

*Diplomatic Relations: Portugal and the Others**

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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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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 doing¹, 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*². 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

¹ DELACROIX, Christian, DOSSE, François, and GARCIA, Patrick, *Les Courants Historiques en France 19^e-20^e siècle*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1999, pp. 15-41, trace the framework of these movements and trends of the nineteenth century.

² SANTARÉM, Visconde de, *Quadro elementar das relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potências do mundo desde o principio da monarquia até aos nossos dias*, 18 vols., Lisbon, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, Paris, J. P. Aillaud, 1842-1876.

historical synthesis³. 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 existence⁴. The work of a considerable part of those generations of medievalists was thus centred on the study of events and facts which nurtured a mythology, 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*⁵.

Just as in Spain, where an equally nationalistic regime also conditioned its historiographical production on an identical line⁶, 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.

³ In his continuation of the work of the Visconde de Santarém, SILVA, Luiz Augusto Rebelo 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.

⁴ 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 commemorationism 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.

⁵ MATOS, Sérgio Campos, “História e identidade nacional. A formação de Portugal na historiografia contemporânea”, *Lusotopie*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2002), pp. 123-139.

⁶ 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 role⁷. In the project to promote “Portugal” and “national pride” which the Secretariado Nacional de Informação⁸ 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*⁹ were reprinted over and over again, but nothing further happened in this field until the renewal that followed the 25 April 1974.

⁷ *Documentos Medievais Portugueses* - vol 3: *Documentos particulares; Documentos Régios*, vol. 1: *Documentos dos Condes portucalenses 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, *Descobrimentos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, vol. 1, Lisbon, 1944; DINIS, António Joaquim Dias (dir.), *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. 1, Coimbra, 1960.

⁸ 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

⁹ 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 História¹⁰, 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 Portugal¹¹.

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

¹⁰ Re-established in 1936, by legal decree, it would start functioning normally in January 1938.

¹¹ 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, *Vímara Peres restaurador da cidade de Portucale (Porto) e fundador da terra portucaleense*, 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 portucaleense 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 1940¹². 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*¹³, 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*¹⁴, 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 historiography¹⁵.

¹² 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.

¹³ IDEM, “Papsturkunden in Portugal”, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Neue Folge 20/3, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927.

¹⁴ DAVID, Pierre, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Históricos, 1947

¹⁵ 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 Peninsula

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 1980s¹⁶ could have benefitted from the pioneering studies of Pierre David, as too could Rui de Azevedo's¹⁷ 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 Valdevez¹⁸. In this process,

Ibérica (siglos VII-XII)", *Talia Dixit*, no. 4 (2009), pp. 171- 181.

¹⁶ 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, Inocência 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.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ See, for example, MERÊA, Paulo, "Ainda a concessão da Terra Portugalense", *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 context¹⁹.

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 nature²⁰. 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 consequences²¹. 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.

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 portucalense”, in ACADEMIA PORTUGUESA DA HISTÓRIA, *Papel das áreas regionais na formação de Portugal: actas*, Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1975, pp. 9-21.

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ 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 Coimbre 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 Landeskirche”, *Spanische Forschungen der Gorresgesellschaft*, 29 (1978), pp. 85-436.

²¹ 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 1960²², and, secondly, by the work José Mattoso developed in Louvain on the *Monachismo Ibérico e Cluny*, published in 1968²³, 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 1970s²⁴, 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 genre²⁵, and foreshadowed the irreversible change that would be consummated in and after the 1980s.

²² 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.

²³ MATTOSO, José, *Le Monachisme Ibérique et Cluny: les monastères du diocèse de Oporto, de l'an mille à 1200*, Louvain, Université de Louvain, 1968.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ 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 assigned²⁶. 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

²⁶ 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 queries²⁷ 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 dimension²⁸. 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)²⁹, 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

²⁷ 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^e-XIV^e siècle)", in HENRI, Bresc, et al. (dirs.), *Genèse de L'État Moderne en Méditerranée. Approches Historiques et anthropologiques 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.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ 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 scope³⁰. 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 policies³¹, 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 powers³². 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 courts³³, to studies of war and the construction of territory and its

³⁰ 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.

³¹ GOMES, Saul António, *In Limine Conscriptio. 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.

³² 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.

³³ 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,

boundaries³⁴, as well as to studies of matrimonial strategies, alliances and the circulation of nobles from the upper aristocracy³⁵, 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 relations³⁶.

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 focus³⁷. 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 interest³⁸, as well as the correlated universe of the

Universidad de Murcia / Ayuntamiento de Lorca / Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio / Fundación Cajamurcia-Lorcaturo / Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2009, pp. 39-49.

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ 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 Baruaque*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2009, vol 2, pp. 443-455. See also the articles in this collection on nobility and women.

³⁶ 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.

³⁷ Cases where these dynamics were evident, though not “directly” related to the theme, are ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, KRUS, Luís, 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 María (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 nobiliárquica 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 / Alcobaca / Batalha, SPÉM, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 91-117.

³⁸ 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 progress³⁹.

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 comprehensible⁴⁰. 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

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.

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ 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 médiévisique 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”⁴¹. 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 one⁴².

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 Baubeta⁴³, 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 Alcobça⁴⁴, or the work of Aires de Nascimento on the circulation of Portuguese manuscripts⁴⁵. Documentation is also rich in

⁴¹ 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...*).

⁴² 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).

⁴³ BAUBETA, Patricia Anne Odber, “Some Early English Sources of Portuguese History”, *Estudos Medievais*, no. 9 (1988), pp. 201-210.

⁴⁴ DUGGAN, Anne J., “Aspects of anglo-portuguese relations in the twelfth century. Manuscripts, Relics, Decretals and the cult of St. Thomas Becket at Lervão, Alcobça and Tomar”, *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 14 (1998), pp. 1-19.

⁴⁵ 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. lxix-xcv; 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 (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 Curia⁴⁶, or how a community of men truly “international”⁴⁷ managed to establish networks of influence that determined the success of political events such as the abdication of King Sancho II⁴⁸.

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.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ 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.

set up by intellectuals are research lines which are begging to be traced are basically those which role that the Hispanic pen outlined since Virginia Rau, Pierre David and Carl Erdmann: the great of Iberian interests at the seam of the relations with Rome still has much to teach us, as do ecclesiastic, national¹⁴⁷ managed to and cultural relations, along with commercial relationships. All these feed s of political events successively in a powerful way what we know about the political relations between gn powers and their rivals. The construction of prosopography and the use for the study of the dispersed funds in archives outside Portugal, seem to bear as much promises ning them. If we think badly needed return to textual criticism of the documentary and narrative ated powers, legacies etc.

ements, changing of the study of the circulation of manuscripts, ideas and individuals, of their the negotiation and mry, importance and influence in the universes of commerce, law, medicine e can agree that we amr, in collective or individual efforts, can still be as fruitful as the return to lomatic history. Howudy of matrimonial strategies and the resulting political alliances in that rised in the world of if connections, now seen in their compact making and contractual nature, ients, of the influencever the long duration. To accomplish this requires an almost anthropological and legal expertise, ective, drawing on contemporary tools and concepts ways that sociologists d of men who earn indanthropologists can teach us. We have to strive so that the concepts of practice, reveal to us their milibitus, of power relations and kinship structures enter into the mental lexicon lect of them.

se affairs near the Spanish C able or institutionalised, neither the power relations themselves, nor their nte cristão (séc. XII-XIV) nation. To work on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we need to know how "Rom und die Iberische H rhundert", in JOHRENDT code the materials that we have, interpreting them both in terms of what they erie. *Das universale Pap in / New York, Walter de to be, and also as what they want to appear to be. We will certainly find many as Jurídicas y Valores Cul aspects than we anticipate in those mysterious first centuries of the existence ia y la Península Ibérica e Portugal. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provide, yet again, a different , Universidad de León; Gortugal. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provide, yet again, a different AN, Peter, "A Papal legal ty, and that is also what the historiography reflects. 1229", in BIROCHCHI, 236-56; IDEM, "The cas ", in COLLI, Gaetano, et a Domenico Maffei, Roma r Torres, the cardinal of Z rsion: *Studies on Medieval* 263.*

Caeiro (see the reference nes, and including the sc f the *Fasti Ecclesiae Portu* people and ways of belt *texto Europeu. The Chur* ortuguesa, 2005, and Ca *ern Christianity (12th-14*

nd Literature, 715-1327 Tragédia, Lisbon, Circ

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 documents⁴⁹. 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)⁵⁰. 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 documents⁵¹.

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 Virginia Rau

⁴⁹ 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 principio 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 TORRAL, 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...*].

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ 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^e 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 sources⁵²) and through that of A. H. Oliveira Marques (through his summary of external relations⁵³). 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 causality⁵⁴ 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 framework⁵⁵.

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 Russell⁵⁶ and of Torquato de Sousa Soares⁵⁷. 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 1473⁵⁸. 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

⁵² 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).

⁵³ MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média...*

⁵⁴ ARNAUT, Salvador Dias, *A Crise Nacional dos Fins do Século XIV*, vol. 1, Coimbra, s. n., 1960.

⁵⁵ 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).

⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁷ SOARES, Torquato de Sousa, "Algumas observações sobre a política marroquina da Monarquia Portuguesa", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 10 (1962), pp. 509-554.

⁵⁸ 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 Aragon⁵⁹. 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 activities⁶⁰. 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 quadrant⁶¹, 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 Castile⁶², which Virginia Rau would subsequently emphasise in her studies of the economic relations developed by Portugal in the geographical area of Italy⁶³.

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² 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.

⁶³ 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 communities⁶⁴.

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 treaties⁶⁵.

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 Serrão⁶⁶. The pursuit of these interpretive pathways of a geopolitical nature could

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ 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 military 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).

⁶⁶ 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 power⁶⁷. 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 work⁶⁸ in the sphere of a historiography loathe to cross the Pyrenees⁶⁹.

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 Oporto was particularly important⁷⁰, 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

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.

⁶⁷ 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 Gênese 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 médiévisme au Portugal (1970-2005): genèses, héritages et innovations”..., pp. 151-173.

⁶⁸ LALANDA, Maria Margarida de Sá Nogueira, “A política externa de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)”, *Arquipélago. Série História*, vol. 11 (1989), pp. 107-151.

⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁰ 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 Descobrimentos 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)⁷¹, 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 Marques⁷². 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 panorama⁷³. 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 privateers⁷⁴. 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 infidel⁷⁵.

⁷¹ 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 Tordesilhas (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>]).

⁷² 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*).

⁷³ 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...*).

⁷⁴ 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 María Teresa Ferrel Mallol in both.

⁷⁵ 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 axis⁷⁶. Portuguese diplomacy, for so long a prisoner of its Iberian neighbour – studies of which continued with particular respect to Castile⁷⁷ and Granada⁷⁸ – now included geographical areas beyond the considered, such as England⁷⁹, Brittany⁸⁰, Flanders⁸¹ and even North Africa⁸², 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 princesses⁸³. 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

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ 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^{II}.”The late medieval ages: from external relations to diplomatic practice” on page 246* *modernidad. 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]; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, Manuel, *Portugal, Aragón, Castilla: alianzas dinásticas y relaciones diplomáticas (1297-1357)*, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 2008.

⁷⁸ 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.

⁷⁹ ATTREED, Lorraine Christine, “Friends in need or in deed? Anglo-Portuguese relations in the fifteenth-century”, *Mediterranean studies*, 8 (1999), pp. 143-156.

⁸⁰ MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “Bretanha e Portugal no século XV”, *Arquipélago – História*, 2nd ser., vol. 1, no. 1 (1995), pp. 21-28.

⁸¹ PAVIOT, Jacques, “Les relations diplomatiques et politiques entre la Bourgogne et le Portugal (1384-1482)”, *Publication du Centre européen d’études bourguignonnes (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles)*, no. 32 (1992), pp. 77-84.

⁸² FARINHA, António Dias, *Portugal e Marrocos no século XV*, doctoral thesis in History, Lisbon, FL-UL, 1990.

⁸³ 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 Fonseca⁸⁴, or the Portuguese royal agent in Florence and the Apostolic Curia, the abbot Gomes⁸⁵.

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 gender⁸⁶, now extended to an observable effective cultural role in several paradigmatic cases such as Queens Filipa de Lencastre⁸⁷ and Isabel de Borgonha⁸⁸. Besides this, actual biographical information was developed also to clarify the situation of warriors who benefited from diplomatic activity carried out somewhat occasionally⁸⁹ or more regularly, in the cases of the heralds and kings of arms⁹⁰. 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 Portugal⁹¹, as well as Portuguese made welcome

⁸⁴ FONSECA, Luís Adão da, *O condestável D. Pedro de Portugal...*

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ 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 Consortin 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: garantes de paz, pretexto para guerras", in *A Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 39-59.

⁸⁷ 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.

⁸⁸ 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.

⁸⁹ Not being an only case, with regard to this topic consult: HOMEM, 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.

⁹⁰ 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].

⁹¹ FERNANDES, Fátima Regina, "Os exilados castelhanos no reinado de Fernando I de Portugal", *En la*

in the other Iberian kingdoms⁹². 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 kingdom⁹³.

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 proposals⁹⁴, there is interest now in the study of epistolary documents that may assist new studies due to the wealth of information which these may provide⁹⁵. 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 history⁹⁶),

España medieval, no. 23 (2000), pp. 101-115 (surveying previous works by the author).

⁹² 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.

⁹³ 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; VALDÉON 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 con 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.

⁹⁴ CATEURA BENNÁSSER, Pau, "Negociar la paz en el siglo XIV", in *A Guerra...*, vol. 2, pp. 11-36.

⁹⁵ 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.

⁹⁶ 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 importancia 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 linguistics⁹⁷ or literature⁹⁸. 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 paths⁹⁹.

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 prominence¹⁰⁰. Under this new openness to historical anthropology and sociology, the focus has been, for example, on the dimensions of communication within the diplomatic process¹⁰¹. 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 negotiation¹⁰².

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.

⁹⁷ PEREIRA, Reina Marisol Troca, *Discursos dos embaixadores portugueses no Concílio de Constança: 1416*, master's dissertation in Medieval Latin, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1999.

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ 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).

¹⁰⁰ 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 / Lunwerg 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.

¹⁰¹ 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.

¹⁰² MARTINS, Armando, "Diplomacia e gestos diplomáticos no reinado de D. Fernando [1367-1383]", in VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, and VARANDAS, José (coords.), *Raízes 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 relations¹⁰³, or with the Holy See, in which interactions of an ecclesiastical and financial kind dominate between the Portuguese crown and the papal Curia¹⁰⁴.

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 negotiation¹⁰⁵, 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 areas¹⁰⁶. Recent work has sought to follow the same two-way path¹⁰⁷, with the new aspect now consisting of the fact that some of this work is inserted into large scale projects to obtain academic degrees,

¹⁰³ FÁRIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Por proll e serviço do reino? O desempenho dos negociantes portugueses do Tratado de Windsor e suas conseqüências nas relações com Inglaterra (1384-1412)", *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 209-227; MIRANDA, Flávio, and FÁRIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Comércio e diplomacia: as embaixadas de Portugal a Inglaterra nos séculos XIV e XV", Oporto, CITCEM, 2010; FÁRIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Tracing the 'chemyn de Portynlage': English servisse and servicemen in fourteenth-century Portugal", *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 37/3 (September 2011), pp. 257-268.

¹⁰⁴ FARELO, Mário, "La représentation de la couronne portugaise à Avignon (1305-1377)", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 40/2 (2010), pp. 723-763.

¹⁰⁵ 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 tendencia 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.

¹⁰⁶ 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.

¹⁰⁷ 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 FÁRIA, Tiago Viúla de, "Por proll e service do reino? O desempenho dos negociantes portugueses do Tratado de Windsor e suas conseqüências 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 king¹⁰⁸. 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 family¹⁰⁹.

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.

¹⁰⁸ 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.

¹⁰⁹ 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. Négocier 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]; VENTURA, Margarida Garcez, “Casamentos e política régia em Portugal, no século XIV”, *Iacobus*, vols. 11-12 (2001), pp. 187-202.