

# THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL c. 1950-2010

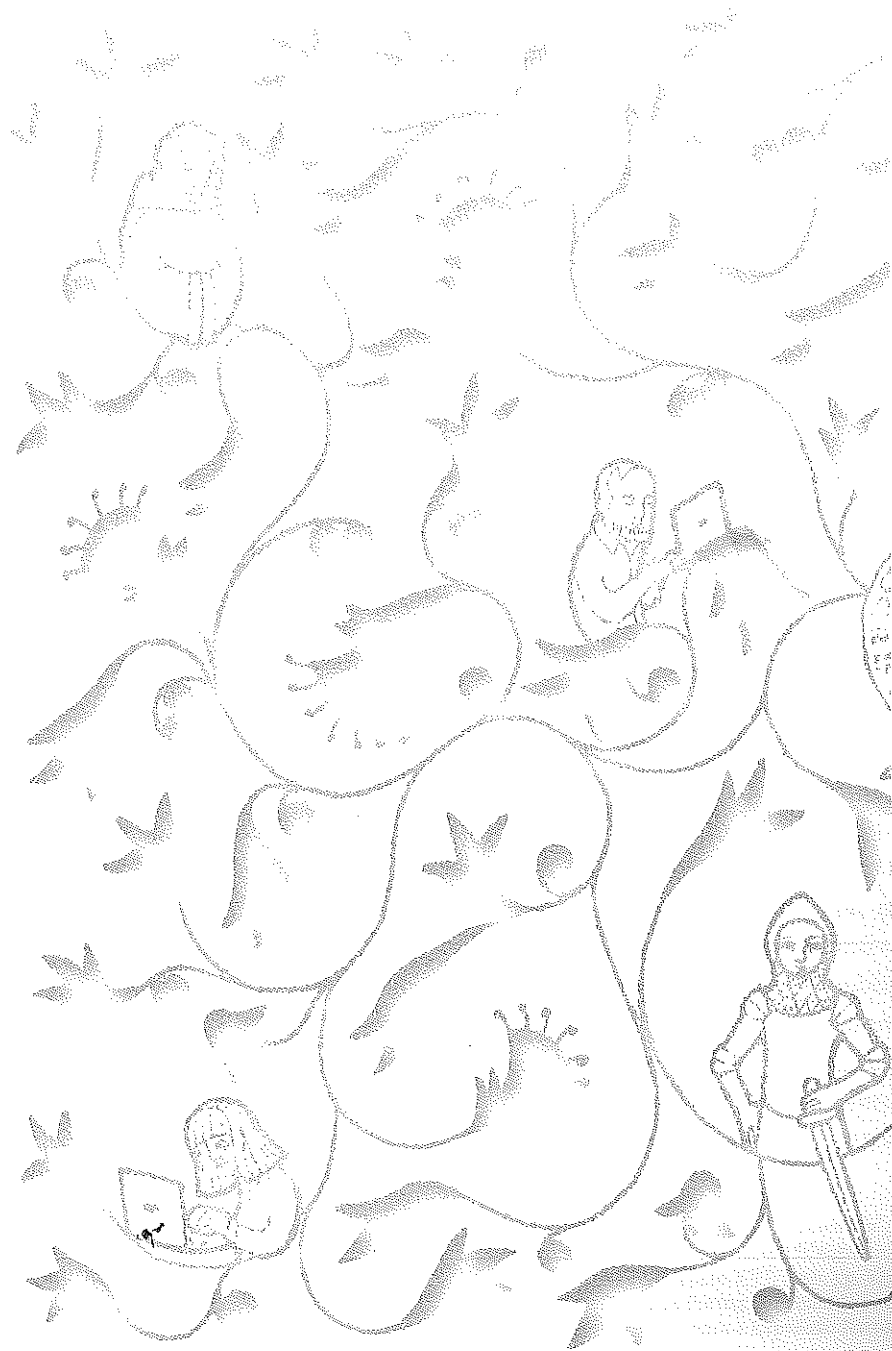
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# *Syntheses, Guides and States of the Art\**

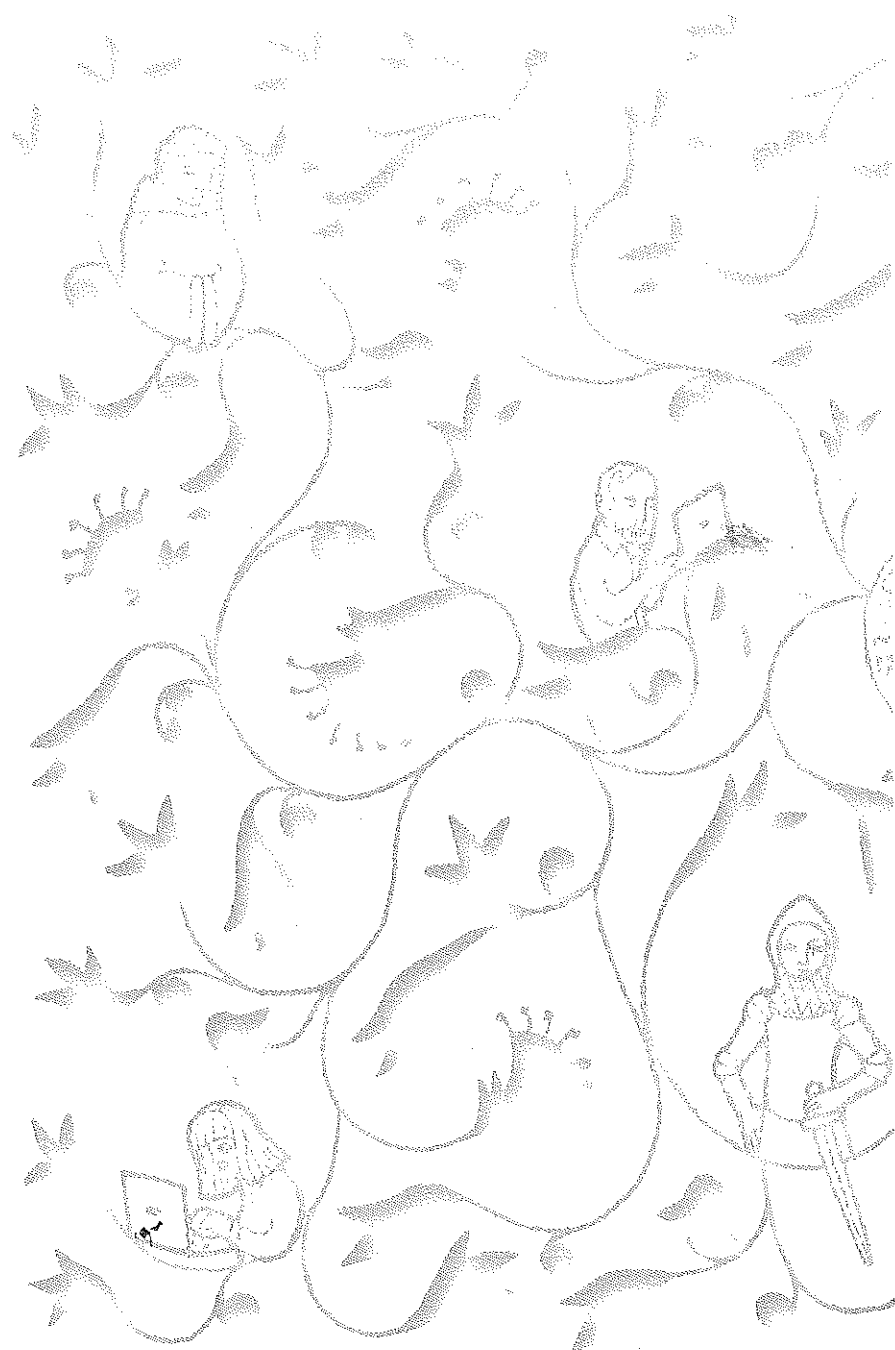
*Judite A. Gonçalves de Freitas*



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

\* 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.



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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

<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

<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 a 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

<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 Portugalense” 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 portugalense 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> MATOSO, 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

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

<sup>33</sup> IDEM (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vols. 1-8, Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 1992-1993.

<sup>34</sup> “[N]a 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.

<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

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,

<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> MATTOSO, 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.

<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 *Descobrimientos 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 HOMEM, 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

“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 medievística 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 Medievalismo 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 Médiévistique 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

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.

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<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, "Prosopografia 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 - Universidad 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)