Média”, *Arqueologia medieval*, no. 5 (1997), pp. 243-265; IDEM, *A habitação corrente nos finais da Idade Média. Morfologias, materialidades, funcionalidades*, lesson presented in Aggregation exam, Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2004; IDEM, “Nótulas em torno da casa urbana do Ocidente Peninsular entre os fins da Idade Média e o alvorecer da Modernidade: algumas alterações estruturais e superficiais na construção corrente”, in GONÇALVES, Iria (coord.), *Paisagens rurais e urbanas...*, vol. 3, pp. 57-81; IDEM, “Sobre a casa urbana comum, no Alentejo dos séculos XV-XVI”, *Media Aetas*, 2nd ser., vol. 3 (2008-2009), pp. 33-68; IDEM, “Morfologia e materialidade da casa comum urbana medieval. Subsídios para o estudo das tipologias, materiais e técnicas construtivas correntes nas cidades portuguesas do Vale do Tejo, em finais da Idade Média”, in ARÍZAGA BOLUMBURU, Beatriz, SOLÓRZANO TELECHEA, Jesús Ángel (eds.), *Construir la ciudad en la Edad Media*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2010, pp. 289-317; and the synthesis, IDEM, “A casa”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da vida privada em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 54-77.

<sup>73</sup> TRINDADE, Luísa, *A casa corrente em Coimbra. Dos finais da Idade Média aos inícios da época moderna*, Coimbra, Câmara Municipal de Coimbra, 2002.

<sup>74</sup> GONÇALVES, Iria, “A construção corrente na Beira Interior nos finais da Idade Média”, in *3.º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Dom Manuel I e a sua época. Actas*, vol. 3: *População, Sociedade e Economia*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 2004, pp. 103-123; EADEM, “Retalhos de uma paisagem minhota de finais da Idade Média”, *Media Aetas*, 2nd ser., no. 1 (2004-2005), pp. 9-46; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, “Materiais de construção na arquitectura rural do Médio Tejo, nos finais da Idade Média”, *Actas do 3.º Congresso de arqueologia peninsular*, vol. 7: *Arqueologia da Idade Média da Península Ibérica*, Oporto, Associação para o Desenvolvimento da Cooperação em Arqueologia Peninsular, 2000, pp. 43-55; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio Alves, and VIEIRA, Marina Afonso, “A habitação e a arquitectura corrente do Norte Trasmontano em finais da Idade Média”, in GONÇALVES, Iria (coord.), *Paisagens rurais e urbanas...*, vol. 1, pp. 65-122.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Homens e negócios”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Ócio e negócio...*, pp. 127-202; FERREIRA, Maria da Conceição Falcão, “Roupas de cama e roupas do corpo nos testamentos de Guimarães (1250/1300)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 14 (1997), pp. 33-63.

<sup>76</sup> MELO, Arnaldo Sousa, *Trabalho e Produção em Portugal na Idade Média: o Porto, c. 1320-c. 1415 / Travail et Production au Portugal au Moyen Âge: Porto, c. 1320-c. 1415*, 2 vols., doctoral thesis, Braga / Paris, Universidade do Minho / Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2009 (available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/1822/9896>).

<sup>77</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Ócio e negócio...* from the same author, see also: “O povo – a identidade e a diferença no trabalho”, in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova história de Portugal...*, vol. 3, pp. 252-308.

<sup>78</sup> RODRIGUES, Ana Maria, “Les artisans au Portugal: État de la question”, *Razo*, no. 14 (1993), pp. 21-26.

<sup>79</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *O mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XV...*; IDEM, “Les ouvriers du bâtiment à Batalha”, *ibid.*, pp. 33-51.

theme of three recent scientific meetings<sup>80</sup>. Joana Isabel Sequeira studies textiles<sup>81</sup>. Maria Helena Coelho and Iria Gonçalves have devoted special attention to urban women's professions<sup>82</sup>. Much remains to be done, but the dynamic of recent work in this area is promising.

The struggle for information about prices and wages is on-going<sup>83</sup>. Obtaining this and other information about patrimonies, inventories of goods, personal income and consumer preferences, would make possible some approximation of individual standards of living, purchasing power and of the cost of living, enable some assessment of comparative wealth, middle incomes and poverty, key matters in terms of better understanding everyday life. Accomplishing this is not easy, which is why it is important to highlight the most successful attempts, such as Maria Helena Coelho's account of the Coimbra merchant Estêvão Domingues, or Iria Gonçalves's study of some young married couples from Loulé<sup>84</sup>.

## V.

In recent decades with respect to the history of medieval everyday life, the field of research has widened, gaining at times some degree of autonomy from urban or rural history. But despite the significant growth and the diversification of this thematic area, it has far from kept pace with the evolving medieval historiography, seldom becoming distinct, and almost always chronologically limited to the late Middle Ages.

On the other hand, to the extent that it has developed, our awareness of the difficulties has become more acute. The limitations of our sources are increasingly

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<sup>80</sup> 1st, conference: *A história da construção em Portugal – Alinhamentos e fundações* (Lisbon, February 2010) [MATEUS, João Mascarenhas (ed.), *A história da construção em Portugal – Alinhamentos e fundações*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2011]; 2nd, seminar: *Histoire de la construction – La population des bâtisseurs* (Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris, Université de Paris 1 – Panthéon Sorbonne, Mai 2010), available at: <http://lamop.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article298>; 3rd, colloquium: *História da construção – A população dos construtores* (Universidade de Minho, October 2010), Braga, 2011.

<sup>81</sup> In the context of his doctoral thesis, in progress at the University of Oporto.

<sup>82</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "A mulher e o trabalho nas cidades medievais portuguesas", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Homens, espaços e poderes...*, vol. 1, pp. 37-59; GONÇALVES, Iria, "Regateiras, padeiras e outras mais na Lisboa Medieval", in KRUS, Luis, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís FONTES (coords.), *Lisboa Medieval...*, pp. 11-32.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. FARINHA, Sérgio, *Preços e salários em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média*, master's dissertation, Oporto, FL-UP, 2007; VIANA, Mário, "Alguns preços do vinho em Portugal (séculos XIV-XVI)", *Arquipélago. História*, 2nd ser., no. 5 (2001), pp. 605-626; IDEM, "Alguns preços de cereais em Portugal (séculos XIII-XVI)", *Arquipélago. História*, nos. 11-12 (2007-2008), pp. 207-280.

<sup>84</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Homens e negócios", in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *Ócio e negócio...*, pp. 127-202; GONÇALVES, Iria, "Um começo de vida: o património de jovens casais louletanos de Quatrocentos", in GONÇALVES, Iria, *Um olhar sobre a cidade medieval...*, pp. 177-189.

more evident in tackling questions about everyday life. The almost total silence of the archives concerning municipalities, the structures of work and friendship, notaries and noble houses – leaving us with those dealing with royal power and ecclesiastical institutions – severely conditions the collection of information and requires extra caution in contextualisation and exegesis, as well as the combination of various types of sources, be they textual, iconographic<sup>85</sup>, architectural remains, artefacts or skeletons, sharing ideas with other areas of knowledge, resorting to comparative and regressive methods.

It is true that these anxieties have not met with favourable conditions for the actual framework of research, marked by the curtailed timetables of masters' and doctoral degrees and by difficulties in financing projects and by the lack of young recruits university departments. The decline in production over the last decade is perceptible, relative to the previous one, and everything indicates that the future does not look bright. Given these obstacles, may the size of what has been done, the quality of the journey accomplished, the perspectives opened by interdisciplinary approaches already being tackled, and the realisation of how much is still to be done, may all these be sufficient tonic to reinforce the determination of our researchers to persist, deepening and widening our knowledge of everyday life in medieval times.

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<sup>85</sup> Cf. MIRANDA, Maria Adelaide, "Do sagrado ao humano na iluminura românica em Portugal", in ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da (coords.), *Estudos medievais. Quotidiana medieval...*, pp. 67-94; SERRA, Teresa Botelho, "Os livros de horas: uma fonte para o estudo da vida quotidiana", *ibid.*, pp. 95-102.



# *From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*

*Manuel Justino Maciel*

## **Introduction**

One of the contributions that history of art has made to reflection on the period following the classical world, and one that is certainly prominent in Portugal, is without doubt the dynamic concept of continuity or continuities. This concept applies to all mankind's experiences as a social being in all his interactions and allows us to consider the succession of historical periods from a fresh perspective. This is true not only of the shift from the Roman world to the so-called Middle Ages, but also from the latter to the Modern and Contemporary period. The same can be seen in relation to the periods before Rome and Greece. There is an underlying heritage, a language, a culture, a *modus vivendi* that shapes attitudes, tastes and uses as the generations pass. This reality is particularly evident between the third and eighth centuries A. D. Portuguese historiography has progressively reflected this reality, although it has only very recently been clarified as regards the concept of late Antiquity. Given the many different approaches, with labels that vary from late-Roman and Paleochristian to pre-Romanesque via Suevi, Visigoth and the early Middle Ages, we consider, in parallel with Spanish, French, Italian and German research, the expression "late Antiquity" (Spätantike) to be conventional, as are the names of all historic periods, and until advances in research throw up proposals for historical contextualisation, this term is the one that best satisfies researchers at present<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, *Antiguidade Tardia e Paleocristianismo em Portugal*, Lisbon, author's edition, 1996.

## Continuity

One example of how to approach the Portuguese early Middle Ages based on continuity from late Antiquity could be the study of existing documentation on *Portucale* in the Suevi period. As is commonly known, this toponym is the origin of the name “Portugal”. There are already accounts in the Roman period of the proximity between Gallaecia and Lusitania, with the stimulus brought by the Suevi kingdom through its division into *Portucale Castrum Antiquum* on the southern bank of the Douro and a parish of the diocese of Conímbriga, and *Portucale Castruum Nouum*, on the northern bank of the River and the diocesan seat, as we learn from the *Parochiale Sueuorum*<sup>2</sup>. The origin of the term comes from the toponym *Cale*, as explained by the Itineraries of late Antiquity<sup>3</sup>, a name that tells us it was a hub even then – and had been since Roman times – a place where land, sea and river routes intersected. Gallaecian gold and the imperial administration passed through it in the fourth century.

For the Suevi, *Portucale* is a *topos* that unites the geographic, administrative, military and religious<sup>4</sup>. We see this in the texts of Idácio, the Suevic councils, the *Parochiale Sueuorum* and of Gregory of Tours. In the Visigoth period it was the place where coinage was minted, and it is thought that this was also the case during the Suevic period. History has it that in late Antiquity *Portucale* became a favoured place for contact with the outside world, a point of arrival and departure, and the main *emporium* of the former Gallaecia on the border with Lusitania. It was then that it came to prominence and created the symbiosis between the Atlantic world, characteristic of Gallaecia, and the Mediterranean world inherent to Lusitania. The Suevic world joined the two, extending its influence at the least to the Tagus, with the territories of northern Lusitania revolving around *Bracara*, as the suffragan dioceses of Conímbriga and Egitânia reveal. The man behind this new form of territorial management was the missionary of the Suevi, Saint Martin of Dumio, whose actions created beyond doubt the deep roots for the nation and language that emerged as a future *Condado*, the said *Portucale*<sup>5</sup>. Such continuities are visible even looking only at the history, continuity of the pre-Roman in the Roman, the Roman in the Suevic, and from this in the Visigoth right up to the Islamic occupation. It is through continuity that in the territory of *Portucale* there arises the pre-Roman and the Roman, after the period from the third to eighth centuries conventionally

<sup>2</sup> DAVID, Pierre, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Coimbra, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> ROLDAN HERVÁS, José Manuel, *Itineraria Hispana. Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las vías romanas en la Península Ibérica*, Madrid, supplement in *Historia Antiqua*, 1975.

<sup>4</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, “Portucale segundo os textos da época suévica”, *Revista de Portugal* [Vila Nova de Gaia], no. 4 (2007), pp. 7-10.

<sup>5</sup> IDEM, “Marcas da Antiguidade na Génese Cultural Portuguesa”, *ArteTeoria* [Lisbon], no. 7 (2005), pp. 7-16.

called late Antiquity, which is progressively influenced by the phenomenon of Christianisation.

*Portucale* is a random example of the major imprint of Christianisation on late Antiquity. Firstly, as concerns the Roman context and, later those of the Suevic and Visigoth. Materially speaking, this reality interacts profoundly with Paleochristian art. This originates in the Roman world and extends up to Islamic rule, where it continues in Mozarab art. The first historiography of this period confused Paleochristian art with Visigoth art as the definition of the latter by Fernando de Almeida attests: “A complex of artistic expressions arising in the Iberian Peninsula between the last period of Roman rule, from when Christianity was preached, and the Arab invasion: between the fourth century and beginning of the eighth”<sup>6</sup>. Actually, Paleochristian art also begins during the Roman period, which is why in formal terms it is also Roman art. It is only in conceptual terms that it shows its autonomy, which it continues to emphasise and deepen throughout the whole of late Antiquity.

## Precursors

The emphasis that Portuguese researchers have placed on the Visigoth period is related to Spanish research, which has always highlighted it due to the impact the Visigoth kingdom had on Hispania as a whole. The Suevic period, which is only seen in the Northwest of Hispania, has almost been obscured. However, in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, there are some non-Spanish authors who become aware of the importance of the period immediately after the fall of the Roman Empire, which is viewed as a continuation of Roman culture and art. A. Caetano do Amaral<sup>7</sup> and C. P. Caspari<sup>8</sup> focus on the Suevic period, seen through the dynamism of Saint Martin of Dumio. J. Leite Vasconcelos<sup>9</sup> underscores the same reality, to which he also adds the study of the Visigoth period, revealing the tendency to consider all archaeological-artistic manifestations related to Paleochristian art as falling within the scope of Visigoth art.

It was at this time that analysis began of what were believed to be the most ancient churches in Portugal, which were then considered Visigoth, such as São

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<sup>6</sup> “Conjunto das manifestações artísticas surgidas na Península Ibérica entre o período final do domínio romano, desde que nela foi pregado o cristianismo, e a invasão árabe: entre o séc. IV e os princípios do séc. VIII”: ALMEIDA, Fernando de, “Arte Visigótica em Portugal”, *O Arqueólogo Português* [Lisbon], n. s., vol. 4 (1962), pp. 7-278 at 7.

<sup>7</sup> AMARAL, António Caetano, *Vida e Opúsculos de S. Martinho Bracaraense*, Lisbon, Typ. da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1803.

<sup>8</sup> CASPARI, Carl Paul, *Martin von Bracara's Schrift 'De Correctione Rusticorum'*, Christiania, 1883.

<sup>9</sup> VASCONCELOS, José Leite de, *Religiões da Lusitânia*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1913 vol. 3.

Frutuoso de Montélios<sup>10</sup>, São Pedro de Balsemão<sup>11</sup> and São Pedro de Lourosa<sup>12</sup>.

The first synthesis of Visigoth art was presented by Vírgilio Correia<sup>13</sup>. He considered Visigoth monuments such as São Frutuoso, São Pedro de Balsemão, São Miguel da Mota, São Miguel de Odrinhas and Santo Amaro de Beja, though accepting that the chronology is less reliable for the last three. He included in this type of art the gravestones of Mértola, which had already been described by Estácio da Veiga<sup>14</sup> and Hübner<sup>15</sup>, whose distinctive decoration stands out amongst Hispanic Paleochristian funerary art. He took note of the disjointed accounts of architectural decoration in Beja, Sines, Alcácer, Lisbon, Tomar, Miranda do Corvo, in addition to the industrial arts. His analysis forms part of a vision of Hispanic Visigoth production, following the interpretative line of Lampérez y Romea, that is characterised by a conception of this art as a hybrid resulting from the convergence of three elements: Hispano-Roman architecture bastardised Byzantine forms and Barbarian taste. He generically dates these monuments to the end of the sixth century and divides them into two types, basically distinguishing between the use of a rectangular layout and use of a square or Greek-cross layout, following the Hispanic prototypes of San Juan de Baños and Santa Comba de Bande respectively. Like Lampérez y Romea, he also attributes São Pedro de Balsemão to the seventh century, citing the opinion of the then young researcher H. Schlunk, who had formulated the hypothesis that the latter monument could date back even further to the sixth century. In the decoration of the Balsemão abutments he sees concealed Paleochristian and Visigoth pre and proto historic shapes, along with ones from late Antiquity. He dates São Frutoso de Montélios to the seventh century.

When the “XVI Congrès International Histoire de l’Art” met in Lisbon in 1949, São Frutuoso, Balsemão and Lourosa were presented in particular as evidence of early Christian architecture in Portugal, along with references to the former churches of Egitânia and Santo Amaro de Beja. For the first time Abel Viana presented a paper,

<sup>10</sup> BARREIROS, Manuel de Aguiar, *A Capela de S. Frutuoso*, Oporto, Marques Abreu, 1919; KORRODI, Ernest, “Um monumento byzantino-latino em Portugal”, *Boletim da Real Sociedade dos Architectos Civis e Archeólogos Portugueses*, [Lisbon], 3rd ser., t. 8 (1898), p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> SIMÕES, Augusto Filipe, *Relíquias da architectura romano-byzantina em Portugal*, Lisbon, Tipografia Portuguesa, 1870; VASCONCELOS, Joaquim, “Ensaio sobre a architectura românica em Portugal. II. Igreja de Balsemão”, *Arte* [Oporto], yr. 4, nos. 39, 40 and 48 (1908); LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA, Vicente, “Iglesia visigoda de San Pedro de Balsemão”, *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones* [Madrid], yr. 7, no. 84 (1909); PESSANHA, José, *Arquitectura pré-românica em Portugal. S. Pedro de Balsemão e S. Pedro de Lourosa*, Coimbra, IUC, 1927.

<sup>12</sup> BARREIROS, Manuel de Aguiar, *A Igreja de S. Pedro de Lourosa*, Oporto, Marques Abreu, 1934; PESSANHA, José, *Arquitectura pré-românica em Portugal*...

<sup>13</sup> CORREIA, Virgílio, “Arte Visigótica”, in PERES, Damião (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Barcelos, Portucalense Editora, 1928, vol. 1, pp. 363-388.

<sup>14</sup> VEIGA, Sebastião Estácio da, *Memórias das Antiguidades de Mértola*, Lisbon, IN-CM / Câmara Municipal de Mértola, 1983 (fascimiled edition of the 1880 one).

<sup>15</sup> HÜBNER, Emil, *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Christianarum, Supplementum*, Berlin, G. Reimerum, 1900.



on architectural decorative art in the Visigoth period<sup>16</sup>. A new synthesis by Manuel Monteiro was also presented, entitled *L' Art pré-romain au Portugal*<sup>17</sup>, emphasising the medieval dynamic of art at the time of the invasions. Paradoxically, however, he said, "the Visigoths, frankly, and from an architectural point of view, did no more than copy classical monuments... and imitate, albeit poorly, the formulae of Byzantium"<sup>18</sup>. This may be because the author included art up to the Reconquest in his analysis and took account when speaking, for example, of São Frutuoso of the major transformations Visigoth monuments underwent under Muslim rule and the Christian Reconquest.

Fernando de Almeida provided the comprehensive reading, including the first contribution from archaeological research, in his work *Arte Visigótica em Portugal*, published in 1962. We shall dedicate an entire sub-chapter to him in this tract.

Pedro de Palol's<sup>19</sup> research was equally fundamental in understanding artistic production during the period we are dealing with in Western Hispania, in the general context of the Peninsula, namely through his observations on São Frutuoso de Montélios, Balsemão and Idanha, as well as on sculptural production for the purposes of architectural decoration. His studies on the Roman, Suevic and Visigoth period enabled him to come up with a most lucid synthesis that also applies to Western Hispania, especially at the formal level.

From 1962 until today, attention has been drawn to another hitherto virtually unknown monument: the former church of São Gião de Nazaré, in the territories of the former Alcobaça abbey. We are indebted to Professor H. Schlunk<sup>20</sup> for our improved understanding of this building. He uses this edifice to reflect on liturgical spaces in Visigoth and Mozarab churches. He places it in a monastic context with the *sanctuarium* functioning as a *chorus*, adducing it as the best Hispanic example of the liturgical division of religious spaces. Using other parallels, he dates São Gião to the seventh century. He made an important contribution to other works, of which *Hispania Antiqua* co-authored with Th. Hauschild, stands out<sup>21</sup>. The latter researcher<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> VIANA, Abel "Arte Visigótica de Beja e seu termo", in *Actes du XVI Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*, Lisbon, 1949, pp. 141-148.

<sup>17</sup> MONTEIRO, Manuel, "L'Art Pré-romain au Portugal", *ibid.*, pp. 127-140.

<sup>18</sup> "[O]s visigodos em rigor, e sob o ponto de vista architectural, não fizeram mais do que copiar os monumentos clássicos... e imitar, embora mal, as fórmulas de Bizâncio": IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>19</sup> PALOL, Pedro de, *Arqueologia Cristiana de la Hispania Romana*, Madrid / Valladolid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1969.

<sup>20</sup> SCHLUNK, Helmut, "La iglesia de S. Gião, cerca de Nazaré. Contribución al estudio de la influencia de la liturgia en la arquitectura de las iglesias prerrománicas de la península Ibérica", in *Actas do II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia*, Coimbra, Ministério da Educação / Junta Nacional de Educação, 1970, pp. 509-528.

<sup>21</sup> SCHLUNK, Helmut, and HAUSCHILD, Theodor, *Hispania Antiqua. Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1978.

<sup>22</sup> HAUSCHILD, Theodor, "Arte Visigótica", in ALARCÃO, Jorge de (dir.), *História da Arte em Portugal*, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 1986, vol. 1, pp. 149-169.

presented a new synthesis in which Paleochristian art defines a transition period in the late Roman period, with some Christian themes, appearing in isolated cases, constituted a period of their own. He divides the Visigoth period into two phases: the first, which is primarily evidenced by certain architectural ornamentation features and small objects (sixth century); and the second for having attained a technical level that warrants a special place in European art (seventh century). One of the innovations this author put forward was a proposal reconstituting the layout of the church of Vera Cruz de Marmelar (Portel, Évora) with three naves and three rectangular apses where the new stonework building techniques typical of the second half of the seventh century were displayed. His studies have proved very significant to the present day. Some of his most recent essays on the late-Roman architecture and mosaics of Milreu (Faro)<sup>23</sup> are noteworthy.

Other works have enlivened study and knowledge of our art from the Suevic and Visigoth periods. Jacques Fontaine's book<sup>24</sup>, published in 1973, provided an in-depth reflection on the new monuments being investigated at the time in Portugal. Although the main title is *L' Art pré-roman hispanique*, he clearly separates Paleochristian art and Visigoth art. For his part, Manuel Nuñez<sup>25</sup>, in a study from 1978, deserves mentioning due to way he distinguished between Suevic Galicia and Visigoth Galicia, underlining the roles played by Martin of Dumio and Fructuosus of Braga. This work did an excellent job of settling whether such a thing as Suevic Art existed or not.

More recently, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida<sup>26</sup> used the title "Arte Paleocristã da Época das Invasões" for the first chapter of his volume on *Arte da Alta Idade Média*, which appears in the collection *História de Arte em Portugal*. In his view "in Portugal, Paleochristian Art coincides with the duration of the Suevic kingdom (411-585) and can even be designated art of the Suevic era, which is very different to that of the Visigoths, which appears in the following period" ("em Portugal, a Arte Paleocristã coincide com a duração do reino suevo (411-585) e até se poderia designar arte da época sueva, a qual é muito distinta da visigótica, que aparece no período seguinte"). This author is one of the first to speak of an "Art from the time of Saint Martin of Dumio" (Arte do Tempo de Sao Martinho de Dume)<sup>27</sup>, showing with this sentence that a new sensitivity has awakened to research on the Suevic period<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> IDEM "A arquitectura e os mosaicos do 'Edifício de Culto' ou 'Aula' da Villa romana de Milreu", *Revista de História da Arte* [Lisbon], no. 6 (2008), pp. 17-31.

<sup>24</sup> FONTAINE, Jacques, *L'Art Préroman Hispanique*, Yonne, Zodiaque, 1973.

<sup>25</sup> NUÑEZ RODRIGUEZ, Manuel, *Arquitectura Prerrománica*, Madrid, Colexio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia (COAG), 1978.

<sup>26</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, "Arte Paleocristã da Época das Invasões", in *História da Arte em Portugal*, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 1987, vol. 2, pp. 9-36.

<sup>27</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>28</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, *Vectores da Arte Paleocristã em Contexto Suévico e Visigótico*, offprint of XXXIX Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna, Edizioni del Girasole, 1992.

Another chapter in the same volume looks at “Arte da Época Visigótica” (Art from the Visigoth period)<sup>29</sup>, where he places special emphasis on architectural decoration. There is also a third chapter on “Arte Moçárabe e da Reconquista” (Mozarab and Reconquest Art)<sup>30</sup>. His approach to the latter was examined in more detail in a study that was published posthumously under the title “Arte da Reconquista”, in which he discussed the architecture of São Frutuoso de Montélios, São Torcato de Guimarães, São Gião da Nazaré and São Pedro de Balsemão<sup>31</sup>.

### The scope of Fernando de Almeida’s research

Fernando de Almeida’s research focused on the chronological area of Antiquity, with the publication of hugely important works ranging from pre-history to the Islamic period, with a clear emphasis on the Roman and Suevi-Visigoth periods, particularly the latter, to which he dedicated a large part of his archaeological excavation and work of retrieval, collection work to this period, as well as his doctoral thesis *Arte Visigótica em Portugal*, the first in Portugal in this scientific area. This thesis displayed, as is only natural, the hallmarks of all pioneering studies: it was in large part the result of breaking new ground, a approach very different to that of the random succession of the ages that has brought us to the present from the low Empire and the Barbarian kingdoms. It lists archaeological and artistic evidence in informative and systematic *Corpora* within Portugal and, last but not least, puts forward a holistic and interpretative reading of the data collected from the interplay of history and the history of art. By contextualising the architectural and decorative evidence from this period of contacts between Romans and Barbarians on the Iberian Peninsula in a wide-ranging work, Fernando de Almeida took an important step in our understanding of this area of historical knowledge in Portugal and his work and teaching set the definitive course for future research. We could also say the following: he tried to breathe life into this and other areas of specialisation, and he motivated future researchers, whether directly and indirectly his students, to embark on these research paths.

The concept of *Visigoth* for Fernando de Almeida was wide-ranging, a model of operative dynamics that he linked to the phenomenon of the Christianisation of the territory that is now Portugal. He would definitely have narrowed the limits of this classification were he alive today. In practice, the Roman world survived for a long

<sup>29</sup> ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, “Arte da Época Visigótica”, in *História da Arte em Portugal...*, vol. 2, pp. 37-93.

<sup>30</sup> IDEM, “Arte Moçárabe e da Reconquista”, *ibid.*, pp. 95-145.

<sup>31</sup> IDEM, *História da Arte em Portugal. O românico*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2001, pp. 22-37.

time against the first wave of the Christianisation of our territory, as is verifiable in the third century, and even before the Visigoth period the Suevic reality was indisputable in the fifth and sixth centuries, being marked profoundly by the Christianising work of bishops like Idácio of Chaves, Profuturo of Braga, Apríngio of Beja and Martin of Dumio. Yet Fernando's all-encompassing systematisation was fully justified at the time his research was done, given that was how the Christianisation period was classified, following the work of Professor Virgílio Correia, particularly from a methodological perspective.

He studied both the context of cities and that of the countryside. He looked at urban centres with an urban continuity, such as Olisipo<sup>32</sup>, Egitânia<sup>33</sup>, Sines<sup>34</sup> and Mértola<sup>35</sup>. He examined others lacking this continuity, such as Miróbriga<sup>36</sup> and Tróia de Setúbal<sup>37</sup>, where he was able to conduct more extensive archaeological work. Yet he also studied assiduously the context of the countryside, focussing attention on the characteristic transformations of the low Empire occurring in the rural *Villae*, which were Christianised while still under Roman rule and continued so into the Suevic and Visigoth periods. But he did not neglect the study of newer evidence, such as from the Mozarabs, Arabs and even the Reconquest, although he always bore in mind the weight of Antiquity and the definition of frontiers, ruptures, and forms of continuity.

In this study, he pursued a methodology of systematic doubt that had in view a progressive serialisation of the dates of the different pieces of archaeological evidence found, in accordance with the formal analysis to which he subjected them. Among the rural complexes he studied, the following stand out: Vera Cruz de Marmelar (Portel)<sup>38</sup>, São Gião da Nazaré<sup>39</sup>, São Cucufate (Vidigueira)<sup>40</sup>, São

<sup>32</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando de, "Pedras Visigodas de Lisboa", *Revista de Guimarães*, vol 68, nos. 1-2 (1958), pp. 117-137; IDEM, "Mais pedras visigóticas de Lisboa e do grupo lusitânico", *Arquivo de Beja* [Beja], vols. 23-24 (1966-67), pp. 224-240; IDEM, "Lisboa romana e visigótica", *Olisipo* [Lisbon], 37-38 (1975), pp. 8-19.

<sup>33</sup> IDEM, *Egitânia: História e Arqueologia*, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1956; IDEM, "O baptistério paleocristão de Idanha-a-Velha (Portugal)", *Boletim del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueologia* [Valladolid], t. 31 (1965), pp. 134-136.

<sup>34</sup> IDEM, "Sines visigótica", *Arquivo de Beja*, vols. 25-27 (1968-70), pp. 17-29.

<sup>35</sup> IDEM, "As ruínas da chamada ponte romana de Mértola (Portugal)", *Madridrer Mitteilungen* [Madrid / Mainz], vol. 17 (1976), pp. 295-300.

<sup>36</sup> IDEM, *Ruínas de Miróbriga dos Célticos*, Setúbal, Junta Distrital de Setúbal, 1964.

<sup>37</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando de, and MATOS, José Luís, "Frescos da 'capela visigótica' de Tróia, Setúbal", in *Actas do II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia...*, vol. 2, pp. 529-533; ALMEIDA, Fernando de, PAIXÃO, Judite Cavaleiro, and PAIXÃO, António Cavaleiro, "Um tipo raro de sepultura romana", in *Actas das III Jornadas Arqueológicas*, Lisbon, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, 1978, vol. 1, pp. 321-335.

<sup>38</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando de, *Pedras visigodas de Vera Cruz de Marmelar*, Lisbon, Tipografia Portuguesa, 1954.

<sup>39</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando, and GARCIA, Eduíno Borges, "Igreja visigótica de S. Gião", offprint of *Actas del X Congreso Nacional de Arqueologia* (Mahón, 1967), Zaragoza, s. n., 1967, pp. 460-462; IDEM, "S. Gião: Descoberta e estudo arqueológico de um templo cristão-visigótico na região da Nazaré", *Arqueologia e História* [Lisbon], 8th ser., vol. 12 (1966), pp. 339-348.

<sup>40</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando de, "Notícia sobre a "Villa" romana de S. Cucufate", in *Actas do II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia...*, vol. 2, pp. 475-477.

Frutuoso de Braga<sup>41</sup>, Arranas (Alcácer do Sal)<sup>42</sup> and, in particular, Torre de Palma (Monforte)<sup>43</sup> and São Miguel de Odrinhas (Sintra)<sup>44</sup>, as well as other sites where he merely collected archaeological material, chiefly those deemed *Visigoth*: Soure<sup>45</sup>, Abiul (Tomar)<sup>46</sup>, Abóbada (Serpa)<sup>47</sup>, etc.

Of his works on the Roman-Visigoth period, those on late Roman and Paleochristian architecture are noteworthy, with numerous others on architectural decoration in the context of Christian liturgy. He also published on late-Roman paintings and mosaics, Paleochristian epigraphy and Suevi-Visigoth numismatics, as well as aspects of funeral rites surrounding burial.

His *Egitânia*, already cited, was the first of his archaeological publications, in which he gives accounts of continuities in the occupation of an urban area from the high to low Empire, where he reveals the different topographies or means of appropriation ownership of a site that are characteristic to each era of civilisation. He discovered and displayed the Christian hallmarks in Egitânia's urban fabric, namely in the sixth-century Baptistery, setting the cornerstone for discussion of the chronologies and functions of buildings near this monument. It was without doubt in Egitânia that this professor began collecting altar tables and feet, small columns, capitels, *transennae*, pilasters, small pilasters and friezes, with which he made an initial *corpus*. He searched from Faro to Braga and found decorated architectural remains from former Paleochristian churches and basilicas. A list of these, plus a description and interpretation can be found in his already mentioned *Arte Visigótica em Portugal*.

Clearly on display in his indefatigable quest for the evidence of early Christian art in Portugal is the care with which he established objective criteria for the classification and formal analysis of the different pieces and their respective

<sup>41</sup> IDEM, "Problemas da capela de S. Frutuoso", *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 21, fascs. 47-48 (59-62) (1968), pp. 33-37.

<sup>42</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando de, PAIXÃO, Judite Cavaleiro, and PAIXÃO, António Cavaleiro, "Monumentos arqueológicos e visigóticos de Arranas (S. João dos Azinhais, Torrão, Alcácer do Sal)", *Setúbal Arqueológica*, vol. 4 (1978), pp. 215-226.

<sup>43</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando de, "Torre de Palma (Portugal). A basílica paleocristã e visigótica", *Archivo Español de Arqueología* [Madrid], vols. 45-47 (1972-74), pp. 103-112; IDEM, "Sur quelques mosaïques du Portugal. Torre de Palma et autres", in STERN, Henri, and LE GLAY, Marcel (eds.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine. II. Actes du II Colloque International pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Antique* (Vienna, 1971), Paris, A. Et. J. Picard / Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1975, pp. 219-225.

<sup>44</sup> IDEM, "Escavações em Odrinhas", *Comunicações dos Serviços Geológicos de Portugal* [Lisbon], vol. 39 (1958), pp. 11-25; IDEM, "Inscrições paleocristãs do Museu Arqueológico de S. Miguel de Odrinhas", *ibid.*, pp. 27-36; IDEM, "Notícia de mosaicos romanos em Odrinhas", *Revista de Guimarães*, vol. 72, nos. 1-2 (1962), pp. 152-154; IDEM, "Novas inscrições paleocristãs do Museu Arqueológico de S. Miguel de Odrinhas", *Revista Portuguesa de História* [Coimbra], t. 13 (1971), pp. 339-341.

<sup>45</sup> IDEM, "Pedras visigóticas em Soure", *Ethnos* [Lisbon], vol. 5 (1966), pp. 413-419.

<sup>46</sup> IDEM, "Pedras visigóticas de Abiúl", *Conimbriga*, vol. 1 (1959), pp. 71-74.

<sup>47</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando de, and CAEIRO, José Olivio, "Pé de altar visigótico na Abóbada (Serpa)", in *Actas das III Jornadas Arqueológicas...*, pp. 337-374.

functions. The same is true of the decorative styles, ranging from simple sketched lines to circles, triangles, squares and other shapes, to observation of plant typologies which, in turn, vary from simple leaves and petals to two-leaved, three-leaved and logical variants all the way to eight-leaved motifs, together with palms and palmettes, and progressing from these to flowers, little flowers and large ones in their different shapes and sizes, culminating in the representation of acanthus and ivy foliage, vine leaves and bunches of grapes.

If in the geometric decoration is revealed a series of neutral signs that express the factual function of artistic language, keeping open the aesthetic channel of communication, in the plant decoration and another that appears figurative, with animals (see the examples from Sines), we are faced with a more dynamic symbology and also of continuity from Roman times, as the contents progressively lost their Dionysian connotations in favour of Christian semantics. Furthermore, they display innovative signs, such as the cross, in its Greek, Latin, *pattée*, monogrammatic or anchor versions, as well as the unique sign of the Constantine or *crísmo* anagram.

Practically all these decorated pieces, which were part of the Christian liturgical furniture from the first centuries of Christianity in Portugal, were found separately, a sign that they belonged to buildings that did not withstand the depredations of the Vandals, Alans, Suevi and Visigoths, or the later destruction wrought during Islamisation. Unfortunately, just as in the time of Fernando de Almeida, we still have trouble today identifying the chronology of this dispersed material, which ranges from the low Empire to the Reconquest, yet which beyond doubt originates in and continues to make reference to Roman architectural, sculptural and decorative typologies.

Despite having noted how difficult it was to situate these architecturally-decorated stones in archaeologically-identified buildings, this did not prevent him from studying a series of monuments, over the course of his intensive practical archaeology, that bore the characteristic hallmarks of Christian topography, from its introduction to urban areas in the initial phase to observation of its adoption in the countryside in a second.

Fernando de Almeida was able to note these Christian topographical hallmarks in cities immediately during the excavations in Egitânia we have already mentioned. There he identified an architectural complex displaying the typologies of Christian appropriation of spaces already built, not in the city centre but taking advantage, perhaps, of available areas on the inner side of the city walls. While he found evidence here of an advanced phase in the Christianisation of Lusitania, he found an older degree of this process in Tróia de Setúbal when excavating the adaptation of industrial structures used for the production of fish preserves to house the Christian

basilica, an adaptation occurred as far back as the Roman period and reflected similar, varying actions from the Constantine period where structures were created for Christian congregations, especially in suburban areas, by transforming existing buildings and adapting them to a new function.

But it was above all in rural areas that Fernando de Almeida was able to observe Christian sacralisation of certain spaces, especially in the *villae*. The first signs of a change in thinking are found in the steady but progressive replacement of funerary customs and subsequent changes to the layout of the areas surrounding the *villae*, resulting from the re-location of burial sites.

The continuity in these changes lay in the desire that the *potentiores* and large *fundi* owners began to manifest in building mausoleums for themselves alongside their country residences. Fernando de Almeida broke new ground here, too, in terms of understanding this reality with his excavations in São Miguel de Odrinhas (Sintra) and São Cucufate (Vidigueira).

The full Christianisation of the *villa*, however, comes only when architectural structures where liturgical assemblies congregated began to appear – *ecclesiae* and/or *basilicae* – with complementary spaces for the Christian initiation ritual, the *baptisteria*. Work undertaken in Torre de Palma (Monforte) highlighted this reality, with the discovery and study of a basilica with opposing apses, with structural transformations from the end of the fourth century, where what draws attention is the construction of a first rectangular baptistery to the right of the apse followed by the creation of a second, independent, baptismal structure, with a cruciform pool, characteristic of the sixth-seventh centuries.

However, the author of the work *Arte Visigótica em Portugal* was also able to reveal through archaeology a third phase in the Christianisation of this Roman-tradition *villa*: its appropriation by monastic authorities, who sought a space for withdrawal and spirituality in the countryside. He showed this through his work in São Cucufate and on São Gião da Nazaré. Furthermore, his studies on São Frutuoso and his plans to press on with excavations in São Martinho de Dume testify to his awareness of the importance of Braga's suburban *villae*, which were also transformed into *monasteries* from the Suevic period on.

Also of note is the fact that this researcher took account the specific characteristics of each region and sub-region as regards the different groups where this art he called *Visigoth* manifests itself. The Romans themselves were well aware of the Mediterranean part of our territory, which they included in Lusitania, and the Atlantic part, which they incorporated in Gallaecia. The Suevic period was fundamental in bringing the two provinces closer together. The frontier between the two ceased to be the Douro and drew closer to the Tagus, paving the way for a

future political unit that would become Portugal. Fernando de Almeida classified the architectural decorative art he studied into three major groups: Lusitanian, Suevi and Lisboa. He thus initiated a new methodology for studying this type of sculpture. If the Romanisation of Lusitania was different to that of Gallaecia and if Christianisation of the two provinces was different, then the artistic manifestations bearing the first Christian hallmarks should also be different<sup>48</sup>.

### The most recent research

In 1992, as part of a joint initiative between the Nova University of Lisbon and the University of Barcelona, in which we acted as secretary for the Portuguese side, the fourth Christian Hispanic Archaeology Meeting<sup>49</sup> was held in Lisbon, Mértola and Tróia de Setúbal. This congress allowed for a state of the art as regards late Antiquity and early Middle Ages studies and indicated new research avenues.

Some doctoral theses stand out among the academic production, such as the author's *Antiguidade Tardia e Paleocristianismo em Portugal*, previously mentioned, and those of Licínia Wrench<sup>50</sup>, Teresa Caetano<sup>51</sup>, Francine Alves<sup>52</sup>, Filomena Limão<sup>53</sup> and Ana Maria Jorge<sup>54</sup>. Of the master's dissertations, those of Maria Amélia Fresco de Almeida<sup>55</sup>, Clementina Nunes<sup>56</sup>, Virgílio Lopes<sup>57</sup>, Cátia Mourão<sup>58</sup>, Manuel Gomes<sup>59</sup> and Jorge Feio<sup>60</sup>

<sup>48</sup> MACIEL, M. J., "Entre o Romano e o Visigótico: o inovador contributo científico de D. Fernando de Almeida", *Ebvrobriga* [Fundão], no. 3 (2005), pp. 41-46.

<sup>49</sup> Proceedings of the *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica* (Lisbon, 1992), Monografias de la Secció Històrico-arqueològica, 4, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1995.

<sup>50</sup> WRENCH, Licínia Irene Nunes Correia, *Decoração arquitectónica na Antiguidade Tardia. Contributo para um 'Corpus' dos elementos arquitectónicos e de mobiliário litúrgico provenientes do território português*, doctoral thesis in History of Art of Antiquity submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> CAETANO, Maria Teresa, *'Animalia quae lacte aluntur': simbologia e estética nos mosaicos romanos da Península Ibérica*, doctoral thesis in History of Art of Antiquity submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2009.

<sup>52</sup> ALVES, Francine Oliveira, *Aspectos das relações entre o mosaico e a arquitectura no mundo romano. Iconografia e iconologia do tema da muralha no mosaico romano*, doctoral thesis in History of Art of Antiquity submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>53</sup> LIMÃO, Filomena Monteiro, *Capitéis da Antiguidade Tardia em Portugal (sécs. III/IV-VIII)*, doctoral thesis in History of Art of Antiquity submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>54</sup> JORGE, Ana Maria, *L'épiscopat de Lusitanie pendant l'Antiquité tardive (IIIe-VIIe siècles)*, *Trabalhos de Arqueologia*, 21, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Arqueologia, 2002.

<sup>55</sup> ALMEIDA, Maria Amélia Fresco, *Escultura Arquitectónica e Funerária dos Séculos IV ao VIII, a Sul do Tejo*, master's dissertation in History of Art submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 1987, typewritten.

<sup>56</sup> NUNES, Maria Clementina, *Conímbriga, Arquitectura Paleocristã*, master's dissertation in History of Art of Antiquity submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 1996.

<sup>57</sup> LOPES, Virgílio, *Mértola na Antiguidade Tardia. A topografia histórica da cidade e do seu território nos alvares do cristianismo*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2003.

<sup>58</sup> MOURÃO, Cátia, *'Mirabilia Aquarum'. Motivos aquáticos em mosaicos da Antiguidade no território português*, Lisbon, EPAL, 2008.

<sup>59</sup> GOMES, José Manuel, *Os baptistérios da Lusitânia Ocidental*, master's dissertation in History of Art of Antiquity submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2009.

<sup>60</sup> FEIO, J., *Marcas arquitectónico-artísticas da cristianização do território entre Évora e Beja*, master's dissertation in History of Art of Antiquity submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2010.



are noteworthy. Important contributions to understanding the boundaries between late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages came from studies by Theodor Hauschild, as already referenced, José Mattoso<sup>61</sup>, Bairrão Oleiro<sup>62</sup>, Cláudio Torres<sup>63</sup>, Jorge Alarcão<sup>64</sup>, Santiago Macias<sup>65</sup>, Manuel Real<sup>66</sup>, Mário Barroca<sup>67</sup>, Luís Fontes<sup>68</sup>, Stephanie Maloney<sup>69</sup>, Janine Lancha<sup>70</sup>, Paulo Fernandes<sup>71</sup>, Clementino Amaro<sup>72</sup>, Luís de Matos<sup>73</sup>, Achim Arbeiter<sup>74</sup>, Rafael Alfenim<sup>75</sup>, Teresa Gamito<sup>76</sup> and Miguel Pessoa<sup>77</sup>, authors who have contributed a great deal to progress in research on the dynamic period from the third century to the tenth.

<sup>61</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A difusão do cristianismo na Hispânia”; “O Priscilianismo”; “A Época Suévia e Visigótica”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 283-359.

<sup>62</sup> OLEIRO, João Bairrão, *Corpus dos Mosaicos romanos de Portugal*, 1, Conímbriga, Casa dos Repuxos, Conímbriga, 1992.

<sup>63</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, “A Sé-Catedral da Idanha”, *Arqueologia Medieval* [Mértola], no. 1 (1992), pp. 169-178; IDEM, “A cidade paleocristã de Mirtylis”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 17-68; TORRES, Cláudio, and MACIAS, Santiago (coords.), *Museu de Mértola, Basílica Paleocristã*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1993.

<sup>64</sup> ALARCÃO, Jorge, ÉTIENNE, Robert, and MAYET, Françoise (dirs.), *Les Villas Romaines de S. Cucufate*, Paris, E. de Boccard, 1990; IDEM, “Os monumentos cristãos da Villa de S. Cucufate”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 383-387.

<sup>65</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, “A basílica paleocristã de Mértola”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 277-296; IDEM, “A basílica paleocristã e as necrópoles paleocristã e islâmica de Mértola: aspectos e problemas”, in *XXXIX Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina...*, pp. 401-434; IDEM, *Mértola, de dernier port de la Méditerranée*, 3 vols., Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006.

<sup>66</sup> REAL, Manuel, “Inovação e Resistência: dados recentes sobre a Antiguidade Cristã no Ocidente Peninsular”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 17-68.

<sup>67</sup> BARROCA, Mário Jorge, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2000.

<sup>68</sup> FONTES, Luis, “O Norte de Portugal no período suevo-visigótico. Elementos para o seu estudo”, in *XXXIX Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina...*, pp. 217-248; IDEM, “A Igreja Sueva de São Martinho de Dume. Arquitectura cristã antiga de Braga e na Antiguidade Tardia do Noroeste de Portugal”, *Revista de História da Arte* [Lisbon], no. 6 (2008), pp. 163-181.

<sup>69</sup> MALONEY, Stephanie, “The early christian basilican complex of Torre de Palma (Monforte, Alto Alentejo, Portugal)”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 449-458.

<sup>70</sup> LANCHA, Janine, et al., *Corpus dos Mosaicos Romanos de Portugal, II, A Villa de Torre de Palma*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de Museus, 2000.

<sup>71</sup> FERNANDES, Paulo A., “O sítio da Sé de Lisboa antes da Reconquista”, *Artis, Revista de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, no. 1 (2002), pp. 57-87.

<sup>72</sup> AMARO, Clementino, “Urbanismo tardo-romano no claustro da Sé de Lisboa”, in *Actas das IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 337-342.

<sup>73</sup> MATOS, José Luís de, “Romanização de Lisboa: trabalhos arqueológicos na Sé de Lisboa”, in *Actas das V Jornadas Arqueológicas*, Lisbon, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, 1994, pp. 223-226.

<sup>74</sup> ARBEITER, Achim, “Construcciones com sillares. El paulatino resurgimento de una técnica edilicia en la Lusitania visigoda”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 211-221.

<sup>75</sup> ALFENIM, Rafael, and LOPES, M. C., “A Basílica Paleocristã do Monte da Cegonha (Vidigueira)”, *ibid.*, pp. 389-400; ALFENIM, Rafael, and LIMA, Paulo, “Breve notícia sobre a campanha arqueológica de 1992 na igreja visigótica do sítio dos Mosteiros, Portel”, *ibid.*, pp. 463-470.

<sup>76</sup> GAMITO, Teresa Júdice, “As muralhas de Faro e os vestígios bizantinos da ocupação da cidade e do seu sistema defensivo”, in MACIEL, M. Justino (org.), *Miscellanea em Homenagem ao Professor Bairrão Oleiro*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 259-268.

<sup>77</sup> PESSOA, Miguel, “Villa romana do Rabaçal, Penela (Coimbra Portugal)”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 471-491; IDEM, “Um *stibadium* com mosaico na Villa romana do Rabaçal”, *Revista de História da Arte* [Lisbon], no. 6 (2008), pp. 139-161.

In 2008, Lisbon, Mértola and Penela hosted the Season of International Lectures on “Arquitectura Mosaicos e Sociedade da Antiguidade Tardia e Bizantina a Ocidente e Oriente. Estudos e planos de salvaguarda” (Architecture, Mosaics and Society in late Antiquity and Byzantium, in West and East, Conservations Studies and Plans)<sup>78</sup>, a joint initiative of the Instituto de História da Arte at Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Nova University of Lisbon and the Associação Portuguesa para o Estudo e Conservação do Mosaico Antigo. This scientific meeting demonstrated the vitality of late Antiquity studies in Portugal and involved a significant number of Portuguese and foreign researchers.

### Our reading of (forms of) continuity

From the literary discourse that survives from late Antiquity, we have been able to glean a clearer perception of the artistic discourse from that period. For example, reading Saint Martin of Dumio’s *De Correctione Rusticorum* from the mid-sixth century<sup>79</sup>, we see the decisive role played by the Christianisation of our territory on all socio-cultural behaviour, with particular relevance to architecture and art. And just as literary discourse from the sixth century acknowledges the formal imprints of the Roman world, so does artistic discourse. It seemed to us crucial to establish the socio-political contexts, that are specifically and historically documented, so as to contextualise the research to be done on what we call late Antiquity, which in our view ranges, in Portugal’s case, from the third to the eight centuries. This will enable us, for instance, not to confuse the Visigoth (political framework) with the Paleochristian (thematic framework).

We have, therefore, proposed a historical-artistic approach to Portugal, that in Roman times (third-fourth centuries) covers the entire country, for the Suevic period (fifth-sixth centuries) covers especially the northern part of the country, contrasting with a Byzantine context (end of the sixth century, beginning of the seventh century), mostly in the southern part, and a Visigoth context, once again for the entire country. This corresponds to the Suevic kingdom’s incorporation in the Visigoth one in the north and the territories that were taken back from the Byzantines in the south (seventh-eight centuries)<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Proceedings published in the *Revista de História da Arte* [Instituto de História da Arte, FCSH-UNL], no. 6, (2008).

<sup>79</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, *O ‘De Correctione Rusticorum’ de São Martinho de Dume*, offprint of *Bracara Augusta*, Braga, s. n., 1980; IDEM, *Texto sobre credices, ontem. Da Instrução dos Rústicos*, offprint of *Actas do III Encontro sobre História Dominicana*, Oporto, Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português, 1989.

<sup>80</sup> IDEM, “A Arte da Antiguidade Tardia (séculos III-VIII, ano de 711)”, in PEREIRA, Paulo (dir.) *História da Arte Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 102-149.

*The Roman context.* Christianisation as a reality emerges in Portugal from at least the mid-third century. It is documented by the presence of bishops at the Council of Elvira at the turn of the fourth century. We know of Bishop Potâmio of Lisbon<sup>81</sup> through his texts in the mid-fourth century. We are aware of the impact the Priscillian question had in the second half of the same century and its connection to the introduction of early monasticism. Christian topography influenced cities first and then the countryside. Art reflects a progressive change in behaviour, which is clearly visible in the funerary sphere, namely in the decoration of sarcophagi, many of which were imported, as studies of the iconography along with analyses of the marble they were sculpted from have shown<sup>82</sup>. Christian or Christian-influenced architecture begins in Portugal in the fourth century, as shown by monuments like those of Odrinhas<sup>83</sup> and Tróia de Setúbal<sup>84</sup>.

*The Suevic context.* The barbarian invasions found a largely Christianised society in Hispania, particularly in the cities. The Suevi gradually took a leading role and moved throughout the Peninsula, settling in the sixth century in the northwestern part in particular<sup>85</sup>. It is in the context of *Pax Sueuica* that Paleochristian architecture requires documenting, especially from Dume and Braga, using the cult of Saint Martin of Tours as a reference. Conimbriga and Egitânia bear witness to the influence of the rules of the Suevic councils of 561 and 572 on Paleochristian architecture<sup>86</sup>.

*The Byzantine context.* Archaeology has progressively shown the veracity of the texts that speak of, or presuppose, Byzantine occupation of the South of Hispania, spreading gradually to engulf all of Southern Lusitania. The finds from Mértola and

<sup>81</sup> IDEM, "Entre Constâncio II e Juliano: A linguagem de Potâmio de Lisboa e o conhecimento da Lusitânia do séc. IV", *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas/UNL*, no. 13 (2000), pp. 135-148; IDEM, "L'Art et l'expression de la Foi", in BERTRAND, Dominique (ed.), *Pacien de Barcelone et l'Hispanie au IVe siècle*, Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 2004, pp. 207-218.

<sup>82</sup> IDEM, *Da arte romana à arte paleocristã: o sarcófago romano de Évora*, offprint of *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas/UNL*, Lisbon, 1988; MACIEL, M. Justino, CABRAL, João M., and NUNES, Dina, "Os sarcófagos tardo-romanos do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Novos dados para a sua interpretação", *O Arqueólogo Português* [Lisbon], 4th ser., vol. 20 (2002), pp. 161-176; IDEM, "O sarcófago romano das Musas (Valado, Alfezeirão). Nova leitura iconográfica e análise do mármore", *Arqueologia e História, Revista da Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses* [Lisbon], vol. 55 (2003), pp. 63-70.

<sup>83</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, *Antiguidade tardia no Ager Olisiponense: o Mausoléu de Odrinhas*, Oporto, 1999; MACIEL, M. Justino, and BARACHO, Carlos, "O Monumento absidal de Odrinhas (Sintra)", in *III Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (Maó, 1988), Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 1994, pp. 93-103.

<sup>84</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, *Antiguidade Tardia e Paleocristianismo em Portugal...*

<sup>85</sup> IDEM, "Os Suevos na Galécia e na Lusitânia, Actas do Colóquio A Arqueologia Portuguesa e o Espaço Europeu: Balanços e Perspectivas", *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*, no. 15 (2007), pp. 209-232.

<sup>86</sup> IDEM, *Arquitectura paleocristã em contexto suévico. Algumas reflexões*, Viana do Castelo, Câmara Municipal de Viana do Castelo, 1991; IDEM, "São Martinho de Dume e a cristianização do futuro território português: Fé, Cultura e Arquitectura", offprint of *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História - Missionaçãõ Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas*, Lisbon 1993; IDEM, "Reflexões em torno da Egitânia da Antiguidade Tardia", *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*, no. 16: *Homenagem a Octávio da Veiga Ferreira*, (2008), pp. 363-375; MACIEL, M. Justino, and COELHO, Teresa, "A basílica e o baptistério paleocristãos de Conimbriga", in *Actas de III Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica...*, pp. 75-92.

Montinho das Laranjeiras testify to this Byzantine presence in Portugal at the end of the sixth century and first quarter of the seventh<sup>87</sup>.

*The Visigoth context.* This is the period in which Paleochristian architecture became established in Portugal, as shown by the widespread architectural decoration<sup>88</sup>. The figures of Saint Isidore of Seville and Saint Fructuosus of Braga stand out in monastic power<sup>89</sup>, with the drafting of monastic *Regulae* that influenced the future of Hispanic monasticism.

This applies to the temporal location. As concerns space, we have suggested studying documents from late Antiquity distributed by Episcopal groups, corresponding to the territories of the ecclesiastical dioceses that were set up from the third to the sixth centuries: yielding groups from Braga, Oporto, Lamego, Viseu, Conimbriga, Egitânia, Lisbon, Évora, Beja and Faro – a territorial management scheme that surpasses the number of centres of the Roman administration of the *conventus* and falls short of the number of *municipia*, permitting us to draw a dynamic framework of artistic-cultural behaviour<sup>90</sup>, as the canons of the Roman-

<sup>87</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, *Trois églises de plan cruciforme au Portugal et les trajets méditerranéens des Vie et VIIe siècles*, offprint of *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* (Split / Porec, 1994), Città del Vaticano / Split, 1998; IDEM, “Reescavações na Villa romana do Montinho das Laranjeiras (Alcoutim)”, *Arqueologia Medieval* [Mértola], no. 2 (1993), pp. 31-38; IDEM, “A Villa romana fluvial do Montinho das Laranjeiras, junto ao Guadiana (Algarve), Escavações de 1991”, in CAMPOS CARRASCO, Juan Manuel, PÉREZ MACÍAS, Juan Aurelio, and GÓMEZ, Francisco (coords.), *Actas del Encuentro Internacional de Arqueología del Suroeste, Arqueología en el entorno del Bajo Guadiana*, Huelva, Universidad de Huelva, 1994, pp. 469-484; IDEM, “Suevos, bizantinos e visigodos no Sul da Bética e da Lusitânia: Arte, Percursos e Fronteiras”, offprint of *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, Oporto, 2000; IDEM, “O território de Balsa na Antiguidade Tardia”, in *Tavira, Território e Poder, Catálogo da Exposição*, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia / Câmara Municipal de Tavira, 2003, pp. 105-126.

<sup>88</sup> IDEM, *Vectores da Arte Paleocristã em Contexto Suévico e Visigótico*, offprint of *XXXIX Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina...*, 1992; IDEM, “Um signo do tetramorfo na Antiguidade Tardia portuguesa”, *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas/UNL*, no. 12 (1999), pp. 353-364; IDEM, “Sintra: da Antiguidade à Idade Média”, in *Contributos para a História Medieval de Sintra*, Sintra, Câmara Municipal de Sintra, 2008, pp. 17-52; MACIEL, M. Justino, and PESSOA, Miguel, *As pedras visigóticas de Eira Pedrinha – Conimbriga*, offprint of *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas/UNL*, Lisbon, 1993; MACIEL, M. Justino, and MARTINS, João Paulo, “*Monasterium* e *Ecclesia* de São Salvador no Monte do Mosteiro (Mértola)”, in *IV Reunião de Arqueologia Cristã Hispânica...*, pp. 499-506.

<sup>89</sup> MACIEL, M. Justino, *As 'Regulae Monachorum' e a Arquitectura dos Mosteiros na Antiguidade Tardia*, Oporto, Centro de Estudos de Ciências Humanas, 1998.

<sup>90</sup> IDEM, *Arte romana, religiões orientais e iconografia paleocristã: a propósito de uma Ara a Cybele em Marco de Canaveses*, offprint of *Historiam Pictura Refert*, Città del Vaticano, 1994; IDEM, “Évora na Antiguidade Tardia”, in *Évora, História e Imaginário*, Évora, 1997, pp. 27-42; IDEM, “O mosaico paleocristão de Frende (Baião)”, in *Marco Histórico e Cultural, Actas de Eventos Marcoenses*, Marco de Canaveses, 1998, pp. 185-188; IDEM, “Montinho das Laranjeiras (Alcoutim). Escavações de 1995”, *Arqueologia Medieval* [Mértola], no. 6 (1999), pp. 5-10; IDEM, *Do romano ao Medieval. A Villa do Montinho das Laranjeiras (Algarve). Escavações de 1994*, offprint of *Arqueologia*, Oporto, 2000; IDEM, “Do romano ao islâmico: as escavações de 1997 na 'Villa' do Montinho das Laranjeiras (Algarve)”, in *Actas do III Congresso Peninsular de Arqueologia*, Oporto, 2000, pp. 657-668; IDEM, “A iconografia do vinho e da vinha na Antiguidade. Exemplos no território português”, in *O Vinho, a História e a Cultura Popular, Actas de Congresso*, Lisbon, 2001, pp. 207-209, 536-543; IDEM, “Banquete e Apotheosis em alguns signos artísticos da Antiguidade Tardia portuguesa”, offprint of *Actas de Propaganda e Poder, Congresso Peninsular de História da Arte*, Lisbon, 2001; IDEM, “Do Paganismo ao Cristianismo: interações e continuidades nos comportamentos culturais e artísticos”, *Psychologica*

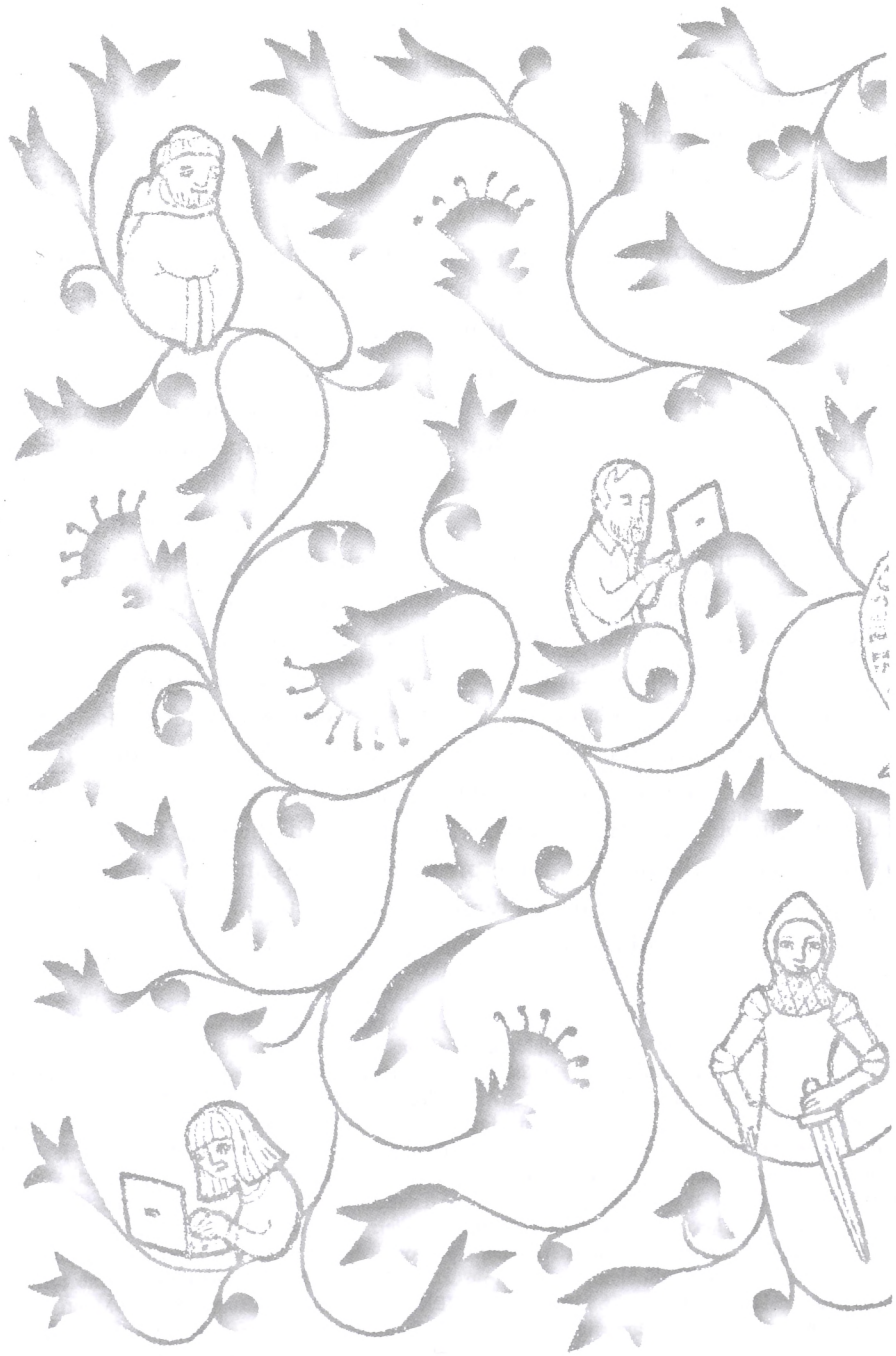
-Suevi-Visigoth *conclia*<sup>91</sup> document it, in an area of land that was first Romanised and later Christianised. Roman authority, as exercised in the *provincia*, the *conventus* and the *civitas*, is succeeded by the ecclesiastical government of the *metropolis*, the *dioecesis* and the *parochia*.

The methodological link between the geographical-administrative division (Episcopal groups) and the chronological-political division is purely conventional, but seems to us, given the current state of research, the best procedure for strengthening our knowledge of the period between late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The operative proposal for socio-political contexts seems, in our view, most useful in studying the (forms of) continuity to which we refer, even if we cannot for the present reliably date one monument, *basilica*, *baptisterium* or another or one mosaic or another from the late-Roman, Suevic, Byzantine or Visigoth period. This is a straightforward methodological proposal that aims to make available a classificatory infrastructure for present and future research into art, archaeological or documental objects, for which there already exist more than enough cultural supports that are known, or are being developed, for these objects, based on historical, religious, philosophical, moral and canonical texts that interact with the research data. In other words, there are archaeological, artistic, literary or linguistic monuments and evidence that we can place *in genere* in late Antiquity and/or the early Middle Ages. To understand them, we need operative analytical models defined by a series of interactions that are identified within given contexts, here the late Roman, the Suevic, the Byzantine and the Visigoth, being more political-social than religious-cultural in character. In this regard, there are two realities we must not forget: on the one hand, the predominant Hispano-Roman layer at the demographic, religious, social and cultural level; and on the other, the influence the Roman-Ravennate-Byzantine version of Italic art and culture.

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[Coimbra], vol. 30 (2002), pp. 241-249; IDEM, "Montinho das Laranjeiras (Alcoutim, Algarve, Portugal)", in BAQUEDANO, Enrique (dir.), *El Tiempo de los 'Bárbaros'. Pervivencia y transformación en Gália e hispania (ss. V-VI d. C.)*, Zona Arqueológica, 11, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Regional, 2002, pp. 583-585; IDEM, "Vitruve et l'architecture paléochrétienne. Le cas paradigmatique 'des regionum constitutiones'", in *Vitruvio nella cultura architettonica antica, medievale e moderna*, Genova, De Ferrari, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 268-273; IDEM, "Olhares do Historiador da Arte perante o discurso Original do Cristianismo", *Revista de História da Arte* [Lisbon], no. 1 (2005), pp. 14-45; IDEM, "Da Festa Indo-Europeia à Festa Transmontana: o uso da máscara na comemoração do Solstício de Inverno", *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas/UNL*, no. 17 (2005), pp. 183-20; IDEM, "Dionisismo, Cristianismo e Geometrismo. A propósito de um mosaico do território egitaniense", *Revista de História da Arte* [Lisbon], no. 6 (2008), pp. 229-237; IDEM, "A Barca de Ulisses como Imagem-Signo", *ibid.*, pp. 254-267; MACIEL, M. Justino, and WRENCH, L. N. C., "The Roman Villa at Montinho das Laranjeiras: 1996 archaeological campaign", *Journal of Iberian Archaeology* [Oporto], vol. 1 (1999), pp. 269-279; MACIEL, M. Justino, CABRAL, J. M. P., and NUNES, D., "Baixo-relevo em mármore com representação de um grifo", *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* [Oporto], vol. 42, nos. 1-2 (2002), pp. 193-202.

<sup>91</sup> VIVES, José, *Conclios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Madrid / Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas / Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1963.



# *Islam and Mozarabs*<sup>\*</sup>

*Hermenegildo Fernandes,  
António Rei*

## **The Gharb al-Andalus – three decades of historiographical renewal**

The relative weakness of Arab studies in Portugal, and particularly of the historiography dedicated to the territories of the western part of al-Andalus, which the Portuguese kingdom under construction had to incorporate, concentrating the best of its energies, has become an almost obligatory *topos* of reference in recent decades, above all since the seminal publication of *Portugal na Espanha Árabe* (Portugal in Arab Spain) by António Borges Coelho called the attention of both academics and the educated reader to the desert of reflection and knowledge that existed concerning the impact of the Arab Andalusian civilisation on Portuguese identity<sup>1</sup>. The year was 1972 and the Marcelist Spring had already exhausted its best hopes of preparing the political change that was approaching. It was not by chance that this call to attention took place outside of the academy, coming from a historian trained in the solid critical tradition of the group at the Faculdade de Letras at Lisbon<sup>2</sup>, but ideologically hostile to the regime. Across the Atlantic, almost simultaneously, a young professor at odds with the same institution,

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<sup>\*</sup> Hermenegildo Fernandes is the author of “The Gharb al-Andalus – three decades of historiographical renewal”; António Rei is the author of “The Mozarabs in the Western Iberian Peninsula”.

<sup>1</sup> COELHO, António Borges (org., preface and notes), *Portugal na Espanha Árabe*, 4 vols. [Lisbon], Seara Nova, 1972-1975; 2nd ed., 2 vols., Lisbon, Caminho, 1989; 3rd revised ed., Lisbon Caminho, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> A. Borges Coelho had graduated there in History / Philosophy in the 1960s but was always on the fringes of the academic world until 25 April 1974, after which he started his career in the FL-UL. The most important medieval history group that existed, led by Virgínia Rau, maintained a distanced position in that period with regard to Arab studies.

A. H. de Oliveira Marques, published a *History of Portugal*<sup>3</sup> which did not limit itself to a mere prologue on the subject of the formation of the kingdom, as with the contribution of the great Arabist David Lopes for the “História de Barcelos”<sup>4</sup>. Instead, the discourse on the Gharb al-Andalus played a fundamental role in that formation, understood as a process of osmosis between the Christian North and the Islamic south. The rupture with historiographical tradition that this change in perspective enabled could not have been greater. Rather than a mere process of territorial expansion, with all the essential elements present in a primitive northern module, to which the Reconquest had simply provided geographical consistency and the scale necessary for survival, the national entity appeared through processes of fusion between the young principality, born from the political accidents of the Reconquest, and the richest cities of the Islamic south. In this way, the Gharb al-Andalus acquired a value in itself, not just as a beaten opponent, but also as a constituent part of actual Portuguese identity. This slippage in perspective would be decisive for the construction of a history and archaeology of Western Iberia during the Islamic period, while at the same time redefining the mythical relationship of Portuguese society with its origins, replacing the arcane Reconquest paradigm, which had ruled until the *Estado Novo*, both in the populist published works on Portuguese history<sup>5</sup> and in the medievalist academic community<sup>6</sup>, with models more attentive to its Mediterranean roots and to the depth and ancestry of the processes of easternisation, often considered from the almost timeless perspectives of anthropology.

It is precisely the corrosive potential of this shift in perspective that justifies locating its starting point, and in an unconnected manner, in what had been the margins of the system. It is also, I believe, one of the factors to take into account in explaining the anaemic nature of Arab studies in Portuguese historiographical and philological traditions, compared with the Spanish, French, English, or even Dutch or

<sup>3</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols., New York, Columbia University Press, 1972; IDEM, *História de Portugal: desde os tempos mais antigos até ao Governo do Sr. Marcelo Caetano*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Ágora, 1972-1973.

<sup>4</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, “O Domínio Árabe”, in PERES, Damião (dir.), *História de Portugal. Edição Monumental Comemorativa do 8º Centenário da Fundação da Nacionalidade*, Barcelos, Portucalense Editora, 1928, vol. 1, pp. 391-431.

<sup>5</sup> On the survival of the ideology of the Reconquest in the formation of the romantic and post-romantic national identity see, throughout, MATOS, Sérgio Campos, *História, mitologia, imaginário nacional: a história no curso dos liceus (1895-1939)*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990; IDEM, *Historiografia e memória nacional no Portugal do século XIX: 1846-1898*, Lisbon, Colibri, [1998]; IDEM, *Consciência histórica e nacionalismo (Portugal – séculos XIX e XX)*, [Lisbon], Livros Horizonte, [2008].

<sup>6</sup> The dependence of medieval historiography on the model of the Reconquest is both a result of the historical circumstances of the formation of the kingdom as well as the ideological formulations that emerged from or were directly inspired by it. This had been the case, I believe, since the first critical Portuguese historiography, the Alcobacense of the seventeenth century. It would be indolent to cite examples in this context.



Italian examples. We cannot exclude, of course, the absence of a Portuguese colonial presence in the Arab area, common to many but not all, of these countries at the time of the formation of the European colonial empires, which nurtured not only the public interest in “oriental” material, but also the actual “orientalist” academic discourse at the heart of the establishment of most of the schools of Arab studies<sup>7</sup>. These were, in many ways, both pillars of a discourse about the non-European other, and also training centres for the colonial bureaucracy. It should not be a surprise, then, that the start of modern Arabic studies in Portugal, to which its birth certificate should be attached, was the “Study Plan” prepared by Manuel do Cenáculo in 1776 for the *Ordem Terceira da Penitência*, also connected to the group of the *Academica das Ciências*, but linked directly to the Pombaline policy of redefining relations with the Sharifian kingdom of Morocco, leading to the abandonment of the direct presence and neutralisation of the endemic piracy through active diplomacy, for which the setting up of this body was considered as a tool<sup>8</sup>. From this initiative, Portuguese Arabistics emerged, initially in the hands of João de Sousa and then José de Santo António Moura, and already taking account of all of its future themes – philological interest in the Arabic roots of Portuguese vocabulary, along with translations, essentially of Maghreb or Andalusian texts of interest for Portuguese history – but which also carrying out pragmatic functions in the area of international politics<sup>9</sup>. In one way or another, this would last until the Liberal period, receiving a strong rebuff through the triple influence of the closure of the religious brotherhoods, the decline of Portuguese political interest in the Maghreb, reversed only in the last decade, and the triumph of a romantic vision of the Middle Ages that, in the case of the Peninsula, viewed the kingdoms emerging from the Reconquest process as the matrix of origin for nationalities. It is true that in the Portuguese case, Herculano made very effective use of the then young Arabist tradition, turning them to profit in a vision of the history of Portugal that drew as much as possible on Arab andalusian

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<sup>7</sup> Although it deals almost exclusively with the French and English situations, the most important work on this continues to be that of SAID, Edward W., *Orientalism. Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London, Penguin Books, 1995 [1978].

<sup>8</sup> FIGANIER, Joaquim, *Fr. João de Sousa. Mestre e Intérprete da Língua Árábica*, Coimbra, FL-UC / Instituto de Estudos Históricos Dr. António de Vasconcelos, 1949. Cf. also AFONSO, António Jorge, *Portugal e o Magrebe nos finais do Antigo Regime*, master’s dissertation in the History of the Discoveries and the Portuguese Expansion submitted to FL-UL, Lisbon, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> SOUSA, Fr. João de, *Vestígios da Língua Arabica em Portugal [...]*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1789; IDEM, *Documentos Arabicos para a Historia Portugueza copiados dos originaes da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1790; IDEM, *Compendio da Grammatica Arabiga*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1795. Cf. also BRAGA, Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond, *Missões Diplomáticas entre Portugal e o Magrebe no século XVIII. Os Relatos de Frei João de Sousa*, Lisbon, 2008. MOURA, Fr. José de Santo António (translation and notes), *História dos soberanos mahometanos das primeiras quatro dynastias, e de parte da quinta, que reinarão na Mauritània, escrita em Arabe / por Abu-Mohammed Assaleh*, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1828.

sources – so much so that the most solid contribution of Portuguese Arabists to the history of Gharb al-Andalus in the century following his death would have the title, and substance, *Os Árabes nas Obras de Alexandre Herculano*<sup>10</sup>. Not so with his followers: on the one hand, the perennially weak Portuguese Arabists redirected his interests to relations with Islam during the period of Expansion, starting with David Lopes and ending with António Dias Farinha<sup>11</sup>, while on the other, the restricted work on the area of Gharb al-Andalus had zero effect on Portuguese medieval studies. The characteristic problems of the period, namely, arguments about the origin of municipal institutions and the presence of feudalism in Hispania, illustrate precisely this immunity to Arabist contributions. Which was, indeed, mutual.

Thus, the re-centering produced by the sudden availability of an almost totally unknown corpus of Portuguese medievalist work, such as that compiled by A. Borges Coelho, in an atmosphere of accelerated political change, in which a new generation had emerged from exile or the Colonial War, seeking alternatives to the vision of the past dominated by the exaltation of the history of Fatherland and the Overseas Expansion, could only have dramatic consequences, both inside and outside of the academy. Historiography based on the idea of the Reconquest had been forcefully appropriated by the *Estado Novo* and the Right, and as such the recuperation of the place of the Gharb al-Andalus in the formation of national identity was carried out by the Left; having been based on the winners, it would now take on the cause of the losers. The first fruits, harvested in the Mértola experiment (Campo Arqueológico de Mértola – CAM), headed by Cláudio Torres under the intellectual aegis of Borges Coelho, along with the whole experience of the resulting three decades, are the most authentic consequence of that radical re-centring of perspective. Hence the breakdown of barriers between archaeology and history, which of course had other sources of inspiration, even recent ones, in the models proposed, also in the 1970s, by Toubert and Barceló<sup>12</sup>. Hence the recourse to anthropology and ethnography, which put the chronology into relief, putting an end to the timelessness of an approach in which history was taken as static. Hence, finally, the social aspect of the historiographical / archaeological experience, capable of direct action on the

<sup>10</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, *Os árabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano. Notas marginaes de lingua e historia portuguesas*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1911, offprint from the *Boletim da segunda classe*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1910.

<sup>11</sup> For example, IDEM, *Textos de aljama portuguesa: documentos para a historia do dominio português em Safim extrahidos dos originaes da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1897; and IDEM, *História de Arzila durante o dominio português (1471-1550 e 1577-1589)*, Coimbra, IUC, 1924; FARINHA, António Dias (ed. and notes), *Crónica de Almançor, sultão de Marrocos (1578-1603), de António de Saldanha [Chronique d'Al-Mansour, sultan du Maroc (1578-1603)]*, de António de Saldanha, French translation by Léon Bourdon, Lisbon, Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1997.

<sup>12</sup> See throughout, a discussion on the contribution of the authors in BARCELÓ, Miquel, and TOUBERT, Pierre (eds.), *'L'Incastellamento'. Actas de las Reuniones de Girona (26-27 November 1992) y de Roma (5-7 Mayo 1994)*, Roma, École Française de Rome / Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma, 1998.

populations which transcended the mechanisms of the formation of a historical memory which came to interfere in its economic and cultural daily life. Using different models, the multiplication of historical and archaeological studies over the last thirty years in various urban centres in southern Portugal, in Silves, Tavira, Alcácer do Sal, Moura, Santarém and Lisbon, to mention only the most significant, have been inspired by that genetic foundation. The outcome of this work may be found in another chapter in this book, written by one of its protagonists<sup>13</sup>.

In this framework, the role of history, understood here deliberately and artificially in a narrow sense, like that produced mainly from written sources, is still relatively peripheral, being smaller in volume and impact than the contributions published *stricto sensu* within archaeology. A number of reasons have contributed to this. First, of course, is the absence of a sound philological tradition, which would allow historians to work directly with the texts, as well as to compile a corpus of translations not so strictly dependent on the choices of a very vigorous and productive Spanish Arabist community. Second is the contingency of the historical absence of testimonies to the Arab presence in Portugal: with the latter hidden from the public, the gradual unveiling of a number of archaeological sites and the consequent formation of a corpus of emblematic artefacts has inevitably focused the history of the Gharb al-Andalus on archaeological results rather than on work carried out on its texts. Third is the actual process of the genetic construction of the Archive – understood here as a set of historical processes capable of configuring a written or material record of the past – which dictated, in the case of al-Andalus and, by extension, the Gharb in particular, a corpus structure in which the archaeological sources show greater potential in providing answers to the list of questions. This is due mainly to the almost complete absence of records of daily activities, such as those notarial sources have provided for Christian Hispania, and to the concentration of sources in some genres such as the historiographical, biographical dictionaries, geographical works or, less in number, the collections of fatwas, which constitute a rich corpus but limited in scope. It follows that problems, such as the organisation of space or the structures of cities for which the written sources emanating from the Christian kingdoms provide plenty of evidence, can only be resolved in the case of Gharb al-Andalus through a systematic use of archaeology

It is thus not surprising that this is present even within the historiography that, in the last three decades, has tried to decipher the history of the Gharb starting from written records. Its most significant feature is perhaps the priority given to syntheses of monographs, made necessary by the hitherto very incomplete nature

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<sup>13</sup> See Santiago Macias, “Islamic Archeology in Portugal”, in the “Islamic and Christian Medieval Archeology” chapter.

of knowledge about the Gharb society and the lack of sets of texts, the most recent being the weak essay by David Lopes for the *História de Portugal* “de Barcelos”<sup>14</sup>, where little attention is given to the regional particularities of the Gharb. The first and most important of these syntheses, presented as doctoral thesis in the 1980s, but published, in a revised version very different from the original, only in 2000<sup>15</sup>, owed much to the school of French Arabism. This is revealing, firstly, of the insipience of Portuguese medieval studies in this domain at the time, secondly, of the relative lack of interest of Spanish Arabism in the western periphery of Gharb al-Andalus, less appealing than the central regions which later would become Andalusia, but lying, above all, clearly outside the geographical spectrum of the myriad of regional monographs written after the Transition in Spain, through the sudden increase in the autonomous regions.

Reconstructing a narrative about regional history inside al-Andalus, while placing giving a great deal of emphasis on its structural aspects, Christophe Picard’s book places the Gharb within the dominant debates concerning the historiography of al-Andalus and the Western Mediterranean concerning the evolution of habitats and of militarisation (though with the lack of extensive archaeological work comparable to that carried out in the Sharq, the conclusions here are more tentative), and focusing on social evolution in the cities, leading to the establishment of a literate oligarchy. What is absent is any evaluation of how the system was radically transformed by the impact of Christian pressure and the consequent militarisation of society. Overall, Picard’s text remains, ten years after its publication and nearly thirty since its first version, the most ambitious synthesis yet produced. Only an accumulation of monographic studies, still in large part to be undertaken, will enable its substitution to be contemplated – especially as *Le Portugal Musulman* is just the first panel of a diptych, the second being the monumental study of the Islamic Atlantic Ocean, integrating the Gharb within its actual historical complex, linking it to the Andalusian and North African territories which come together in the Hispanic-Maghreb Gulf<sup>16</sup>. This is less cited, since it relates to a reality far more fluid than the territory, perhaps even more vital in the sense that it allows us to reconnect Portuguese history after 1415 with its earlier state of permanent ties to the Western Maghreb, both from the point of view of trade and of the fight for control of access to the Straits and the Gulf.

<sup>14</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, “O Domínio Árabe”..., pp. 391-431.

<sup>15</sup> PICARD, Christophe, *Le Portugal Musulman (VIII-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). L’Occident d’al-Andalus sous domination islamique*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000.

<sup>16</sup> IDEM, *L’océan Atlantique musulman: de la conquête arabe à l’époque almohade: navigation et mise en valeur des côtes dal-Andalus et du Maghreb occidental*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997.

Further syntheses were produced, though of a scope conditioned by the fact that they were all commissioned to form part of various histories of Portugal of a collective nature published in the 1990s, in an atmosphere of optimism and of a renewal of the national self-image following the crisis of 1973-1985. They are identified here through the names of their co-ordinators. The closest to the innovation movement begun by Borges Coelho is, in this respect, the *História* by Mattoso, the chapter on the Gharb being written by one of his disciples, Cláudio Torres, who from the outset was the head of CAM. The anthropological tone of the text, openly taking the long view, attempting a synthesis between archaeology and a markedly civilizational history, which is able to include the Gharb in the orientalisation currents that flow from the Mediterranean; the domain of events, which is the responsibility of Santiago Macias, forms a relatively autonomous corollary<sup>17</sup>. In all subsequent CAM material, monographs, catalogues and exhibitions, this point of view continued as a leitmotif.

In the *Nova História*, directed by Oliveira Marques, the text on the Gharb was divided into two volumes. In the former<sup>18</sup>, the author outlined, in a more informative than reflective manner, a structural overview of the history of the Gharb that provided a significant counterpoint to the work of Picard, until then unpublished, and taken as the most extensive contribution before the publication of the latter. In the second volume<sup>19</sup>, by the same author with Hermenegildo Fernandes and Francisco Pato de Macedo, analysis of structures gave place to the study of events between the entry of the Almoravids in al-Andalus and the end of the Almohad period, glossing the topic of “Muslim area” as a necessary part of understanding the “Christian area” and as such of the formation of the kingdom. An essential part of this joint analysis outlined the link between the dynamics of the political and military relationship on the one hand, and the fiscal crises, cyclical fluctuations and social crises on the other. The chapter concerning the Gharb in the *História*<sup>20</sup> directed by Medina, authored by the archaeologist Helena Catarino, crossed political history with data from an archaeology of the Gharb, then still in its infancy. Children of the same historiographical explosion of the 1990s, but born into the sphere of very

<sup>17</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, and MACIAS, Santiago, “O Gharb al-Andaluz”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 363-437.

<sup>18</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “O ‘Portugal’ Islâmico”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and SERRÃO, Joel (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 2: *Portugal das Invasões Germânicas à ‘Reconquista’*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1993, pp. 121-249.

<sup>19</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, and MACEDO, Francisco Pato de, “O Campo Muçulmano”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and SERRÃO, Joel (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalense à Crise do século XIV*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1996, pp. 64-88.

<sup>20</sup> CATARINO, Helena, “A Ocupação Islâmica”, in MEDINA, João (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal Medieval*, Amadora, Ediclube, 1993, pp. 47-92.

different projects, all these texts include syntheses still useful despite the natural aging resulting from the passing of almost two decades since they were written, which matters more for information stemming from archaeological data than for studies based on written sources.

Very recently, three new histories of Portugal have been added, between 2009 and early 2010, with very different contributions on the history of the Gharb. Disney<sup>21</sup> devotes some twenty pages, almost entirely supported by general English literature about the al-Andalus, with scant consideration of the specific nature of the Gharb, while B. Vasconcelos e Sousa's chapter in the History organised by Rui Ramos<sup>22</sup>, voluntarily considers only the relationship between the Gharb and the Portuguese Kingdom under formation, in accordance with the aims and scope of the book. However, the History published by A. Borges Coelho<sup>23</sup> clearly re-asserts his honour as the modern founder, in expanding his thesis about the centrality of the Gharb in the formation of Portugal, through a methodology of which he is one of most avid users in Portugal, micro-historical analysis intersecting with a discourse that keeps in constant view the historical sources and actors.

With the exception of the Borges Coelho *História*, the scarce presence of the Gharb al-Andalus in the other two texts, I believe, illustrates the limited progress made since the 1990s by a historiography founded on written sources, large part due, as has been shown, to the actual limitations of the published corpus of sources. Most of the results of the major project for the publication of sources on the Gharb al-Andalus, funded by Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) and headed by the Arabist linguist and historian Adel Sidarus<sup>24</sup>, of the University of Évora, are still awaited. When this finally sees the light of day, we will have the embryo of a suitable corpus. Decisive, for example, would be the publishing of the translation of the work of the great western Islamic polygraph of Ibn Bassam al Shantarini who, along with *Al Mann bil-Imam* by Ibn Sahib al-Sala, already translated by Huici Miranda, are two of the most important sources for the history of the Gharb written by regional authors. It is rather, however, the specification and stabilisation of a corpus of sources, preferably in a bilingual edition, than the individual contribution of any of these, that will provide the necessary leap forward in the work of historians. The example to be followed belongs more to the past than the present, being mainly focused on

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<sup>21</sup> DISNEY, Anthony R., *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 51-69.

<sup>22</sup> RAMOS, Rui, SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, and MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, A Esfera do Caos, 2009, pp. 39-44.

<sup>23</sup> COELHO, António Borges, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Donde Vemos*, Lisbon, Editorial Caminho, 2010, pp. 123-200.

<sup>24</sup> There is a presentation of the preliminary results in SIDARUS, Adel (ed.), *Fontes da História de al-Andalus e do Gharb*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Africanos e Asiáticos, 2000.

the reconstruction of a poetic corpora<sup>25</sup>: of note are the direct translations from Arabic, which in some cases are the first Western language versions of fragments of *Takmila* by Ibn al-Abbar, of *Kitab A'mal al-a'lam* by Ibn al-Khatib and of Ibn Sahib al-Sala, all the work to David Lopes<sup>26</sup>, or the *al-Hulla al-Siyara*, also by Ibn al-Abbar, of *Ta'rih 'Ulama' al-Andalus*, by Ibn al-Faradi and of *Kitab al-Sila*, by Ibn Bashkuwal, which constitute essential work by Martim Velho<sup>27</sup>, carried out under the auspices of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. These translations include key narrative texts and a particular *koyné* Arabic genre of the Abbasid and post-Abbasid period, the biographical dictionaries, an absolutely central source for social history because they were themselves related to the increasing importance of literate individuals as political agents and spiritual leaders of the community. Here again, recent contributions to the enlargement of the corpus have come from the work of Spanish Arabism through the Madrid Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) group, responsible for the publication of the *Estudios Onomástico Biográficos de al-Andalus* (EOBA) begun by Manuela Marín and Maribel Fierro, many of the volumes already published containing vital information on the Gharb<sup>28</sup>. In two other textual areas, epigraphy and numismatics, at the intersection of history and archaeology, the situation was unequally structured: with regard to the former, the corpus of inscriptions set up by Nykl<sup>29</sup> was updated by Labarta and Barceló<sup>30</sup>, and then by Goulart<sup>31</sup>, although with limited scope in terms of historiography, since a significant proportion of the entries were funeral in nature, and therefore extremely repetitive. With regard to the latter, the important findings of Islamic numismatics made over time did not produce a sufficiently wide-ranging set of

<sup>25</sup> Due mainly to Doina Zugravescu and Adalberto Alves, some of which have been collected together in *Rosa do Mundo. 2001 Poemas para o Futuro*. Lisbon, Assírio e Alvim, 2001. André Simões and Nadia Ben Tahar of the Centro de Estudos Clássicos at Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon, have a project underway to publish a poetic corpora from the Gharb al-Andalus.

<sup>26</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, *Os Árabes nas Obras de Alexandre Herculano...*, pp. 98-129 and also, with regard to Ibn Sahib, IDEM, "O Cid português: Geraldo Sem Pavor (novas fontes árabes sobre os seus feitos e morte)", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. 1 (1941), pp. 93-109. The author has also translated other fragments of 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, of Ibn al-Athir and Ibn Sa'id, in IDEM, "Cousas árabe-portuguesas", *O Archeologo Portugues*, vol. 1 (1895), pp. 273.279.

<sup>27</sup> VELHO, Martim, "Excertos da obra de Ibn al-Abbar 'Al-Hulla al-Siyara' [...]", *A Cidade de Évora*, yr. 22-24 nos. 48/50 (1965-1967), pp. 93-102; IDEM, "Varões Árabes Ilustres do Andaluz Ocidental. Biografias traduzidas das obras de Ibn alFaradi e Ibn Bashkuwal", *Boletim da Junta Distrital de Évora*, no. 7 (1966), pp. 35-96; IDEM, "Trabalhos apresentados no Simpósio Internacional da Reconquista cristã na Península Ibérica", *ibid.*, pp. 97-152.

<sup>28</sup> *Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, vols. 1-15, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988-2008.

<sup>29</sup> NYKL, Alois Richard, *Arabic inscriptions in Portugal*, s. l., s. n., 1946.

<sup>30</sup> BARCELÓ, Carmen and, LABARTA, Ana, "Inscripciones Árabes portuguesas: situación actual", *Al Qantara*, vol. 8 (1987), pp. 395-420.

<sup>31</sup> BORGES, Artur Goulart de Melo, "Epigrafia Árabe no Gharb", in TORRES, Cláudio and MACÍAS, Santiago (eds.), *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998, pp. 27-255.

studies to establish them as a source for the history of economic patterns and their relationship with the established powers. José Rodrigues Marinho<sup>32</sup>, however, has in recent decades undertaken significant work in this area

Despite what has been said about the gaps in terms of the stabilisation of a heuristic corpus, a certain number of monographs, based at least partially on textual sources, have allowed some reformulation of perspectives in specific areas of the history of the Gharb, which may be grouped into three main thematic areas, namely, political, military history and fortified settlements; urban history and land organisation; and social history and elites. These are the themes that make up the profile of the historiography of al-Andalus as practised by contemporary French and Spanish Arabists, a fact demonstrating that the relative Portuguese weakness in this field does not arise from any lack of questions to be addressed.

The first stems simultaneously from the old theme of the intersection of the Arabist dedicated to al-Andalus, and the Medievalist focussed on the Reconquest, with the more recent historiographical debate about the regional variants of the process of “*incastellamento*” in the Western Mediterranean, to which the Gerona and Rome Colloquia (1992-1994)<sup>33</sup> gave fresh impetus, in a context of growing dependence on results from archaeology. This intersection has given rise to a series of monographs, linking the military circumstances of the historic conflict between the two societies present in the West of the Peninsula with reflection on the political circumstances. The period of the caliphate was studied by Pedro G. Barbosa, above all with regard to the Simancas campaign, but also in general terms concerning military organisation<sup>34</sup>. The battle for Lisbon, during the dissolution of the Almoravid empire, was the subject of a master’s dissertation, as yet unpublished, in which Inês Lourinho conducted a month-by-month analysis of the Islamic perspective over the two years that led to the city’s loss<sup>35</sup>. The campaigns for the conquest of the south of the Gharb, beginning with the loss and recovery of the Shilb kingdom by the Almohads and ending decisively with its incorporation into the Portuguese kingdom have been covered by A. Castro Henriques in a study more widely disseminated than normal for the collection in which it was published<sup>36</sup>. Finally, a contribution towards the military history of the Gharb was provided by

<sup>32</sup> For example, MARINHO, José Rodrigues, “Moedas de Ahmad ibn Qasi batidas em Silves”, *O Arqueólogo Português*, 4th ser., vol. 3 (1985), pp. 177-196; IDEM, *Moedas muçulmanas de Beja e de Silves (Um achado monetário no concelho de Sesimbra)*, Lisbon, IN – CM, 1968 and, above all, IDEM, “A moeda no Gharb al-Ândalus”, in TORRES, Cláudio, and MACÍAS, Santiago (eds.), *Portugal Islâmico...*, pp. 175-187.

<sup>33</sup> See footnote 12 above.

<sup>34</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Reconquista Cristã. Séculos IX-XII*, Lisbon, Êsquilo, 2008.

<sup>35</sup> LOURINHO, Inês, *1147: Uma conjuntura vista a partir das fontes muçulmanas*, master’s dissertation in Medieval History submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> HENRIQUES, António Castro, *Conquista do Algarve (1189-1249). O Segundo Reino*, Lisbon, Tribuna da História, 2003.



Fernando Branco Correia's thesis, presented in the summer of 2010, concerning military structures and fortified settlements in the Gharb, solidly backed up by written sources and providing an analytical corpus it will be difficult to surpass<sup>37</sup>. More varied in perspective and wide-ranging in theme have been the colloquia organised over the past decade by the Palmela Town Council, with presentations by Isabel Cristina Fernandes, alone or in collaboration with Mário Barroca and Fernando Branco Correia. One dedicated to fortifications in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb, was undoubtedly a landmark in Portuguese historiography and the archaeology of the Gharb<sup>38</sup>, concerning the territorialisation and militarisation of frontier society<sup>39</sup>.

A second topic on which there has been significant recent progress concerns the history of cities and the organisation of the territory under their control. A major work of synthesis exists for this topic, written on the scale of al-Andalus, but with the Gharb very well represented. This is obviously the self-evidently Christine Mazzoli Guintard's work<sup>40</sup>, on which, I believe, all attempts to describe the urban history of the Gharb should be based. This is because here, above all, and more than in the political field, we are situated within an urban network unaffected by the geographical boundaries between the western territories and the rest of al-Andalus. The most significant monographs written from this perspective have come from Santiago Macias, who after studying the fortress of a secondary *madina*, Mértola, devoted himself to rebuilding its relations with the *kura* to which it belonged, namely Beja, studying it and its territory even beyond the period when the relationship was no longer operational<sup>41</sup>. Studies by Rosa Varela Gomes and Maria José Gonçalves on Silves, although based significantly on archaeology, have also provided important contributions to urban history<sup>42</sup>. The same could be said of the archaeological work carried out in Lisbon

<sup>37</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, *Fortificação, guerra e poderes no Gharb al-Andalus (dos inícios da islamização ao domínio norte-africano)*, doctoral thesis in History submitted to the University of Évora, Évora, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magrebe (500-1500)*, proceedings, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2002.

<sup>39</sup> Published before and after the foundation of GEOS (1997), the proceedings of the "Encontros sobre Ordens Militares" I-V (1991-2009). Proceedings of the VI Encontro, in preparation.

<sup>40</sup> MAZZOLI-GUINTARD, Christine, *Villes d'al-Andalus, L'Espagne et le Portugal à l'époque musulmane (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1996.

<sup>41</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola Islâmica. Estudo Histórico-Arqueológico do Bairro da Alçáçova (séculos XII-XIII)*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1996; IDEM, *Mértola. O último porto do Mediterrâneo*, 3 vols., Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2005.

<sup>42</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, *Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus. Território e Cultura*. Lisbon, Instituto Português de arqueologia, 2002; EADEM, *Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: a Alçáçova*. Lisbon, Instituto Português de arqueologia, 2004; GONÇALVES, Maria José, *Silves Islâmica: a muralha do arrabalde oriental e a dinâmica de ocupação do espaço adjacente*, 2 vols., master's dissertation in Theory and Methods of Archaeology submitted to the Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais of the University of Algarve, Faro, 2008.

(Ana Gomes, Alexandra Gaspar, Jacinta Bugalhão), Santarém (Catarina Viegas), Alcácer do Sal (Marisol, António Carvalho, Ana Catarina Cabrita)<sup>43</sup>, Palmela (Isabel Cristina Fernandes)<sup>44</sup>, Sintra (Maria Catarina Coelho), Moura (Santiago Macias)<sup>45</sup>, Tavira (Manuel and Maria Maia)<sup>46</sup>, Faro and Loulé (Isabel Luzia)<sup>47</sup>. In the complex of the urban centres of the Gharb, one seems left out, through circumstances linked to the particular conditions concerning the interaction between the urban fabric of the Islamic city and its Christian successor: Évora<sup>48</sup>.

This list contrasts sharply with the wilderness of thirty years ago. It could, however, be enriched. In many cases, archaeological excavations have not resulted in syntheses or even monographs, and there has been scarce utilisation of this work by historians. The map of the Islamic sites in Lisbon recently unveiled by Jacinta Bugalhão represents a reversal of that trend, which had already been attempted in monographic sketches of Santarém, Sintra and Coruche by Hermenegildo Fernandes and in the former case, by Adel Sidarus<sup>49</sup>, and above all, in more systematic manner, in Fernando Branco Correia's thesis on medieval Elvas, which included a precious monograph on the Islamic Yelbash<sup>50</sup>. At the time of writing, three master's dissertations are in progress at Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon (FL-UL), Filipa Santos on the territory of the Middle Tagus, André Leitão on the

<sup>43</sup> Lisbon, Santarém and Alcácer are well represented in LACERDA, Manuel, et al. (eds.), *Garb. Sítios Islâmicos do Sul Peninsular*, Lisbon / Badajoz, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico / Junta de Extremadura, 2001. Lisbon was the subject of a thematic issue of the Campo Arqueológico de Mértola journal, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 7. Santarém was the focus of the exhibition catalogue, ARRUDA, Ana, VIEGAS, Catarina, and ALMEIDA, Maria José de (eds.), *De Scallabis a Santarém*, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 2002. Regarding Alcácer do Sal the theses by António Rafael de Carvalho and Ana Catarina Cabrita are awaited with great interest.

<sup>44</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *O Castelo de Palmela: do islâmico ao cristão*. Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2004.

<sup>45</sup> It is hoped that the excavation of the fortress, now underway, will provide very significant results about a large scale *hisn*.

<sup>46</sup> MAIA, Maria, et al., *Tavira. Território e Poder*, Lisbon / Tavira, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia / Câmara Municipal de Tavira, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> A look at the state of the art in terms of Islamic sites in the current Algarve is provided in GÓMEZ-MARTÍNEZ, Susana, "Reflexão crítica sobre o estado da investigação para o período medieval islâmico no Algarve", *Xelb*, no. 10 (2010), pp. 497-508.

<sup>48</sup> VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, and FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, "O urbanismo de Évora no período medieval", *Monumentos*, no. 26 (2007), pp. 6-15.

<sup>49</sup> FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, "Em torno de Shantaran. Posição e funções", in ARRUDA, Ana, VIEGAS, Catarina, and ALMEIDA, Maria José de (eds.), *De Scallabis a Santarém...*, pp. 47-59; IDEM, "Mar Adentro: Sintra e a organização do território entre Lisboa e o Oceano depois da conquista cristã", in MACIEL, M. J., et al., *Contributos para a História Medieval de Sintra*, Sintra, Câmara Municipal de Sintra, 2008, pp. 77-98; IDEM, "Quando o Além-Tejo era 'fronteira': Coruche da militarização à territorialização", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (ed.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do Mundo Ocidental. Actas do IV Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2005, pp. 451-483. SIDARUS, Adel, "Shantaran/Santarém, fronteira ambi-valente islamo-cristã", in SIDARUS, Adel, et al., *Santarém na Idade Média*, Santarém, Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2007, pp. 319-335.

<sup>50</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, *Elvas na Idade Média*, master's dissertation in Medieval History submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 1999.

territory between Lisbon and Santarém, and Luís Gonçalves on the peri-urban area in Western Lisbon, as well as the doctoral thesis by Manuel Fialho, concerning the topography of Lisbon between the twelfth century and 1325, each representing an attempt to contribute to an urban history that takes off retrospectively from written Christian and Muslim sources but always takes account of the contribution of archaeology. A further way to enrich this line of research relates to a consideration of the spaces belonging to the area of influence of a *madina*, which were fashioned into a typology of rural settlements. Here, however, the gaps are much greater than in the field of urban history, with much work to be done, both in terms of what is possible for historians, namely the retrospective inventory of sites from Portuguese and Latin sources, and the mammoth task of the extensive archaeology, indispensable to the study of the sites. Important exceptions include the work carried out by Boone at the Alcaria Longa site<sup>51</sup>, the excavation of a neighbouring *alcaria* at Palmela by Isabel Cristina Fernandes, the probings by Mathieu Grangé in the Mira basin and, of course, the monumental work carried out by Helena Catarino in the Western Algarve *serra*<sup>52</sup>, which has by far been the most significant contribution to clarifying questions of the transition between the settlement models in the Gharb al-Andalus.

Finally, a third topic of research, perhaps the one with the most distance still to be travelled and certainly the most immune to the ubiquitous contribution of archaeology, relates to the regional history of social structures and elites. The decisive contribution has come from Spain, despite the translations of Martin Velho having opened an area never really exploited beyond the almost anecdotal and localist linking of the literate individuals listed in the dictionaries to their areas of origin, enabling the folkloric search for an Arab past to feature in local histories without the semblance of a full explanation, much less an interpretative model. Having passed the scrutiny of social history, however, both these sources and the quite analytical nature of the narratives provide a relevant counterpoint to the family reconstitutions permitted by contemporary Christian sources, though almost always restricted to nobility. The explorative work performed by the EOBA has revealed exactly that. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the most recent and relevant contributions to the social history of the Gharb come from Madrid, through the work of Manuela Marín and her studies on the *ulemah* of Beja<sup>53</sup>, together with Teresa Garulo, who

<sup>51</sup> BOONE, James, "The first two seasons of excavations at Alcaria Longa", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 1 (1992), pp. 51-64.

<sup>52</sup> CATARINO, Helena, "O Algarve oriental durante a ocupação islâmica. Povoamento rural e recintos fortificados", *Al-'Ulya*, no. 6, 3 vols. (1997-1998).

<sup>53</sup> MARÍN, Manuela, "Los Ulemas de Beja. Formación e desaparición de una elite urbana", in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média, problemas metodológicos*, Lisbon, Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2001, pp. 27-44.

has mainly considered the authors of poetic texts<sup>54</sup>. The path of a social history of culture, where the number of Portuguese devotees dedicated to the history of the Garb continues to dwindle, is thus laid out. From this point of view, consideration of the text as a literary witness is left to the historians of literature, leaving the historian to assess the role of knowledge as a determinant in conferring status in medieval Islamic society. Along the same lines, Natália Nunes is conducting post-doctoral research at the Centro de História at FL-UL on “profane and mystical literature of the Gharb al-Andalus”. Other scattered pieces have examined elites, the synthesis by Picard cited earlier being the only text taking an integrated view of the problem. A master's dissertation, submitted in 2011 by Ana Luisa Miranda, returned to the problem of the impact of tribalisation on Western Andalusian society<sup>55</sup>. Picard and Sidarus pored over the period of the first *Fitna* and the meaning of the *muwalladun* regional dynasty<sup>56</sup>. In a thesis yet to be published, Hermenegildo Fernandes outlined an interpretation of the social contradictions that obstructed Gharb society in the second half of the twelfth century<sup>57</sup>. Some islands in an ocean yet to be explored.

It is precisely here, then, that the first priority area for study should be located. Thoroughly enlightened by the biographical dictionaries, the eleventh and twelfth centuries have emerged as a potentially fertile period for studying the dimensions of the processes of urbanisation in Gharb society confirmed, moreover, by data as diverse as that which the Working Group on Gharb al-Andalus ceramics has been collecting, showing that a notable phenomenon in the period involved concentration around the urban centres and a reduction / simplification of the territorial network<sup>58</sup>. Who was managing this process and who benefited from it are questions that only a prosopographic-based social history can answer. In this sense, the study of the *ulemah* and the *fuqaha* will be working as a gateway to the world and to an aristocracy starting to suffer the effects of militarisation. It will be necessary to measure this effect, as well as to determine its social penetration and to evaluate the possible distinctions between Andalusian and Berber elements.

<sup>54</sup> For example, SARA, Ibn, *Poemas del Fuego y otras Casidas*, editing, translation and study by Teresa Garulo, Madrid, Hiperión, 2001.

<sup>55</sup> MIRANDA, Ana Luisa Sérulo, *O sudoeste do Gharb al-Andalus nos séculos VIII e IX: relações sociais e território*, master's dissertation within the specialisation area of Iberian and Mediterranean South submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>56</sup> PICARD, Christophe, “Le Renouveau urbain en Occident Ibérique aux IX-X siècles sous l’impulsion des seigneurs Muwalladun”, offprint from *Les Primes et les Pouvoirs au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993, pp. 49-67. SIDARUS, Adel, “Amaya de Ibn Marwan: Marvão”, *Ibn Marwan*, no. 1 (1991), pp. 13-26; IDEM, “Um texto árabe do século X relativo à nova fundação de Évora e aos movimentos muladi e berbere no Ocidente Andaluz”, *A Cidade de Évora*, nos. 71-76 (1994), pp. 7-37.

<sup>57</sup> FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, *Entre Mouros e Cristãos. A sociedade de fronteira no sudoeste peninsular interior (séculos XII-XIII)*, doctoral thesis in Medieval History submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2000.

<sup>58</sup> GOMES, Ana, et al., “CIGA: Projecto de sistematização para a cerâmica islâmica do Gharb al-Andalus”, *Xelb*, no. 10 (2010), pp. 455-476.

A second, almost entirely unexplored area is the period of the first Taifas in the Gharb. While it is true that almost all syntheses devote considerable attention to it, the lack of monographic studies is total, at least for the Taifas that have no relation with current Spanish territory. If the Taifas of Badajoz and Seville are well known, the south-western, more ephemeral ones are deserving of monographic studies, despite the obvious limitations of the written sources in this regard. It is also relevant to follow these territories in the processes of becoming part of their powerful neighbouring Taifas and their characteristics during the Almoravid period, concerning which the information vacuum is perhaps even greater. Therefore, the priority in terms of time would be the period extending from the end of the Fitna until the Almoravid decline in the 40s. Part of these circumstances will be considered in Inês Lourinho's doctoral thesis, still at an early stage, on the "West of al-Andaluz: area of confrontation between Christians and Almoravids (1093-1147)".

Finally, a third area of potential research would focus on the transition between the Christian and Muslim societies, which in the West meant the end of the Gharb al-Andalus as a separate society and its inclusion into the Portuguese kingdom. It is precisely the forms of that inclusion that are far from having been clarified by historiography. We know enough about the political and military history of the Portuguese Reconquest but, on the contrary, rather little about the Gharb society in the epoch of the conquest, especially because, in terms of its duration as a frontier and the inevitable ensuing processes of militarisation, the mechanical transposition of the earlier structures would certainly have led to anachronism. As such it is through the direct path of that society as well as indirectly through the contact processes that took place in the earlier period further north, that the legacy of the Gharb enters into the genetics of the formation of the kingdom. And it is there, in that time period and through the Latin and Romance sources that bear witness to this, where the road stands open for us to follow.

## The Mozarabs in the Western Iberian Peninsula

### *Foreword*

Before presenting the historiography of the Mozarabs, it may be useful to indicate the delimitation of this work. The designation “Mozarab”, may be either a noun or an adjective, and so in languages like Portuguese and English it has a double meaning: the first, as used in academic circles, is very accurate and satisfactory; the second, found in current school textbooks and reference tools on paper or on the Internet, is imprecise, dubious, and often down-right wrong. At times, there is no good grasp of what is, in fact, being designated. It is also the case that both the concept and the profile of the Mozarab, are in a certain stage of reassessment, even in Portugal, but especially outside, with the academic community not completely immune to that reality.

As for the studies under review, it should be noted that, given the chronology established for this work, that is, starting as far as possible from 1950, we would refer those who want an overview of the historiography of the Mozarab issue in Portugal, to the synthesis “Os Moçárabes”, by José Mattoso, which presents, on the basis of the bibliography available in 1985, a general overview of the Christians who were Arab speakers from the Gharb al-Andalus<sup>59</sup>. Although this study is nearly three decades old, it continues to indicate general lines of research, some of which have only very recently been broached for the first time. This essay, then, will consider mainly historiographical work (in history, archaeology and history of art) undertaken during these six decades, though, as also pointed out by José Mattoso, this task requires a wholly multidisciplinary approach. In fact, for the study of the Mozarabs, as a human mass cut off from the exercise of power, both during the Islamic period, and later, in the period of the Reconquest, when the Iberian monarchies definitively devoted themselves to the creed of Rome and abandoned their “Mozarab identity”, the documentation most commonly utilised by the historian became increasingly sparse. All contributions that in the future can supplement the general picture, whether from linguistics, anthropology or archaeology, will undoubtedly be welcome.

It remains to explain my adoption of the title “The Mozarabs in the Western Iberian Peninsula”, which seems more accurate, given the pressures on space, and

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<sup>59</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Os Moçárabes”, *Revista Lusitana*, n. s., no. 6 (1985), pp. 5-24; reedited in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval*, 2nd ed. [1st ed., 1987] Lisbon, Estampa, 1993, pp. 19-34.

is not intended to minimise the continuity of Christian inheritors of the Visigothic Rite, as fully part of the Gharb al-Andalus, and afterwards as subjects of the novel kingdom of Portugal.

### *Before 1950*

For about a century, from Alexandre Herculano, in the mid-nineteenth century until 1950, and even beyond, Portuguese researchers who worked on this subject were predominantly linguists. Their main goal was to try and specify exactly what had been the contribution of the Mozarabs to the formation and early evolution of the Portuguese language<sup>60</sup>, though some historiographical analyses had also been developed around the possible importance of the Mozarabs for the emergence of the Portuguese "nation"<sup>61</sup>. A sign and direct consequence of this approach is the fact that José Pedro Machado<sup>62</sup>, the author of the entry "Moçárabes" in the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, first published in 1961, was a disciple of David Lopes, and as such a man whose training was linguistically-based.

### *Post – 1950*

Between 1950 and 1980, the Mozarab question was studied mainly as a secondary issue, although some pioneering work stands out. The lack of academic work may be attributed firstly to the proximity between the ideology of the *Estado Novo* and the more conservative currents of the Catholic Church, which tended to reject anything to do with Arabs and Mozarabs; later, in the years following the 25 April 1974, historians were predominantly interested in economic history. These two factors hindered any significant alteration in this regard.

In 1958, Manuel Viegas Guerreiro published the fourth volume of *Etnografia Portuguesa*, which dealt extensively in which the Mozarabs from an ethnographic perspective, but which managed in a decisive manner to give real substance to that group, not limited to listing scattered dates, place names or sets of words. The artistic component, and especially an initial version of the "cartography" of the

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<sup>60</sup> It is sufficient to review the comments on works mentioned in the previous footnotes to understand that goal and the training of the respective authors, through their titles. The main names of this period were David Lopes, Leite de Vasconcelos and Adolfo Coelho.

<sup>61</sup> SOARES, Torquato de Sousa, *Contribuição para o Estudo das Origens do Povo Português*, Universidade de Luanda, Sá da Bandeira, 1970, in particular pp. 178-182 and nn. 70-76.

<sup>62</sup> MACHADO, José Pedro, "Moçárabes", in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1961-71 (2nd impression, 6 vols., s. l., Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979; 2nd ed., 6 vols., Oporto, Figueirinhas, 1989). This entry does not show signs of any later revision, concerning the innovative works published in the meantime, not even for the 2nd impression (1979), nor, later, for the 2nd edition (1989).

Mozarab communities within Portugal, helped to bring greater clarity to the socio-cultural reality of the Christians who had lived under the Islamic authorities<sup>63</sup>. In the late 1960s, Pedro Cunha Serra detected Mozarab presences in the northwest of the Peninsula using toponymical information<sup>64</sup>. A few years later, in 1972, the priest Avelino de Jesus da Costa addressed the relationship between the martyr Saint Iria, her worship and the place name “Santarém”<sup>65</sup>, making it clear that this name, of Christian origin, substituting the former “Scalabis”, survived throughout the Islamic period, and that the current form is phonetically derived from the Arab language<sup>66</sup>. Finally, mention should be made of the key study by Gérard Pradalié, published in 1974, about the instability of Coimbra at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth century<sup>67</sup>.

Several institutional changes in Portuguese universities followed the 25 April 1974, and what is especially interesting is the one that led to archaeology, formerly part of the history curriculum, becoming autonomous in terms of training and research. The interest in excavations, as well as new alternatives to traditional research in archives and libraries, helped change the overall approach to the medieval period: medieval archaeology was undertaken, and not only as hitherto on prehistoric and Roman sites. Interest in the Islamic-Arab period, or perhaps better, Hispano-Arab, brought by extension interest in the Mozarabs.

Monastic documentation proved a valuable source of knowledge in this area. One should emphasise, as a pioneer in the late 1970s, the attention given by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, in her study of the Arouca monastery, to the relationship of the monastery with the Mozarabs<sup>68</sup>. In a more continuous form, and also under the framework of studies that, from the end of the 1960s, would renew knowledge of the origins of the Portucalense and then Portuguese nobility, José Mattoso began to recognise, throughout the 1980s, a certain degree of “Mozarabisation” of those

<sup>63</sup> VASCONCELOS, José Leite de, and GUERREIRO, José Viegas, “Moçárabes”, in *Etnografia Portuguesa*, (10 vols., 1933-1989) vol. 4, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1958, pp. 254-298. These new studies were so important and substantial that they took up 28 (pp. 271-298) of the 44 pages of the chapter, that is, practically 2/3 of the total.

<sup>64</sup> SERRA, Pedro Cunha, *Contribuição topo-antroponímica para o estudo do povoamento no Noroeste peninsular*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Filológicos, 1967. It is possible that this corpus has not yet been fully exploited, or even linguistically re-evaluated and historiographically contextualised.

<sup>65</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, “Santa Iria e Santarém”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, no. 14 (1972), pp. 9-63, 521-530. Contributions to be taken into consideration concerning the question of Saint Irene, Irina or Iria, are to be found in SOBRAL, Cristina, “Santa Iria, virgem e trágica”, *Colóquio-Letras*, no. 142 (1996), pp. 137-146; and also reconsidered in EADEM, *Adições Portuguesas no Flos Sanctorum de 1513 (estudo e edição crítica)*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2001.

<sup>66</sup> REI, António, “Santarém e o Vale do Tejo na geografia árabe”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 9 (2005), pp. 61-75, particularly appendix III: “O topónimo arabisado de Santarém”, p. 74.

<sup>67</sup> PRADALIÉ, Gérard, “Les faux de la Cathédrale et la crise à Coïmbre au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez*, vol. 10 (1974), pp. 77-97.

<sup>68</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao XIII*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Universidade, 1977 (2nd ed., Arouca, Câmara Municipal de Arouca, 1988).



noblemen<sup>69</sup>. This line of research was pursued with regard to the gentlemen of *Entre Douro e Mondego*, some years later, in 1989, in the study drawn up by the same historian, with Luis Krus and Amélia Andrade<sup>70</sup>. In addition to these works, it is worth mentioning again, and due to its importance, the synthesis that José Mattoso, around the same time, devoted to the Mozarabs, who were directly considered as an object of study<sup>71</sup>. From this point on, nothing would be as before.

From the 1980s, academic literature on the subject increased significantly from the 1980s, and the term “Mozarab” began to appear explicitly in the titles of works, something hitherto uncommon until. Let us mention some of the more important authors of this period: António Losa, with several studies between 1983 and 1986 on monetary circulation in the region of Coimbra<sup>72</sup>; the works of Gerard Pradalié, returning to the Mozarab Coimbra; and Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, on Mozarab art<sup>73</sup>.

In the 1990s, the growth was accentuated as several foreign researchers, mainly French who were already studying this theme in Spain, extended their work to include what is nowadays Portugal. Another factor was a greater diversity of approaches: art history began to be addressed, in itself or in combination with archaeology, and definitively entered this subject area. Among the Portuguese, besides António Losa<sup>74</sup>, one can highlight the name of Manuel Real<sup>75</sup>, and amongst

<sup>69</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Ricos – Homens, Infanções e Cavaleiros*, Lisbon, Guimarães & C<sup>a</sup>. Editores, 1982; and IDEM, *Identificação de um País*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Estampa, 1985.

<sup>70</sup> MATTOSO, José, KRUS, Luís, and ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *O Castelo e a Feira. A Terra de Santa Maria nos séculos XI a XIII*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1989.

<sup>71</sup> See above footnote 59.

<sup>72</sup> LOSA, António, “A moeda entre os moçárabes nos séculos X e XI (Segundo o Liber Testamentorum de Lorvão)”, *Revista de Guimarães*, vol. 93 (1983), pp. 219-229; IDEM, “The money among the Mozarabs of Portuguese territory (Data obtained from the Livro Preto of the See of Coimbra)”, in MARQUES, Mário Gomes (ed.), *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area. An International Symposium*, Santarém, Instituto Politécnico de Santarém, 1984, pp. 283-294; IDEM, “Moçárabes em território português nos séculos X e XI: contribuição para o estudo da antroponímia no Liber Testamentorum de Lorvão”, in SIDARUS, Adel (ed.), *Islão e arabismo na Península Ibérica: Actas do XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos* (Évora, Sept.-Oct. 1982), Évora, Universidade de Évora, 1986, pp. 273-289 + est. I-III [also published in: SIDARUS, Adel (ed.), *Islão e arabismo em terra lusitana: contribuições portuguesas para o XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamógrafos*, Universidade de Évora, 1986, pp. 39-55].

<sup>73</sup> PRADALIÉ, Gérard, “Du Portugal mozarabe au Portugal romanisé: l'exemple de Coimbre”, in AUBIN, Jean (dir.), *Histoire du Portugal, Histoire européenne: Actes du Colloque, Paris 22-23 Mai 1986*, Paris, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian / Centre Culturel Portugais, 1987, pp. 15-17; ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, “Arte Moçárabe e da Reconquista”, in ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 2: *A Arte da Alta Idade Média*, Lisbon, Alfa, 1988, pp. 95-146.

<sup>74</sup> LOSA, António, “O desabrochar duma nacionalidade: retalhos de herança árabe e moçárabe”, in *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães 'D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época'*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães / Universidade do Minho, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 255-273.

<sup>75</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, “Inovação e resistência: dados recentes sobre a antiguidade cristã no Ocidente Peninsular”, in GURT ESPARRAGUERA, Josep Maria, and TENA, Núria (eds.), *IV Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (Lisboa, 1992), Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica, 4, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1995, pp. 17-68. IDEM, “Os moçárabes de Gharb português”, in MACIAS, Santiago, and TORRES, Cláudio (coords.), *Portugal islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de

the French that of Christophe Picard<sup>76</sup>. Also worthy of note are two other studies, one by A. Brito Cardoso, on Coimbra after the 1064 conquest<sup>77</sup>, and the other, by Tarquínio Hall, concerning the Lourosa church<sup>78</sup>.

The *Histórias de Portugal*, published in the mid-1990s sought to give a new visibility to the Mozarabs, who ceased to have linguists as their main spokespersons. The change that had come about was such that in those *Histórias*, the chapters on the Mozarabs began to be written by archaeologists<sup>79</sup> or by historians<sup>80</sup>, more usually the former.

The first decade of the present century can be divided into two periods for the purpose of this theme: until 2005 and from 2005 until the time of the writing.

Between 2000 and 2005, a strong presence was the consistent work of Manuel Real<sup>81</sup>; Paulo Almeida Fernandes emerged, with several essays following a similar approach, poised between the history of art and archaeology, and in 2002, presented his master's dissertation on Mozarab art<sup>82</sup>. But other authors became prominent, with articles synthesising the Mozarabs in the sphere of religious history, such as

Museus / Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998, pp. 35-56.

<sup>76</sup> PICARD, Christophe, "Quelques aspects des relations entre chrétiens et musulmans dans les zones de confins du Nord-ouest de la Péninsule ibérique (IXe-XIe siècles)", in *Études d'Histoire*, Saint-Étienne, Centre de Recherches Historiques, Université de Saint-Etienne, 1990, pp. 5-26; IDEM, "Les mozarabes dans l'Occident ibérique", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, vol. 51 (1992), pp. 77-88; IDEM, "Minorités religieuses et pouvoirs au Portugal: mozarabes et mudéjars à Lisbonne et Santarém", in DURANTON, Henri, GIRAUD, Jacqueline, and BOUTER, Nicole (eds), *Maisons de Dieu et Hommes d'Église*, Saint-Étienne, Centre Européen de Recherches sur les Congrégations et Ordres Religieux, Université Jean Monnet, 1992, pp. 165-178; IDEM, "Sanctuaires et pèlerinages chrétiens en terre musulmane: l'Occident de l'Andalus (Xe-XIIIe siècles)", in *Pèlerinages et croisades. 118e Congrès des Sociétés Savantes* (Pau, 1983), Paris, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques (CTHS), 1995, pp. 235-247; IDEM, "La mémoire religieuse des lieux: des cultes chrétiens aux cultes musulmans sur les rivages d'al-Andalus", in CAROZZI, Claude, and TAVIANI-CAROZZI, Huguette (dirs.), *Faire Mémoire. Souvenir et commémoration au Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence, Université de Provence, 1999, pp. 259-275.

<sup>77</sup> CARDOSO, António de Brito, "Coimbra após a segunda Reconquista: a Escola da Catedral", *Munda* no. 26 (1993), pp. 59-68;

<sup>78</sup> HALL, Tarquínio, "Igreja moçárabica de Lourosa", *ibid.*, pp. 47-50.

<sup>79</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, "Cristianismo e islamismo", in MATTOSO, José (coord.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Antes de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1992, pp. 405-409; CATARINO, Helena, "A ocupação islâmica", in MEDINA, João (coord.), *História de Portugal...*, vol. 3, pp. 47-93, particularly 71-72.

<sup>80</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, "Comunidades cristãs e judaicas" and "A fé cristã", in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and SERRÃO, Joel (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal...*, vol. 2, pp. 180-181 and 201-205.

<sup>81</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, "Portugal: cultura visigoda e cultura moçárabe", in CABALLERO ZOREDA, Luis, and MATEOS CRUZ, Pedro (coords.), *Visigodos y Omeyas: un debate entre la Antigüedad tardía y la alta Edad Media*, proceedings of the International Symposium [Mérida, 1999], *Anejos del Archivo Español de Arqueología*, vol. 23 (2000), pp. 21-75.

<sup>82</sup> FERNANDES, Paulo Manuel Almeida, *A Igreja pré-românica de São Pedro de Lourosa*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2002; IDEM, *A Mesquita-Catedral de Idanha-a-Velha*, Lisbon, Centro de Ciência das Religiões – Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, 2001; IDEM, "O ajimez moçárabe reaproveitado no castelo de Soure", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, pp. 796-801; IDEM, "A marginalidade do lado cristão: o breve exemplo dos moçárabes de Lisboa", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, et al. (eds.), *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média – Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, Livraria Civilização Editora, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 1231-1237.

Joaquim Lavajo, Filomena Barros, and Maria de Lurdes Rosa<sup>83</sup>. Amongst the French, in addition to Picard, the work of Jean-Pierre Molénat should be highlighted<sup>84</sup>.

We would also draw attention to two main features of the second phase. Firstly, the fact that various researchers, from different and very differentiated beginnings, ended up studying the Mozarab theme, with the principal names to be cited including Pedro Picoito, Maria Isabel Dias, Armando Pereira, Ana Pagará, Isabel Alves Moreira, Manuel Fialho Silva, Inês Lourinho and Adel Sidarus<sup>85</sup>.

Secondly, and worthy of mention because they are still in progress or recently concluded, is a set of in-depth academic studies on the Mozarab topic. In 2006, Maria Luísa Marques de Azevedo presented her doctoral thesis in Portuguese Linguistics, analysing place names in the former *Condado Conimbricense*<sup>86</sup>; and in 2008, Mário de Gouveia's master's dissertation in Medieval History dealt with

<sup>83</sup> LAVAJO, Joaquim Chorão, "Os moçárabes portugueses", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores / Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 92-102; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, "Moçárabes", *ibid.*, vol.: J-P [2001], pp. 246-249; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "A religião no século: vivências e devoções dos leigos", *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 423-510.

<sup>84</sup> PICARD, Christophe, "Les chrétiens mozarabes: encadrement religieux et déclin. (L'exemple du Gharb al-Andalus)", in BRESC, Henry, and VEAUUVY, Christiane (dirs.), *Mutations d'identités en Méditerranée. Moyen Âge et époque contemporaine*, Paris, Bouchène, 2000, pp. 97-110; IDEM, "Les mozarabes de Lisbonne: le problème de l'assimilation et de la conversion des chrétiens sous domination musulmane à la lumière de l'exemple de Lisbonne", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 7 (2001), pp. 89-94; MOLÉNAT, Jean-Pierre, "Mozarabes et mudéjars du Gharb al-Andalus devant la conquête chrétienne", in GAMITO, Teresa Júdice (ed.), *Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos – O Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico: Actas do Colóquio Internacional* (Faro, 2000), Faro, Centro de Cultura Árabe, Islâmica e Mediterrânea (CCAIMed) / Universidade do Algarve, 2004, pp. 207-212; IDEM, "Los mozarabes entre al-Andalus y el Norte peninsular", in VACA LORENZO, Angel (coord.) *Minorías y migraciones en la Historia*, XV Jornadas de Estudios (Salamanca, 2003), Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2004, pp. 11-24; IDEM, "La fin des chrétiens arabisés d'al-Andalus. Mozarabes de Tolède et du Gharb au XIe siècle", in AILLET, Cyrille, PENELAS, Mayte, and ROISSE, Philippe (coords.), *¿Existe una identidad mozarabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2008, pp. 287-297.

<sup>85</sup> PICOITO, Pedro, "A transladação de São Vicente. Consenso e conflito na Lisboa do século XII", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 4, no. 4 (2008), available at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/medievalista-picoito.htm](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/medievalista-picoito.htm); IDEM, "Identidade e Resistência. São Vicente e os Moçárabes de Lisboa", *Xarajib*, no. 7: *Actas do I Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes* [IEM/CELAS] (2009), pp. 21- 34; IDEM, "Santos Moçárabes na Reconquista Portuguesa (Sécs. XII-XIII). Os casos de Santarém, Lisboa, Évora", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes* [IEM/CELAS], in press; DIAS, Maria Isabel, *Culto e Memória Textual de S. Vicente*, doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Algarve, Faro, 2003; PEREIRA, Armando, *Geraldo Sem Pavor. Um guerreiro de fronteira entre cristãos e muçulmanos*, Oporto, Fronteira do Caos, 2008; IDEM, "Sobrevivências cristãs no Gharb: o caso do milagre da Virgem de Faro", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*; PAGARÁ, Ana, SILVA, Nuno Vassallo e, and SERRÃO, Vítor, *Igreja de Vera Cruz de Marmelar*, Portel / Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Portel / Páginas Editores, 2006; PAGARÁ, Ana, "Análise histórico-arquitectónica da Igreja de Vera Cruz de Marmelar (Portel)", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*; MOREIRA, Isabel Alves, "Nos traços dos moçárabes: para uma investigação de hagiotoponímia no espaço português", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 105-114; EADEM, "O termo 'moçárabe' e equívocos circundantes", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*; SILVA, Manuel Fialho, and LOURINHO, Inês, "O hibridismo na sociedade olisiponense pós-1147", *ibid.*; SIDARUS, Adel, *Arabismo e Traduções árabes em meios luso-moçárabes*, Artigos LusoSofia [online], Covilhã, Universidade da Beira Interior, 2009 (23 pp.), available at: [www.lusosofia.net/textos/sidarus\\_adel\\_arabismos\\_e\\_traducoes\\_mossarabes.pdf](http://www.lusosofia.net/textos/sidarus_adel_arabismos_e_traducoes_mossarabes.pdf)

<sup>86</sup> AZEVEDO, Maria Luísa Seabra Marques de, *Toponímia Moçárabe do antigo Condado Conimbricense*, doctoral thesis in Portuguese Linguistics submitted to the FL-UC, Coimbra, 2006.

Mozarabism in the Coimbra region<sup>87</sup>. He had earlier published two works in the same area in 2007, the first on the cult of Saint Michael amongst the Mozarabs and the second regarding the cult of the Holy Martyrs of Lisbon<sup>88</sup>, and has since maintained a good rhythm<sup>89</sup>. Paulo Almeida Fernandes continued working in the same area of research as earlier<sup>90</sup>. A chapter of António Rei's doctoral thesis dealt with Mozarab chronicles, and he has begun to focus more closely on this subject<sup>91</sup>.

As part of his post-doctoral research, António Rei has promoted an international colloquium implemented over several years, to bring together Portuguese and foreign researchers working in the area in the hope that the Colloquium become a regular event on the international calendar in Mozarab studies. Since 2009, there has been held in Portugal the "Colóquios Internacionais sobre Moçárabes", jointly organised by the Instituto de Estudos Medievais (IEM) and by the Centro de Estudos Luso-Árabes de Silves (CELAS), under the scope of a protocol between the two institutions that has existed since 2004. The Committee has organised two further meetings, 2009 and 2010 coordinated by António Rei (IEM) and by Ana Maria Mira (CELAS). Present were researchers

<sup>87</sup> GOUVEIA, Mário de, *O limiar da tradição no moçarabismo conimbricense: os Anais de Lorvão e a memória monástica do território de fronteira (séc. IX-XII)*, master's dissertation in Medieval History submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2008.

<sup>88</sup> IDEM, "S. Miguel na religiosidade moçárabe (Portugal, séc. IX-XI)", in BOUET, Pierre, OTRANTO, Giorgio, and VAUCHEZ, André (coords.), *Culto e santuari di san Michele nell'Europa medievale / Culte et sanctuaires de saint Michel dans l'Europe médiévale*, Biblioteca michaelica, 1, Bari, Casa Editrice Edipuglia, 2007, pp. 81-112; IDEM, "O culto dos santos mártires de Lisboa na fronteira ocidental do reino de Leão (séc. X-XI)", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval – Os Rostos da Cidade* (proceedings of the 2nd Colloquium "Nova Lisboa Medieval", Lisbon, 9-11 Dec. 2004), Lisbon, IEM / Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 388-399.

<sup>89</sup> GOUVEIA, Mário de, "Os Moçárabes de Coimbra na frente de resistência à Monarquia Leonesa (sécs. XI-XII)", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 35-48; IDEM, "Entre o prestígio e o mistério: o património mobiliário do mosteiro de St<sup>a</sup>. Maria de Guimarães", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

<sup>90</sup> FERNANDES, Paulo M. Almeida, "Os moçárabes de Lisboa e a sua importância para a evolução das comunidades cristãs sob domínio islâmico", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval...*, pp. 71-83; IDEM, "A Igreja de São Pedro de Lourosa e a sua relação com a arte asturiana", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 10 (2008), pp. 21-40; IDEM, "Novos elementos sobre a arte moçárabe em território português", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 71-104; IDEM, "Uma arte sem nome. Acerca da evolução do conceito de Arte Moçárabe", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

<sup>91</sup> REI, António, *O Louvor da Hispânia na Cultura Letrada Peninsular Medieval. Das suas origens discursivas ao apartado Geográfico da Crónica de 1344*, unpublished doctoral thesis in Cultural History and Medieval Mentalities, submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2007, chapter 2: "4. Contribuições Moçárabes (Séculos VIII-XII)", pp. 138-157. IDEM, "Literatura Moçárabe. Memória de uma cultura de resistência (Séculos VIII-XII)", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 4, no. 4 (2008), available at: [www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/PDF4/rei-PDF.pdf](http://www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/PDF4/rei-PDF.pdf); IDEM, "A Cronística Moçárabe (Séculos VIII-XII)", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 49-70; IDEM, "Recensão: ¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)", Estudios reunidos por Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas y Philippe Roisse, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008, 334 pp.", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 5, no. 6 (2009), available at: [www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA6/medievalista-recensao-rei.htm](http://www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA6/medievalista-recensao-rei.htm); IDEM, "Ascendências Moçárabes nas Linhagens do 'Livro Velho'", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

from Spain, such as María Jesús Viguera<sup>92</sup> (2009), Mayte Penelas<sup>93</sup> and Fernando González Muñoz<sup>94</sup> (2010), and from Italy, Giuseppe Mandalà<sup>95</sup> (2010). At the third Colloquium, envisaged for 2011, various foreign researchers have been invited, including Fernando González Muñoz (University of A Coruña) and Cyrille Aillet (University Lumière-Lyon 2), author of some of the most recent syntheses and assessments with regard to all Mozarab issues, besides devoting a chapter of his doctoral thesis to the Coimbra area<sup>96</sup>. The presence of these researchers and the contacts that the Colloquium establishes with Portuguese historiography, will fortify ties of research around open-ended questions, such as occasional specificities concerning the Mozarab area in the far west of the Peninsula.

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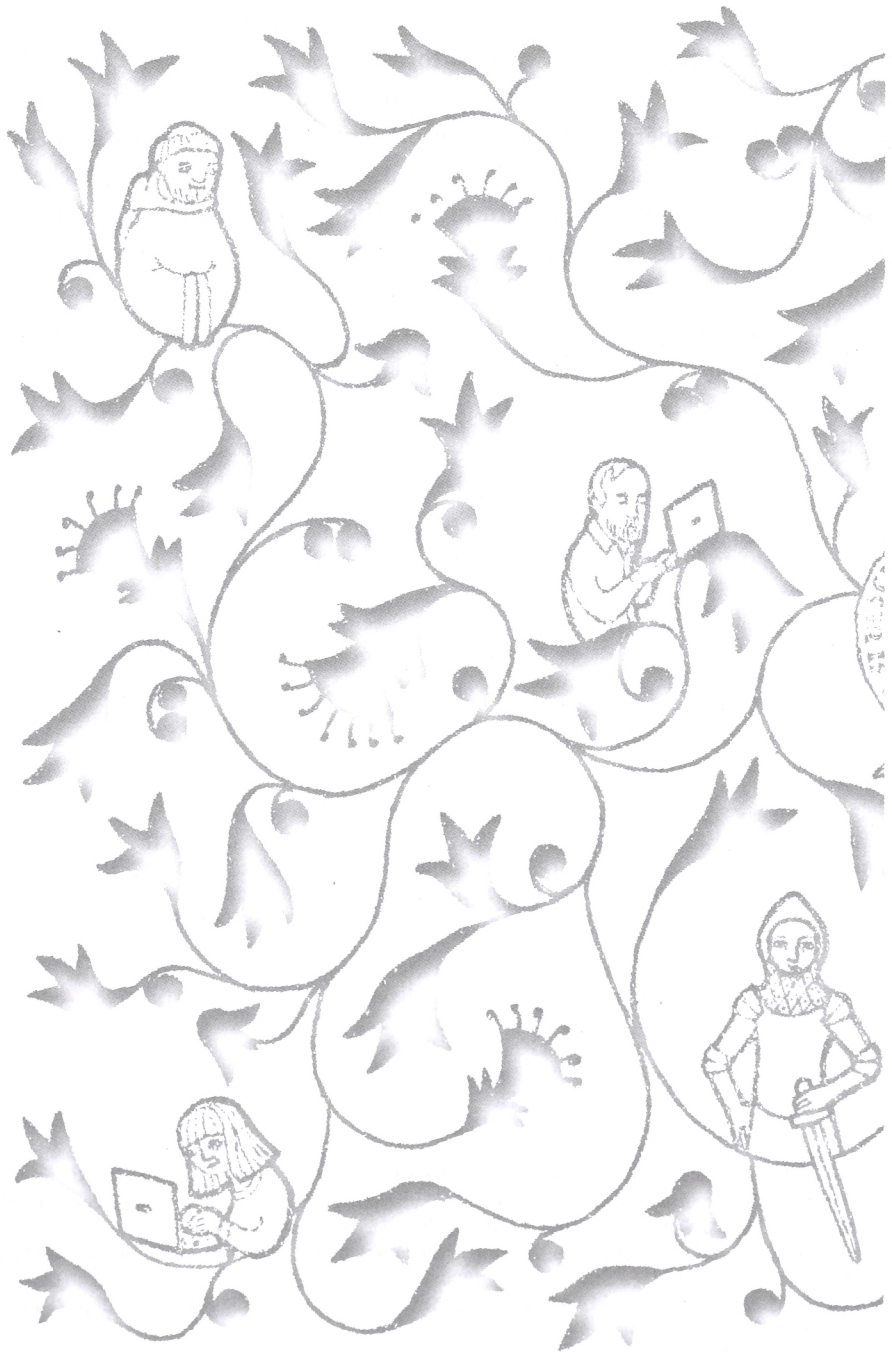
<sup>92</sup> VIGUERA, María Jesús, "Apuntes sobre Mozárabes y Cristianos Andalusíes", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 9-20.

<sup>93</sup> PENELAS, Mayte, "Un valioso testimonio de la circulación de obras cristianas orientales de apologética entre los cristianos de al-Andalus", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

<sup>94</sup> GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ, Fernando, "El origen mozárabe de la leyenda de Muhammad y el obispo Osius", *ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> MANDALÀ, Giuseppe, "Arabi per lingua, greci per 'nazione': ricerche sugli arabo-cristiani a Palermo nei secoli XII e XIII", *ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> AILLET, Cyrille, *Les Mozarabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 2010. The region of Coimbra, its realities and issues during that long period are considered in chapter 7: "Histoire et mémoire d'une coexistence: la situation mozarabe dans les marges du Mondego (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)", pp. 281-308.



# *Ethno-Religious Minorities*

*Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros*

In the introduction to the work *Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, whose edition dates from 1999, the historian Mark D. Meyerson, one of its editors, enquired into certain theoretical presuppositions, still valid today in the analysis of the ethno-religious minorities. The set of texts resulted from a conference with the same title, held at the University of Notre Dame (Indiana), between the 27th of February and the 1st of March of 1994.

The framework of Mark D. Meyerson's study stood out for its reflection on the very importance of the history of Spain, retrieved in the United States in function of a new type of narrative, induced by the discourse on multiculturalism. From a marginality of the conventional historical discussion of the Europeanists, through the eccentric character itself of the Hispanic ethno-cultural pluralism, that same handicap was transmuting, in the 1990s, in its allure<sup>1</sup>.

Some questions were raised by the author. In a heuristic perspective, the very concepts of marginality and alterity, central to these analyses, which, in his perspective, were "ambiguous and ultimately meaningless categories". In fact, he pointed out what he considered one of the paradoxes of Spanish history: "the legal, literary, and polemical texts in which the 'other' was constructed often were produced because 'the other' had become too familiar and hence too dangerous, because 'the other' was not 'other' at all"<sup>2</sup>. In this sense, he proposed a more dynamic vision, to explore, "for instance, how each ethnic and religious group dealt with the tension

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<sup>1</sup> MEYERSON, Mark D., and ENGLISH, Edward D. (eds.), *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, Notre Dame / Indiana, University of Notre Dame, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. xiii.

between power and powerlessness, how and why certain social and intellectual boundaries among groups were established and why at times they crossed, and how such boundary-crossing caused social tension among and crisis identity within the groups”<sup>3</sup>.

The theoretical contribution of Mark Meyerson consists of two essential aspects. The first is the recognition of the importance of contemporaneity in the definition of their historical agendas – in this concrete case that of multiculturalism in the rescue of the history of Spain (and not yet of the whole Iberian Peninsula) by the North American historians, precisely through its ethno-religious minorities, whether Jews and Christians, in the period of al-Andalus, or Muslims and Jews, under the dominion of the various Hispanic monarchies. A second aspect, in the adoption of heuristic presuppositions, namely that of alterity (even though he contests it himself), imported from other social sciences and particularly structuring in the minorities analysis. His option for the question of the frontiers between the groups will derive from the proposal of the sociologist Frederick Barth. This author, called the attention to the subjectivity in the categories of ascription, and consequently, of its mutability from society to society. Moreover he defended that it will not be possible to determine the concept of identity (and, as such, that of the group or ethnicity), on the mere basis of the cultural content of the community under analysis, but mainly at the boundaries established with other groups<sup>4</sup>.

Another historical narrative is therefore structured in which the ethno-religious minorities project themselves towards a centrality brought about by the very enquiries into contemporary societies that transits from the United States to Europe. This is a narrative whose heuristic presuppositions allow us to overcome the more limiting (and even dysfunctional) discursive conditions, on concepts such as tolerance/intolerance or integration / segregation. The analysis, put together in these theoretical presuppositions, will evolve logically from the very assumptions of Mark Meyerson, raised by his research on the Muslim minority<sup>5</sup>. Without seeking to discuss his proposal (which appears more conclusive than operative), on the subject of a Hispanic ethos in which “the other” is inserted, into the collective ego<sup>6</sup>, nevertheless the functionality of the concepts of identity / alterity rigorously delineate the heuristic mould of the historical analysis of the ethno-religious minorities. They are concepts that deduce themselves to be complementary and

<sup>3</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> BARTH, Frederik, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The social organisation of culture difference*, Illinois, Waveland Press, 1998, pp. 9-38 (1st ed., Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> MEYERSON, Mark, *The Muslims of Valencia in the age of Fernando and Isabel: between coexistence and crusade*, Berkeley / Los Angeles / Oxford, University California Press, 1991.

<sup>6</sup> Assumption that, moreover, approaches his position from that of Américo de Castro.



with an inherent dialogic relationship, in a multidimensional and fluid dynamic, in which the auto- and hetero-ascriptions combine, and, simultaneously, the feelings of belonging and those of alterity.

The social and historical context in which these processes play out, permits the indispensable relationship between minority and majority, configuring a dynamic that does not isolate the Jew or the Muslim (in the concrete case dealt with by this text), in an essentialist, a-temporal and an-historic configuration. It re-dimensions them, rather, in function of their tangible cultural life experience, and integrates them in a social dialectic to which they by right belong.

This new narrative reflects itself, moreover, in the direct contribution of an American in the rescue of an area of studies forgotten until then, that of the Mudejares, or in other words, the Muslims under Christian dominion. The Jesuit Robert Ignatius Burns, with his seminal works of the end of the 1960s, transports the frontier society concepts of the colonisation of the United States to the post-conquest reality of the kingdom of Valencia<sup>7</sup>. The synergy generated by his studies mobilises, until the present day, a beneficial (and prolific) research movement, which involves Americans, as much as Spanish, extending itself, logically, to historians of other nationalities. The grammars will not be the same in all of these studies. Moreover, the controversies between the followers of the Burns school and those of Pierre Guichard<sup>8</sup>, in a polemic that involves the “continuers” and the supporters of the rupture, is based on different heuristic presuppositions, but goes far beyond them.

The ethno-religious minorities of the medieval and early modern periods will be invoked in another level, directly connected with the ideological issue of the national identities. The historicist discourse is not immune to this representation. The Spanish case reveals itself particularly evident, in the passionate polemics that involved, in the 1950s, Américo de Castro and Sanchez Albornóz, whose echoes still resound today. In their most extreme points of view, the paradigm of the “al-Andalus of the three religions” and of the “Spain of the three cultures”, opposes, in an absolute manner, to that of the “pure” identity, absolutely expurgated from the *Other*<sup>9</sup>.

The Portuguese medieval historiography has not participated consistently in these debates. One does not intend, by this, to postulate a supposed isolationism

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<sup>7</sup> BURNS, Robert Ignatius, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1967.

<sup>8</sup> Author who also researched the reality of Valencia, even if in a broader chronological context – GUICHARD, Pierre, *Les Musulmans de Valence et la Reconquête (XIe-XIIIe)*, 2 tomes, Damas, Institut Français de Damas, 1990-1991.

<sup>9</sup> It is, for example, the case of Serafín Franjul who, not technically a historian, nevertheless uses the historicist discourse in the justification of an allegedly Spanish identity, in which Muslims, Jews and even Gypsies would be extemporaneous elements. The success of the work is confirmed by the fact that in 2006 it is already in its fourth reprint – FRANJUL, Serafín, *La Quimera de Al-Andalus*, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2004.

of this school. Rather than the analysis on the ethno-religious minorities does not appear to bring about (contrary to Spain) any centrality in the discourse on Portuguese identity, on the one hand, just as it also does not comport, on the other, a reflection especially oriented towards the emerging heuristic presuppositions. In fact, they will be progressively incorporated into this discourse. But not yet with the theoretical ponderation and the consequent conceptual debate that can be verified in other latitudes, with the convergence of multidisciplinary contributions.

This relative “marginality” of the study of the minorities contrasts with the multiplication of centres and publications devoted to the Jews and Muslims (Mudejares) in neighbouring Spain. And, yet, both minorities also integrated the medieval society of the Portuguese realm, and both suffered the religicide policy decreed by King Manuel I in December 1496.

In general terms, moreover, the Portuguese historiography of the last fifty years is marked by another asymmetry, this one achieved internally, between the works devoted to Jews and to Muslims. The former have come to be the object of a progressive scrutiny of the history as well as of the archaeology. The museumification and patrimonialisation of their material vestiges, with the restoration of the synagogues (as in the case of Tomar and Castelo de Vide) and, namely, the recovery of epigraphic tombstones, has accelerated in recent times. The discourses of the regional and local identities potentialise this option, in an effort of tourism capitalisation, which does not exclude, all the same, a direct interpellation of historians and archaeologists. The scientific conferences and meetings sponsored by the municipal councils on the Judaic theme exemplify this tendency, in an orientation that clearly favours the local studies<sup>10</sup>.

The progressive projection of the Jew, as a historiographical material, is countered by the near invisibility of the “Moor” (a vocable that, in the Middle Ages, designated, in fact, the Muslim in the peninsular context). Some vectors will help to explain this double subalternisation. In the first place, because the historiographical studies on this minority emerged later, as one will have the opportunity to analyse; and in the second, because the remission of the Arab-Islamic past in Portugal potentialises itself, following the 25 April 1974, around the archaeological excavations in Mértola, creating a media phenomenon, whose dimensions appear, even today, to absorb and assimilate the Arab or the Muslim into the context of the Gharb al-Andalus. This “Mértola” effect became a veritable “gatekeeping concept”

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<sup>10</sup> It refers, merely as a recent example, to the first “Jornadas do Património Judaico da Beira Interior”, organised by the Municipal Councils of Trancoso and Belmonte in 2008, whose proceedings were published on the Web, more precisely on the website of the Trancoso Municipal Council: *Actas das 1.ªs Primeiras Jornadas do Património Judaico da Beira Interior*, Trancoso / Belmonte, 2008, available at: [www.cm-trancoso.pt/turismo/patrimoniojudaico/Documents/Actaspatrimoniojudaico.pdf](http://www.cm-trancoso.pt/turismo/patrimoniojudaico/Documents/Actaspatrimoniojudaico.pdf)

that, as Maria Cardadeiro da Silva refers, “is evoked when one speaks of Arabs, of Muslims, of heritage, of the past, of art, of poetry or archaeology, used as an axis of articulation in files on themes sparked off by war, by the veil or by terrorism”<sup>11</sup>. This catalysing effect also obscures the history of the Muslim minority, either at the level of media and identity discourses, or historical dissemination, or, even, in academic work and its outputs.

And, yet, both domains have translated into a plurality of studies on varied themes. Following separate paths, Jews and Moors mark their presence in the context of medieval historiography, imposing themselves progressively either in the multiplicity of the histories of Portugal published after the 25 of April (even if not in all of them), or in other publications of a general nature (as is the case, for example, of the *História Religiosa de Portugal* – and of the *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal* or, even, in works on a specific theme (as may be verified in the *Dicionário do Judaísmo Português*).

## 1. From the *closed paradigm* to the *rediscovery* of the Jew

The grammars will not be the same, in all these productions, nor will the historiographical course be linear. Some cycles will mark, moreover, this chronology. The 1960s will correspond to a stage marked by a “closed paradigm”, an enshrined intellectual tradition, considered inalterable by the adherents of the genre. The contributions of the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth<sup>12</sup> seem to exhaust the possibilities of advancing in this direction. Paradigmatic is the statement of A. A. Banha de Andrade, in 1977, when he asserts, in a study on the Jews of Montemor-o-Novo that their history had brought nothing new, being perfectly integrated “into the basic lines of their chronicle in our Country”<sup>13</sup>. The conceptual framework was complete and the analysis grids defined, needing only to be filled in. The publication of the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, in 1965, enshrined,

<sup>11</sup> “[É] evocada quando se fala de árabes, de muçulmanos, de imigrantes, de património, de passado, de arte, de poesia ou arqueologia, utilizada como eixo de articulação em dossiers sobre temáticas espoletadas pela guerra, pelo véu ou pelo terrorismo”: SILVA, Maria Cardadeiro da, “O sentido dos árabes nos nossos sentidos. Dos estudos sobre árabes e muçulmanos em Portugal”, *Análise Social*, vol. 39, no. 173 (2005), p. 800.

<sup>12</sup> Among the most remarkable are: REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos, *Os judeus em Portugal*, Coimbra, F. França Amado, 1895, vol. 1; BARROS, Henrique da Gama, “Judeus e Mouros em Portugal em tempos passados”, *Revista Lusitana*, vol. 34 (1936), pp. 165-265, and vol. 35 (1937), pp. 161-238 (published posthumously); VASCONCELOS, J. Leite, *Etnografia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1958, vol. 4, (analysis that contemplates the Jews as much as the Moors); VITERBO, Sousa, “Ocorrências da vida judaica”, *Arquivo Histórico Português*, 2 (1904), pp. 176-200; IDEM, “Ocorrências da vida mourisca”, *Arquivo Histórico Português*, vol. 5 (1907), pp. 81-93, 161-170, 247-265 (contribution mainly of unedited sources).

<sup>13</sup> “[n]as linhas básicas da sua crónica no nosso País”. ANDRADE, A. A. Banha de, *Judeus em Montemor-o-Novo*, Lisbon, Grupo de Amigos de Montemor-o-Novo / Academia Portuguesa da História, 1977.

furthermore, this perspective. The articles on the Jews and Moors, by Manuel Viegas Guerreiro, referred only that same bibliography, reported to the Past<sup>14</sup>.

However, the conditions of study on the minorities continued to evolve, even during the 1960s. In the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon, at the time, three degree dissertations were presented on this theme, in 1961<sup>15</sup>, 1963<sup>16</sup> and 1969 respectively. The latter, whose author was Maria José Pimenta Ferro, dealt with the Jews of the fourteenth century, being published for the first time in 1970<sup>17</sup>, in an academic edition that was soon sold out. In 1979, the work would be again published by Guimarães Editora, with some alterations, the result of further investigations, and without the original documental appendix.

The study postulates itself to be a fundamental mark in Portuguese historiography. More than the contribution to a cumulative knowledge, the work imposes itself as the opening of a new cycle in which the history of the Jewish minority will be restored, reinterpreted and intensely discussed. In a large part, this gap will be due to the prolific work developed by this author, in multiple chronological and thematic dimensions. In 1982 the first volume of her main reference work was published, *Os Judeus em Portugal no séc. XV* (The Jews in Portugal in the fifteenth century), as the result of her doctoral thesis. The second volume (an appendix of more than 900 pages with the systematic survey of the Jewish population of the Realm), appeared two years later<sup>18</sup>. Her continued and innovative work, that prolongs itself from the lower Middle Ages until the early Modern period (through the theme of the New Christians), will indelibly mark Portuguese historiographical production, in a participation that structures itself as much in general collective works<sup>19</sup>, as in

<sup>14</sup> GUERREIRO, Manuel Viegas, "Judeus"; "Mouros", in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.) *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, Oporto, Livraria Figueirinhas, 1981, vol. 2, pp. 633-638 and vol. 4, pp. 352-354.

<sup>15</sup> MARTINS, Maria Leonor dos Mártires, *Subsídios para o estudo dos judeus e mouros nos reinados de D. João I e de D. Duarte*, unpublished undergraduate dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1961.

<sup>16</sup> FARIA, Aida Gisela das Neves, *Análise sócio-económica das comunas judaicas em Portugal (1439-1496)*, unpublished undergraduate dissertation, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1963.

<sup>17</sup> FERRO, Maria José Pimenta, *Os Judeus em Portugal no séc. XIV*, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura / Centro de Estudos Históricos - Faculdade de Letras, 1970. The work was distinguished in 1973 with the (ex-aequo) Laranjo Coelho prize of the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa.

<sup>18</sup> TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, *Os Judeus em Portugal no séc. XV*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1982; vol. 2, Lisbon, INIC, 1984. This latter appendix is divided into eleven tables that cover from the population survey (table 1) to other multiple aspects of the life experience of this minority, such as, for example, the income of the communes at the date of the expulsion (table 7) or, even, the converted Jews (table 11).

<sup>19</sup> EADEM, "Os judeus em Portugal", in SARAIVA, José Hermano (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Alfa, 1983, vol. 4, pp. 259-271; EADEM, "Judeus e Mouros (sécs. XII a XIV)", in MEDINA, João (dir.), *História de Portugal*: in MEDINA, João (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Dos tempos pré-históricos aos nossos dias*, Alfragide, Clube Internacional do Livro, 1995, pp. 341-349. Her contribution extends, in this work, in a broader participation in vol. 6, titled *Judaísmo, Inquisição e Sebastianismo*, in which she signs the headings: "Os judeus em Portugal no séc. XV" (pp. 11-24) and "A expulsão dos judeus de Portugal" (pp. 25-34), continuing until the sixteenth century with: "Bandarra e o Messianismo judaico português" (pp. 35-40), "O judeu em Gil Vicente" (pp. 41-48) and "Os judeus portugueses na diáspora" (pp. 49-67); EADEM, "O difícil diálogo entre

local studies<sup>20</sup>, in scientific dissemination<sup>21</sup>, in multiple historical essays<sup>22</sup>, or even in the production of syntheses, namely in Spanish<sup>23</sup>. It is a solo work that opens new perspectives, namely raising enquiries on the question of the minorities in medieval Portuguese history. A problem to which, incidentally, Maria José Ferro Tavares analyses in a comparative perspective, in at least three of her studies<sup>24</sup>.

The themes she tackles in her work conjure up a structural vision of the Jewish issues – population, society, economy – complemented by studies oriented towards more specific subjects, such as, for example, the case of the fiscality, religiosity, or of the image of the Jew, examined in multiple studies. In one of these, the art constitutes itself as a leitmotif of an exploration of the medieval mentality in the Western Mediterranean<sup>25</sup>. From another point of view the importance of this historian is given further substance, through what might be considered a double internationalisation. On the one hand in the projection beyond frontiers of her work<sup>26</sup> and, consequently, of the integration of the Jews of Portugal in a wider context; and on the other, in an internal coherence that also necessarily extravasates the concept

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Cristianismo e Judaísmo”, in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 53-89.

<sup>20</sup> Such as for example: EADEM, “As comunidades judaicas das Beiras: durante a Idade Média”, *Revista Altitude*, 2nd ser., yr. 2, no. 4 (1981), pp. 5-15; EADEM, “A judiaria de Tomar”, preamble to the work of SIMÕES, J. M. Santos, *Tomar e a sua judiaria*, Tomar, Museu Luso-Hebraico de Abraham Zacuto, 1992 (facsimile ed.); Tomar, Edição do Museu Luso-Hebraico, 1943), pp. I-XVII; EADEM, “Judeus e cristãos novos no distrito de Portalegre”, *A Cidade: Revista Cultural de Portalegre*, n. s., no. 3 (1989), pp. 37-53; EADEM, “Os judeus de Trancoso: entre a lei de Moisés e o Baptismo”, in *Actas das 1<sup>as</sup> Primeiras Jornadas do Património Judaico da Beira Interior...*, pp. 131-160 (vd. footnote 10).

<sup>21</sup> EADEM, *Os judeus na época dos Descobrimentos*, Gouveia, Edição ELO, 1995; EADEM, *A herança Judaica em Portugal*, [Lisbon], CTT Correios de Portugal, 2004; EADEM, *As Judiarias de Portugal*, [Lisbon], CTT Correios de Portugal, 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Resulting, for example, in a collection of her studies, published in 1987, EADEM, *Judaísmo e Inquisição. Estudos*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1987.

<sup>23</sup> EADEM, *Los judíos en Portugal*, Madrid, Mapfre, 1992.

<sup>24</sup> The first in 1982, EADEM, “Judeus e Mouros no Portugal dos Séculos XIV e XV (Tentativa de estudo comparativo)”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 9, Jan.-Jun. (1982), pp. 75-89; the second, in 1987, EADEM, “As minorias religiosas no reinado de D. Fernando e em 1383-85”, in *Jornadas sobre Portugal Medieval*, Leiria, Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 1987, pp. 469-477; and, finally, the third in 1995, in her participation in vol. 3 of the *História de Portugal*, titled precisely “Judeus e Mouros” (cf. footnote. 19).

<sup>25</sup> EADEM, “A construção de um estereótipo: o Judeu no Mediterrâneo Ocidental e o seu reflexo na Arte (séculos XII a XV)”, in BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, and HINOJOSA MONTALVO, José (eds.), *Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica (Períodos medieval e moderno)*, Lisbon / Alicante, Colibri / CIDEHUS / Universidad de Alicante, 2008, pp. 17-78.

<sup>26</sup> In terms of international publications one may record, for example, the book cited in footnote 23, or even articles such as: EADEM, “Judeus e conversos castelhanos em Portugal”, *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, (1987); EADEM, “A comuna judaica de Évora”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 17 (1987), pp. 551-558; EADEM, “Judeus, cristãos novos e os Descobrimentos portugueses”, *Sefarad. Revista de Estudios Hebraicos, Sefardíes y de Oriente Próximo*, vol. 48, no. 2 (1988), pp. 293-308; EADEM, “Finanças e fiscalidade das comunas judaicas peninsulares”, in FUNDACIÓN SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ (ed.), *Finanzas y Fiscalidad Municipal, V Congreso de Estudios Medievales*, Ávila, Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1997, pp. 135-166.

of frontier and re-dimensions the Jew in his or her transnational projection, namely in the relationships between the various groups of the Iberian Peninsula<sup>27</sup>.

In order to resume, however, the chronological thread of this analysis, one should mention that in the 1970s and 1980s other productions were to emerge in this field, with studies of a cultural nature<sup>28</sup> complementing research of a local character<sup>29</sup>. One should point out, nonetheless, a set of articles, written between 1970 and 1980, by Humberto Baquero Moreno, later published in his compilation, printed in 1985<sup>30</sup>. Three of the texts concern the Jewish minority: “O assalto à Judiaria Grande de Lisboa em Dezembro de 1449”, “Reflexos na cidade do Porto da entrada dos conversos em Portugal nos fins do séc. XV” and “Movimentos sociais antijudaicos em Portugal no séc. XV”. From the start, the titles focus on the reality of antagonism towards the Jewish minority, developing the idea of a crescendo of anti-Jewish sentiment, which would culminate at the beginning of the sixteenth century (with the massacre of the New Christians of Lisbon, in 1506). It is a presupposition, resumed in a later compilation, in which two articles are dedicated to the preacher Mestre Paulo, and his action against the Jewish community of Braga<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> One may see, for example, EADEM, “Judeus peninsulares: mobilidade e relacionamento”, in *Actas das 2<sup>as</sup> Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, Oporto, INIC, 1989, vol.3, pp. 875-892.

<sup>28</sup> We refer to the contributions by A. Augusto Tavares, teacher of Hebrew at the Portuguese University: TAVERES, A. Augusto, “Palavras hebraicas e hebraísmos na língua portuguesa”, *Didaskalica*, vol. 6 (1976); IDEM, “Manuscrito hebraico e aramaico em Lisboa”, *Didaskalica*, vol. 7 (1978), pp. 187-194; IDEM, “Manuscritos hebraicos na Torre do Tombo”, *Didaskalica*, vol. 11 (1981), pp. 379-392. On the international level one should mention the works on Hebrew manuscripts: SED-RAJNA, Gabrielle, *Manuscrits hébreux de Lisbonne*, Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970; METZGER, Thérèse, *Les manuscrits hébreux copiés et décorés à Lisbonne dans les derniers décennies du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Centro Cultural Português, 1977.

<sup>29</sup> In order to cite some examples, one should refer, still in the 1960s, CASTELO BRANCO, Manuel da Silva, “Notas e documentos para a História de Judeus e Cristãos-Novos em Castelo Branco”, *Estudos de Castelo Branco*, 1st ser., no. 10 (1963), pp. 5-37; in the following decades: ANDRADE, A. A. Banha de, *Judeus em Montemor-o-Novo*, Lisbon, Grupo de Amigos de Montemor-o-Novo / Academia Portuguesa da História, 1977; IRIA, Alberto, *Os judeus no Algarve Medieval e o cemitério israelita de Faro do Séc. XIX (História e Epigrafia)*, offprint from *Anais do Município de Faro*, 14 (1985); LOSA, António, “Subsídios para o estudo dos judeus de Braga no sév. XV”, offprint of *Actas do Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e sua Colegiada*, vol. 5, Braga, 1982.

<sup>30</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *Marginalidade e Conflitos Sociais nos Séculos XIV e XV*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1985.

<sup>31</sup> IDEM, *Exilados, Marginais e Contestatários na Sociedade Portuguesa Medieval*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1990. The mentioned texts correspond to: “As pregações de Mestre Paulo contra os judeus bracarenses nos fins do séc. XV” and “Novos elementos relativos a Mestre Paulo, pregador do séc. XV, contra os judeus bracarenses” (pp. 139-148 and 149-155, respectively), proving, in the latter, the Jewish ascendancy of this personage.

## 2. *The air of the cities frees: Moors and Jews*

The decade of the 1990s inaugurates a new chapter on this theme. On the one hand, for the multiplicity of scientific meetings and the works of different grammars that would characterise that production (namely the aforementioned by Maria José Ferro Tavares); on the other, in the structuring of an academic school that, if not directly oriented towards the question of the minorities, nonetheless contemplates them, contributing decisively to their knowledge; and finally, through the reintroduction of the Moor into this historiographical discourse, namely through the participation of non-Portuguese historians.

At the beginning of the decade, an evocative work, the result of a scientific meeting held at the Nova University of Lisbon, seems to announce a change of direction. In fact, the magazine of the Instituto Oriental of this institution (*Estudos Orientais*), directed by A. Augusto Tavares, entitles its second edition *O legado cultural de Judeus e Mouros* (The cultural legacy of Jews and Moors). For the first time a publication subordinates itself to the binomial Jew-Moor. On the basis of an orientalist grammar (and perhaps owing to this), the concepts revealed themselves, nonetheless, inaccurate. The title statement corresponded, in reality, to a long term perspective and to the analysis of different cultural phenomena. The *Moor* thus defers to a global perspective, inclusive of all the Arabic-Islamic cultural contribution, and not to its specific historical significance, as a minority in the medieval Period.

One of the articles warrants special attention for its historiographical significance in this theme: that of Saul António Gomes that “recuperates” the small Muslim community of Leiria of the fourteenth century<sup>32</sup>. The Muslim, in his or her minority dimension, therefore finds expression in an academic work of reference, substantiating a still incipient path (above all when compared to that of the Jew), that had begun in the previous decade. In fact, the emergence of the interest into this minority is reflected in some articles published in the 1980s<sup>33</sup>, consolidating itself in the following decades. One of the factors takes root in the work of a researcher, Filomena Barros, that focuses solely on the Muslim minority, and which begins to gain structure as early as the end of the decade, developing from there on<sup>34</sup>. The

<sup>32</sup> GOMES, Saul António, “A mouraria de Leiria. Problemas sobre a presença moura no centro do país”, *Estudos Orientais*, vol. 2 (1991), pp. 155-177.

<sup>33</sup> One should mention, still in the 1960s, the contribution of VELOSO, Francisco José, “Nomes de muçulmanos portugueses”, *Boletim da Sociedade de Língua Portuguesa*, vol. 19, no. 2, Feb. (1968), p. 79; vol. 19, no. 11, Nov. (1968), pp. 397-398; vol. 20, no. 3, Mar. (1969), pp. 95-96. In the 1980s, one should draw attention to the articles: LOSA, António, “Les ‘Mourarias’ Portugaises au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Un code de droit successoral”, in *Atti del XIII Congresso dell’ ‘Union Européenne d’Arabisants et d’Islamisants’ (Venise 29 sept. - 4 oct. 1986)*, *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, no. 5-6 (1987-1988), pp. 457-478 ; SERRA, Pedro Cunha, “Mouros e Mouras”, *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2nd ser., vol. 29 (1984), pp. 43-56.

<sup>34</sup> Within the ambit of the master’s degree course in Medieval History of the Faculdade de Letras of Oporto University, under the direction of Humberto Baquero Moreno. The first article appeared in 1988 –

revision of the knowledge on this minority will be, in fact, re-launched into the historiographical panorama in an article published in 1990 that formulates a new reading on concepts, localisation and evolution of the Muslim groups in Portugal<sup>35</sup>. Four years later, Humberto Baquero Moreno already proposes a synthesis on the studies of the Muslim minority in the country, complemented by unedited documentation on the Muslims of Moura<sup>36</sup>.

This course is given substance by another more embracing aspect. Jews and Moors emerge, in the decade of the 1990s, through a structured vision within the scope of the Nova University of Lisbon and is potentialised in its master's degree course in Medieval History. On the subject of a medieval urban dynamic and a seminar precisely on ethnic minorities (directed by Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares), the role of the minorities is revived, as an integrating and active part of the urban life. *The air of the cities frees*, in fact, the spatial analysis itself recovers those human groups, through their own neighbourhoods, the Moorish and Jewish quarters<sup>37</sup>.

The monographs on the medieval urban centres (a theoretical model of analysis proposed by A. H. de Oliveira Marques), converge, through the masters as well as the disciples of this school, in an integrative conception of Jews and Muslims. In this sense, the studies of Ângela Beirante are prominent, as they concern two of the main cities of the realm, Santarém and Évora, and contemplate, the late above all, a decisive contribution to the knowledge of spaces, population and the internal organisation of the Jewish and Muslim communes<sup>38</sup>. Later works on urban centres, namely Silves, Alenquer, Setúbal, Elvas and Alcácer<sup>39</sup>, or the articles on Moura and the Moorish quarter of Lisbon<sup>40</sup>, by inserting themselves into the same methodological line of

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BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, "O conflito entre o Mosteiro de Chelas e Mafamede Ratinho, o moço, mouro forro de Santarém (1463 -1465)", *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, vol. 3 (1988), pp. 239-244.

<sup>35</sup> EADEM, "As comunas muçulmanas em Portugal – subsídios para o seu estudo", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [Oporto], 2nd ser., vol. 7 (1990), pp. 85-100. The only general analysis on the Mudejares in Portugal dates back to Leite de Vasconcelos (1858-1941), and has been reviewed, systematised and broadened by M. Viegas Guerreiro – "Mouros", in *Etnografia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982, vol. 4, pp. 299-350.

<sup>36</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *Os Mudéjares no Portugal Medieval*, Oporto, Conselho Directivo da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1994.

<sup>37</sup> This structured set of works resulted in the MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, GONÇALVES, Iria, and ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar (eds.), *Atlas das Cidades Medievais Portuguesas (sécs. XII a XV)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990.

<sup>38</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela, *Santarém Medieval*, Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1980; EADEM, *Évora na Idade Média*, Lisbon, FCG / JNICT, [1995].

<sup>39</sup> BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima, *Silves. A Capital de um Reino Medieval*, Silves, Câmara Municipal de Silves, 1992; FERRO, João Pedro, *Alenquer Medieval (sécs. XII-XV). Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 1996; BRAGA, Paulo Drumond, *Setúbal Medieval (Séculos XIII a XV)*, Setúbal, Câmara Municipal de Setúbal, 1998; CORREIA, Fernando Manuel Rodrigues Branco, *Elvas na Idade Média*, 2 vols., master's dissertation submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 1999; PEREIRA, Maria Teresa Lopes, *Alcácer do Sal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2000.

<sup>40</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, "Moura na Baixa Idade Média: elementos para um estudo histórico e arqueológico".



research, converge in the same direction. The potentialities of this school will not be limited, however, to this production as one will detail below.

The two minorities will equally be the object of study in a perspective focusing on the documentation of one particular institution, the monastery of Alcobaça, in a publication of 1991<sup>41</sup>. But, in parallel, the centrality of the Moor is also projected, as of this decade, by the works of two French researchers, Stéphane Boissellier and Jean-Pierre Molénat. The first, through his thesis on the birth of the Portuguese Realm<sup>42</sup>, re-dimensions the question of the Muslims in that particular reality (a sub-chapter is even entitled “L’insoluble problème des mudéjars” – The insoluble problem of the Mudejares), introducing another set of problems into the identity paradigm inscribed in the master work of José Mattoso<sup>43</sup>. The research it develops, mainly related to the South of the country, brought him multiple reflections on this minority<sup>44</sup>. For Jean-Pierre Molénat, his interventions in this field are situated, preferentially, in a comparative framework deriving from his wide investigation into Spain, with particular incidence on Toledo. As so, he introduced a useful dynamical proposal among the various Hispanic realities of Muslim communities<sup>45</sup>. In this

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*Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 2 (1993), pp. 127-157; OLIVEIRA, Luís, and VIANA, Mário, “A Mouraria de Lisboa no Século XV”, *ibid.*, pp. 191-209. The latter work presents a new reading on the area occupied by the Muslim minority in the city of Lisbon, following previous analyses, namely by: AZEVEDO, Pedro de, “Do Areeiro à Mouraria (Topografia Histórica de Lisboa)”, *O Arqueólogo Português*, vol. 5, no. 7 (1899-1900), pp. 212-224; vol. 5, nos. 9-10 (1899-1900), pp. 257-279; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “A persistência do elemento muçulmano na História de Portugal após a Reconquista. O exemplo da cidade de Lisboa”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Novos Ensaios da História Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Presença, 1988, pp. 96-107.

<sup>41</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, “Alguns grupos marginais nos documentos de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (sécs. XII e XIII)”, in BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Documentos, Lugares e Homens: Estudos de História Medieval*, Lisbon, Publ. Cosmos, 1991, pp. 105-131.

<sup>42</sup> BOISSELLIER, Stéphane, *Naissance d’une Identité Portugaise: la Vie Rurale Entre Tage et Guadiana (X<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècles)*, [Lisbon], 1999.

<sup>43</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal: 1096-1325*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Publ. Estampa, 1985-1986.

<sup>44</sup> One may cite, for example: BOISSELLIER, Stéphane, “Conquête chrétienne et acculturation dans le sud du Portugal aux XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles”, in AUDISIO, Gabriel, *Religion et Identité*, Aix-Marseille, 1998, pp. 227-239; IDEM, “Les mudéjars dans le sud portugais: l’étranger, l’intégration et le quotidien XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (une approche globale de l’alterité vécue)”, in *L’étranger au Moyen Âge. Actes du XXX<sup>e</sup> congrès de la SHMESP (Göttingen, 1999)*, Paris, Sorbonne, 2000, pp. 179-190; IDEM, “L’appréhension des mudéjars par la société chrétienne dans le Midi portugais 1249-1496: quelques données et réflexions”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Historia*, 3rd ser., vol. 1 (2000), pp. 183-210.

<sup>45</sup> As examples of this work one may refer to: MOLÉNAT, Jean-Pierre, “L’Élite Mudéjare dans la Péninsule Ibérique Médiévale”, in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média. Problemas Metodológicos. Actas do colóquio*, Lisbon, Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2001, pp. 45-54; IDEM, “Unité et diversité des communautés mudéjares dans la Péninsule Ibérique médiévale”, in SIDARUS, Adel (ed.), *Islão minoritário na Península Ibérica. Recentes pesquisas e novas perspectivas sobre mudéjares, mouriscos e literatura aljamiada, sécs. XII-XVII*, Lisbon, Hugin Ed., 2001, pp. 19-28; IDEM, “Communautés musulmanes de Castille et du Portugal. Le cas de Tolède et de Lisbonne”, in *Expansion occidentale (XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles). Formes et conséquences. XXXIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S. (Madrid, Casa de Velásquez, 23-26 mai 2002)*, Paris, 2002, pp. 215-227; IDEM “L’autre de chaque côté de la frontière: mozarabes et mudéjars dans la péninsule Ibérique médiévale (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)”, in HERBERS, Klaus, and JASPERS, Nikolas (hrsg.), *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa*, Berlin,

context of the *rediscovery* of the Moor, and in intimate dialogical relationship with these two researchers, the development of the work of Filomena Barros encompasses multiple perspectives of analysis<sup>46</sup> that unfold in such varied themes as the social problems<sup>47</sup>, the law<sup>48</sup> or the onomastics<sup>49</sup>.

In parallel, the research on the Jews progresses exponentially. To the work of Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares one must add two significant contributions by Saul António Gomes<sup>50</sup> (also a disciple of the aforementioned master's course of the Nova University of Lisbon), in addition to the multiplicity of scientific meetings and exhibitions, potentialised around this theme, in chronological ambits of medium or long duration<sup>51</sup>. The archaeology marks a strong presence in all these events and publications, in an apprehension and interpretation of the Jewish materiality that appears to reflect, above all, the urgency of the affirmation of the local and regional identities, without, nonetheless, exhausting themselves in them. On the other hand, the action of the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (1986-2002) will project the thematics of the relationship between the Portuguese expansion and the Jews, (a reality that emerges at the end of the Middle Ages although it delineates far beyond them), even devoting a special edition of its

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Akademie Verlag, 2007, pp. 191-201.

<sup>46</sup> Particularly her works: BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, *A Comuna Muçulmana de Lisboa (sécs. XIV e XV)*, Lisbon, Ed. Hugin, 1998; EADEM, *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros. A Minoria Muçulmana no Reino Português (Séculos XII a XV)*, Lisbon, FCG / FCT, 2007.

<sup>47</sup> EADEM, "Os Láparos: uma família muçulmana da elite comunal olisiponense", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís, *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da Cidade*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 322-334; EADEM, "Las élites mudéjares del reino português", in ECHEVARRÍA ARSUGA, Ana (ed.), *Biografias mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoria*, Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus, 15, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008, pp. 101-132.

<sup>48</sup> EADEM, "Direito islâmico no Reino português", in TORO CEBALLOS Francisco (ed.), *VII Estudios de Frontera, Islam y Cristiandad. Siglos XII-XVI*, Jaén, Diputación de Jaén, 2009, pp. 461-471.

<sup>49</sup> EADEM, "The identification of Portuguese Muslims: Problems and Methodology", in MARÍN, Manuela (ed.), *Medieval Prosopography. History and Collective Biography. Special issue. Arab-Islamic Medieval Culture*, vol. 23 (2002), pp. 203 -228; EADEM, "Nomear e ser nomeado: a onomástica dos muçulmanos portugueses no processo identitário", in BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, and HINOJOSA MONTALVO, José, *Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica (Períodos medieval e moderno)*..., pp. 309-322.

<sup>50</sup> GOMES, Saul António, *A Comunidade Judaica de Coimbra Medieval*, Coimbra, INATEL, 2003; IDEM, *A Comuna Judaica de Leiria*, Lisbon, Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas "Alberto Benveniste", 2010. The latter work was awarded a prize by the Academia Portuguesa da História.

<sup>51</sup> One may consider, for example, the proceedings of the seminars respectively of Tomar and of Évora, those aforementioned of Trancoso-Belmonte and, finally of Coimbra: PONTE, Salette da, and ROMERO, Helena (coords.), *Os Judeus e os Descobrimentos*, proceedings of the International Symposium of Tomar - 92, Tomar, s. n., 1992; BALLESTEROS, Carmen, and RUAH, Mery (coords.), *Os judeus sefarditas entre Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos*, Lisbon, Ed. Colibri / Portuguese Association of Jewish Studies / CIDEHUS, 2004 (proceedings of a seminar held in 1999); *Primeiras Jornadas do Património Judaico da Beira Interior*, organised by the Municipal Councils of Trancoso and Belmonte in 2008 - proceedings online (see footnote 10); *Coimbra Judaica. Actas*, Coimbra, Câmara Municipal de Coimbra, 2009 (conference accompanied by an exhibition, held in 2008). One should mention, also, the catalogue of the Lisbon exhibition: SANTOS, Maria Helena Carvalho, et al. (coords.), *Os Judeus Portugueses entre os Descobrimentos e a Diáspora*, Lisbon, Associação Portuguesa de Estudos Judaicos, 1994.

magazine *Oceanos*<sup>52</sup> to it. In this way it inspires the surge of various titles invoking this connection<sup>53</sup>.

Two other moments appear to mark the extremely wide and diversified bibliography on the Jew, both resulting from a partnership between Jewish associations and the academic community. The first results in the establishment, at the University of Lisbon, of the Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas “Alberto Benveniste”, which, from 2001 onwards, publish annually the *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*. The articles are overwhelmingly dedicated to later periods and bring together very few contributions on the medieval Jews<sup>54</sup>. This fact is evidence of another asymmetry of Portuguese historiography. In fact, there is a thriving attraction for the extensive documental heritage legated by the Inquisition, leading to a whole series of work proposals for the early Modern period and the New Christians, which does not find, at present, any parallel for the Middle Ages. The Cátedra’s website<sup>55</sup> amply proves this involuntary option, especially considering the respective editions that, for the Middle Ages, only contemplate the aforementioned book by Saul Gomes on Leiria and, most recently, another entitled *The Materials of the Image*<sup>56</sup>. Though primarily concerned with the material and techniques of painting in medieval Portuguese manuscripts, the book includes several chapters on one particular manuscript, “O livro de como se fazem as cores” (The book of how to make colors), written in Portuguese with Hebrew script. This Judeo-Portuguese linguistic expression is globally analysed by Devon L. Strolovitch, who also transcribes this text and translates it into English<sup>57</sup>. An effort, however, has been proposed in the sense of inverting this tendency and deepening the study of the Middle Ages in Jewish studies. The Cátedra’s “Centro de Documentação” online provides a publication area of written sources entitled “Documentação medieval peninsular”.

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<sup>52</sup> This refers to no. 29 (1995), subordinated to the theme *Díaspóra e expansão. Os judeus e os Descobrimientos Portugueses*.

<sup>53</sup> See the previous footnote and also the aforementioned book by TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, *Os judeus na época dos Descobrimientos...* (see footnote 21).

<sup>54</sup> These contributions embrace archaeology (SANTOS, Carla Alexandra, and BALLESTEROS, Carmen “Arqueologia judaica no Concelho de Trancoso (novos elementos)”, *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, vol. 4 (2004), pp. 9-40), literature (CORREIA, Ângela, “O judeu nas cantigas de Santa Maria: uma análise comparativa”, *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, 6 (2006), pp. 77-100) and art (AFONSO, Luís Urbano, “Iconografia anti-judaica em Portugal (séculos XIV-XV)”, *ibid.*, pp. 101-132). One article relates to the problems of the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims: SOYER, François, “King Manuel I and the expulsion of the Castilian Conversos and Muslims from Portugal in 1497: new perspectives”, *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, vol. 8 (2008), pp. 33-62.

<sup>55</sup> [www.catedra-alberto-benveniste.org](http://www.catedra-alberto-benveniste.org)

<sup>56</sup> AFONSO, Luís Urbano (ed.), *The Materials of the Image*, Lisbon, Cátedra de Estudos Sefardistas “Alberto Benveniste”, 2010.

<sup>57</sup> STROLOVITCH, Devon L., “Old Portuguese in Hebrew script: beyond *O livro de como se fazem as cores*”, *ibid.*, pp. 29 – 43; IDEM, “O livro de Komo se fazem as Kores das tintas todas (Transliteration)”, *ibid.*, pp. 213-223; IDEM, “O livro de Komo se fazem as Kores das tintas todas (Translation)”, *ibid.*, pp. 224-236.

The second moment emerges with the publication of the *Dicionário de Judaísmo Português* (Dictionary of Portuguese Judaism), coordinated by members of academia and of the Associação de Estudos Judaicos<sup>58</sup>, in a chronologically transversal proposal that, necessarily embodies various articles on the medieval Jews and their living spaces<sup>59</sup>.

### 3. Discourses and concepts

The course contemplated (that will necessarily, although involuntarily, leave out some contributions on these themes) delineates, in its whole, a trajectory in which the Moor and the Jew follow, with some occasional exceptions, different paths. In itself is not surprising. Unusual, however, is the almost total absence of common areas. Medieval historiography does not contemplate, in fact, the more structuring theme that deals with a deeper reflection on the role of the minorities in the very construction of the identity model of the Portuguese kingdom. Resuming what was stated at the beginning of this article, the heuristic (and inter-disciplinary) presuppositions that mould the minority-majority relations, are not globally projected in these studies, because they do not constitute themselves as a proposed objective, because a dialectic between contemporaneity and history fails, as it does in the epistemological domain, between history and the other social sciences.

Only a few exceptions can be considered in this context. A first one refers to the winter course organised, in 2002, by the Instituto de História Económica e Social of the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Coimbra. With the title, “Minorias étnico e religiosas em Portugal. História e actualidade”<sup>60</sup>, the path was laid out, beginning in the medieval period<sup>61</sup> and stretched to the contemporary, with the participation of communicators from different scientific areas, in which, the historians nonetheless predominated. Another, refers to Évora, with the joint organisation of the Centro Interdisciplinar de História Culturas e Sociedades of

<sup>58</sup> MUCZNIK, Lúcia Liba, et al., *Dicionário do Judaísmo Português*, Lisbon, Ed. Presença, 2009.

<sup>59</sup> Such as, for example, the case of “Castelo de Vide, judiaria de”, *ibid.*, p. 145, or “Comunas medievais”, *ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>60</sup> The proceedings were published in the following year: MOTA, Guilhermina (coord.), *Minorias étnicas e religiosas em Portugal. História e Actualidade*, Coimbra, Instituto de História Económica e Social da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2003.

<sup>61</sup> On the question of the minorities in the medieval period: MORENO, Humberto Baquero, “Exclusão social e minorias étnicas”, *ibid.*, pp. 19-32; MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes, “As minorias na legislação sinodal portuguesa medieval”, *ibid.*, pp. 33-48; TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, “Proselitismo, segregação e apologética: a convivência entre cristãos, judeus e muçulmanos no Portugal medievo”, *ibid.*, pp. 53-60; GOMES, Saul António, “Ser-se Judeu na Coimbra Medieval”, *ibid.*, pp. 61-82; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, “Identidade e aculturação: o casamento islâmico no Portugal Medieval”, *ibid.*, pp. 101-116.

the University of Évora (CIDEHUS) and the University of Alicante of a conference in 2006, whose proceedings are entitled “Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica (Período Medieval e Moderno)”<sup>62</sup>. The emphasis on the chronological periods under consideration determined, equally, a massive participation by historians (although, once again, it was not restricted to them alone)<sup>63</sup>. The analysis proposed, as the title itself suggests, sought to put in comparative perspective the various kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the internal scope of the two minorities<sup>64</sup>.

Finally, one should underline a published work by a foreign researcher, François Soyer, resulting from his doctoral thesis presented at Cambridge, whose documental and bibliographical research was mainly undertaken in Portugal. Being published in 2007, the title refers to the religious persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal, during one reign, that of King Manuel I, and in a specific context, that of the end of “religious tolerance”<sup>65</sup>. Nevertheless, it includes an analysis of the presuppositions of the legislative measure taken in 1496, with the edict of expulsion/conversion of the two minorities, on a path that begins precisely with the formation of the Portuguese monarchy (the first chapter is entitled “The Jewish and Muslim Minorities in Medieval Portugal”).

This exceptionality merely corroborates a statute of near marginality in these studies. The established intellectual tradition still persist, in which, implicitly or explicitly, the very notions of the orientalism still propagates (and binds together) the strangeness of Moors and Jews in the Christian social fabric. The presupposition of the marginal and/or the foreigner, sticks, even if unconsciously, to many of these essays. One may refer, for example, to a recent work on private life, in which

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<sup>62</sup> BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, and HINOJOSA MONTALVO, José (eds.), *Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica (Períodos medieval e moderno)*... (see footnote 25).

<sup>63</sup> BARLETTA, Vincent, “La literatura aljamiado-morisca: textos, lecturas e interacción”, *ibid.*, pp. 431-442.

<sup>64</sup> Conference texts dealing with the medieval period: TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, “A construção de um estereótipo: o Judeu no Mediterrâneo Ocidental e o seu reflexo na Arte (séculos XII a XV)”, *ibid.*, pp. 17-78; GOMES, Saul António, “Os Judeus no Reino Português (Séculos XII-XIII)”, *ibid.*, pp. 79-92; HINOJOSA MONTALVO, José, “Los Judíos en la Corona de Aragón. La recuperación de la memoria histórica en torno a una minoría”, *ibid.*, pp. 93-142; MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel, “Judíos y Mudéjares en Andalucía (siglos XIII-XIV)”, *ibid.*, pp. 143-210; MOLINA MOLINA, Ángel Luis, “Minorias Étnico-Religiosas en el Reino de Murcia durante la Baja Edad Media”, *ibid.*, pp. 211-238; BARRIO BARRIO, Juan Antonio, “Los judeoconversos Hispanos y su problemática inserción en la sociedad cristiana urbana peninsular”, *ibid.*, pp. 239-258; AMRAN, Rica, “Sobre algunos puntos de vista de Cristianos Nuevos y Viejos en el siglo XV: el cisma castellano de 1449”, *ibid.*, pp. 258-278; MOLENAT, Jean-Pierre, “Minorités en miroir: mozárabes et mudéjars dans la Péninsule Ibérique médiévale”, *ibid.*, pp. 279-290; ERCHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, Ana, “Los Mudéjares al Norte del Sistema Central: nuevas aportaciones sobre la aljama de Ávila”, *ibid.*, pp. 291-308; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, “Nomear e ser nomeado: a onomástica dos muçulmanos portugueses no processo identitário”, *ibid.*, pp. 309-322.

<sup>65</sup> SOYER, François, *The persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal. King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-1497)*, Leiden / Boston, Brill, 2007.

the minorities were precisely embodied in the chapter entitled “Marginalidade e marginais”<sup>66</sup>. In this sense, the formulas of transposition of this theme to the various histories of Portugal (especially after the 25 April 1974), or to other collective large scale works, reveal themselves to be particularly significant in the statement that integrate (or not) the ethno-religious minorities.

Various and different options are considered, even inside the publications themselves. One may see, for example the *Nova História de Portugal*, directed by Joel Serrão and Oliveira Marques. Volume 3 (coordinated by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem), contemplates, in chapter 2, devoted to social structuration, a whole sub-chapter on “*Grupos Étnico-Religiosos e Estrangeiros*”, whose author is Saul Gomes<sup>67</sup>. It is an important text, because it raises new problems and interpretations on the role of the minorities and of their integration in the Portuguese territory. It situates itself, however, at an ideological frontier that remits these groups (although in fact individualised), to a notion of exteriority, in associating their analysis with that of the foreigners. In volume 4 (published nine years earlier), by a sole author, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, dealing with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, already presents a distinct structure, in which the Moor, as much as the Jew, are the object of analysis within the demographic basis of the Portuguese population<sup>68</sup>.

Directed by João Medina and published for the first time in 1995, the *História de Portugal: dos tempos pré-históricos aos nossos dias*, proposes two types of reading, which are somewhat redundant. The first one, convokes the minorities as an integral part of the medieval urban life. Thus, Manuela Santos Silva (moreover a disciple of the aforementioned master’s course of the Nova University of Lisbon), in her contribution on “As cidades (séculos XII-XV)”, includes two separate articles on “Os judeus” and “Os mouros forros”<sup>69</sup>. In the same volume, however, another option is taken, in the ascription of an autonomous analysis of the minorities to Maria José Ferro Tavares (“Judeus e Mouros (sécs. XII a XIV)”<sup>70</sup>. The same author also signs the

<sup>66</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “Marginalidade e Marginais”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, vol. 1: *A Idade Média*, coordinated by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2010, pp. 170-196, especially 184 ff.

<sup>67</sup> GOMES, Saul António, “Grupos Étnico-Religiosos e Estrangeiros”, in SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras: do Condado Portucalense à Crise do Séc. XIV*, coordinated by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Lisbon, Presença, 1996, pp. 309-383. The text constitutes more than a simple synthesis of knowledge compiled up to that point. It proposes new readings, especially for the remoter periods, based on documentation examined by the author.

<sup>68</sup> SERRÃO, Joel, and MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 4: *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*, coordinated by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Lisbon, Presença, 1987, pp. 32-35.

<sup>69</sup> SILVA, Manuela Santos, “Os judeus”; “Os mouros forros”, in MEDINA, João (dir.), *História de Portugal...* (see footnote 19), vol. 3, pp. 281-290.

<sup>70</sup> TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, “Judeus e Mouros (sécs. XII a XIV)”, *ibid.*, pp. 341-349.

initial headings of volume 4 (precisely titled *Judaísmo, Inquisição e Sebastianismo – Judaism, Inquisition and Sebastianism*) devoted to the Jews of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and to correlated issues<sup>71</sup>.

Also the work of just one author, the *História de Portugal* by Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão<sup>72</sup>, in its first volume, includes two separate articles devoted to the minorities, under the titles “Mouros” and “Judeus”<sup>73</sup>. The same division is adopted in the most recent publication of this genre, coordinated by Rui Ramos<sup>74</sup>, in which the person responsible for the text relating to the medieval period, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, subordinates the theme to a general chapter on the population and society of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

One should also refer to two further works of reference. In the History directed by José Hermano Saraiva, the Muslims find themselves almost absent in contrast to the Jews, whose analysis is due once more to Maria José Ferro Tavares<sup>75</sup>. In that of José Mattoso, the silence on the minorities is practically total<sup>76</sup>.

In this analysis different theoretical conceptions predominate on the role of the minorities in the framework of the Portuguese medieval period. On the one hand, there is a classical scheme (dating from as early as the 1930s), that contemplates an artificial autonomy of the theme, as an aspect considered, in fact, marginal to the analysed reality, as in the case of Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão. On the other, the historians feel the necessity to integrate this phenomenon into a more complex framework, in a contextualised articulation of different components and social protagonists. The latter includes the contributions by A. H. de Oliveira Marques and by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, proposing as a point of observation the population of the Realm, or of Manuela Santos Silva, who moved this focus to the cities. Finally there is a third, in which Maria José Ferro Tavares and Saul António Gomes, converge, in a trajectory focused on the problems of the two minorities, or, in the case of the first author, solely on the Jews.

These variables also demonstrate the difficulty of inserting these problems into a discursive structure of the history of Portugal. Moreover, it is curious how,

<sup>71</sup> Respectively EADEM, “Os Judeus em Portugal no séc. XV”, *ibid.*, pp. 11-24, EADEM, “A expulsão dos Judeus de Portugal”, *ibid.*, pp. 25-34, continuing up to the sixteenth century with EADEM, “Bandarra e o Messianismo judaico português”, *ibid.*, pp. 35-40, EADEM, “O judeu em Gil Vicente”, *ibid.*, pp. 41-48, EADEM, “Os judeus portugueses na diáspora”, *ibid.*, pp. 49-67.

<sup>72</sup> SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo, *História de Portugal*, 15 vols., [Lisbon], Verbo [imp. 1977-2003].

<sup>73</sup> IDEM, “Mouros”; “Judeus”, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 192-193, 193-194, respectively.

<sup>74</sup> RAMOS, Rui (coord.), MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo, and SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Esfera dos Livros, 2010, p. 84.

<sup>75</sup> TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, “Os judeus em Portugal”... (see footnote 19).

<sup>76</sup> In the second volume of the *História de Portugal*, directed by José Mattoso (Lisbon, Círculo dos Leitores, 1993), encompassing a chronological period that extends from the formation of the kingdom to the fifteenth century, the Moor and the Jew are completely omitted from the first part and only episodically mentioned in one description in the second (p. 406).

in neither case, is the option recorded for the vocable “minority”, but rather they reiterate to exhaustion the headings “Mouro” and “Judeu”. This is an aspect that reveals the aforementioned heuristic limitation on these problems, but also another restriction relating to the very participants in the process. In fact, in another fundamental work, the *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Judaism, whilst a religious system, will be, once again, ascribed to Maria José Ferro Tavares<sup>77</sup>, while, the Islam correspond to the authorship of Joaquim Lavajo Chorão<sup>78</sup>. In the case of the former historian, one cannot deny (as has been sufficiently proved), the recognition of her incontestable authority on the Jewish minority. Nevertheless, and despite her above referred bibliographical diversification and multiplication, there is not, at the present moment, a school that ensures the future continuity of these studies. The absolute theme-author connotation thus reveals itself to be extremely restrictive.

The structure of these works, even if revealing, does not contemplate another reference, in fact the most significant one: of the very grammar of the discourses on the ethno-religious minorities. The perception of exteriority of these groups relative to the medieval social corpus (which, in its most extreme position leads to the epithet of marginality) defines, in effect, a discursive register mainly structured on the binomials tolerance/intolerance and/or exclusion/inclusion. The issue crystallised more or less around the polemics on the greater or lesser tolerance of the Portuguese realm regarding its minorities when compared with the other Iberian political entities (involving specifically Maria José Ferro Tavares and Humberto Baquero Moreno).

This alleged particularity of the *national* identity (that of tolerance), becomes exhausted in its own presuppositions, closing a discourse that it is intended to be dynamic and fruitful. In this sense, other grammars emerge around the conceptualisation of minority and, consequently, of the notions, both complementary and dialectic, of identity/alterity, allowing a greater plasticity in the treatment of these problems. In fact, these concepts bound the groups to a social and cultural whole, in a perspective focused on the majority/minorities interaction, and not just in one community artificially isolated from its livelihood context.

The re-dimensioning of the vectors such as the auto- and hetero-perception insert themselves, also, with the greatest pertinence, in the very questioning of a documentation mainly of *Christian* production. The construction of a national archive indelibly marked by the edict of 1496 (and consequently expurgated of the communal documentation of both the minorities), must appeal to another interpretation of these primary sources. Perhaps one must consider a diametrically

<sup>77</sup> TAVARES, Maria José Ferro, “O difícil diálogo entre judaísmo e cristianismo”... (see footnote 19).

<sup>78</sup> CHORÃO, Joaquim Lavajo, “Islão e Cristianismo entre a tolerância e a guerra santa”, *ibid.*, pp. 91-133.



inverse logic to that of its production, or in other words, focused on the specific perspective of its end recipients.

The traditional reading of that documentation, in great part issued by the central power, has conditioned the perspectives and paths of these studies. Thus, most of them present an absolutely hierarchical and static conception of the king's and lords' powers, giving little or no value to the negotiating vectors constantly exercised by Muslim and Jewish communities. In this sense, one should invert the implicit notion of a pretended minorities' passivity against the action embodied in the majority, and consider the negotiation society, both in a political and in a cultural level, in the constant adjustment of the identity parameters.

There also remains the need for a systematic work to proceed (in Portugal and beyond its borders) on the internal production of these communities, stressing these vectors with the recourse of multi-disciplinary efforts in the recovery of documentation written in Hebrew and Arabic. In fact, another essential phenomenon in the definition of these groups is related precisely to a transnational religious dimension, which determines a broad and varied mobility of the population. In this way, one could give substance not to an a-temporal and a-historical Moor or Jew, but one who is contextualised in the tangible space and time of his or her life experience, configured in a multiplicity of cultural sub-groups. This is an aspect not yet sufficiently explored by the Portuguese historiography, being equally the case, moreover, in the European historiography in general.

The medieval ethno-religious minorities conformed, adapted, entered into dialogue, constantly negotiating borders with a *respublica christiana*, whose ethos, structure and ideology are formulated in the interaction between identity and alterity. Their historicity, still and always open, should, in the same global moulds, convoke transnational projects that allow the confluence of information and that evaluate with greater accuracy their role in the construction of Europe itself.



# *The Beginnings of the Portuguese Overseas Expansion*

*João Paulo Oliveira e Costa*

The history of the Portuguese Expansion has occupied an important place in Portuguese historiography for a long time. A rare moment of universal protagonism for the Portuguese, it is an object of particular study in universities, as a subject in itself, in addition to those that study the general history of Portugal over time.

As a historical process it is predominantly related to the Modern and Contemporary periods, and it is even understood as being one of the factors of modernisation in the world (a cause of “decompartmentalisation”, or “planetary take-off” in the words of Pierre Chaunu<sup>1</sup>), and nowadays is seen as the starting point for globalisation. It was indeed one of the sudden changes in the dynamics of history that occurred in the fifteenth century that caused the rupture between what are usually called the Middle Ages and the Modern Age.

A complex process, occurring over a long period of time and considerable geographical range, it turns out to be traditionally neglected by authors who produce encyclopaedic histories of Portugal, so that these projects are soon followed by publications on the history of Portuguese Expansion, as if these concerned

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. CHAUNU, Pierre, “Introdução Geral: Do plural a um singular”; “Do espaço e do tempo: a génese da descompartimentação”; “Os mundos fragmentados”, in LÉON, Pierre (dir.), *História Económica e Social do Mundo*, vol. I: *O mundo em expansão: Séculos XIV-XVI*, directed by Bartolomé Bennassar and Pierre Chaunu, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1984 (original, 1978), t. 1 pp. 11-66; IDEM, *Histoire, Science Social. La Durée, l'Espace et l'Homme*, Paris, Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1974, pp. 287 ff.

separable and distinct things. Recently, Anthony Disney solved this problem by publishing a *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, though divided into two volumes, with the subtitles “Portugal” and “Portuguese Empire”<sup>2</sup>. Despite the division of matter between a history of a country and its empire, Disney tackled them as two sides of the same coin. Even more justifiable was the option of the team coordinated by Rui Ramos, who also published a new *História de Portugal* in 2009<sup>3</sup>. This time, the Portuguese Expansion was fully integrated into the development of the country itself, and the period that interests us here was analysed by Bernardo de Vasconcelos e Sousa in chapter 7 of the first part<sup>4</sup> and by Nuno Monteiro, in chapter 1 of the second<sup>5</sup>.

Although this is undoubtedly a process of modern times, the Portuguese Overseas Expansion not only began in medieval times, but also made it possible for certain medieval dynamics to survive longer in Portugal than in other realms of Christianity, particularly in the area of social organisation. Like the sixteenth and following centuries, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries require of historians a particular analysis regarding the antecedents and the beginnings of the Portuguese Expansion. As is well known and has been noted, the boundaries between the medieval and the modern are porous and, in fact, nowadays, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are studied simultaneously by researchers who did their training in medieval or modern history, but who specialise in this period, a hybrid in relation to the long term compartmentalisation into periods, but specific in itself – this time of transition from an ancient world to a modern world that we cosily designate as the Renaissance period. As such, the “expansionists” join the “medievalists” and “modernists” in the analysis of these two centuries. In my opinion, this period of late medieval or early modern, marked by the opening of the world, can only be fully understood by those who confront this tripartite complementarity.

Dynamics of a medieval character strongly influenced the Portuguese Overseas Expansion, especially until 1521, the year of the death of King Manuel I, after which, upon ascending to the throne, King João III altered the overseas policy objectives, giving priority to the Atlantic over the Mediterranean, to commerce and trade missions instead of the Crusade, and reducing royal intervention in trade<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> DISNEY, Anthony, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> RAMOS, Rui (coord.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Esfera dos Livros, 2009.

<sup>4</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 171-196.

<sup>5</sup> IDEM, *ibid.*, pp. 199-225.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my studies “O Império português em meados do século XVI”, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 3 (2002), pp. 87-121; *D. Manuel I, um príncipe do Renascimento*, Lisbon, Temas e Debates, 2007 (revised edition; 1st ed., 2005).

Throughout the twentieth century, most authors who studied the beginning of the Expansion argued mainly about its causes – looked for the reasons behind the beginning of the conquests in Morocco and behind the ocean-going voyages of exploration. This debate divided those who argued for the primacy of economic causes and those who advocated the primacy of political and religious reasons. Drawing on little more than the chronicles they fought each other, trying to explain history using schematics that were too rigid. The existence of an autocratic regime of nationalist inspiration, and of an opposition constrained by censorship and eager to assert an ideology inspired by Marxism, contributed to a closing of the ranks on both sides and an absence of academic dialogue. These two lines of thought still persist, recent examples being the works of Peter Russell<sup>7</sup> and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho<sup>8</sup>.

Peter Russell's work deserves special consideration because it is a biography of Prince Henrique which, in the end, exposes the limitations of a historiography that looked at the Expansion as a phenomenon disconnected from the history of Portugal. In a biography intended to understand the "Navigator", the chapters were structured according to the rhythms of the Expansion and not the Prince's life, there being no analysis of his activity as the Duke of Viseu, or of his role as advisor to kings or as a strong supporter of the regency of Prince Pedro, while important events so important as the Battle of Alfarrobeira, or so extraordinary as the adoption of the Prince Fernando by Prince Henrique, are ignored. In confining the *Navegador* within the context of Expansion, Russell amputated the individual from most of his actual experiences, given that throughout his life Prince Henrique was one of the main political agents of the kingdom. A paradigmatic example of this partial vision is the fact that Russell expresses his astonishment that symbols relating to Guinea do not feature on the tomb of Henrique<sup>9</sup>. In fact, carved on his sepulchre we may see the national shield, the symbol of the Order of Cristo and the symbol of the Order of the Garter, and through them we are transported to the main concerns of the Infante himself who, as the inventor of the Discoveries, preferred to remind those to come of his status as a great prince of Christendom.

Added to this, in Russell's case, was an anti-Portuguese sentiment, characteristic of authors on familiar terms with the *Estado Novo*, which is evident when Russell states that at the time of Prince Henrique, "it seemed certain" that the Portuguese did not use any African negroes as members of the crew on board of the caravels, because the ethnic prejudices of Portuguese crews of the period would have objected

<sup>7</sup> RUSSELL, Peter, *Henrique o Navegador*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2004 (original, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães, *A Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Dom Quixote, 2008 (reworded re-edition of *A Economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos*, 1962).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. RUSSELL, Peter, *Henrique o Navegador...*, p. 325.

to working side by side with negro slaves, or seen as such<sup>10</sup>. However, contemporary sources, including Cadamosto, show otherwise.

In Godinho's case, the problem lies in the way the economic factors are given primacy, overshadowing others that motivated the Expansion, leading him, for example, to compile a list of new factors, all of an economic nature, as those that "primarily determined the first phase of the overseas conquests and discoveries"<sup>11</sup>. It should, however, be noted that this author stimulated the new approaches that were analysed in detail in his monumental work *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*<sup>12</sup>.

Alongside the ideological struggle, there has persisted a sterile discussion regarding the School of Sagres, Alberto Iria's enlightening words in 1961<sup>13</sup> not being attended to, and even today the myth is perpetuated especially in non-academic circles. Finally, historiography has moved between derision for the work of Gomes Eanes de Zurara (overshadowed by the brilliance of Fernão Lopes) and acceptance of the account created by the chroniclers Rui de Pina, Damião de Góis and Garcia de Resende concerning the Portuguese fifteenth century. Not even the pioneering work of Humberto Baquero Moreno regarding Alfarrobeira<sup>14</sup> was able to break with the view that labelled the Prince Pedro and King João II as the "modernisers" and the Prince Henrique and King Afonso V as the "retrogrades", defenders solely of the interests of the nobility in the face of an emerging bourgeoisie and a centralising State.

Beyond the endless debate over the causes and protagonists at the outset of the Expansion, some issues were studied in a systematic way and some works produced then are still essential reading. This is true of the systematic study of the fifteenth century voyages and the lands that were identified and reached each year, with a summary by Damião Peres<sup>15</sup>. A survey and systematic study of Portuguese cartography was also undertaken, in which the contributions of Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota<sup>16</sup> stand out, in the compilation of charts and atlases, and (for the former) in preparing the first comprehensive study<sup>17</sup>. Luís

<sup>10</sup> IDEM, *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>11</sup> GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães, *A expansão quatrocentista...*, pp. 122-123.

<sup>12</sup> IDEM, *Descobrimentos e economia mundial*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Estampa, 1982-1983.

<sup>13</sup> IRIA, Alberto, "As três vilas do infante D. Henrique no Algarve" (paper read on 10 March 1961), in IRIA, Alberto, *O infante D. Henrique e o Algarve (estudos inéditos)*, Lagos, Centro de Estudos Gil Eanes, 1997.

<sup>14</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira. Antecedentes e significado histórico*, 2 vols., Coimbra, 1979-1980.

<sup>15</sup> PERES, Damião, *História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, Oporto, Vertente, 1983 (1st ed., 1943).

<sup>16</sup> CORTESÃO, Armando, and MOTA, Avelino Teixeira da, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 5 vols., Coimbra, 1960.

<sup>17</sup> CORTESÃO, Armando, *História da Cartografia Portuguesa*, 2 vols., Coimbra, 1969-1970.

de Albuquerque, in turn, unravelled the seamanship of the Discoveries<sup>18</sup>, while Avelino Teixeira da Mota studied the ocean voyages and deepened our knowledge of Guinea<sup>19</sup>.

At the same time, new tools of research were emerging. Godinho published the *Documentos para História da Expansão Portuguesa*<sup>20</sup> and João Martins da Silva Marques edited the compendium *Descobrimientos Portugueses*<sup>21</sup>; finally, in the 1960s, Dias Dinis organised the *Monumenta Henricina*<sup>22</sup>. This work had the merit of including documentation originating from foreign archives, providing new materials and emphasising the need to integrate the history of Portugal into Iberian and European contexts. Later, in 1995, Jose Manuel Garcia included a few, hitherto unpublished documents concerning the Prince Henrique in his *Documentação Henriquina*<sup>23</sup>. With the works published up to the 1960s, it became possible to revisit the beginnings of the Portuguese Expansion, which had been held back for a number of years.

Meanwhile, António Brásio made fresh documentation available about the fifteenth century occupation of the archipelagos of Cape Verde and Sao Tome<sup>24</sup>, which was later completed with the publication of *Portugaliae Monumenta Africana*<sup>25</sup>. To this was later added the publication of a volume of Italian sources concerning the first Portuguese voyages to India by Carmen Radulet and Luís Filipe Thomaz<sup>26</sup>.

As the 1970s approached, new studies appeared that contributed to a better understanding of the beginnings of the Portuguese Expansion. In 1967, Luís de Albuquerque published the *Introdução à História dos Descobrimientos Portugueses*<sup>27</sup>, a systematic study of the structural dynamics of medieval Portugal that led to the kingdom becoming a maritime power. In 1972, Alberto Banha de Andrade, in turn, presented a systematic analysis of the texts related to the Discoveries up to 1521, thus providing a very comprehensive view of the impact of Portuguese navigational voyages in the letters of the West, which also allowed an evaluation of the way news

<sup>18</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de, *Curso de História da Náutica*, Coimbra, Almedina, 1972.

<sup>19</sup> Regarding the work of Teixeira da Mota see VALENTIM, Carlos Manuel, *O trabalho de uma vida. Bibliografia de Avelino Teixeira da Mota (1920-1982)*, Lisbon, Edições Culturais da Marinha, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães (pref., annot. and org.), *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*, 3 vols., (vol. 1, Lisbon, Gleba, 1943; vol. 2, Lisbon, Ed. Globo, 1945; vol. 3, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1956).

<sup>21</sup> MARQUES, João Martins da Silva (dir.), *Descobrimientos Portugueses*, 3 vols., Lisbon, INIC, 1988 (1st ed., 1944).

<sup>22</sup> DINIS, António Joaquim Dias (ed.), *Monumenta Henricina*, 15 vols., Coimbra, Atlântida, 1960-1974.

<sup>23</sup> GARCIA, José Manuel (int. and org.), *Documentação Henriquina*, Maia, Castoliva Editora, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> BRÁSIO, António (ed.), *Monumenta Missionária Africana*, 1st ser., 7 vols., Lisbon, 1952-1956; 2nd ser., 13 vols., Lisbon, 1958-1982.

<sup>25</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de, and SANTOS, Maria Emilia Madeira (dirs.), *Portugaliae Monumenta Africana*, 4 vols., Lisbon, CNCDP / IN-CM, 1993-2002.

<sup>26</sup> RADULET, Carmen, and THOMAZ, Luís Filipe (ed.), *Viagens portuguesas à Índia (1497-1513). Fontes italianas para a sua História*, Lisbon, CNCDP, 2002.

<sup>27</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de, *Introdução aos Descobrimientos Portugueses*, Coimbra, Almedina, 1967.

of the Discoveries was received in various parts of Europe<sup>28</sup>. With regard to the spread of Christianity, mention should be made of the works of António Brásio<sup>29</sup> and Henrique Pinto Rema<sup>30</sup>. António Carreira, in turn, undertook systematic studies on the history of Cape Verde, which included important analyses of the beginning of the occupation of the archipelago, his publications from the 1960s and 1970s being collected at the beginning of the 1980s<sup>31</sup>.

Also in the 1970s, Jaime Cortesão's synthesis of the *História da Expansão Portuguesa*<sup>32</sup>, initially published in the 1940s, was re-issued. This work explored the multifaceted nature of the Portuguese Expansion and was, without doubt, an important work in its time, although somewhat marked by its passive acceptance of the portrait of fifteenth and sixteenth century Portugal handed down by the chroniclers, and by its somewhat shallow knowledge of the characteristics of the regions where the Portuguese were present. Abroad, Charles Boxer was outstanding, publishing in 1969 *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, which had the merit of analysing the entire period between the conquest of Ceuta and the independence of Brazil (not tackled by Cortesão), but which dedicated only a few pages to the beginnings of the Expansion. The Portuguese translation of this work was published in 1981<sup>33</sup>. Shortly afterwards, in 1983, Luís Filipe Barreto contributed a fresh reflection of the impact of the Discoveries on culture and contemporary thinking<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> ANDRADE, A. A. Banha de, *Mundos Novos do Mundo, panorama da difusão, pela Europa, de notícias dos Descobrimentos Geográficos Portugueses*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1972.

<sup>29</sup> BRÁSIO, António, *História e Missiologia, inéditos e esparços*, Luanda, Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1973.

<sup>30</sup> REMA, Henrique Pinto, *História das missões católicas da Guiné*, Braga, Editorial franciscana, 1982.

<sup>31</sup> CARREIRA, António, *Estudos de economia caboverdiana*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1982; IDEM, *Cabo Verde: Formação e extinção de uma sociedade escravocarta (1460-1878)*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, s. n., 1983.

<sup>32</sup> CORTESÃO, Jaime, *História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1978-1979.

<sup>33</sup> BOXER, Charles, *O Império Colonial Português (1415-1825)*, Lisbon, Edições 70, 1981.

<sup>34</sup> BARRETO, Luís Filipe, *Descobrimentos e Renascimento: formas de ser e pensar nos séculos XV e XVI*, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1983. The author carried out research on this theme, resulting in a further publication: IDEM, *Os Descobrimentos e a ordem do saber. Uma análise sociocultural*, Lisbon, Gradiva, 1987.



From 1985 onwards, studies on the Henrique navigator voyages finally underwent a significant change, foreshadowed in an article by José Mattoso published in the previous year<sup>35</sup>. On the occasion of the “Jornadas de História Medieval”, held that year at the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon, under the organisation of Miguel Rodriguez, Luís Filipe Oliveira had presented a paper showing that the voyages of Discovery to the mid-fifteenth century were predominantly led by the lower aristocracy<sup>36</sup>. In his text, analysing the information provided by Zurara, Luís Filipe Oliveira systematically dismantled the dichotomous thesis that argued for a “class” separation between the two main directions of the Expansion (the nobility interested in conquering Morocco as opposed to the bourgeoisie committed to the Discoveries).

Luis Filipe Thomaz then extended this idea through a systematic deployment of the *Monumenta Henricina*. In a study first published in 1989, this author analysed the whole process of the gestation of the Portuguese expansionist policy and its first developments, integrating them with Hispanic events in the first half of the fifteenth century. What Luís Filipe Oliveira had suggested was now fully confirmed by Luís Filipe Thomaz, particularly the involvement of both merchants and nobles who were equally present in Morocco and in the adventure of the voyages of navigation. Although still a prisoner of the view that the chroniclers bequeathed of Prince Pedro and King Afonso V, the article provided a new understanding of the genesis of the Portuguese Expansion. First published in Paris, this study was later integrated into a volume of the author’s essays in 1994<sup>37</sup>.

Luís Filipe Thomaz’s contribution to a new perception of the first century of the Portuguese Expansion was fruitful: with regard to the fifteenth century, he produced an embryonic but essential study of the original system of the Captain-Majors<sup>38</sup>, the first systematic study of the imperial policy of King João II<sup>39</sup>, and an insight into the way rivalries present within the Portuguese court were reflected in the construction of the state of India<sup>40</sup>. He was also the author of a study of the

<sup>35</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Breves reflexões sobre o início dos Descobrimentos Portugueses”, *Revista Espanhola de Teologia*, vol. 44, fasc. 1 (1984), pp. 171-181, re-edited in IDEM, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1990, pp. 295-307.

<sup>36</sup> OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, “A expansão portuguesa: um processo de recomposição social da nobreza”, in *Jornadas de História Medieval. 1383/1385 e a crise geral dos séculos XIV/XV. Actas*, Lisbon, História & Crítica, 1985, pp. 199-207.

<sup>37</sup> THOMAZ, Luís Filipe, “A evolução da política expansionista portuguesa na primeira metade de Quatrocentos”, in THOMAZ, Luís Filipe, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Carnaxide, Difel, 1994, pp. 43-147.

<sup>38</sup> IDEM, “Estruturas quasi-feudais na Expansão Portuguesa”, in *Actas do I Colóquio Internacional de História da Madeira*, Funchal, Governo Regional da Madeira, 1989, pp. 80-87.

<sup>39</sup> IDEM, “O projecto imperial joanino (tentativa de interpretação global da política ultramarina de D. João II)”, in THOMAZ, Luís Filipe, *De Ceuta a Timor...*, pp. 149-167.

<sup>40</sup> One of the first texts where he noted this political dynamic is the chapter IDEM, “La mer du Bengale dans la politique portugaise aux Indes (1498-1520)”, in BOUCHON, Geneviève, and THOMAZ, Luís Filipe

Manueline imperial ideology that broke, once again, with the traditional view of the primacy of economic causes by demonstrating that the obvious commercial interests of the Portuguese crown in dealing with spices was not just limited to the search for profit but was associated with old Crusader dreams of a Mediterranean nature which had survived within Christianity until the dawn of the sixteenth century and of which, after all, King Manuel I was one of the last protagonists<sup>41</sup>.

In his studies of the early Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean, Luís Filipe Thomaz introduced to Portugal a new historiographical perspective that valued local histories as an essential factor in understanding colonial history. The works of Jean Aubin<sup>42</sup> and Geneviève Bouchon<sup>43</sup> were paradigms of this approach and many master's and doctoral theses were produced in the wake of this, especially at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Nova University of Lisbon<sup>44</sup>. In 1993, Sanjay Subrahmanyam published a study on the Portuguese presence in Asia, which, although primarily addressing the modern age, represented at the time the first synthesis of the work carried out by the Aubin and Thomaz groups, and which sought to understand the dynamics of the Portuguese presence in India through an analysis of their fifteenth century antecedents<sup>45</sup>.

The Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon, in turn, developed a line dedicated to the study of naval history, coordinated by Francisco Contente Domingues, whose studies naturally included the nautical aspects of the Discoveries; also at this *Faculdade*, António Dias Farinha pursued his studies of the Portuguese presence in Morocco. At the Faculdade de Letras in Oporto, attention was focused on the study of trade with the North of Europe. Until recently, for one reason or another, the studies carried out there have focused on later periods. However, a systematic study of the military orders in the fifteenth century under the coordination of Luís Adão da Fonseca came eventually to take account of the

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(eds.), *Voyage dans les deltas du Gange et de l'Irraouaddy. 1521*, Paris, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1988, pp. 15-70.

<sup>41</sup> IDEM, "L'idée impériale manueline", in *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du Colloque*, Paris, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1990, pp. 35-103.

<sup>42</sup> The essential work of Aubin regarding the study of the beginnings of the Portuguese Overseas Expansion can be found in AUBIN, Jean, *Le latin et l'astrolabe. Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*, 3 vols., Paris, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1996-2006.

<sup>43</sup> The essential work of Bouchon regarding the study of the beginnings of the Portuguese Overseas Expansion can be found in BOUCHON, Geneviève, *Inde découverte, Inde retrouvée, 1498-1630. Études d'histoire indo-portugaise*, Paris / Lisbon, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian / CNCDP, 1999.

<sup>44</sup> The most relevant works of the initial years of the master's, concerning the East, were later presented at a colloquium organised by Jean Aubin and Geneviève Bouchon, in 1994. See BOUCHON, Geneviève, and AUBIN, Jean (eds), *Nouvelles orientations de la recherche sur l'Histoire de l'Asie Portugaise*, Paris, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997.

<sup>45</sup> SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A political and economic history*, London / New York, Longman, 1993, Portuguese translation: *O Império português da Ásia, 1500-1700*, Lisbon, Difel, 1996.

involvement of the Orders overseas<sup>46</sup>. Significantly, the meetings about the Orders periodically held in Palmela, through the energy of Isabel Cristina Fernandes, added a natural overseas component.

Meanwhile, at the University of the Azores in the 1980s, another school was rising with important contributions to knowledge of the fifteenth century. Under the impetus of Artur Teodoro de Matos, a new group of teachers began the systematic study of the history of the Archipelago, which has, in fact, enabled the recent publication of a new synthesis, including an updated overview of the early occupation of the islands<sup>47</sup>. Among the monographs of a “medieval” nature published in the meantime, that of Rute Gregório’s on property on the island of Terceira<sup>48</sup> should be noted. The publication of the *Arquivos dos Açores*<sup>49</sup> made available to the scientific community a wealth of new documentation, including a significant number of texts from the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In Madeira, the Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, under the aegis of Alberto Vieira, promoted the development of studies of the history of the region, which has provided a more complete vision of the history of the Archipelago in the fifteenth century<sup>50</sup>, to which was added the doctoral dissertation by Miguel Rodrigues<sup>51</sup>. Again in this regard, new documentary sources have been published. This deserves particular attention because of its importance, namely the publishing of the “actas das vereações” of Funchal concerning the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century<sup>52</sup>.

At the end of the 1980s, Luís de Albuquerque and Maria Emília Madeira Santos initiated the project of the *História Geral de Cabo Verde*, with excellent results including two volumes of documentation<sup>53</sup> and three volumes of general history, the

<sup>46</sup> Regarding this question, see the study: FONSECA, Luís Adão da, “Os comandos da segunda armada de Vasco da Gama à Índia (1502-1503)”, *Mare Liberum – Revista de História dos Mares*, vol. 16, Dec. (1998), pp. 11-32.

<sup>47</sup> MATOS, Artur Teodoro de, MENESES, Avelino Freitas de, and LEITE, José Guilherme Reis (dirs.), *História dos Açores. Do descobrimento ao século XX*, 2 vols., Angra do Heroísmo, Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 2008.

<sup>48</sup> GREGÓRIO, Rute Dias, *Terra e Fortuna: os primórdios da humanização da ilha Terceira (1450?-1550)*, Ponta Delgada, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2007.

<sup>49</sup> *Arquivos dos Açores*, 15 vols, Ponta Delgada, Universidade dos Açores, 1980-1984.

<sup>50</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de, and VIEIRA, Alberto, *O arquipélago da Madeira no Século XV*, Funchal, Região Autónoma da Madeira, 1987.

<sup>51</sup> RODRIGUES, Miguel, *Organização dos poderes e estrutura social. A Madeira: 1460-1521*, Cascais, Patrimónia, 1996.

<sup>52</sup> COSTA, José Pereira da (ed.), *Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal. Século XV*, Funchal, Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1995; IDEM (ed.), *Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal. Século XVI*, Funchal, Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1998.

<sup>53</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de, and SANTOS, Maria Emília Madeira (dirs.), *História Geral de Cabo Verde – Corpo Documental*, 2 vols., Lisbon / Praia, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical Direção / Geral do Património Cultural de Cabo Verde, 1988-1990.

first of which covered the “medieval” period<sup>54</sup>. The Portuguese-Cape Verdean team that produced this book was comprised of Ângela Domingues, António Correia e Silva, Ilídio Baleno, Iva Cabral and Maria Manuel Torrão; this group has also produced many articles scattered in various journals, including some on the islands’ institutions, the local economy and society, as well as external trade.

The archipelago of Sao Tome has also been studied in recent years, but most studies have focused on later periods. It was only in the 1990s that the early occupation of the islands would be the object of relevant studies, as noted below.

Also at the end of the 1980s, Luís de Albuquerque launched a new general work on the Portuguese Expansion<sup>55</sup>. It was not a study like those of Courtier or Boxer, seeking a global vision of the evolution of the Portuguese expansionist process and trying to find connections to give it consistency. It was rather a vast work of collaboration with dozens of authors who sought to show the evolution of its historiography in its different parts – geographical, thematic and chronological. In several of these topics innovations and fresh perspectives were brought to bear, the background and beginnings of the Expansion being analysed in detail in the first two volumes of the work.

At the same time, Rafael Moreira coordinated a further work on the fortifications of the Empire, which included studies of the evolution of fortification in Portugal since Pre-History<sup>56</sup>, equally indicative of the evolution Portuguese historiography had already passed through. Another relevant study was José Ramos Tinhorão’s survey of the presence of Blacks in Portugal<sup>57</sup>.

In the early 1990s, there was therefore a surge of studies devoted to the Portuguese Expansion that also included the fifteenth century and which was stimulated by the creation of the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses. The sixth centenary of the birth of the Prince Henrique and the fifth of the Treaty of Tordesilhas, in 1994, along with the fifth of the death of King João II, in the following year, gave rise to several colloquia, conferences and publications, though of a very variable quality. Earlier, the fifth centenary of the voyage of Bartolomeu Dias in 1987<sup>58</sup>, and the first voyage of Christopher Columbus

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<sup>54</sup> IDEM (dirs.), *História Geral de Cabo Verde*, 3 vols., Lisbon / Praia, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical / Direcção-Geral do Património Cultural de Cabo Verde, 1991-2002 (vol. 1, 1991).

<sup>55</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de (dir.), *Portugal no Mundo*, 6 vols., Lisbon, Alfa, 1989.

<sup>56</sup> MOREIRA, Rafael (dir.), *História das fortificações portuguesas no mundo*, Lisbon, Alfa, 1989.

<sup>57</sup> TINHORÃO, José Ramos, *Os Negros em Portugal. Uma presença silenciosa*, Lisbon, Caminho, 1988.

<sup>58</sup> *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a sua Época, Actas*, 5 vols., Oporto, Universidade do Porto / CNCDP, 1989.

in 1992, also sparked interest. The celebrations of 500 years since arriving in India (1998) and Brazil (2000) were less relevant to our case, since most of the studies presented were preoccupied more with the consequences of those trips than with their antecedents. In the case of the 1998 celebrations however, what should be noted was the emergence of important new biographical studies of Vasco da Gama<sup>59</sup>. Mention should also be made of a major conference on Portuguese missionary work in 1992, in which aspects of antecedents and the beginning of the Expansion were addressed by several authors, specifically in the papers given by José Mattoso and Luís Filipe Thomaz<sup>60</sup>.

Meanwhile, there were proposals for large new syntheses, but the results were not truly satisfactory. Following the *História de Portugal*, directed by José Mattoso, the Círculo de Leitores published, in 1998-1999, a *História da Expansão Portuguesa* under the direction of Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri<sup>61</sup>. At the same time, another *História de Portugal*, this time directed by A. H. de Oliveira Marques and Joel Serrão, also projected a supplementary work on Portuguese Expansion under the direction of the two same historians. This was never unfinished, but for the period that interests us two volumes were published – one dedicated to the fifteenth century Expansion, with little that was new<sup>62</sup>, and the other about the occupation of the Atlantic islands with an updated synthesis<sup>63</sup>.

In a more individual manner other authors have enriched the study of the fifteenth century expansion and the start of the sixteenth century. It being impossible to cite all the valuable contributions that have been made, I will mention those that seem most relevant for understanding the process in question – namely, those that should be known by college students. This is the case with Luís Miguel Duarte, on

<sup>59</sup> SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay, *A carreira e a lenda de Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, CNCDP, 1998; FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *Vasco da Gama, o homem, a viagem, a época*, Lisbon, Comissariado da Exposição Mundial de Lisboa de 1998, 1998; BOUCHON, Geneviève, *Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, Gradiva, 1998. Within the framework of the same celebrations, it is worth mentioning CURTO, Diogo Ramada (dir.), *O tempo de Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, Difel / CNCDP / Pavilhão de Portugal – Expo98, 1998. Although not a work exclusively dedicated to the expansionist process, it represents a certain type of work, somewhat popular in the period of the commemorations, when the Empire was an excuse for studies of Portugal and Europe.

<sup>60</sup> *Congresso Internacional de História Missionação Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas*, 4 vols., Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa / CNCDP / Fundação Evangelização e Culturas, 1993.

<sup>61</sup> BETHENCOURT, Francisco, and CHAUDHURI, Kirti (coords.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, (1415-1570), Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1998, vol. 1. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa critiques this work in a review published in *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 1 (2000), pp. 457-467. This review led to two replies which were published in *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 2 (2001), with the respective reply (see pp. 481-497).

<sup>62</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (coord.), *A expansão quatrocentista*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1998.

<sup>63</sup> MATOS, Artur Teodoro de (coord.), *A colonização atlântica*, 2 tomes, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 2005.

the war in Morocco<sup>64</sup>; João Silva de Sousa, with the first systematic study on the *Casa do infante D. Henrique*<sup>65</sup>; Nuno Silva Campos on Count Pedro Meneses<sup>66</sup>; João Luís Fontes on the Prince Fernando<sup>67</sup>; Jacques Paviot on the collaboration of Burgundy with Portugal in the fifteenth century (which included the exchange of knowledge on naval construction)<sup>68</sup>; António de Vasconcelos Saldanha, concerning the system of Captain-majors<sup>69</sup>; Jorge Couto on the discovery of Brazil<sup>70</sup>; António Marques de Almeida on science<sup>71</sup>; João Cordeiro Pereira<sup>72</sup> and Baloong Wen Mewuda<sup>73</sup> on the fortress of São Jorge da Mina; Arlindo Caldeira, on the settlement of São Tomé<sup>74</sup>; Jorge Correia, on urbanism in Morocco<sup>75</sup>; André Teixeira on Manueline fortifications in the State of India<sup>76</sup>; Maria Lurdes Rosa on religiosity in relation to North Africa<sup>77</sup>.

It should also be noted that the collection “Biografias dos Reis de Portugal”, published by the Círculo de Leitores, between 2005 and 2007, contributed to the re-assessment of the whole of this period of the beginnings of the Expansion through its biographies of the kings who occupied the Portuguese throne between 1385 and 1521. Of particular relevance to this chapter are the works of Maria Helena Coelho (*D. João I*), Luís Miguel Duarte (*D. Duarte*), Saul António Gomes (*D. Afonso V*), Luís Adão da Fonseca (*D. João II*) and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa (*D. Manuel I*).

<sup>64</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “África”, in BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, 5 vols., Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2003-2004, vol. 1 (2003), pp. 392-441.

<sup>65</sup> SOUSA, João Silva de, *A casa senhorial do infante D. Henrique*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1991.

<sup>66</sup> CAMPOS, Nuno Silva, *D. Pedro de Meneses e a construção da Casa de Vila Real (1415-1437)*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2004; IDEM, *D. Pedro de Meneses. O primeiro capitão de Ceuta*, Lisbon, SeteCaminhos, 2008.

<sup>67</sup> FONTES, João Luís Inglês, *Percursos e Memória: Do Infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000.

<sup>68</sup> PAVIOT, Jacques, *Portugal et Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris / Lisbon, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian / CNCDP, 1995.

<sup>69</sup> SALDANHA, António Vasconcelos de, *As capitânias do Brasil. Antecedentes, desenvolvimento e extinção de um fenómeno atlântico*, Lisbon, CNCDP, 2001.

<sup>70</sup> COUTO, Jorge, *A construção do Brasil*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1995.

<sup>71</sup> ALMEIDA, A. A. Marques de, *A matemática no tempo dos Descobrimentos*, Lisbon, Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998.

<sup>72</sup> CORDEIRO, João, “O resgate do ouro na costa da Mina nos reinados de D. João III e D. Sebastião”, *Stvdia*, no. 50 (1991), pp. 5-48.

<sup>73</sup> BALLONG-WEN-MEWUDA, J. Bato'ora, *São Jorge da Mina 1482-1637*, Lisbon / Paris, CNCDP / Centre Culturel Portugais, 1993.

<sup>74</sup> CALDEIRA, Arlindo, *Mulheres, sexualidade e casamento em São Tomé e Príncipe (séculos XV-XVIII)*, Lisbon, Edições Cosmos / Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999.

<sup>75</sup> CORREIA, Jorge, *Implantação da cidade portuguesa no Norte de África. Da tomada de Ceuta a meados do século XVI*, Oporto, Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 2008.

<sup>76</sup> TEIXEIRA, André, *Fortalezas Estado Português da Índia. Arquitectura militar na construção do Império de D. Manuel I*, Lisbon, Tribuna da História, 2008.

<sup>77</sup> ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, *Longas guerras, longos sonhos africanos*, Oporto, Fio da Palavra, 2010.

Meanwhile, in the wake of the pioneering studies by Luís Filipe Thomaz, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa became interested in the role of the nobility in the founding of the State of India. Studies on Simão de Andrade and on Leonel Coutinho showed that beyond the struggle between the two parties of courtiers who quarrelled with King Manuel I (and who took that quarrel as far as the Indian Ocean), the rivalries and solidarities between the constructors of the state of India left a very strong personal and familial imprint<sup>78</sup>. With the collaboration of students from the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, the author advanced this work through two compilations of biographical studies, both published in 2000. These studies help to reinforce the vision of the crucial role played by the nobility in all the process of the beginning of the Portuguese Expansion<sup>79</sup>.

The experience gained from these books led to the development of a research project that the present writer directed in collaboration with Victor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues, entitled “A Nobreza e a criação do Estado da Índia”. This project resulted in several masters and doctoral theses relating to the fifteenth century nobility and the beginnings of the State of India<sup>80</sup>, in various communications at national and international colloquia, and in the organisation of a colloquium on the holders of nobility and the creation of the State of India<sup>81</sup>. Of all these studies, what is particularly important for the topic addressed here, is the dossier published in volume 2 of the *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, which resulted from a meeting held at the Convento da Arrábida in 2001. These studies stressed, once more, the fundamental role of the nobility in the birth of the Empire, but also showed how the hierarchy of the group adapted to the hierarchy of the political, administrative and economic functions for which the members of the nobility were nominated<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, “Simão de Andrade, fidalgo da Índia e capitão de Chaul”, *Mare Liberum – Revista de História dos Mares*, no. 9: *O Estado da Índia e a Província do Norte, actas do VII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa* (1995), pp. 99-116; IDEM, “Leonel Coutinho, um dos primeiros veteranos da Carreira da Índia”, in MATOS, Artur Teodoro de, and THOMAZ, Luís Filipe, (eds.), *A Carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos. Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Angra do Heroísmo, 1998, pp. 627-666.

<sup>79</sup> COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e (dir.), *A nobreza e a Expansão. Estudos Biográficos*, Cascais, Patrimonia, 2000; IDEM, *Os Descobridores do Brasil. Exploradores do Atlântico e construtores do Estado da Índia*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 2000.

<sup>80</sup> The following works are worthy of note: LACERDA, Teresa, *Os capitães da Carreira da Índia no reinado de D. Manuel I*, unpublished master’s dissertation submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2006; CARVALHO, Andreia Martins de, *Redes de parentesco: a nobreza no contexto do governo da Índia de Nuno da Cunha*, unpublished master’s dissertation submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2007; PELÚCIA, Alexandra, *Martim Afonso de Sousa e a sua linhagem. Trajectórias de uma elite no Império de D. João III e de D. Sebastião*, Lisbon, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2009 (the first part of this study is concerned with the lineages of the Sousas in the Middle Ages).

<sup>81</sup> COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, and RODRIGUES, Vítor Gaspar (eds.), *A Alta nobreza e a fundação do Estado da Índia. Actas do Colóquio Internacional*, Lisbon, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2004.

<sup>82</sup> The dossier includes the following studies: COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, “A formação do aparelho central da administração ultramarina no século XV”, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 2 (2001), pp. 87-114;

In 1999, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa published another study that reviewed of the chroniclers' accounts (and most of the historiography that had quietly followed it) concerning the overseas policies of King Afonso V. This article indicated that the idea that the monarch had neglected the Discoveries was wrong, showing that the king had a global policy that simultaneously considered all of the routes of the Expansion, and that the exploration of the Atlantic was always under his watchful and interested gaze. It also emphasised that the myth created by João de Barros concerning the contract of Fernão Gomes was not supported by contemporary written documentation prior to the chronicler<sup>83</sup>.

More recently, in 2009, he published a new biography of the Prince Henrique, which sought to integrate the Discoveries and the Expansion in the context of the period<sup>84</sup>. Having previously studied King Manuel I not as a king of the Empire but as a Renaissance prince, he never abstracted Prince Henrique from the sphere of his action, his realm, nor his network of contacts, Christendom. In addition, he stressed Luso-Castilian rivalry over Africa and the Ocean as factors to be taken into account in understanding the history of the Portuguese Expansion.

This text has attempted to provide an overview of the evolution of the historiography on the Portuguese Expansion in the medieval period, highlighting the most striking that constitute important references in contemporary historiographical production. This type of exercise always runs the risk of being incomplete or partial and the chapter does not escape this possibility.

Along with the books and articles that have been mentioned here, many others have been published in recent decades in the pages of journals or conference proceedings. Since it is impossible to list all the volumes of proceedings published in recent years with interesting texts, I will have to be content with referencing some of these journals, the respective indexes of which are essential when starting new research. The interested reader will find many studies in them that were not mentioned here, but which provide additional information on the characteristics

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OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, "Entre a História e a Memória: os Coutinhos e a expansão quatrocentista", *ibid.*, pp. 115-126; CARVALHO, Andreia Martins de, and PELÚCIA, Alexandra, "Os primeiros fidalgos na costa da Guiné", *ibid.*, pp. 127-138; SOUSA, João Silva de, "O ducado de Viseu no século XV", *ibid.*, pp. 139-156; RODRIGUES, Vitor Luís Gaspar, "Organização militar e práticas de guerra dos Portugueses em Marrocos no século XV, princípios do século XVI: sua importância como modelo referencial para a Expansão Portuguesa no Oriente", *ibid.*, pp. 157-168.

<sup>83</sup> COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e, "D. Afonso V e o Atlântico: a base do projecto expansionista de D. João II", *Mare Liberum – Revista de História dos Mares*, no. 17 (1999), pp. 39-71.

<sup>84</sup> IDEM, *Henrique, o Infante*, Lisbon, Esfera dos Livros, 2009.



of the Portuguese Expansion in the period between 1415 and 1521. Let us therefore remember in particular, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, *Arquipélago*, *Islenha*, *Mare Liberum*, *Oceanos* and *Stvdia*. It should also be noted, finally, that many of the good articles that were published in various publications have been re-edited in the *Separatas Verdes* collection originally published by the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar and then by the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical; these were collected together in a digital version by Miguel Jasmins Rodrigues, in 2009<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>85</sup> RODRIGUES, Miguel Jasmins (org.), *Separatas Verdes* [digital edition], Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2009.



# *Syntheses, Guides and States of the Art\**

*Judite A. Gonçalves de Freitas*

As a reflection of the evolution of historical research in Portugal over the past ninety years, the nine general histories of Portugal published between 1922 and 2011, though not in themselves exhaustive in thematic and methodological aspects of Portuguese historiography, did express what most relevant in research in this area of knowledge over the past century. Produced and published in varied political, ideological, and university contexts, and sustained by different conceptual projects, one notes in almost all of them a concern for factual rigour (dates, names, places...) and for historical “objectivity”.

This overview is guided by a set of interrelated questions, dealing specifically with the importance assigned to the middle ages in syntheses and manuals on the history of Portugal, the focus on certain areas of history at the expense of others, the themes and topics given preferential treatment by specialist contributors, the kinds of texts and exposition preferred (treatise, essay, interpretive text, descriptive text, or recapitulative summation), and the underlying historical concepts (ideas and discourses), while finally I shall discuss the “the state of the art”. Given the scale of these questions and that we cannot explore in depth the main points of each of them, we have opted to call attention to the extended treatment of some of these themes in the different syntheses analysed. Given, too, that we consider any analysis of progress in contemporary historiography must be made in the light of

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\* I thank my friend and colleague Maria de Lurdes Rosa, who inspired and accompanied the writing of this text, making useful suggestions that helped to improve it.

its confrontation with that carried out in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, without which the most recent developments will not be understood, I think it is only appropriate to include in this analysis a brief assessment of the syntheses published during the first half of the twentieth century.

There does not exist in Portugal any general history devoted exclusively to the medieval period as a whole<sup>1</sup>. It is symptomatic that of the nine general syntheses published between 1922 and 2011, only two were published in the 20s and 30s and, half a century later, in the 70s, launching a new cycle of editions that continues to the present day, with the appearance of seven compendia of the history of Portugal. Of this total of nine syntheses, three are by single authors and six are collective works, projects undertaken by one or more scientific coordinators and a team of specialists on different historical periods and in different subject areas. The increase in the publication of manuals and syntheses corresponds to a period of optimism and of increasing scientific production, mainly since the late 70s.

## 1. The 20s and 30s of the twentieth century: the traditional and nationalist paradigm

In the 1920s, Fortunato de Almeida (1869-1933), a secondary school teacher, conceived and published on his own account a history of Portugal in six volumes<sup>2</sup>. He was content with the current historiography that some, exaggeratingly only slightly, have designated “document-method history”<sup>3</sup>, and others positivist history, this latter label comprising a concept of history in which the entire text became essentially episodic, narrative and descriptive, following a political-dynastic division of the Middle Ages. The work took its place in a historiographical model developed and practised essentially in the second half of the nineteenth century<sup>4</sup>, a

<sup>1</sup> Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877), one of the most preeminent historians of the Middle Ages of the second half of the twentieth century, devoted the *História de Portugal* only to the first period of the Middle Ages, from the beginning of the monarchy to the end of the reign of Afonso III (*desde o começo da monarquia até ao final do reinado de Afonso III*). The first edition (1846-1853) is in four volumes. All the later syntheses are general, covering to greater or lesser extent, the medieval, modern and contemporary periods.

<sup>2</sup> ALMEIDA, Fortunato, *História de Portugal*, 6 vols., Coimbra, author's edition, 1922-1929. The re-issue of 2005 is by Bertrand Editora and is in three volumes.

<sup>3</sup> On this theme, see in this volume the chapter “Central Power: Institutional and Political History in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries”, by Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem.

<sup>4</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century appeared the first general compendia of the history of Portugal. Besides the very distinctive cultural and scientific *História de Portugal* of Alexandre Herculano, we highlight the *História de Portugal, edição popular e ilustrada* by Manuel Joaquim Pinheiro Chagas (1842-1895), a work of propagation; and the *História de Portugal* by Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845-1894), promoting a model of interpretation integrating and relating the history of the nation with peninsular and global history, in a manner close to the essay.

model that prizes the application of documentary and bibliographical support. The historical scholarship demonstrated by the author is of the traditionalist variety, and largely infertile because no “interpretive feature” is apparent<sup>5</sup>. The medieval age is treated in three volumes, the first volume covering an extended period that begins with pre-historic Lusitania and ends with the proclamation of João I (1385); the second volume begins with the proclamation of João I, continuing to the death of the Cardinal King Henrique (1580); and finally, the third volume deals with political and social institutions during the second dynasty (1382-1580). The periodisation of the history of Portugal, and especially of the middle ages, is thus divided into a first epoch until the end of the Burgundy dynasty, and a second that begins and ends with the Avis dynasty (1385-1580). Following a model practised in the nineteenth century, it deals with cultures, facts and processes which took place in the territory that much later come to constitute Portugal<sup>6</sup>, taking in artistic aspects and others of a cultural and linguistic nature. Given prominence above all, in chronological form, are political events and the character of institutions, supported by careful scholarship. Although the author presents a capacity for synthesis and reveals a preoccupation with bringing together documental and bibliographical information of enormous historical value, in general it neglects to debate, discuss, question and throw into contrast the data presented. Nevertheless, for the sources just mentioned, it has become a regular reference work for students of the Middle Ages.

Also at the end of the 20s, in the context of the celebrations of the eighth centenary of the founding of the nation (1928), Damião Peres (1889-1976)<sup>7</sup>, a university professor, began coordinating the publication of the first grand synthesis, with the collaboration of specialists in medieval history and principally modernists<sup>8</sup>. The intention was to present a general perspective of the history of Portugal, treating successively political events and economic, social, artistic and cultural aspects. The first four volumes, published between 1928 and 1932, deal with the period normally designated the middle ages, though not exclusively.

The work reflects greater imbalance than its precursor, given that it brings together a very eclectic group of scholars with different cultural and scientific

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<sup>5</sup> “[R]asgo interpretativo”: GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães, “A historiografia portuguesa do século XX – orientações, problemas e perspectivas”, in GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães, *Ensaio III: Sobre teoria da História e Historiografia*, Lisbon, Sá da Costa, p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> A reference to the cultural and civilisational features of some of the first people who inhabited Portuguese territory: Lusitanians, Romans, Germans and Arabs.

<sup>7</sup> Professor of History in the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Oporto (1919-1930) and Director of the Arquivo Histórico do Porto (1925-1930). In 1926 was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters in the Historical Sciences. From 1930 until his retirement (1959), taught at the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Coimbra.

<sup>8</sup> PERES, Damião (lit. dir.) e CERDEIRA, Eleutério (art. dir.), *História de Portugal*, vols. 1-8, and 1st supplement, Barcelos, Portucalense Editora, 1928-1953; 2nd supplement, Oporto, Livraria Civilização, 1974.

training. It is, on this account, a more “interdisciplinary” work. However, it maintains the dominant focus on political, dynastic history and on *événementielle*, surrounded by a new interpretive framework. The work comprises a total of eight volumes and two supplements, the latter published many years since its inception, in 1954 and 1974 respectively.

In the preface to the first volume, mention is made of the need to challenge nineteenth century theories of a nationalist nature, whose first opponent had been Alexandre Herculano, that derived the formation of the nation from remote Lusitanian, Roman, German and Arab roots. Alexandre Herculano had long left it established that the process of independence was not the achievement of generations of people who inhabited the area where Portugal was born in the twelfth century. Besides, of volume 1, subdivided into eight parts, only two approximate chronologically to the origins of nationality, which may support his explication: “A reconquista cristã”, written by Damião Peres, and “O Condado Portucalense”, the responsibility of Manuel Ramos (1862-1931)<sup>9</sup>. This separation in thematic terms makes invalid any development of an inclusive vision of nationalist history. Volumes 2 and 3 open with an extensive first section devoted to political history, written by Manuel Ramos, Ângelo Ribeiro (1886-1936)<sup>10</sup>, Damião Peres and António Baião (1878-1961)<sup>11</sup>. Volume 2 covers the period between 1128 and 1411, from the Battle of São Mamede<sup>12</sup> to the signing of peace with Castile; volumes 3 and 4 from the Peace Treaty of Segovia (1411) to the death of João III (1557). It is well worth revisiting the contributions of David Lopes (1867-1942)<sup>13</sup> on “O domínio árabe” and “os Portugueses em Marrocos”; of Manoel Paulo Mêrea (1889-1977)<sup>14</sup> on “Organização social e administração pública”, and of João Lúcio de Azevedo (1855-1933)<sup>15</sup> on “Organização Económica”, though advocating the idea of an “monarquia agrária” (perhaps a consequence of his being a modernist) for the whole medieval

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<sup>9</sup> Professor in the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon. Taught courses in general history and the history of art. He was also a translator, philologist and literary critic.

<sup>10</sup> Professor in the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Oporto. Taught many courses in the area of history and literature. In 1926, was awarded the degree of Doctor of letters in Germanic Philology.

<sup>11</sup> Scholar of modern history, Director of the National Archive of Torre do Tombo (1908-1948); published studies on the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, Brazil and Goa.

<sup>12</sup> Which set Afonso Henriques and the Portucalenses barons against the authority of Countess Teresa and the influence of the Galician nobles.

<sup>13</sup> Professor in the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon, where he taught Arab Language and Literature, his preferred areas of research. Between 1889 and 1992, studies in Paris at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and the École Pratique des Hautes Études.

<sup>14</sup> Doctor of Law (1914), taught in the Faculdade de Direito of the University of Coimbra from 1915 to 1947, when he retired, except for the period 1924 to 1932, when he taught in the Faculdade de Direito of the University of Lisbon.

<sup>15</sup> Self-taught, he devoted a large part of his historical work to modern history. He published studies on the economic history of Portugal, on the new-Christians, on the life and work of Father António Vieira and on the era of the Marquês de Pombal.

period, a notion shortly afterwards challenged by Jaime Cortesão (1884-1960)<sup>16</sup> and António Sérgio (1883-1969)<sup>17</sup>. The work is profusely illustrated (the first volume alone contains some 600 prints, photographs and images), but on the other hand shows a total absence of references to sources and specialised bibliography, except in the chapters written by David Lopes, a circumstance that currently means it is left un-consulted by researchers and specialists. Thus, the two Histories of Portugal published during the first half of the twentieth century are marked by a continuous thread of nationalist history dominated by references to dates, social events, and political and military episodes, failing in the interpretative sphere and in the establishment of any comprehensive vision of the evolution of medieval society. For this reason, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918-2011) considers that “[n]one of these histories served as a springboard for any vast and intensive movement of investigation”<sup>18</sup>.

## 2. From the 60s and 70s to the present: on the track of a new Portuguese medieval history?

An editorial milestone in Portuguese historiography was the publication in the 60s of the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, in a total of six volumes, under the editorship of the historian Joel Serrão (1919-2008)<sup>19</sup>. This is considered the most important thematic compilation on the history of Portugal, with the participation of dozens of experts in the writing of multiple articles devoted to concepts, land, historic events, personalities, systems and doctrines. The *Dicionário* has remained to the present day an essential work of reference for the timeliness and accuracy of the scientific information it contains. Some of the articles provide excellent syntheses of the historical research completed to date, shedding light on the “state of the art” in their areas at the time of writing. As regards the medieval period, the following contributions deserve special mention: Vitorino Magalhães Godinho on “Finanças Públicas e Estrutura do Estado”, Orlando Ribeiro (1911-1997) on “Formação de Portugal”, Jorge Borges de Macedo (1921-1996) on “Absolutismo”, or

<sup>16</sup> Under the title, *Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal*, Lisbon, s. n., 1930. The same author participated in this synthesis, with two contributions, on the Portuguese “Descobrimientos e conquistas” in the fifteenth century and on the “Domínio Ultramarino” in the sixteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> In the *Introdução geográfico-sociológica à História de Portugal*, Lisbon, s. d. Volume 1 deals with the history of Portugal, which António Sérgio never finished.

<sup>18</sup> “Nenhuma destas histórias serviu de trampolim para qualquer movimento vasto e intenso de investigação”: GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães, “A historiografia portuguesa do século XX...”, p. 226.

<sup>19</sup> SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, 6 vols., Oporto, Livraria Figueirinhas, 1960. Later, the work went through several editions, the last of them coordinated by António Barreto and Maria Filomena Mónica, for the biennium 1999-2000, the period 1926-1974 having been updated to three volumes.

A. H. de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007) on “Pesos e Medidas”, “Diplomática”, and “Paleografia”, among many others.

During the same decade, A. H. de Oliveira Marques published the *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*<sup>20</sup>, made up of seven chapters providing in turn information on bibliographies, atlases and dictionaries, regional and local works of general synthesis, as well as bibliographies of the areas of economic and social history, institutional and legal history, military and naval history, art history, biographical history, the history of the discoveries and the expansion, along with those traditionally referred as the “auxiliary sciences” of history. It is, in fact, the first detailed overview of the studies available on each subject, and of the range of sources for Portuguese medieval history (narrative, literary and legal). Oliveira Marques, in addition to providing an inventory of all materials in Portuguese libraries and archives, sets out a program of what is to be done, proposing themes and topics for study together with new branches of research. In conclusion, the two works of reference published in the 1960s laid down a path for Portuguese medieval historiography, not only in the adoption of new approaches and concepts, but also as examples of the state of development achieved by our historiography in the period under consideration. Re-emphasising the concern for historiographical relevance, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, an example to the former, published afterwards a new guide to undertaking research in medieval history, in which she sets out areas and additional fields of analysis along with an updated bibliography<sup>21</sup>.

At the dawn of the 70s, a new synthesis was dispatched to the press authored by A. H. de Oliveira Marques<sup>22</sup>. Trained as a medievalist, an erudite scholar of diverse issues and problems of our history<sup>23</sup>, Oliveira Marques laid down in two volumes a new model for synthesis – a manual – based on investigating and bringing together a variety of issues ranging from the economy to culture and thought, taking in artistic aspects and the analysis of political facts, integrating everything in a global account of medieval, modern and contemporary societies. He was one of the first Portuguese researchers to demonstrate a special propensity for developing

<sup>20</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Edições Cosmos, 1964.

<sup>21</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *História Medieval de Portugal. Guia de Estudo*, Oporto, Universidade Portucalense, 1991.

<sup>22</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *História de Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Palas Editores, 1972-1974. The work was published simultaneously in the United States by Columbia University Press, and in Portugal and in England. Later, there were editions in French, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and Chinese, among others. In Portugal, there have been at least eighteen editions, updating and correcting earlier ones.

<sup>23</sup> On the author's work, see HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (dir.), *Na Jubilação Universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, Coimbra, Minerva, 2003 and an intellectual biography in FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “A. H. de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007)”, in AURELL, Jaume, and PAVÓN, Julia (eds.), *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2: *National Traditions*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 183-205.



a comprehensive vision of Portuguese history from a modern historiographical perspective, influenced by the historiography of the *Annales'* school. In the original edition (1972), the first volume focuses on a long period from the early origins of the territory to the Liberal Revolutions, seeking to escape ideological constraints. In the pages relating to the middle ages, some questions are clarified from a fresh angle, while old issues and problems are reviewed along with bibliographical and original sources. The author warns that “[b]efore the formation of Portugal as a separate state in the west of the Peninsula, several other political units emerged (...) between them no continuity existed (...). But the evidence is dubious, and calm historical objectivity has always superimposed patriotic objectives to uncover ancient traditions for the new kingdom”<sup>24</sup>. In the same manner, with regard to a subject that at the time was not easily addressed, namely that of feudalism, the author is particularly concerned to characterise the specific nature of feudal Portugal, comparing it with other peninsular kingdoms, especially Castile, and with Europe beyond the Pyrenees. Similarly, in explaining the historical process of the organisation, settlement and colonisation of the territory, he conceived as indispensable some reference to the Arab presence in the Iberian peninsular. Incidentally, this is one of the virtues of the work – the appeal to comparative history. Oliveira Marques unites synthesis, interpretation and scholarship, resulting in a comprehensively balanced overview. Guided by historical objectivity, the author does not omit reference to specialised works and sources. These attributes guaranteed the work’s impact in academic circles, on secondary education and with the general public. It rapidly became established as an essential manual for consultation.

In 1977 a new comprehensive synthesis began to be published, authored entirely by Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão<sup>25</sup>, which represented in thematic, methodological and structural terms a return to the paradigms of the first half of the twentieth century. Effectively, the epistemological assumptions are closer to the *História de Portugal* by Fortunato de Almeida than to those of Oliveira Marques. Of a total of seventeen volumes so far published, only the first two are of interest to medievalists. Volume 1 is entitled “Estado, Pátria e Nação (1085-1415)”, and volume 2 “A formação do Estado Moderno (1415-1495)”. In a dizzying nationalist perspective, this synthesis regresses to ancient Palaeolithic times and to the arrival of people in the western part of the Peninsular in search of the roots of the formation of the nation, a perspective that

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<sup>24</sup> “Antes da formação de Portugal como Estado separado no ocidente da Península, diversas outras unidades políticas surgiram (...) Entre elas nunca existiu continuidade. (...) Mas as provas são dúbias, e à serena objectividade histórica têm-se sempre sobreposto objectivos patrióticos de encontrar tradições antigas para o novo reino”: MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Palas Editores, 1972, vol. 1, p. 48:

<sup>25</sup> SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo, *História de Portugal*, vols. 1-17, Lisbon, Verbo, 1977-2007. Only the first two volumes deal specifically with the Middle Ages.

today does not deserve attention. Despite the abundance of chronological data, of facts and profuse references and sources, the author does not manage to conceal the disproportionality of assigning one principal volume to approaches to the middle ages, and all the remaining volumes to modern and contemporary times that, of course, are better known. Even so, in an attempt to reconcile synthesis and interpretation, the author rehearses some of the theses on topics and problems in medieval history, such as, for example, “the Christian reconquest”, the “*ermamento*” thesis<sup>26</sup> (today practically forgotten, it attracted ardent supporters during the second half of the nineteenth century (Alexandre Herculano) and even the twentieth century (Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz [1893-1984] and especially Torquato de Sousa Soares [1903-1988] who labelled it “*despovoamento*”), and other phenomena such as “the crisis of 1383-1385”, in a chronological and factological perspective, where the amount of information predominates on the critical reading of the medieval past.

Between 1983 and 1985, under the direction José Hermano Saraiva, a new synthesis of Portuguese history was published in seven volumes<sup>27</sup>, three of which dealt with the medieval period, though far from exclusively. The great virtues of this work derived from the circumstance that the articles were assigned, in the majority of cases, to medievalists by training or by specialisation. Even so, in volume 1, once again, we are back to a review from Palaeolithic times to the installation of Islam in the western peninsular, taking in a description of the Iron Age, Roman domination, Barbarian invasions, all serving to justify the pre-historic and proto-historical antecedents of the nation state! Highlights are the articles by António Cruz (1911-1989) “Do início da reconquista à fundação do condado portugalense”, by J. A. Nogueira “As instituições e o Direito”, and by José Mattoso, who is responsible for the greater part of volume 2, which makes a critical analysis of issues relating to the emergence of the “Condado Portugalense” and the subsequent political development of the kingdom from Afonso Henriques to Sancho II, concluding with an account of social movements. Economist and historian Armando de Castro (1918-1999) analyses aspects of the evolution of the medieval economy, while the three monetary periods of respectively 1128-1245, 1245-1383 and 1383-1481 are treated in a similar manner by Maria José Ferro Tavares. The three volumes devoted to the Middle Ages include a summary of the topic presented, concluding with a list of the principal bibliographical references.

<sup>26</sup> As a result of the total withdrawal of the population after the first years of the Arab conquest.

<sup>27</sup> SARAIVA, José Hermano (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vols. 1-7, Lisbon, Alfa, 1983-1985.

Over the years 1987 to 1996, the *Nova História de Portugal* appeared in twelve volumes, co-directed by Joel Serrão, the historian responsible for the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* of which we spoke, and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, one of the promoters of the renewal of our historiography, above all in the 70s of the twentieth century<sup>28</sup>. Following the model of previous collections, involving one or two coordinators and various specialist collaborators this synthesis is emerging as a new history of Portugal which “aspires to suggest hypotheses, pose problems and encourage works of investigation”<sup>29</sup>, rather than to present conclusive data on the evolution of the Portuguese historical process. Volume 3, published in 1996<sup>30</sup>, defines the framework for the development of “Portugal” from 1096 to 1325. A. H. de Oliveira Marques focuses on the conditions for the emergence of the “Condado Portucalense” and the process of the development of the kingdom of Portugal, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho characterises the configuration of the structures of medieval society, and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem examines the conditions for the exercise of royal power and the creation of central organs of administration. Volume 4, which curiously marked the launch of the synthesis in 1987, is entirely written by A. H. de Oliveira Marques<sup>31</sup>. In it are defined the methodological and conceptual assumptions, as well as the periodisation of a long period of crisis from 1320 to 1470/80. The account of sources and the extensive bibliographical listings make this work an object of research and an indispensable instrument of work.

In 1992-1993, José Mattoso, directed the publication of a synthesis of the history of Portugal that broke, in some ways, with the earlier paradigm in filling various gaps and taking a “fresh look” at the complexity of the process of Portuguese identity. With a pronounced analytical and interpretative approach to the phenomenon of Portuguese nationality, a subject that the author had already developed in the previous decade with his *Identificação de um País*<sup>32</sup>, the history of Portugal emerged as a reflection of the innovation introduced by this fundamental work, sticking to the tone in which it dealt with the idiosyncrasies and contexts of the emergence of various powers (royal, noble, ecclesiastical and municipal), inserting them into a

<sup>28</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and SERRÃO, Joel (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vols. 1-12, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1987-1996.

<sup>29</sup> “[A]spira a sugerir hipóteses, a colocar problemas, a suscitar trabalhos de investigação”: MARQUES, António Henrique de Oliveira, “Prefácio”, *ibid.*, vol. 4 [1987], p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Under the title, *Portugal em definição de Fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado portucalense à crise do Século XIV* (Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Under the title, *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV* (Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1987).

<sup>32</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Obras Completas*, 12 vols., Lisbon / Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2000-2002 (vol. 2: *A identificação de um país: Oposição*, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2001; vol. 3: *A identificação de um país: Composição*, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2001). The first edition entitled: *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325*, vol. 1: *Oposição*, vol. 2: *Composição*, Lisbon, Editorial Estampa, 1985.

peninsular-wide context and a more general framework. Juxtaposing present-day historiographical conceptions that promote interdisciplinary dialogue between history and anthropology or between history and political sociology, this widely recognised work is distinguished by its interpretative context, based on an updated interpretation of the sources and on more general studies<sup>33</sup>. It describes itself as a “‘new history’, with the ambition to cover all fields of the human past [considering] their political and mental manifestations which are, of course, two directly inter-related frameworks, the one linked to the actions of power in the space it controls, the other to the awareness that the inhabitants of this space must belong to a community different from any other”<sup>34</sup>. Volume 1 entitled “Antes de Portugal” presents an overview of the proto-historical and Roman phase, continuing with a characterisation of al-Andalus from the territorial conquest (eighth century) to the final phase of the Islamic presence in Portugal (1250), written by Cláudio Torres and, by way of conclusion, José Mattoso describes the emergence of the kingdom of Portugal in the Asturian-Leonese context, addressing successively “Origens”, “Espaços”, “Poderes”, “Religião e Cultura”, and the “Transformações do século XI”. Volume 2 entitled “A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)” covers practically the entire medieval period in Portugal, from the formation of nationality to the beginning of the reign of João II. This long period is divided into two distinct chronological units, an initial period of the formation and consolidation of the monarchy and of political identity (1096-1325), the responsibility of José Mattoso, and a second moment in the emergence of royal authority (1325-1480) written by Armindo de Sousa (1941-1998). Combining critical rigour and updated scientific interpretation, all contributions are supported by bibliographical references and sources. The volumes conclude with a list of printed sources and comprehensive bibliographies.

Coordinated by Rui Ramos, a new theorised synthesis has recently been published, with a marked academic slant, condensing in sequential narrative form the political, social, cultural and economic development of Portugal, from the territorial identification of the “Condado Portucalense” to the present day, locating it in a European and universal context<sup>35</sup>. Published as a single volume, this synthesis joins an editorial list founded by A. H. de Oliveira Marques in 1972, a time when

<sup>33</sup> IDEM (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vols. 1-8, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 1992-1993.

<sup>34</sup> “[N]ova história’ com a preocupação de cobrir todos os campos do passado humano [considerando] as suas manifestações políticas e mentais, que são, é claro, os dois quadros mais directamente relacionados, um com a actuação do Poder no espaço que ele próprio domina, o outro com a consciência que os habitantes desse espaço têm de pertencer a uma colectividade diferenciada de qualquer outra”: IDEM, “Apresentação”, *ibid.*, vol. 2: *A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)* [1993], p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> RAMOS, Rui (coord.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2009. All the first part dedicated to the analysis of the medieval period is by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, under the title: “Idade Média (séculos XI-XV)”, pp. 17-197.

national historiographical production was, especially in medieval history, had not attained its present bulk and scientific maturity. This overview of the history of Portugal is divided into three distinct periods – the Middle Ages (eleventh–fifteenth centuries), the Modern era (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries), and Contemporary epoch (nineteenth–twenty-first centuries), written respectively by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Nuno Gonçalves Monteiro and Rui Ramos. As regards the medieval period, the themes considered follow the sub-divisions of the immediately preceding syntheses. The intention was to present a synthesis that would combine a narrative explaining the historical phenomena familiar from existing studies with more recent interpretations, for dissemination among scholars and the general public.

With a personal profile both in organisational terms and in content and explanatory value, the second volume of the most recent history of Portugal by António Borges Coelho “embraces the time of the formation of the Portuguese State”<sup>36</sup>, from Afonso Henriques up to the proclamation of João I (1385). Following the model of a pedagogical essay, the author expounds his own ideas, offers criticism along with reflection on various facts, issues and problems, in a manner less formal than previous types of synthesis. In practice, it comes across as a synthesis noteworthy for advocating a point of view, without the formalities of normal scientific discourse. Footnotes are virtually dispensed with, along with documentary and bibliographical sources. It is to be respected as a personal interpretation of the process of the formation of national identity, highlighting and interpreting date, and expounding ideas with varying degrees of scientific rigour.

In parallel with this intense activity in refreshing, interpreting and disseminating the general history of Portugal, from the beginning of the 90s, we find, too, the publication of some important general histories in different sectors<sup>37</sup> as a result of the intensification of scientific production by Portuguese universities. Since the pioneer syntheses of the Portuguese discoverers and of the expansion<sup>38</sup>, the history of local power<sup>39</sup>, religious history<sup>40</sup>, the social history of

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<sup>36</sup> “[A]braça o tempo da formação e da refundação do Estado Português”. The period designated “*refundação*” coincided with the proclamation of João, Governor of the Order of Avis, as king of Portugal. See COELHO, António Borges, *História de Portugal*, vol. 2: *Portugal Medieval*, Lisbon, Caminho, 2011, p. 13. The first volume is entitled *Donde viemos* (Lisboa, Caminho, 2010).

<sup>37</sup> Sectoral syntheses are appraised in the respective areas covered in this work, for which reason we do not examine them in detail.

<sup>38</sup> In the 80s was published the *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, directed by Joel Serrão and António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, 12 vols., Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1996-2004 and the *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, directed by Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, 5 vols., Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 1998-1999.

<sup>39</sup> OLIVEIRA, César (dir.), *História dos Municípios e do Poder local. Dos finais da Idade Média à União Europeia*, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 1996.

<sup>40</sup> AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, 3 vols., Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2000-2002.

war (military history)<sup>41</sup>, and, more recently, the history of daily life<sup>42</sup>, attests to a renewed dynamism in our historiography. This scientific movement dominates the increased specialisation of medieval historical research and the internationalisation of Portuguese historiography in general. With regard to this international dissemination, it is worth taking note of the most recent overview of Portuguese historiography published in English in a refereed journal<sup>43</sup>.

### 3. Medievalism today: the roots of interdisciplinary identity and the state of the art.

The place occupied by medieval history on university curricula, from the establishment of the First Republic (1910-1926) until the 1950s, was very small<sup>44</sup> as a result of constraints in the structure of university courses (specifically of the linking of History with Geography and subsequently of History with Philosophy)<sup>45</sup>, along with the difficulties of teaching, of preconceived *clichés* springing from the cultural backwardness of the country and from ideological factors linked to the regime that, taken all together, led the middle ages to be considered as an age of obscurantism and superstition. As a consequence, there was always greater emphasis in the curricular structure of courses in higher education on Classical Antiquity and on Contemporary History.

Notwithstanding this general tendency, the first half of the twentieth century saw an emphasis on certain themes of medieval origin, among which featured in particular the epic of the Portuguese overseas discoveries, the foundation of the

<sup>41</sup> BARATA, Manuel Themudo, and TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severino (dirs.), *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, 5 vols., Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2003-2004.

<sup>42</sup> MATTOSON, José (coord.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, 4 vols., Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2010-2011.

<sup>43</sup> *E-journal of Portuguese History* [online], vol. 8, no. 2, winter (2010). See especially the contributions of José Mattoso, José Augusto Sottomayor-Pizarro and Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, available at: [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/current.html](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/current.html)

<sup>44</sup> In 1911 with the creation of the *Faculdades de Letras* in the University of Coimbra and of Lisbon there arose for the first time the discipline of Medieval History, in the 2nd year of the undergraduate degree in Historical and Geographical Sciences. On this theme, see HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "A Idade Média nas Universidades Portuguesas (1911-1987). Legislação, Ensino, Investigação", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [Oporto], *História*, 2nd ser., vol. 10 (1993), pp. 351-361; reedited in *Anais da Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa - Série História*, vol. 1 (1994), pp. 331-338.

<sup>45</sup> Only with the 1957 curricular reform which granted autonomy, specifically allowing the History of Philosophy to become two annual disciplines, namely, *História da Idade Média* and *História da Cultura Medieval*, in the 3rd year of the undergraduate course in History. See HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "A Idade Média nas Universidades Portuguesas...", *ibid.*, p. 353, and FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, "O ensino universitário da História nas décadas de 50 e 60: as reformas curriculares", in CABRAL, Alcinda (ed.), *(Re)visão das Ditaduras Europeias da segunda metade do século XX*, Oporto, Edições Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 2002, pp. 46-55.

nation, and the emergence of the Portuguese monarchy, as part of the formation of national identity, all having inevitable recourse to the Portuguese medieval past<sup>46</sup>. It was, above all, political circumstances and ideological particulars that, under the *Estado Novo* (1926-1974) promoted the study of the Middle Ages and the publication of important collections of medieval sources<sup>47</sup>. Meanwhile, medievalism lacked any scientific autonomy and was unable to free itself from the legitimising function, traditionally attributed to it, particularly by historians of the regime<sup>48</sup>. The study of the middle ages during the first half of the twentieth century was indebted above all to interested individuals and to the participation in *ad hoc* collective works by some volunteer scholars. The first approximation to the historical trends of post-war Europe, especially to the French journal *Annales* founded by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febre, was made in somewhat timid fashion by university teachers from schools in Coimbra, Lisbon and Oporto during the late 50s. The 60s was the decade that saw an opening to the trends of international historiographical in Portuguese universities. There began to exist a core of academics studying the medieval period of the Portuguese past, impelled to train students in the ability to investigate and to pursue a career in teaching. During the 70s, the legitimacy of medieval studies was confirmed with the creation of specialist doctoral programs in the history of the Middle Ages<sup>49</sup>. Finally, the Middle Ages became an autonomous scientific area of investigation and interpretation, breaking with the romantic, scholarly, but narrow image inherited from the nineteenth century and promoted through the first half of the twentieth century. Over the past forty years, the growing number of postgraduate specialists has allowed the establishment of the discipline, affirming,

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<sup>46</sup> The *Estado Novo* (1926-1974) promoted the developed of an official historiography of the regime based on a programme of celebrations beginning in the 40s with the double centenary of Independence (1140) and the Restoration (1540). See TORGAL, Luís Reis, "A História em tempo de 'Ditadura'", in TORGAL, Luís Reis, MENDES, José Amado, and CATROGA, Fernando (coords.), *História da História em Portugal. Sécs. XIX-XX*, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 1996, pp. 241-275.

<sup>47</sup> The publication of collections of medieval documents was one of the main legacies of the *Estado Novo* (1926-1974), among which should be highlighted specifically: the *Descobrimentos Portugueses* (1944-1971), the *Monumenta Henricina* (1960-1974) and the *Chartularium Universitatis Portucalensis* (1966-1985), undertaken by scholars, paleographers and enthusiasts from the archive. On the official program of celebrations and the respective association for the publication of the collections, see CATROGA, Fernando, "Ritualizações da História. As Comemorações como liturgias cívicas", in TORGAL, Luís Reis, MENDES, José Amado, and CATROGA, Fernando (coords.), *História da História em Portugal...*, pp. 547-671.

<sup>48</sup> Throughout the *Estado Novo* (1926-1974), history in general and medieval history in particular was assigned an ideological function, legitimising nationalist and integrationist values, a fact that in some ways impeded the scientific emergence of the discipline. See TORGAL, Luís Reis, *História e Ideologia*, Coimbra, Minerva, 1989.

<sup>49</sup> In the 80s, as a consequence of the creation in the previous decade of the specialised doctoral degrees in Medieval History, there arose a new generation of medieval specialists. See HOME, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "O medievalismo em liberdade: Portugal, anos 70/anos 90", *Signum - Revista da ABREM*, vol. 3 (2001), pp. 173-197; reedited in PROENÇA, Maria Cândida (coord.), *Um século de Ensino da História*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2001, pp. 183-213.

renewing and constantly upgrading the international dimension of our field of teaching and research.

The identity of Portuguese medieval historiography in recent years may be seen as a continuous link between two processes: on the one hand, the establishment of a *stock*, a memory bank of national medieval historical production with a specific structure individually incorporated, and as a scientifically-recognised area of study that gives it a sense of purpose. A moment of higher consciousness characteristic of medievalists has become part of an institutional and political framework marked by the establishment of democratic rule and the subsequent deepening of the stimulus to teaching-research-publication.

At that first moment, we witnessed the development of thought and of teaching as a whole. Later, especially in the 90s, through the process of the individualisation of lines of research and the creation of fields of study in stable and autonomous units of knowledge – the universities – we witnessed an explosion of thematic syntheses. Over forty years, fifty general and thematic syntheses have been produced, a clear sign of the scientific maturity attained by medieval history as an area of knowledge. Most of the overviews recount key aspects of the development of medieval studies in Portuguese universities, especially since the 70s, while a few are exclusively devoted to the teaching of the Middle Ages at different levels of teaching<sup>50</sup> and the evolution of the weight assigned to medieval history in the history curricula of Portuguese universities<sup>51</sup>. The syntheses undertaken in the 80s inaugurated a more diffuse model of medieval scientific production, touching on the main aspects of the evolution of medieval studies in Portugal<sup>52</sup>. Such was the case of the pioneer synthesis of José Mattoso, making an analysis and evaluation of progression and weakness in Portugal Medieval historiography up until the early 80s<sup>53</sup>. Then in 1988, a fresh synthesis emerged with the challenging title “Por onde vem o medievismo em Portugal?”<sup>54</sup>, establishing a connection between the states of the art and the

<sup>50</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A História que se ensina aos futuros professores de História”, in *O Estudo da História. A Reforma Educativa e o Ensino da História, Boletim da Associação dos Professores de História*, 2nd ser. 1, nos. 12-25 (1990-1993), pp. 303-331; IDEM, “A História hoje: que história ensinar?”, in PROENÇA, Maria Cândida (coord.), *Um Século de Ensino da História...*, pp. 223-236; DUARTE, Luís Miguel, “A investigação e o ensino da História Medieval na Faculdade de Letras do Porto: passado recente, presente e dúvidas quanto ao futuro”, *Anais, Série História*, no. 2 (1995), pp. 235-241.

<sup>51</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “A História que nos fez e a História que se faz: da primeira à segunda fase da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto”, *Revista de História*, vol. 11 (1991), pp. 227-240; IDEM, “A Idade Média nas Universidades Portuguesas (1911-1987)...”, pp. 351-361; IDEM, “O medievismo em liberdade...”, pp. 183-213.

<sup>52</sup> This synthesis cannot be exhaustive due to the huge number of historiographical overviews completed from the beginning of the 80s until today. For this reason, we give greatest emphasis to those that have had greatest impact (thematic, methodological, and international).

<sup>53</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na Historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128-1383)”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 9, Jan.-Jun., (1982), pp. 145-162.

<sup>54</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, and AMARAL, Luís Carlos,



horizon of possibilities for developing lines of research. Reviewing the thematic areas of research and publication in the 80s, the authors highlight in turn the editing of sources, the key moments of research on rural and urban history<sup>55</sup>, and the onset of the study of social movements in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as putting into perspective the beginnings of today's lines of research, especially the history of power, a subject that would attract autonomous treatment the following year<sup>56</sup>. The article seems to have created the scientific habit of self-assessment, evident in the proliferation of overviews and syntheses since the early 90s, focussing on different thematic and chronological areas. In this context, there emerged two more states of play at the onset of the 1990s<sup>57</sup>.

The 1990s brought an exponential increase in syntheses, more or less equally divided between general and specific overviews, national and international. For convenience of exposition, we will group them by theme, emphasising the growing internationalisation of Portuguese medieval historiography. Following the studies undertaken on Portuguese medieval towns, inspired from the early 70s by A. H. de Oliveira Marques of Lisbon's Nova University, the first assessment of the history of Portuguese medieval towns was published abroad<sup>58</sup>, to be amplified afterwards by further independent syntheses<sup>59</sup>. In the area of studies of the history of the Portuguese parliament, a bibliographical overview was published in 1990<sup>60</sup>. The following year continued this process of self-assessment with a synthesis on the history of medieval Portuguese administration, in its royal, municipal and

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"Por onde vem o medievismo em Portugal", *Revista de História Económica e Social*, no. 22, Jan.-Abr. (1988), pp. 115-138.

<sup>55</sup> Stressing especially the advances promoted and highlighted by MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Ensaio de Historiografia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Palas Editores, 1988.

<sup>56</sup> GOMES, Rita Costa, "L'émergence du politique dans le Portugal du Bas Moyen Age", *La recherche en Histoire du Portugal*, vol. 1 (1989), pp. 24-32.

<sup>57</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, "A História Medieval Portuguesa: caminhos percorridos e a percorrer", *Media Aetas. Boletim do Núcleo de História Medieval*, no. 1 (1991), pp. 53-68, EADEM, "Historiografia na Idade Média", in FRANÇA, José Augusto (coord.), *Portugal Moderno: Artes e Letras*, Lisbon, Pomo, 1991, pp. 192-195; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, "Historiografia Portuguesa", in FRANÇA, José Augusto (coord.), *Portugal Moderno...*, pp. 189-190, and VELOSO, Maria Teresa Nobre, "Para uma bibliografia crítica da História Medieval de Portugal: algumas notas", *A Historiografia Portuguesa Hoje*, no. 21 (1991), pp. 24-34.

<sup>58</sup> ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, "Un bilan de l'histoire des villes médiévales portugaises", *Information historique*, vol. 51, no. 2 (1989), pp. 90-92.

<sup>59</sup> EADEM, "O Mundo Urbano Medieval: uma bibliografia, O estudo da História", *Boletim da Associação de Professores de História*, 2nd ser., nos. 12-15 (1990-1993), pp. 75-89, and more recently EADEM, "O ensino da História Urbana nas universidades portuguesas; práticas e perspectivas", in MENESES, Avelino de Freitas de, and COSTA, João Paulo Oliveira e (coords.), *O reino, as ilhas e o mar oceano. Estudos em homenagem a Artur Teodoro de Matos*, Lisbon / Ponta Delgada, Centro de História de Além-Mar / FCSH-UNL / Universidade dos Açores, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 265-283.

<sup>60</sup> SOUSA, Armindo de, "As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas: panorama bibliográfico", *Penélope. Fazer e desfazer a História*, no. 4 (1990), pp. 139-155.

parliamentary aspects<sup>61</sup> together with a pioneer overview of diplomatics, a “science with an impact on history”<sup>62</sup>.

Following the growth of scientific literature on the social history of the nobility, especially fostered by José Mattoso, there appeared in the 80s and 90s two syntheses describing the advances made in this specific area, underlining the modern perspectives of the lineage approach to the structures of kinship and the identity and power of that social grouping<sup>63</sup>. Over the 1990s were also produced new historiographical overviews in respect of councils<sup>64</sup>, municipal government<sup>65</sup>, and municipal diplomacy<sup>66</sup>. Recent research on rural history<sup>67</sup> has merited autonomous treatment. The spread of the prosopographical method applied to the study of elites and political societies in the middle ages was the subject of a synthesis published internationally<sup>68</sup>, complemented at the close of the decade by a critical examination of research on the *Estado Moderno* in late-medieval Portugal<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> MORENO, Humberto Baquero, DUARTE, Luís Miguel, and AMARAL, Luís Carlos, “História da Administração Portuguesa na Idade Média: um balanço”, *Ler História*, no. 21 (1991), pp. 35-45.

<sup>62</sup> “[C]iência de incidência histórica”. The words are of Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, cf. infra, article referred in footnote 82. COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “A Diplomática em Portugal: balanço e estado actual”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 26 (1991), pp. 125-155, reedited under the title “A Diplomática em Portugal: caminhos mais antigos e mais recentes”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa*, Lisbon / Coimbra, Colibri / FL-UC, 2001, pp. 13-40.

<sup>63</sup> MATTOSO, José, “A investigação da heráldica e da genealogia Medieval em Portugal na década de 1980”, in MENÉNDEZ-PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS, Faustino (ed.), *Las Armerías en la Europa al comenzar la Edad Moderna y su proyección al Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Dirección de Archivos Estatales, 1993, pp. 263-275, and PIZARRO, José Augusto Sotto Mayor, “O género genealógico na Historiografia medieval portuguesa”, in SOUSA, Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e (coord.), *Temas de Genealogia e de História da Família*, Oporto, Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Família da Universidade Moderna, 1988, pp. 103-132.

<sup>64</sup> Focusing, deliberately, on aspects of political (in relation to royal and ecclesiastical power), social, economic and fiscal administration.

<sup>65</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “O Poder Concelhio em Tempos Medievais. Balanço Historiográfico”, in *O Município Português. Seminário Internacional*, Funchal, Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1998, pp. 49-62.

<sup>66</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., “Diplomatique municipale portugaise (XIIIe-XVe siècle)”, in PREVENIER, Walter, and DE HEMPTINNE, Thérèse, *Diplomatique urbaine en Europe au Moyen Âge*, Louvain, Garant 2000, pp. 281-305.

<sup>67</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Balanço sobre a História Rural produzida em Portugal nas últimas décadas”, *História. Revista do Departamento de História* [Universidade Federal de Goiás], vol. 2, no. 1 (1997), pp. 7-32, reedited in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, et al., *A Cidade e o Campo. Colectânea de Estudos*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura / Edições Magno, 2000, pp. 23-40.

<sup>68</sup> HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “Prosopographie et Histoire de l’Etat: La bureaucratie des rois portugais aux XIVe et XVe siècles – recherches faites, recherches à faire”, in GENET, Jean-Philippe, and LOTTES, Günther (eds.), *L’Etat Moderne et les Élités. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996, pp. 29-37. The revival of political and institutional history has belonged, since the beginning of the 80s, to Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem who compiled some of the first syntheses on medieval political history, consulted throughout this text.

<sup>69</sup> IDEM, “O Estado Moderno na recente Historiografia Portuguesa: historiadores do Direito e historiadores ‘tout court’”. 2. Uma ‘nova História política’ da Idade Média portuguesa”, in COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, and HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (coords.), *A Gênese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-medieval (séc. XIII-XV)*, Lisbon, Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 1999, pp. 63-76. Among us, the debate about the roots of the modern state was consummated at the end of the 90s through a series of conferences resulting in the publication: *A Gênese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-medieval (séc. XIII-XV)*...

The return to general syntheses addressed the need for updating due, on the one hand, to increased production of medieval history in general and, on the other, to the international recognition and dissemination of Portuguese medieval studies. Thus, over the years 2001<sup>70</sup>, 2004<sup>71</sup>, 2005<sup>72</sup>, 2006<sup>73</sup> and 2010<sup>74</sup>, five general overviews were published in Brazil (1), Canada (1), Italy (1) and France (2). In a general movement of self-assessment, updated versions of the state of the art in research on national medievalism were projected internationally. The first decade of the present century witnessed a trend towards the diversification of themes and questions that constituted the subject of the synthesis. In this group, there compete for our attention syntheses dealing with *seigneurial* houses<sup>75</sup>, religious and church history<sup>76</sup>, the history of powers (royal, *seigneurial*, ecclesiastical and municipal)<sup>77</sup>, along with overviews of the military orders<sup>78</sup>, relations between

<sup>70</sup> In a general synthesis published by ABREM / São Paulo – Brazil, Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, reflected on the development of Portuguese medievalism since the implantation of democracy in recent times. The author analysed the importance of the consolidation of the schools (especially in Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra), stressing the branches of research and the modern historiographical practice that gave preference to the relationship between teaching and research. See HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, “O Medievismo em liberdade...”, (see footnote 49).

<sup>71</sup> COSTA, Paula Pinto, “Os estudos medievais em Portugal (1970-2000): organização dos estudos e principais linhas de orientação”, *Bullettino dell’ Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, no. 106/2 (2004), pp. 248-272.

<sup>72</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “Historiographie et état actuel de la recherche sur le Portugal au Moyen Âge”, *Memini. Trauvaux et Documents*, Montréal, nos. 9-10 (2005-2006), pp. 9-60. A text written in the context of a seminar promoting the current state of Portuguese medieval studies.

<sup>73</sup> SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, and BOISSELIER, Stéphane, “Pour un bilan de l’historiographie sur le Moyen Âge portugais au XXe siècle”, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale. Xe-XIIe siècles. La Médiévisique au XXe siècle. Bilan et perspectives*, t. 49 (2006), pp. 213-256.

<sup>74</sup> FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “Le Médiévisme au Portugal (1970-2005): genèses, héritages et innovations”, in MAGNANI, Eliana (ed.), *Le Moyen Âge vu d’ailleurs. Voix croisées d’Amérique latine et d’Europe*, Ed. Universitaires de Dijon, 2010, pp. 151-173.

<sup>75</sup> SOUSA, João Silva de, “A Casa Senhorial em Portugal na Idade Média”, *Revue portugaise d’histoire*, t. 36, vol. 1 (2002-2003), pp. 267-284.

<sup>76</sup> An initial assessment of today’s approach to the field of religious studies was made by VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, “História da Igreja Medieval em Portugal: um percurso possível pelas provas académicas (1995-2000)”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., tomes 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 13-14; very recently, the same author made a fresh synthesis on “Estruturas e protagonistas religiosos na historiografia medieval portuguesa”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., t. 21 (2009), pp. 125-153. On the watershed between the history of ecclesiastical institutions and religious history in Portugal, from the 80s to the present day, see AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de, “Introdução geral”, in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Formação e Limites da Cristandade*, coordinated by Ana Maria Castelo Martins Jorge and Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, pp. IX-XVIII, and COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, “O que se vem investigando em História da Igreja em Portugal em tempos medievais”, *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, no. 16 (2006), pp. 205-223.

<sup>77</sup> FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de, “Les chemins de l’histoire du pouvoir dans le médiévisme portugais (ca 1970-ca 2000)”, *Le Moyen Âge vu d’ailleurs. Bulletin du Centre d’ Études Médiévales d’Auxerre*, no. 8 (2003-2004), pp. 81-98. Work done as part of the international project “Le Moyen Âge vu d’ailleurs – II”, directed by Eliana Magnani, held at the University of São Paulo – Brazil.

<sup>78</sup> The development of research on the military orders since the beginning of the 80s was due to Luís Adão da Fonseca, University of Oporto. For an overview of the development of post-graduate studies, COSTA, Paula Pinto, “The Military Orders established in Portugal in the Middle Ages: A Historiographical Overview”,

society and the economy<sup>79</sup>, prosopography and urban elites<sup>80</sup>, perspectives on social and religious life in the Middle Ages<sup>81</sup> and, lastly, the deepening of the relation between diplomatics and the history of law<sup>82</sup>, as well as diplomatics and royal chancelleries<sup>83</sup>. All these historiographical areas showed themselves in the 80s and 90s thoroughly sustainable, equally at methodological as at conceptual levels, confirming Portuguese medieval history as an autonomous, distinct and scientific *metier*, internationally recognised.

To conclude. From a traditionalist history based on an institutional framework marked by erudition, at times somewhat sterile, we have proceeded since the 60s towards the construction and operation of a wide range of investigative areas. The modernisation of themes and questions, the incorporation of new methods and the adoption of today's perspectives, supported by the critical analysis of known or unpublished sources, has permitted the emergence of our disciplinary field. The majority of syntheses published in the 1980s and since were justified by the need to update knowledge, given the exponential increase in medieval historical production at the hands of professional researchers (teachers and students) with advanced training.

For their part, the overviews correspond to moments in a strong perception of identity: enrolled in a given institutional and political framework, centres of interest give shape to and deepen the relations between individuals and groups of specialists in areas and fields of investigation in which Portuguese medieval historiography became consolidated. Some of the themes currently explored by Portuguese medievalists are old issues seen in a new light as a consequence of

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*E-journal of Portuguese History* [online], vol. 2, no. 1 (2004), available at: [www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue3/pdf/ppcosta.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue3/pdf/ppcosta.pdf)

<sup>79</sup> DUARTE, Luís Miguel, "Sociedade e Economia Medievais: fraquezas e forças da historiografia portuguesa", *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, no. 106/2 (2004), pp. 273-298.

<sup>80</sup> IDEM, "Prosopografía e elites urbanas: a investigação portuguesa", in *La prosopografía como método de investigación sobre la Edad Media*, Zaragoza, Departamento de Historia Medieval, Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas y Estudios Árabes e Islámicos – Universidade de Zaragoza, 2006, pp. 105-118.

<sup>81</sup> An area traditionally under-explored among us, but given special attention by Maria de Lurdes Rosa who considers the sources, the concepts and the model of enquiry to apply to the understanding of the social functions of religious organisations and of the medieval laity. See ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "Sociabilidades e espiritualidades na Idade Média: A historiografia portuguesa sobre os comportamentos religiosos dos leigos medievais", *Lusitania Sacra*, t. 21 (2009), pp. 75-124.

<sup>82</sup> As a result of a trend favourable to the deepening of interdisciplinary dialogue between royal diplomatics, the history of law and the history of medieval powers. See HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho, "Diplomática e História do Direito, raízes da 'nova' História política", *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, vol. 12 (2005), pp. 43-56.

<sup>83</sup> Emphasising the evolution of studies on political societies using the registers of the royal chancellery in the late Middle Ages in Portugal. For a summary of research, see FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves, "The Royal Chancellery at the end of the Portuguese Middle Ages: diplomacy and political societies (1970-2005)", *E-journal of Portuguese History* [online], vol. 7, no. 2 (2009), pp. 1-23, available at: [www.scielo.oces.mctes.pt/pdf/ejph/v7n2/v7n2a01.pdf](http://www.scielo.oces.mctes.pt/pdf/ejph/v7n2/v7n2a01.pdf)

the influence of modern historiographical trends and the adoption of a posture sensitive to interdisciplinary approaches. Over the past twenty-five years, the internationalisation of Portuguese medieval historiography is remarkable to note. The historicity of the identity of Portuguese medievalism demonstrates the dynamism of this area of learning that has dared to evaluate, adjust and build its own approaches and its own conditions of action.

# *List of Abbreviations*

<b>CEHR/UCP</b>	Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa / Universidade Católica Portuguesa
<b>CESEM</b>	Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical / Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa
<b>CHSC</b>	Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, Faculdade de Letras – Universidade de Coimbra
<b>CIDEHUS</b>	Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedade / Universidade de Évora
<b>CITCEM</b>	Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar «Cultura, Espaço e Memória»
<b>CNCDP</b>	Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses
<b>FCT</b>	Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
<b>IEM</b>	Instituto de Estudos Medievais / Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa
<b>IN-CM</b>	Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda
<b>INIC</b>	Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica
<b>IUC</b>	Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra
<b>JNICT</b>	Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica
<b>FCG</b>	Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
<b>FCHS-UALG</b>	Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais – Universidade do Algarve
<b>FCSH-UNL</b>	Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa
<b>FL-UC</b>	Faculdade de Letras – Universidade de Coimbra
<b>FL-UL</b>	Faculdade de Letras – Universidade de Lisboa
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"The plan is, therefore, to bring together a significant number of texts that present, or contribute to defining, the "state of the art" achieved to date by recent historical production in the subject areas considered. These texts have two objectives: first, to summarize briefly, and from a critical perspective, the progress made by recent research, the problems outstanding, including possible shortcomings in the investigation, and, secondly, to demonstrate perspectives for the future, either in line with what has been achieved, or with any changes in methodology or in the bases of interpretation."

*José Mattoso, "Preface"*

"Here it is the final result of that effort, available to all scholars of the Middle Ages, for their work, for their criticism and as a stimulus to go beyond what is presented here."

*Editors' Note*

