

EVERYDAY LIFE IN MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL. A HISTORIOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT

The historiographic overview presented begins with a very early book written in the 1960s by Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques, *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Aspectos da Vida Quotidiana* (Portuguese Medieval Society. Aspects of Everyday Life) and ends with the collective work published in 2012, *História da Vida Privada em Portugal* (A History of Private Life in Portugal), the first volume of which focuses on the Middle Ages. We seek to chart a course between these two milestones, setting out developments in studies of economic, social, religious and cultural history and the history of mentalities that have dealt with aspects of everyday life: the home, the dining table and other forms of conviviality, in more rural or urban environments; work days and festive occasions; devotions, religiosity and death; and family, women and children.

KEYWORDS

Medieval Society, Medieval Everyday Life, Medieval Historiography.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Societas Mediaevalis, Quotidiana Medii Aevi Vita, Historiographia Medievalis.

We begin this historiographic study by presenting a work from the 1960s and end with another from this decade of the 21st century. The former deals with everyday life in the Middle Ages and the latter with private life. Since the two concepts are not identical but do intersect, this of course allows us to present some conceptual points regarding them.

These works, separated by five decades, serve as beacons marking the historiographic journey followed in Portugal in this subject.

Studies of rural and urban history are analysed. These subjects were dealt with in the revitalised Portuguese economic and social history from the 1980s onwards. We have also analysed studies of religious history and the history of the nobility and social groups, seeking references to the everyday lives of men and women in different institutional and social contexts and in spatial and power frameworks.

As we move on towards the end of the 20th century, monographs, articles and chapters in synthesis studies set out many themes in everyday public and private life: women and childrearing, work, homes, diet, clothing, care, death, the body and sexuality, belief and spirituality, cultures, celebrations and games. They sought to make these subjects known through the conceptual and methodological deepening and broadening they provide and through new ground-breaking fields, many of which are still in development.

I

In 1956, Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques graduated with a dissertation titled *A Sociedade em Portugal nos séculos XII a XIV* (Society in Portugal in the 12th to 14th centuries) published under the title *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa (Aspectos da vida quotidiana)* (Medieval Portuguese Society (Aspects of Everyday Life)) by Editora Sá da Costa in 1964. Very recently, in 2012, Círculo de Leitores published *História da Vida Privada em Portugal* (A History of Private Life in Portugal) in several volumes, the first of which covers the Middle Ages.

As we are well aware, everyday life and private life are not exactly the same thing but they are very closely-related concepts. One striking aspect is, of course, the very long period of time (more than half a century) between the two works, which makes us very much aware of the slow maturing of these issues in Portuguese historiography. However, before we go further into this historiographic development, let us look at the first work.

Oliveira Marques's study, which has now gone through six editions in Portuguese (published in 1964, 1971, 1975, 1981, 1987 and 2012, respectively),¹ and two in English,² contains ten chapters dealing with the dining table, clothing, the home, hygiene and health, affections, work, childrearing, culture, entertainment and death.

1. The first five by Sá da Costa Editora and the last by Esfera dos Livros in a posthumous edition.

2. Respectively 1971 and 2003.



It thus deals with certain subjects that are material in nature, which have economic and social implications, as well as others that reveal behaviour, cultural aspects and mentalities. The author appears to have been fascinated by certain passages written by Costa Lobo in his study *História da Sociedade em Portugal* (History of Society in Portugal), but had very few Portuguese historiographic references in support of it. There were eminent geographers, ethnologists and historians at the Faculty of Arts in Lisbon (one cannot overlook Virgínia Rau's important contribution here) who set him off on the path towards this innovative, ground-breaking work.³

That did not prevent the author from stating, in the preface to the first edition, that this was “a pioneering work with all of the disadvantages trailblazing always brings with it, such as inexperience and indecision in the face of unforeseen difficulties”.⁴ But he also confirms that there is less originality in the chapters on affection and belief and that the part on culture is a synthesis of works written on the subject.

Oliveira Marques explains the work's structure with all the clarity of his methodical and pragmatic spirit, “Selection of the chapters was guided by life and the needs of every human being. Above all, humans need food, clothing and shelter. Avoiding death requires certain hygiene habits and an effort to maintain one's health. Then comes love, work, prayer, education and fun. And finally death and burial”.⁵ He also mentions why certain issues were left out; either because they would make the work a lot longer or due to lack of research to form their basis; and he explains why the time period covered by the study runs from the 12th to the 15th centuries.

This work had very little historiographic impact in the 1960s and even in the 1970s. As I have written previously,⁶ it was actually only in the 1980s, after some more in-depth work on the clergy and the nobility, that all the ins and outs of the various strata in Portuguese medieval society were brought to the fore and the everyday aspects of living, feeling and dying were considered.

A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa by Oliveira Marques then practically became “a Bible”. No-one considered the roles and rhythms of work for medieval people, their conditions of habitation, hygiene and health, the external manifestations of clothing and dining, their affections and beliefs, their cultural values or forms of entertainment or the way in which they faced death without reference to this fundamental work. And there they also found the identifying feature of that author's entire scholarly

3. The reality was that in Lisbon in the 1950s and 60s, the most innovative aspects of society and everyday life were studied in theses such as Martins, Maria Otília Simões. *Elementos para o estudo do vestuário nos séculos XII-XIV*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras, 1959; Baquero, Humberto Moreno. *Subsídios para o estudo da sociedade medieval (moralidade e costumes)*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras, 1961; Santos, Vitor Manuel Pavão dos. *A casa do Sul de Portugal na transição do século XV para o XVI*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras, 1964. Oliveira Marques continued publishing articles on population and aspects of social and economic life, later collected in the work: Marques, Antonio Henrique de Oliveira. *Ensaio de História Medieval Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1965.

4. Marques, Antonio Henrique de Oliveira. *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa (Aspectos da vida quotidiana)*. Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2010: 15.

5. Marques, Antonio Henrique de Oliveira. *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa...*: 16.

6. Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz da Cruz. “A medievalidade na obra de A. H. de Oliveira Marques”, *Na jubilação universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*. Coimbra: Minerva, 2003: 24-25.



output: clear and systematic exposition of each subject, presented with clarity and objectivity, using explicitly detailed technical and scientific vocabulary, based on broad, systematic research of sources, which are always provided and fully identified. I expect that all researchers who have felt the need to turn to this work found in it some suggestion, bibliographical information or documentary clue that ended up being useful to them. As themes of everyday life, conviviality, feelings and religiosity became part of the circuit of teaching and learning, both in university and at other levels of education, this book was then read and reread and became an essential reference work. Its text and illustrations have in fact been used by many teachers and students as the basis for reconstructing past times today: for dressing characters, decorating medieval fairs, festivals, games, tournaments and theatres, or putting on ambassadorial processions or royal entrances.

Let us move on to the first volume of the second work, coordinated by Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*, edited by José Mattoso.⁷ It is made up of three parts, starting with places and spaces, then focussing on the body and finally reaching the soul. The first part distinguishes between urban and rural spaces, setting out the different room structures in palaces and houses. Structures of kinship, marriages and names used to describe family relationships are explained. Festival and convivial settings, and marks of exclusion and marginality, are revealed. The body is identified by the individual names, food used as sustenance, specific details concerning women and children, with attention given to sexuality, health and disease. Soul and spirit are revealed in the devotions and spirituality of men and women, the representation of death rituals and vision of the afterlife, and in mechanisms used to perpetuate the memory of individuals and lineages.

In general, the work is modelled on *História da Vida Privada* (A History of Private Life), published in 1983, which was outlined by Philippe Ariès with specific details filled in essentially by Georges Duby (and a group of contributors) after the former's death.

Right at the beginning of this book, its managing editor, José Mattoso, explains the presuppositions and doubts expressed by Georges Duby. He raised problematic questions such as the dichotomy between public and private life and the no less thorny issue of the border between private life and everyday life as well as the concept of individual and individualism.

However, the book also contains a specific introduction by its editor and coordinator, who sets out the specific difficulties of a history of private life in medieval times. He of course includes the scarcity of sources, further reinforces the issue regarding the clerical texts that have come down to us, which are imbued with a normative strategy that conceals details of private life, while accentuating the late acquisition of individual consciousness of sin and the morality of human actions, and stresses the tricky border between public and private, especially in medieval times. Regarding the last point he writes, "we must underline, firstly, that the use

7. Mattoso, José, dir.; Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e. *História da Vida Privada em Portugal*. Lisbon: Temas e Debates-Círculo de Leitores, 2010.



of the concept of private life for societies prior to the establishment of the Modern State must go hand-in-hand with precautions that relativise its meaning and scope; secondly, unlike in the Modern Age, the opposition between public and private may not be exclusive, in other words there are domains in which it is meaningless and there are even those that, either public or private.”⁸

The work was written with the participation of fourteen contributors, who were responsible for the various analysed subjects. The subjects are consistent within and among themselves and are largely the fruit of research and studies produced from the 1980s to 2010. This updated synthesis would not have been possible without them, just as historiographic development conditioned the structure of the collective work. Examination of this work can also be an exercise in the history of Portuguese medieval history.⁹

2

Many assessments of Portuguese medieval studies have already stressed how, in the 1980s, two major areas of study appeared: rural history and urban history.¹⁰ Five doctoral theses on rural history in that decade (by Robert Durand,¹¹ Maria Helena Coelho,¹² Iria Gonçalves,¹³ Pedro Barbosa¹⁴ and Rosa Marreiros¹⁵) opened up the path to knowledge concerning aspects such as colonisation processes, land clearing and cultivation, production, prices and consumption, ways in which landlords operated, landlords’ rents and incomes, interaction of powers and rights over land

8. Mattoso, José, dir.; Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e. *Historia da Vida Privada em Portugal...*: 21.

9. For a recent summary about the studies of everyday life, see Conde, Manuel Sílvia Alves. “The history of everyday life”, *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 513-527.

10. Among others, see Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. “Balanço sobre a história rural produzida em Portugal nas últimas décadas”, *A cidade e o campo. Colectânea de estudos*. Coimbra: Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, 2000: 23-40; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. “Historiographie et état actuel de la recherche sur le Portugal au Moyen Âge”. *Memini. Travaux et documents*, 9-10 (2005-2006): 9-60; Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho; Andrade, Amélia Aguiar; Amaral, Luís Carlos. “Por onde vem o medievismo em Portugal?”. *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 22 (1988): 115-138. These summaries contain much of the bibliography cited.

11. Durand, Robert. *Les campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tage aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Centro Cultural Português, 1982.

12. Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. *O Baixo Mondego nos finais da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1989.

13. Gonçalves, Iria. *O património do mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1989.

14. Barbosa, Pedro Gomes. *Povoamento e estrutura agrícola na Estremadura Central: século XII a 1325*. Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1992.

15. Marreiros, Maria Rosa Ferreira. *Propriedade fundiária e rendas da coroa no reinado de D. Dinis: Guimarães*. Coimbra: Universidade do Coimbra (PhD Dissertation), 1990.



possession, rural aristocracies, those who worked the land (from peasants to wage-earners), work rhythms and festival times, village solidarity, ways of life, peasant behaviour and mentalities. Studies of agrarian and rural history extended well into the 1990s and the following decades but as time went by there was somewhat of a slowdown in them.¹⁶

Oliveira Marques was the model and motivation behind many of these studies with the 1962 publication of his work, *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal* (Introduction to the History of Agriculture in Portugal). He also raised the question of cereals (in the 1980s) at the Faculty of Social and Human Science at Universidade Nova de Lisboa. He was a master of urban history who was extraordinarily fertile in producing monographs on the main towns and cities from the north to the south of Portugal.¹⁷ Since then medieval urban planning has been made known with its streets, neighbourhoods, houses, prestigious religious or secular public buildings and infrastructure for urban storage, supply and transformation. This revealed household and family units, social stratification and economic activities from means of production to commerce and services, as well as religiosity, urban coexistence and sociability in the form of parish, fraternal and welfare networks. We can see the profiles of lineages and elites of power and governance and how they behaved as a power group or groups, translated into hierarchies, symbols, rituals and urban ceremonies.¹⁸ At the

16. See Amaral, Luís Carlos. "Half a Century of Rural History of the Middle Ages in Portugal. A possible overview", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 303-321.

17. Among the pioneers, we highlight Beirante, Maria Ângela Rocha. *Santarém Medieval*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1980; Gomes, Rita Costa. "A Guarda Medieval. Posição, morfologia e sociedade (1200-1500)". *Cadernos da Revista de História Económica e Social*, 9-10 (1987); Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. *Uma rua de elite na Guimarães medieval (1376-1520)*. Guimarães: Câmara Municipal, 1989; Andrade, Amélia Aguiar. *Um espaço urbano medieval: Ponte de Lima*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990; Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A. *Torres Vedras. A vila e o termo nos finais da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1995; Beirante, Maria Ângela Rocha. *Évora na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1995; Conde, Manuel Sílvio Alves. *Tomar medieval*. Cascais: Patrimónia, 1996; Macias, Santiago. *Mértola islâmica. Estudo histórico-arqueológico do Bairro da Alcáçova (séculos XII-XIII)*. Mértola: Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1996; Silva, Manuela Santos. *Estruturas urbanas e administração concelhia. Óbidos medieval*. Cascais: Patrimónia, 1997. Thus, in the 1990s, there was a scientific meeting on the theme that led to the work: *Jornadas Inter e Pluridisciplinares. A Cidade*. Actas, coord. Maria José Ferro Tavares. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1993.

18. The theme of urban history, analyzed from different perspectives, has continued to be very fruitful, studied in theses, books and articles by renowned and young historians. For a full analysis of this scientific production of the aforesaid historiographic balance, see Andrade, Amélia Aguiar; Costa, Adelaide. Millán da, "Medieval Portuguese Towns. The Difficult Affirmation of a Historiographical Topic", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Rocha Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 283-301; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "Municipal Power", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 209-230. Another significant expression of production around the urban everyday life and studies are published in the book dedicated to Iria Gonçalves, a historian who has focused on these topics: Andrade Amélia Aguiar; Fernandes Hermenegildo; Fontes, João Luís, coords. *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*. Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2009.



point where rural and city studies intersect deeper knowledge has been gained of relationships between urban centres at tense or peaceful times, village boundaries, and the mentalities and behaviour of people from the countryside and the city.¹⁹

There is another historian whose contributions are fundamental to the historiographic subject we are dealing with and whose presence marks the 1950s and 1960s, opening up new research fields. He is obviously José Mattoso who, in 1962, published his study *L'Abbaye de Pendorada des origines à 1160* and, in 1968, his doctoral thesis *Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mille à 1200*.

Since then, studies of male and female monastic houses under different rules and forms of observance, from Benedictines and Cistercians to Canons Regular of St. Augustine, Dominicans, Franciscans, the Clarisses and, more recently, hermits, followed.²⁰ While the work began with knowledge of male monasteries, from the 1980s and 1990s, under the influence of openness to studying the role of women, female institutions had a great attraction to researchers. And while most of these studies were limited to knowledge of the institution's organisational and administrative structure, as well as its wealth and income, some of them also reveal aspects of the religious community's life, as guided by its superiors, in their everyday prayer, liturgical offices and work and in their internal coexistence. They also unveil the family origins of their members and links of affection, complicity and power established with relatives and lineage both inside and outside of the monastic institution.

As has often been verified, sisters, aunts, nieces and cousins actually lived together in monastic houses for women. Some of those women even experienced a form of "artificial maternity" and actual "heredity" by bequeathing positions and goods to their descendants. For example, the position of abbess passing from an aunt to a niece. These related nuns protected, helped and supported one another through the religious institution and the influential power of their family, protecting it and enhancing its prestige in a material, spiritual, symbolic and cultural sense. Noblewomen thus ceased to be merely a source of fertile

19. With this focus of study there have been several scientific meetings which led to the works *Paisagens rurais e urbanas. Fontes, metodologias, problemáticas*, Iria Gonçalves, coord. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005-2009 and: Costa, Adelaide Millán da, ed. "Paisagens Medievais, 1 e 2". *Media Aetas, Revista de Estudos Medievais* (2005-2006): 2ª série, vols. 1 and 2. A summary of this approach is harvested in the chapter: Costa, Adelaide Millán da; Gonçalves, Iria. "O espaço urbano e o espaço rural", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*. José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 24-53.

20. As syntheses, read, among others, Vilar, Hermínia. "História da Igreja Medieval em Portugal: um percurso possível pelas provas académicas (1995-2000)". *Lusitania Sacra*, 13-14 (2001-2002): 569-581; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "O que se vem investigando em História da Igreja em Portugal em tempos medievais". *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 16 (2006): 205-223; Vilar, Hermínia; Rosa, Maria de Lurdes. "The Church and Religious Pratics", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Fonseca, Luis Adão da; Pimenta, Maria Cristina; Costa, Paula Pinto. Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 323-347; Oliveira, Luís Filipe Da Cruz; Fonseca, Luis Adão; Pimenta, Maria Cristina; Costa, Paula Pinto. "The Military Orders", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 425-457.



wealth for lineages through marriage and also became fertile wealth for religion, especially through the power some of them managed to exercise by rising to the position of abbess.²¹

Another area of research on which José Mattoso embarked, the analysis of nobility, also contributed to these latter approaches. Following the meticulous, insightful and useful critical edition of *Livros Velhos de Linhagens* (Old Books of Lineages) and *Livro de Linhagens* (Book of Lineages) by Conde D. Pedro, which he issued with Joseph Piel in 1980, this specialist gave us works such as *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa. A Família e o Poder* (Portuguese Medieval Nobility. The Family and Power), published in 1981,²² and *Ricos-Homens, Infanções e Cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII* (*Ricos-Homens, Infanções e Cavaleiros. The Medieval Portuguese Nobility in the 11th and 12th centuries*) published the following year.²³

These works revealed the hierarchy established among the most ancient county nobility in their times of ascendance and decadence and the rise of some families of *infanções*, the intermediate category of nobility, to *ricos-homens*, the highest level of social standing and power. This has shown us kinship and family structures, marriage policies, power strategies, cultural environments, alliances between Court and Church, and mechanisms for consolidating and perpetuating the memory of individuals and lineages.

This area of nobility studies, which seduced many young researchers in the country, from Luís Krus in Lisbon²⁴ to Leontina Ventura²⁵ and António Resende²⁶ in Coimbra and José Augusto Pizarro²⁷ in Oporto, to mention just a few of the first ones, has had an extensive impact on our ability to comprehend medieval society and the composition of social groups. Names, families, kinship,²⁸ women,

21. On these valences of female monasticism, see Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz; Martins, Rui Cunha. "O monaquismo feminino cisterciense e a nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII-XIV)". *Theologica*, 28/2 (1993): 481-506.

22. Mattoso, José. *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa. A Família e o Poder*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1981.

23. Mattoso, José. *Ricos-Homens, Infanções e Cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII*. Lisbon: Guimarães & C^a Editores, 1982.

24. Krus, Luís. *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico (1280-1380)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1994.

25. Ventura, Leontina. *A nobreza de corte de Afonso III*. Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1992.

26. Oliveira, António Resende. *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco: a estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XII a XIV*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1994.

27. Pizarro, José Augusto de Sotto Mayor. *Linhagens medievais portuguesas: genealogias e estratégias, 1279-1325*. Porto: Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Família, Universidade Moderna, 1999.

28. More specifically on family and kinship networks see the summaries by Ventura, Leontina. "A família e o léxico". *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010: 98-125 and Pizarro, José Augusto de Sotto Mayor. "A família. Estruturas de parentesco e casamento", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010: 126-143.



marriage, poetry, chivalry, palaces, vassals, officials, lordly and courtly life and homes, power and memory, death and burial became emerging subjects that took on a new dimension in light of other concepts and methodologies of anthropology and sociology, which opened up interdisciplinary paths and cut across approaches and knowledge areas. Various noble houses became known, such as Bragança, Vila Real and the home of Infante D. Henrique, together with various lineages, such as the Coutinhos, Melos, Meneses and Pimentéis²⁹ and their family histories and intrigues, as well as their political journeys and strategies.³⁰

At the same time, many aspects of the everyday lives of other social groups were clarified. That was the case for the Jews, about whom Maria José Ferro Tavares wrote two essential works, one on the 14th century and the other on the 15th.³¹ These told us about their family structure, housing context and relationships among Jews and between Jews and Christians. The poor, the sick and those on the margins of society³² were studied by the same historian³³ as well as by Baquero Moreno, who analysed those on society's margins, pack-

29. Cunha, Mafalda Soares da. *Linhagem, parentesco e poder: a Casa de Bragança (1348-1483)*. Lisbon: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1990; Campos, Nuno Silva. *D. Pedro de Meneses e a construção da Casa de Vila Real (1415-1437)*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2004; Sousa, João Silva de. *A casa senhorial do infante D. Henrique*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1991; Oliveira, Luís Filipe. *A Casa dos Coutinho. Linhagem, espaço e poder (1360-1425)*. Cascais: Patrimonia, 1999; Cumbre, José Paiva. *Os Melo. Origens, trajetórias familiares e percursos políticos. (Séculos XII-XV)*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa-Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 1997; Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e. *Os Pimentéis. Percursos de uma linhagem de nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII-XV)*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2000.

30. A balance of these studies on nobility is in Mattoso, José; Ventura, Leontina; Pizarro, José Augusto de Sotto Mayor; Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos: "The Medieval Portuguese Nobility", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 401-423.

31. Tavares, Maria José Pimenta Ferro. *Os judeus em Portugal no século XIV*. Lisbon: Guimarães & C^a Editores, 1979; Tavares, Maria José Pimenta Ferro. *Os judeus nos século XV*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa-Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 1982.

32. On this subject we must not forget the early papers presented at scientific meetings in 1959 "Para o estudo da Peste Negra em Portugal. Congresso Histórico de Portugal Medieval", that were published in: Bracara Augusta, 14-15 (1963) (*Actas do Congresso Histórico de Portugal Medieval*. Braga: Câmara Municipal de Braga, 1963): 210-230 and *A pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média: actas das 1as. Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval, Lisboa, 25-30 de setembro de 1972*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1973, 2 vols. For the historiographic comparison on the subject, see the last overview in Duarte, Luís Miguel. "Marginalidade e marginais", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa. Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2011: 170-196 and the summary of studies in Duarte, Luís Miguel. "When those on the margins took centre stage", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 499-511.

33. Studies collected in the work by Tavares, Maria José Pimenta Ferro. *Pobreza e morte em Portugal na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1989.



animal drivers, travellers and pilgrims, as well as issues of marriage and disease.³⁴ Researchers also did not overlook the perception of welfare solidarity.³⁵

Two synthesis studies on the history of Portugal, which came out in the 1980s, were thus able to consider some of these historiographic contributions.³⁶ In the book *Identificação de um país* (Identification of a country), José Mattoso, seeking to understand how “people saw the world and organised themselves in an attempt to dominate reality”, presents us with the framework in which work was performed for the lord or manor, the workers, the framework of power and the powerful, people’s kinship and family structures and their mentality, culture, imaginations and systems of representation and memory. In turn, Oliveira Marques, following his tastes and paths, wrote a chapter in *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV* (Portugal in the Crisis of the 14th and 15th Centuries)³⁷ on everyday life, dealing with food, clothing, housing, health and hygiene, entertainment and affections in the late middle ages.

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However, during the fertile decades of the 1980s and 1990s, Portuguese historiography also received influences from abroad. We have previously mentioned the refreshing impact of the 5 volumes of the *Histoire de la vie Privé* edited by Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby and published between 1985 and 1987. This work was soon translated into Portuguese between 1989 and 1991, with a scholarly revision by Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem. Shortly afterwards, came the 1991-1992 publication of the 5 volumes of *Storia delle Donne*, edited by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, which were translated into Portuguese between 1993 and 1995,

34. Among other works and studies, see Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *Marginalidade e conflitos sociais em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV. Estudos de História*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1985; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. “A acção dos almocreves no desenvolvimento das comunicações inter-regionais portuguesas nos finais da Idade Média”, *O Papel das Áreas Regionais na Formação Histórica de Portugal. Actas do Colóquio*. Lisbon: Associação Portuguesa de História, 1975: 185-229; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. “A importância da almocrevaria no desenvolvimento dos concelhos durante a Idade Média”, *Vallis Longus, Actas das Primeiras Jornadas Culturais do Concelho de Valongo*, 1 (1985): 15-24; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. “O casamento no contexto da sociedade medieval portuguesa”. *Bracara Augusta*, 33/75-76 (1979): 145-173; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. “As peregrinações a Santiago e as relações entre o Norte de Portugal e a Galiza”, *Congresso Internacional dos Caminhos Portugueses de Santiago de Compostela. (Actas)*. Lisbon: Távola Redonda: 75-83; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. “Exclusão e marginalidade social no Portugal quatrocentista”. *Ler História*, 33 (1997): 37-51.

35. Among others Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. “As confrarias medievais portuguesas: espaços de solidariedades na vida e na morte”, *Actas da XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella. Confradías, gremios, solidariedades en la Europa Medieval*. Estella: Gobierno de Navarra, 1993: 149-183.

36. Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal. 1096-1325*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1985.

37. Marques, Antonio Henrique de Oliveira. *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV (Nova História de Portugal)*. Joel Serrão, António. Henrique Oliveira Marques, dirs., vol. IV). Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1987.



with a scholarly revision by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Irene Maria Vaquinhas, Leontina Ventura and Guilhermina Mota.

Nevertheless, it must be said that Portuguese historians were attentive to the subject of women and their past, which the April Revolution challenged and committed them to do. The Institute of Economic and Social History at the Faculty of Arts in Coimbra held a conference on Women in Portuguese Society (Historic Overview and Current Prospects) on 20 to 22 March 1985. The two volumes of the conference proceedings were published the following year.³⁸ In his opening speech, the Chairman of the Organising Committee, Dr António de Oliveira, said,

O historiador é filho do seu tempo e o tempo coevo é de mutação e de confronto ideológico. A historiografia contemporânea não podia, por isso, manter-se à margem das reivindicações das mulheres, assumindo uma atitude de silêncio. Nem tão-pouco podia deixar de atentar num dos resultados da nova história social, a qual já havia descoberto a mulher, mas não propriamente a condição feminina, pela via interdisciplinar de outras ciências humanas e sociais.

In this context, he called for a convergence of Historical Demographics, Historical Sociology and Social Anthropology so that, *através de novos conceitos operatórios, o protagonismo das mulheres no devir histórico deixe (asse) de permanecer oculto e invisível pela eloquência do silêncio.*³⁹ And, in fact, after these internal and external alarms, studies of the history of women multiplied, followed by the history of gender throughout all eras, albeit with greater importance given to the contemporary era. The individual roles they played as queens, princesses, suzerains, diplomats, noblewomen and those from other social strata, women in secular or religious life, anonymous women who worked in the fields or in the cities, women who were wives, mothers and daughters, women legitimated by marriage or living as concubines or in unmarried cohabitation, women with good and bad reputations, were rescued from medieval times.⁴⁰

38. Published in Coimbra, Instituto de História Económica e Social-Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1986. Here there are studies for medieval times by José Mattoso, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Leontina Ventura, Maria Ângela V. da Rocha Beirante, Amélia Aguiar Andrade, Irene Freire Nunes, António Resende de Oliveira, José Galdes Freire, Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, Isaías da Rosa Pereira, Salvador Dias Arnaut and Humberto Baquero Moreno.

39. "Historians are children of their time and the current time is one of change and ideological confrontation. Therefore, contemporary historiography cannot stand on the sidelines in the face of women's claims and adopt an attitude of silence. Nor can it neglect the results of the new social history, which has discovered women, though not the female condition as such, through interdisciplinarity with other human and social sciences"; "through new operating concepts, the role of women in history may no longer be left hidden and invisible by the eloquence of silence". Oliveira, António de. "A apresentação". *A Mulher na Sociedade Portuguesa: visão histórica e perspectivas actuais*, Coimbra: Instituto de História Económica e Social-Faculdade de letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1986: 10, 11.

40. A summary of the role of women in medieval times can be found in Oliveira, Ana Rodrigues, António Resande de. "A Mulher", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, Mattoso, José, dir. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2011: 300-323. A summary of the historiographic production on this subject appears in Silva, Manuela; Santos Rodrigues, Ana Maria S.A. "Women's and Gender History", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, Mattoso, José, dir., Maria de Lurdes



These studies, mixed with our historiographic contributions, finally brought us to a doctoral thesis defended in 2004 and published three years later on: *A criança na sociedade medieval portuguesa* (Childrearing in medieval Portuguese society).⁴¹ This was very suggestively structured into chapters titled Birth, Growing Up, Learning, Protecting, Falling Ill, Dying and Loving. As mentioned above, this restores to us frameworks of time and space that show us the joys of children being born and the bitter pain of losing them, the natural setting of children growing and being brought up, rituals of baptism and other sacraments that protected them, feelings of love and family affections, and, on a darker note, the diseases that struck them and so often snatched them away from this earthly life.⁴² It is easy to see how this work is a culmination and confluence of many different studies on everyday life and private life.⁴³

As in the case of women, current historiography has continued to expand our knowledge of the composition of medieval society with new nuances. In her doctoral thesis, Maria Filomena Barros conducted an in-depth examination of the Muslim minority from the 12th to 15th centuries, covering its evolutionary process, its population structure and behaviour, its communes, its property and economic activity, and its social hierarchy and vectors of socialisation. She studied the times and spaces of the Moors, taking an anthropological approach, considering identity and otherness, ethnicity and acculturation across this social group. The central thread running through her work is the desire to know *se as conotações culturais dos muçulmanos divergem ou, pelo contrário, convergem com as da demais sociedade portuguesa medieval*.⁴⁴

In Oporto, Sérgio Ferreira's master's degree thesis dealt with the equation between the prices of many goods and raw materials and the wages of the rural and urban population of artisans and small traders, providing clues regarding consumption

Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 483-497.

41. Oliveira, Ana Rodrigues. *A criança na sociedade medieval portuguesa*. Lisbon: Teorema, 2007.

42. Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "Prefácio", *A criança na sociedade medieval portuguesa...*: 6.

43. See the summary of the theme in: Oliveira, Ana. *A criança, História da vida privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores: 260-299.

44. "whether the cultural connotations of the Muslims diverged from or, on the contrary, converged with the rest of medieval Portuguese society". Barros, Maria Filomena Lopes de. *Tempos e espaços de mouros. A minoria muçulmana no reino português. (Séculos XII a XV)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, 2007: 26. For the Portuguese historiographical literature on Islam, Mozarabic and ethno-religious minorities see Fernandes, Hermenegildo; Rei, António. "Islam and Mozarabs", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 547-569; Barros, Maria Filomena Lopes de. "Ethno-Religious Minorities", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 571-589.



levels and living standards.⁴⁵ More recently, Arnaldo de Melo⁴⁶ focused on trades and artisans in the urban context of Oporto, clarifying the forms and means of professional, fraternal, welfare and political association among this social group.

In his major work on justice and criminality, Luís Miguel Duarte studied justice and the law, crime and disorder, punishment and pardon, and provided a solid portrayal of the shadows of society in individual and group acts of violence and their perpetrators, agitation and disturbances, enabling us to see the fears of wrongdoers, those who lived on society's margins and gangs, who disturbed the everyday lives of medieval people.⁴⁷

We cannot overlook the significant advance and renewed methodological and interpretive questioning of military history, which has revealed to us, in contexts of everyday life in wartime, not only questions such as recruitment, equipping and collection of extra taxes but also problems with quartering and provisioning of armies, hunger and sieges, the scenario of destruction of fields and cities in the wake of war and even beliefs and religious devotion, military ethics, and the behaviour, bravery or fear of men in military operations.⁴⁸

It is also necessary to take into account the development of other subjects within the scope of the historiography of everyday and private life.

One of the most studied subjects is the history of death.⁴⁹ Hermínia Vilar presented *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval. A Estremadura Portuguesa (1300 a 1500)* (The Experience of Death in Medieval Portugal. Portuguese Estremadura (1300 to 1500)) as a master's dissertation, which was published in 1995.⁵⁰ Following on from pioneering works such as those by Vovelle, Philippe Ariès, Jacques Chifolleau and Marie-Thérèse Lorcin⁵¹, she carried out an in-depth study of the wills of some men and women in Coimbra, Santarém and Torres Vedras. Using the wills as a primary source, she sought to unveil how concern with individual salvation translated into

45. Ferreira, Carlos Sérgio. *Preços e salários em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média*. Porto: Universidade do Porto (Master Dissertation), 2007.

46. Melo, Arnaldo Rui Azevedo. *O trabalho e a produção em Portugal na Idade Média. O Porto c. 1320-c. 1415*. Braga: Universidade do Minho, 2009.

47. Duarte, Luís Miguel. *Justiça e criminalidade no Portugal Medieval (1459-1480)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, 1999.

48. Monteiro, João Gouveia. *A Guerra em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, 1998; Martins, Miguel António Gomes. *Para Bellum. Organização e Prática da Guerra em Portugal durante a Idade Média (1245-1367)*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2007; Barata, Manuel Themudo; Teixeira, Nuno Severiano, dirs. *Nova História Militar de Portugal*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2003. For more about the historiography of this subject, see Universidade do Porto (Master Dissertation), Martins, Miguel António Gomes; António Gomes, Monteiro, João Gouveia. "The Medieval Military History", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 459-481.

49. About this theme a notable early work is Martins, Mário: *Introdução histórica à vivência do tempo e da morte*. Braga: Livraria Cruz, 1969.

50. Vilar, Hermínia. *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval. A Estremadura Portuguesa (1300 a 1500)*. Redondo: Patrimonia, 1995.

51. Read the historiographical context in which the author situates their work (Vilar, Hermínia. *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval...*: 21-33).



rites of passage, glimpsing the afterlife of medieval people, and the care taken with burial and the perpetuation of memory. She also focussed on the division of wealth by testators and sought to discover their material and spiritual solidarity with family members, friends, clients and servants, the poor and sick, and houses of mercy or other religious institutions.

One year on, in *O reino dos Mortos na Idade Média Peninsular* (The Kingdom of the Dead in the Iberian Middle Ages),⁵² José Mattoso drew together work written by him and other young researchers, which went deeper into medieval eschatological thought and the rituals and imagination of death, examining a variety of other sources ranging from synods and monastic rules to chronicles, poetry and patristics.

In the 21st century, Maria de Lurdes Rosa returned to this area in her doctoral thesis on the founding of funeral chapels and the affirmation that the soul was a legal subject⁵³. Furthermore, on the path of knowledge crossover, archaeologists' contributions to graves and rites of cremation or burial and anthropologists' contributions concerning palaeobiology have revealed many different pathologies that are signs of work, diet, age and life events, as well as funereal rites and beliefs in the afterlife.⁵⁴

In her doctoral thesis, Mário Barroca studies the relationship between epigraphy and death in epitaphs, which are likewise public and, through writing and art, reveal the faith many Christians had in another life after death and also their desire for perpetuation in the earthly world.⁵⁵

Accordingly, many works by art historians, of greater or lesser extent, on tombs suggest appealing propositions for reading the artistic grammar of commemorative arches and plaques. Decoding the iconography of sculptures, paintings, heraldry, symbols and signs found in them gives us a more in-depth understanding of the eschatological thought of medieval people, the marks that identified them and individualised their lives and families and their desire to overcome annihilation by

52. Mattoso, José. *O reino dos Mortos na Idade Média Peninsular*. Lisbon: Edições João Sá da Costa, 1996.

53. Rosa, Maria de Lurdes. "As almas herdeiras", *Fundação das capelas fúnebres e afirmação da alma como sujeito de direito (Portugal. 1400-1521)*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas-Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005. The theme of death was also evoked by Rosa, Maria de Lurdes. "A morte e o Além", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 402-417.

54. Among others, see Barroca, Mário Jorge. *Necrópoles e Sepulturas Medievais de Entre Douro e Minho (século V a XV)*. Porto: Universidade do Porto (Master Dissertation), 1987; Barroca, Mário Jorge. "Cenas de passatempo e lamentação na escultura funerária medieval portuguesa (séc. XIII a XV)". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 2/14 (1997): 657-686; Cunha, Eugénia Maria Guedes Pinto Antunes da. *Paleobiologia das populações medievais portuguesas: os casos de Fão e S. João de Almedina*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra (PhD Dissertation), 1994.

55. Barroca, Mário Jorge. *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, 2000: I and II; Barroca, Mário Jorge. "Memórias", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 418-456.



death through remembrance of the individual and the lineage by generations to come and down the centuries.⁵⁶

Knowledge of spirituality and the medieval religious behaviour of the clergy and, hitherto less-known, the laity, have been largely expanded and ideals of saintliness for men and women have been studied, showing us how religious mentalities have evolved over the centuries. These spiritual and devotional experiences of medieval society were set out in the first volume of the collective work *História Religiosa de Portugal* (Religious History of Portugal) published in 2000 and in *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal* (Dictionary of the Religious History of Portugal).⁵⁷

As a counterpoint, there were important developments in some facets of the everyday material life of medieval people through interdisciplinary contributions involving the methodology and scientific advances of various social and human sciences and, in particular, greater emphasis on medieval archaeology.

One major subject was diet and the medieval dining table. Following on from Salvador Dias Arnaut's pioneering work, historians such as Iria Gonçalves, Maria José Santos and Maria Helena Coelho,⁵⁸ together with many other academics, have written on food from bread to wine, from meat to fish, from vegetables to fruit and the medieval diet, cooking and meal preparation, culinary tastes and fashions, recipes and dieting books, the running of the kitchen, and rural or urban frameworks for the diet of social groups. The dining table has been unveiled and serving sets and servers have been made known together with dining ceremony, etiquette and ritual. Everyday meals and festive banquets have been considered as well as the art of dining in literature and art. This enabled the publication, during the current decade, of the collective work *A mesa dos Reis de Portugal* (The Table of the Kings of Portugal),⁵⁹ which covers medieval and modern times and deals with topics such as *Casa e ofícios da mesa* ("The home and trades of the table"), *A mesa dos reis. Espaços, Objectos e utências* ("The table of kings. Spaces, objects and usages"), *Os reis à*

56. There are many books and articles on the tumularia. A summary can be obtained from some chapters devoted to the subject in: Pereira, Paulo, dir., *História de Arte Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1995: I, II.

57. Jorge, Ana Maria C.M.; Rodrigues, Ana Maria S.A., coords. *Formação e Limites da Cristandade*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2000; *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Carlos A. Moreira Azevedo. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2000-2001. The medieval spirituality is dealt with generically in Rosa, Maria de Lurdes. "Sagrado, devoções e religiosidade", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores: 376-401.

58. Arnaut, Salvador Dias. *A arte de comer em Portugal na Idade Média (Introdução a "O Livro de Cozinha" da Infanta D. Maria de Portugal)*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1986; Gonçalves, Iria. "Acerca da alimentação medieval". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, 4/2 (1978): 441-458; Gonçalves, Iria. "A alimentação", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 226-259; Santos, Maria José Azevedo. *A Alimentação em Portugal na Idade Média. Fontes. Cultura. Sociedade*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1997; Santos, Maria José. *Jantar e ceiar na corte de D. João III*. Coimbra: Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura-Palimage Editores, 2002; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "Apontamentos sobre a comida e a bebida do campesinato coimbrão em tempos medievais", *Homens, Espaços e Poderes. Séculos XI-XV. Notas do viver social*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990: I, 9-22; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "Ao correr do vinho. Governança e des governança dos homens". *Portefólio*, 1 (2005): 112-121.

59. Buescu, Ana Isabel; Felismino, David, coords. *A Mesa dos reis de Portugal. Ofícios, consumos, cerimónias e representações (séculos XIII-XVIII)*. Lisbon: Temas e Debates-Círculo de Leitores, 2011.



mesa: cerimónias e etiquetas ("Kings at table: ceremonies and etiquette"), *Os alimentos* ("Food"), and *Imagens e representações da mesa* ("Images and representations of the table"). Great emphasis has also been placed on the interplay between dietary habits and religions, with careful examination of the dietary precepts of certain monastic rules or 'fat' and 'thin' days, meat or fish, fasting and abstinence for all Christians, together with the dietary rules of Muslim and Jewish believers.⁶⁰

Our ancestors' living space has also become better understood by historians with the support of architects and archaeologists. Maria da Conceição Falcão, Sílvio Conde and Maria Luísa Trindade⁶¹ have provided us with studies that focus on current construction, especially in urban environments, and the materials used, sizes, compartmentalisation and their material value and prestige. José Custódio Vieira da Silva, an art historian, looked deeper into the subject of royal and noble palaces⁶² and Mário Barroca focused on lordly residences, many of which were fortified, with very significant archaeological contributions.⁶³ Based on these works we can better understand how the simplest folk lived in a single room, dominated by the fireplace, providing both heat and light, where they ate and slept, while the wealthiest lived in roomy houses or even palaces with other refinements such as separate kitchens which even had chimneys, dining rooms and private bedrooms as well as rooms for other domestic tasks and even spaces specifically for hygiene.

Alongside food and the home, clothing has continued to be studied, based on knowledge of fabrics, firstly through study of written sources and nowadays also through conservation and restoration techniques and sciences and detailed reconstruction of clothing from literature and painting.⁶⁴

60. For the table and food in the 12th to the 16th centuries, see the studies by Rita Costa Gomes, Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, Iria Gonçalves, Ana Isabel Buescu, Maria José Palla, Maria Adelaide Miranda and Luís Correia de Sousa.

61. Among others, Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. "Habitação popular urbana, no Norte de Portugal Medieval: uma tipologia? Ou um modo de construir?". *Cadernos do Noroeste*, 15/1-2 (2001): 381-432; Conde, Manuel Sílvio Alves. "Sobre a casa urbana do centro e Sul de Portugal nos fins da Idade Média". *Arqueologia Medieval*, 5 (1997): 243-265; Conde, Manuel Sílvio. "A Casa", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 54-77; Trindade, Luísa. *A casa corrente em Coimbra. Dos finais da Idade Média aos inícios da época moderna*. Coimbra: Câmara Municipal, 2002.

62. Silva, José Custódio Vieira da. *Os Paços Medievais Portugueses*. Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 1995; Silva, José Custódio. "O Paço", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 78-97.

63. Barroca, Mário Jorge. "Em torno da residência senhorial fortificada. Quatro torres medievais na região de Amares". *Revista de História*, 9 (1989): 9-53; Barroca, Mário Jorge. "Torres, Casas-Torres ou Casas Fortes. A concepção do espaço de habitação da pequena e média nobreza na Baixa Idade Média (séculos XII-XV)". *Revista de História das Ideias*, 19 (1997): 39-103. For progress in Portuguese medieval archeology, in various fields, see Fernandes, Isabel Cristina Ferreira; Macias, Santiago. "Islamic and Christian Medieval Archaeology", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 153-177.

64. Among others, Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. "Roupas de cama e roupas de corpo nos testamentos de Guimarães (1250-1300)". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 2/14 (1997): 33-63; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz, "Homens e Negócios", *Ócio e Negócio*. Coimbra: Inatel, 1998: 127-202; Palla, Maria



Important contributions from literary and artistic studies, especially iconography,⁶⁵ have also given rise to new progress in the history of the body, sexuality, gestures, cultures and mentalities in medieval times. José Mattoso himself has given seminars and directed postgraduate studies of these areas.⁶⁶

While Mário Martins was very early in his study of satire, laughter, parody, allegories and symbols in medieval literature, just as he had even earlier examined pilgrimage routes and miracles,⁶⁷ Luís Krus and others continued to explore sexual satire, the cult of relics, the experience of time and the representation of space.⁶⁸ The participants in the conference on the body and gesture in medieval civilization also narrowed down the approaches to these subjects, covering bodies and gestures seen in names, novels, treatises and tapestries, observing the sacredness of gestures or ritual aspects of the body in music and dance; and capturing body language, allegories and symbols, gestures, smiles and taunts in lyrical poetry and doctrinal works in medieval times.⁶⁹

In the same way, following on from António José Saraiva's outstanding *História da Cultura em Portugal* (History of Culture in Portugal),⁷⁰ research has diversified into subjects such as troubadour poetry, chronicles, chivalric romances, hagiographies and books of miracles, books of hours and confession manuals, making it possible to reconstruct palace and courtesan cultural settings together with teachings from doctrine that reached the community of believers through clerical preaching,

José. *Do essencial e do supérfluo, estudo lexical do traje e adornos em Gil Vicente*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1992; Palla, Maria José. *Traje e pintura. Grão Vasco e o retábulo da Sé de Viseu*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1999; Nascimento, Aires Nascimento, coord.; Palla, Maria José. *Trilogia Vicentina. Léxico do Traje e Adornos no Teatro de Gil Vicente*. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2006; Sequeira, Joana. *Produção têxtil em Portugal nos Finais da Idade Média*. Porto-Paris: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto-École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2012.

65. Advances in these studies are mirrored in Catalogs: Miranda, Maria Adelaide; Nascimento, Aires Augusto, coords. *A Iluminura em Portugal. Identidade e Influências*. Lisbon: Ministério da Cultura-Biblioteca Nacional, 1999; Nascimento Aires, Augusto. *A Imagem do Tempo. Livros Manuscritos Ocidentais*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000.

66. As summaries, see the chapters by Mattoso, José. "O corpo, a saúde e a doença", and Oliveira, António. "A sexualidade", both in *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 348-374 and 324-347 respectively.

67. Martins, Mário. *Peregrinações e Livros de Milagres na nossa Idade Média*. Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1951; Martins, Mário. *Alegorias, símbolos e exemplos morais da literatura medieval portuguesa*. Lisbon: Edições Brotéria, 1975; Martins, Mário. *A sátira na literatura medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII-XIV)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1977; Martins, Mário. *O riso, o sorriso e a paródia na literatura portuguesa quatrocentista*. Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978.

68. Krus, Luís. "Celeiro e relíquias: o culto quatrocentista dos Mártires de Marrocos". *Studium Generale. Estudos Contemporâneos*, 6 (1984): 21-42; Krus, Luís. "A vivência medieval do tempo", *A construção do passado medieval. Textos inéditos e publicados*, Luís Krus, ed. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011; Krus, Luís; Pimenta, Berta Martinha; Parnes, Leonardo. "Dois aspectos da sátira nos cancioneiros galaico-portugueses: 'Sodomíticos e Cornudos'". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisbon*, 4/2 (1978): 113-128.

69. Buescu, Ana Isabel; Sousa, João Silva de; Miranda Maria Adelaide, coords. *O corpo e o gesto na civilização medieval*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2006.

70. Saraiva, António José. *História da Cultura em Portugal*. Lisbon: Jornal do Fôro, 1950-1952.



imposing models and codes of belief, devotion and morality, which moulded social and religious behaviour.⁷¹

Studies have also been carried out (and we will list the topics so as not to be over-extensive) on male and female names, broken down into personal names, patronymics and nicknames, and names of country and city folk. Notable among these are the studies by Iria Gonçalves.⁷² There have also been studies of games, entertainment, festivals and conviviality.⁷³

Echoing these focusses once again, several studies were brought together in 2004 in *Estudos Medievais. Quotidiano Medieval: Imaginário, Representação e Práticas* (Medieval Studies. Every Medieval Life: the Imagination, Representation and Practices).⁷⁴ These used many different sources (chansonniers, lyrical poetry in praise of the Virgin

71. See the historiographical development of these themes in Amado, Teresa, dir.; Correia, Ângela; Sobral, Cristina; Videira, Graça. "The study of Literary Texts", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 87-109; Ferreira, Manuel Pedro. "Medieval Music in Portugal within its interdisciplinary", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 111-129; Botelho, Maria Leonor. "The study of Medieval Art", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 131-151; Meirinhos, José Francisco. "Intellectual History and the Scholars", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir., Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 349-379; Oliveira, António Resende de. "Literary and Historiographical Production", *The historiography of medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*, José Mattoso, dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Maria João Branco, eds. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 381-398. See also: Lanciani Giulia; Tavani, Giuseppe, coords. *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Caminho, 1993.

72. Gonçalves, Iria. "Amostra de antroponímia alentejana do século XV". *Do Tempo e da História*, 4 (1971): 173-212; Gonçalves, Iria. "Do uso do patronímico na Baixa Idade Média", *Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida-In Memoriam*, Mário Jorge Barroca, coord. Porto: Faculdade de Letras, 1999: I, 347-363; Gonçalves, Iria. "Entre o masculino e o feminino: sistemas de identificação em finais do século XV", *Em Louvor da Linguagem. Homenagem a Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu*, Maria Fernanda Abreu, Maria Idalina Resina Rodrigues, Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, dirs., Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2003: 141-158; Gonçalves, Iria. "O corpo e o nome-o nome e o gesto (notas de antroponímia medieval)", *O corpo e o gesto na civilização medieval*, Ana Isabel Buescu, João Silva de Sousa, Maria Adelaide Miranda, coords. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2006: 39-56; Gonçalves, Iria. "O nome", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir., Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores: 198-225.

73. Campos, Flávio de. "Jogos e temática lúdica em Portugal ao final da Idade Média". *BUCEMA. Bulletin du Centre d'Études médiévales d'Auxerre*. Hors-série, n. 2. 24 January 2008. 16 December 2014. <<http://cem.revues.org/9492>>; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "Festa e Sociabilidade na Idade Média", *Ócio e Negócio*. Coimbra: Inatel, 1998: 47-84; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "A festa - a convivialidade", *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. Idade Média*, José Mattoso, dir. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, coord. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011: 144-169; Alves, Ana Maria. *As entradas régias portuguesas. Uma visão de conjunto*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1986; Gonçalves, Iria. "As festas do Corpus Christi do Porto na segunda metade do século XV: participação do concelho". *Estudos Medievais*, 4-5 (1985): 3-23; Gomes, Rita Costa. "Sobre a festa e o rito na corte medieval". *Cadernos do Noroeste*, 9/2 (1996): 9-22; Oliveira, Belmira Fernanda Gonçalves de. "Os serões reais na Idade Média". *Cadernos do Noroeste*, 9/2 (1996): 121-156; Rodrigues, Ana Maria S.A. "Contributo para o estudo das festas na Idade Média Portuguesa". *Cadernos do Noroeste*, 9/2 (1996): 103-120; Tavares, Maria José Ferro. "A festa, uma ruptura no quotidiano do homem medieval". *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 31/1 (1996): 131-155.

74. Andrade, Amélia Aguiar; Silva, José Custodio Vieira de, coords. *Estudos Medievais. Quotidiano Medieval: Imaginário, Representação e Práticas*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2004.



Mary, isolated documents, recipes, illuminated manuscripts, pottery toys and human skeletons) and a range of the latest methodologies to illuminate specific aspects of everyday life or the ideological suppositions behind them. As the author of the preface wrote, what we learn from them is

*O ser humano, dividido entre o corpo e o espírito, entre o sagrado e o profano, entre a norma e o desvio, entre a representação e a realidade. Aspectos fundamentais como a sexualidade e o erotismo, a alimentação e o lazer, a doença, a devoção religiosa são elucidados, mas sempre tendo presente que estavam condicionados, nas suas formas e interpretações, pela hierarquia social predominante e pelas concepções em vigor sobre a natureza, o homem e Deus.*⁷⁵

The confluence of Portuguese studies of everyday and private subjects brings us, in the present day, to the study of biographies. Biographies of kings, queens, princes and princesses, together with reconstructions of royal courts in various medieval times. While biographies of all and any man or woman famous in society, for whatever reason, are now in fashion, the fact is that biography, as a historiographic genre, only began on solid scientific foundations in our country at the beginning of the 21st century, as a result of the momentum and drawing together of various strands of history from the end of the previous century. Biography, telling the story of a man or a women, whether individually or collectively and in society, is a subject of choice for converging analyses of everyday life or unique and unrepeatable events, shared or extraordinary times of celebration and grief, and also for perceiving intimate and private settings and relationships or public roles and spaces.

In her thesis, *A Corte do reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média* (The Court of the Kings of Portugal at the end of the Middle Ages), which Rita Costa Gomes defended in 1994,⁷⁶ she not only gave us knowledge of courtly people, spaces and services, but also brought to life everyday court usages and ceremonies, large-scale ceremonies and occasional rituals. In their study of the first three kings of Portugal, Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques and João Soalheiro⁷⁷ paid attention to their family members and servants, while travelling and in residence in palaces but they particularly set out the framework for the king's table as well as court fashion, entertainment and culture.

In the same way, all the historians who wrote biographies of the first and second dynasty of Portuguese kings published by Círculo de Leitores,⁷⁸ in addition to

75. "the human being, divided between body and spirit, between sacred and profane, between the right and wrong path, between representation and reality. Fundamental aspects such as sexuality and eroticism, food and leisure, disease and religious devotion are elucidated but always bearing in mind that their forms and interpretations were conditioned by the predominant social hierarchy and by current conceptions of nature, mankind and God." Andrade, Amélia Aguiar. "Nota Liminar", *Estudos Medievais. Quotidiano Medieval...* 10.

76. Gomes, Rita Costa. *A Corte do reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Difel, 1995.

77. Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes; Soalheiro, João. *A Corte dos primeiros reis de Portugal. Afonso Henriques, Sancho I, Afonso II*. Gijon: Ediciones Trea, 2009.

78. Mattoso, José. *D. Afonso Henriques*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006; Branco, Maria João Violante. *D. Sancho I. O filho do Fundador*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006; Vilar, Hermínia. *D. Afonso II. Um rei sem tempo*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005; Fernandes, Hermenegildo. *D. Sancho II. Tragédia*. Lisbon: Círculo de



showing them in the family and court context, sought to unveil ties of affection with close or more distant relatives, find out about legitimate or illegitimate feelings of love, discover signs of complicity and friendship with faithful vassals, officials and servants, or hatred and vengeance towards those who opposed them and their enemies. Many of them also illustrated aspects of their itinerant or sedentary everyday lives in palaces, castles or monasteries, examining service in the chamber, at table and in the chapel, discovering court tastes, fashions, entertainment and culture, and revealing ceremonies and more festive days on which military and political feats were commemorated, or the royal family's births, marriages or deaths, royal entries and processions, acts and mechanisms of propaganda and legitimisation of royalty. They all examined the kings' deaths and some focused on their physical or psychological diseases, as well as their wills, graves and their desire and actions taken to perpetuate their memory.

The same collection also published biographies of the queens and some princesses,⁷⁹ which went into greater depth on the matter of sentiments. The authors revealed the roles of such women as daughters, wives and mothers together with their duty to act as the head and model for damsels and ladies at court, as ladies and suzerains, as agents of influence and diplomacy in domestic and foreign affairs, as promoters of social work and the common good through works of charity and protection of the destitute and supporting fraternal, welfare and religious institutions.

Echoes of the everyday and private lives of their subjects are also repeatedly found in the two briefest collections of biographies of kings, queens and princesses sponsored by the Portuguese Academy of History.⁸⁰

Leitores, 2006; Ventura, Leontina. *D. Afonso III*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006; Pizarro, José Augusto de Sotto Mayor. *D. Dinis*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005; Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e. *D. Afonso IV (1291-1357)*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005; Pimenta, Cristina. *D. Pedro I*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005; Gomes, Rita Costa. *D. Fernando*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. *D. João I, que re-colheu Boa Memória*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005; Duarte, Luís Miguel. *D. Duarte. Requiem por um rei triste*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005; Gomes, Saul António. *D. Afonso V. O Africano*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006; Fonseca, Luís Adão da. *D. João II*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005.

79. Amaral, Luís Carlos; Barroca, Mário Jorge. *A condessa-rainha. Teresa*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012; Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes; Dias, Nuno Pizarro; Nogueira, Bernardo de Sá; Varandas, José; Oliveira, António Resende de. *As primeiras rainhas. Mafalda de Mouriana, Dulce de Barcelona e Aragão, Urraca de Castela, Mécia Lopes de Haro, Beatriz Afonso*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012; Andrade, Maria Filomena. *Rainha Santa, mãe exemplar. Isabel de Aragão*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012; Menino, Vanda Lourenço; Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *A rainha, as infantas e a aia. Beatriz de Castela, Branca de Castela, Constança Manuel, Inês de Castro*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012; Baleiras, Isabel de Pina. *Uma Rainha Inesperada. Leonor Teles*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012; Silva, Manuela Santos. *A rainha inglesa de Portugal. Filipa de Lencastre*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012; Rodrigues, Ana Maria S.A. *As Tristes Rainhas. Leonor de Aragão. Isabel de Coimbra*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012; Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães. *De Princesa a Rainha-Velha. Leonor de Lencastre*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2013.

80. The biographies of the Portuguese kings from the first and second dynasties are englobed in *História dos Reis de Portugal. Da fundação à perda da Independência*, Manuela Mendça da Cruz, coord. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-Quidnovi, 2010: I. The biographies of the princesses and queens by the same editors came out in 2011 and covers the following from the medieval age: Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. *D. Filipa de Lencastre. A inglesa rainha. 1360-1415*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. *D. Leonor de Portugal. A imperatriz. 1434-1467*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Costa, Paula Maria. *D. Maria. A formosíssima. 1313-1357*. Lisbon:



In this second decade of the 21st century, we have now arrived at a culmination of studies of everyday and private life arising from the development of several subjects of medieval Portuguese historiography. It can clearly be seen that these lesser-known or less visible facets of the past of men and women in medieval times have been revealed by the multiplicity and cross-referencing of sources (written, documentary or literary sources, archaeological and artistic sources) and by deepening knowledge and expanding horizons through interdisciplinary studies that cut across knowledge areas and call upon various social and human sciences as well as the aforementioned exact sciences.

We do not think the subject has been exhausted.

While in Portugal exploration of written and artistic sources has been more intense, other viewpoints, questions and approaches could still be pursued in analysing them and there will be no end to the new and surprising knowledge produced by medieval archaeology.

Perhaps it is now time for Portuguese historians to reflect on the ways and means of representing and making these historic subjects known through textbooks and manuals for various levels of education; scientific debates on historic recreations; or questioning of its message and adapting it for different audiences and media.

The settings and contents of the everyday life of medieval people are subjects that appeal to and challenge the curiosity of present-day people. We therefore call for further, lively debate, with all due pertinence and intensity, and a broad and inevitable questioning of the writing of history and the writing of historical fiction.

Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Freitas, Isabel Vaz de. *D. Isabel de Coimbra. Insigne rainha. 1432-1455*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Freitas, Isabel Vaz de. *D. Joana. A excelente senhora. 1462-1530*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes. *D. Dulce de Aragão. Rainha fecunda. 1160(?) -1198*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes. *D. Matilde, D. Teresa, D. Mafalda e D. Sancho-Primeiras infantas de Portugal, 1149(?) -1296*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Martins, Armando Alberto. *D. Beatriz. A princesa rejeitada. 1373-1420*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Martins, Armando Alberto. *D. Leonor Teles. A flor da altura. 1350-1405*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Martins, Maria Odete Sequeira. *D. Beatriz. Mulher de ferro. 1429-1506*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Martins, Maria Odete Sequeira. *D. Isabel de Portugal. Duquesa de Borgonha. 1397-1471*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Mendonça, Manuela. *D. Leonor. Fundadora das Misericórdias. 1458-1525*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Pimenta, Maria Cristina. *D. Isabel de Trastâmara. A rainha desejada. 1470-1498*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Pimenta, Maria Cristina. *D. Joana. Princesa e santa. 1452-1490*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Santos, Maria José Azevedo. *D. Inês de Castro. Colo de Graça. (?) -1355*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Santos, Maria José Azevedo. *D. Isabel de Aragão. Rainha Santa. 1270(?) -1336*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Veloso, Maria Teresa Nobre. *D. Urraca e D. Beatriz, Construtoras da paz. 1187-1220. 1244-1303(?)*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Ventura, Margarida Garcez; Araújo, Julieta. *D. Leonor de Aragão. A triste rainha. 1402(?) -1445*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011; Vicente, Maria da Graça. *D. Filipa. A senhora de Odivelas. 1437-1493*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História-QuidNovi, 2011.

